

ANCIENT VIRTUES IN NEW NATIONS

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CLASSICAL RECEPTION AND REPUBLICANISM DURING THE INDEPENDENCE PROCESSES OF COLOMBIA AND GREECE

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ABSTRACT

The ideals of the French Revolution and its intellectual apparatus effected the reception of the classical Greco-Roman tradition at the dawn of the contemporary era. After the thunder of gun fire in Waterloo ebbed and faded away, these very same ideals were exported to contexts outside of Europe. This paper intends to establish links between the European context of the early nineteenth century and its periphery and the cases of Colombia and Greece. A comparative analysis of national historiographies lends itself to the creation of bridges between the discussion of individual cases and the discourse of historical events globally. This study aims to provide a comparison between two historical events that, although separated in space and time, were united by the ideals proposed and applied during the initial stage of the confirmation process at the end of which both Colombia and Greece emerged as independent nations. In order to accomplish an inclusive and in-depth analysis of Colombia's and Greece's respective struggles for independence and constitutional formation, this thesis employs the concept of old republicanism and the notions of civic virtues that are involved in the construction of social-municipal and political apparatuses. In outlining the guiding principles of the historiographic problem these post-Napoleonic wars posed, this thesis highlights the fundamental importance of classic reception in the genesis of Colombia and Greece as two independent states. Finally, this thesis posits that visualizing and comparing the analogous historical independence processes of Colombia and Greece can expand and augment our understanding of the range of the historiographical spectrum of the Age of Revolutions.

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INTRODUCTION

*“[...] But words are things, and a small drop of ink,
Falling like dew, upon a thought, produces
That which makes thousands, perhaps millions, think.”*

Lord Byron¹

During the first decades of the nineteenth century, two nation-building processes were taking place in territories situated in the European periphery. Having endured four centuries foreign occupation and domination, a national consciousness gained in significance at the same time as voices emphasizing the need for an independent state grew loud. While these developments were largely owed to the influence of state formation processes that were ongoing in other geographical spaces and intellectual realms, the local context had an almost equally large effect on the nationalization efforts.

The kind of revolution that a present-day Colombian or Greek person could easily identify with the independence processes that had played out in their own country are threefold. Firstly, both the Colombian and the Greek revolution saw disputes between an elite that was educated in the values of classical antiquity, and the common class which had embraced the modernizing tendencies of the Enlightenment. Segments of local population groups, championing one of the two concepts, either antiquity and modernity, were embroiled in incessant conflict over the dominance of the former, and on the topic of the socio-political and economic conditions of the population of future nations. These conflicts often morphed into irregular and civil wars. Then, secondly, both revolutions were carried out in geopolitically strategic and important territories, which development implied the involvement of other empires in the struggle for independence. Next, thirdly, both

¹ George Gordon Byron. ‘Don Juan. Stanza LXXXVIII’. In: *The Works of Lord Byron, Volume 6*

revolutions achieved victories despite the numerical inferiority of the revolutionists, both saw sieges and the martyring of intellectuals, bloody attempts to reconquer territories and even ambitious emancipatory projects, the noble intentions of which, however, were betrayed by those who were in power after the attainment of independence.

Less straightforward to establish than the observable elements of the revolutions are the underlying processes that can inform the analytical analysis of the struggles for independence in Colombia and Greece. Indeed, sources about definite procedural elements are scarce, and when available, their histories do not intersect like those of other revolutions that took place during the same period. Yet, Colombia's and Greece's revolutions are connected through other actors and institutions like the role of religious entities, secret societies and trans-imperial agents through the independence process. Despite the spatial distance between the two respective revolutions, the comparative possibilities bear from their contemporaneity. This allows for the establishment of a platform based on which the resonances and concordances between both revolutions are evident. Perhaps the most fundamental one of the similarities is the nature of both conflicts. First, both revolutions were post-Napoleonic wars, largely waged through irregular warfare, and both were powered by the optimization of human and economic resources. Second, the character background and indoctrination of the combatants shows great parallels. Third, the terrain and environment in both Colombia and Greece posed geographical challenges to the architects of the revolutions.² Hence, this thesis posits that comparing the revolutions of Colombia and Greece can elucidate new contingencies for a period of global history that

² Jorge Conde Calderón, and Luis Alfonso Alarcón Meneses. "*La conversión de milicianos y guerrilleros en ciudadanos armados de la República de Colombia*", *Historia Caribe* Vol. IX No. 25 (2014): 17-37.

deserves to be assembled and constructed in a more coherent and assertive way. The present study will address the aforementioned issues and conduct a comparative analysis of the influences of republicanism in these two independence processes.

Research efforts on the period of the Age of Revolutions and the historiographical production on it are to date being headed by historians Eric Hobsbawm and Robert Roswell Palmer, both of whom have published works now considered seminal and mainstays in the field. Their research has revitalized, contextualized and, to some extent, integrated the modernization processes pertaining to changes in political culture in non-European spaces.

³ Yet, despite the advances in regional historiography and the efforts of scholars who try to frame their research in a global context while at the same time relating it back to the historical period of the Age of Revolutions, what little comparisons exist are generally downscaled to a mere linear listing of observations. Be it for methodological reasons, training background or historiographical perspective, it can be difficult to go the extra length necessary for performing a comparative exercise of similar processes in spaces and contexts diametrically opposed, such as the post-Napoleonic revolutions in the Balkans and Latin America. A first of its kind, the present study will take on this challenge.

1.1 Possibilities and Limitations of the Historical Comparison between the Greek and Colombian Independence Processes

At the end of the Napoleonic wars, the ideas of revolution, republicanism, civil virtues and freedom began to spread to different regions outside of the main revolutionary epicenters. It was in this post-Napoleonic period that the aforementioned ideas, whose novelty and

³ Eric Hobsbawm. *La era de la revolución 1789-1848*. Buenos Aires, Crítica, 2009 p.107; Robert R. Palmer. *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1800 Updated Edition*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2014.

attraction had worn of in Europe, started to take root in regions like Latin America and the Balkans, where they were still novel and attractive. It is in against this background that this research is conducted, with the focus set on the struggles for independences of Colombia and Greece.

The Spanish-American independence is still considered as having been – paradoxically – a period of continuities and ruptures. On the one hand, certain colonial structures were maintained to propitiate the establishment of the new independent states, and the ex-colonial states largely moved their economies into the spheres of influence of the United States and Great Britain. On the other hand, in places like Mexico to Argentina political modernity, for example in the form of republicanism, opened up avenues for understanding the nature of the post-imperial and decolonized societies.⁴ In the New Granada/Great Colombian case, the process of decolonization from the Spanish Empire did not mean the total secession from the ideas and intellectual approaches that were being discussed in Europe. Instead, the Independence war imbued the ideas of enlightenment and neoclassicism with new meaning. Notwithstanding the influences of the earlier revolutions in the United States, France and Haiti, the leaders of the Independence of Colombia used references to ancient Greek and Roman writers to support their claims. The sense, logic and appeal of the arguments made by Cicero or Polybius in antiquity ensured that enlightened ideas in Colombia stayed at a safe distance from more radical contemporary ideas like Black Jacobinism.⁵

⁴ Jan Nederveen Pieterse. *Empire & emancipation: power and liberation on a world scale*. Pluto, 1990, p.141

⁵ Nick Nesbitt. "Which Radical Enlightenment? Spinoza, Jacobinism and Black Jacobinism." In Beth Lord. *Spinoza Beyond Philosophy* Edinburgh University Press. 2012: 149-67.

The Greek revolution that started in 1821 was extremely similar to the South American revolution in that the Greek leaders were also part of a process of peripheral enlightenment that would bring about a rekindling of relationships with the ancient history of Greece. This process of revival can be traced to the present time. Despite the movement towards ancient Greek ideas and values, the influence of antiquity in the early stages of the Hellenic nation-state building was rather limited due to the Orthodox Church, which figured as the “main pillar” of the Independence struggle.

Hence, both contemporary revolutions came about in a period of restoration and renewed absolutisms, which paved the way for decolonization and the construction of nation-states. These major processes were ongoing in Colombia and Greece long before they appeared in other regions globally. Yet, while the similarities of their independences are astonishing, the outcomes of the Colombian and Greek revolutions were very different, and the republican ideals quickly faded in their aftermath. This project strives to provide a review and analysis of the revolutionary processes and elevate them to a more widely recognized place in the field of study of the “Age of Revolutions”.

The similarities between both struggles for independence are clear, especially the striking parallels between the leaders of the new states and their difficulties to form them. Two of these leaders were Simón Bolívar and Yiannis Kapodistrias. Similar were also the difficulties in carrying out military operations in the geographical terrain of Colombia and Greece, and the quasi-simultaneous formation of new independent states. The latter broke away from empires that had controlled their territories for almost four centuries. However, in the nineteenth century, these empires started to play a preponderant role in the international concert and their metropolises were beginning to decline. Other, less well-

studied revolutionary are the strategy of having intellectual figures, who provided the ideological foundation based on their knowledge of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, serve as leaders of the revolutions. Through secret organizations that were typical of the time, these intellectuals could filter, disclose and adapt their leadership to the state's trajectory, comportment and the national context. Some of these intellectual figures were Antonio Nariño and Francisco José de Caldas in Colombia,⁶ and Adamantis Korais and Rhigas Feraios in Greece.⁷

Delving deeper into the dissection and analysis of primary sources and existing scholarship on the topic, the number of similarities between the two revolutionary processes increase even further. As such, there is the importance of clergymen who held advanced ideas and who would sometimes subordinate reason over faith to establish a series of scientific expeditions in their respective country, as was the case of the Colombian José Celestino Mutis and the Greek Teófilos Kaíris. Next, there is the role of women in the wars of independence, and their subsequent use by institutions for the construction of a national spirit and their depiction in collective memory. Policarpa Salavarrieta, a revolutionary executed by Pablo Morillo in Colombia, and the aristocratic sponsor of the Greek revolutionary fleet, Bouboulina of Spetses, are two examples of such women.⁸

The focus of this thesis is to strike a balance between the latest bibliographical developments in the regional and national historiographies of Latin America and the

⁶ Renán Silva, *Los ilustrados de Nueva Granada 1760-1808. Genealogía de una comunidad de interpretación*. Medellín: Fondo Editorial EAFIT-Banco de la República, 2002, 674 p.

⁷ David Brewer. *The Flame of Freedom. The Greek War of Independence 1821-1833* London. John Murray. 2001 p. 234

⁸ Giannis Koliopoulos, and Thanos Veremis. *Greece: the modern sequel: from 1831 to the present*. London: Hurst & Company, 2002 459 p. 15

Balkans, and to explore the parameters of global and transnational history through them. This analysis strives to contextualize the independence processes and to locate them in a global scenario. The latter will help address difficulties with making comparisons between two geographically and culturally distant regions, like Colombia and Greece.

The relationship between tradition and modernity and the rupture that the ideological transfer of concepts between one and the other generates is an essential part of the debate on the issue and of the theoretical apparatus of this work. The fear of a Caesarian/Bonapartist regime was latent in the recently established republics throughout the American continent. A measure to counteract this development was to turn the military establishment into a collegiate body, controlled by civil institutions that prevented the advent of an autocratic military regime.⁹ The examples of Julio Cesar and Napoleon should have served as warnings when it came to the establishment of dictatorships, like that of Bolívar in 1828, and to the reestablishment of public order with regards to particular threats, either external or internal. One example of republicanism on the American continent that fully adhered to the Roman model is that of Paraguay. Founded in 1812 as a republic, it was led by two consuls, one of which was the later famous José Gaspar Francia.

1.2 Disposition

The similarities and differences between two little known revolutions that have, to date, not been analyzed historiographically, are the focus of the introduction to this thesis. It also discusses the possibilities for and limitations to the establishment of a historical comparison between the Colombian and Greek independences, and addresses the

⁹Francisco A. Ortega, Yobenj Aucardo Chicangana-Bayona, and Sandra Milena Ramírez, eds. *Conceptos fundamentales de la cultura política de la Independencia*. Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 2012 p.328-329

methodological, linguistic and theoretical difficulties posed to the comparison of these cases. Last, the introduction provides further descriptions of the content, introduces the main research questions, and presents a future outlook on possible continuations of this work. The pertinence of this work lies in the possibilities of study that it generates and its contribution to the literary production on the historiography of the Age of the Revolutions.

The first two chapters will seek to clarify the historical and intellectual context in which the comparison between these two processes of independence is carried out. In the chapter on the development of republicanism as a political system of preference from the era of the Revolutions until today, the methodological and theoretical foundations with which different historiographical schools have tried to define republicanism are introduced and discussed. This thesis then reflects upon and applies these intellectual traditions to the cases of Colombia and Greece.

The second chapter establishes a historical perspective and explore how the nation building movements germinated, gained strength and developed. Next, the nature of the Ottoman and Spanish imperial domination over the territories that would later become the independent states of Greece and Colombia respectively are discussed. Then, this chapter addresses attempts at reform and the arrival of the revolution and nationalism that produced dilemmas of loyalty between the new nations' ideologies and the old structures or institutions of the empires.

The first case study is that of the independence process generated in the Spanish Viceroyalty of the New Kingdom of Granada, which turned into the independence and creation of the Republic of the Great Colombia by 1830. This thesis first discusses the importance of the reforms that were promoted by Charles III of Spain, and which would,

for the first time, allow for the scientific exploration of the Colombian territory. This exploration generated an unprecedented connection between the Colombian people and their land, which nourished and raised the national consciousness, and fueled their interest in gaining independence. Next, this thesis explores the use of classic and enlightened ideals during the years of the first Neo-Granadian Republic (1810-1816) and the external and internal struggles of the latter. Last in this section, this study highlights the circumstances of the achievement of the Colombian independence in 1819 and discusses the expansion and implementation of Republicanism across the northern parts of South America while paying close attention to the fact that this process was constantly under threat by provincial interests and tyrannical ideals.

The next chapter treats the case of the Greek Revolution. Here, the analysis focuses on the process of nation-building in the shadow of a glorious, ancient past. The post-Byzantine Greek world was under Ottoman domination until 1821, but the impetus generated when a Greek intellectual movement formed in the late eighteenth century, started to materialize the dreams of independence and, alas, the Greek revolution. This chapter also deals with the operationalization of the classical past for the purpose of the revolution, the trajectory of the main protagonists and their works, and the disintegration of the concept of republicanism that occurred during this period.

In the conclusion, this thesis establishes the relationship between the results of the revolutions and similarities between them. This thesis highlights that the use of ideals of classical antiquity served to configure the new political language in Colombia and Greece. Next, it illustrates how, despite their spatial and chronological differences, the Colombian and Greek revolutions are deeply entangled in respect to the ideals they both adhered to.

Finally, bearing in mind the similarities between the old republics of classical antiquity and the formation of the two new, modern political entities in South America and the Balkans, this thesis discusses why the republican project was unsatisfactory and short-lived. Despite the failure of the new states, ancient classical republicanism is still an ideal of virtue that, even now, remains embedded at the core of the Colombian and Greek national character. Today as two centuries ago, it continues to be present but remains unreachable.



Figure 1: Map illustrating the loci of events of Colombian independence named in this work (with current borders)



Figure 2: Map illustrating the loci of events of the Greek Revolution mentioned in this work (with current borders)

BREAKING TRADITIONS: REPUBLICANISM AS A HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEM DURING THE AGE OF REVOLUTIONS

‘When a monarchy is being gradually transformed into a republic, the executive power retains the titles, the honors, the etiquette, and even the funds of royalty long after its authority has disappeared. [...] On the other hand, when a republic falls under the sway of a single individual, the demeanor of the sovereign is simple and unpretending, as if his authority was not yet paramount’.
Alexis de Tocqueville¹⁰

In order to understand the context in which the Greek and Colombian independence processes took place, it is necessary to recall the concepts that influenced the political language used in these revolutions. Because this thesis seeks to analyze the relationship between republicanism and classical reception, there is a list of adjacent concepts that play an important role in the events discussed in the following chapter. However, notions like universalism, liberty, citizenship, tyranny, freedom, constitutionalism and so on are by themselves topics that provide enough material for an entire thesis. Additionally, due to the scope and limited possibilities for synthesis of a thesis at the MA level, the latter concepts will be touched upon only where they lend theoretical support for the main analysis.

The central issues that will be analyzed in this chapter are the developments of and attempts by different actors, institutions, and movements to install a republican system in the independent states of Colombia and Greece. These actors were following the parameters of influential examples from classical republicanism in ancient times and tried to find a way to apply them to events that occurred outside of these traditions. This

¹⁰ Alexis de Tocqueville. *Democracy In America*, Volume 1 (of 2) Chapter VIII: The Federal Constitution-Part I.

generally gives preponderance to the republics of the North of Europe, North America or the city-states of Early Modern Italy.¹¹

2.1 Republicanism as a Political System, the Machiavellian Moment and the Republican Traditions

Republicanism, as a system to organize societies, has been one of the main features of Western political thought throughout history. The Greek city states and the Roman republic are preponderant examples from antiquity that have not only been used as mirrors and models for political process in the West, but also as contrapositions to the “despotic” political regimes located outside of this tradition. A major dynamic during antiquity, this political system was replaced by Christian monarchism for a millennium, before being revived in the late medieval times in form of small Italian city-states. The latter paved the ground for classical republicanism.¹²

A political concept, for example that of *republic*, is a semantically ordered structure that is in constant tension between the collective historical experience and the expectations that those experiences generate.¹³ The predominant focus of conceptual history are the long-term processes of great semantic nodes of thought, although in the political language, the individual event and abrupt changes resultant from it are fundamental parts of the concepts history. To gain new meanings, a concept requires a discernible change in the foundations of a previous semantic component. These concepts, operationalized by

¹¹ David A Bell, and Yair Mintzker, eds. *Rethinking the Age of Revolutions: France and the Birth of the Modern World*. Oxford University Press, 2018 p.163

¹² Maurizio Viroli. *Republicanism*. New York Hill and Wang, 2002, p. 4

¹³ Francisco A Ortega, et al. *Conceptos fundamentales de la cultura política de la Independencia*. p 19

practices and institutions that control the evolution of the use of the concepts, conform to what John Pocock calls the "political language".¹⁴

As authors like Skinner and Pocock has shown, the Italian republicans drew on their own political experience and on a series of Roman sources, particularly the works of Cicero, Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus, to help them understand the principles of political organization and figure out a way to secure personal freedoms. The latter is something the *Neogranadinos* and Greeks would try to imitate.¹⁵ Liberty, or political liberty to be more exact, was contrasted with slavery and considered a source of great virtue. This view encouraged the consolidation of values like *iustitia*, *concordia* and *pax*.^{16,17} Even so, in Florence, there was never a clear distinction between freedom and the empire, and both notions fit into a republican conception of what Rome was like in antiquity.¹⁸

However, not every country, state or nations republican experience has been the same. Pocock himself, one of the leading scholars on the “Republican Turn”, has developed an innovative perspective on the topic, building on the study of texts on the matter and his openness to the history of how ideas develop, are transformed and applied to different contexts. The Cambridge School posits that concepts were not only the disguise of underlying interests, but also organized around large paradigms that shaped the perception and understanding that the individuals had of their actions. The “symbolic” sphere was not

¹⁴ John G. A. Pocock, *Politics, language, and time: Essays on political thought and history*. University of Chicago Press, 1989.

¹⁵ I will use the term *Neogranadino* in its original language to refer to the habitants of the Viceroyalty of New Granada and the *Republica* of New Granada.

¹⁶ Quentin Skinner, *Liberty before Liberalism* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 39; John G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition*. Princeton, N.J. Princeton University Press, 1975

¹⁷ Banu Turnaoğlu. *The Formation of Turkish Republicanism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017 p. 5

¹⁸ Sankar Muthu. *Enlightenment against empire*. Princeton University Press, 2009, p.9

second to the "real" one. On the contrary, it turned out to be one of the most influential structuring forces of historical conditions.¹⁹

The "Atlantic" dimension of the republican paradigm – sometimes referred to as civic humanism – is another problematic issue. Considering Pocock's conception of the “Machiavellian Moment”, where a new republic is looking out for the endurance of its institutions, is a concept that is essential for the understanding of the two revolutionary developments discussed in this thesis. This chapter follows the emergence of the notion of politics as an autonomous and secularized form of human action, tracing it from medieval Italian republics to Machiavelli over the English revolutions of the seventeenth century to the American Revolution.²⁰ The emergence of politics was linked to the modern elaboration of the concept of ‘republic’, which would travel from Europe to North America. This Atlantic republicanism, described as “radical Whiggism” by Bailyn, “civic humanism” by Pocock or “civil liberty” by Skinner, was based on premises fundamentally opposed to those of liberalism: primacy of the common good over individual interest, rejection of dependences between men, civic participation, and contempt for the accumulation of wealth.²¹ This type of republicanism was, in a different form but adhering to the same core ideals, adopted by the leaders of Colombia and Greece.

The available literature on republicanism is of exceptional richness and diversity. It is based on two core tenets that structure these works. As per Clément Thibaud, the main

¹⁹ Clément Thibaud. *La naissance des premières républiques modernes du monde hispanique: Terre-Ferme (1793-1816)*. (PhD Dissertation Université de Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2013) p. 9

²⁰ John G. A. Pocock. *The Machiavellian moment: Florentine political thought and the Atlantic republican tradition*. Vol. 25. Princeton University Press, 2016 p.523-528

²¹ Clément Thibaud. *La naissance des premières républiques modernes du monde hispanique: Terre-Ferme (1793-1816)* p. 15- 16

historiographical traditions of republicanism are inapplicable – even problematic – to the nature of the cases studied in the present work. yet, they are useful for the construction of a novel interpretational framework of republicanism outside of the North Atlantic tradition. The first tenet emphasizes the difference between the republican understanding of freedom – whether positive, humanistic, civic, neo-Roman or understood as non-domination – and its liberal meaning. The former view advocates for a collective and participative conception of the common, organized to neutralize all forms of domination between men, while the latter is associated with modern natural law, inscribing freedom on the horizon of the individual as a negative conception of the law.²² The result is a disjunction between the sphere of individual interests and public power, whose main function – by law – is to preserve differences within civil society and ensure the freedom of civil society. The ideal of non-interference as freedom, as proposed by Philip Pettit, characterizes this tenet.²³ The state must remain axiologically neutral and cannot intervene in matters of civil society, which is conceived as a sphere individual freedom and constant individual progression. Its main function, paradoxically, is to preserve the autonomy of individual interactions without postulating the notion of a common course or common good.

The second tenet is based on two ways of delineating of a community. A group can be defined by universal values, capable of embracing the whole of humanity. Alternatively, the boundaries of a community can be set by referring to its distinctive features. This thesis did not rely on this distinction in so far as it circumvented the question of identity – the

²² Clément Thibaud. *La naissance des premières républiques* p.12; Spitz Jean-Fabien, *La liberté politique. Essai de généalogie conceptuelle*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1995; Skinner Quentin, *Liberty before liberalism*, Cambridge; New York, Cambridge University Press, 1998.

²³ Philip Pettit, *Republicanism: Theory of Freedom and Government*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 80

topic is too large and of insufficient relevance to the purpose of the present study to dedicate a large segment to its study. It should be noted, however, that the contrasts proposed by republican bibliography are, above all, hermeneutic. While they may be considered anachronistic for the early nineteenth century, they have the merit of providing a solid foundation for the concept of republicanism as one which opposes and resists the liberal conception of liberty.²⁴

As shown by the example of the recent historiographical development bicentennial of the constitution of Cádiz in 2012, perceived as a liberal charter, it becomes evident that the central role it played in the political changes of the time serves to reinforce the perception of independence as a spectrum of liberal revolution. In that, it continues to mask the importance of the anticolonial issue in the republics and their peripheries.²⁵ This study has plotted the directories described by the historiography of republicanism by adding two forms that reflect, on the one hand, the long-desired continuity of the monarchy and, on the other hand, the radical difference between the latter and the political system once independence had been achieved. In the first place is the jurisdictional republic, which amortizes violence as a break with the past. In the second place is the exclusive republic, which found justification for end of the monarchy in the right to freedom of thought. Every republican meaning does not only describe a repertoire of values and ideas, but also presupposes practices of a – mostly – legal nature and a spectrum of symbolic actions, such as the destruction of monarchical signs. Moreover, by pluralizing the notion of republicanism, this thesis strives to shed the teleological bias implied by the republic's

²⁴ Clément Thibaud. "En búsqueda de un punto fijo para la república. El cesarismo liberal (Venezuela-Colombia, 1810-1830)." *Revista de Indias* 62.225 (2002): 463-492.

²⁵ Manuel Chust Calero. *La cuestión nacional americana en las Cortes de Cádiz (1810-1814)*. Vol. 2. Centro Francisco Tomás y Valiente UNED Alzira-Valencia, Fundación Instituto Historia Social, 1999.

necessary opposition to liberalism, as well as the limitations contained in this kind of dichotomy.²⁶



Figure 3: *Promulgation of the Constitution of 1812 in Cádiz, Spain*²⁷

How can events like the translation and divulgation of the Man's Rights Declaration by Antonio Nariño in New Granada in 1794 be integrated into the history of republicanism without falling into a flat, evolutionary conception? How should scholars think about the relative continuity between novel ideas and those of the revolutionary period? Should this 'republican project' be considered through a patriotic looking glass of history, or, should it, contrastingly, reject any affiliation to the Creole Enlightenment?²⁸ The first translation of the French Declaration of Independence of 1789 into Spanish was done by Nariño.²⁹

²⁶ Clément Thibaud. *La naissance des premières républiques modernes du monde hispanique: Terre-Ferme (1793-1816)* p. 14

²⁷ Salvador Viniegra. *Promulgacion de la Constitución de Cádiz, 1812*. Oil on canvas, 1912. Museo de las Cortes de Cádiz, Cádiz, Spain.

²⁸ Anthony McFarlane. *Identity, Enlightenment and Political Dissent in Late Colonial Spanish America*. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Vol. 8 1998, pp. 309

²⁹ Clément Thibaud. *La naissance des premières républiques modernes du monde hispanique: Terre-Ferme (1793-1816)* p. 14

There is the question of how knowledge of the contents of that document influenced the regions outside of the republican tradition in their adoption of the new method of state-building. The history of ideas alone is neither sufficient to answer this question, nor can it answer that of the intellectual connections between the Hispanic or Balkan revolutions and their American and French precedents.³⁰

Republicanism was not only of symbolic significance. If republicanism embodies the revolution, it is because it was operationalized as a connection between abstract and concrete themes and associated with the major issues of imperial coloniality or social issues like the status of the people. The emergence of these republican ventures in South America and the Balkans went far beyond the local context, instead drawing on the transatlantic dimension to implement change. This is so not only because the revolutionary measures referred to the great intellectual paradigms of antiquity that had travelled around the world and found foot on many continents, but also because republicanism was part and parcel of the particular problems encountered by strongly ethicized societies. These problems resulted from conquest, domination and, in the case of Colombia, its ‘discovery’ by the Spanish and the institution of slave trade and slavery.³¹

³⁰ François-Xavier Guerra, Lempérière Annick *et al.*, *Los espacios públicos en Iberoamérica. Ambigüedades y*

problemas. Siglos XVIII-XIX, Mexico, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1998.

³¹ Clément Thibaud. *La naissance des premières républiques modernes du monde hispanique: Terre-Ferme (1793-1816)* p. 353

2.2 Reception of Classicism, Enlightenment and their political thought in European periphery

The process of transmission, assimilation, and implementation of revolutionary ideas and reinterpretations of antiquity from the Enlightenment in spaces thousands of kilometers away from the foci from which these ideas emerged was a long and diverse process that could be classified following the direction of the exchanges made between center and periphery.³² Evidently, and for reasons of pure domination, the clearest examples of transference are given from the center to the periphery and were carried out both by colonial authorities and institutions, and by individuals or particular groups, which broadly had a political or scientific character.

Beginning with the European continent, during the eighteenth century with the search of an integral education and the revitalization of the ideals of the classical antiquity, the tradition of making a trip to the south of the Mediterranean to see the vestiges of the Greek civilizations were consolidated. Rome, this trip received the name of *Grand tour*.³³ These journeys of young intellectuals who marveled at the ruins and romanticized those who at that time inhabited the Italic and Balkan peninsulas would play a double role, in the first place they would lay the foundations of an ideological and intellectual apparatus based on the enlightened interpretation of classical antiquity and later they would help to position

³² Paschalis Kitromilides. *Enlightenment and Revolution. The making of Modern Greece*. Harvard University Press, London, 2013, 452 p. p. 15

³³ Lisa Colletta ed. *The Legacy of the Grand Tour: New Essays on Travel, Literature, and Culture* (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, London, 2015 p. X

the public opinion of the European powers in favor of the national and independence movements, especially during the Greek war of independence.³⁴

There were several of these educated young aristocrats to whom this trip to the places they considered the origin of their civilization did not fall within their range of interest. One of them was Alexander von Humboldt, who after receiving a liberal education and sciences in various parts of Europe, decided to embark on an ambitious expedition to the territories of Hispanic America. The experience of Humboldt in America, his studies on the continent and the contacts that in his passage through the different provinces he would do with characters that would later play a fundamental role during the processes of the independence of Spanish America.

In New Granada Humboldt had a close relationship with Francisco José of the members of the "Botanical Expedition" a scientific exercise but for economic purposes, led by the priest José Celestino Mutis and devised in the court of Madrid to catalog the flora of the Viceroyalty in the quest for new sources of resources such as the bark of the cinchona tree. Characters such as Francisco José de Caldas, Jorge Tadeo Lozano, and Antonio Nariño fascinated Humboldt with the natural riches of the new world and were fascinated by the ideas and scientific advances that the Prussian brought them from Europe.³⁵

It is easy to elucidate the intellectual transfers from Europe to its periphery through the traffic of ideas and intellectuals. But it is important to recall that it is especially in this period of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that the experiences and

³⁴ Jeremy Black *War in Europe: 1450 to the present* London: Bloomsbury Academic, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing. 2016. p. 161; David Howarth. *The Greek Adventure: Lord Byron and Other Eccentrics in the War of Independence*. London: Collins. 1976b

³⁵ Daniela Bleichmar. *Visible Empire: Botanical Expeditions & Visual Culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2012 p. 19

historical developments that took place in that western periphery would be tremendously influential, as is the case of the very concept of nationalism³⁶, which according to Benedict Anderson originates is in the new world and not in Europe.³⁷ At the same time, this periphery, represented in this work by Greece and Colombia, represented the glorious mirrors of a past reflected and built to the beat of the new times and the new opportunities of a world still considered as a new world in which new ideas could give their best fruits.

In any case, it was not the same to be a local "enlightened" and to undertake a trip from Spanish America or either from Ottoman Greece to Paris, London or Rome than to do it in the sense and with the opposite conditions. It is not the same either to embark on official expeditions, commissioned and sponsored by the central state towards the imperial territories than to do it from the periphery with the resources of the periphery and the defects that the same colonial system regarding social mobility imposed. Even so, the local elites, as in the Rumelia as in the New Granada, looked for the way to access those intellectual pleasures that the Enlightenment promised. For example, it should come as no surprise that, like the young people of European universities, the graduates of the American cloisters wanted to do the Grand Tour, although this was obviously reserved for the fortunate members of a sector of society that had the means to cover that trip.³⁸

This is how Simón Bolívar, the liberator of five nations, traveled in his youth to Rome and in an enlightened ecstasy proclaimed an oath on August 15, 1803, for the

³⁶ Charles Esdaile. *Las guerras de Napoleón: una historia internacional, 1803-1815* traducción castellana de Miguel Ángel Martín Mas. Barcelona: Crítica, 2009 p.11-13

³⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (2nd ed., London and New York, 1991, xiii; Anthony McFarlane. *Identity, Enlightenment and Political Dissent in Late Colonial Spanish America*. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Vol. 8 1998, pp. 309-335

³⁸ Renán Silva, *Los ilustrados de Nueva Granada 1760-1808. Genealogía de una comunidad de interpretación*. Medellín: Fondo Editorial EAFIT-Banco de la República, 2002, 674 p. p. 130-149

freedom of Hispanic America on the Monte Sacro.³⁹ But undoubtedly the most important example is that of Francisco de Miranda, one of the most interesting men of his time, without being of the highest social extract, his skills and charisma led him to fight for the King of Spain, with George Washington, and then he was general of the French Revolution writing his name in the *Arc de Triomphe*. In addition to a large transit through London and St. Petersburg, it was perhaps the first South American to visit the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁰ His visit to Attica marked him deeply to the point of buying a house in Athens and he felt that the search for the freedom of the Greeks was his own.

2.3 Republican experiences in the Age of Revolutions.

Because of the issues mentioned in the introduction regarding methodology, and historiographical perspective, it is not an easy task to make a comparative analysis of similar processes in remote spaces and different contexts, such as the post-Napoleonic revolutions analyzed in this work. This is the case of the independence struggles between empires and colonies in the early nineteenth century. The conflicts between the American colonies of several European empires are particularly striking. To the independence of the United States, confirmed by the result of the War of 1812 was added the surprising, sometimes overlooked, but fundamental independence of Haiti. Later, with the Napoleonic invasion to Spain, the rest of pro-independence insurrections throughout Spanish America in an almost simultaneous process and in which the independence of the New Granada, in

³⁹ John Lynch. *Simon Bolivar, A life*. New Haven – Londres. Yale University Press. 2006 349 p. 26

⁴⁰ Miguel Castillo Didier, *Grecia y Francisco de Miranda* Centro de Estudios Bizantinos y Neohelénicos “Fotios Malleros” Universidad de Chile, Santiago de Chile, 2002 317

the extreme north of the South America, would play a fundamental role for the liberation and later political configuration of the continent.⁴¹

The main and traditional republican examples of the whole period of the Age of Revolutions –having a substantial preponderance in the French and English historiography– are the revolutions of the 13 British colonies of North America in 1776 and the French revolution of 1789. Is in these experiences were the north republican tradition would be nurtured. Combined with the early modern cases in the seventeenth century of the Dutch United Provinces and England, they would conform the north republican tradition, a political configuration based in a protestant understanding of classical tradition and animadversion towards the Catholic church, what explains, as Judith Shklar stated, a continuity of thought from Machiavelli to Montesquieu and the founding Fathers of the United States.⁴²

Those revolutions used profusely the classical tradition to support their claims and establish the nature of their new political institutions. There is an intrinsic relation between the historical past and the literary corpus of the Greek and Roman world with the revolutionary processes of United States and France.⁴³ That would explain the big support in intellectual circles to the Greek revolution with the philhellene movement in those countries belonging to the north republican tradition. Nevertheless, classical tradition is a

⁴¹ Alan Forrest, (et. al) *War, Demobilization and Memory. The Legacy of War in the Era of Atlantic Revolutions*. New York, Palgrave Mcmillan, 2016 p.416

⁴² Judith Shklar, et al. "Montesquieu and the new republicanism." In: Gisela Bock, Quentin Skinner, and Maurizio Viroli, eds. *Machiavelli and republicanism*. Vol. 18. Cambridge University Press, 1993, p.265

⁴³ Gordon S. Wood. "Classical republicanism and the American Revolution." *Chicago. -Kent Law Review*. Rev. 66 (1990): 13

vast field were the elements and features of the ancient past could be picked capriciously and would be used arbitrarily to configure political languages and institutions.

As a clear example of that, it is interesting the rhetoric of the landowners of the South of United States during the Civil War used slavery as the essential foundation of a republican system, as it was in the Greco-Roman antiquity. John A. Quitman, a famous “fire-eater”(Southern democrats keen to slavery) would say in this context that “Domestic slavery is in harmony with, and almost indispensable to a constitutional republic”; and William Drayton, veteran of the 1812 war considered that “in the republics of Greece and Rome, were the spirit of freedom was cherished with the sternest devotion [...] slavery prevailed to such an extent that the bond doubled the men free”.⁴⁴

These traditions would enter in conflict with the social and historical contexts of other revolutions of this period. There is no need for a deep analysis of how Toussaint Louverture or Jean-Baptiste Belley, prominent figures of the undervalued Haitian Revolution that would help to establish a republic of freed slaves in 1805, would react to the comments of Quitman and Drayton.⁴⁵ Hence the need to consider or frame a new definition for the republican institutions in the revolutions of this period where due to their own context, cannot be integrated to this republican tradition and should be understood in their own terms.

⁴⁴Hudson Meadwell, “Republicanism and political communities in America and Europe” In: Paschalis Kitromilides. *From Republican Polity to National Community: Reconsiderations of Enlightenment Political Thought*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2003 p.240

⁴⁵Maurice Jackson, and Jacqueline Bacon. *African Americans and the Haitian revolution: selected essays and historical documents*. Routledge, 2013 p.42; Horne, Gerald. *Confronting Black Jacobins: The US, the Haitian Revolution, and the Origins of the Dominican Republic*. NYU Press, 2015 p. 103-125

In the same way and focusing in the case studies of this thesis, a new platform is necessary to rethink the origin of the independent Colombian state in the early nineteenth century. This event continues to be an important historiographic reef and still little explored from the lenses of the latest historiographic tendencies. To some extent, the period of independence is still perceived as a history of monolithic heroes. In spite of being the founding event of the Colombian nation state and despite being the most worked topic by the historiography from the moment of its culmination, the independence of Colombia is still a wide field of study in which there are more doubts than certainties and where the frontier for the historiographical debate and research is more than open. In the most recent scientific publications⁴⁶ Emphasis is placed on the historiographical gaps that still need to be analyzed.

Nor has there been enough insistence on the aspect that today we could call geopolitical, with its appearance in the context of the end of the Napoleonic wars and the Holy Alliance. Thus, at a hemispheric and global level, Great Colombia played a central role in defining the national and republican project in the Atlantic world. On the other hand, the history of Colombia has not really been integrated into the study of the great commercial transformations that accompanied the dissolution of the Atlantic empires, the links between diplomacy and trade are a field that still deserves more attention. To configure the historiographical problem with this, the transformations in the workforce, the abolition of slavery and the redefinition of indigenous identities, all around the proposals on equality and freedom. And although the list is longer, the objective in this chapter was to frame the context where the different discursive uses that classical antiquity had, in the

⁴⁶ Marcela Echeverri, et al. *Editorial. La invención de la república: la Gran Colombia* Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura (2018), 45 (2):17 p.27

quest for a republican system during the Colombian and Greek independence processes. However, the purpose of analyzing both cases, is the matter of the following chapters.



Figure 4: Oath to the flag of the State of the Republic of Cundinamarca by Antonio Nariño in the Church of Saint Augustine in Santafé de Bogotá, July 1813⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Francisco Antonio Cano. *El juramento de la bandera de Cundinamarca* (Triptych, oil on canvas, 1913, National Museum of Colombia.

TWILIGHT OF EMPIRES: THE SPANISH AND OTTOMAN EMPIRES DURING THE AGE OF REVOLUTIONS

'But it is not enough, Gentlemen, to be independent to be happy. Spain was independent under the arbitrary rule of Ferdinand [VII] and Turkey is independent under that of the Sultan of Constantinople. [...] To you, Sirs, is especially responsible for the work of our regeneration, of our inner freedom and of our future happiness.'
Antonio Nariño⁴⁸

Around the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the transcontinental Ottoman and Spanish empires, with a shared history of formation, growth, confrontation and decline, were both bordering on the perimeters of the Mediterranean Sea. It is in these spaces that the revolutions studied here were birthed. Hence, it is important to create a map of the situation these two empires were in – a situation where both were trying to redesign their major institutions and where they had reestablished their commercial and diplomatic relations in 1782. The latter lasted throughout the Age of Revolutions.⁴⁹ The processes of independence of Greece and Colombia share a past of domination spanning several centuries, a struggle for freedom inspired by foreign ideas but implemented with local characteristics, and the introduction of a political language that allowed them to move towards political modernity. However, as suggested by Antonio Nariño in the introductory quote of this chapter, independence was not unknown to the main protagonists of this analysis. This chapter will provide an overview over some of the main shared

⁴⁸ Antonio Nariño, "Speech of installation of the congress of Cúcuta, in his condition of interim vice president of the Republic. Villa del Rosario de Cúcuta, May 6, 1821" in: *La construcción de la república*. Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Colección Bicentenario., Bogotá, 2010 p.14

⁴⁹ Hüseyin Serdar Tabakoğlu. "The Re-Establishment of the Ottoman-Spanish Relations in 1782." *Turkish Studies: International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic* (2007): 496-524; Hüseyin Serdar Tabakoğlu. "The Impact of the French Revolution on the Ottoman-Spanish Relations." *Electronic Turkish Studies* 3.1 (2008).

characteristics of the imperial, transnational and local actors during the Age of Revolutions in the Spanish and Ottoman domains.

3.1 Connection and Similarities between the Ottoman and Spanish Empires

Within the current historiographic tendencies regarding empires there are three general tendencies, two of which will be considered in this work. The first is that the comparative analyses between empires continue to be grouped around the East and West dichotomy. Therefore, studies that combine and merge Eastern and Western imperial experiences continue to be an exception. The lack of such research is another justification for the expansion of this work in general and for this chapter in particular. The second tendency is the little attention that is still paid to the relationship between nation state and empire.⁵⁰ The Spanish and Ottoman case are particularly well-suited for an analysis of the processes by which the Empires deformed of national communities located within their imperial territories, which, in the cases studied by this thesis, led to the process of decolonization and the struggles for independence of Colombia and Greece.

The Spanish and Ottoman Empire can be positioned within a premodern definition of empire, in which this form of government is considered as a political entity which responds to a central power with a variety of direct and indirect relations, established politically and militarily, and where the hierarchies that exercise political control differ ethnically and geographically.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Jörn Leonhard, and Ulrike von Hirschhausen, eds. *Comparing Empires: Encounters and transfers in the long nineteenth century*. Göttingen and Oakville: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011 p.15-16

⁵¹ Peter Crooks, and Timothy H. Parsons, eds. *Empires and Bureaucracy in World History: From Late Antiquity to the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge University Press, 2016 p.15-16; Barkey, Karen. *Empire of difference: The Ottomans in comparative perspective*. Cambridge University Press, 2008.

According to Marc Bloch and William Sewell, the comparative method can be used for two equally important purposes in history: To discover the uniqueness of different societies and to formulate problems for historical research.⁵² It is interesting to see the parallels between the divisions and losses of territory and control in the Ottoman and Spanish empires, who were in turn protagonists and antagonists of world history for centuries. Each of these empires went through a phase of expansion whose results were surprising to all their contemporaries, and both also had their respective "Golden Age". Further, both considered themselves a representative and savior of the faith they represented, and for this and other reasons related to religion, the Spanish and the Ottoman empires clashed directly on more than one occasion.

In short, the similarities and examples in which they reflect each other are sometimes discarded by the structural differences of both imperial experiences, especially when their development is compared with that of other empires, either the French or English one in the Spanish case; and the Russian or Safavid in the case of the Ottoman Empire.⁵³ This premeditated ignorance of the other is reflected in the (lack of) historiographical production in Spanish or Turkish language on the history of the Ottoman Empire and its relationship with the Spanish, and vice versa.

Nevertheless, the above are not completely symmetrical processes, and there are substantial differences that imply different developments in the construction of the later Colombian and Greek states. The fundamental difference is the geopolitical location of

⁵² William Sewell. 'Marc Bloch and the logic of comparative history', *History and Theory*, 6 (1967), 208-218 p.208

⁵³ Examples of these comparisons are Karen Barkey. *Empire of difference: The Ottomans in comparative perspective*. Cambridge University Press, 2008; and John Elliott. *Empires of the Atlantic world: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830*. Yale University Press, 2007.

both processes and the historical burden that both regions carried, creating issues that would then condition the development and intensity of both war experiences. The position of the primitive Greek state and of the rebels who constituted it was clearly in much more jeopardy than that of their revolutionary peers in New Granada.⁵⁴ The imperial authority of Sultan Mahmud II, against whom they rebelled, was not to an ocean and thousands of kilometers away, nor was the sultan absent, like it was the case with Ferdinand VII in the Americas. Further, Greece derived from its strategic position the support, and direct intervention of other European powers who got involved in the Greek revolution, something that can hardly be compared with the Colombian case.

The Spanish Empire was indeed very distinct from the Ottoman Empire, which from the time of its very genesis and by the very nature of the peoples who inhabited its conquered territories and who, for the most part, had been inhabiting these regions for centuries before the arrival of the Turks in their land, configured a *millet* system⁵⁵ in which the people subjected to the sultan were protected by his authority, and allowed to keep their basic traditions, language and religion. This was what allowed the Sublime Gate to govern for centuries over a vast multiethnic and multi-religious territory. The Greek revolution, whose leaders and elites were inspired by the new concept of nationalism that had been derived from the French revolution, sought at all costs to break this *millet* system and to group all the once-Ottoman *millet i-Rum* – including the entire Grecophone, Orthodox Christian population of the Ottoman Empire – in a new, independent state.

⁵⁴ Petros Pisanias et. al. *The Greek Revolution of 1821: a European Event* Isis Press, Istanbul: 2011 p.257-258

⁵⁵ The term *millet* refers to "nation" in the Turkish language.

This is the case of the conflicts between empires and colonies in the early nineteenth century, where colonies were taken up in the pursuit of their independences. The struggles for independence of the American colonies from several European empires are particularly striking. To the independence of the United States, confirmed by the result of the war of 1812, was added the surprising, sometimes overlooked, but tremendously important independence of Haiti. But specially, with the Napoleonic invasion to Spain, the rest of pro-independence insurrections throughout Spanish America in a simultaneous process, in which the independence of the New Granada, in the extreme north of the South America, would play a fundamental role for the liberation and later political configuration of the continent.⁵⁶

At the same time and due to the commotion that the Napoleonic invasion of its territory in 1798 had caused, the Ottoman Empire started to really suffer a territorial decline that had been accentuated since its defeat in the Russo-Turkish war of 1774. In 1798, France, its greatest ally in Western Europe for centuries, invaded Egypt and then Syria. In 1806, the Ottoman sultan was facing the rebellion of the Wahabbite religious fanatics in Arabia⁵⁷, and starting in the late eighteenth century, important parts of the empire were governed by autonomous administrations that often defied the authority of the Sublime Gate. Both Ali Pasha, the so-called "Lion of Ioannina" and Mehmet Ali, the Ottoman governor of Egypt who was born in Greece but of Albanian origin and who tried to reform

⁵⁶ Alan Forrest, (et. al) *War, Demobilization and Memory. The Legacy of War in the Era of Atlantic Revolutions*. New York, Palgrave Mcmillan, 2016 416;

⁵⁷ Efraim Karsh, Inari Karsh. *Empires of the sand: the struggle for mastery in the Middle East, 1789-1923* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1995. 426 p. p.12

the troops defeated by Napoleon in the battle of the Pyramids, aided the Sultan in suppressing the rebellion that would ignite in the Greek War of Independence.⁵⁸

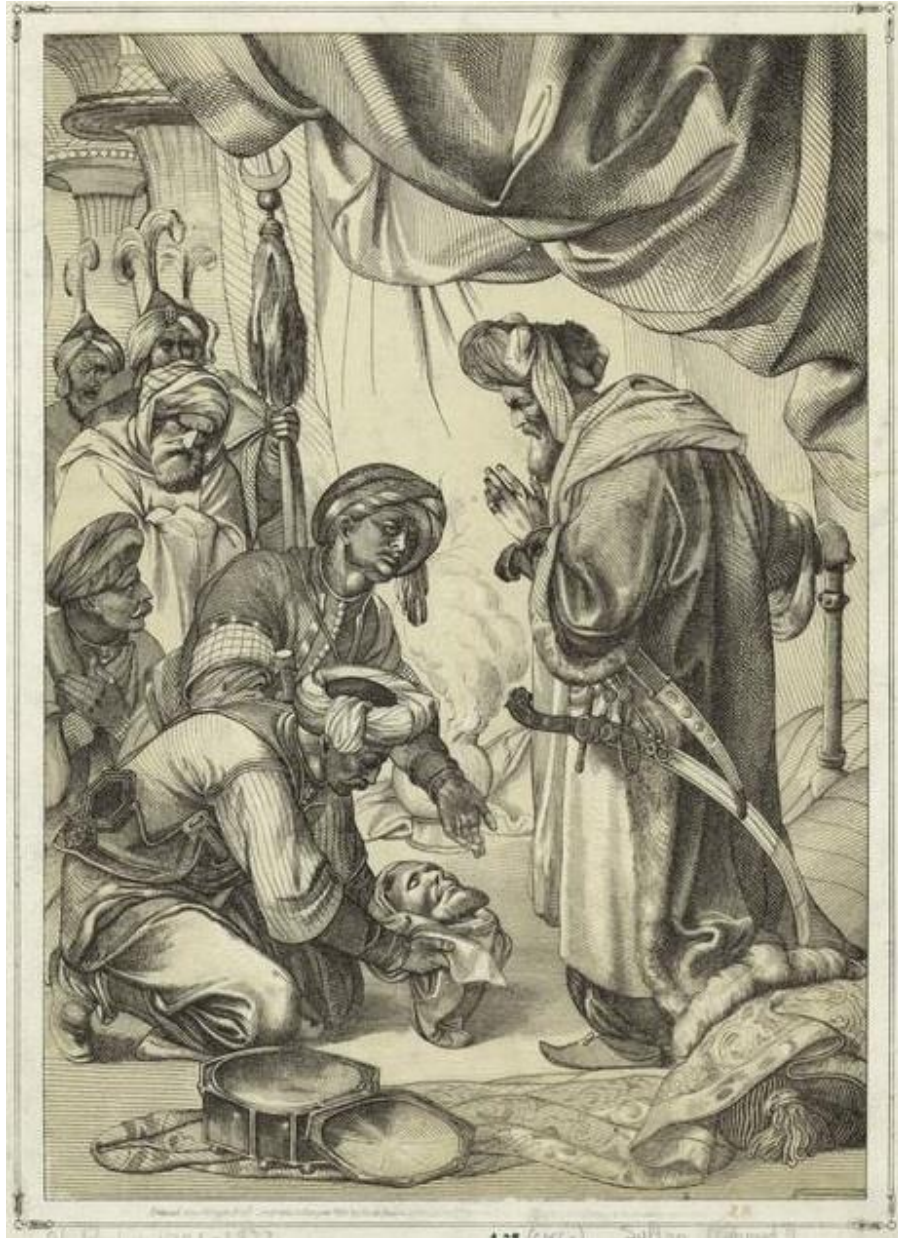


Figure 5: The head of Ali Pasha, "The Lion of Ioannina" is presented to the Sultan Murad II in Istanbul⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Ali Yaycioglu. *Partners of the empire: The crisis of the Ottoman order in the age of revolutions*. Stanford University Press, 2016 p. 182

⁵⁹ Peter Johann Nepomuk Geiger. *Der vom Körper getrennte Kopf des Ali Pascha Tepelena wird in einer feierlichen Audienz dem Sultan Mahmud II überliefert. Memorabilien aus der Europäischen Geschichte für*

3.2 Unsuccessful Reformation Attempts: National Uprisings and Trans-Imperial

Agents

The imperial dimension did not include the institutions controlled directly by Madrid and Constantinople. The imperial vicissitudes manifested at various levels and positions: from the centers of power to the orders and reforms decreed by the rulers of both empires during this period, passing through other powerful – though ephemeral – institutions like the Congress of Vienna, touching individuals and influential groups such as Francisco de Miranda, Lord Byron, the secret societies and the Masonic lodges, and even the local elites and leaders like Ali Pasha from Ioannina and Mehmet Ali from Kavala, who would play an important role in the later revolutions.⁶⁰

The revolutionaries sought to reform the imperial institutions both in the center and in the periphery in order to right the defeats and setbacks suffered in the previous decades. The latter had initiated the long and steady decline of both empires and contributed to their increasingly smaller role in the international concert. After the war of Spanish succession, the new dynasty of the Bourbons tried to modernize their institutions and restructure their economic activities by sending several scientific expeditions out to Spain's threatened domains.⁶¹ A similar process, but with different guiding principles and causes, was developing in the Ottoman Empire. The territorial losses and the increasingly frequent tacit autonomy in the provinces forced sultans like Selim III and Mahmud II to look for a way

anziehende Weltbegebenheiten, ausgezeichnete Grossthaten, Würdigung der Verdienste von berühmten Männern etc. Aus mehreren Jahrhunderten gesammelt. 2 Bände. Mit insgesamt 96 getönten Federlithographien von Johann Nepomuk Geiger auf Tafeln, New York ca. 1860.

⁶⁰ Christine Philliou, M. *Biography of an empire: Governing Ottomans in an age of revolution*. University of California Press, 2011, p.120-123

⁶¹ Helen Cowie. *Conquering nature in Spain and its empire, 1750–1850*. Manchester University Press, 2017, p.36

to oxygenate the imperial muscle. The sultans and their political advisors tried to create new institutions like the *Nizam-I Cedit* (New Military Corps) and dissolve others, especially the Janissars. Once considered a glorious military unit, they had become a burden for the empire. Disapproval of them ran so deep that their annihilation in 1826 was considered a "Auspicious Event".⁶²

The Congress of Vienna sought a solution for the restoration of power and the functioning of the Spanish monarchy with equal amounts of apathy and despair. It was not only interested in the restoration of Fernando VII, but also harbored intentions to recover the American colonies. The latter had enjoyed unprecedented economic autonomy since the Napoleonic invasion to the Iberian Peninsula and partnered up with new trading partners like the United States and Great Britain. The Congress decided that Russia should furnish ships to be used for an expeditionary force designed to reconquer the colonies. This endeavor failed dramatically, and Spain remained indebted to Russia, who provided the fleet, for almost four decades. A direct consequence of this failed mission was the liberal Revolution in Spain by General Riego in 1820. which alerted the Congress of Vienna to the possibilities of revolutions taking place at their immediate doorstep.⁶³

The independencies analyzed here, shaped by personalities such as the revolutionary forerunner Francisco de Miranda, and connected via a wide network of masonic lodges, formed part of the same intercontinental system of revolutions that the old regimes suffered south of the American and European continent.⁶⁴ De Miranda, who, like

⁶² Ali Yaycioglu. *Partners of the empire: The crisis of the Ottoman order in the age of revolutions* p.229

⁶³ Mark Jarrett. *The Congress of Vienna and its legacy: war and great power diplomacy after Napoleon*. Vol. 80. IB Tauris, 2013 p. 224-228

⁶⁴ Jan Nederveen Pieterse. *Empire & emancipation: power and liberation on a world scale*, p.135

Lord Byron a generation later, embodied the romantic exile: a charismatic and cultured personality, whose adventures influenced his group of followers and adventurers who sought to satisfy their thirst for emotion and romanticism by participating in the post-Napoleonic revolutions. The same holds true for the Philhellenes in Greece⁶⁵ Apart from in the individual dimension, this transnationalism was also reflected in the formation of secret societies which were considered enemies of the central power, where the ideals of classical antiquity and republicanism flourished. Examples of such societies are the *Sociedad de Amigos del País*. (Friends of the Country) in Colombia and the Φιλική Εταιρεία (Friendship Society) in Greece.⁶⁶

3.3 A Matter of Loyalty and Virtue: Fighting under the Banner of Religion, Empire and Nation during the Age of Revolutions

One of the important similar features between empires and revolutions pertains to the religion, and specifically the role Catholic and Orthodox institutions played in the processes of independence of Colombia and Greece, respectively. The actions of the religious institutions in revolutionary times can be divided chronologically into two parts. The first addresses how the church was simultaneously an engine, actor, and promoter of the ideas of political and intellectual modernity during the Age of Revolutions in the two cases analyzed by this study. The second looks at how religious institutions reacted and were transformed to be able to meet the challenge that new concepts like that of a republic or independent nation posed to the role of the church as the single cohesive element that

⁶⁵ Omar F. Miranda. "The Celebrity of Exilic Romance: Francisco de Miranda and Lord Byron." *European Romantic Review* 27.2 (2016): 207-231.

⁶⁶ Gilberto Loaiza Cano. "Hombres de sociedades (masonería y sociabilidad político-intelectual en Colombia e Hispanoamérica durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX)." *Historia y Espacio* 17 (2018): 93-131; Brewer, David. *The Greek War of Independence: The Struggle for Freedom and the Birth of Modern Greece*. Abrams, 2011.

held the different levels of society together during the first decades of the nineteenth century.

However, there are some fundamental differences between these revolutions that inform their comparison, the most predominant being religious and linguistic divergences. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Spanish colonial system had achieved considerable homogeneity in its territories by enforcing the implementation of their own language, beliefs, and customs in the American continent. Despite the ethnic and linguistic diversity, even when it increased with the arrival of African slaves that added their numbers to the European and indigenous population, the American colonial society was uniformly Catholic and Spanish-speaking. Yet, the latter were enriched by centuries of syncretism in faith as in speech. Homogeneity was such an inherent component of life that the leaders of the revolution did not think, seek or attempt to undo it.⁶⁷

Despite the differences, both revolutions in the nineteenth century tried to follow the general principles of the first cycle of revolutions that had taken place in the eighteenth century. Especially regarding religious matters, called political sacralization by Emilio Gentile, the first stage of the conformation of the new states could be seen as the introduction of a new civil religion.⁶⁸ The leaders of both the Colombian and Greek revolutions sought to ground the new political and social order that replaced centennial structures of coercion with cohesion and the loyalties of the new citizens around the concept of 'nation'. The revolutionary leaders were, to a certain extent, responding to a

⁶⁷ The *Real Cedula* (Royal Decree) of 1770 prohibited any other language besides Spanish in the colonial domains of Spain, see: Heréndira Téllez Nieto. "'Vindicias de la verdad' de fray Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa: Un tratado sobre políticas lingüísticas en la Nueva España (siglo XVIII)". *Relaciones. Estudios de historia y sociedad*, 2014, 35.140: 129-153

⁶⁸ Emilio Gentile. *Politics as religion*. Princeton University Press, 2006 p. 28-29

process of secularization, which might be better understood as a disengagement from the social power of the church or even as a direct replacement of one faith dogma by another, where Christianity was substituted with the 'nation', and where the independent states chose their own martyrs figures and created their own their religious celebrations and sacred texts.

The outcome of this processes was the establishment of civil religion as a central feature of the new political modernity. Several new rituals, institutions and martyrology emerged that conferred the status of something sacred to democracy. It was a common outcome of all the revolutions of the period that the intellectual process of the Enlightenment brought new institutions to the political table, which were then maintained by the common devotion and loyalty of the people what these institutions represented and were supposed to deliver: a quest for the benefic state of the motherland through democracy. Personal interests were subordinated to the institutional and common interests.⁶⁹

While it may sound paradoxical, the origin of the dreams of independence and the genesis of a national conscience in Colombia is very likely to be found within the colonial Catholic church of the Spanish Empire. It was in the chairs of the colleges and universities of the Viceroyalty of the New Kingdom of Granada where the enlightened ideas and the texts of the French encyclopedists were distributed and taught by a clergy conscious of the cognitive value of these texts, which then germinated and took root in the minds of the students, many of whom would later become the leaders of the independence struggle,

⁶⁹ Emilio Gentile. *Politics as religion* p.19-20

considering it both a political and scientific movement born out of the ideals of the French Enlightenment.⁷⁰

This is the case for figures such as Jose Celestino Mutis, a Dominican cleric and consummate botanist who was close to other great scientific personalities of the time, like Carl Nilsson Linnæus or Alexander von Humboldt. Mutis and other priests like Jose Felix de Restrepo would pen letters on the sciences, laws and the ideals of Enlightenment of the Creole elite that dominated the first years of the Colombian independence movement up until the Spanish reconquest in 1816.⁷¹

However, the almost teleological line that can be traced when trying to locate the origins of the Colombian independence is easily discernible. It lies in where the ideas of reform, secularism, and Enlightenment, coming from Europe, first generated a break with the stagnant colonial institutions, within which the Catholic Church had a fundamental preponderance. This perspective does not allow for a clear understanding of why the attempt of forming a civil religion did not succeed, and why Catholicism was reinforced as state religion after Colombian independence. The religious fervor in the Catholic Colombian state stands in direct opposition to developments in Mexico or in other countries of South America.⁷² Contrary to Colombia, in these countries, there was a violent separation of church and state, followed by the confiscation of church property and a secularization of education – something that never happened in Colombia

⁷⁰ John R. Fisher, Allan J. Kuethe and Anthony McFarlane (eds), *Reform and Insurrection in Bourbon New Granada and Peru* Baton Rouge, LA, 1990, p. 5; Paquette, Gabriel, ed. *Enlightened reform in Southern Europe and its Atlantic colonies, c. 1750-1830*. Routledge, 2016 P. 318

⁷¹ Renán Silva. *Los ilustrados de Nueva Granada, 1760-1808: genealogía de una comunidad de interpretación*. Eafit University, 2002. P. 161

⁷² Luis Javier Ortiz Mesa. "La Iglesia católica y la formación del Estado-nación en América Latina en el siglo XIX. El caso colombiano." *Almanack* 1.6 (2013). P. 7

Regarding the Greek revolution, it must be noted that the Greek Orthodox Church is perhaps one of the fundamental pillars of the modern Greek nation. While its history is tragically linked to the development of the revolution, the religious, political and academic institutions have – over the two centuries that have elapsed since March 25, 1821 – to a certain extent overestimated the degree to which the Orthodox Church was involved in the process of Greek emancipation against Ottoman rule. Not all the members of the Orthodox Church shared the fate of Patriarch Gregory V, who was hanged in the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1821. While the Greek Orthodox conception generally gave priority to the Byzantine past over other ideological devices and political conceptualizations based on the Antiquity or the Enlightenment, not all of Greek Orthodoxy were supporters of a new state based on non-secular ideals.⁷³

Irrespective of its nature as an institution that was under the command and protection of a non-Christian authority, the church of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople had an essential function in the generation of the intellectual terrain that would foster the Greek revolutionary and independence consciousness. At first glance, it seems that the patriarchy of the Greek church was just an institution used by the Ottoman sultan to control the loyalty of its non-Muslim subjects. However, despite its appearance as captive of the Ottoman Empire, the Greek Orthodox Church and the institution of patriarchy are the present entities in Southeast Europe, having existed much longer than any empire or state.⁷⁴ The Greek Orthodox Church allowed figures such as Evgenios Voulgaris, Iosipos Moisiodax or Ignatius of Ungrowallachia, who generated a pro-

⁷³ David Ricks, and Paul Magdalino. *Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity*. Aldershot: Ashgate, c1998. p. 3

⁷⁴ Kitromilides, Paschalis. *Religion and Politics in the Orthodox World: The Ecumenical Patriarchate in the Modern Age*. Routledge, 2018. P 25

independence environment in the educated Greek elite circles, to openly proclaim their ideas of the Enlightenment, while at the same time professing its loyalty to the Sublime Porte in its function as both an institution of the sultanate and a Church.⁷⁵

This analysis of transformations of imperial and transnational institutions during the Age of Revolutions can increase the understanding of the political and intellectual conditions of the Colombian and Greek revolutions. The problem of religion and the role of the Catholic and Orthodox Church in the processes of national formation in Colombia and Greece should be reevaluated. The traditional conception that the clergy did not play an important role in the diffusion and nurturing of revolutionary ideas, which then generated a national and independentist conscience, should be reconsidered. The current conception gives the whole agency in the formation of a national consciousness to the application of enlightened and liberal ideas from European countries to the local contexts, and to the local elites that represented these ideas. This is a flawed conception and should, for the sake of historic accuracy, be revised. In the same way, the importance given to the religious elements in the resolution in both wars of independence, whereby religion had little importance in the Colombian case and was fundamental in the Greek case, should be investigated in a more critical way.

The challenge is, as Kitromilides states, to accomplish a revision of the traditional national or secular historiographies, and to discuss and eradicate the misconceptions that have been nurtured by previous literature about the role of the church in the emancipation

⁷⁵ Paschalis Kitromilides *Religion and Politics in the Orthodox World: The Ecumenical Patriarchate in the Modern Age* p. 29

process.⁷⁶ In trying to understand the transformation, assimilation and combination of Christian ideals – whether Catholic in its South American version or Orthodox in its Balkan form – with the new concepts of political modernity, scholars must take into account factors that challenged the status of religious institutions in those two countries.

⁷⁶ Paschalis Kitromilides, *Religion and Politics in the Orthodox World: The Ecumenical Patriarchate in the Modern Age*, P. 3



Figure 6: Map of the European possessions of the Ottoman Empire in 1825⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Wilhelm Ernst Schlieben. *V.1:1-5: II: Türkei. Das Türkische Reich in Europa* in: *Atlas von Europa nebst den Kolonien: Zweite Lieferung. Königreich Frankreich. II. Heft.* Leipzig, 1825.

REPUBLIC, REPUBLICANISM AND CLASSICAL RECEPTION IN THE INDEPENDENCE PROCESS OF COLOMBIA

'Let us take from Athens its Areopagus, and the guardians of customs and Laws; let us take from Rome their censors and their domestic courts [...] Let us take from Sparta their austere establishments and forming from these three springs a source of virtue, let us give our Republic a fourth power whose dominion is childhood and the heart of men, public spirit, good morals, and Republican morality.'

Simón Bolívar⁷⁸

One of the central axes of the events of the Age of Revolutions was the process of emancipation and transformation of the Spanish colonial territories in America into independent states. Despite being generally overlooked by anglophone historiography, it is an extremely important process and deeply connected to the other revolutions of the period.⁷⁹ Given this connection, this period produced the historical moment in which the people on almost a fifth of the earth's territory embarked on a quest for decolonization and formation of national states. These states based their revolutions on the political thought of the Enlightenment, on the experiences of previous revolutions in the United States, France and Haiti, or generated a combination of their own. The latter were generally better adapted to the local environment and context. The South American and Balkan revolutions subsequently influenced other revolutions, and nation state formations, in Europe.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Simón Bolívar. Angostura Address, delivered in the Congress of Angostura (Nowadays Ciudad Bolívar, Venezuela) on February 15, 1819 Full text in: *Pensamiento Político de Simón Bolívar*. Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Colección Bicentenario., Bogotá, 2010 p.90

⁷⁹ Matthew Brown. "The global history of Latin America." *Journal of Global History* 10.3 (2015): 365-386 p. 378

⁸⁰ Matthew Brown, and Gabriel Paquette, eds. *Connections after colonialism: Europe and Latin America in the 1820s*. University of Alabama Press, 2013 p.103-104

The epigraph of this chapter is an excerpt from one of the most famous speeches by Simón Bolívar, who was the liberator of five countries, namely Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, and embodied the emancipation of the Spanish colonies in America like no other. The quote is an example of how deeply rooted the classic culture was in the political vocabulary of the Creole (*Criollos*) elites that sought to achieve the secession of the colonies from the Spanish Empire and the construction of a new political order in the "New World".⁸¹ This new configuration was constructed from diverse forms of government, ranging from monarchical and imperial systems to the most radical republicanism. The use of examples of classical antiquity in the formation of these political ideals during the independence process of Colombia is the subject of this chapter.

The conceptual periodization of republicanism in Colombia can be divided into three segments. The earliest one is the period of the first republic, active from 1808 to 1810, which understood sovereignty in the sense of the eighteenth century in that power was enshrined in the monarch. The next segment saw the problematic transfer of power from the monarchy to the "nation" at the time of the Colombian declaration of independence in 1810, as well as the Spanish reconquest in 1816, caused by the uncertainty rooted in events occurring in Europe. The latter reconfigured the make-up of the Americas in different ways, but mostly in the form of autonomous boards, which later morphed into the institutions of government in America. The third and last segment ranges from 1816 to approximately 1830 and bore witness to the birth of American sovereignty and the rejection of the Spanish monarchy. Further, another important development ongoing during this

⁸¹ The term *criollo* referred in the nineteenth century to the Spanish citizen born in America, from Peninsular parents. It represented the most powerful racial cast of the colonies just before the Spaniards from Spain. Having the right to receive education and hold places in the colonial administration.

time period, was the radicalization of the definition of 'new order' by changing the desired goal form of the nation to that of an independent republic.⁸²

4.1 Bourbon Reforms, Science, Nature and the Arrival of Enlightenment in New Granada

The news that the political landscape in the old world had been changing since the late eighteenth century that arrived in America, and specifically to the Viceroyalty of New Granada, was cause for a mixture of concern, excitement and curiosity. This curiosity materialized in the Colombian war of independence, which went from being a protagonist in the founding myth of the nation, to being, as Germán Colmenares would say, a "historiographical prison" where new perspectives are stranded to the traditional narrative.⁸³ It is necessary to rethink the origin of the independent Colombian state, which continues to be an important historiographic event that is, to date, still little explored, from a different vantage point. To some extent, the period of independence from 1810 to 1819, is still perceived as a history of monolithic heroes. In spite of being the founding event of the Colombian state and the most heavily researched topic in the national historiography, the independence of Colombia is still a wasteland of study in which more issues remain unaddressed than addressed. As per some recent scientific publications, there are vagrant historiographical gaps that still need be analyzed.⁸⁴

⁸² Francisco A Ortega, et al. *Conceptos fundamentales de la cultura política de la Independencia*. p. 199-200

⁸³ Germán Colmenares. *"Las Convenciones Contra la Cultura Ensayos Sobre la Historiografía Hispanoamericana Del Siglo Xix."* Ediciones Tercer Mundo, Bogotá, 1989.

⁸⁴ Marcela Echeverri, et al. *Editorial. La invención de la república: la Gran Colombia* Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura (2018), 45 (2):17 p.27

Latin American political history needs to be understood in its own terms and as part of that wider history.⁸⁵ Therefore, because the case of Colombia generally follows the development of republicanism as a concept, the issue of the unstable politics of the nineteenth century must be addressed not only as a part of the history of the Colombian region but as part of the history of the concept of *republic* itself. Spanish America showed some of the main traits of political modernization before other world regions did. Further, Colombia also had whole group of specific features that need to be understood on their own terms, like *caudillismo* (warlordism), or the racial tension between the *criollos* (creole), black and indigenous population groups, which can provide an insight into the intense struggle surrounding the process of nation building and state politics of the nineteenth century⁸⁶

In contrast to the long scholarly tradition that considers the revolutions as a typically Spanish American and premodern form of resistance, the Argentinian historian Hilda Sabato posits in her latest book that the independences actually formed part of the new political practices that were in formation during the so called Age of Revolutions in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁸⁷ The Spanish American experience in general, and the Neogranadino/Colombian in particular, are an important part of political modernity and the history of political thought, and the need to place these experiences into a global context should be more strongly emphasized, especially within the field of the wider history of republicanism.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Hilda Sabato. *Republics of the New World: The Revolutionary Political Experiment in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018. xii, 220 p. 23 cm p. 7

⁸⁶ Hilda Sabato. *Republics of the New World*: p.8

⁸⁷ Hilda Sabato. *Republics of the New World*: p. 13

⁸⁸ Hilda Sabato. *Republics of the New World*: p. 21

At the bicentennial of the Colombian independence around the beginning of the 21st century, research on political histories had focused on the perception of the figure of the citizen and the latter's preponderant role in the new political culture as the fundamental spring in the constitution of the polysemic concept of "people"⁸⁹ Since then, many new designations have been added to the political language, pertaining to all levels and strata of society. However, the terms and concepts used by the Neogranadinos in the late eighteenth century, such as people, sovereignty, majesty, republic and nation will forever be in the mouths, minds and literary productions of the contemporary Colombians, and all other peoples of the world.

To the problems with the transformation of the context and political vocabulary during the process of emancipation in the New World counts that the obvious and teleological concept of the mere and unilateral importation of ideas from Europe, could no longer resist a discussion. Back then, the mere reading and reception of ideas and texts from Europe could not generate the necessary environment for the insurrection of the Spanish colonial territories in America.⁹⁰ Two questions have been posed about this development. The first one came from Clement Thibaud, who inquired whether there was an increased process of politicization since the 1790s, which to the events of 1808. The other question, asked by Georges Lomné, a French historian, pertained to the causes of independence and wondered whether they had been inspired by the ideas of others, or whether the independence processes had first been kicked off in 1808.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Francisco A Ortega, et al. *Conceptos fundamentales de la cultura política de la Independencia*. p. 12

⁹⁰ Francisco A Ortega, et al. *Conceptos fundamentales de la cultura política de la Independencia*. p. 21

⁹¹ Clément Thibaud. *Républiques en armes: les armées de Bolívar dans les guerres d'indépendance du Venezuela et de la Colombie*. PU Rennes, 2006. Lomné, Georges. "De la" República" y otras repúblicas: la regeneración de un concepto." *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 45 (2008): 275-296.

The Neogranadinos had understood that direct democracy had only yielded positive results only in the smaller ancient republics, and that these results were not replicable in times of tumult and in larger states. For that reason and to alleviate the constant deliberation on the issue of popular sovereignty, New Granada instituted a representative democracy in which the group that took the reins of that representation could actively participate in the political sphere. This group embodied the first political elites of New Granada.⁹² As explained by Antonio Annino, sovereignty had two important functions during the independence process. At the beginning of the Spanish-American revolutions, it occupied a conjunctural role that legitimized the right to equal participation of the American political bodies, the peoples, in politics, which was a right similar to that of the people on the peninsular similes. Later, it served as the foundation for the structuring of the new republican state.⁹³

It is important to keep in mind that classical culture in Spanish America and in its subsequent independent states was filtered by the Latin and the Iberian world. The fact that Spanish America inherited the cultural baggage that represented the Roman domination of the peninsula is a direct and indivisible consequence of this filter.⁹⁴ The reception of the classical world and the way in which Neoclassicism was configured, is a dichotomy between Greek and Latin, where, during the process of the independence, New Granada leaned towards the political and literary tradition of the latter.

⁹² Francisco A Ortega, et al. *Conceptos fundamentales de la cultura política de la Independencia*. p 256

⁹³ Antonio Annino, and Guerra François-Xavier. *Inventando la nación: Iberoamérica siglo XIX*. Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003.

⁹⁴ Javier Fernández Sebastián, Cristóbal Aljovín de Losada, and Gerardo Caetano. *Diccionario político y social del mundo iberoamericano*. Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2009.

In the same way, clarifications need to be made regarding the emergence of republicanism, which is not the same as the emergence of a constitutional order. It is important to understand the process of independence in Colombia as a process of constitutionalism, and of the constituent need that made up and nurtured Colombian republicanism. Thus, if the objective was to reconstitute and reform the existing political bodies through republicanism, then the problems of sovereignty and that of a nation are problems of the constitution. With the rupture of the only factual possibility that existed to maintain the cohesion of the Spanish Empire under the parameters of political modernity under the parameters of political modernity at the time of the Cadiz Constitution in 1812, the conditions of the old colonial and monarchical legitimacy – worsened by a military attempt to subdue the American rebels in 1815 – were found to be unsustainable, republicanism emerged as a possible solution. From that point onwards, the process of independence took a turn towards the total separation from the Spanish metropolis.⁹⁵

4.2 The first Colombian Republic and the Configuration of a New Political

Language

The establishment of the Republic of Colombia was a process that developed over the first republic, daughter of the *Junta* outbreak of 1810, to the macro state that covered the whole north of South America, conventionally known as the Great Colombia (1819-1831). This corresponds to the period most historians have written about. However, the topic still represents one of the less known and less well researched subjects even for scholars of the national historiographies of the current Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador and Panama. This

⁹⁵ Brian Hamnett. *The End of Iberian Rule on the American Continent, 1770-1830*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017; Paquette, Gabriel. "The dissolution of the Spanish Atlantic monarchy." *The Historical Journal* 52.1 (2009): 175-212 p.180

is due to the monolithic nature of the national histories that began to be written in the nineteenth century, the “prison” that Colmenares described. This process has been changing from the professionalization of the historical discipline in the 60s of the twentieth century. In short, this revision was achieved by placing the Great Colombia at the center of the debates on the creation of the American republics, appreciating their originality and their contributions to hemispheric political philosophy.⁹⁶

Before the uncertainty and the failure of the *Junta Central*⁹⁷ to create a "perfect community" that is, a group with representational capacity, and to coin a constitution of its own, seeing the dwindling political will of the Spaniards and their increasing willingness to give full and equal rights to the American Spaniards, the *Junta Central* had organized and proclaimed an autonomous government, which responded to the majesty of the king, but not to his peninsular bureaucrats in office across the Americas. This rupture will mark the destiny of the Spanish Empire and its domains on the other side of the Atlantic, where those who favored a new regime, without completely destroying the previous one, began to use the cognitive and conceptual apparatus employed by their peninsular counterparts to adapt to their problems and political interests.⁹⁸

This is where the Greco-Roman antiquity enters as an idealized time and space that allows it to become a paradigm of whatever is desired. Therefore, in the context of the rupture with Spain and the state construction of a new Republic, the geographical epicenter

⁹⁶ Marcela Echeverri, et al. *Editorial. La invención de la república: la Gran Colombia* p.17

⁹⁷ The *Junta Suprema Central y Gubernativa del Reino* was the institution in charge of the legislative and executive power in the Spanish Empire during the French Napoleonic occupation and the absence of Ferdinand VII in the throne from 1808 to 1810.

⁹⁸ Javier Fernández Sebastián, Cristóbal Aljovín de Losada, and Gerardo Caetano. *Diccionario político y social del mundo iberoamericano*. Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2009 p. 1306-1321

of a classic ancient time became the seminal political and referential center of the Neogranadino emancipators. As an example, the two modern meanings of the concepts 'independence' and 'freedom', will be adjusted and traced to the Classical Antiquity. In this sense, the Athenian *polis* and the Roman *republic* are examples of political ruptures insofar as they freed themselves from the Persian yoke and from the Etruscan monarchy. As published in number 93 of the *Argos* of New Granada (October 1, 1815) in a notice given by a patriot to the Provinces about the conspiracy discovered in the capital of Cundinamarca on October 23:

[...] Rome that was the model of the free peoples was falling again under the domination of the Tarquins in the first days of their redemption; but the conspiracy that was plotted with this one was discovered end, and punished their authors with punishments that chased the perfidious and ungrateful Citizens. Nothing offers the most manly and heroic story that the conduct of Consul L. Brutus by lashing with rods and cutting heads of their children Tito and Tiberino by the hand of the Lictores in front of your own Court [...]⁹⁹

It is possible to interpret the idealization of the ancient world as a naive abstraction typical of the contemporary cultural tradition of the early nineteenth century, but what is more likely is that at a time like that of emancipation, this idealization was adjusted to serve the perfection of political needs. Therefore, perhaps, it is possible to affirm that this idyllic abstraction of the Greco-Roman world can serve a conscious political motivation. There is evidence that in the pre-emancipation phase, news (though belated) about the discoveries of Pompeii and Herculaneum were published in the vice royal press. This indicates an interest of the Creole public in the classical archaeological record, evidenced by original historical reference.

⁹⁹ Ricardo del Molino García. *Griegos y romanos en la primera república colombiana*. Academia Colombiana de Historia, 2007. p.160

The certain approach of this first phase of the independence is that the idealization of antiquity allowed the revolutionaries to turn it into a specular or referential space. Thus, similar to Europe, a series of microcosmic analogies in which the New Granada space is compared with the ancient Greco-Roman space can be observed informal Creole thought. As mentioned earlier, when the New Granada natives acceded to Greco-Roman antiquity, they transferred the concepts to their own writings and with those founded, argued or supported a large part of their printed discourses that make up the corpus of formal thought of the First Colombian Republic. The Creole intellectuals were aware of the usefulness of antiquity as a dialectic and discursive tool.



Figure 7: Allegoric representation of Simón Bolívar, Francisco de Paula Santander and behind them, Antonio Nariño, in the Congress of Cucuta, 1821.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ Ricardo Acevedo Bernal. *Los padres de la patria saliendo del Congreso de Cúcuta*. Oil on canvas, 1921. Senate of the Republic. Bogotá, Colombia.

Discurso del General Bolívar al Congreso de Venezuela

Señor

¡Dichoso el Ciudadano que baso el escudo de las Armas de su mando ha Convocado la Soberanía Nacional para que enerva su Voluntad absoluta!! Yo, pues, me cuento entre los seres mas favorecidos de la Providencia Divina, ya que he tenido el honor de reunir a los Representantes del Pueblo de Venezuela, en este Augusto Congreso, fuente de la autoridad legitima, depositario de la Voluntad Soberana y arbitro del destino de la Nación.

Quando transmito a los Representantes del Pueblo, el Poder Supremo que me habia

Figure 8: First page of the Angostura Address, delivered by Simón Bolívar on February 15, 1819.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Simón Bolívar, Angostura Address, 1819. Original document. Archivo del Libertador, Caracas, Venezuela.

4.3 War and Republic: The Liberation Campaign and the New Constitutional Order (1819-1830)

The Great Colombian experience was a traumatic experience for the inhabitants of the provinces of Venezuela, Cundinamarca and Quito. An important mental and imaginary construction, the creation of a nation by decree and the construction of a national project is the legacy of Great Colombia. To understand how this objective was achieved, it is fundamental to discuss the language of republicanism used during the quest for a unified national state. The unification was produced in part by the politically important town councils (*cabildos*), who considered the unified spaces as places they could use for the processing of local popular sovereignty. The beginning of this merging process was the installation of the Congress of Cúcuta in 1821, where Antonio Nariño, the forefather of the independence of Colombia, uttered a call for civic virtues and made some obscure references to the Classical world that may have been clearer for his audience than for the audience of this thesis: *“What will become among us virtuous and interested men who, like Cincinnatus and Phocion, know no more than the flow of their virtues? [...] who will be the man who chooses to govern him to a man whose opinion is not moderately stipulated?”*¹⁰²

With these difficulties, this congress could be considered as one of the “Machiavellian Moments” of the new Republic (in this case the merger of the Confederation of Venezuela with the United Provinces of New Granada).¹⁰³ In these

¹⁰² Antonio Nariño. “Speech of installation of the congress of Cúcuta, in his condition of interim vice president of the Republic. Villa del Rosario de Cúcuta, May 6, 1821” in: *La construcción de la república*. Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Colección Bicentenario., Bogotá, 2010 p.19

¹⁰³ María Emma Wills. “La Convención de 1821 en la Villa del Rosario de Cúcuta: imaginando un soberano para un nuevo país.” *Historia Crítica* 17 (1998) p. 107

circumstances, Nariño gave a clear panorama of the incipient nation-state consolidation process for a newborn republic, with the moral foundations of classical antiquity references. The “providential” presence of Nariño – as he refers to himself in his speech – ignited the atmosphere of the installation of what could be the first constitutional assembly of Colombia. Nariño started referring to the absence of Simón Bolívar and the liberation army who were at the time fighting the royalists in the south of New Granada. The cooccurrence of these events stresses the fast-paced transformation that the New World underwent.

Given his first-hand knowledge of the global political situation, Nariño accounted for all the struggle that had to necessarily be suffered until it was possible to finally write up a constitutional document for the independent Neogranadino state. His speech laid the “first stones of the majestic building [an independent republic] that would be finished later”,¹⁰⁴ and emphasized the role that the new Republic played in the greater scheme of global, historical transformations at that moment in time. According to Nariño, “The whole world is contemplating you all at this moment and expects from you a document that would make them see that we are worthy of being among the nations.”¹⁰⁵

The oscillation of the importance and pertinence of republican ideas changed according to the events of the war of independence. When the military conflict intensified, the republican and civic discourse diminished, although it never disappeared. The war and its leaders represented the republic during the final phase of the independence.¹⁰⁶ This generated a difficult “civilization” of the republic, especially due to the problem of the

¹⁰⁴ Antonio Nariño. “Speech of installation of the congress of Cúcuta” p.15

¹⁰⁵ Nariño, p.25

¹⁰⁶ Francisco A Ortega, et al. *Conceptos fundamentales de la cultura política de la Independencia*. p. 355

demotivation of the almost 30,000 men who had fought for Colombia since the battle of Boyacá (August 7, 1819), which was the struggle between constitutional lawyers and the military.¹⁰⁷ A serious problem for the legitimacy of the new regime was the mistrust in the public force and constant attempts to limit the political participation of the members of the military, given the problem of the prestige of the army after the Liberation campaigns, and therefore their inclination to support a cesar-bonapartism kind of regime.¹⁰⁸ On this topic, Bolívar said in his speech on October 1, 1828: "There can be no Republic where the people are not sure of the exercise of their own powers." For Simón Bolívar, being a liberator was dangerous, and he found it better to be a free citizen and to be surrounded by free citizens.¹⁰⁹

At the end of the dictatorship of Bolívar and then at the end of the dictatorship of Rafael Urdaneta, there was a real popular mobilization for the search of the permanence of the republican and popular model, contrary to any idea of military or personal power. During this period of transition towards the independent Colombian state, political activity can be characterized by the gradual abandonment of the classic republican ideal, based on the figure of citizen-soldier. This was despite the fact that the Republic of Colombia emerged from a war and was supported by the military.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Clément Thibaud. *Républiques en armes: les armées de Bolívar dans les guerres d'indépendance du Venezuela et de la Colombie*. PU Rennes, 2006 p. 344

¹⁰⁸ Josep L. Teodoro. "Julio César y el cesarismo bonapartista. Ideología, política y literatura." *Revista de historiografía (RevHisto)* (2015): 239-260.

¹⁰⁹ Simón Bolívar. *Mensaje al Congreso Constituyente de la República de Colombia renunciando a la presidencia* in: *Pensamiento Político de Simón Bolívar*. Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Colección Bicentenario., Bogotá, 2010 p.127

¹¹⁰ Clément Thibaud. *Républiques en armes: les armées de Bolívar dans les guerres d'indépendance du Venezuela et de la Colombie*. PU Rennes, 2006 p. 351-352



Figure 9: Map of the Great Colombia in 1822 with the administrative divisions of Cundinamarca, Venezuela and Quito and the military campaigns from 1821-1823.¹¹¹

It is also during this period that the iconographic representations of the new regime begin to emerge and create a dent in the ethos and psyche of Colombian society. *La patria* (The Motherland), a white woman with indigenous clothes and *La Libertad* (Liberty), who dresses in the style of ancient Greece, are famous symbols.¹¹² The paintings and allegories

¹¹¹ Agustín Codazzi. *Carta de la Antigua Colombia dividida en los departamentos de Cundinamarca, Venezuela y Quito. Campañas de la guerra de independencia años 1821 a 1823. Carta IX del Atlas geográfico e histórico de la República de Colombia, 1890. Bogotá, Colombia.*

¹¹² Francisco A Ortega, et al. *Conceptos fundamentales de la cultura política de la Independencia.* p 393

produced by the pro-independence actors and later by the official painters of the republican regime gave legitimacy to the republic and served the need to create a memory of independence through the representation of the revolutionary actors and symbols.¹¹³ The thusly constructed state memory that legitimized the character of the republican political regime was strengthened over the years, especially during the centenary of independence in 1910.

The "political circulation", which allowed for promotion and mobilization within the army, was intended to educate the good citizen, who was supposed to realize that the neoclassical ideal required his active participation in all of the public affairs. In this sense, military institutions were a "school of armed virtue to defend the Fatherland." The defeats in the first years of independence disqualified the immediate representation of the peoples (the confederalism) in favor of a return to the delegated representation of the people, centralism. After this transformation occurred, there was a deep change in the way public power was built, and which was based on a new idea of sovereignty. The limited fighting between the peoples prevented the assumption of a national sovereignty that exceeded the local horizon. The "war to the death" condensed these conflicts around the alternative of the Spanish (constitutional) monarchy or the Venezuelan republic.

It was not so much the social origin that made the military *caudillo* (warlord), but an exceptional talent evidenced by the military sense of smell and an intuitive understanding of the hopes of men. The "temporary" marginalization of the local patricians symbolized the liberation of the guerrillas from traditional social logics. This rupture was

¹¹³ Francisco A Ortega, et al. *Conceptos fundamentales de la cultura política de la Independencia*. p 416

also present in geography, where the "wild" and warmonger plains were opposed to the urban and "civilized" world of the Andes, and the broken and not-so-developed areas of the coast, with the clear exception of ports on the Caribbean. The deterioration of the liberal paradigm in both America and Spain had paradoxical results. On the one hand, the need to find the republic of the ancient virtues led to the exaltation of the Liberation Army. On the other hand, in the same vein, the composure on the military customs condemned many to the savagery of the soldiers. The excellence of the legions came at the price of barbarism within the ranks. This contradiction legitimized the military aristocracy that exercised power until 1830.¹¹⁴

Neither Venezuela nor New Granada embodied the heiresses of Athens or Rome for Bolívar. This was because he believed that the territories of the north of South America did not count as free and were lacking in sincere devotion of their citizens to the independent state. To settle this incongruence, Bolívar supported the idea of professionalizing the military establishment. The following quote shows the way that Bolívar referred to the dangers that this kind of military state represented for the republic and for the future of the nation, in which militarization was gradually getting out of control:

"The republics," said our statesmen, "do not need men paid to maintain their freedom," all citizens would be soldiers when the enemy attacked us. "Greece, Rome, Venencia, Genoa, Switzerland, Holland and recently North America defeated their opponents without help. of mercenary troops always ready to sustain despotism and subjugate their fellow citizens [...]"¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Manuel Chust, Marchena Juan (eds.). *Las armas de la nación: independencia y ciudadanía en Hispanoamérica (1750-1850)* p. 198-217

¹¹⁵ Simón Bolívar. *Memoria dirigida a los ciudadanos de la Nueva granada por un caraqueño, Cartagena, 15 de diciembre de 1812* in: *Pensamiento Político de Simón Bolívar*. Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Colección Bicentenario., Bogotá, 2010 p. 29

This Simon Bolívar was the same person who delivered a hopeful speech in Angostura mere years later. His writings and proclamations showed the constant ambivalence of political discourse during the process of independence. Guided by the events and his own behavior towards them, there is a conception of civic virtue typical of republicanism and based on antiquity. Bolívar manifested this conception in several speeches like his proclamation of Cartagena during the time of the first republic; during the Congress of Angostura, before the Liberation Campaign of 1819; and in the last years of the Gran Colombia, during the Amphictyonic Congress, where the republican project was debated.

At the end of June 1826, Simón Bolívar, as the head of the Great Colombia, convened a congress of all the leaders of the newly independent states of the Western Hemisphere. The Amphictyonic¹¹⁶ Congress of Panama embodied the first tangible attempt of unity and intra-continental cooperation. With Mexico, Peru, the United Provinces of Central America and Great Colombia present, the congress established a treaty that sought the union and confederation of the American continent, desiring to present a common front to the challenges of the new independent states. Unfortunately, nothing was further from reality. Great Colombia had invited almost all the American states – Bolívar was also pressured to invite the United States – but only the three aforementioned ones answered the call. Chile and Argentina did not go out of fear of the influence of Bolívar. Paraguay had a policy of isolation and declined the invitation. Brazil was at war with Argentina and feared the hostility of its Spanish-speaking counterparts, and the United States, after forcing its invitation, did not find the support of its own Southern states due to the clear

¹¹⁶ That means, a gathering of nations with the same culture and language. The term comes from the greek *ἀμφικτυονία* that means “league of neighbours” and referred to the tribal assemblies before the establishment of the Greek Poleis during the 7th century BCE.

abolitionist character of the independent Spanish-American states, and by the time its delegate, John Seargeant, arrived in Panama, the congress had concluded.¹¹⁷

The congress of Panama was the beginning of the tragic end of the dream of American integration that Francisco de Miranda once had, and that Simón Bolívar sought to implement.¹¹⁸ It is after Panama that the Central American Union began to disintegrate and that Great Colombia entered into a civil war which forced Bolívar to declare himself a dictator, and where the great beneficiary of the quarrels between independent American states would be the British Empire that obtain benefits for its (war-related) commercial activities in the region. But perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of this failed congress was the confrontation of the republican ideal of Great Colombia with the monarchical ideal of the Mexican Empire of Agustín de Iturbide. The political entity of Mexico, heir to the Viceroyalty of New Spain, which, although it was already dissolved and is nominally a republic, maintained certain colonial continuities and embarked on a government centered on the personality of Antonio López de Santa Anna. Bolívar and the republicans saw how the absence of civic virtue and political will was not necessarily contained at the local level, but instead affected the entire continent.¹¹⁹

As a result of these processes, republicanism was understood in Colombia as a political system and state organization that, since antiquity and all the way during the Age of Revolutions, been based on an abstract moral code and civic virtues. Applying that new

¹¹⁷ Germán, A. de la Reza *El Congreso de Panamá de 1826 y otros ensayos de integración latinoamericana en el siglo XIX: estudio y fuentes documentales anotadas*. EON Editorial, UAM, 2006 p.27

¹¹⁸ Carmen L. Bohórquez. "Miranda y Bolívar: dos concepciones de la unidad de la América hispana." *Procesos Históricos* 10 (2006) p. 15; Klooster, Wim. *Revolutions in the Atlantic World, New Edition: A Comparative History*. NYU Press, 2018 p. 139

¹¹⁹ Daniel Gutiérrez Ardila. "Iturbide y Bolívar: dos retratos diplomáticos acerca de la cuestión republicana (1822-1831)." *Revista de Estudios Sociales* 38 (2011): 47-63.

order to the Viceroyalty of New Granada, a Spanish colony in South America, which was trying to organize an incipient independent state (New Granada/Great Colombia), was something very complicated. The temporality of the republic and the historicity of the political community were grounded in uncertainty, and this uncertainty made it difficult to nurture and sprout civic virtues. While an attempt was made to build a state under a republican parameter, the full consciousness of a national community was not there. In New Granada, the concept of nation did not enter into use until the advent of the first republic and would remain a diffuse concept until after the dissolution of Great Colombia in 1830. In the new independent and modern state of New Granada/Great Colombia and later in Colombia, there was and will be with great certainty almost always a republic, but never a nation.

FROM DIAFOTISMOS TO EPANASTASIS: THE IDEA OF REPUBLICANISM AND THE NEOHELLENIC POLITICAL THOUGHT

“Hero, to you that were the forerunner of a quick liberation of our common country Greece and sacrificed your life for its love; Accept, then, you’re your usual Greek, happy and affable sight and accept this as an engagement for revenge of your glorious blood against the tyrants of Greece. The whole Greece will forever glorify your immortal name, including it in the list of Epaminondas, Leonidas, Themistocles and Thrasybulus”
Anonymous.¹²⁰

At first sight, it may seem evident that during the period of the Age of Revolutions, where the moral, aesthetic, and political paradigms of classical antiquity returned with vigor thanks to the Enlightenment, the use of the classical referents in the process of nation-building would be standard practice. Especially in a country like Greece, or the modern Greek state, which is so full of tangible remnants of a glorious past, it would be expected that referents of antiquity would be the starting point of a national consciousness.

And indeed, the influence of the classical past played a fundamental role in the formation of the modern Greek state from the Neohellenic Enlightenment movement, known in Greek as “Διαφωτισμός” (*Diafotismos*), to the consummation of the Greek revolution, the “Ελληνική Επανάσταση” (*Epanastasis*), that lasted from 1821 to 1830. The description and analysis of the use, transmission, development and application of this political language of modernity, to the specific context of the Greek independence movement is the theme of this chapter. For this purpose, four concepts will be analyzed following a chronological order. First, the origins and developments of the Neohellenic Enlightenment or *Diafotismo*; Second, the merging of the ancient and modern Greek

¹²⁰Dedicatory of the *Hellenic Nomarchy* to Rhigas Feraios (Original text in Ancient Greek)

culture by the process of *Metakenosis*; Third, the possibilities for the establishment of a Greek Republic or *Elliniki Nomarchia*; And fourth, the obsession of the Greeks with the glories of the past during the Greek Revolution or *Progonoplexia*

5.1 *Diafotismos*: The Neohellenic Enlightenment Movement Inside and Outside of Greece and The Nature of the Movement

The branch of the Enlightenment movement that influenced the Greek revolution was a pan- Balkanic intellectual movement, which had a strong Greek preponderance in a linguistic and educational form. The terminology that refers to and defines this process is important. As such, the analogies with light, that are also found in other languages, and which describe the intellectual movement in these decades, are common, and are merged in a now common neologism: *Diafotismos*.¹²¹ In any case, despite being a literal translation, it is important to understand this concept in its own terms, namely as an intellectual process that did not follow the same development as similar processes in other regions of Europe and the world. An example of this particularity is that in geographical and chronological terms, it must be noted that apart from Venetian Greece (Crete, Some Cycladic Islands and later in the eighteenth century the Peloponnesse)¹²², the rest of the Greek world transitioned – intellectually speaking – from the Middle Ages to the era of Enlightenment. Thus, educated Greeks were informed about the debates and outcomes of the Renaissance.¹²³

¹²¹ Anna Tabaki. "Les lumières néohelléniques. Un essai de définition et de périodisation." *Revue des études Sud-est européennes* 36.1-4 (1998) p.143

¹²² Paschalis Kitromilides. *Bridges to the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. The Assimilation of Italian Culture as a Problem in Greek Historiography*. Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini. Venice 2001.

¹²³ Anna Tabaki. "Les lumières néohelléniques. Un essai de définition et de périodisation." P.144

This Modern Greek Enlightenment could be defined as the introduction of Greek thought to the philosophical models and scientific culture of Western Europe. The translation of major topics pertaining to the realities of the Greek world all around the Mediterranean triggered the discussion about the secularization of society, about the break from the strong post-Byzantine spiritual tradition of the Greek populations, about the transition from the concept of subjecthood to citizenship, about the transition from the Orthodox commonwealth – despite the pan-Balkan, but predominantly Greek (in linguistic terms) nature of the movement – to nation-state formations; and, foremostly, about the historical connection between modern Greece and the traditions, history and glory of classical Hellenism.¹²⁴

Early modern Greek national consciousness suffered the convention and condition of the dichotomy between civilization and backwardness, a current topic of debate relating to Europe during the Enlightenment.¹²⁵ There was a lot of tension between those peaks in Greek history and the political realities of the national uprising. There was an inadequate nostalgia combined with excitement for the Greeks to display such a great past that had been lost.¹²⁶ In a certain way, the majority of Greeks rejected the Ottoman identity since they considered it as foreign to them, only to subsequently find out that their Ancient Greek identity was as artificially constructed as the Ottoman one. Here lies the beginning of the Greek fixation with their glorious, ancient and distant past. The traumas of this fixation

¹²⁴ Paschalis Kitromilides, and Dimitris Arvanitakis, eds. *The Greek World Under Ottoman and Western Domination: 15th-19th Centuries: Proceedings of the International Conference in Conjunction with the Exhibition "From Byzantium to Modern Greece: Hellenic Art in Adversity, 1453-1830" December 15, 2005-May 6, 2006, Onassis Cultural Center, New York*. Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, 2008 p. 126-127

¹²⁵ Paschalis Kitromilides. *Enlightenment and Revolution*. Harvard University Press, 2013

¹²⁶ Dean Konstantaras. *Infamy and revolt: The rise of the national problem in early modern Greek thought*. Boulder: *East European Monographs*, 2006 p. 147

were a price worth to pay. The Greeks from the Neohellenic Enlightenment and the later Greek Revolution were not like the ancient Greeks, but the ancient Greeks inspired admiration.¹²⁷

Thus in general terms, the narrative that *Diafotismos* is at the foundations of the intellectual and political apparatus of the Greek revolution, which has the following features: In the context of an European continent hurt and burned by the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, in a steady and swift process of absolutism restoration, the Greeks made a revolution guided by the banners of the perennial Hellenism, commanded by the local intellectual forces and supported widely by foreign adepts to the Philhellene cause. This allowed for the formation of Greece (in its modern form) as a nation, first in the epistemic and cultural construct of its historical context, and later as a political one, after achieving independence.¹²⁸

5.2 Metakenosis: Adamantios Korais and the variations of the Classical and Enlightened Reception

An example of this new resignification of the classical past is Adamantios Korais, a fundamental figure in the intellectual construction of the Greek revolution who settled in Paris in 1788 and lived there until his death in 1833 after being rejected as a classicist in Oxford.¹²⁹ The events and pace of the French Revolution and the affairs of the Napoleonic empire deeply marked Korais' experience and thinking. It is important to consider how his thought may have been shaped had he taken up the slow and stagnant academic life of an

¹²⁷ Dean Konstantaras. *Infamy and revolt: The rise of the national problem in early modern Greek thought. Boulder: East European Monographs*, 2006 p. 105

¹²⁸ Stathis Gourgouris. *Dream nation: Enlightenment, colonization, and the institution of modern Greece*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996 p. 73

¹²⁹ Paschalis Kitromilides. *Enlightenment and Revolution*. p.60

Oxford scholar in the nineteenth century instead of becoming a political crucible of Paris. Perhaps his desire for the construction of a feeling of national consciousness would have been supplanted by the judicious study of the classic antiques.

Korais is maybe the most forceful example of the typical diaspora Greek who was educated outside of the Ottoman Empire and had personal contacts to the leading figures of the Age of Revolutions. Indeed, Korais' were shaped by the Enlightenment, the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era, and also the absolutist restoration and the European revolutions of 1830. An accomplished academic, he embarked on titanic intellectual ventures, creating the basis for καθαρεύουσα (*katharevousa*), a high version of modern Greek, by combining the demotic dialect with ancient Greek. His translations of the classical Greek authors, the creation of dictionaries, vocabularies and literary anthologies were combined for their enormous efforts to give support to the Greek independence intentions in the European intellectual circles.¹³⁰

The documentary corpus produced by the Smyrnaean Korais demonstrates that the *Diáforismos* embodied a complete rejection of the Byzantine tradition and propended for a secular society, detached from the ecclesiastical power, which is understandable given Korais' adherence to the French intellectual circles during the period of the revolution. While other authors like Moisiódax, who had a practically anticlerical perspective, Korais saw value in the work of the ancient Greeks, making them the pillar of his divulgation project with the Ἑλληνικὴν Βιβλιοθήκην or *Library of Greek Literature*. Yet, Korais is a contested figure in the *Diáforismos* history and in the history of Greek Revolution in

¹³⁰ Paschalis Kitromilides. "Itineraries in the World of the Enlightenment: Adamantios Korais from Smyrna via Montpellier to Paris." In: Paschalis Kitromilides (Ed) *Adamantios Korais and the European Enlightenment* Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2010 p.18

general. His views were always filtered by his social extraction and academic path. Despite his dedication to the revival of the Greek classics and their insertion into the education system in Greece and his favourable views on the Byzantium, he considered the Orthodox Church as the main glue of Greek society,¹³¹ and totally despised the Kapodistrias regime that came to power after the establishment of a Greek independent state.

However, the most important concept that Korais would bring to the Neohellenic Enlightenment and to this work, is the one of “Μετακένωση”, meaning *Metakenosis* or *Transmutation*.¹³² The latter is an intellectual offering where, through linguistic operations, namely translations and divulgation of the Greek classical literary canon, the bridge between ancient Hellenism and Neohellenism and Greek modern national consciousness is built. For Korais, Greek antiquity possessed the light of culture and the foundations of science. At the time of the Renaissance, the West borrowed these concepts from the Greeks and received the lights of the classical world. Yet, during four centuries of Ottoman domination, the “Έλληνες” (*Hellenes*) lost their rich and ancient heritage and became “Έλληνες” (*Greeks*). A fundamental element in the linguistic style of Korais is that he never referred to his compatriots of the nineteenth century as Hellenes, instead only using the term Greeks. According to Korais, it is necessary to perform the *Metakenosis*, a transfusion of all this knowledge of the past, to contemporary Greeks, namely those who "only regarded the Europeans as debtors, who repaid to them, with very large interests, a capital which they had received from their ancestors. "¹³³

¹³¹ Paschalis Kitromilides. *Enlightenment and Revolution* p.79

¹³² Filippos Iliou. *Ιδεολογικές χρήσεις του κοραϊσμού στον 20ό αιώνα.*(Ideological uses of Khoraism in the 20th century) Bibliograma, Athens, 1984 p. 11

¹³³ Adamantios Korais, *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce: Lu à la Société des Observateurs de l'homme*, Paris, January 6, 1803 p. 12 the book could be consulted

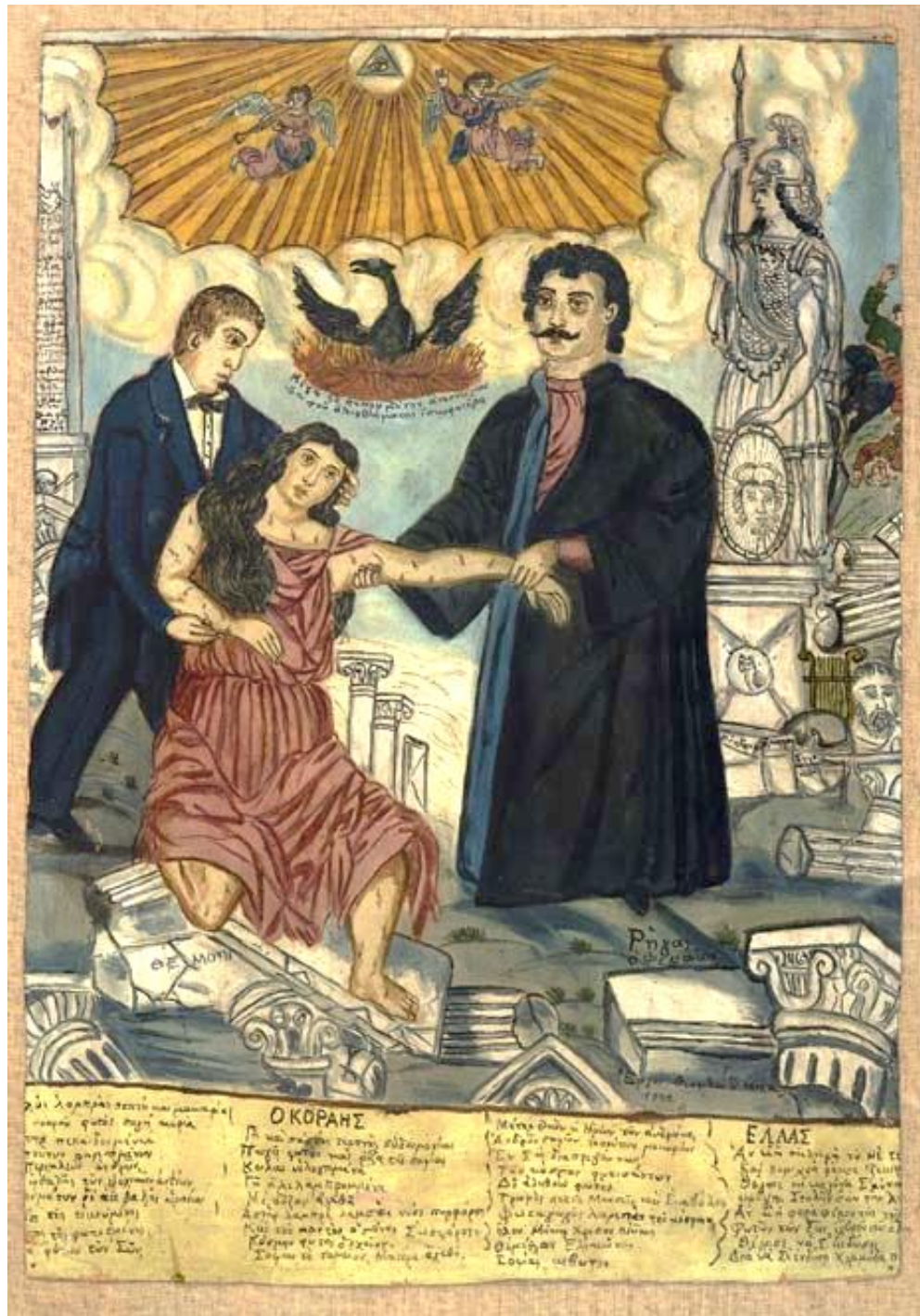


Figure 10: Allegory of Adamantios Korais and Rhigas Feraios Veletinlis helping a wounded Greece. With Christian and Ancient Greek symbols in the background.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Teofilos Kefalas. *Rigas Veletinlis and Adamantios Korais help Greece stand on its feet*, 19th century. Macedonian Museum of Contemporary Art. Greece.

The main issue here was the question of how to translate all the notions contained in the European-language loanwords to Greek. Korais refused to introduce foreign neologisms into his language, thereby avoiding the issues of translation of concepts like republicanism, nation or liberty, for fear of bastardizing or impoverishing it by ignorance of its own linguistic resources. In the notes and edifying prefaces of his publications that divulgate the masterpieces of Greek antiquity, he shows himself aware that he must advocate for clarity and write in a language understandable by all Greeks. By these elements, Korais worked determinedly to develop a modern education system in Greece. He believed that literacy would open the way to knowledge, independence, and the end of tyranny. Hence, it is easy to state that with his project of a *Library of Greek Literature*, a publication series of ancient Greek authors for the contemporary Greek public, preceded by an edifying introduction that was similar to Benito Perez Galdós' *National Episodes* in Spain, Adamantios Korais can be considered the main reformer of Greek language into its current state and the establisher of the modern Greek literary tradition.

5.3 *Elliniki Nomarchia*: The role of Rhigas Feraios Velestinlis and the birth of Greek Political Thought

Perhaps the best example of this Enlightenment that was enhanced by the Greek populations around Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century is Rhigas Feraios Velestinlis, born in Thessaly probably in 1755 or 1757. Velestinlis build a career on diverse activities that helped him to nurture a national awareness of the importance of the past of the Greek people and the necessity of ending the Ottoman occupation in the Greek territories. He was a convinced republican who took part in the rising tide of Jacobinism provoked by the expansion of 'la Grande Nation' of revolutionary France into central and

eastern Europe. Shortly before his arrest for being active in the intellectual circles of Vienna in December 1797, and his extradition to the Ottomans, he was executed at the Nebojsa tower in the fortress of Belgrade in June 24, 1798. Rhigas produced the intellectual foundations for a ‘Hellenic Republic’ that was modelled on the French constitution of 1793. Veletinlis model gained great popularity when he was executed.¹³⁵

Veletinlis used symbols from antiquity and the ancient Greek civilization to display his ideas about the Greek insurrection, and national formation, which even included a pan-Balkan confederation. Moreover, the idea that both he and his fellow countrymen were not mere vassals under the Ottoman yoke but descendants and heirs of an ancient and rich tradition, spread throughout Europe and the New World. The Greek Revolution and the new Greek independent state saw its ideological foundation in the claim of succession to the glorious past of Ancient Greece, which had lost its independence in the battle of Cheronea in 338 BC, after which a long list of “foreigners” controlled Greece, from Macedonians to Romans and later on, the Ottomans. The symbols, character and prerogatives of the new independent state were constructed following that claim of succession.¹³⁶

In 1806 an anonymous pamphlet was published in Italy under the name of “Ελληνική Νομαρχία” (*Helleniki Nomarchia*).¹³⁷ This text, which some scholars considered the epitome of the political thought of the Neohellenic enlightenment, is the

¹³⁵ Paschalis Kitromilides “From Republican Patriotism to National Sentiment: A Reading of *Hellenic Nomarchy*.” *European Journal of Political Theory* 5 (1) 52 2006; Kitromilides, Paschalis. “Republican aspirations in Southeastern Europe in the age of the French Revolution.” *Consortium on Revolutionary Europe, 1750-1850: Proceedings* 1 (1980) p. 278

¹³⁶ David Ricks, and Paul Magdalino. *Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity*. p.1

¹³⁷ “Ανώνυμου Του Έλληνο - Ελληνική Νομαρχία.” n.d.

most important text about republicanism written before the establishment of the Greek modern state in 1830.¹³⁸ This booklet, dedicated to the memory of Velestinlis, posited that the best form of government for a state like Greek would be one where Greek people would pretend to conform to the principles of common *Nomarchia* (laws), while taking their inspiration from the ancient democracies established in Greek territory, like the Athenian democracy or the Spartan republic.¹³⁹ The ideals exposed by this text were nurture in the general rising of the Greek Rumelian population in the spring of 1821, which started the Greek Revolution.

However, this text wasn't the first attempt to build on the concept of republicanism as the major ideal for the new political configuration of Greece. The most evolved line of political thought is that of Iossipos Moisiodax, the brilliant student of the clerk Eugenius Voulugaris and participant in the quarrel of the ancient and the moderns,¹⁴⁰ who referred to republican civic virtue as the ultimate solution to eradicate the corruption of his society.¹⁴¹ Coming back to the *Hellenic Nomarchy*, it must be noted that despite it being a founding text, written in a new and strong political language, there are many doubts that still surround this publication.¹⁴² This thesis doesn't have the scope to explore and

¹³⁸ Anna Tabaki. "Les lumières néohelléniques. Un essai de définition et de périodisation." p. 143-154.

¹³⁹ Anastassios D Karayiannis, and Dionyssios D Ithakissios. n.d. "Hellenic Nomarchy: A Discourse on Freedom," 8. Paschalis Kitromilides. 2006. "From Republican Patriotism to National Sentiment: A Reading of *Hellenic Nomarchy*." *European Journal of Political Theory* 5 (1): 50–60. Eliopoulos Nicholas, *Liberty in the Hellenic Nomarchy of 1806. The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*." n.d.

¹⁴⁰ Paschalis Kitromilides. *Enlightenment and Revolution* p. 156

¹⁴¹ Paschalis Kitromilides, Arvanitakis and Dimitris, eds. *The Greek World Under Ottoman and Western Domination: 15th-19th Centuries* p. 130

¹⁴² For some lights on this issue about the identity of the author: Dimitrios Karampelopoulos *Τι γνώριζε ο Ανώνυμος συγγραφέας της «Ελληνικής Νομαρχίας» για τον Πήγα Βελεστινλή* (What did the Anonymous writer of the "Hellenic Nomarchy" know about Rhigas Velestinlis Athens, 2014; Dimitrios Karampelopoulos *Τα πρώτα ενδοκειμενικά στοιχεία για την ταυτότητα του Ανώνυμου συγγραφέα της Ελληνικής Νομαρχίας, ως υπόθεση εργασίας* (The first inherent facts about the identity of the Anonymous writer of the Hellenic Nomarchy, as a working hypothesis). Athens, 2015.

discuss the various theories and possibilities of authorship on this text, but the fact that it was written by an anonymous author and published outside of the Ottoman Empire shows that the ideas presented in it were neither fully accepted nor fully endorsed by the intellectual circles of the Greek world of the time. Its blistering language, calling for a national uprising and the restructuration of society, meanwhile criticizing the Ottoman domination as a tyranny, would explain the writer's choice to remain anonymous and not put his name to the radical concepts illustrated in his booklet.¹⁴³

This radicality can be seen in the definition of freedom as the availability of self-determination by any individual, which could be achieved solely within an independent and self-governed state. A political institution whose citizens, like in the ancient times, happily observe the laws and commands because they conform to their nurtured civic virtue, successfully implements social contract by granting happiness to all the inhabitants of this political entity. In order to achieve this ideal state in Greece, the defeat of four kinds of enemies became a necessity: the foreign tyranny, represented by the Ottomans; the local and ethnic ruling groups, intermediaries of the coercion of the tyrants; the corrupted orthodox clergymen who helped to perpetrate the despotism with superstition; and last but not least, the cosmopolitan diaspora, with their indulgent and lavish lives, by choice blissfully unaware of the suffering of their motherland.¹⁴⁴

Evidently, the anonymous author realized that taking on all these enemies, plus the interests of foreign empires, was a battle he could not win. But here is where the most

¹⁴³ Stathis Gourgouris. *Dream nation: Enlightenment, colonization, and the institution of modern Greece* p. 80

¹⁴⁴ Dimitris Sotiropoulos. "Helliniki Nomarchia: Discourse on the radical Enlightenment. The Birth of Modern Greek political thought in the early 19th Century" (P. Pizaniyas (ed.), *The Greek Revolution of 1821: A European Event*, The Isis Press, Istanbul 2011 p. 91

powerful argument of the *Hellenic Nomarchy* comes in, and which can be supplemented with the ideals of other authors of the *Diáforismos* like Adamantios Korais or Ignatius, Metropolitan of Hungaro-Wallachia. This latter argument is the claim that freedom is an habit for the Greek nation, which lived as a free “Republic” in ancient times and had enough power of will to be free again, despite the long succession of Roman, Byzantinian, Venetians or Ottomans tyrants, all due to the incorruptibility and immortality of their national spirit.¹⁴⁵

The discernable parallels between the term *nomarchia* with the republicanism of the French Revolution makes the influence of Jacobin political language on the *Hellenic Nomarchy* obvious.¹⁴⁶ Rhigas Feraios Velestinlis, who was a supporter of the Jacobin views, was considered as the model of a new man by the Anonymous author as, and as an example that all Greek nation-lovers should follow. This is the revolutionary, republican patriot who gives his life for liberty and motherland, equating this sacrifice with the Spartan conception of virtuous citizenship. In the way that the moral values of ancient Greece are displayed in the *Hellenic Nomarchy*, they lend enough support to warrant an engagement with the expansion of Jacobin ideology.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵Dimitiris Sotiropoulos. “Helliniki Nomarchia: Discourse on the radical Enlightenment. The Birth of Modern Greek political thought in the early 19th Century” p. 92

¹⁴⁶ Maria Lopez Villalba. "Balkanizing the French Revolution: Rhigas's New Political Constitution." *D. Tziolas, Greece and the Balkans: Identities, Perceptions and Cultural Encounters since the Enlightenment. Bodmin, Ashgate* (2003): 141-154.

¹⁴⁷ Alexandra Sfoini. Loyaume and Nomarchie: Keywords of the French revolution in the Greek vocabulary. *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, 11, 2014. 127-138

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΝΟΜΑΡΧΙΑ

Ἡ'τοι Λόγος Περί
ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ

Διδ' ἀποδεικνύεται, πόσον εἶναι καλῶτέρα ἡ Νομαρ-
χικὴ Διοίκησις ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὅτι εἰς αὐτὴν μόνον
φυλάττεται ἡ Εὐλευθερία τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τί ἐστὶ
Εὐλευθερία, ὅπως μὲν μεγάλων κατορθωμάτων εἶναι
πρόξενος, ὅτι τάχιστα ἡ Ἑλλὰς πρέπει νὰ συντρί-
ψῃ τὰς ἀλύστοις της, ποταμοῖς ἐσθλὰς αἰτίαι ὅπως
μέχρι τῆς σήμερον τὴν ἐδούλαξαν δούλην, καὶ ὅπως
εἶναι ἐκεῖνοι ὅπου μέλλει νὰ τὴν ἐλευθερώσῃ.

Συντεθείς τε καὶ Τύποις ἐκδοθεὶς ἰδίῳις
ἀναλώμασι πρὸς ὠφέλειαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων

ΠΑΡΑ
ἌΝΟΝΙΜΟΤΟῦ ΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ

Ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ. 1866.

Figure 11: Cover of the Greek pamphlet *Ἑλληνικὴ Νομαρχία* (Hellenic Nomarchy)¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ Anonymous of the Greeks. Cover of the Greek pamphlet *Ἑλληνικὴ*. 1806, Italy.

5.4 *Progonoplexia*: The Problem of Ancient Greece's Past and its Understanding during the Greek Revolution

All countries bear the burden of their history, but in Greece that weight is extremely large. Ancient Greece has been a blessing and a curse for modern Greece simultaneously. The concept of *Progonoplexia* or "ancestoritis" is an essential characteristic that needs to be considered when trying to understand the way in which the Greeks think about themselves. This understanding themselves as a nation has several components. A fundamental one is the identity character that Eastern Orthodox Christian dogma has for the national cohesion in Greece. This character is reflected in the reluctance and distrust towards the West, by quarrels in the religious field ever since the great schism between Rome and Constantinople or between Catholics and Orthodox, but especially in the behavior of the Catholic countries and their condition of papal supremacy on the Byzantine Empire in exchange for offering military aid against the Turks. This was something that never in the long and exhausted history of the Byzantine Empire could be tolerated, and the affront reached the point where Grand Duke Loukas Notarás said that in the atony of the Byzantine Empire, he preferred to live under the turban of the sultan than under the papal miter.¹⁴⁹

The separation of the Ottoman system of domination had a primarily ideological and later political character, which led to the ruptures that were expressed via the creation and adoption of a new historical identity. The latter was transformed from a primitive

¹⁴⁹Clogg, Richard *A concise history of Greece*. Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press; New York. 2002 p. 6-10 To go deeper in the reception of classics during the Greek Revolution see: El Habre, Lara. *The Greek War of Independence: Its Significance for Balkan and Ottoman Historiography*. Athens 2013; Finlay, George, *History of the Greek Revolution, and the Reign of King Otho*. Londres: Zeno, 1971; Gordon, Thomas *History of the Greek revolution, and of the wars and campaigns arising from the struggles of the Greek patriots in emancipating their country from the Turkish yoke* Edinburgh: W. Blackwood; Londres: T. Cadell. 1844

archeolatRIA (adoration for the ancient) in the seventeenth century by Greek intellectuals in other European countries and their instruments of dissemination and propaganda like *Filiki Eteria* (Society of Friends).

The emergence of a Greek national consciousness, as Deno Geanakoplos wrote, has to be seen through four fundamental perspectives: the internal conditions of the Balkans during the long period of decay of the Ottoman Empire that left a permanent intellectual mark on the Eastern Orthodox (Byzantine) tradition; the ideological influence of the Enlightenment; and the revolutions of the late eighteenth century; and steady labor of education and divulgation provided by the Greek diaspora around the Mediterranean Sea, the Black Sea, and Western and Central Europe.¹⁵⁰

Petros Pizaniias argues that the outbreak of civil war between the factions of Continental and Islander against the Greek military leaders in the Peloponnese was the event that turned the tides of the conflict in four different ways: It clarified the ideology of the Greek movement, highlighted the interests of the European powers and reaffirmed their intervention in the revolution and decided about leadership in relation to its commanders, and asked serious questions about how the new state should be governed after the revolution. The radical Greek nationalists were situated between the newly absolutist post-Napoleonic Europe and the decaying Ottoman Empire, trying to maintain a democratic republicanism and a secular proto-socialism based on Rousseau and Spinoza – without

¹⁵⁰ Deno Geanakoplos *The Diaspora Greeks: The Genesis of Modern Greek National Consciousness* in: Nikiforos Diamandouros, P. *Hellenism and the First Greek War of Liberation (1821-1830: Continuity and Change*. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1976

success.¹⁵¹ The internal frictions between the way to run a revolution and to run a state caused a civil war.

This international layer of the independence process had a bitter and staunch resistance especially on the part of the leaders of the troops who fought for independence, and who were at a real disadvantage when changing the system in which their power was founded. This reticence would be the fundamental axis of the civil war and internal conflicts within the very heart of the revolution. This conflict between two ways of ordering the world collided from the very beginning of the revolution and would not end until after the establishment of the Greek state, the enthroning of the monarchy, and reaching its peak with the assassination of Kapodistrias in Nauplio in 1831.¹⁵² The enlightened elites who shaped and maintained the *Filiki Eteria*, whose ideas and whose visions were applied in the war of independence, managed to preserve themselves and then got concerned with playing the political and military game over the *klepthis* and *armatoloi* and their leaders. This was possible thanks to their administrative, diplomatic and superior political conditions, which were used according to their benefits in the international context in which the revolution took place. This can be seen in the commentary of some of the Philhellenes that went to Greece to help with the independence struggle, as these following comments of John Cam Hobhouse show:

«There may appear a triteness in reminding the Greeks of Leonidas; but the truth is that of him, and of the other heroes of antiquity, the generality of the people have but a very

¹⁵¹Petro Pisanias et. al. *The Greek Revolution of 1821: a European Event* Isis Press, Istanbul, 2011, 300 p. p.96-97

¹⁵² Adam Zamoyski. *Phantom Terror: Political Paranoia and the Creation of the Modern State, 1789-1848*. Hachette UK, 2015, p.278-280

confused notion, and that very few of them trace the period of their former glory farther back than the days of the Greek Emperors. Those who are most fond of recurring to past times, dwell on the power and merits of those Princes, and begin their history with the great Constantine, the Emperor of the Greeks, (Ὁ Μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων) [...] »¹⁵³

In a more harsh way, regarding the attitudes the Greeks of the early nineteenth century held towards their ancient past and the people that had inhabited those land in antiquity, a commentator from the United States, known as Breck and from whom few personal details are known, stated in this comments in 1824, when the Greek Revolution was struggling to prevail after the reconquest attempts from the Ottoman Empire and the expedition of Mehmet Ali that arrived to the Peloponnese in that year:

«The modern Greeks know nothing of Thucydides, Aristotle, Solon and other worthies of older times; their traditions go no further than the Byzantine Empire, and their wish is not to be republicans, but to have an Emperor or absolute master of their own religion. »¹⁵⁴

But this superiority was subject to larger powers, international pressure and internal quarrels that made the ideological liberalism of the revolutionaries stagnate, only to stop definitively with the promulgation of the Greek political constitution of 1827. This was passed under the attentive gaze of the guarantors of the revolution, who sat in the Congress of Vienna and knew about the difficulties that the dissensions between the rural and the urban world, between clan and tribalist structures of the interior posed to the enlightened Greek bourgeoisies of the islands and in the diaspora. Kapodistrias gave a clear example

¹⁵³ David Ricks and Paul Magdalino. *Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity* p. 3

¹⁵⁴ David Ricks and Paul Magdalino. *Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity* p. 3

of the Bonapartism of the time when he promulgated a constitution that had hardly any liberal institution in it.¹⁵⁵

The Greek independence, granted by the European powers in the form of a Bavarian monarchy, was a product perfectly formed by the results of the congress of Vienna and the tacit war declared to the revolutionary and liberal ideas that the French revolution and the Napoleonic wars had spread throughout Europe, when they had already settled on its periphery, with the Neohellenic Enlightenment as an example for this process in the Balkans. The emerging state, with its absolutist first regime, with a foreign king, with the majority of its possible citizens outside its boundaries, and with serious political and social divisions, was nothing like what Kapodistrias or Rhigas Feraios would have wished for.¹⁵⁶

The outcome of the revolution is what Gourgouris considers to be a postcolonial condition of the nation-building process of Greece, with the belatedness of modernization, the uneven development and late engagement of the country with the post-Enlightenment structures and institutions of Europe.¹⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the possibilities of transmission of ideas from outside and inside of the Greek national struggle and the factual translation of an enlightened consciousness to the periphery of Western Europe, is undoubtedly an outcome of the vital perspective from the receptive areas of this new intellectual

¹⁵⁵ V.J. Parry, M.E Yapp. *War, technology and society in the Middle East*. London, Oxford University Press, 1975. 448 p. p.317 Petro Pisanias et. al. *The Greek Revolution of 1821: a European Event* Isis Press, Istanbul, 2011, 300 p. p.69

¹⁵⁶ Yannis Makriyiannis. *Memorias de la Revolución griega de 1821* (Memories of the Greek Revolution of 1821); edición de Francisco Javier Ortola Salas. Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2012 640 p. p.17

¹⁵⁷ Stathis Gourgouris. *Dream nation: Enlightenment, colonization, and the institution of modern Greece*. p.71

perspective.¹⁵⁸ The latter could be combined with other historical experiences within the context of the Age of Revolutions to provide an even more comprehensive account.



Figure 12: Greece personified as a woman in ancient times clothes, with intellectual and military leaders who participated in the Greek Revolution.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ Paschalis Kitromilides. "The enlightenment East and West: a comparative perspective on the ideological origins of the Balkan political traditions." *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 10.1 (1983): 51-70.

¹⁵⁹ Theodoros Vryzakis, *Grateful Hellas*. Oil on canvas, 1858. National Gallery of Greece, Athens.

CONCLUSION

‘All the foremost men of the ancient Greeks, the parents of all mankind, such as Plato, Socrates, Aristides, Themistocles, Leonidas, Thrasybulus, Demosthenes and the rest, who were the fathers of mankind in general, and set it on the path of virtue and light and bravery and patriotism [...] must have lived for so many centuries in some dark place in Hades and have wept and suffered torments for the many perils that this poor wretched country of theirs has undergone.’
Yannis Makriyannis¹⁶⁰

The themes and motives of classical antiquity for the construction of Colombia and Greece as independent states and in their constitution in the early stages of their existence were used as tools by political elites to sustain their decisions and aspirations. Resorting to the classics let them obtain a degree of moral and intellectual authority as well as a prudent distance over other types of authors and ideas – like the revolutionary French philosophers – that could be considered polemic and whose views and ideas conflicted with the various emerging political currents engaged in the construction of the new, independent states in the south of the Balkans and the North of South America. Greeks and Colombians saw in antiquity a model upon which they could project their ideals. Irrespective of their knowledge of the failure of the republican efforts of Rome, Athens, and Sparta, the revolutionaries appreciated the struggle their ancient counterparts had been engaged in, and some guerrilla leaders of the Greek revolution, like Yannis Makriyannis, overcame their illiteracy to read those accounts. This last section in this work will elucidate how this thesis reached its overall conclusion by discussing two main points: the moral and political foundations of the new states, and the thwarted expectations of the republican projects.

¹⁶⁰ Yannis Makriyannis. *Makriyannis: The Memoirs of General Makriyannis, 1797-1864*. Translated by H.A. Lidderdale Oxford University Press, 1966 p.145

6.1 Antiquity as a Moral Authority: The Foundations of Political Thought in Colombia and Greece

Even though they shared the same classical ideals and political configuration of other revolutions that occurred in similar contexts,¹⁶¹ the republican-style attempts to achieve independence in Colombia and Greece belong to a different school of political thought. Further, all these revolutions shared the same general processes. Despite being part of a transnational and global development, the Colombian and Greek revolutions had very unique characteristics, owed to their respective local environments. While the works of authors like Skinner and Pocock, or Hobsbawm and Palmer have set the course for various historiographical developments, their approaches were innately Eurocentric.¹⁶² In order to accommodate revolutions that took place outside of Europe without stripping them of their individual differences, previous mono-focal works written from the European perspective should be reviewed and opened up for debate. Neither republicanism nor classical values belong to any one tradition, not even the one in the North Atlantic from where they originate. Indeed, because the classical tradition has merely fulfilled the function of transmission of its values and the concept of republicanism to other regions engaged in nation building processes, and because the political ideals of this tradition have grown entangled with the characteristics of different regions, scholarship would merit from adopting a multi-focal approach that was similarly entangled with intercultural differences.

¹⁶¹ Caroline Winterer. *The culture of classicism: Ancient Greece and Rome in American intellectual life, 1780-1910*. JHU Press, 2004; Martindale, Charles, and Richard F. Thomas, eds. *Classics and the Uses of Reception*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2006.

¹⁶² David Armitage, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, eds. *The age of revolutions in global context, c. 1760-1840*. Macmillan International Higher Education, 2009 p. xviii

The reception of classical notions and their application to contemporary political ideas as they underwent transformations caused by certain historical events on both sides of the Atlantic remain fundamental and foundational factors that continue to shape Colombian political thought and influence its ethos as a state and nation. While some diatribes were directed towards the republican political system and some spoke out in favor of the absolutist monarchy, examples of which can be found in newspapers and speeches, the establishment of the new independent republics by the main protagonists of the independence process was of considerable – global – significance. The conscious and unconscious use of a literary tradition imbued with political and constitutional aims – a tradition widely known by the political elites – is at the basis of the formation of the Colombian and Greek nation states. Because the latter aims also permeated the strata of global society in this period, the Colombian independence process became known to and then integrated into the political thought of the Western Hemisphere at the time.

The ideas of the Enlightenment were at the root of the renaming of political events and ideological conflicts during the French Revolution and caused the inertia in the face of the subsequent revolutions this thesis has discussed. With the passing of time, more and more concepts were transmuted: cosmopolitanism became expansionist nationalism, pacifism became militarism, toleration became fanaticism and freedom became terror¹⁶³

¹⁶³ François Furet, and Mona Ozouf. *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989 p. 667

6.2 Between the Ancient Republics and the Independent States: The Consequences of the Absence of “Civic Virtue” and the Republican Deception

When the wars ended, the real challenge for the new nations began. The impetus of the revolution and its warlike development had overthrown a dominant, foreign order that had ruled the newly independent states for centuries.¹⁶⁴ Yet, when the cannon fire ceased, the revolutionary leaders realized that their efforts to achieve independence from the colonial powers had been nothing compared to the efforts it would take to quiet the quarrels between the local leaders and prevent them from blindly asserting their will or to keep them from abusing their power.¹⁶⁵ Leaders like Kapodistrias, who had despised Napoleon for having crushed the revolution and the republican project and having destabilized the entire European continent after being crowned emperor, employed, in their own fashion, political measures very familiar to the authoritarian ones used by Napoleon in his natal Corsica.¹⁶⁶

The fall of the Spanish Empire and the institution of a new republican order began to materialize when the Criollo armies eventually triumphed over their opponents in the plains of northern South America. These armies, formed in the minds of their commanders and on paper under the enlightened precepts that were based on the Greco-Roman classical tradition of rational order, progress and freedom, paved the way for the creation of a series of independent republics. While the new republics broke apart the homogeneous geographical unity of northern South America in favor of establishing political unity, a true Republic of equals could never be forged. Instead, the new independent states were

¹⁶⁴ Alan Forrest, (et. al) *War, Demobilization and Memory. The Legacy of War in the Era of Atlantic Revolutions*. (New York, Palgrave Mcmillan, 2016) 320

¹⁶⁵ Alan Forrest, (et. al) *War, Demobilization and Memory*. 322

¹⁶⁶ Michael Broers. *Napoleon's Other War: Bandits, Rebels and Their Pursuers in the Age of Revolutions*. Witney: Peter Lang, 2010. xxiii, 232 p.: ill., maps, 24 cm. 14

governed by fairly hybrid constitutional orders. On the one hand, they considered slavery a *fait accompli* that generated certain benefits for indigenous communities. On the other hand, they tried to protect the new states from threats like radical Jacobinism, where too much democracy and too much freedom could generate.¹⁶⁷

The Great Colombia was one of the first examples of constitutional change in which the transition from the colonial to the republican order successfully took place. For this reason, it had an angular importance in the construction of the South American nations and was, in turn, an exceptional case where republicanism is the structural and organizational basis of the state. Indeed, it has remained an indispensable condition of the political organization of the country up to the present. Evidence of this is the absence of autocratic and totalitarian governments throughout the two centuries of Colombian independence. The forms of state coercion, although sometimes even more violent than those of other regimes and dictatorships of the continent, were established, shaped and always used within the republican state framework – a practice that continues until today.

At the end of the Greek War of Independence, the ideals that had formed the basis of the movement of the Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment and the revolution itself had been annihilated. The hundreds of Philhellenes who went to the mountains, islands and valleys of Rumelia in search of the glories of classical Greece and the verses of Byron, only to find diseases, ignorance, and the greed of the leaders of the revolution, met with the same fate. The Greek revolution ended with the coronation of a foreign, Catholic king.¹⁶⁸ With a Bavarian adolescent who had been made head of the modern Greek state and nominal

¹⁶⁷ Jane Burbank, Frederick Cooper. *Empires in World History: power and the politics of difference* p. 247-248

¹⁶⁸ Martyn Lyons. *Post-revolutionary Europe: 1815-1856*. Macmillan, New York, 2006 p. 90-96

leader of the Greek Orthodox church to alleviate the struggle of the imperial powers, and with three quarters of the Greek king's subjects outside of the borders of the new kingdom, the Greek Revolution, at its end, was an absurdity. Given the outcome of the Greek revolution, the independent Greek state started out on a difficult and challenging path.

To date, the use of a common past, specifically the one corresponding to classical antiquity under the filter of the ideas of neoclassicism, has received some attention as a topic of research. It has been analyzed how close the protagonists of this comparison were to each other, if the Greeks of the first half of the nineteenth century praised their millenary ancestors, or if, on the contrary, they primarily commemorated the Byzantium and Christian orthodoxy. Further, research has looked at whether the ideological proximity and similar educational background would, despite the geographical distance between them, the education received in the classical tradition, place Antonio Nariño and Francisco Jose de Caldas closer to Aristotle and Demosthenes than to what Yiannis Makriyiannis or Alexandros Ipsilantis.

Lastly, the possibilities of a work like this one lies in the imagination of new ways to break the established schemes and periodizations. Action upon and reflection on written history has always fulfilled a function for the present. Yet, the wealth of information and knowledge that are generated from it are, perspectively, tied to the author. This needs bearing in mind, especially with the forthcoming bicentennial conjuncture of these events in 2019 for Colombia and 2021 for Greece. A key part of the present historical analysis was to seek out other points of view and perspectives from which an event separated by space but linked in time could be explored, investigated and discussed. The events analyzed

by the present thesis also serve as mouthpieces for the social conglomerate called *nation*, whether it is Colombian or Greek and in Europe or America.

As a final remark, the Colombian and Greek revolutions may not have been studied much – at least not in the language in which these lines are written, English – but that does not make them any less important or less connected to the global process of interconnection and entanglement. Future studies are needed to deepen our understanding of the issues that the historiographical analysis of this thesis has raised. The analysis of the similarities and differences of the contemporaneity of the most abandoned decade in the history of revolutions must continue, and the silence of historians in this respect must cease.¹⁶⁹ The present work aspires to be the first of many future contributions to more inclusive and less Eurocentric scholarship on the Age of Revolutions.

¹⁶⁹ Matthew Brown and Gabriel Paquette. "The Persistence of Mutual Influence: Europe and Latin America in the 1820s." (2011): 387-396 p. 388

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APPENDIX

8.1 Compared Chronology

YEAR	WORLD HISTORY	HISTORY OF COLOMBIA	HISTORY OF GREECE
1770	March 5: British soldiers shoot at a crowd at the Boston Massacre.	April 16: By Royal Decree, Charles III banned the use of indigenous languages in America.	February 17: Rebellion in the Peloponnese by the Russian brothers Orlov.
1771	July 13: The Russians take Crimea during the Russo-Turkish War.	October 28: Following the Royal decree, the province of Guyana is integrated to the Viceroyalty of New Granada.	June 17: Rebellion of Sfakia in Crete and execution of his leader Daskaloyiannis.
1781	May 18: Decapitation and subsequent dismemberment in Cuzco by Túpac Amaru II	March 16: In the town of Socorro, Manuela Beltrán begins the revolt of the comuneros	May: The alliance for the “Greek Plan” between Catharine the Great of Russia and Joseph II from Austria is sealed.
1782	November 30: The Treaty of Paris that will ratify the independence of the United States of America begins to be negotiated	January 30: Execution and dismemberment of the Comuneros leader José Antonio Galán.	The first Masonry Lodge in Greece is established on the island of Corfu under the name of "Beneficenza"

1797	May 12: The Venetian Republic comes to an end when the last Doge, Ludovico Manin surrenders to the Napoleon's troops.	July 6: Foundation of the city of Villavicencio in the Orinoquía region.	June 29: France occupies the Ionian Islands with the landing in Corfu.
1798	July 1: Napoleon disembarks in Alexandria and invades Egypt.	University reform in the Viceroyalty of New Granada based in the Enlightenment, came to an end	June 24: Rigas Feraios Velestinlis is executed in Belgrade.
1799	November 9: Coup d'etat of 18 Brumaire, Napoleon deposes the Directory and becomes Consul.		February 20: Russian troops are present in Corfu and other Ionian islands.
1803	November 30: The Royal Expedition of Balmis sails from Spain, which brought the cure of smallpox to Latin America and the Philippines.	September 16: Arrives in Santa Fe to take possession as Viceroy Antonio José Amar y Borbón.	December 12: After three attempts, Ali Pasha occupies Suli after the heroic resistance of its inhabitants.
1804	December 2: Napoleon is crowned Emperor in Paris.	May: Francisco Antonio Zea, disciple of Mutis in Bogotá and later ambassador of the Great Colombia in London, is named director of the Royal Botanical Garden of Madrid.	February 14: Karadjordje Petrovic is crowned king of Serbia after the revolt against the Ottomans.

1805	October 21: Battle of Trafalgar December 2: Battle of Austerlitz	December 10: After returning from Quito and working there with Alexander von Humboldt, Francisco José de Caldas returns to Santafé de Bogotá to work in the Royal Botanical Expedition.	June 1: Mehmet Ali, originally from Kavala (now Greece), is named pasha of Egypt.
1806	June 27: The English try to take the port of Buenos Aires for the first time. December 22: Motivated by the Russian defeat in Austerlitz, Sultan Selim III closed the straits of the Bosphorus and started the Russo-Turkish War.	May: After his stay in Europe, Simón Bolívar begins to undertake his return to America, evading the continental blockade.	Publication of the <i>Hellenic Nomarchy</i> in Italy.
1807	December: Sultan Mustafa IV orders to recapture Mecca and Medina beginning the Ottoman-Wahabbi war	October 4: The “Weekly of the New Kingdom of Granada” the first scientific publication of the Viceroyalty and the voice of the enlightened elite is founded by Caldas.	July 8: French troops retakes the Heptanese expelling the Russian and Turkish troops.

1808	May 2: With an uprising in Madrid, begins the war of independence of Spain.	September 11: The priest and botanist José Celestino Mutis founder and director of the Royal Botanical Expedition dies in Santa Fé de Bogotá.	May 5: Armed Uprising in Macedonia of the <i>Klepthis</i> and <i>Armatoloi</i> of Nicos Tsaras.
1810	April-September: Emergence of juntas, Mexico, Quito, Chile, Venezuela, Buenos Aires and Florida declare Independence from Spain.	July 20: A brawl breaks out in the main square of Santafé which would lead to the beginning of the independence of New Granada.	February 16: A great earthquake destroyed Candia (Heraklion) in Crete, killing at least 2000 people.
1812	November 26-29: At the battle of Berézina, the Grand Armée is defeated in Russia and begins its withdrawal.	March 19, 1812: The Constitution of Cadiz is promulgated with the presence of the deputies of the Viceroyalty of New Granada.	
1813	October 19: The "battle of the Nations", the biggest battle of the Napoleonic wars, ends in Leipzig.	May 30: the war between federalists and centralists ended with the armistice between Cundinamarca and the United Provinces of the New Granada.	September: Foundation in the halls of the Athenian elite of the "Society of the Muses"

1814	November 1: Installation of the Congress of Vienna by the delegates of the European powers.	December 12: Simón Bolívar entered Santafé de Bogotá, commanding troops from the United Provinces of New Granada, composed mainly of Venezuelans and federalists.	September 14: Foundation of the <i>Filiki Eteria</i> or "Society of Friends" the secret organization
1815	June 18: Battle of Waterloo, Napoleon is finally defeated by an Anglo-Prussian coalition	August 26: Weakened after a brief siege in March by Bolívar, the city of Cartagena surrenders before the troops of the Spanish Pablo Morillo.	November 5: Ioannis Kapodistrias is appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire, participating in the Vienna Congress.
1816	July 14: Francisco de Miranda dies in Prison, forerunner of American independence and accomplished philhellene.	May 26: The troops of the Reconquest and Pacification of Morillo make their triumphal entry into Bogota.	June 7: The British government buys the Parthenon marbles, carried to London by Lord Elgin.
1819	August 16: British cavalry charge a crowd of 60,000 during the Peterloo massacre in Manchester.	June-August: Liberating Campaign, battles of Paya, Pantano de Vargas and Boyacá. The Great Colombia is established.	December 21: Emmanouel Pappas, leader of the Greek Revolution in Macedonia, is accepted in the <i>Filiki Eteria</i> .

1820	January 1: Riego Revolution in Spain against the absolutist government of Fernando VII.	July 14: The longest of the sieges of Cartagena de Indias started when patriotic forces tried to surrender the royalist garrison of the city.	April 12: Alexandros Ipsilantis is proclaimed leader of the <i>Filiki Eteria</i>
1821	May 5: Napoleon Bonaparte dies in his exile on the island of Saint Helena.	May 6: Congress of Cúcuta chaired by Antonio Nariño. First constitution of the Great Colombia.	March 25: Traditional date of the beginning of the Greek revolution, although it had really started days before.
1822	February 7: Ferdinand VII of Spain asked to the Holy Alliance for help against the liberal government, in order to reestablish absolutism.	April 7: Battle of Bomboná near the city of Pasto, patriotic victory that ensures the crossing to the south of the Andes.	January 16: The first Greek National Assembly ended in Epidaurus, Peloponnese.
1824	August 25: Delacroix exposes for the first time in Paris the oil “The massacre of Chios”, visual instrument of the philhellenism.	December 9: Battle of Ayacucho, end of the wars of independence in South America. Royalist officers return to Spain.	Alliance between Sultan Mahmud II and Mehmet Ali, Pasha of Egypt and to reconquer Rumelia. April 12: The Ottoman fleet in Crete. April 19: Lord Byron dies in Missolonghi.
1825	December 1: Alexander I of Russia dies. It happens Nicolas I.	July: The government of the Great Colombia sent officials to perform the census of the country.	May 8: Disaster of Sphacteria, which leads to the departure of Theodoros Kolokotronis from prison.

1826	June 15: The "Beneficial Event" in Istanbul, the modernized troops of Sultan Mahmut II bombard the headquarters of the janissaries, finishing them as an institution.	April 30: The general José Antonio Páez, leads a revolt known as "The Cosiata" to separate Venezuela from the Great Colombia.	April 10: Exodus of the last inhabitants of Mesholongi. May 3: Site and surrender to the Ottomans of the Acropolis of Athens.
1827	April 8: Naval Battle of Monte Santiago, a decisive Brazilian victory over the Argentinian Navy in the Cisplatine war.	January 28: After three years, Simón Bolívar is deposed as Dictator of Peru.	October 20: Naval Battle of Navarino, final battle of the Greek War of Independence.
1828	January 22: Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington and winner of Napoleón, accedes to the position of British prime minister.	August 27: Simón Bolívar declares himself dictator of the Gran Colombia, his opposition conspires the September conspiracy.	August 29: Sent from France, the military and scientific expedition of the Morea disembarks in the Peloponnese.
1829	September 14: Autonomy of Serbia and conformation of the kingdom of Bulgaria according to the treaty of Adrianople.	September 22: End of the War between the Great Colombia and Perú with the treaty of Larrea-Gual	September 14: Treaty of Adrianople, The Sublime Gate accepts the independence of Greece.
1830	July 27: June Revolution in France, is extended to Belgium and gives it its independence.	December 17: Simón Bolívar dies in Santa Marta, end of the Great Colombia.	February 3: Great Britain, France and Russia sign the protocol of London and establish a sovereign and independent Greek state.

1833	May 4: Treaty of Küthaya that establishes the independence of Egypt.	Ecuador under General Flores, Venezuela under General Paez and New Granada under Francisco de Paula Santander are republics only by name, ruled by autocratic military leaders.	January 25: Otto I disembark in the port of Nafplio and begins the Greek Monarchy.
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