Imagining Modern Greece:
Mesologgi, Philhellenism and Art in the 19th century.

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Abstract

Renowned as the site of Byron's death, and the centre of war operations in western mainland Greece during the Greek War of Independence, Mesologgi duly became a focus of Philhellene propaganda in the revolt against Ottoman rule. Yet it can be argued that commentary on the artistic manifestations of this discourse has overlooked the coherence of the iconography of revolutionary Mesologgi and has understated its role in underpinning Greek nationalist ideology. This thesis analyses how Philhellene images of Mesologgi advocated for the worthiness of the Greek insurgency in seeking Western support, and elevated the town as an emblem of the revolution of 1821 on a global scale.

Foremost among the themes underpinning the visual imagery examined, is an emphasis on the continuity of Greek culture and identity since classical antiquity. The antiquarian construction of modern Hellenism, which antedates the formal establishment of the Greek nation-state in 1832, had as its corollary the denigration of the Ottoman Empire as a barbaric military force. This anti-Ottoman invective, together with French liberal politics and Western religious art, are fundamental elements in the visual language used by the Philhellene artists. After the fall of the town on 11 April 1826, a formulaic and coherent narrative of revolutionary Mesologgi emerged in Philhellene art that encompassed these elements. This thesis argues that central to the establishment of this consistent narrative were the themes of the Christian identity of the Greek insurgents and the nobility of the vanquished hero, and, as such, and that these tropes warrant detailed analysis in relation to Mesologgi and Philhellene iconography.

Declaration

This is to certify that

(i) this thesis comprises only my original work towards the Ph D,

(ii) due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used,

(iii) the thesis is less than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.



Spiridoula Demetriou

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Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Municipal Gallery of Mesologgi
Musée Carnavalet, Paris
Musée Condé, Chantilly
Musée des Beaux-Arts Salies, Bagnères-de-Bigorre
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Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Museum of Fine Arts, Lyon
Museum of the French Revolution, Vizelle
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Names, Dates and Explanatory notes

Mesologgi

This Greek placename has been conventionally transliterated into English as ‘Missolonghi’. However, I found 29 other spellings. I have a preference for ‘Mesologgi’ as it renders the local pronunciation most accurately and is the closest transliteration of the Greek form. I have used this version consistently except where quoting a text containing another spelling.

Dates

In some instances, the dates of letters cited in this thesis appear with two dates that are twelve days apart. This reflects the dates according to the ‘old’ Julian calendar that was in force in Greece during the era of the Greek insurrection and ran 12 days earlier than the ‘new’ Gregorian calendar adopted by many western countries at the time.

Explanatory notes

Details of works of art are provided as they were made available to me by the institutions that hold them, or private owners, or according to written texts that contain this information.

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Figure E-3.5 Artist unknown, F. Bonneville éditeur, *Refrains patriotiques,* 1792-94. 28.5 x 31 cm, colour etching. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Department of Prints and Photography, inv. no. RESERVE QB-370 (29)-FT 4, De Vinck Collection: 5010.

Figure E-3.6 Jacques-Louis David, *Andromache Mourning Hector,* 1783. 2.75 x 2.03 m, oil on canvas. Paris, Louvre Museum, D. L. 1969-1.

Figure E-3.7 Unknown, *Honneurs rendus à la mémoire de le Pelletier: jeudy 24 janvier 1793, le corps du martyr de la liberté,* 1793. 9.5 x 16.5 cm. etching. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Department of Prints and Photography, Prints relative to the history of France, inv. no. RESERVE FOL-QB-201 (130), Michel Hennin Collection: 11484.

Figure E-3.8 Loverdos and Gryspos lith. *Ο όρκος του Λόρδου Βύρωνος επί του τάφου του Μάρκου Βότσαρη εν Μεσολογγίω 7 Απριλίου 1824.* [n.d.]. 49 x 63 cm, coloured lithograph. Athens, National Historical Museum, inv. no. 56.

Figure E-4.1 Théodore Leblanc, *Camp des Grecs palikares devant Lépante.1827.* 1833. 111 x 126 cm, oil on canvas. Versailles, Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, inv. no. MV 4843; INV 5744; LP 156. Reference: Constans (1996: 260).

Figure E-4.2 Eugène Delacroix *Scènes des massacres de Scio; Familles grecques attendant la mort ou l'esclavage,* 1824. 419 x 354 cm, oil on canvas. Paris, Louvre Museum, inv. no. 3823.

Figure E-4.3 *The Greek Patriarch murdered at Constantinople & a citizen impaled alive,* 1823. 19 x 10.6 cm, black and white aquatint. History of modern Greece from 1820 to the establishment of Grecian independence. Religion, formation of the senate, names of the senators, their power & duties, officers, naval and military, code of laws, numerous battles by sea and land, with the rapid fall of the Turkish Empire in Europe, Asia & Africa. The cruelties, assassinations and ravages of the Turks. Description of Constantinople, official documents annexed. Embellished with neat engravings (G. Riebau 1823: plate 1).

Figure E-4.4 Jean Thouvenin graveur, J.-Frédéric Cazenave dessinateur du modèle, Chezle cit. Pezard èditeur, *Trait de courage héroïque: des brigands de la Vendée, s'étant rendus maîtres de Saint-Mithier,* 1793-94. 26.5 x 37.5 cm, black and white stipple engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Department of Prints and Photography, inv. no. RESERVE FOL-QB-201 (134), Michel Hennin Collection: 11858.

Figure E-4.5 Sassoferrato *The Virgin in prayer,* 1640-50. 73 x 57.7 cm, oil on canvas. London, National Gallery, inv. no. NG200.

Figure E-4.6 Eugène Delacroix, *Pietà,* c.1850. 35 x 27 cm, oil on canvas. Oslo, National Gallery, inv. no. NG.M.01179.

Figure E-4.7 Pierre Roch Vigneron, *La prise de Missolonghi,* 1827. 97 x 130 cm, oil on canvas. Bagnères-de-Bigorre, Musée des Beaux-Arts Salies, inv. no. 858-1-615. Image courtesy of © Musée Salies - Didier Sorbé.

Figure E-5.1 William J. Woodhouse. *Mesologgi across the lagoon with fisheries in the foreground,* c.1890s. Contemporary digital image produced from a glass-plate negative created by Woodhouse. Sydney, Woodhouse Archive, Nicholson Museum - University of Sydney, inv. no. NM2007.125.12.

Figure E-5.2 Henry Heath fec^{t}, Pub^{d} May 10 by J. Fairburn Broadway, *The rising sun or faction defeated,* 1827. 247 x 348 mm, hand-coloured etching. London, British Museum, Museum Number 1948, 0214.916.

Figure E-5.3 Nicolas-Victor de Fonville graveur, H. Brunet éditeur, *Au bénéfice des grecs: Défense héroïque des grecs assiégés dans Missolonghi par l'armée d'Ibrahim-pacha, forte de 25 mille hommes. Explosion de la mine pratiquée dans leurs retranchemens au moment où les Turcs-Egyptiens venaient de sen emparer,* 1826. 23.1 x 29.9 cm, black and white lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, inv. no. QC 3 (1826) FOL TOME 2 FONVILLE.

Figure E-5.4 Spiridoula Demetriou, *Mesologgi, Palm Sunday.* 2009. Colour photograph.

Figure E-5.5 Artist unknown, *Panorama of Mesologgi,* nineteenth century, [n.d.]. 11.5 x 180 cm, brown ink, wash and lead pencil. Athens, Michael Kotinis Collection.

Figure E-5.6 Drawn by William Purser, engraved by E. Finden, published by J. Murray, *Missolonghi,* 1834. Sheet 17 x 24 cm, image area 9.2 x 13.4 cm, black and white steel engraving. Melbourne, Demetriou Collection.

Figure E-6.1 Gezeichnet v. Follenweider, Lith. von A. Merian, *Missolonghi am 23. April 1826. Der Erlos dieses Blatts zum Besten der Griechen.* 1828. 44 x 48 cm, black and white lithograph. Mesologgi, Municipal Museum, inv. no. 89.

Figure E-6.2 Josêphine-Clémence Formentin, Imp. Litho. *Quête pour les Grecs,* 1826. 20 x 26 cm, hand-coloured lithograph, Athens, National Historical Museum, inv. no. 14343.

Figure E-6.3 H. Lavoignat, *Personification of liberated Greece with broken chains around her waist holding sword and Ottoman horse tail war standard while trampling an Ottoman soldier,* title page vignette, 26 x 16.5 cm, black and white wood engraving. Delavigne (1840).

Figure E-6.4 Joseph-Denis Odevaere, *De laatste verdedigers van Missolonghi, 22 April 1826: episode uit de Griekse vrijheidsooring,* 1826. 58 x 86 cm, oil on canvas. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-1093.

Figure E-6.5 Ary Scheffer, *Les débris de la garnison de Missolonghi au moment de mettre le feu à la mine qui doit les faire périr,* c.1826. 26 x 20 cm, oil on canvas. Dordrechts, Dordrechts Museum, inv. no. DM/S/33.

Figure E-6.6 C. Langlois pinxt., lith. de Engelmann, Marin Lavigne del., *Destruction de Missolonghi,* 1827. 36 x 47 cm, black and white lithograph. Athens, National Historical Museum, Print Collection, inv. no. 4948/20. Reference: Constans (1996: 288) dates this lithograph 27 January 1827.

Figure E-6.7 Lit. di P. Bertotti, *Io stesso accorrero a dare il fuoco alla mina e cosi martiri periremo della Patria e della Religione,* frontispiece, *Novelle interessanti, istruttive e dilettevoli*: *L'assedio ossiano gli ultimi giorni di Missolungi,* Page 17 x 10 cm, image area 10.5 cm x 7 cm, black and white lithograph. Coppi (1839). Image courtesy of National Library Braidense.

Figure E- 6.8 Theodoros Vryzakis, *Η θυσία του Καψάλη,* [n.d.]. 134 x 144 cm, oil on canvas. Nafplio, National Art Gallery and Alexander Soutzos Museum, inv. no. Π 1299.

Figure E-6.9 Theodoros Vryzakis [according to oral history as stated on index card for painting], *Η ανατίναξη του Χρήστου Καψάλη,* [n.d.]. 1.32 x 1.41 cm, oil on canvas. Mesologgi, Municipal Galley of Mesologgi, inv. no. 29.

Figure E-6.10 Friedrich-Christoph Nilson, *Οι εναπομείναντες της φρουράς του Μεσολογγίου τη στιγμή που βάζουν φωτιά στην πυρατιδαποθήκη για να ανατιναχθούν,* 1876. 83 x 115 cm, oil on canvas. Athens, Private Collection (Tsigakou: 2015: 50 and 210).

Figure E-6.11 *Martyrdom of Demetrius,* date unknown, panel, The Sinai Icon Collection, Michigan Inventory Number 1720. By permission of Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt. Photograph courtesy of Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to Mount Sinai.

Figure E-6.12 Charles Mercereau lith., Frick frères imprimeur, Orcel éditeur, *La maçonnerie instruisant les peuples,* 1837. 550 x 360 mm, black and white lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Department of Prints and Photography, inv. no. RF MAT-1, NQ-D-023902.

Figure E-6.13 A. Rethel inv., X. Steifensand sc., *Messalonghi 1826 d. 22 April,* 1848. 140 x 95 mm, black and white steel engraving. Bülau (1848: plate between pages 240 and 241).

Figure E-6.14 George Morland, *The soldier's departure,* 1791. 30.5 x 25.5 cm, oil on canvas. Wirral, National Museums Liverpool, Lady Lever Art Gallery, inv. no. LL 3673.

Figure E-6.15 Guillaume Guillon-Lethière, *L'enrôlement des volontaires ou la patrie en danger,* 1799. 59 x 100 cm, oil on canvas. Vizelle, Museum of the French Revolution © Coll. Museum of French Revolution / range Vizelle, inv. no. MRF 1985.14.

Figure E-6.16 Theophilos, *The hero Athanasios Diakos in 1821,* [n.d.]. 39.5 x 26.5 cm, oil on cardboard. Thessaloniki, Macedonian Museum of Contemporary Art, inv. no. 0000.065PA.0379.

Figure E-6.17 Ary Scheffer, *Les femmes Souliotes,* 1827. 261.5 x 359.5 cm, oil on canvas, Paris, Louvre Museum, inv. no. 7857.

Figure E-6.18 Artist unknown, P. Pegadiotes ed., Grossi lith., *Η Έξοδος του Μεσολογγίου* in Newpaper *Νεός Αριστοφάνης* 12 July 1892. Newsheet 60 x 40 cm, image size 52.5 x 33.5 cm, chromolithograph. Athens, National Historical Museum, Print Collection, inv. no. 4948/182.

Figure E-6.19 Coccia, copy of Vryzakis' *Exodus from Mesologgi.* Athens, War Museum. Photo courtesy of Dimitris Kamaras. https://flic.kr/p/zjx22q

Figure E-6.20 Theophanes the Greek, *The Transfiguration,* c.1403. 184 x 134 cm, tempera on wood. Moscow, Tretyakov Gallery, inv. no. 12797

Figure E-6.21 Raphael, *The Transfiguration,* 1516-20. 410 x 279 mm, tempera on wood, Vatican City, Vatican Museum, inv. no. Cat. 40333.

Introduction

In the nineteenth century, Philhellenism developed into a global political and artistic movement advocating the liberation of the Greek nation from Ottoman rule. This thesis is an examination of the iconography of nineteenth-century Philhellene art that elevated the township of Mesologgi into a symbol of the Greek War of Independence of 1821. It explores the use of images and symbols to embed a Philhellene narrative into artistic compositions encapsulating the town, and imbue them with coherent pro-Greek advocacy.

The Greek insurrection began in a series of uprisings whereby local populations refused to recognize Ottoman rule. Beginning in February 1821 in the Greek-administered principality of Moldavia, the revolt spread across several regions of the Ottoman Empire with substantial Greek populations, and the town of Mesologgi joined it in late May of that year.[1] Prior to its dramatic involvement in the struggle for Greek independence, Mesologgi was an unremarkable port and fishing town on a lagoon in Western mainland Greece. The events of 1821 to 1826 catapulted the town to the forefront of international politics where liberalism and nationalism were in the ascendancy, and Mesologgi became emblematic not only of the Greek struggle for independence but of universal principles of freedom and self-determination. Instrumental were Philhellene artists, who championed the Greek cause and urged defiance of the Congress of Vienna of 1815, which stipulated that European governments remain strictly neutral towards any new insurrections across the continent after the turmoil of the Napoleonic Wars.[2] Politicized Philhellene artists sought to mobilize public opinion against government policy, using their art to challenge the sensibilities of those who were content to acquiesce in Ottoman sovereignty over the Greek population.

The events that drew the attention of Western artists to Mesologgi and supplied the raw material for their propaganda were the protracted Ottoman sieges of 1822-23 and 1825-26, encompassing the heroic deeds of the insurgent Markos Botsaris, the presence

[1]Christopoulos & Bastias (Ed.) (1975, vol. 12:113), Prevelakis & Merticopoulou (Ed.) (1996, vol. 1: 391-92), Kremmydas (2007: 61), Prousis (2010, vol. 1: 24), Tsiamalos (2009: 206), and Veremis & Michalides (Eds.) (2010, vol. 3: 44).
[2] Sofka (1998).

there and death of Lord Byron between the two sieges, and the conspicuously valiant exodus of the town's last defenders on 11 April 1826. The rhetoric deployed by Philhellene artists in relation to Mesologgi was not particular to the town, as it was also applied to other places and circumstances in revolutionary Greece, and much of the iconography utilized was not unique to the war in Greece. In effect, while the contention that the Greek nation should be liberated from Ottoman rule was new, there was nothing new in the iconography employed by Philhellene artists. This thesis seeks to demonstrate this by examining Philhellene iconography in relation to its various sources, including antiquarian studies of Greece, French Republican art, Orientalist imagery, the Western religious tradition, and Classical academic art.

In doing so it is necessary to determine how such iconographical borrowings from different sources were tailored to Mesologgi and promoted the cause of the Greek War of Independence.[3] Assessment will be made whether new iconographies were formulated in the process and further investigation is undertaken of the means utilized by artists to exploit western Philhellene sentiments. This thesis will further investigate the means by which Philhellene art sought to elevate Mesologgi into a symbol of the Greek War of Independence by examining the iconographies selected by artists to portray key personalities linked to the town, and to the events that took place there.

A watershed event was the fall of the town on 11 April 1826, after which Philhellene artists seized upon Mesologgi's noble defeat as the focus of their campaign for increased international assistance, extolling the exceptional heroism and sacrifice of the last defenders. This is shown in what Andrew Wheatcroft has identified as a 'double theme' of martyrdom and triumph in many paintings of the fall of Mesologgi, an element that Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer also distinguished.[4] Philhellene artists made much of

[3] Only those images which can reliably be deemed to depict the town will be discussed and I have therefore excluded the lithograph by Gabriel Charton titled *Concert au profit des Grecs, vendredi 5 may 1826. Avec une lithogr. de Gabriel Charton représentant la prise d'une ville (Missolonghi?),* 1826, which an archivist's speculation has tentatively connected with Mesologgi (Appendix E figure E-1 [i]). Whilst the topography is plausible and the violence depicted is congruent with the last stages of the final siege, the image is arguably a generic depiction of the parlous state of the Greek insurgency at the time. Notwithstanding that Charton as a landscape artist, may have had prepared a representative image of Mesologgi during the period of the year-long final siege, in preparation for what may have seemed to some, as its inevitable fall.

[4] Wheatcroft (2005: 239) and Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1989: 67).

the town's distinctive seascape, which readily differentiated the town visually from other theatres of conflict in revolutionary Greece.

The celebration of Greek heroism in defeat at Mesologgi, leant itself to the memorable definition of the Greek revolution as a battle between a small Christian population and the mighty Ottoman Empire, in which the overwhelming odds merely served to emphasize their unwavering tenacity in adversity. In repeatedly exploiting these features of the plight of Mesologgi, artists reinforced the Philhellene message in their works. They may have been artistic clichés but they proved politically effective in internationally enlivening concern for Greek liberation and assured importance for the governments of the day.

As the Greek revolution unfolded over the years, the prominence of Mesologgi in Philhellene art reflected the fact that the fortunes of the town had become a barometer of the insurrection's progress for European audiences.[5] The fall of Mesologgi on 11 April 1826 sent an ominous signal to the West that the insurrection was unlikely to end in the Greek's favour.[6] Thereafter, Philhellene artists produced a plethora of images portraying the 'fallen Mesologgi' as evidence of the Greek nation's worthiness; it had earned its eventual liberation by taking up arms and fighting to the bitter end against its oppressor. The ensuing propagandist function of Philhellene art was assisted by the burgeoning print culture of the 1820s. Many engravings featuring Mesologgi were sold for the benefit of the Greek cause.

International accolades for Greek heroism at Mesologgi advanced the process by which the town became one of the central pillars of the Philhellenes' political agenda and a focus of the juxtaposition of Ottoman Moslems and Christian Greeks, against the backdrop of universal liberal ideals. It is no small irony that more than a week after the exodus from Mesologgi, the British House of Lords was considering whether the town was still withstanding the year-long siege, and Earl Grosvenor was urging support for the town's defenders who 'had shown themselves worthy descendants of the heroes of

[5] Hess (2005: 78).
[6] Blaquière (1826: 306).

Thermopylae'.[7] Not for the last time, contemporary Greek valour was being presented as a re-enactment of classical antiquity, but the time-lag in transmission of news from Mesologgi meant that Grosvenor was unaware of the full import of his classical analogy: the defence of Mesologgi in 1826 ended in defeat just as had the attempt to hold the pass at Thermopylae in 480 BCE. A month later, in London, *The Examiner* finally announced 'We give under the Foreign head the melancholy details of the final capture of Missolonghi, the defence of which affords so honourable a proof of determination and bravery on the one side, and of ruthless vengeance on the other'.[8] The same edition reported that a petition had been presented in the House of Commons on 19 May 'praying that Government would interpose in behalf of the Greeks' in light of 'the extreme sufferings and gallant spirit of that oppressed people, and alluded to reports of British intervention on their behalf'.[9]A few days later the French National Assembly debated the news of the town's reversion to Ottoman control and some deputies held European governments collectively responsible for the suffering of the Greeks.[10] The French Chamber was told that even though the insurgents were classified as a seditious group in revolt against a legitimate power, they were Christians, as much victims of European neutrality as of Ottoman violence.[11] Proponents of this argument extolled the last defenders of Mesologgi as modern exemplars of Hellenic valour whose blood sowed the seed of heroism among their compatriots.[12]

Images of fallen Mesologgi such as the lithograph titled *Massacre des Grecs à Missolungi* 1827 by Achille Devéria performed a crucial political function in maintaining pressure on Western governments to intervene in the Greek War of Independence (figure 4.4). Western military intervention on 20 October 1827 in the Bay of Navarino (to the south west of Mesologgi) eventually resolved the insurgency in the Greek nation's favour.[13] There followed an interlude of guaranteed autonomy under the authoritarian presidency of Ioannis Kapodistrias (1827-31).[14] When his assassination provoked a

[7] Affairs of Greece. Lords sitting of Thursday, April 20 1826. 19th century House of Lords Hansard sessional papers. (1826).
[8] The Examiner (London) 21 May 1826: 327.
[9] The Examiner (London) 21 May 1826: 327.
[10] Chambre des deputés. Présidence de M. Ravez. Séance du 23 Mai. (24 May 1826: 1-4).
[11] Chambre des deputés. Présidence de M. Ravez. Séance du 23 Mai. (24 May 1826: 4).
[12] Chambre des deputés. Présidence de M. Ravez. Séance du 23 Mai. (24 May 1826: 4).
[13] Foreign Office Great Britain (1831: 309).
[14] Brewer (2001: 301-302).

descent into anarchy and a renewed civil war, the Great Powers (Britain, France and Russia) stepped in once more, this time to establish the Kingdom of Greece in 1832 and to formally define its geographic boundaries.[15] The political context for these interventions resided in what had become known as the 'Eastern Question' in European diplomacy.[16] The drawn-out Greek insurrection had created considerable angst among European governments as to who would hold sway in the Balkan Peninsula if the insurgency failed, and the territorial threat posed to Europe by a victorious Ottoman Empire.[17] This wider geopolitical interest in the Greek Revolution was expressed in a rudimentary way by Philhellene art, as a clash between the Christian West and Islamic East. A factor captured in Philhellene art was the fear of unilateral intervention by the Russians, the co-religionists of the Greeks as eloquently expressed in William Heath's satirical print of 1828 *Imperial bears Gre~~as~~e(Greece) or a peep into futurity*, (figure 1 i).[18] Heath depicts the apoplexy of Britain and France at the sight of the Russian Tsar caricatured as a crowned predatory bear and running off with Greece, having trampled on an Ottoman turkey. The satirical portrayal of international concern for Greece being no more than self-interest is reinforced by the image of an insurgent kneeling on a rockface representing Greece imploring 'save me from my friends'. The personification of Britain in a boat and sporting a hat-band inscribed 'Navarino', remonstrates pathetically with a clenched fist at his inability to restrain the rampant bear. In the context of the contemporary European interest in Greece, Heath portrays the country as a pawn in the ongoing Eastern Question, a situation not ending with the defeat of the Ottomans at Navarino.

Modern historiography is divided on the question of whether the Philhellenes' appeals for intervention in support of the insurrection, together with the political activism

[15] Dakin (1972: 54-65).
[16] Sedivy (2013: 59 and 188) and Macfie (1996: 1 and 14-19).
[17] Heydemann (2002: 199).
[18] Anderson, M.S. (1966: 62), Dakin (1972: 54-55), Bitis (2006: 163-77) and Aksan (2007 b: 297). Sheridan (1822) described the 'Eastern Question' as being not about any concern for the beleaguered Greek nation, but about the impact of the insurrection on commerce and diplomacy in the region. Indeed, the preamble to the Treaty of London formulated on 6 July 1827 referred not only to the 'necessity of putting an end to the sanguinary struggle', but also expressed concern for the war's disruption to commerce (Schwartzberg: July 1988: 288). An article in the English press dated 30 November 1823 declared the aims of the London Greek Committee as strengthening Greek 'bands of Patriot Confederates' in the context of a free Greece being a commercial opportunity for England and a 'bulwark against Russia' (The political examiner. Sunday, 30 November 1823). St. Clair, W. (1972: 140 and 1977: 276) has convincingly argued that English and French Philhellene support of the Greek War of Independence was motivated by the potential benefit of Greek liberation to their own countries.

of those who went to Greece, to fight beside the insurgents, forms part of a broader incipient movement for humanitarian intervention into world conflicts, as Gary Bass has argued.[19] One hundred years later, in 1927, Léon Maccas' concluded that in France, after 1826, the leitmotif of the movement became that humanity and politics together could achieve a favourable outcome for the Greek nation.[20] Another historian of the Philhellene movement, Davide Rodogno, has questioned whether the decisive armed intervention at Navarino in October 1827 in support of the Greek insurgents was indeed an humanitarian intervention, or an act of collective self-interest by the Great Powers.[21] Evidence of the perception of the fall of Mesologgi as a broader humanitarian issue, can be seen in Philhellene creative literature composed after the recapture of Mesologgi in 1826, when a poem by a British writer signing him/herself as 'Britannicus' objected strongly to the strict non-intervention provisions of the Treaty of Vienna.[22] Britannicus' poem, titled *The siege of Missolonghi: A protestant poem in two cantos addressed to the two houses of parliament, the clergy, and his Majesty's protestant subjects throughout the United Kingdom* (1829), was clearly targeted at the political establishment in Britain and presented them with a graphic account of the fall of Mesologgi as an example of the dire consequences of failure to prevent the slaughter of vulnerable Christians. A similarly broad humanitarian perspective is arguably also implicit in works of Philhellene art, which took Mesologgi as subject and emphasized the suffering of the Greek population during the insurrection.

In summary, the importance of images of Mesologgi in art for Philhellene propaganda was twofold: first, they assisted in locating the Greek revolution in the Western visual imagination; secondly, they played a key role in maintaining public engagement with the cause over an extended period.[23] This thesis undertakes a detailed examination of the pro-Greek iconography that was projected onto revolutionary

[19] Bass (2008: 1-137).
[20] Maccas (1927: 282).
[21] Rodogno (2012: 83-88).
[22] Britannicus (1829).
[23] Verse 63 of Britannicus' (1829) poem contains a topographical detail that suggests close attention to the subject matter. In conjuring up the appearance of the combined Egyptian Ottoman forces in the final stages of the last siege, Britannicus (1829: 32) specified that the fleet arrived not from the East, but from the 'On side next Mavra Aliki'. This reference to the black salt pan, albeit linguistically garbled, gives the impression of intimate local knowledge.

Mesologgi by Philhellene art, which subsequently played a role in what was ultimately, a successful public campaign for the liberation of Greece from Ottoman subjugation.

Research question

This thesis will undertake a visual analysis of Philhellene images of revolutionary Mesologgi focusing on those that elevate the town in the narrative of the Greek nation's insurrection against Imperial rule. The key question that frames this research is: what does Philhellene art reveal about the role of revolutionary Mesologgi in the articulation of the Greek insurrection against Ottoman rule? I shall further examine the extent to which Philhellene art contributed to the establishment of revolutionary Mesologgi as the centre of a major narrative in the political formation of Modern Greece, and its role as a symbol of aspects of Greek identity such as Christianity. This study of Philhellene iconography will also determine the means by which the patriotism of the Mesologgians was exalted and the Ottoman Empire reviled as a brutal military force. Another component of the research question is concerned with why and how iconography that evolved around the town of Mesologgi was able to articulate the core message of the Greek insurgents' entitlement to Western support in their quest.

Finally, a related research trajectory will investigate the degree to which Philhellene art has retained a documentary value in Greek historical narratives to this day.[24] This continuing utility poses the question of how various strands of Philhellene iconography projected onto Mesologgi in the early nineteenth century, can still define and reinforce beliefs and social practices related to the Greek War of Independence. Answering this question will involve exploring the contribution of artistic narratives pertaining to revolutionary Mesologgi to the definition of the modern Greek state. My survey of works of art by foreign Philhellenes and Greek artists inspired by revolutionary

[24] For example, Kolombas (2006: cover, title plate, 28, 33, 38, 43, 46 and 49) utilized politicized Philhellene images including those by François-Émile de Lansac, Nicolas-Victor de Fonville, Eugène Delacroix, Denis-Auguste-Marie Raffet, C. Langlois, Joseph-Denis Odevaere and E. Tisdale that all date between 1826 or 1828 to illustrate his historical account of circumstances for civilians in Mesologgi between 15 April 1825 and 10 April 1826 during the final siege by the Ottomans. The effect of the art used in this manner is that it provides a tangible setting for the author's narrative. Joannides (1983: 495) identifies this role of past material culture in the construction of Greek national discourse claiming that 'the images created by, above all others, Eugène Delacroix, have become part of Greek national memory'. Burke (2008: 128) has also recognized the contribution of art to the collective historical enterprise in culture more broadly.

Mesologgi aims to elucidate the ways in which the town served both political Philhellenism and Greek nationalism in the intellectual construction of modern Greece.

Methodology

Philhellenism as expressed in visual art did not develop in isolation from European cultural, social, political and intellectual history of the period leading up, and into the nineteenth century. Nor did it function in isolation from other manifestations of Philhellenism, such as political publications, music and creative literature, theatre, opera and dance. The methodology adopted in this thesis draws upon the qualitative research orientation of 'social constructionism', 'social art history' and 'iconography', with a view to investigating the material, social, dialectical and historical connections of the works of art under examination and their socio-political context.

At this juncture, I will briefly outline my understanding of the above terms and their usefulness for my purposes.

Social Constructionism and Social Art history

The Social Constructionist theory of knowledge sees meaning as being constructed in a social environment.[25] Social Art History is an approach that considers the social, political and economic contexts in which works of art were produced and functioned.[26] The aim of this thesis is to contribute to the social understanding of Philhellene art, and the art history surrounding images of Mesologgi. My approach is broadly in accord with social constructionism and social art history. I acknowledge that interpretation is a social construct and that the social, political and economic context in which works of art were produced and received, needs to be considered.

In organizing my examination of the social history of Philhellene art relating to Mesologgi, I propose to consider works of art in approximate chronological order and to explore the development of thematic axes such as 'the vanquished hero' and 'religious identity' that ultimately create a coherent propagandistic narrative. This structure will facilitate the analysis of the progressive politicization of Philhellene art from the era of

[25] Crotty (1998: 42-65), Denzin and Lincoln (Ed.) (2000: 8) and Willig (2003: 7-8).
[26] Boime (2004: 1), Clark, T. J. (1973: 9) and Preziosi (2009: 578).

the eighteenth-century, and onwards, antiquarian travellers to Greece. It will further trace the rhetoric regarding events at Mesologgi and its transformation into a vehicle for political Philhellenism, in its most fervent phase after the town fell in April 1826.

My account of the social history of Philhellene art constructed around a survey of images of Mesologgi will also draw upon under-utilized archival material. In regard to visual analysis, Leeuwen and Jewitt have argued that 'Content analysis alone is seldom able to support statements about the significance, effects or interpreted meaning of a domain of representation'.[27] In this thesis I have taken care to utilize the extensive contextual material relevant to this subject held in the archive of the London Greek Committee in Athens, the John Murray Archive in Edinburgh and the General State Archives in Athens, when considering, for example, the importance of Byron's presence in Mesologgi to the Philhellene movement and Greek nationalism. Particularly interesting and underutilized are documents from the London Greek Archive in Athens in relation to the day to day funding by the Committee of the War Office in Mesologgi. These archives also include original Greek material, which enables the examination of the domestic dimension of the international Philhellene narrative.

The consideration of such contextual material was also significant in the interpretation of Philhellene art in those cases, where, for example, religious imagery appeared frequently as an identifier of the Greek people. These images do not however reveal the historical reasons as to why the Orthodox Christian faith was important to Greek cultural identity under Ottoman rule, nor the role religion played in conveying political diplomatic aims for this region; in-depth consultation of archives was essential to determine such questions. Religion was also an important tool of Philhellene propaganda, because it cut across class lines to engage a wider sector than the narrow classically-educated Western gentlemen, many of whom had become enthusiastic about a regenerated Greece re-emerging, once the country had been liberated. Contextual material provides information on how the image of the cruel military Ottoman in the Western imagination, developed from the time of the Siege of Vienna in 1529. Such imagery slowly expanded to depict violence against women and children after the sixteenth century and provides a significant context for understanding the negative

[27] Leeuwen & Jewitt (Eds.) (2001: 13).

stereotyping of the 'terrible Ottoman' in Philhellene art. This history also demonstrates that Philhellene visual tropes developed out of an existing Orientalist iconography. This thesis will therefore argue that religion served artists by offering an iconographic means of creating a contrast between Greeks and Turks, and became a persuasive way of visually establishing the Greek nation in the nineteenth century.

Other contextual sources examined include a range of archival material such as nineteenth-century almanacs, the reports of Philhellene committees internationally, official government documents, original volumes and reprints of historiographies involving the Philhellene movement, journals, memoirs, published personal narratives, press accounts and reviews, correspondence, political publications, creative literature, contemporary school textbooks and newspapers circulating in Greece today, and Greek War of Independence commemorative traditions. The travel narratives of foreign visitors, for example, demonstrate that the West was interested in Greece's ancient battle history in the eighteenth century, and visual analysis will indicate that mythology and heroic legend formed a prism through which contemporary Greek people were viewed by artists. A useful source was the acclaimed historical account by Thomas Gordon, the former British army officer and active Philhellene in Greece, whose *History of the Greek Revolution* demonstrated the appeal politicized Philhellenism attained, and the role played by religious differentiation between the Greek and Turk in framing the war in the mentality of the West.[28] Gordon's account of the fall of Mesologgi stated that 'the glorious funeral of Messalonghi produced in Christendom a spirit resembling the crusades'.[29]

Information in archival and historical material at times support, and at others contradict, the visual rhetoric created in artistic portrayals of Mesologgi and its sieges. One example is the written representation in various sources of the collective decision of the town's last defenders, to follow the path of martyrdom, or alternatively, in a desperate attempt to live, to break through the Ottoman blockade, when hope of victory had been extinguished. Such material is important as it highlights a parallel literary convention of presenting revolutionary Mesologgi as a place of fallen heroes with a corollary negative

[28] Gordon (1832).

[29] See Appendix A for Gordon (1832, vol. 2: 301) where he attributes the increased donations by Philhellenes internationally from all social classes, to the fall of Mesologgi and indicates that this is due to the West's religious affiliation with the Greeks.

image of the Ottoman that has helped perpetuate this artistic narrative into the present era.

Additional images and material, including unpublished archival sources elaborating on the aesthetic, social and political context of the works of art, presented in the body of the thesis, are placed in the appendix for convenient reference.

Iconography

Iconographic interpretation involves the semiological examination of content. Edgar Wind, Erwin Panofsky and Meyer Schapiro are among the eminent exponents of iconographic methods of visual analysis, which are concerned with the ways in which works of art come to acquire meaning, and what they reflect about social and historical occurrences through subject matter.[30] As a theoretical framework for the interpretation of works of art, an iconographical study assists in the identification of references for interpretation by focusing on any compositional devices and symbols they may contain. This thesis evaluates the relationship between art, the town of Mesologgi and the iconographies developed by Philhellene artists and projected onto the town. The iconography of Philhellene art encompasses any images or symbols supporting the liberation of the Greek nation. Iconographies selected by artists to reflect a pro-Greek stance included broken chains (signifying the end of subjugation), and figures of Greek heroes conveying modern Greek cultural connections to Christianity, or military and mythical personas from ancient times. This thesis also explores the proposition that fundamental to the establishment of Mesologgi as an emblem of the Greek struggle was the incongruity between Greek and Turk. Central to the expression of this antagonism towards the Ottoman Empire in Philhellene art, was the iconography of the Cross versus the Crescent.

While iconographic analysis is a useful methodological tool, its limitations must also be acknowledged. Bann has questioned the ability of art to present a definitive meaning without a viewer recognizing any associated iconographic conventions specific to a particular interpretation.[31] Preziosi has also challenged the iconographic method,

[30] Anderson (1983), Panofsky (1939: 18-31), Schapiro (1996) and Leeuwen & Jewitt (Eds.) (2001: 3).
[31] Bann (2003: 130-31).

arguing that the fixity of signification relies on both active construction of signs, being complemented by their passive consumption.[32] This issue is of particular relevance to images portraying revolutionary Mesologgi as Philhellene art consistently depicted the town as an exemplar of heroism. It can be argued that it is the cohesion among these works in their presentation of the town that reinforces the propaganda contained. Tracing the chronological development of Philhellene iconographies enables the identification of how the narrative of the town being a heroic bastion of Greece, gained momentum and enabled its establishment as an emblem of the Greek War of Independence internationally.

The theme of Greek blood spilt by Ottomans was a recurrent theme in Philhellene literature and it was consistently projected onto events at Mesologgi.[33] This thesis will explore the consistent projection of spilt blood in art onto revolutionary Mesologgi and its connotations of suffering and sacrifice. Preziosi's criticism that iconography allows neither the artist, nor the viewer, independence in the creation and interpretation of art, was in fact essential in the political agency that Philhellene art acquired.

If fixity in signification and reception is an indication of the successful function of iconography in conveying clear messages, then it can be said that Philhellene propaganda achieved great success through its portrayals of Mesologgi. It will be argued that unity of this narrative between works of art depicting Mesologgi created through the use of unambiguous iconographies, satisfied the need of Philhellene propaganda to deliver consistent positive portrayals of the Greek insurgency in the West.

Significance of this research project

Art historians, political historians and cultural historians within and outside Greece consider that the final siege and exodus from Mesologgi in April 1826 led to the culmination of Philhellene sentiment globally.[34] An artistic manifestation of the rapid

[32] Preziosi (1989: 37, 76, 111-12 and 148).

[33] Three examples among a plethora are Chateaubriand (1825 a: 15, 27, 32 and 34), Cros (1826: 12) and Didier (1826: 8).

[34] Anninos (1967: 16), Amandry (1983: 17), Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1989: 67), Babeau (Jan.-June 1897: 597), Barau (2001: 44 and 2009: 111), Boime (2004: 216), Constans (1996: 53), Dimakis (1975: 211-12), Droulia (2003: 284), Fabre (1827: 271), Gallant (2015: 95), Güthenke (2008: 98), Jensen (1959: 116), Malakis (August 1928: 100), Mazarakis-Ainian (1990: 22), Mykoniatis (1979 a: 15), Papadopoulos

elevation of Mesologgi to an emblematic role within the Greek insurrection was the series of exhibitions held at the privately owned Lebrun Gallery in Paris in 1826, commencing in May to October, for the benefit of the Greek insurgents.[35] Alexander Grammatikos has accurately noted that the process of Modern Greece becoming 'disentangled from the Ottoman world' took place in British literary culture before it did politically for the Greek nation.[36] The importance of Mesologgi as a vehicle of Philhellene politics and Greek nationalism is widely acknowledged, but there is a dearth of specific analysis of art depicting the town in the creation of Modern Greece.[37] The examination by Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer of images from the Greek War of Independence did include a survey on revolutionary Mesologgi, but it was restricted to French artists and did not consider Philhellene iconography in detail.

A conspicuous example of under-appreciated iconography is the trope of the vanquished hero, which became closely associated with Mesologgi and held enormous appeal for Philhellenes, as attested by the popularity in art of General Markos Botsaris and Lord Byron, both of whom were identified with the revolutionary town. Evidence of this close association in art is seen in the fact that Langlois depicted Botsaris dying in battle near Mesologgi (*Mort de Marc Botzaris le 20/8 Août 1823*, 1826) and Joseph-Denis Odevaere painted *Byron on his Death-bed* in c.1826 retrospectively in the year of the fall of Mesologgi (figures 2.9 and 3.6). The referencing of the heroism of Botsaris and Byron to that of fallen Mesologgi, and vice versa, has influenced the rendition of the Greek patriot in art, and is also responsible for the consolidation of perceptions of the town as a sacred and heroic place in Greek history. However, the analysis of this iconography remains inadequate.

In a wider political context beyond revolutionary Greece, the importance of Philhellenism lies in the fact that it was the first Pan-European political idea of the nineteenth century.[38] As such revolutionary Mesologgi and the associated iconographies

(1971: 8-9), Peltre (c. 1995:10), St. Clair, W. (1972: 243), Stobaugh (1965: 52), Traka (2013: 87), Tsigakou (1981: 46) and Vakalopoulos, A.E. (2007: 283) and Vakalopoulos , K.A. (2008: 72).

[35] Philhellene Committee (Paris) (May 1826 and July 1826) and Bajou in Constans (1996: 53-54).

[36] Grammatikos (2017: 11).

[37] Boime (2004: 215) and Hess (2005). Paintings with Mesologgi as their subject are usually invoked in the context of Romanticism with Eugène Delacroix's, *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi*, 1826 (figure 4.1) providing an example (Noon 2003: 58).

[38] Espagne & Pécout (Ed.) (2005: 7).

provide an insight into the machinations of Philhellene politics and how it attracted interest. The consequences of the Greek Revolution for European diplomatic relations within the context of the Treaty of Vienna of 1815, and its impact on the development of liberal and nationalist political movements, continue to occupy historians to the present.[39] For instance, the historian John Mazis has stated that the idea of a voluntary Eastern federation based on equality between the nations of the Balkan and Anatolian nations was only ever a pipedream.[40] Mazis cites one hindrance to the formation of the federation to be the relationship between the Greek and Turkish people: since the creation of the modern Greek state, it has 'been antagonistic at best, hostile at worst, but seldom, if ever, "normal" '.[41] Philhellene iconography offers an understanding of the development of Greek nationalist sentimentalities across the nineteenth century that today continues to impact on relations between the two nations.

Another significant historical detail of contemporary interest is the role played by art in the foregrounding of humanitarian concern for the victims of warfare. Recent reflections on the limitations the Treaty of Vienna of 1815 placed on responses to the Greek War of Independence by the European powers, have suggested that the destruction of Mesologgi caused the Philhellene argument to shift to humanitarian grounds and that art played a part in this.[42] The mobilization of international volunteers to participate in the Greek Revolution has been seen as having aided the identified development of Internationalism, that is, the political environment where people across the world unite for the advancement of common interests.[43] Frary and Kozelsky have suggested that research into the material culture, including works of art, produced in response to the consequences of the Eastern Question deserves more attention.[44] The heavy promotion of intervention into the Greek War of Independence and the question of how art contributed

[39] Rotzokos in Pizanias (2011: 151-71), Pécout in Pizanias (2009: 119-24), Ingram (2002: 210) and Prousis (1985: 31-32 and 2011: 173).
[40] Mazis in Frary & Kozelsky (Eds.) (2014: 251).
[41] Mazis in Frary & Kozelsky (Eds.) (2014: 253).
[42] Bass (2008: 128).
[43] Pécout (November 2009: 413). Revolutionary Mesologgi inspired sustained political engagement on the part of the Australian-born, Oxford University classical scholar and internationalist Gilbert Murray, who wrote *Mesolonghi Capta* in 1887 (see Appendix B).
[44] Frary and Kozelsky (Eds.) (2014: 18).

to this political movement, require further investigation. Images of revolutionary Mesologgi are clearly fertile ground for such an exploration.

Literature review

This thesis builds upon art historical approaches to the Greek War of Independence undertaken by Ilias Mykoniatis, Nina M. Athanassoglou-Kallmyer and Miltiades Papanikolaou.[45] The reference to the 'iconography of the struggle' in the Greek title of Mykoniatis' thesis of 1979 *Το Εικοσιένα στη ζωγραφική: συμβολή στη μελέτη της εικονογραφίας του Αγώνα* largely refers to iconography as a collection of illustrations on the topic of the Greek War of Independence, and he treats them as history paintings.[46] Accordingly, the paintings he examined that take revolutionary Mesologgi as a subject, such as Joseph-Denis Odevaere's, *De laatste verdedigers van Missolonghi, 22 April 1826: episode uit de Griekse vrijheidsooring,* 1826, are discussed in the context of painting technique, and narrative (figure E-6.4).[47] Mykoniatis' interpretation of the painting by Odevaere is limited to describing the last defenders of Mesologgi surrounding a bishop as he prepares to ignite the gunpowder magazine in an act of self-immolation, so as not to fall into the hands of the enemy.[48] Mykoniatis refrains from the use of the word 'Philhellenism' in any political sense, and the bishop's action is not interpreted as a political gesture in the context of the French Republican rhetoric of 'freedom or death' that became a dominant narrative associated with the fall of Mesologgi represented in art.

However, Mykoniatis identified important visual rhetorical devices adopted by artists and concluded his thesis with the statement that a series of motifs and compositional structures, were utilized by European and Greek artists alike when creating scenes from the Greek War of Independence, such as a negative stereotype of the Ottoman set against the brave Greek.[49] Mykoniatis largely characterized art pertaining to the Greek War of Independence as having been influenced by the Romantic imagination of the era, which combined Western interest in Greece's classical past and fascination for the East.[50] The art historian Fani-Maria Tsigakou has argued that artists of the Romantic era were

[45] Mykoniatis (1979 a), Papanikolaou, M. (1981) and Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1989).
[46] Mykoniatis (1979 a: 20 and 29).
[47] Mykoniatis (1979 a: 15).
[48] Mykoniatis (1979 a: 15).
[49] Mykoniatis (1979 a: 19-20 and 129).
[50] Mykoniatis (1979 a: 14, 17, 22 and 28).

‘moved more by the tragedies of the Revolution than by its achievements’, and that the destruction of Mesologgi was one of a select few catastrophes taken up by artists.[51] Christine Peltre has also concluded that Philhellenism in art between 1820 and 1830 was expressed in depictions of scenes of Greek bravery.[52] Thus, depictions of Mesologgi eclipsed other locations recaptured by Ottomans, attaining mythical status in the eyes of the Philhellenes.

Miltiades Papanikolaou, like Mykoniatis also identified the German painters who arrived in Greece during the War of Independence and the reign of King Otto in the 1830s as having exercised significant influence on expressions of the nation and on the stereotype of the war hero in Greek art.[53] Papanikolaou’s research on German artists in Greece during the 1826-1843 has been particularly useful to this study. Two of them, Adalbert Marc and Ludwig Köllnberger, who arrived in Greece as part of the auxiliary Bavarian forces in 1833, created watercolours of war-torn Mesologgi in 1834 (figures 5.5 and 5.7).[54] The juxtaposition of an expansive lagoon reflecting the bright sky against the destroyed ramparts and whitewashed buildings of the town created an optimistic atmosphere in both compositions. This indicates that Mesologgi served in definitions of the emerging Greek nation-state based on the struggle for independence. This thesis builds on this observation by analysing Philhellene iconographies, but also the presentation of Mesologgian land and seascape by artists, which is an area that has not previously been given adequate attention.

Papanikolaou has valuably analysed the Philhellene portraits of Greek War heroes, acknowledging that those produced by German artists are still afforded ethnographic and documentary value in relation to this period in modern Greek history, despite their historical inaccuracies.[55] Panos Karavias and Marina Lambraki-Plaka are other art historians who consider portraits of Greek war heroes created by German artists such as Karl Krazeisen and Peter von Hess to be authentic representations.[56] Philhellene

[51] Tsigakou (1981: 55) identified the sacrifice of the Souliote women in 1803, the evacuation of Parga in 1809 and the massacre of Chios in 1822 as the other distressing episodes between local populations and their Ottoman rulers that inspired artists.
[52] Peltre (1997: 75 and 77).
[53] Mykoniatis (1979 a: 29-30) and Papanikolaou, M. (1981: 52-54).
[54] Papanikolaou, M. (1981: 133-7 and 203-4).
[55] Papanikolaou, M. (1981: 130 and 134-37).
[56] Karavias (1970: 123) and Lambraki-Plaka in Cassimatis (2005: 6).

portraits of Greek War heroes certainly share stereotypical features, which suggests a distinctly idealized approach to the subjects on the part of European artists. Von Hess' glowing presentation of the Greek heroes as a collective is not surprising given the album of these illustrations were executed by command of Ludwig I of Bavaria, who was an ardent Philhellene and the father of Greece's first monarch, King Otto.[57] This thesis will further develop connections made between the figuration of the Greek hero during the Greek War of Independence by Philhellene artists, and the fallen hero at Mesologgi by Spetsieri Beschi in relation to Theodoros Vryzakis', *The exodus from Missolonghi*, 1853 (figure 6.1).[58]

Mykoniatis has identified individual heroism, and singled out the concept of the vanquished hero in the figure of Markos Botsaris as an important theme for indigenous and foreign artists, both during the era of the Greek Revolution and in the post-war period.[59] Building on this analysis of Botsaris imagery, this thesis identified that artistic narratives pertaining to Botsaris, utilized concise iconographies relating to heroism, liberty and Christianity to create strong overtones of nationalism and therefore collective identity. Mykoniatis has also asserted the importance of art in the consolidation of Greek national identity during the nineteenth century.[60] As a cult figure in art, Botsaris was depicted as the new Leonidas, a Christian patriot who spoke to Philhellenes of Greece's ancient gods and modern heroes. Linking the modern insurgents to the ancient population of the land was important to Philhellene propaganda because it validated the idea of regenerated Greece through the removal of Ottoman Imperialism. General Markos Botsaris was based in Mesologgi and buried there in August 1823 after a military victory over Ottoman forces 110 kilometres away at Karpenisi, during which he was fatally wounded. Certainly, Botsaris' burial at Mesologgi contributed to the town's consequent establishment in the mind of the West, as a bulwark of the Greek insurrection. However, I shall argue that the representation of Botsaris' dying as a Christian warrior by artists was a prelude to the promotion of the last defenders of Mesologgi, in the same manner.

[57] Von Hess (s.a.).
[58] Spetsieri Beschi (1977).
[59] Mykoniatis (1979 a: 47-60).
[60] Mykoniatis (1995: 6).

The art historian Olga Mentafou-Polyzou has described the iconography of the vanquished hero of the Greek Revolution as portraying an honourable death for liberty and faith.[61] The subject of Botsaris as a vanquished hero is one area where Mykoniatis discussed art by a foreign artist alongside that of a Greek artist and made an iconographical connection between them. Mykoniatis compared Athanasios Iatrides' *Botsaris series* c. 1830 of four ink and sepia drawings that depict Botsaris in turn attacking the Ottoman camp by night, his wounding, death and finally his funeral procession into Mesologgi with Charles Langlois' lithograph entitled *Mort de Marc Botzaris le 20/8 Août 1823*, 1826 (see figures 2.9 and 2.29 a-d).[62] The Deposition of Christ pose in both Langlois' lithograph and the third drawing in Iatrides' series, pays homage to Botsaris as a saviour of the Greek people (figures 2.10 and 2.29 c). A more pertinent observation by Mykoniatis for the purposes of this thesis is his comparison of the portrayal of Botsaris in Iatrides' series with that of the Passion of Christ. This observation emphasizes the large extent to which the Christian doctrine of salvation was crucial in the establishment of Mesologgi as a sacred place in art.

As far as art historical studies of revolutionary Mesologgi are concerned, Mykoniatis identified major European artists of the day who responded to the fall of Mesologgi, but the primary focus of his study on the Greek War of Independence in its entirety, not on a localised area.[63] Athanassoglou-Kallmyer's study of 1989, is based on her 1980 dissertation, examined the impact of the Greek War of Independence on the arts, literature and French Romanticism between the years 1821-1830 and identified Mesologgi as a dominant theme in French Philhellenism.[64] I will refrain from identifying Philhellene art as part of the broad Romantic movement in order to keep the focus on the political context in which these works of art were created, and their iconographic presentation of a pro-Greek stance. Athanassoglou-Kallmyer's chapter 'Missolonghi is no more: the politics of martyrdom' is a seminal work in art history on the topic of Philhellenism and cultural responses to the fall of Mesologgi in nineteenth century France.[65] In this chapter, Athanassoglou-Kallmyer identified religion as crucial vehicle

[61] Mentafou-Polyzou (2004: 46).
[62] Mykoniatis (1979 a: 51).
[63] Mykoniatis (1979 a: 15).
[64] Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1980 and 1989: preface).
[65] Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1989: 66-107). The title of Athanassoglou-Kallmyer's chapter forms an intertextual reference to the title of a French Philhellene political pamphlet published in 1826 by Camille

for establishing the fallen at Mesologgi in April 1826, as martyrs for the cause of Greek liberty in the Western imagination.

This thesis positions itself at the interstice of Mykoniatis' and Athanassoglou-Kallmyer's work. The latter examined French art solely, and Mykoniatis has demonstrated that works by foreign artists influenced the portrayal of the Greek War of Independence by Greek artists. Taking a similar approach to that of Mykoniatis, my survey of art also includes Greek artists, with the aim of supplying a much-needed systematic art historical survey of Mesologgi and the associated iconography. A closer examination of iconographies projected onto the town, allows an interpretation of how Philhellenism illustrated Western political interest in Greece through Mesologgi and distinguishes this thesis from prior extensive studies of the Greek War of Independence in art.

The bibliography on Philhellenism and Mesologgi is considerable and cannot be adequately covered within the constraints of this literature review. Accordingly, research sources will be referred to throughout this thesis as their relevance to the works of art under examination arises. Among the texts that have provided insights into the neglected means by which Mesologgi was constructed as an emblem of the Greek insurrection and universal liberal politics, were gallery, museum, and exhibition catalogues. A notable example is the catalogue *Risorgimento Greco e filellenismo Italiano* compiled by Spetsieri Beschi and Lucarelli.[66] It demonstrates how the figures of Botsaris and Byron continued to be utilized by Italian artists into the 1860s to express the desire for the unification of Italy, which in turn reinforced ideas pertaining to revolutionary Mesologgi, promoted later on by Greek nationalism.[67] The catalogue for the exhibition from 1999 titled *Das Neue Hellas* also provided valuable information about German Philhellene artists, among them Peter von Hess, Adalbert Marc and Ludwig Köllnberger.[68] Documented responses of contemporary critics and catalogue entries for works of art also provided evidence of discourse they generated. Wherever possible I have endeavoured to

Paganel (1975/1826). The same year M. Fleury C*** commenced his poem titled *Le Siège de Missolonghi* with the words 'Entire Europe abandons Greece; Cry cowardly Christians, Missolonghi is no more!' that appear to be rebuking Europe for allowing the town to fall (C***, F. 1826: 3).

[66] Spetsieri Beschi & Lucarelli (1986).

[67] Spetsieri Beschi & Lucarelli (1986: 454-56).

[68] Baumstark (1999).

examine the works of art discussed in this thesis in person. Research for this thesis has benefited enormously from material in unpublished theses, particularly those by scholars such as Marie-Thérèse Bouyssy and Sükrü Ilicak, who had access to primary and manuscript sources I was unable to consult in France and Turkey respectively.[69] Extensive use by Virginia Aksan and Will Smiley of Ottoman archives have also been a source of material for this thesis, as has Theophilus Prousis' research using Russian published and unpublished documents on the Greek War of Independence.

Chapter Outline

In addition to the introductory and concluding chapters, this thesis is comprised of six chapters that present works of art in approximate chronological order of their production. This structure serves to reveal how the projection of Philhellene iconography onto the township of Mesologgi developed into a consistent pictorial narrative of Modern Greece as a nation of Christians, and worthy patriots.

Chapter 1 Philhellenism: Mesologgi and the development of a political movement and artistic movement

This chapter outlines the development of a politicized strand of Philhellene art emerging from eighteenth-century antiquarian interest in Greece, to the era when Mesologgi became emblematic of the Greek War of Independence. Artistic images of revolutionary Mesologgi demonstrate that an idealized view of antiquity remained a characteristic of Philhellenism, but that the Christian identity of the insurgents was emphasized in order to gain the wider support of the West.

Chapter 2 Markos Botsaris as the vanquished Greek hero

The hope for the regeneration of Greece among Philhellenes across the globe was narrated visually through Markos Botsaris' heroism and death in action in Western Greece. Botsaris' close military connection with Mesologgi as the general of the western land forces and through his burial there, served to bolster the town's prominence as a heroic site. Botsaris was presented in art as the vanquished Greek patriot framed through references to Christian iconography, and also as the modern version of the ancient

[69] Bouyssy (1992) and Ilicak (2011).

military hero Leonidas. It will be argued that images of Botsaris formed a prelude to Mesologgi's last defenders being viewed as martyred heroes of the Greek War of Independence.

Chapter 3 Lord Byron and Mesologgi: the Messiah and his mission

The death of Byron in Mesologgi coalesces into the larger narrative of the difficult struggle for Greek independence. This chapter will demonstrate how personal iconography established at the acme of Byron's writing career, continued in depictions of the poet in revolutionary Greece. The association of Byron with Mesologgi contributed to the establishment of the town as a conspicuous symbol of heroic defiance of the Ottoman Empire. This chapter will also examine Byronic imagery to reveal how it came to establish the poet as a saviour of the Greek nation, and evaluates the contemporary and later influence of these depictions of Mesologgi.

Chapter 4 Eugène Delacroix and François-Émile de Lansac: the Fall of Mesologgi and Greek suffering

Delacroix's *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi* 1826 and Lansac's *Épisode du siège de Missolonghi* 1827 both frame the Greek War of Independence in the European visual imagination with philosophical arguments pertaining to human dignity and self-determination. At its most politicized, Philhellene art made humanitarian appeals to the West to intervene in the War in favour of the Greek people. This chapter argues that the rhetoric of blood spilt at Mesologgi, with its iconographical connections to French Republicanism and to Christian symbolism, contributed to the most powerful tenet of Philhellene propaganda: that the West was abandoning the Greeks to Ottoman 'barbarity'.

Chapter 5 The Mesologgian landscape and the imagining of nation following the Greek War of Independence

The connection created by artists between landscape and nationhood has not been previously addressed in the context of Mesologgi and Philhellene art. Artists utilized the distinct landscape of the lagoon upon which the town is located, and the surrounding low hills, to evoke aspects of the historical significance of the Greek War of Independence and emergence of the Greek nation-state. The link between geography and history forged

by artists in the post-War period, continued to imbue Mesologgi with the aura of a heroic stronghold of the Greek Revolution, while the smallness of the town served to emphasize the enormity of the achievement of liberation from Ottoman rule. This chapter addresses the question of how artists conceptualized revolutionary Mesologgi as a historical place through the conduit of landscape.

Chapter 6 The iconic status of Vryzakis' *The Exodus from Missolonghi*: an example of nineteenth-century Philhellene art in the service of Greek nationalism

This chapter explores how depictions of revolutionary Mesologgi in nineteenth century Philhellene art continue to reinforce beliefs pertaining to the town and the emergence of Modern Greece as a political entity. Theodore Vryzakis' painting *The Exodus from Missolonghi* 1853 depicts the last defenders of Mesologgi attempting to break through the year-long Ottoman blockade of the town on the evening of 11 April 1826. Vryzakis drew heavily upon wider pre-existing Philhellene iconography not specific to Mesologgi, but also imagery applied to the town by Philhellene artists which reinforced the analogy between family and the emergent Greek nation. Vryzakis' depiction of the fallen at Mesologgi renders the power of spiritual transcendence as counteracting their defeat, and thus reinforces the idea that the defenders of the town fought for faith and fatherland. Vryzakis' *The Exodus from Missolonghi* 1853 provides the central focus for the yearly commemoration of the fall of the town. The two-day commemoration combines political, cultural and religious assertiveness and has come to hold great importance in Greece today in relation to the Greek War of Independence; it is also instrumental in maintaining Mesologgi as a dominant national historical narrative.

Chapter 1
Philhellenism: the development of a political and artistic movement

In 1797 the Greek Enlightenment scholar and revolutionary Rigas Velestinlis published his famous map *Charta of Hellas*. According to its title-sheet it was intended to benefit Hellenes and Philhellenes.[1] It was clearly designed to incite revolution and the overthrow of Ottoman rule in the depicted region, thereby achieving the liberation of the Greek nation.[2] The ideology underpinning Velestinlis' geographical vision of a Hellenic state within an imagined Balkan republic advocated ethnic identity as the basis of nationality. It also reflected the Hellenization of the Orthodox church during Ottoman rule of the region. The references to classical antiquity in Velestinlis' map reinforced the idea that the Greek nation had never ceased to exist under the Ottomans and promoted the notion of the regeneration of Hellenic culture.

Significantly for the purposes of this thesis, the township of Mesologgi was marked incorrectly on Velestinlis' map. This is not surprising, because prior to the outbreak of the Greek insurrection, Mesologgi was little known around the Mediterranean.[3] It was a small fishing port and minor trading town with no antiquities or other attractions to commend it to Philhellenes. What determined its role in the Greek uprising was the town's location on one of the two main road networks through the region. Its strategic importance ultimately resulted in the spectacular transformation of Mesologgi into a globally recognized symbol of the Greek War of Independence. This chapter will trace this process of transformation with particular attention to the involvement of Philhellene artists, as the movement evolved from a dilettantist interest in ancient Greek culture in the eighteenth century into a branch of an overtly politicized campaign of propaganda urging international solidarity with the modern Greek insurgents, by the second decade of the nineteenth century.

[1] See Appendix E figure E-1.1 for Velestinlis' map.
[2] Kitromilides (2013: 212) and Boutoura (2008: 147).
[3] Although Mesologgi had an important enough port for Venetians to establish a sub-consulate there in 1729 (Papakonstantinou 14-16 September 2006: 284).

The Hellenic Ideal

Foreign interest in the liberation of the modern Greek people from Ottoman rule began to develop in the eighteenth century with the arrival of antiquarian travellers and artists imbued with the Enlightenment ideology of equality and political freedom.[4] The desire for direct contact with classical sites in Greece had grown, following the early archaeological excavations in Italy, notably at Herculaneum and Pompei in the mid-1750s.[5] The art historian Fani-Maria Tsigakou described the enthusiastic response of Western connoisseurs to Greek antiquities as 'The rediscovery of Greece'.[6] Such travellers arrived in Greece in search of the 'Hellenic Ideal', a selective set of values that constituted classical Hellas in a Western European construction of antiquity.[7] Other modern scholars such as Irini Apostolou have found that representations of the Greek countryside and its monuments appearing in travelogues and archaeological publications were fashioned to reflect this idealization of classical Greece.[8]

Situated to the north of the Gulf of Patras, between the Acheloos and Evenus rivers on the western mainland of Greece, Mesologgi was not an ancient site and was therefore not a destination for antiquarian travellers. However, as most European visitors reached Greece via the Ionian Sea, the town and its surrounding region did receive some attention from those headed for Periclean Athens and other classical sites.[9] Thus Mesologgi featured in the map of Greece made by Thomas Kitchin to illustrate Richard Chandler's *Travels in Greece or an Account of a Tour Made at the Expense of the Society of Dilettanti*, published in 1776 after an expedition of 1764-66 (figure 1.1). At that time the town was constructed on a peninsula, almost entirely surrounded by water, and Kitchin signified 'Messalunghia' as located upon a lagoon. Kitchin was a hydrographer

[4] See Malakis (1925), Constantine (1984), Angelomatis-Tsougarakis (1990), Eisner (1991), Augustinos (1994), Stoneman (1994) and Zanou (2015) on the importance of early travellers for the propagation of Philhellenism in the West.
[5] Tsigakou (1981: 18-19).
[6] Tsigakou (1981).
[7] The term was first brought to my attention by the work of Constantine (1984: 3) who examined the journeys of early travellers to Greece and European Hellenism. Hamilakis (2007: 27) has identified the glorification of classical antiquity as a central tenet of western Hellenism.
[8] Apostolou (2009: 57-75 and 125-49).
[9] A firm date for the earliest settlement of Mesologgi cannot be established, but the consensus is that it started in the first half of the sixteenth century and had intensified by the commencement of the seventeenth century (Alexandropoulou 2000: 91 and 115).

as well as an engraver. In the absence of any antiquarian or mythological interest, it was possibly the town's physical environment that drew his attention.

Earlier European travellers journeying across the Ionian Sea to Greece included the French physician Jacob Spon and the English botanist George Wheler in 1675, but Mesologgi was omitted from the map of Achaia and part of western mainland Greece in Wheler's publication.[10] However, the nearby town of Lepanto does appear on the map, no doubt because of the famous naval battle of 1571 that resulted in the defeat of the Ottomans by the Holy League. Such Western travellers seem to have regarded classical sites as sources of insight into the philosophy, literature and other ancient Greek achievements that formed an essential part of a gentleman's education. Thus, both Spon and Wheler included simple drawings of monuments in their respective publications. Wheler stated in his preface, 'I design'd to write as a Christian traveller and a philosopher'.[11] Antiquity and Christianity were to become the two prisms through which later travellers viewed contemporary Greece and formed a conjunction between the different genres in which Philhellenism manifested itself, including visual art. As their boat sailed through the Ionian Sea past Ithaca, Wheler's antiquarianism surged and he commented on the Homeric associations between the island and Odysseus.[12]

However, Wheler also provided the following description of Ottoman Mesologgi when he and Spon crossed the gulf from Patras on 30 December 1675 in order to obtain currency from an English merchant trading at the port.[13]

[10] Wheler (1682: map between pages 1 and 2) and Spon (1724).
[11] Wheler (1682: preface page 2).
[12] Wheler (1682: 36).
[13] Wheler (1682: 291).

> ... *Messa-longia* and *Nathaligo.* These are two little Towns, built like *Venice* upon little Islands, in the Shallows of the Sea, near the Shore of the ancient *Aetolia.* No ship, or Bark, can come near them by four or five Miles; nor to them at all unless they will fetch them, in their little flat-bottom'd Boats, made of one piece of Wood [...] Both these towns consist, For the greatest part, of Christians, free from the Irregular Insults of the *Turks:* But have a *Turkish Veivode* over them.[14]

Wheler's publication unambiguously stated that his reason for being in Greece was to see classical Athens.[15] Perhaps without antiquities as a distraction, Mesologgi provided Wheler with an early experience of the disjuncture between his idealized Greece and the reality of life for the local population under Ottoman rule. Thus, his description of the lively port and the Mesologgians busily loading currants onto the cargo ship was qualified by the remark that they had a Turkish overlord. This falls far short of advocacy for ending Ottoman rule over the Greek nation, but it is significant that Wheler chose to describe the modern Greek population as a subjugated nation.

Travellers' insights into the condition of the Greek population under Ottoman rule occasionally appear in the antiquarian publications of the Society of the Dilettanti. Founded in England in 1734, the Society financed expeditions throughout the eighteenth century to record the architecture of the ancient Greeks.[16] The Dilettanti expeditions produced detailed architectural drawings for elaborate publications, with a focus on the measurement, scale, plan, elevation and perspective of monuments.[17] These publications fuelled in Britain the beginning of a fashionable cult of Hellenism under the influence of the neo-classical movement.[18] The preface of the first volume of the Dilettanti publication *The Antiquities of Athens: Measured and Delineated by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett*, published from 1762 to 1794, reflects the fact that connoisseurship and education determined the approach of Western travellers to Greece during the 1700s:

[14] Wheler (1682: 291).
[15] Wheler (1682: 289).
[16] Cust (1914: 4).
[17] Demetriou (2008: 72-75).
[18] Watkin (1968), Tsigakou (1985) and Soros (2007: 10).

> Architecture lay for Ages buried in its own ruins; and altho' from these Ruins, it has Phenix–like received a fecund birth, we may nevertheless conclude, that many of the beauties and elegancies which enhanced its ancient Splendor, are still wanting, and that it has not yet by any means recovered all its former Perfection.[19]

Here James Stuart, architect, painter and Dilettanti member, used the symbol of the mythical phoenix to conjure up the rebirth of Periclean arts brought about by the digging up of antiquities. While the utopia of ancient Greece bore no relationship to the modern Greek population for antiquarians like Stuart, the same rhetoric of rebirth was adopted by political Philhellenism during the Greek War of Independence to denote the regeneration of Modern Greece, whose insurgents were reincarnations of ancient military heroes.

The historical and cultural focus of the Society of Dilettanti's publications was on the ancient world, and the inclusion of contemporary human figures in their plates should not be mistaken for interest in the local population. Engravings presented ancient monuments in their contemporary setting as a prelude to multiple plates of detailed technical drawings. Only rarely does the accompanying text give an insight into the political and social conditions of the region in which the monuments were located. One exception is the text accompanying the engraving *Of a Doric Portico at Athens* 1762 (figure 1.2) where the reader is informed that the Greek church to the right of the plate remains in a dilapidated state because of the expense and difficulty involved in obtaining permission from the Ottoman administration to carry out repairs.[20] The passage also draws the viewer's attention to the Greek servant leaving the house of the French Consul 'who is here introduced sitting between two Gentlemen, one a Turk, and the other a Greek, for the Sake of exhibiting the different Habits of this Country'.[21] The image suggests a relationship between the Greek and the Turk, yet the text makes clear that its only function was to illustrate their respective clothing styles and general appearance.

[19] Stuart and Revett (1762, vol. 1: preface p. i).
[20] Stuart and Revett (1762, vol. 1: 3).
[21] Stuart and Revett, (1762, vol. 1: 3).

Occasionally the antiquarians' aloofness from the local inhabitants might strike the post-colonial eye as arrogant, as in the etching titled *Vue de quelques fragments d'un Temple, situé dans un lieu de l'Attique appellé Thoricion*, 1758 (figure 1.3). It appeared in the publication *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* by the architect Julien-David Le Roy, who had journeyed from Italy to Greece through the Ionian Sea in 1754.[22] Like many other travellers, Le Roy approached the coast off Mesologgi, but continued on his way in search of classical Greece.[23] He enthusiastically described traversing the plain at Thoricus, yet the plate accompanying the text, which Le Roy executed while in Greece, does not convey any physical involvement in the excavation on the part of the French expedition.[24] He portrays a group of aristocratically dressed gentlemen standing in a tight circle and absorbed in conversation. At some distance from the gathering are labourers toiling to unearth architectural fragments for loading directly onto the expedition's boats, depicted in the background. Le Roy's composition may have been striving to articulate Western erudition, but this apparent self-aggrandizement also establishes a hierarchical contrast between the bowed and digging local labourers and the upright ease of the expedition members. Considered from a post-colonial perspective, the lack of communication between the Western gentlemen and the labourers in the image prompts interpretation of the scene as one of pillage. An indication that Le Roy did not consider the current inhabitants of the land to be the rightful custodians of the relics is his delight at the French ambassador's hearty approval of the intended expropriation of antiquities from the temple at Thoricus and his provision of labour for the task.[25] The idea that classical antiquity was part of the cultural heritage of the West, coupled with the perception that architectural remnants were neglected in Modern Greece, served as justification for their removal to Europe. Writing of the expropriation of antiquities by early travellers, Richard Stoneman observed laconically, 'More often than not archaeological enthusiasm was expressed by theft'.[26]

[22] Le Roy (1758, vol. 1: p1. 2).
[23] Le Roy J-D. (c. 2004: 237).
[24] Le Roy J-D. (c. 2004: 238-40).
[25] Le Roy J-D. (c. 2004: 238-39).
[26] Stoneman (1994: 5).

The removal of half-buried and therefore 'abandoned' ruins was also justified according to another antiquarian, Richard Chandler. Of his acquisitions, some of which were believed to have come from the Parthenon itself, Chandler reported in 1776:

> We purchased two fine fragments of the freeze, which we found inserted over door-ways in the town; and were presented with a beautiful trunk, which had fallen from the metopes, and lay neglected in the garden of Turk. [27]

Chandler's reference to the relics lying 'neglected in the garden of a Turk', may be interpreted as an attempt to validate his purchase of the fragments and acceptance of others as gifts. Where local populations proved less forthcoming, as in Patras, Chandler remarked on their ignorance:

> The vestiges of the former inhabitants overspread the country but have not awakened curiosity or reflection in the present race. Finding we could obtain no intelligence we resolved to proceed in our bark to Chiarenza, or, as it was once called, Cyllene.[28]

Crossing the gulf from Patras and landing briefly on the Western mainland, Chandler found himself in the vicinity of Mesologgi near the Acheloos River and recalled *bottarga*, mullet-roe, as a 'species of food, which the ancients esteemed as a delicacy'.[29] It did not occur to Chandler to connect the people still processing *bottarga* with the ancients whom he venerated.

Fauvel and picturesque Mesologgi

The earliest extant visual imagery relating to Mesologgi arose indirectly from the eighteenth-century expedition of Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, and owed its eventual publication to the town's later prominence in the Greek War of Independence. Choiseul-Gouffier had artists accompany him on his archaeological tour of Greece between 1776-79 and later dispatched a mission to gather additional information and create illustrations for his two-volume publication *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* of 1782. Louis François

[27] Chandler (1776: 51).
[28] Chandler (1817, vol. 2: 314).
[29] Chandler (1817, vol. 2: 316).

Sebastian Fauvel was one of the artists in Greece on assignment for Choiseul-Gouffier in 1780.[30] A lithograph of a landscape attributed to Fauvel was published over half a century later in Otto Magnus von Stackelberg's *La Grèce: vues pittoresques et topographiques* 1834 (figure 1.4). Fauvel and the architect Jacques Foucherot, also a member of Choiseul-Gouffier's team, had been making their way to Athens. Entries in their travel diaries indicate that they arrived at Mesologgi on 14 June 1780.[31] Foucherot commented on the local trade in currants, as well as the segregation of the lagoon into fishing paddocks that supported a lively industry, including the production and export of *bottarga*.[32] Foucherot further noted that Mesologgi had once been a larger town but had been destroyed by Albanian forces on their way to the Morea.[33] He commented that the majority of the population of four or five thousand were Greek and under the direction of the bishops of Arta and Lepanthe.[34] Fauvel too was interested in the economic activity, but made no reference in his diary to the religious identity of the population. He displayed his antiquarian interests by quoting Pausanias on the Homeric reference to nearby Acheloos as the king of rivers.[35]

On the subject of Mesologgi, Fauvel wrote that it was a small town in Aetolia, in close proximity to the ancient city of Calydon.[36] Perhaps the absence of antiquities in Mesologgi left Fauvel with no option but to focus on the picturesque landscape. His drawing presents Mesologgi as a low-lying small town in the middle distance, located between mountain ranges and a marshy lagoon (figure 1.4).[37] Landmarks include a windmill and a minaret, while moderately sized, fairly uniform houses and buildings of mostly single or double storeys suggest evenly distributed income amongst the inhabitants. Some sailing vessels, quite likely cargo ships, are anchored to the left, in what

[30] Clairmont (2007: 16), Boisset (2003: 134) and Lowe (1936: 207).
[31] Fauvel (1780: 5) and Foucherot (1780: 18).
[32] Foucherot (1780: 18-19).
[33] The reference is most probably to the reprisal for the so-called 'Orloff rebellion' of 1770 in the southern Peloponnese, instigated by Russian agents (Alexandropoulou 2000: 90 and Woodhouse 1998: 118-120).
[34] Foucherot (1780: 18).
[35] Fauvel (1780: 5).
[36] Fauvel (1780: 5).
[37] The rendition of the town in figure 1.4 continues to be a referent for historical Mesologgi in monographs about the town. An example can be seen in Kakosoulas (1990: 9) of early use of the image in a secondary historical source is in Wordsworth's publication of 1840 titled *Greece: pictorial, descriptive and historical* that focused on ancient Greece (Wordsworth 1840: 287). Although Fauvel is not identified as the originator, a wood engraving titled 'Messolonghi' is listed in this publication as being designed by W. Harvey and engraved by Jackson. Remarkably the image is embedded in text describing the campaign of Phillip III through Acarnania into Aetolia, but no reference is made to Mesologgi.

appears to be the deepest and therefore navigable part of the lagoon. Fauvel's drawing appears to have been amongst a bundle obtained from the artists by Stackelberg sometime after his arrival in Greece in 1809.[38]

A landscape identical to that in Fauvel's *Messolonghi* is to be found in a drawing in the Louvre currently attributed to Louis-François Cassas, another agent for Choisseul-Gouffier in Greece (figure 1.5). It is conceivable that artists used each other's sketches in fulfilling their assignments. The Louvre drawing belongs to a series of three, which appeared appearing on the same page collectively titled *Vues panoramiques d'Anatolico, de Missolonghi et de Patras*, with Mesologgi in the middle drawing between those of Anatolico and Patras.[39] A note attached to the rear cover of Cassas' album states the drawings were made for Choisseul-Gouffier's publication, but another note on the inside of the same cover elaborates that they were not used in Comte's *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*.[40] The similarity between the panoramas of Mesologgi attributed to Fauvel and Cassas is such that even the cut off points for the landscape are identical and suggesting that one is a copy of the other. [41] While the sketch *Vues panoramiques d'Anatolico, de Missolonghi et de Patras* does not carry a date, other sketches included in the same album are dated between 1784 and 1787.[42] Annie Gilet has made the point that some of the sketches in the album bear the date 1780 and as Cassas was in Rome at this time, they could not be by his hand, adding weight to the argument Fauvel was their creator.[43] After comparing the volumes of works by both artists at the Louvre and the Bibliothèque

[38] Stackelberg and Fauvel were on archaeological excavations in and around Athens in 1810 (Tregaskis 1979: 101 and Miller c. 1972: 25). The two men also collaborated on the subject of Greek vases in 1811-12 (Zambon 2006: 26). Tregaskis (1979: 124) mentions a fragment of a panorama by Stackelberg of Patras, upon which negotiations were written for his release when he was kidnapped by brigands in 1813. Stackelberg may have sought to acquire Fauvel's *Messalonghi* because one of his own works on the subject may have been among those torn up by the brigands. See Turner (1820:428) for account of Stackelberg's kidnapping and the loss of three years' artistic endeavours during the episode.

[39] The word 'Missolonghi' appears vertically beside the drawing, and 'Vue de Missolonghi prise en mer du côté du couchant' beneath it.

[40] Joconde: portal of the collections of the museums of France. (2019: catalogue notice, Cassas Louis-François, *Vues panoramiques d'Anatolico, de Missolonghi et de Patras*).

[41] The order of drawings in Cassas' album indicate he progressed through the Ionian and crossed to the mainland from Corfu to Preveza. Cassas made many detailed drawings of monuments in Aetolia, which can be interpreted as evidence that he did indeed spend time in the vicinity of Mesologgi.

[42] Date provided by the Louvre Museum in correspondence dated 6 November 2009.

[43] Gilet (c.1994: 11) has placed Cassas in Rome between 1779 and 1783, which was before he was engaged by Choiseul-Gouffier for the mission to the Eastern Mediterranean in 1784.

nationale de France, Christine Peltre has also concluded Cassas reproduced sketches made by Fauvel.[44]

Stackelberg decided to include Fauvel's rendition of *Messolonghi* in his publication *La Grèce: vues pittoresques et topographiques* 1834, which was comprised mainly of his own works of art, and this is testimony to the importance that Mesologgi acquired during the Greek War of Independence. Among the information about the town provided by Stackelberg was Mesologgi's proximity to ancient Pleuron and the effects of the reprisals suffered by the township following the failed Greek insurrection of 1770.[45] Finally, he noted that the heroic defence of Mesologgi in the 1820s had attracted Europeans to join the insurrection, including Lord Byron, who provided material aid and 'actually went to the town'.[46]

A small detail in Fauvel's image of Missolonghi, as it appears in Stackelberg's publication, forms a palimpsest allowing pre- and post-War of Independence periods to coalesce (figure 1.4). Stackelberg, or someone presumably under his instruction, marked three landmarks outside the border of the image, these being from left to right Mt. Zirgos, Maison de Lord Byron and Mt. Aracynthe. By signifying in the composition the location of Lord Byron's residence, this lithograph combined the town's geography and history, thereby emphasizing Mesologgi's status as a site of national political significance in the Greek War of Independence.[47] The additions made to Fauvel's *Messolonghi* approximately fifty years after the original was created, demonstrate that the sustained picturesque element in artistic representation of Greece across the early nineteenth century, came to align Modern Greece with revolutionary Mesologgi and form a mechanism for narratives of the insurrection in art.

The emergence of politicized Philhellene iconography

Choiseul-Gouffier: antiquarian and Philhellene

Despite the apparent blindness of eighteenth-century European travellers to the ties between Modern Greece and antiquity, the image of half-buried ruins was formulated

[44]Peltre in Gilet (c.1994: 109, 110 and 112; footnote 10) and Peltre (1997: 35-36).
[45] Stackelberg (1834: 11).
[46] Stackelberg (1834: 11).
[47] Stackelberg (1834: 11) also drew his reader's attention to this detail through textual reference.

by artists into iconography representing the country's degeneration under Ottoman rule. Implicit in this message was the idea that the 'regeneration of Greece' could occur with the liberation of the Greek people. As such, it can be argued that Western nostalgia for ruins, was transformed into a symbol of revival when incorporated by Philhellene artists into military scenes of the Greek War of Independence. [48] The title page of Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier's 1782 publication *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* provides an exception to the general scarcity of artistic depictions of Greek subjugation before the outbreak of the insurrection in 1821.[49] The plate of volume one (figure 1.6) depicts a female figure in shackles among classical, but decaying, ruins. This image served as a bellwether of Philhellene artists' use of ruins to advocate for modern Greek liberty.[50] Nostalgia for the lost classical era dominates the image, expressed through the depiction of ruins, in addition to the names of ancient champions of liberty, including Epaminondas, Leonidas, Miltiades, Themistocles and Lycurgus inscribed on strewn pieces of statuary.[51] The personification of Modern Greece has one arm resting on a funerary monument honouring Leonidas and the heroes of Thermopylae, while the other is raised in a gesture of supplication. This gesture makes the chains constraining her arms clearly visible and activates the image politically, by representing the 'enslavement' of the Greeks.

The iconography of ruins and slavery underscored the dichotomy between ancient grandeur and modern misfortune and formed a prelude to Choiseul-Gouffier's call to the Greek nation in his *Discours préliminaire* of *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* to take up arms against their oppressors.[52] The image of a captive female as a symbol of the Greek nation under Ottoman rule became a much utilized artistic trope to generate support for

[48] The Italian archaeologist Salvadore Settis has stated that 'Ruins operate as powerful metaphors for absence or rejection and, hence, as incentives for reflection or restoration' (Roth, Lyons & Merewether c.1997: ix). One Greek insurgent who was alert to the power of the symbol of ruins in the Western psyche was George Sisinis who wrote to Lord Byron on 16 March 1824 requesting material aid for the cause. Sisinis referred to Greece's ruins as fragments from which regeneration of the country could occur, and expressed certainty that having climbed Olympus and looking down at the fragments of columns, Byron would be eager to rebuild them. Sisinis urged Byron to see the bigger picture beyond the political factionalism afflicting Greece at the time. Of interest here is the invocation ruins to deflect the attention of the Philhellenes from unedifying aspects of the insurgency (Sisinis 16 March 1824). For internal civic strife during the Greek War of Independence see Rotzokos (1997).

[49] Choiseul-Gouffier (1782, vol. 1). *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* was also published during the Greek War of Independence in 1823 and 1825 in France and Belgium respectively (Droulia 1974: 68 and 127).

[50] The rhetoric of chains and slavery was not particular to the depiction of contemporary Greece; it had previously been applied for example by Chandler (1776: 31) to describe the pillage of Greece by the Goths c. 390 CE when 'Athenian matrons were dragged in chains by Barbarians'.

[51] Choiseul-Gouffier (1782: Explication du frontispiece).

[52] Choiseul-Gouffier (1782: Discours préliminaire, vii-xi).

the insurgents. While it highlighted humanitarian concern for the captive, it also expressed the Orientalising urges of Philhellene art and European culture. The title plate has been linked to the political climate of the failed Russian-backed Greek insurrection of 1770 in the Peloponnese. It is evidence that the political situation in Greece was beginning to be noted and disseminated by travellers.[53]

The heavy yoke of Ottoman subjugation

Further insight into how Philhellene art sought to elicit empathy and ultimately support for the subjugated Greek nation is provided by the frontispiece of a political pamphlet titled *ΣΑΛΠΙΣΜΑ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ* [Bugle call to war] and published in 1801 by the Greek scholar Adamantios Korais under a polemical pseudonym (figure 1.7).[54] The frontispiece to Korais' publication, captioned *O miserable me, doomed to slavery*, conveys the idea of Greek degradation under Ottoman rule through a dishevelled and semi-naked woman in a torn black dress, with her arms raised in despondency. The tattered name of Homer on an inscription among the relics reinforces this message. The pamphlet sounded its 'bugle call to war' by urging the Greek nation to draw on the legacy of their ancestors Miltiades, Themistocles and Leonidas at Marathon, Salamis and Thermopylae, and to rid themselves of the 'heavy yoke' of 'barbaric tyranny'.[55] The ruins featured in the engraving serve to establish the connection between the ancient and contemporary peoples of Greece. That Korais' *ΣΑΛΠΙΣΜΑ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ* complete with frontispiece was re-published in Greece and Paris during the first year of the insurrection is an indication that visual imagery was forming part of Philhellene propaganda.[56] The French version of the second edition of 1821 included a lengthy preface celebrating the virtues of both ancient and modern Greeks, together with an address by Demetrios Ipsilantis, a leading figure of the insurrection in southern Greece, heralding the regeneration of Hellas.[57]

While the iconography of ruins and the reference to subjugation in the title of the engraving *O miserable me, doomed to slavery* (figure 1.7) elicit a sympathetic response

[53] Constantine (1984: 173-76) and Boisset (2003: 145-46).
[54] Droulia (1983: pamphlet 6).
[55] Korais (1801: 4, 11-12, 20 and 22).
[56] Korais (1821 and July 1821).
[57] Korais (July 1821: 1-21 and 59).

towards the Greek nation, the reductive stereotype of the cruel Ottoman also captures attention. The personification of Greece is covered in bleeding wounds that appear to have been made by a callous, scimitar-wielding Ottoman standing beside her and wearing a turban adorned with a crescent. This is consistent with Wheatcroft's observation that robes, curved swords, turbans, war tents and the Crescent in art came to represent the Ottoman as a mortal enemy in art in the two centuries following the fall of Constantinople.[58] Colding-Smith's has contended that once the fall of Constantinople in 1453 established Islam as the enemy of Christendom, the rhetoric of the Ottomans as 'barbarians' permeated artistic depictions of their later conquests.[59] In depicting the 1529 Siege of Vienna, German artists such as Erhard Schöen evinced their hostility towards Islam by the depiction of Turkish soldiers committing atrocities, including the impalement of children, and through scenes of capture and slavery, with connotations of forced religious conversion.[60] After April 1826, Mesologgi provided Philhellene artists with a location for the projection of such sentiments, and the fall of the town became synonymous with Ottoman tyranny.

Mesologgi and Edward Dodwell

Edward Dodwell is an early representative of a cohort of antiquarian travellers whose quest for classical Hellas evolved into a desire to construct a Modern Greece on the remnants of antiquity. To judge by the book titled *A classical and topographical tour through Greece during the Years 1801, 1805 and 1806,* he published in 1819, Dodwell was rather underwhelmed on arriving in Mesologgi in February 1805: 'this place is little more than a large village'.[61] His disappointment contrasts with the eager anticipation he had recorded a few days earlier in Zakynthos: 'I cannot describe the sensations which I experienced on approaching the classic shores of Greece'.[62] Dodwell did not see fit to

[58] Wheatcroft (2005: 261-64). See Colding Smith (2010: iii, 48 and 86) on the image of the Turk in sixteenth-century German print culture and the turban as part of the iconography of a powerful and cruel Ottoman Empire.

[59] Colding Smith (2010: 26). See Ingram (2009: 2-8 and 382) for the development of the parallel literary convention that classified the Ottoman Empire as the 'terror on the world'. On the subject of the negative image of Islam in western culture and European identity see also Apostolou (2009), Harper (2011), Konrad (2011), MacKenzie (1995), St. Clair, A. (1973) and Wunder (2003).

[60] See Colding Smith (2010: 50-59) for examples of such images, including *Turkish rider with Christian captives*, 1529 by Erhard Schöen that depicts an Ottoman horseman leading two Christian prisoners by a rope around their necks and carrying an impaled infant over his shoulder.

[61] Dodwell (1819, vol. 1: 88).

[62] Dodwell (1819, vol. 1: 88).

accompany his passages on Mesologgi with topographical illustrations such as he supplied for Zakynthos and Janina.[63] Of his encounters with Mesologgians, Dodwell commented favourably on one inhabitant who could recite Tasso, Metastasio and other Italian poets, but he deplored the same individual's inability to recite Homer or understand ancient Greek.[64] Dodwell was not alone in misconstruing the complex relationship between the language currently spoken by the Greek people and that of classical antiquity, which he had learned in a reconstructed form. Typically, antiquarian travellers regarded the linguistic nexus between ancient and modern Greece much as they saw the material ruins, as a manifestation of the sorry degeneration of contemporary Greeks attributable to the alienation from their heritage to Ottoman rule.

Dodwell's account of his sojourn in Mesologgi indicates the fortunes of the town vacillated with the prevailing economic and social conditions created by imperial rule. The structures of governance of the outlying regions of the Ottoman Empire were designed to prevent the emergence of potentially powerful landed elites, but they additionally weakened both society and the economy in the Greek provinces.[65] More specifically to the conditions prevailing in Mesologgi, Ali Pasha, the semi-independent Ottoman ruler of the region, was able to exploit the Porte's preoccupation with an uprising in Serbia to extend the boundaries of his jurisdiction in 1804 to include Mesologgi.[66] In February 1805 Dodwell remarked on the lucrative export from Mesologgi of *balania*, a variety of acorn used in the processing of leather, and he observed Danish ships

[63] Dodwell, (1819, vol. 1: plates between pages 84 and 85; 146 and 147).
[64] Dodwell, (1819, vol. 1: 89).
[65] See Fyffe (1880-92, vol. 2: 239-40) on economic and social conditions in Greece over the eighteenth century and McGowan (1981:105-14) for an account of regular and irregular tax paid to the central Ottoman treasury annually. Woodhouse (1998: 99-124 and 102) refers to Turkish rule as 'the dark age of Greece' and observes that 'In return for taxation, the subject peoples enjoyed no services whatever from the Ottoman administration'. Vryonis (1976: 50-58) provides a description of political and social disenfranchisement of the population during this period. Clogg (1988: 20) outlines the limitations of being Christian as opposed to Muslim in Greece at the time. For taxes collected by the central Ottoman administration and locally by Ali Pasha in the region of Mesologgi see Demetrakakis (1939: 35-41).
[66] Giakoumis, Giakoumis & Katsenes (1976: 32-33). Dobratz in Kouvertaris & Dobratz (1987: 32) state that the weakening authority of the Sultan after 1650 meant that local Pashas could exercise greater autonomy. Historians consider that Ali Pasha came close to establishing his own independent state within the Ottoman Empire through a 'combination of butchery, extortion, an intelligent foreign policy and dynastic manoeuvring' (Glenny 2000: 27). Col. Vialla de Sommieres, a traveller in northern Epirus in 1820, states that Ali Pasha had declared himself King of Epirus and that the Sultan had grown tired of his assertions of independence from the Porte (Phillips 1819-1824, vol. 4: 90). See Fleming (1999) on Ali Pasha's rule over mainland Greece from 1787 to 1820 and the role that his recalcitrance played in encouraging the outbreak of the Greek Revolution.

transporting this product to England and Portugal.[67] However, subjection to the personal whims of Ali Pasha had dire consequences for the town, as the tariffs he imposed on commercial trade soon sent shipping activity into rapid decline.[68] Apart from commenting on the harsh and increasingly unrealistic financial burden placed on the people by the taxation system and the impoverished state of the countryside, Dodwell's observations also provide an insight into the social ramifications of Ali Pasha's rule over the Mesologgians.[69] Dodwell reports an instance of the terror felt by the inhabitants, the fact that upon being summoned by Ali Pasha to deliver a sum of money, a delegation of locals saw fit to take an additional gift.[70]

Edward Dodwell and Philhellene iconography

Dodwell's publishing activities demonstrate how it was in the illustration of travel literature, the wider public became exposed to politicized Philhellene imagery. However, an artistic rendition of Mesologgi did not feature in Dodwell's 1821 publication titled *Views in Greece from drawings by Edward Dodwell*, in which he utilized 30 images created on his tour of 1801, 1805 and 1806. Simone Pomardi, an Italian painter who accompanied Dodwell to Greece in 1805, published his own volume in 1820 that included three plates making incidental mention of Mesologgi.[71] The subject of these engravings is ancient Pleuron, but their titles state that the location is Mesologgi. This inaccuracy is noteworthy, given that the town of Mesologgi is at some distance from the ancient site, and pre-war period Mesologgi was relatively unknown and held very little interest for travellers. One of Pomardi's three images is titled *Teatro a Messolongi* and presents the ancient theatre of Pleuron with the lagoon and several islets in the background (figure

[67] Dodwell (1819, vol. 1: 93).

[68] Pouqueville (1822: 53) and Angelomatis-Tsougarakis (1990: 63).

[69]Dodwell (1819, vol. 1: 87-94). Pierre Lapie ([s.d.: 6]) a French cartographer remarked in September 1819 that the town had 800 houses and four fisheries that were taxed with the proceeds going to the Ottoman treasury.

[70] Dodwell (1819, vol. 1: 92). The Scotsman John Galt (1812: 384-85), who travelled through Mesologgi on his way back to England in 1822 commented on the excessive cost of sub-letting sections of the lagoon to fisherman by Ali Pasha. Galt's remark (1812: 385) 'The inhabitants wear the Albanian dress and though they complain grievously of the taxes admit the justice and the vigour of Ali Pashaw's government' reveal the Mesologgians' discontent with Ottoman rule, but no rebellious feelings towards it.

[71] Sloan in Camp II, Jenkins, Tsigakou & Sloan (2013: 31) and Pomardi (1820: 37, 38 a and 38 a [sic]), these plates are titled in order *Teatro a Messalongi*, *Camera sotterranea a Messalongi* and *Sotterraneo a Messalongi*.

1.8). The two male figures in repose along the low-lying stone wall on the right in the middle ground, form part of the picturesque element of the work.

A move away from picturesque and architectural images to figurative works taking the Greek population as their subject can be seen to signify the increased politicisation of Philhellene art.[72] It occurs in Dodwell's *Views in Greece* which was published in 1821, the first year of the insurrection, and although none of its 30 colour plates, or their descriptions convey any politicized Philhellene messaging, the book's title plate openly promotes Greek liberation from Ottoman rule (figure 1.9). The vignette portrays a female personification of Greece wearing a chiton-like garment that serves as a connection between the modern population and antiquity. The woman is buckled over on the ground and restrained by heavy chains which are held by a cross-legged, turbaned, languorous Turk.

The narrative this vignette poses is how the enslaved woman's situation might be ameliorated (figure 1.9). The iconography of 'breaking the chains' was a progression from the iconography of enslavement in which shackles or a yoke expressed support for political intervention into the war in the Greek population's favour.[73] The vignette also invokes antiquity through a shield decorated with an owl, the Goddess Athena's symbol, while further to the right, appears a hoplite helmet. Apart from reinforcing the ancestral connection between the contemporary population and the ancients, this image is also indicative of the fact that the Hellenic Ideal did not diminish as support for the cause of Greek independence gained momentum in the West. In terms of propaganda, the juxtaposition of the ancient war accoutrements with the shackled personification of Greece was a provocation to such Philhellenes as espoused the Hellenic ideal, but allowed the land of the ancients to languish under Ottoman rule.

[72] This development in Philhellenism is reflected by George Finlay's entry in his notebook made in March 1824 from Mesologgi. Finlay acknowledged the interest Greece had provided scholars and artists through their classical education and advocated that 'In its present circumstance likewise the country is worthy of the attention of the soldier and the statesman…' (Finlay 1823 – 1824: MSS. G. F., A1, section 2, pages 1-2).

[73] The rhetoric of 'break the chains' was also engaged by Chateaubriand in the preface of the third edition *Note sur la Grèce* that also contrasted the condition of ancient with the modern Greeks, and was published during the insurrection (Chateaubriand 1851-1852, vol. 7-8: 22-23).

Before his death in 1832, Dodwell selected a detailed black-and-white panorama of Mesologgi comprising three engravings, to be included in his posthumous publication, *Views and descriptions of Cyclopian, or, Pelasgic remains, in Greece and Italy: with constructions of a later period / from drawings by the late Edward Dodwell: intended as a supplement to his Classical and topographical tour in Greece during the years 1801, 1805, and 1806.*[74] The panorama had originally been drawn by Simone Pomardi in 1806 and titled *Panorama from Pleuron, looking south* (figure 1.10). These pre-Greek War of Independence images present a view from ancient Pleuron, across the plain, lagoon and out to the Ionian Sea and landmasses opposite. Significantly, annotations in pencil along the bottom of Pomardi's original pen and ink panorama did not focus on the town, but simply mentioned it along with other much smaller towns in its proximity such as Galata and Boccori. However, when Simone's panorama was presented in Dodwell's publication of 1834 in three plates it was given a new title of *Ruins of an ancient city near Messaloggion in Aetolia* (figures 1.11 a, b and c). Dodwell's 1834 volume was intended as a supplement to the one of 1819, and while the context of antiquity retains its prominence, the inclusion of this panorama with the name Mesologgi in its title attests to the fame acquired by the modern town in the interim, as did Stackelberg's inclusion of Fauvel's *Messalonghi* in *La Grèce: vues pittoresques et topographiques* that very same year (figure 1.4).

The iconography of the Greek War of Independence and the representation of a collective national identity

Further visual evidence of the ways in which Greeks viewed the insurgency at a time when Philhellenes had begun to interpret the political movement in pictorial form, shown by a flag belonging to the Greek General Theodoros Kolokotronis and later gifted to Konstantinos Dragonas, a member of the *Philiki Etairia*, the secret Greek society plotting insurrection against Ottoman rule (figure 1.12). Today the flag is known by the descriptive title of *Flag with Greece represented as the goddess Athena and the inscription Ἡ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ 'Η ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ' [either freedom or death]*, ostensibly because Athena is presented as a personification of the Greek nation, and the motto 'either freedom or death' in Greek, features in the upper region. By gifting the flag to Dragonas, who resided on Zakynthos and was petitioning the British, who administered the island,

[74] Dodwell (1834: editor's preface).

in favour of the Greek insurrection, Kolokotronis may have hoped that the flag would act as a vehicle of pro-Greek propaganda outside Greece.[75] The unknown artist of Dragonas' flag may possibly have constructed the image under Kolokotronis' instruction. However that may be, this flag represents a concentrated source of key Philhellene iconography utilized by the Greek insurgents. It also represents the Philhellene iconography projected on to revolutionary Mesologgi after the fall of the town.

Kolokotronis was appointed General of the Greek forces in the Peloponnese in May 1825 after being released from jail, following his participation in the second civil war.[76] On 30 June 1825 he wrote to the British Foreign Secretary, George Canning in London, soliciting the 'illustrious protection of Great Britain' for a nation emulating the valour of their Hellenic forefathers, a nation 'who had already declared that they will all to a man either bury themselves beneath the ruins of their country, or crown their divine struggle by a complete victory'.[77] This language encompasses both French Republican rhetoric of 'freedom or death' and an appeal to Philhellenic sentiment, confident in the persuasive power of the ancients.[78] Kolokotronis was not the only insurgent to emphasize the descent of the modern Greek insurgents from the ancient Greeks, and the rhetoric was not solely for foreign consumption. A letter written by the Greek besiegers of the fortress at Patras to the Notaras brothers dated 28 March 1821 demonstrates the modern Greeks may not have been as disengaged from ancient culture as some foreign Philhellenes believed.[79] Signed by Patriarch Germanos of Patras and other revolutionaries, the letter sought to exert pressure on the Notaras clan to join the 'ethnos' in its fight against tyranny and claimed that the 'hero Panourgias' was tearing through the enemy 'like another Achilles'.[80]

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[75] Stasinopoulos (Ed.) (1979, vol. 2: 50).

[76] Stasinopoulos (Ed.) (1979, vol. 2: 454 and 457).

[77] Kolokotrones (1892: xvi and 126), Stasinopoulos (Ed.) (1979, vol. 2: 445), Frazee (1969: 65), Wellesley Papers. Vols. XVIII-XXI, Letter (translation of) from T. Kolokotrones to G. Canning, dated 30 June 1825, folio 147v pages 1 and 2.

[78] Kakrides (1963: 252-53 and 261-62) examined historical documents and chronicles from the Greek War of Independence and concluded that combatants gradually learnt about their ancient heritage from their leaders and scholars.

[79] Bakadema (Ed.) (2009: 17-19). The Notaras brothers belonged to the prominent Peloponnesian family whose roots went back to Byzantium (Stasinopoulos 1979, vol. 4: 47).

[80] Bakadema (Ed.) (2009: 18-19).

The commonality between the Goddess Athena in Dragonas' flag and the French Republican pictorial tradition connects Philhellenism to the cultural and political history of Europe and indicates that some Greek insurgents were willing to promote Western models of Hellenism during the insurrection. The figuration of Athena in the Greek flag shares the rightward profile of the allegorical figure in an engraving from the French Revolution (figure 1.13). Also notable is the fact that Athena is dressed in the red, white and blue colours of Republican France. The figure of Liberty in the French engraving has extended arms with her left resting on the fasces, the bound bundle of wooden rods which represents the power of the collective, while her other holds a rod supporting a Phrygian cap of liberty.[81] The extended arms of the personification of Greece in *Flag with Greece represented as the goddess Athena and the inscription 'Η ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ 'Η θΑΝΑΤΟΣ (either freedom or death)* (figure 1.12) points to the Cross with her right hand, thereby emphasizing the Christian identity of the insurgents. This identification is consistent with (*inter alia*) the provisional constitution of Greece, enacted on 1 January 1822, declaring independence in the name of religion and defining Orthodoxy as the established religion of the nation.[82] The red letters inscribed on the flag in the four segments around the Cross combine, to read 'Christ conquers' in Greek.

The iconography of the fasces at the base of the Cross in figure 1.12 promotes the idea of the collective strength of the unified insurgents. The motif of the bound sixteen Doric columns resting on the upturned crescent moon symbolizes equality and fraternity in a revolutionary context. It appeared on other revolutionary flags and was previously used by the Greek secret society *Philiki Etairia*.[83] Kolokotronis inducted into this fellowship on the 1 December 1818 in Zakynthos, but as mentioned above, it is not known whether he was instrumental in the design of this flag.[84] However, the use of pre-existing iconographies expressing Philhellene aspirations for the Greek nation, leaves no doubt that whoever designed this flag had access to this imagery and understood it in a precise political context. The Eye of Providence within the triangle emitting light above the Cross represents divinity and connects that flag to French republican politics, but was also

[81] See Appendix E figure E-1.2 for the Republican engraving *Liberté/Fraternité/Egalité/Ou la mort/Unité indivisibilité de la République*, 1792 for iconographies of the fasces and cap of liberty.
[82] Greece (Constitution) (1823: 56-59).
[83] See Delivorrias (2000: 178) for an example of secret society insignia featuring a red Cross and sixteen stylized columns bound together.
[84] Stasinopoulos (Ed.) (1979, vol. 2: 445).

associated with Freemasonary and would no doubt have appealed to Dragonas who was a Freemason himself.[85] On the left of the Cross at the base is a Lion, which is both a symbol of fortitude and resurrection in Christian theology. [86] The lion is shown breaking the chains securing a Byzantine Imperial crown, while a Phoenix, also a symbol of rebirth, simultaneously helps the crown to rise.[87] A Masonic lodge on Corfu with connection to French branches, was named after the mythological bird, and it is possible that this symbol had locally acquired overtones of revolutionary and nationalist sentiments.[88]

Finally, Dragonas' flag features one of the most powerful images of the Greek War of Independence created by Philhellene artists, in the form of the trampled Ottoman (figure 1.12). The trope of fallen Ottoman soldier, military standard or turban was used by Philhellene artists throughout the Greek War of Independence.[89] This iconography denoting the destruction of the Ottomans to be the prerequisite for the revival of the Greek nation was of such abiding potency, that at his funeral on 5 February 1843, a Turkish flag was placed under Kolokotronis' feet in his coffin.[90]

Mesologgi as an emblem of revolutionary Greece

The rapid response to the fall of Mesologgi across all genres of Philhellenism, including the arts, left the world in no doubt that the Greek War of Independence was in grave danger of imminent collapse. Barely two months after the Ottoman capture of the town, a spectacular 'equestrian melodrama' titled *The siege of Missolonghi or, Massacre of the Greeks* was staged in London by the British actor, classical scholar and playwright, J.H. Amherst (figure 1.14). This production contributed significantly to the prompt elevation of the town into an emblem of the War of Independence and vividly reinforced the reports of Greeks being 'slaughtered at Mesologgi' in the newspapers of the day.[91]

[85] Rizopoulos (2005: 2) and Grand Lodge of Greece (2018: http://www.grandlodge.gr/dragonas-konstantinos-w-84228.html) See also Appendix E figure E-1.3 for the utilization of the Eye of Providence iconography on the French Declaration of Rights dated c.1789.
[86] Hall (1996: 193).
[87] Thus, along with ancient Greek civilization the flag included the Eastern Roman Empire as part of the national narrative of modern Greece.
[88] Rizopoulos (2003: 255).
[89] The lithograph titled *Le réveil des Grecs*, c. 1823 by Langlumé (figure 6.4) depicts a Greek stepping on a turban and an Ottoman standard as he advances into battle.
[90] Papadopoulos (1843: 5) and Gennadas (8 February 1843: 2).
[91] Syndicated news in the English broadsheet *Bell's Life* from the French press reported 'the fall of Missolonghi, and the massacre of the Greeks who defended it…' (By the Paris Papers of Sunday: 16 April 1826).

Amherst's melodrama is all the more remarkable in view of the overall paucity of representations of Mesologgi in British Philhellene visual art at that time, despite the town's incidental fame as the site of Lord Byron's death.[92] Advertising for Amherst's production began on 19 June 1826, claiming it to be the first-ever representation of the final siege at Mesologgi (figure 1.15). After a week of performances commencing on 3 July 1826 at Phillip Astley's Royal Amphitheatre in London, the spectacle was given top billing, and a long sequence of shows into October followed, after which the production proceeded to the counties (figures 1.16 and 1.17).[93] The playbill for the performance on 10 July boasted of new scenery, expensive costumes and decorations, an elaborate stage arrangements, including combat scenes and marches involving horses, elephants and camels (figure 1.17). Amherst's narrative of the final siege centred on the Ottoman blockade which reduced the last defenders of Mesologgi through famine, but stiffened their heroic resolve to 'suffer any extremity, rather than submit to their oppressors' (figure 1.17). The collective decision to embark on the exodus from the town by the town's last defenders was not dramatized. Instead, Amherst presented the self-immolation by those too old or weak to participate in the exodus as the communal decision taken by the Greek insurgents at Mesologgi. The production closed among explosions, with the Ottomans proceeding to massacre inhabitants and reduce the town to ashes.

As well as amplifying Philhellene rhetoric of vanquished heroes at Mesologgi, Amherst's production clearly pandered to Orientalist prejudice about the East. The playscript reveals extreme ethnic stereotyping of the heroic Greek and the evil Turk,

[92] The Fine Arts column of *The Examiner* on 5 November 1826 bemoaned this fact with the statement that 'At a time when there is so general an interest for the fate of the Greeks we are not a little surprised at the non appearance of a good engraving of some prominent subject from the passing history of the Greek struggle'. (Fine Arts. 5 November 1826: 708).

[93] See Appendix E figures E-1.4, E-1.5 and E-1.6 for additional playbills dated 26 June, 14 August and 30 October 1826 that reflect the increasing appeal of the subject for the English public. A classified advertisement in the London press claimed that the production was 'received nightly with universal bursts of applause' and acknowledged by name the large number of aristocrats who had attended performances. (Multiple Classified Advertisements: Royal Amphitheatre, Astley's. 16 July 1826 and 30 July 1826). This suggests that the fall of Mesologgi might have been a tipping point in sectors of English public opinion regarding the Greek insurgency. Evidence of the enduring and widespread popularity of Amherst's melodrama is that it was still being performed at the Theatre Royal in Dublin on 25 August 1828 (Levey and O'Rorke 1880: 19).

epitomized in the protagonists, Andreas Miaoulis, leader of the Greeks, and the Ottoman Pasha Ibrahim.[94] A quartet and chorus of Ottoman officers opens Act 1, singing:

> Il Allah Il Allah, in thee we trust,
> While the crescent on high,
> O'ver the Greek flag shall fly,
> And the Christians lie low in the dust.[95]

The narrative proceeds to suggest that the West had abandoned fellow Christians, and Amherst expresses Philhellene sentiments through tropes found in other Philhellene art at the time. The trope of the lascivious oriental male appears when Xainia, Miaoulis' wife, is captured by Ibrahim and taken to his tent to enjoy 'earthly paradise'.[96] Xainia, in the role of the noble Greek heroine responds with, 'Do thy worst, we are thy prisoners, our innocent blood shall rise to heaven amidst the nobler blood of saints and martyrs' and she proceeds to insult him.[97] Ibrahim then attempts to blackmail her with the threat of having her sons killed, but she responded that 'death is freedom to the Greek' and leaps off a ledge into the sea.[98]

The rhetoric of Greek blood and Ottoman cruelty were crucial to the Philhellene cause as a validation of Western involvement in Greece despite the diplomatic niceties regarding interference in a region where the Ottoman Empire held legitimate power.[99] Amherst enlisted both tropes to great effect throughout the play. In Act 1 Scene 3 Ibrahim vows to '…let the earth drink up the blood of every Greek'.[100] This trope rises to a crescendo at the close of Act 2 when the insurgents decide to blow themselves up in the gunpowder magazine as the Ottomans are about to breach the town's walls. The retort to Ibrahim's desire to see the earth soaked with Greek blood comes in the benediction scene

[94] Amherst exercised artistic license in placing Miaoulis in the town during the final siege of Mesologgi. Miaoulis was a sea captain who ran supplies to the town during the final siege until the Ottoman blockade of the town took effect (Christopoulos and Bastias [Eds.] 1975, vol. 12: 408 and 412), and Dakin (1973: 105).
[95] Amherst (18--: Act 1, scene 1: p. 3).
[96] Amherst (18--: Act 1, scene 3, p. 11).
[97] Amherst (18--: Act 1, scene 3, p. 11-12).
[98] Amherst (18--: Act 1, scene 3, p. 14-15).
[99] Bass (2008: 118 and 123-128) and Rodogno (2012: 16-17, 70, 72, 78 and 90).
[100] Amherst (18--: Act 1, scene 3, pp. 7-8).

preceding the ill-fated moment, where the Christian associations of Christ's sacrifice through His spilt blood come to the fore.

Amherst further uses the motif of blood to connect the modern and ancient Greeks when Miaoulis declares that Leonidas' spirit warms the blood that circulates in the insurgents' hearts.[101] In Act 1 Scene 5, Amherst presents revolutionary Mesologgi as imbued with the heroic spirit of antiquity when Miaoulis declares the town's defenders to be worthy of, and inspired by, their ancestors at Thermopylae and Marathon.[102] Miaoulis completes his treatise concerning the liberty of the modern Greeks with the slogans 'we will be a people with religion, rights and freedom, or in the contest we will perish to a man'.[103] As the Greeks prepare themselves, Miaoulis accepts the path of martyrdom for the collective, in the hope that the 'blood of saints and warriors shall moisten the seeds of liberty'.[104] Amherst thus presents the insurgents' choice of death over a life of subjugation as a victory over their enemy.[105]

Devouges' *Missolonghi*: warriors for God, liberty and country

The close association between religion and patriotism permeating Amherst's melodrama, came to define the defenders of Mesologgi as Christian martyrs to the cause of Greek liberty in subsequent artistic representations of their ordeal with Louis Benjamin Marie Devouges' painting titled *Missolonghi* 1828 providing an example (figure 1.18). This trope had French literary antecedents, notably in the preface to the third edition of *Note sur la Grèce* (1827*)* by François-René Chateaubriand, which extolled the defenders of the Mesologgi as blending devotion to Christianity with patriotic heroism to establish a new pedigree for Hellenism.[106] Devouges' portrayal of the Mesologgians is no less effusive: he depicts Christian soldiers setting off for the exodus having received Holy Communion and heading in a direction pointed out by their bishop.[107] The rifle-bearing

[101] Amherst (18--: Act 1, scene 5, p. 20 and Act 1, scene 6, p. 20).
[102] Amherst (18--: Act 1, scene 5, p. 20).
[103] Amherst (18--: Act 1, scene 5, p. 20).
[104] Amherst (18--: Act 2, scene 5, p. 46).
[105] Amherst (18--: Act 2, scene 5, p. 49).
[106] Chateaubriand (1851-1852, vol. 7-8: 23). The rhetoric also appeared on the front page of the liberal newspaper *Le Journal des Débats* to which Chateaubriand was contributing articles at the time (15-16 May 1826 -- cf. Malakis August 1928: 102).
[107] The inclusion of Greek priests in Philhellene works was not exclusive to depictions of events at Mesologgi. Ludovico Lipparini placed a deacon in the boat of Greek refugees rowing away from the mainland (see appendix E figure E-1.7 *Una barca di Greci,* 1846). Benediction and communion scenes

insurgent leading the group walks beside another priest at the head of the procession carrying a Cross. This configuration of priest and insurgent visually reinforces the motto 'God and Country' that appears in gold lettering on the white banner fluttering gently above the assembly. Standing in unison with the insurgent and holding the banner is a woman, their figures bathed in the warm glow of the light emanating from the church door as night falls. Billowing smoke on the left in the background indicates the culmination of the final siege. The painting creates a harmony between the male, female and the banner by means of the drape of fabrics and their red and white colouring. The red-coloured Cross on the banner together with the predominant red of the figures' clothes forms a referent to the blood about to be spilt by the townsfolk. Amherst and Devouges are two examples, albeit of different cultural display that took the fall of Mesologgi as a subject in order to express support for Greek liberation.

As has been demonstrated, nineteenth-century advocacy for the liberation of the Greek nation from Ottoman rule developed out of antiquarian interest in classical Greece. Edward Dodwell is a fine example of a traveller to Greece who came to regard Greek culture as having degenerated under Ottoman rule. The iconography of chains alongside that of ancient ruins unambiguously conveyed subjugation and cultural decline in Choiseul-Gouffier's frontispiece from 1782. While ruins formed part of the iconography of debased culture under Ottoman rule, ancient statuary in Philhellene art also reminded the viewer of the responsibility to support the insurgents because of the connection between Western culture to Greece's classical past. The marked religiosity of Devouges' *Missolonghi* cements the nexus of religious faith and patriotism that, together with reference to Greek antiquity, became a cornerstone of Philhellene political support through art and, as the following chapters demonstrate, established Mesologgi as a powerful emblem of the Greek insurrection in the Western imagination and sympathies.

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at Mesologgi continued to be portrayed into the mid-nineteenth-century include, Henri-Daniel Plattel, *L'Archevêque de Missolonghi donnant sa benediction,* 1826; Alexis-Nicolas Pérignon, *La fin de Missolonghi: resolution héroïque de ses inhabitants,* c. 1848-1849; L. Rossignon *Missolonghi, 20 Février 1826, Communion des Grecs pendant le combat,* 1826; L. Rossignon *Η τελευταία μετάληψη των Μεσολογγιτών,* c. 1826 and G. A. Kasola after L. Rossignon pinx[t]., *Ο επίσκοπος Ιωσήφ Ρωγών κοινωνά τους πιστούς στην ντάπια του Φραγλίνου,* undated (see appendix E figures E-1.8, E-1.9, E-1.10, E-1.11 and E-1.12),

Chapter 2
Markos Botsaris as the vanquished Greek hero

Markos Botsaris was a Souliote clan leader from the region of Epirus in north-west Greece who died on 9 August 1823 in the battle of Karpenisi while trying to halt the advance of Ottoman reinforcements towards Mesologgi. After the death of their leader, Botsaris' troops managed to defeat the numerically superior Ottoman forces. Thereafter this catastrophic but ultimately successful event came to epitomize the small Greek nation's struggle against the mighty Ottoman empire. Moreover, Botsaris became an archetypal modern Greek hero in Philhellene art and literature, all the more remarkably in view of his origins on the periphery of Hellenism, specifically in the Albanian-speaking Orthodox clans of Epirus. Furthermore, Botsaris' close association with Mesologgi, as the General of the western land forces and his burial there, served to reinforce in the minds of Philhellenes the town's status as a site of Greek heroism.

This chapter will analyse the plethora of pictorial narratives of his death where he is shown as both as a Christian warrior and a reincarnation of the heroes of antiquity, thereby fuelling Philhellene enthusiasm for viewing the Greek War of Independence as both a holy war and a revival of ancient Hellas. It will be argued that these images formed both a prelude to, and reinforcement of, the Greek nationalist belief that Mesologgi's defenders were the primary martyred heroes of the Greek War of Independence. Initially it is appropriate to consider how the artists constructing Botsaris' image manipulated aspects of his biography, with a view to promoting his involvement in the Greek insurrection to optimum effect. This will involve a broad characterization of his background and the nature of his enlistment in the Greek cause. Further examination will be made of the degree to which Philhellene iconography influenced nationalist representations of the Greek War of Independence in art.

Hellenism and Ottoman rule

Depictions of Markos Botsaris contributed to a sense of modern Hellenism in art and thereby serving in the intellectual construction of Greek national identity in the context of the Greek War of Independence. The definition of the term 'Hellenism' is complex and contentious, as criteria for inclusion in the Greek nation have varied

markedly over the centuries.[1] At the beginning of the nineteenth century, issues of Greek identity were further complicated by the dispersion of the Greek population across the Ottoman Empire, (and indeed, beyond into territories controlled by other imperial powers and into the Greek diaspora) and by the consequent variety of social and economic conditions experienced by the nation.[2] Within the Ottoman Empire a significant determinant of 'Greekness' derived from the privileged status accorded to the Orthodox Church within the *millet* (denoting a religious community) system of Ottoman administration.[3] The Sublime Porte vested secular authority over the Greek nation in matters of education and civil justice in the Patriarch of the Great Church of Constantinople, while the Greek nation remained under Ottoman political and economic rule.[4] Significantly, the Greek Orthodox nation (*Rum millet)* was understood to include other Orthodox communities such as the Serbs, Romanians, Bulgarians, Vlachs, Orthodox Albanians and Orthodox Arabs.[5] This arrangement in effect continued the Byzantine Empire's constitution as a unitary holy empire of Christians of diverse ethnic provenance. Language was a unifier of the Greek population of the Ottoman Empire only to a point, given that not all Greek-speakers identified themselves as Greek, while others who identified themselves as Greek spoke other languages, including Turkish.[6] Nonetheless, Greek language and Orthodox religious affiliation were strong signifiers of Greek ethnicity under Ottoman rule and were well suited to the purposes of the propaganda through which the Philhellenes sought to garner support for the Greek

[1] The complexities of modern Greek identity have been discussed in an abundance of historical and cultural surveys of Greece in the previous four decades with a recent proliferation of edited volumes. The following are among the most relevant to the purpose of demonstrating that the concept of Hellenism is best understood within its evolving socio-historical content: Beaton & Ricks (2009), Blinkhorn & Veremis (1990), Clogg (1988), Diamandouros, Anton, Petropulos & Topping (1976), Koliopoulos & Veremis (2002), Koumoulides (1977), Gourgouris (1996), Güthenke (2008), Herzfeld (1997), Leontis (1995), Peckham (2001), Pizanias (2009 and 2011), Sherrard (1987), Tziovas (1997), Wallace (1997), Woodhouse, C.M.(1998), and Zacharia (2008).

[2] Dakin (1972: 1-20), Glenny (2000: 22-39), Vryonis (1976) and Woodhouse, C.M. (1952: 11-42).

[3] Clogg (1988: 18) and Dakin (1972: 12).

[4] Clogg (1988: 19-20) has pointed out that this authority was qualified with the expectation that the Greek Orthodox Church would uphold Ottoman control over the population. For the state of the education and legal systems in Mesologgi during Ottoman rule see Kaninias (1992).

[5] Clogg (1988: 19) and Dakin (1973: 9).

[6] Indicative of the dynamics of language and identity in the late eighteenth century is the revolutionary preaching of the itinerant Greek Orthodox monk Kosmas of Aetolia, which included an injunction to the Christians of North-West Greece to speak Greek, the language of Orthodoxy at home as opposed to the local Albanian patois of the region (Simopoulos 1971: 28; Koliopoulos & Veremis 2002: 159).

insurrection.[7] The image of Christian brethren of Hellenic lineage fighting for liberation had obvious resonance and appeal in the West.

The motivation behind the involvement of Markos Botsaris and his Souliote clan in the Greek War of Independence is much more complicated than the simplistic Philhellene or Greek nationalistic imagery might suggest and is disputed among historians.[8] There is, however, a consensus that the Souliotes and notably the Botsaris family had a formidable reputation for defying the authority of the Ottomans and their regional vassals.[9] The notorious despot of Epirus, Ali Pasha, had relentlessly attacked Souli in the 1790s, but by 1820 he was seeking to co-opt his fearsome Souliote opponents into his bid for regional autonomy.[10] Their receptiveness to his overtures further complicates the issue of Souliote affiliations. In the event, Ali Pasha's attempt at succession was crushed by the Sultan's army in February 1822. Later that Spring, the Souliotes saw fit to mobilize and travel to Mesologgi. News of this development prompted the Ottoman military commander of the region, Seraskire Hurchid Pasha to send an open letter from Ioannina to the Souliote captains on 5 May 1822 offering them an amnesty, for taking up arms against the Porte and promised favourable consideration of their petitions.[11] Therefore, better prospects apparently beckoned Botsaris to Mesologgi. Upon arrival there in May 1822, he allied himself with Alexander Mavrokordatos, the President of the Executive of the Provisional Government, stationed in the town at the time.[12]

The precise nature of the Souliotes' ultimate objectives is unclear. The historians Dionysios Skiotis, Vaso Psimouli and Şükrü Ilıcak accentuate the Souliotes' ambitions regarding the local political autonomy and their turbulent economic relations with the

[7] Clogg (1988: 16-42) and Zanou (2015 b: 122).
[8] Tsiamalos (2007: 254). Skiotis (1971 b: 185) notes that Markos Botsaris had at one time been in the employ of Ali Pasha of Ioannina.
[9] Psimouli (2006: 162-63).
[10] Psimouli (2006: 313-464).
[11] Perraivos (1836: 127-28).
[12] Tsiamalos (2007: 146 and 254). A letter dated 27 May 1822 from Mavrokordatos to Mr. Liberios instructed him to give Markos Botsaris 400 piastres (Protopsaltes, [Ed.] 1963-86, vol. 1: 227). Botsaris' secretary, Basilios Goudas, acknowledged receiving the sum in a letter written that same day (Protopsaltes [Eds.] 1963-86, vol. 1: 227). Documents from the War Ministry indicate that Botsaris entered the paid service of the Provisional Government at this time (Hellenic Parliamentary Archives. Archives of the Greek Regeneration, vol. 1: 379).

Ottoman Porte, ahead of any devotion to Greek national independence.[13] Eleutheria Nikolaidou has identified the desire for the reinstatement of ancestral lands conquered by Ali Pasha in 1804, as the prime motivation for the various Souliote clans' joining the insurrection, while also interpreting their rejection of Hurchid's offers as a sign that they were sympathetic to the aims of the Greek War of Independence.[14] Ilicak stresses the importance of tribal identity and loyalty to homeland throughout the region, citing the parallel refusal of some Muslim Turkish-Albanians to join the Ottoman attempts to quell the Greek insurrection. He also raises the example of Hussein Bey, a grandson of Ali Pasha, who led the Greek Albanian forces against the Ottomans at the Albanian town of Kako Suli.[15] Conversely, as the historian Katherine Fleming shows, Orthodox Christian identity had not deterred some Greek clans from contracting economic arrangements with Ottoman officials, or the service of the Porte as 'armatoloi' (militia).[16] Such Greek chieftains could be called upon to counter any insurrections of their 'notional' compatriots, as occurred at the beginning of the revolution when Omer Vrionis, a Turkish-Albanian Pasha of western mainland Greece, summoned the Greek Chieftain Yiorgos Varnakiotis to join his campaign in the Peloponnese.[17] A contemporary observer of this fluidity of allegiances across religious, regional and tribal affiliations, the Scottish historian and Philhellene, George Finlay, wryly observes in the notes from his first visit to Greece in 1823-24 that local groups in the region of Mesologgi took up arms against the Ottomans in order to rid themselves of the detested overlord and that 'Many of the chiefs of Roumelia had at this time no idea of a national struggle'.[18]

Whatever their various motivations, the significant practical outcome of the general upheaval in western Greece was that Greek and Souliote chieftains, along with their Albanian allies, signed up to an Albanian-Greek pact at Peta, in Epirus, on 1 September 1821 committing to a united revolt against the Ottoman Empire.[19]

[13] Skiotis (1971 b: 24-30), Psimouli (2006: 309-11 and 467-68) and Ilicak (2011: 266-72).
[14] Nikolaidou (1997: 274).
[15] Ilicak (2011: 266). See also Prousis (2010, vol. 2: 213-14).
[16] Fleming (1999: 39-42).
[17] Tsiamalos (2009: 208-10).
[18] Finlay (1823 – 1824: G.F. A 1 section 2, p. 15). Mesologgi may have been the first town in western Greece to join the revolution as Finlay stated (1861: 201), but at the same time he acknowledged the *armatoloi* of the region so valued autonomy that they already enjoyed and so had initially refused to initiate military action against the Porte.
[19] Dakin (1972: 42).

Philhellene art and the Greek hero

The elevation of Markos Botsaris into an exemplary Greek hero might have been a problematic undertaking for several reasons. His appointment by the Provisional Government as General of the western forces in 1822 in recognition of his military experience, and the high regard in which he was held in the region, had incurred the antagonism and resentment of other regional chieftains in Mesologgi, in an ominous display of the parochialism and egotism that would erupt in the civil wars of 1823-24. [20] Details of the divisive internal politics and factionalism rampant among the Greek insurgents were being fully reported to potential allies of the insurgency, as documents in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs archives reveal.[21] Philhellene propaganda clearly needed to counteract such negative publicity, with a narration of a fully realized national consciousness and unity of purpose among the Greek insurgents. As a warrior already heroically deceased and therefore untainted by the subsequent squabbling, Markos Botsaris was admirably qualified to serve the Philhellenes' exercise in damage control and was duly cast in visual culture of the time, as the archetypal vanquished hero of the Greek Revolution, an exemplar of patriotic sacrifice for his faith and the liberty of the fatherland.[22] Naturally, no allusion was made to the periphery of his origins in the spectrum of Hellenism, nor the periodic fluidity of Souliote allegiances.

An early example of the imagery surrounding the standard depiction of Botsaris is to be found in the lithograph by Karl Krazeisen titled *Ein Kapitan mit seinen Pallikaren im Gefechte* 1828-31 [*A captain with his valiant warriors in battle*] (figure 2.1).[23] The setting for the action between the Greek and Ottoman forces is the ruins of ancient Corinth, conspicuously referencing the glory of ancient Greece the modern insurgents purported to revive. The composure and self-assuredness of Krazeisen's Greek captain are impressive. Upright as the marble column of the temple behind him, as he fires at the advancing Ottomans with one hand and brandishes a flag-pole topped with a Cross with the other. His fallen colleague in the foreground epitomizes the concept of the vanquished

[20] Tsiamalos (2007: 260) and Hellenic Parliamentary Archives. Archives of the Greek Regeneration (vol. 1: 301). For details of these civil wars see Dakin (1972: 49-51) and Vakalopoulos A. E. (1990-1993, vol. 2: 482).

[21] See Nicolopoulos (1975: 22), item 106, [49. 7 ff.] Codrikas. Paris, 24 April 1825.

[22] The art historians Mentafou-Polyzou (2004: 46) and Mykoniatis (1979 a: 47) have identified Botsaris as an exemplar of the vanquished hero.

[23] Krazeisen was a Bavarian volunteer soldier and artist who arrived in Greece in November 1826 (Papanikolaou, M. 1981: 42).

hero, which artists later applied to the fallen defenders at the final siege of Mesologgi. Significantly, the head of the fallen insurgent rests on a Doric column and, has the appearance of being asleep, rather than fatally wounded. His face exudes a calm radiance and confidence in the cause for which he is sacrificing his life, as his continuing grip on the flag-pole suggests. No grief is expressed in the image of the lost comrade; on the contrary, his death is framed as inspirational. Later artistic depictions of Botsaris' heroic death drew upon the same imagery, extrapolated to denote the final heroic fall of Mesologgi in Philhellene art.

The defence of Mesologgi and Markos Botsaris

The close association in Philhellene art of Botsaris and Mesologgi in Philhellene art is demonstrated in a lithograph after a painting by Alphonse-Marie-Adolphe de Neuville titled *Défense de Missolonghi* 1865 (figure 2.2).[24] It depicts the garrison at Mesologgi repulsing the Ottoman forces during the first siege on Christmas Eve 1822. Although Botsaris is not depicted in the lithograph, the accompanying caption refers to him and his troops as successfully repelling the Ottoman forces, at the ramparts of Mesologgi. This lithograph was not created during the period of the Greek War of Independence, but it serves to demonstrate how art was enlisted in the construction of a coherent retrospective narrative of the insurgency and to foreground two of its crucial ingredients, Botsaris and Mesologgi.[25]

Apart from relaying that the battle took place under the leadership of Botsaris, the caption to Deneuville's lithograph *Défense de Missolonghi* emphasizes the positive

[24] Hence forth Alphonse-Marie-Adolphe de Neuville will be referred to as Deneuville as his name appears on works cited in this thesis. The original painting upon which the lithograph *Défense de Missolonghi* is based remains untraced. Information provided in a sale catalogue by Vergos Auctions (2010: 19) dated a series of four lithographs based on paintings by Deneuville that included *Défense de Missolonghi* to 1865. The other three were titled *Courage des femmes Souliotes, Serment patriotique des Grecs* and *Mort de Marcos Botzaris.* A reproduction of Deneuville's *Défense de Missolonghi* drawn by Theocharis was published in Greece and carried a Russian inscription stating that the image had been approved by the censor in Odessa on 19 August 1895 (see appendix E figure E-2.1). Of interest here is that Deneuville's *Défense de Missolonghi* depicting the 1822 siege of the town was retitled *The Exodus of Mesologgi (10 April, 1826)* and presented without the original caption, and thus conflated the victory at the first siege at Mesologgi with the loss at the final siege of 1826.

[25] In 1864 Deneuville exhibited *Épisode de la bataille de Magenta* at the Paris Salon (Musée de l'Hôtel Sandelin 1978: 14-15). The painting depicts the French-Sardinian victory against the Austrian empire in the Kingdom of Lombardy–Venetia that took place in June 1859. Deneuville's series of lithographs OF 1865 on the theme of the Greek Revolution indicate that Mesologgi and Botsaris were inspirations for the later subject of Italian patriotism and nationalism in art.

message of a precedent for a successful defence of the national awakening. Again, Deneuville is at pains to highlight that the Greek insurgents are Christian brethren of the West, engaged in a holy war. A flag-pole adorned with a Cross appears above the women hurling rocks at the enemy troops scaling the walls of Mesologgi, while the figure of the fallen male at the centre, has a Christ-like physiognomy that connects Greek national resurrection with spiritual salvation. Accordingly, the caption conveys the claim Omer Pasha, the aspiring conqueror of Mesologgi, chose to launch his attack at the very moment church bells were calling the Greeks to celebrate Christmas (figure 2.2).[26] The viewer of the lithograph is further informed that Botsaris had been alerted to the ruse and had providently posted his men at the ramparts to repel the Turkish forces attempting to scale the town walls. The caption concludes by emphasizing the bravery of the defenders of Mesologgi in the intense battle and disarray of the Ottoman retreat into their trenches with significant loss of elite troops.

Closer to the time of these events, Botsaris was not always accorded such prominence in the Philhellene narrative of the successful defence of Mesologgi. For example, an English political pamphlet dating from 1824 makes no mention of Botsaris' contribution to the insurrection, but makes a point of castigating the unruly Greek chieftains and singling out the patrician Alexander Mavrokordatos for praise:

> The truth is, that with the exception of the glorious defence of Missolonghi, by Prince Mavrocordato, and a few naval exploits, everything done by the Greek chiefs, has been a mass of confusion, of ignorance, of blundering, and beyond all conception. Many great and patriotic men, and many base traitors, have appeared; but the universal want of arrangement has been so complete, that, while it has rendered the exertions of good men nearly inefficient, it has also had the advantage of paralysing those of the bad.[27]

[26] The Vatican Archives contain a letter dated 5 February 1823, written from Prevesa by Nardini, the Italian Consular Agent, to the Consul General on Corfu explaining that Mesologgi is referred to as 'Christopolis' in reference of the fact that the defenders of the town had repelled a Turkish attack on Christmas day (Zoras [Ed.] 1979, vol. 1: 269). Correspondence by Kapodistrias refers to the siege having commenced at the end of October, and that the Ottomans had retreated by the end of December (Kapodistrias 1841-43, vol. 4: 373).

[27] Author of War in Greece (1824/1974: 4). St. Clair, W. (1972: 167) has identified Charles Napier, the British Governor in Cephalonia at the time as the anonymous author of this pamphlet. When referring to

By the end of the next decade, the narrative of the successes of the insurgency in western Greece had come to focus on Botsaris, perhaps most conspicuously in a large mural commissioned by King Ludwig of Bavaria to adorn the Royal Palace of his son Otto, the first King of Greece. Its location is the south wall of what is now styled 'Eleftherios Venizelos Hall' in the Parliament building in Athens (figure 2.3, and figure 2.4 for detail). In 1836 the artist Ludwig Michael von Schwanthaler was instructed to prepare the cartoons for a series of murals on subjects drawn from Greek ancient mythology and modern history.[28] His depiction of signal events of recent Greek history includes Botsaris' celebrated victory at Karpenisi (110 kilometres north-east of Mesologgi) in August 1823. Botsaris' masterstroke had been to launch an unexpected assault on the Ottoman camp under the cover of night, thus defeating an army many times the size of his own forces (seen in the right middle ground of figure 2.3). The fact that he sacrificed his own life in the process amplified his renown.

Schwanthaler presented Botsaris in an energetic stance with raised arms, wielding a sword in one hand, and urging his men forward into battle with the other (figure 2.4). The posture of Botsaris recalls the 'sliding gait' Winckelmann had seen as a representation of spiritual character in male gods in ancient Greek art.[29] Botsaris stands with widely planted feet and a deeply bent right knee, so that the graceful drape of his pleated skirt lends the appearance of rhythmic action. The distinctive pleat-folds and drape of the white skirt worn by Botsaris in Schwanthaler's fresco suggest a deliberate visual quotation of Krazeisen's Captain (figure 2.3 and 2.1). This possibility could be interpreted as an attempt to build an ideological connection between works of art depicting the same subject. Certainly, artists appeared to be paying close attention to the finer details of the presentation of Greek War of Independence heroes in previous works of art. Considered side by side, Krazeisen's Captain and Schwanthaler's figure of Botsaris indicate that the later was being constructed by artists as the archetypal Greek war hero. Indeed, the art historian Alkibiades Charalambides has identified a Greek tradition of hero portraiture emanating from the War of Independence where the subject is usually

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the defense of Mesologgi in this tract the author is referring to the siege of 1822. The Greek poet Dionysios Solomos made no mention of either Mavrokordatos, or Botsaris in stanzas 88-112 of *Hymn to Liberty* which he wrote in May 1823 and where he referred at length to the Christmas siege of Mesologgi (Solomos 1825: 30-38).

[28] Papanikolaou, M. (2007: 34-35).

[29] Winckelmann (1849: 61).

presented wearing a heavily embroidered jacket and radiantly white pleated skirt with weapons tucked into the belt.[30] Prevelakis further proposes that Philhellene artists such as Krazeisen were instrumental in the formulation of this tradition before the end of the Greek War of Independence and refers to these portraits as providing a visual prompt to national memory of this historical period.[31] A uniform approach to the representation of war heroes has also been acknowledged by Marilena Cassimatis, who concludes that the lack of any markedly distinguishing features between portrayals facilitated the creation of a Greek war hero who was a collective national figure.[32]

By the middle of the nineteenth century Botsaris' investiture as a Greek patriot in national culture was complete, as the opera titled *Marcos Botsaris* attests; composed in the 1860s by Pavlos Carrer, it was dedicated to King Otto and Queen Amalia and celebrated the Souliote's courageous contribution to the 'holy cause'.[33] This transition into international music and popular song culture also reflects the appeal of Botsaris in Italian Risorgimento politics.

Markos Botsaris the ancient and Christian warrior of the modern Greeks

By the time Mesologgi passed back into Ottoman hands in April 1826, Botsaris had already become an iconic figure in the visual expression of modern Hellenism in the West. However, the transposition of the archetypal ancient Greek hero onto the figure of

[30] The proud Greek war veteran came to be artistically expressed through three-quarter length portraits of figures displaying a rod-straight posture with a large moustache and intense gaze (Charalambides 1976: 22-25 and 35-36).

[31] Prevelakis, P. (1971: introduction).

[32] Cassimatis (2006: 179 and 181).

[33] Xepapadakou (2003: 8-15). Greek poetry contributed to the acclamation of Botsaris as a Greek national hero from the 1820s onwards, mainly among Greek speakers, but to some extent also beyond them, via translations and foreign editions. One example is Passow (1860: 185-87) who based his compilation of Greek poems from collections previously published by Greek and Philhellene folklorists. See Alexandropoulou (1997: 309), Manolatos (2016: 73, 74, 77 and 78) and Lord (1976: 91-20) for the heroic tradition surrounding the death of Botsaris in Greek demotic songs. Two notable Greek literary poets of the 1820s also wrote verse in praise of Botsaris. While resident in Paris, Andreas Kalvos published a collection of Greek odes there in 1826, accompanied by a French translation including 'Εις Σούλι' [To Souli] exalting Botsaris' victory over the Ottomans at Karpenisi (Kalvos 1826: 92-113). Meanwhile on the island of Zakynthos, which was part of the British-administered Ionian Isles, Dionysios Solomos in 1825 wrote the long lyrical poem titled 'Εις το θάνατο του Λόρδ Μπάιρον' [On the death of Lord Byron] depicting Byron paying homage to Botsaris' grave in Mesologgi (stanza 109). Moreover, the beginning of the poem (stanza 5) alludes to reports that Botsaris' sword was not easily prised from his hand even after his death, a recurrent detail in the relevant art, as discussed elsewhere in this chapter (Solomos 1988: 103 and 120).

Botsaris was not confined to visual art, but can be found in several forms of Philhellene outpouring, all clearly aiming to reinforce the connection between ancient and modern Greeks.[34] In French literature, a poem of 1823 titled 'Botzaris, ou le sang des Hellènes' asserted that the noble blood of the ancients flowed in the veins of the modern Greeks and was fuelling their fight for liberty.[35] By November 1823 the British press was presenting Botsaris as 'the Achilles of the modern Greeks', somewhat paradoxically since Achilles was far from invincible, but claiming that the Souliote was like 'Achilles in all things but his invulnerability', and quoting from accounts of his valour purporting to be based on letters coming out of Mesologgi.[36]

Within Greece the mythopoeisis of Botsaris gathered momentum starting with an unsigned, undated and unpublished letter in the London Greek Archive in Athens (it is bundled with others dated between August and September 1823).[37] Written in Greek from Mesologgi the letter is addressed to Yiorgos Praides, who was Alexander Mavrokordatos' secretary, and contains the earliest reference to Botsaris dying on the battlefield as 'another Leonidas'.[38] It also describes his burial in Mesologgi in great detail.[39] Again, George Finlay was inspired to place the Botsaris name beside those of Leonidas and Epaminondas in the notes he kept from his first visit to Greece 1823-24.[40] He further describes the Souliotes as bringing 'fresh glory to their country'.[41] As a modern embodiment of Greek heroism, Botsaris was presented as mortal, fallen, but certainly not defeated.

The lithograph titled *Mort de Botzaris* in Adélaïde-Gillette Billet Dufrénoy's history of Modern Greece published in 1825 provides a visual example of the anointing of the Greek insurrection with the aura of an ancient heritage in Philhellene canon (figure 2.5).[42] In the preface to her first volume, Dufrénoy refers to the modern-day descendants

[34] One example is the lengthy eulogy for Botsaris written in Greek that was published by Firmin Didot in Paris with a dedication to the homeland (M.S. 1824: 7-41).
[35] Roch (1823: 45).
[36] 'Marco Botzari, the Achilles of the modern Greeks' (8 November 1823: 394) in *The Mirror of literature, amusement and instruction* and 'Marco Botzari and Achilles of the modern Greeks' (November 1823) in *The new monthly magazine and literary journal.* See also Obituary - Marco Botsari (1824: 88).
[37] Greek Committee (London) (1823-24: K4 T), see appendix E figures E-2.2 and E-2.3.
[38] See appendix E figure E-2.2.
[39] See appendix E figure E-2.2.
[40] See Appendix C.
[41] See Appendix C.
[42] Dufrénoy (1825, vol. 2: 474).

of the ancient Spartans defending the Cross.[43] She extols the achievements of Botsaris in a chapter on the victories of the Greeks up to 1825, and exalts his death with the subtitle '*Triomphe de Bozaris et sa mort héroïque*'.[44] In the engraving the wounded Botsaris is shown being carried from battle on a stretcher surrounded by people in distress (figure 2.5). In the middle background a soldier holds a spear in one hand, while his other hand is held to his forehead in an expression of acute mourning. Further to the left a man is wringing his hands, while another is kissing Botsaris' hand in adoration. The marble edifice in the background, Botsaris' attire (an ancient Greek *chiton*), and his attendants' Hoplite-style helmets form references to classical Greece.

The emphasis on the ancient heroic virtues of Botsaris did not exclude the artistic representation of Christian identity by contemporary artists, as can be seen in a painting once attributed to Eugène Delacroix, but whose authorship remains unknown (figure 2.6).[45] Titled *M. Botsaris taking communion before the attack at Karpenisi* [n.d.], the painting is held in the collection of the National Art Gallery of Greece and Alexandros Soutzos Museum.[46] Significantly for present purposes, it exemplifies how the image of Botsaris was shaped into a representation of a Greek Christian soldier fighting the Ottoman tyrant.

The Church setting of the painting establishes an alignment of religious and patriotic devotion.[47] The scene is highly emotive, dwelling as it does upon the hero's spiritual preparation for the surprise attack on the Ottoman camp at Karpenisi. Heightening the solemnity of the composition are the profusion of clergy surrounding the kneeling Botsaris who is placed firmly at the centre of this imaginary scene and the assortment of religious accessories, including a smoking thrucible held by a cleric kneeling in the foreground, a silver-covered Bible in the hands of a man on the extreme right and in the background, a red ecclesiastical labarum suspended from a pole bearing

[43] Dufrénoy (1825, vol. 1: ix and xj).
[44] Dufrénoy (1825, vol. 2: 466).
[45] See Appendix D and figures 2.7 and 2.8 for details of the authorship and approximate date of painting.
[46] The title of the work as it appears on its inventory card is *Ο Μ. Μπότσαρης μεταλαμβάνων προ της εφόδου εις το Καρπενήσι.* The translation into English is my own.
[47] Final communion scenes at Mesologgi became a convention in art after the town's fall. Apart from those referred to in chapter one is the lithograph by Denis-Auguste-Marie Raffet titled *La communion des Grecs à Missolonghi*, 1826 (appendix E figure E-2.4).

a Cross, the symbol of both the crucifixion and the resurrection of Christ.[48] On the far left the congregation crouches in reverence before the ceremony taking place, and an air of anticipation is conferred on the painting by the person in the middle ground, straining to view Botsaris him receiving the Eucharist.

This image of the communion ritual recalls Christ's sacrifice for the sins of humanity and might be seen to foreshadow Botsaris' receiving the sacrament ahead of his own sacrifice for the liberty of the Greek nation. The figure holding the communion chalice wears gold-coloured vestments, a stole ornamented with Crosses and a jewelled mitre and is probably a depiction of Bishop Iosif Rogon, the religious leader of the Mesologgians during the insurrection. This would locate the event in Mesologgi and its spiritual significance is reinforced by the presence of a second bishop on the right. The Deacon leaning down towards Botsaris appears to be holding a paten, the liturgical vessel used to distribute the sacred host in the Catholic Church. Its inclusion suggests either ignorance on the part of the unknown artist, or possibly an attempt to conflate the communion rituals of the two churches – Catholic and Orthodox. The same may be said of the fact that the Bishop is not administering the sacrament with the communion spoon used for the Eucharist in the Orthodox Church. However, these inconsistencies in the accoutrements of the Orthodox ceremony do not appear to inhibit the atmosphere of civil and religious cohesion that the painting creates among those present. The inclusion of Catholic elements would certainly have more effectively engaged a Western audience and avoided a potentially negative reminder of the denominational schism between Eastern and Western Christendom (dating from the eleventh century).

After the fall of Mesologgi the image of Botsaris, which came to dominate Philhellene propaganda was a fusion of Christian and ancient Hellenic elements. Athanassoglou-Kallmyer has located an early refence to Botsaris as a 'Christian Leonidas' in a poem by Alexandre Guiraud published in June 1826 in the French newspaper *Journal des Débats*.[49] First among these Philhellene works of art to portray the hero in the same manner was the lithograph by Engelmann after Langlois' painting

[48] The ecclesiastical labarum is traditionally made of red velvet and is used in commemoration ceremonies on Greek National Day and in Good Friday processions in the Greek Orthodox Church.

[49] Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1989: 41) and Guiraud (10 June 1826). See Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1989: 41-53) for Botsaris as the modern successor to the classical Greek hero.

Mort de Marc Botzaris le 20/8 Août 1823, 1826. The caption to the lithograph commenced with the reference to Botsaris as the 'New Leonidas', who died fighting for the freedom of his country (figure 2.9). The moment when Botsaris died is depicted through the detail of his scimitar dropping out of his right hand. This lithograph's subject and date provided visual evidence for Athanassoglou-Kallmyer's contention that in French art the fall of Mesologgi in 1826 triggered recollections of Botsaris' heroism and death, some three years earlier.[50] A review of the lithograph in the *Examiner* (London) confirms that Philhellene works did impact directly on public opinion. The arts reviewer commented that:

> The French have the credit of showing in this tasteful way their concern in the Greek cause and we have now before us a lithography of great force of effect and character by Engelmann, from a picture by Langlois which revives all our wishes for the success of that cause.[51]

Mentafou-Polyzou claims that the use of Christian iconography death scenes of Botsaris enabled parallels to be drawn between his death for Greek liberty and the sacrifice of Christ for the salvation of humanity.[52] Portrayals of Botsaris falling in action surrounded by his grief-stricken comrades are among the most stirring of Philhellene subjects and many imitate Christian imagery of the Descent from the Cross to convey tone and message. This image utilizes the pose known as the 'Lamentation' depicting the scene directly after the Deposition of Christ from the Cross, where he is mourned by his followers.[53] The juxtaposition of Botsaris with Christ, and concurrently with the Spartan king Leonidas is found in the caption to the lithograph after Langlois in *Mort de Marc Botzaris le 20/8 Août 1823,* 1826 and this facilitated the association of martyrdom with patriotism and reaffirmed Botsaris' investiture as the vanquished Greek hero in

[50] Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1989: 49). Cros (1826: 6) recalls Botsaris' death in a poem about the fall of Mesologgi. Another poem by Kapsokefalos (1865) erroneously places Botsaris' death taking place at Mesologgi and serves to illustrate the strength of the hero's association with the town.

[51] Fine arts: the death of Marco Bozzaris (5 November 1826: 708).

[52] Mentafou-Polyzou (2004: 46). See also Papanikolaou, P. (2015: 251). The Descent from the Cross pose was not applied exclusively to the figure of Botsaris among insurgents. Donato Francesco de Vivo utilized it in depicting the supposed death of the Souliote Lambros Tzavellas, who was injured, but did not die, in a defensive battle against Ali Pasha in 1792. See Stasinopoulos (1979, vol. 4: 309-311) and Psimouli (2006: 506) for details of Tzavellas' military action and death in 1795, also appendix E figure E-2.5 for the image.

[53] Hall (1996: 99 and 246-47).

Philhellene art. Langlois' composition amplified the message that Mesologgi, the adopted town of Botsaris, had also fallen heroically and that the insurrection was not progressing well for the Greek people. After the fall of Mesologgi the circulation of the Langlois' image in print form would have contributed to the town being adopted as a staple in the artistic canon of Philhellenism.

The iconography of the 'Christian warrior' applied by Langlois to Botsaris was not unique to Philhellene representations. Holger Hoock has traced the conflation of religion and heroism back to eighteenth-century European art.[54] He has further demonstrated (with reference to British art) the manipulation of religious imagery and that of bodily sacrifice to serve political ends.[55] An example is Benjamin West's painting *The Death of General Wolfe* 1770, with its close visual reference to the Lamentation of Christ from Christian art (figure 2.10). In France, Chateaubriand's lobbying of popular opinion presented the Greek cause as a struggle between Islam and Christianity set within an ancient country that had 'civilised the earth'.[56] English and other Philhellenes also foregrounded the Christian identity of the modern Greek population alongside its ties to classical civilization.[57] But as the historian Henry Laurens argues, there was a particular resonance for the French public in the perception of the Greek War of Independence as a conflict between Islam and Christianity, owing to France's expansionist aims in the East since the end of the eighteenth century, which were presented as a desire to elevate the downtrodden Christians suffering under Islam.[58] Thus the caption to the lithograph of Langlois' *Mort de Marc Botzaris le 20/8 Août 1823* closed with the rhetoric about the Ottoman menace and glad tidings that Botsaris at least lived to 'see the barbarian oppressors of his homeland fleeing' (figure 2.9).[59]

A succession of lithographs circulated throughout the nineteenth century were based on Langlois' composition *Mort de Marc Botzaris le 20/8 Août 1823* with subtle

[54] Hoock (2010).
[55] Hoock (2010: 169-74).
[56] Chateaubriand (1825 a: 8). Malakis (August 1928) emphasized the influence of the political writings of Chateaubriand on public opinion with particular reference to his religious differentiation between the Ottomans and the Greeks.
[57] Correspondence of the Greek Committee in Philadelphia dated 5 January 1827 contends, 'The cause which this oppressed and suffering people have so long prosecuted with unequalled constancy and heroism – is it not the cause of *Christianity* not less than liberty?'. (Bedell 1827: 3).
[58] Laurens in Vovelle (Ed.) (1989, vol. 2: 886-94).
[59] '... avant d'expirer, voit fuir les barbares oppresseurs de sa patrie'.

variations to the original. This is an indication of the popularity of the image of Botsaris' death, as a Greek patriot, especially at a time when nationalism was rising in Europe. A version of the lithograph by the Austrian engraver August Strixner carried a caption in both Greek and French that adopted Langlois' construction of Botsaris as the 'new Leonidas' of the modern Greeks (figure 2.11). Yet another close rendition of the lithograph based on Langlois' painting by an artist who was identified simply as 'I. K.' augmented the translation of the original with the statement in Greek that the 'new Leonidas, Marcos Botsaris, scorned death for the liberation of his homeland' (figure 2.12). The incorrect date of '8/20 April 1820' provided for Botsaris' death might indicate that his legend was displacing the prosaic need for accurate recording of historical detail. A suggestion of a personality cult of Botsaris, the ultimate Greek hero, might also be read into the artist I. K's bold delineation of the symbol of the Cross on the Greek flag above the dying Botsaris and of the Crescent on the Ottoman standard at his feet.

The close replication of the pose in Langlois' Death of Botsaris in the Italian lithograph *La morte di Marco Botzari* by Fontana (figure 2.13) further demonstrates how firmly established the Lamentation scene became in relation to the hero's death. The fluttering banner atop the flag links two further versions to this lithograph rather than to Langlois' original composition, one possibly by the Greek artist Pericles Chelmis (figure 2.14) and the other by Sotiris Chrestides (figure 2.15). This detail is absent from Langlois' original composition, but is even more conspicuous in Chrestides' chromolithograph as a radiant Greek flag, as opposed to the tattered, war-torn banner in the Italian uncoloured lithograph. [60]

The Greek hero as an international symbol of the defiance of tyranny

Botsaris as an archetypal hero resonated in European art beyond the representation of the Greek insurrection. In France, Philhellene art inspired the expressions of opposition to the Bourbon restoration, while in Italy it offered the Italian Risorgimento movement a

[60] Another example of a Greek artist's affording greater prominence to the Greek flag in a derivative image than in the original composition can be seen in Theophilos' painting of the death of Botsaris based on that by the German artist Peter von Hess and Theophilos (see appendix E figures E-2.6 and E-2.7). Theophilos unfurled the gathered the flag of the Von Hess painting to make the blue Cross against its white background clearly visible.

visual model to reflect the increasing discourse on the unification of the country.[61] Italian literature also seized upon Botsaris' death as an opportunity to celebrate both the hero and Mesologgi as exemplars of the spirit of Greece both ancient and modern.[62] In 1827, after the successful conclusion of the Greek insurrection, Italian artists continued to present Botsaris as an exemplar of devotion to national unity and freedom from foreign rule.

Giampaolo Salice, for instance, has argued that the framework of Philhellenism offered the Italian Risorgimento movement an example of how to dismantle the negative legacy of despotic governments.[63] Three Italian works of art depicting Botsaris' death provide evidence of the capacity of images from the Greek War of Independence to serve the promotion of Italian nationalism in the1830s, which in turn fed Greek nationalism as the nineteenth century progressed. These works of art include a drawing and a painting by Filippo Marsigli created in 1829 and between 1836-39 respectively, and a lithograph by Giuseppe Simonetti based on Marsigli's composition from around 1850.

Marsigli's first attempt to visualize the death of Botsaris is found in a sepia and chalk drawing of 1829 (figure 2.16). It portrays a lifeless Botsaris, with draped arms and head rolled back, being removed from the battlefield by his comrades. A significant detail is the waning crescent moon casting a faint light over the battle scene; a moon in this phase suggests decline, and in this context may symbolize the Ottoman defeat. This interpretation is supported by the composition's central depiction of the demise of an Ottoman horseman felled by Greek insurgent wielding scimitar and gun, while treading

[61] Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1989: 8-13 and 131-34), Craske (1997: 114), Pécout (2004: 405-27 and 2005: 81), Korinthios (1990), Spetsieri Beschi (1986), Noto (2015) and Viglione (2017: 191).

[62] Brofferio (1844, vol. 2: 296 and 388) refers to Mesologgi as a sacred city and proclaims that Botsaris had elevated his name above that of Leonidas. Pieri (1825: 369), (1832: 95 and 104), (1842, vol. 2: 65) and (1858: 421) had been narrating the national struggle of modern Greece through Botsaris and Mesologgi since 1825 referring to the modern Greeks' Spartan ardor and Botsaris as a second Leonidas. A plethora of Philhellene literary sources on the subject indicate the importance of Mesologgi and Botsaris for Italian culture. See Muoni (1907: 32, 42, 48, 51-53, 55-56, 58 and 59) and Biorci (1835: 299) for two examples among many of Botsaris as a heroic figure in Italian literature. On the topic of the impact of the Greek insurrection on Italian literature in the nineteenth century see Tsolkas (2004). Botsaris was also a subject in Italian creative literature, music and the performing arts that also promoted Mesologgi as a place of liberal ideals, for examples see Mifsud (1846), Fusco (1850) and Finali (1862).

[63] Salice (2015: 492). Birtachas (2015: 375, 379 and 386) asserts that Greek patriotism provided the Italian Risorgimento movement with material for its own national myth that identified nation with state. McKey (1994: 71) has argued that German Philhellenism also used the negative image of the Ottoman hostility to the 'Christian brotherhood' in advocating self-determination as a basic human right.

firmly on the corpse of another enemy soldier. As stated in chapter one above, the trope of the trampled Ottoman soldier, or standard was one of the most powerful of Philhellene motifs.

Marsigli's drawing of 1829 formed the basis for his oil painting *La morte di Marco Bozzari* dated 1836-39 (figure 2.17), but the artist modified the scene to emphasize the theme of unity among the Greek forces against the Ottomans. The clash between Christian and Muslim soldiers is expressed in the juxtaposition of two poles bearing the insignia of a Cross and a Crescent in the left of the composition. In depicting the combat between the Greeks and the Ottomans, Marsigli, like Langlois, placed the revolutionaries below a single Greek flag to denote national unity. But, whereas Langlois depicted the scimitar falling from the dead Botsaris' hand, Marsigli valorized the image of the vanquished hero further by painting him still holding his weapon (figures 2.9 and 2.17). Marsigli's rendition of Botsaris in this pose is comparable to that of the deceased Greek insurgent still steadying the flagpole in Krazeisen's *Ein kapitän mit seinen Pallikaren im Gefechte* (figure 2.1). The presentation of the deceased Botsaris steadfastly maintaining a firm grip on his weapon suggests unconquerable patriotism, a notion also central to depictions of defeated Mesologgi that configured the loss of the town with the foundation of future Greek freedom.

The lithograph by Guiseppe Simonetti, which is based on Marsigli's painting, was titled *La difesa del corpo di Marco Bozzari* (The defence of the body of Markos Botsaris): the changed title may have been intended to focus attention on the camaraderie of the Greek insurgents (figures 2.17 and 2.18). The Italian lawyer, journalist, poet and Risorgimento advocate Cesare Malpica, in an essay on the composition, also referred to Marsigli's painting as the 'defence of the body of Marco Botsaris', as did the art critic Guiseppe de Simone.[64] No date of production is indicated on the lithograph. However, below the image and title appears the following dedication to Leopoldo Giovanni, the Prince of Salerno, which connects the print to conservative liberalism and the push for constitutional government in the region of Naples.[65]

[64] Malpica (1837) and De Simone (19 October 1839).
[65] I have dated the lithograph to c.1850 on the basis that the Prince of Salerno died in 1851.

A S. A. R. D. Leopoldo Giovanni principe di Salerno
Tenente Generale de Reali Eserciti Comandante Generale ed Ispettore Generale
della guardia di S. M. Il re del Regno delle due Sicilie
e Comandante in capo della Guardia d'Interna Sicurezza[66]

Simonetti's lithograph thus provides evidence of the role afforded to Botsaris in the visualization of Italian patriotism, in the period leading up to the unification of the country, a process not fully realized until 1871. The defence of the body of Botsaris by his comrades can be seen as a metonymy for the burgeoning rejection of Austrian control among Italian patriots. Further insight into the ways in which Botsaris functioned as a figure of national defiance against despotic rule in pre-unification Italy is available in a commentary on Marsigli's painting by Serafino Giannini in 1836 for the Neapolitan cultural periodical titled *Poliorama pittoresco.* Giannini wrote that Marsigli's Botsaris scene suggests that in dying, the Greek hero was born into eternal life.[67] In the Christian religious context, the transcendence that Giannini identified in Marsigli's composition, might express the idea of redemption through endurance. Botsaris' continuing grip on his weapon, even in death, can be seen to reinforce this idea. From a socio-political perspective, the image could be seen to express the belief that commitment and courage are required to bring about change.

Another Italian painting providing visual evidence for the evolution of Botsaris iconography, its impact on print culture and also on contemporary Greek artists, is Ludovico Lipparini's *La Morte di Marco Botzaris* 1840 (figure 2.19). Lipparini presented Botsaris in the favoured pose of the Descent from the Cross and bestowed a radiant aura around him through a glowing and richly embroidered costume. Two of Botsaris' men are firing at the enemy, while another two are readying themselves to retreat with his body. Lipparini's portrayal of the wounded hero being physically marks a development in the Botsaris legend's visual narrative. This detail renders the painting comparable to *Un Officier grec blessé devant les mers d'une ville prise d'assaut,* 1826 by Jean-Claude Bonnefond, which Athanassoglou-Kallmyer has identified as depicting Botsaris' death

[66] Translation: To S. A. R. D. Leopoldo Giovanni Prince of Salerno, Lieutenant General of the Royal Armies, General Commander and Inspector General of the Guard of S. M., the King of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and Commander in Chief of the Security Guard.
[67] Giannini (20 August 1836: 163).

(figure 2.20).[68] Tsigakou has specified that the town burning in the background of Bonnefond's painting is Mesologgi.[69] The date of 1826 for the painting's creation makes it reasonable to assume that the fall of the town may well have been Bonnefond's inspiration. These interpretations by Athanassoglou-Kallmyer and Tsigakou confirm the parallels created in art between the fall of Mesologgi and Botsaris' heroic death, which contributed to the town's prominence in the pantheon of Philhellene art.

Several works of art were based on Lipparini's 1840 painting *La Morte di Marco Botzaris* and confirm the importance of Botsaris to the expression of patriotism during this era across Europe. These works include another painting ascribed to Lipparini (*The death of Botsaris*, figure 2.21), a lithograph titled *La morte di Marco Bozzari* dated 1845, engraved by Marcovich and Clerici (figure 2.22), a Hungarian lithograph by Franz Hanfstaengl titled *Bozzaris Mark Halala*, produced in 1846 (figure 2.23) and a painting by an unknown artist titled *Episode of the Greco-Turkish war* held by the Peterhof Museum (figure 2.24).[70] An examination of these works together with compositions by the Greek artists Dionysios Tsokos and Spyridon Gouzelas reveals that artists paid close attention to the ways others employed the visual imagery surrounding Botsaris, and how they borrowed and combined different motifs. (2.25 and 2.26).[71]

For instance, the figures in the foreground of the Peterhof painting clearly echo that of Lipparini's composition of 1840, but the details of Botsaris and his two men attending him, more closely resemble those of Tsokos' work (figures 2.19, 2.24 and 2.

[68] Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1989: 48). However, Lamentation scenes in Christian art are characterized by the hands of mourners supporting the body of Christ in this way (see Appendix E figure E-2.8 for *The Lamentation of Christ* by Simon Marmion). Therefore, Bonnefond's painting could be a presentation of any hero of Mesologgi after the town's fall.

[69] Tsigakou in Constans (1996: 94).

[70] When the painting in figure 2.21 was sold in 1995 it was listed as being by Lipparini (Sotheby's (1995: 78-79). Spetsieri Beschi and Lucarelli (1986: 455) list two paintings by Lipparini titled *La morte di M. Botzaris,* which they date to 1840 and 1844 without specifying where these works are housed. Spetsieri Beschi and Lucarelli (1986: 455) associate the painting that they date to 1844 with Count Batthyány, whose name also appears in the caption of the Hanfstaengl 1846 lithograph as the owner of the original (figure 2.23). The text accompanying the Marcovich and Clerici lithograph in the periodical G*emme d'arti Italiane* (1845: 153) specifies that Count Batthyány commissioned it. Mykoniatis (1979 a: 155-56, footnote 181) has stated that Hanfstaengl lithograph created for Count Kázmér Batthyány when he was in Hungary in 1845 was based on an untraced painting by Lipparini. Batthyány was a Hungarian reform politician and leading figure in the 1848-49 Revolution against the Austrian Empire (Batthyány Kázmér, gróf 1807-1854).

[71] Tsokos was a student of Lipparini's at the School of Fine art in Venice (Komine-Dialetis 1997, vol. 4: 346).

25). Similarly, in Tsokos' painting the headwear of the patriot on the right of Botsaris, and the sash on his skirt, indicates that the lithograph by Marcovich and Clerici of 1845, or the one by Franz Hanfstaengl from 1846 (figures 2.22 and 2.23) were possible sources for the Greek artist's rendition of the death of the hero. Tsokos pared down Lipparini's narrative to include only three figures and removed the revolutionary flag, but retained the oppositional forces of the Cross and Crescent. Mentafou-Polyzou has proposed that the paring down of Lipparini's narrative by Tsokos enabled the figure of Botsaris dying in battle to function as a symbol of the Greek Revolution and its aims.[72] By contrast, another Greek artist, Spyridon Gouzelas, who while a student at the School of Fine Arts in Athens in 1856, won first prize in a competition for a woodcut of Botsaris' death based on Lipparini's painting by reproducing almost all the details in the original painting (figure 2.26).[73] Greek patriotic art formed part of the national endeavour by this time and Philhellene art by foreign artists helped guide the conceptualization of the Greek War of Independence in the new nation-state.

Two further works of art demonstrate the continuity of the 'Descent from the Cross' pose, along with the 'weapon in hand' motif, as the dominant iconography associated with Markos Botsaris' death during the nineteenth century. These paintings are: *Botzaris surprises the Turkish camp and falls fatally wounded* c.1860–62 by Eugène Delacroix (figure 2.27) and the lithograph by Deneuville titled *Mort de Marcos Botzaris* 1865 (figure 2.28).[74] Delacroix depicted the attack on Ottoman soldiers caught unaware in and around their tents. Botsaris is portrayed collapsed in the arms of his men just after being struck by enemy fire, still holding his weapon. Particularly touching is the figure of the soldier standing to the right of Botsaris who has one arm placed on the shoulder his comrade attending to their leader. All the while he remains alert to the clashes taking place, and is portrayed thus offering both encouragement and protection to his companions.

Deneuville's use of the 'Descent from the Cross' pose appears to have also shaped his portrayal of revolutionary Mesologgi. The upward and brightly lit face of the Christ-

[72] Mentafou-Polyzou (2004: 48).
[73] Director, School of Fine Arts, Athens (15 December 1856 - 1 January 1857: 423).
[74] The desire to paint Botsaris engaged in battle is mentioned in Delacroix's diary on 12 April 1824, and his entry for 1 May 1824 records his continued interest for the subject (Joubin 1950: 76 and 90).

like fallen insurgent at Mesologgi in Deneuville's *Défense de Missolonghi* appears to be a variation of Botsaris in *Mort de Marcos Botzaris* where the hero is undergoing the same treatment on the battlefield (figures 2.2 and 2.28). These two lithographs belonging to the same series and were created in the same year by Deneuville, and provide examples of how Philhellene art coalesced around the images of Botsaris and of Mesologgi in relation to the construction of Greek national identity and the Greek War of Independence.

Mesologgi: the final resting place for a hero

Athanasios Iatrides was another Greek contributor to the development of the Greek War's iconography by portrayals of the dead or wounded Botsaris and his weaponry. He created a sequence of four ink drawings dating to c.1830 eulogizing Botsaris' life as an exemplary leader and hero (figures 2.29 a-d). Of particular interest for current purposes his fourth drawing which features Mesologgi as the location of Botsaris' interment (figure 2.29 d).

In the caption to the first drawing of the series, Iatrides described Botsaris' night-time attack on the Ottoman camp at Karpenisi, as being a bold victory for the Souliote hero against the Turks (figure 2.29 a). Iatrides also provided a caption in French describing the event as a heroic act by Botsaris near Karpenisi. The drawing depicts Botsaris brandishing a scimitar over a collapsed Ottoman with one hand, and is forcefully removing his enemy's turban with the other. Iatrides here utilizes the iconography of the Greek trampling the Ottoman and amplifies it by having Botsaris trample two of his enemies at the same time. In the context of European Philhellene art created during the War of Independence, this iconography reinforced the idea of the need to banish the Ottoman in order for the Greek nation to flourish. The use by Iatrides of this iconography in the post-war period signals that in this later era it came to signify Greek victory.[75]

The title of the second of Iatrides' drawings relates the removal of Botsaris' badly wounded body by a number of his men, while those remaining continued to fight and decimate the enemy (figures 2.29 b). Botsaris' draped arm in Iatrides' drawing is

[75] See appendix E figure E-2.9 for the lithograph titled *Marco Bozzari che disarma un Turco* 1842 by G. Riccio that portrays Botsaris disarming a Turk while standing on an Ottoman flag and war standard. Riccio's lithograph appears to have been inspired by the painting titled *La défaite* 1827, by Horace Vernet (appendix E figure E-2.10). Lithographs of Vernet's painting circulated in 1828 with the title *Le Giaour, vainqueur d'Hassan,* which suggests Byron's oriental tales was inspiration for the composition.

reminiscent of Pietà scenes in Christian art where Christ is in his mother's arms after his crucifixion. This pose in combination with the scimitar that is displayed prominently against Botsaris' lifeless body, signifies the heroic demise of a Christian warrior (figures 2.29 b).[76]

The third of Iatrides' drawings with its detailed title, further exemplifies this influence of Philhellene iconography on the conceptualization of the hero in nineteenth-century Greek art and national consciousness (figure 2.29 c). The title of the drawing presents the patriotic ideal of collective effort focused around inspirational leadership, specifying that shortly after victory and in the moment of his death, Botsaris directed his men to follow his example and struggle to the very end. Iatrides adopted the Descent from the Cross pose (as initiated by Langlois in 1826) to denote Botsaris' sacrifice for the Greek cause of liberty. Other significant details are that Botsaris maintains his grip on his weapon and is dying with his eyes open. Botsaris' hanging and lifeless arm signifies his death, yet it appears that Iatrides could not bring himself to put his hero fully to sleep. Highly stylized gestures denote the deep mourning of Botsaris' comrades-in-arms around his body as it lies on makeshift cushioning of fir branches. One holds a handkerchief in one hand, and rests the other on his chest as an indication of heartfelt pain. Another comrade is wiping away tears, while a third supports Botsaris' corpse with one arm and extends the other towards a comrade behind him in a gesture of consolation, solidarity in sorrow and veneration of their leader.

The last drawing in Iatrides' series, depicts Botsaris' funeral and burial in Mesologgi, with the town depicted in various nineteenth-century European architectural styles (figure 2.29 d). Iatrides was born in the region and would have been familiar with the town's appearance, yet he chose to portray it in an imaginative way.[77] Mesologgi appears above Botsaris' funeral procession as a structural chimera featuring a classical temple wedged into the streetscape. His idealized portrayal of Mesologgi seems intent on elevating both Botsaris and the town in an expression of Greek nationalism, or at least depicting a town worthy in pictorial terms, of receiving a hero the calibre of Botsaris.

[76] See figure 4.23 Master of Rabenden (German), *Vesperbild (Pietà)*, c.1515-20 for an example.
[77] Iatrides was born in Karpenisi and studied art formally in Paris and Vienna. He returned to Greece shortly before the end of the War for Independence (Karavias 1970: 122-23). Komine-Dialetis (1997, vol. 2: 41).

Iatrides depicts the shrouded body of Botsaris on a funeral bier with his head encircled in a laurel wreath and his scimitar resting on his body (figure 2.29 d). The memoirs of Konstantinos Metaxas, a prefect of the Provisional Government for western Greece stationed in Mesologgi at the time provide an account of the religious and military splendour of the funeral procession that supports the depiction of pomp in this final drawing of the Iatrides' series.[78] Metaxas also described the Ottoman flags brought from the battlefield and held by the warriors immediately behind Botsaris' funeral bier, as a war trophy that references his dying in battle as ultimately a victory for his men.[79] At the head of the funeral procession, Iatrides placed the flag of St. George, the military saint adopted as a symbol of the Greek insurrection and whose image on horseback slaying the dragon adorned revolutionary flags and military accoutrement of the period.[80] Another striking feature of the depiction of the funeral procession is the complementarity of clerics and warriors emphasizing that the insurrection was a Christian holy war.

A comparison of Iatrides' depiction of Botsaris' funeral with accounts in Philhellene publications is instructive with regard to the underlying context of his imagery. The French diplomat François-Charles-Hugues-Laurent Pouqueville describes the event in detail in his *Histoire de la Régénération de la Grèce* in 1824.[81] Pouqueville's staunchly Philhellenic rhetoric often appealed to Christian sensitivities, as for example, where he implicates the Ottoman army outside Mesologgi in the plan of Sultan Mahmud II to eradicate Christianity.[82] This interpretation was in keeping with Philhellene contention that the Greek insurrection was not a seditious act against a legitimate power, but instead an attempt by a Christian nation to free itself from a harsh overlord.[83] Pouqueville reinforced the idea of Botsaris' dying as a Christian warrior in the Italian edition of his history through the inclusion of a lithographic version of Langlois' *Morte*

[78] Protopsaltes (Ed.) (1956: 92-95).
[79] Protopsaltes (Ed.) (1956: 94-95).
[80] Chrysafis (2009: 65).
[81] An Italian edition was published in 1825 and Di Benedetto (1999: 340) has identified Pouqueville as an importance influence on Italian Philhellenism.
[82] See Pouqueville (1824, vol. 4: 435).
[83] Pouqueville (1824, vol. 4: 282) refers to a letter dated 15 January 1823 by Andreas Metaxas, the representative of the Greek Government at Verona, where representatives of the European powers had gathered to consider the rights of the insurgent Greeks. Metaxas stated that while he referred to the Hellenes fighting under the banner of the Cross in his correspondence with these representatives, he was careful to avoid any expression that may have been interpreted as seditious and incendiary.

de Marc Botzaris le 20/8Août 1823 by Zotta (appendix E figure E-2.11).[84] Pouqueville's account of the funeral makes much of the profusion of prelates officiating, including Archbishop Porphyrios and several Bishops, with numerous Deacons and other clerics in attendance conferring on the ceremony a morally uplifting quality.[85] Other significant details include Pouqueville's account include the parading of Turkish prisoners in the procession into Mesologgi and over a thousand horses hauling the huge amount of booty taken from the battlefield.[86] Pouqueville also stated that roses and asphodels adorned Botsaris' catafalque and his body was laid out so as to display as its insignia, his sword stained with the blood of 'barbarians'.[87] Iatrides' series also encompasses several of these elements in his portrayal of Botsaris as the hero of the Greek Revolution, together with reference to the Lamentation scenes in Christian art.

Another imaginative portrayal of Botsaris' burial procession is the etching titled *Einzug der Sulioten mit dem Leichname ihres Feldherrn Marcos Bozzaris zu Missolunghi* c.1825 by the German artist Christian Gottfried Geissler. (fig. 2.30).[88] It depicts the arrival of Botsaris' band of Souliotes with his dead body in Mesologgi. The black-coloured pall over Botsaris' coffin is decorated with a white Cross, and the red cushion resting upon it displays a sword and a laurel wreath. The caption to the etching states that the hero's dead body was taken triumphantly in a ceremonious march to the town. The buoyant narrative in the caption continues with the detail that at the head of the procession were the seized Ottoman canons and ammunition, followed by flags and banners of the enemy. A reference is made to the heads of a Turkish Bey and Aga impaled on spears accompanying the body of the hero to the burial ground that is also the final resting place

[84] Pouqueville (1824, vol. 4: 407-12).

[85] Pouqueville (1824, vol. 4: 408 and 411). Another textual source that incorporates an element of triumph into Botsaris' death is the pamphlet published in Greek by the Philhellene Firmin-Didot in Paris in 1824 (M. S. 1824). Writing in the form of an eulogy, the author addressed the Greek people as children of Botsaris and stated that the nation was ascending to a throne of virtue following the road mapped by his 'heroic blood' (M. S. 1824: 40).

[86] Pouqueville (1824, vol. 4: 411). A letter written in Mesologgi to Yiorgos Praides refers to over 1200 horses and mules among the booty the 'heroes' brought back to Mesologgi to be sold (Greek Committee [London]: 1823-24: K4 T, p 2), see appendix E figure E-2.3.

[87] Pouqueville (1824, vol. 4: 410).

[88] Mertiri (1993: 118) dates the composition to 1825, while Stadtgeschichtliches Museum in Leipzig dates its copy of the etching *Einzug der Sulioten mit dem Leichname ihres feldherrn Marcos Bozzaris zu Missolunghi* (inv. no. VS 954) to c. 1830-1850. A black and white woodblock engraving of the composition with some notable variations, such the absence of Botsaris' coffin, appeared in a German periodical in 1826 (Königl.-Sächs. allergnädigst privilegirt gemeinnütziger und unterhaltender Calender für Stadt und Land. 1826: unpaginated).

of General Normann, the German Philhellene, who died in Mesologgi after the Battle of Peta in 1822.[89] Many more impaled enemy heads are held aloft by a platoon of soldiers wearing short dark waistcoats over baggy, blue breeches and plumed tall cylindrical hats. These macabre trophies can be seen to signify triumph. The procession is shown at the moment when Botsaris' body is about to be carried through the main gate of the town. The scene conveys the tragedy of Botsaris' death primarily through the solemn figures looking on, including a female in supplication, and the black Cross in the foreground, while the macabre trophies signify triumph. Geissler also presents Mesologgi in an imaginative manner, with buildings in pristine condition that make no reference to the town having ever been under Ottoman siege.

In another nineteenth-century painting titled *The death of Markos Botsaris* by an unknown artist, the entry of the funeral procession into Mesologgi was again presented as a scene of both mourning and triumph (figure 2.31).[90] The somewhat operatic staging of the arrival of his body bestows upon the event a sense of momentousness and spectacle, but at its core is a tender Lamentation scene. The personal loss expressed by those mourning openly over the laid-out body is offset by a display of patriotic pride on the part of one of his comrades, who dramatically holds his scimitar aloft in one hand while he is tenderly wrapping his other arm around the pillow supporting his leader's head.[91] The exaltation of the patriotic warrior is reinforced in the painting by the throng pressing forward towards the funeral bier, with raised swords under the billowing blue revolutionary flag emblazoned with a white Cross. To the right, a group of women appears to be preparing to farewell Botsaris, while a priest holding his right arm up in benediction further reminds the viewer of the collective Christian identity of the Greek people. The group of war prisoners on the left is distinguished from the local population by their turbans and chained arms as they stand beside a pile of Ottoman weapons and flags. The painting also depicts Mesologgi as a towering medieval fortress, a construction of the town that recalls the lyrical poem about Botsaris by the Italian writer Domenico Biorci, who described Mesologgi as the 'high fortress of Greece'. [92] In the painting the

[89] St. Clair W. (1972: 98-102).
[90] My translation from the Greek title *Ο θάνατος του Μάρκου Μπότσαρη.*
[91] This gesture of adoration was used by the French-Spanish artist Juan de Juni in the sculpture *Entierro de Christo* representing the entombment of Christ, and is another example of the large extent to which western religious art influenced portrayals of Botsaris (appendix E figure E-2.12).
[92] Biorci (1835: 299).

town's political significance as a place of military action and patriotic sacrifice is highlighted in the forefront where cannon balls are juxtaposed with architectural ruins to form a simultaneous reference to antiquity and the noble heritage of Greece.

A conspicuous element shared by this painting with Eugène Delacroix's *Botzaris surprises the Turkish camp and falls fatally wounded*, c.1860–62 (figure 2.27) is the optimism created through the use of light. The potential alluded to by the sunrise in Delacroix's painting is also present in *The death of Markos Botsaris* (figure 2.31) through an abundance of white in the composition. Botsaris is both mourned and celebrated as a vanquished hero in these images, and light functions in these paintings to inspire the idea that political change is possible through patriotic sacrifice.[93]

The unknown artist's painting *The death of Markos Botsaris* (figure 2.31) impresses upon the viewer the association of Botsaris' last resting place through the portrayal of the distinctive flat waters of Mesologgi's lagoon and its low surrounding mountains, and thus contributing to the establishment of the town's significance for the Greek War of Independence. It was by such depictions that revolutionary Mesologgi came to occupy a central place in the evolution and politicization of Philhellene art, not least because of the close association of Markos Botsaris with the town. The Descent from the Cross pose along with the 'weapon in hand' and the 'trampling of the Ottoman' motifs formed the key iconography that Philhellene art developed in relation to Markos Botsaris and Greek patriotism. The concept of honourable defeat formed a key element in depictions of both the death of Botsaris and the fall of Mesologgi which presented a powerful message in the Philhellene movement's promotion of the Greek War of Independence in the West.

[93] Malpica (1837) also emphasized that Botsaris' death was a turning point for Greek liberation in the title of his essay on Filippo Marsigli's painting, *La morte di Marco Bozzari*, 1836-39 (figure 2.17), *L'alba del di 21 agosto a Carponizzi…..*, that is, the sunrise of 21 August at Karpenisi. He also espoused that modern Greece was born on the day Botsaris died claiming that the hero's death was the first resurrection cry of the Greek Revolution (Malpica 1837: 6).

Chapter 3
Lord Byron and Mesologgi: the Messiah and his mission

Lord Byron was not the first Philhellene to arrive or to die in Mesologgi, but he did become the figurehead of Philhellenism, with artists presenting him as a saviour of the Greek nation.[1] What set Byron apart from other volunteers was his celebrity status, based on both literary success and a notorious lifestyle. Byron's fame ensured that the world took note when he committed to the service of the London Greek Committee for the benefit of the Greek War of Independence in 1823. Since the time of the earliest travellers arriving from Europe, a melancholy atmosphere had been associated with Mesologgi chiefly due to its swampy flatlands and damp climate, and Byron's death there on 19 April 1824 heightened this association.[2] Historical assessments of Byron's presence in Mesologgi have varied, many stating that its significance was peripheral to the war effort.[3] In fact, Byron's involvement ratified the Greek insurrection for an international audience and he provided moral as well as desperately needed financial support to the military force in Mesologgi. On the basis of the enthusiastic response Byron received upon his arrival there on 5 January 1824, Leslie Marchand, Byron's leading biographer, has characterised him as Messiah in Missolonghi'.[4] Marchand's evaluation that, 'Byron was not cast down by the dismal, marshy town or the house that had been provided for him' valorizes the poet's premature death, which characterizes the legend of Byron in revolutionary Mesologgi.[5] Despite Byron's limited time in Mesologgi, his support of the Greek insurrection inspired Philhellene artists to figuratively transform him from a literary to a heroic figure.

[1] General Normann, a German Count, had commanded a company of Philhellene volunteers at the Battle of Peta on 16 July 1822 and died of his injuries in Mesologgi in November (St. Clair 1972: 100-2).

[2] Chandler (1776: 282), Cockerell (Ed.) (1903: 230), Earl of Ilchester (Ed.) (1923: 209-10). Waddington (1825: 169-70) and Bass (2008: 106). Brockedon opened his reader's foray into Mesologgi via Finden's engraving of the town with the remark that 'This place will never be heard of or seen but with the most melancholy associations with the warrior poet, who, in the devotion of his fortune and his energies to the emancipation of Greece, found here a grave.' (Brockedon 1834, vol. 3: unpaginated), see Appendix E figure E-5.6 for engraving *Missolonghi* drawn by W. Purser.

[3] Grosskurth (1977: 471-72) and Kelshall (1987: 194-95).

[4] Marchand (1971: 428). Others who cast Byron in a similar light include the historian C.M. Woodhouse (1969: 96) and the author Alexandre Dumas who referred to Byron as dying 'for the Greeks like another Jesus' (Soubigou, June 2008: 46 and 54).

[5] Marchand (1971: 431).

This chapter examines Byronic imagery to understand how it came to establish the poet as the Messiah of the Greek War of Independence, and in particular evaluates the contemporary and later influence of the depictions of revolutionary Mesologgi. Lord Byron's presence in Mesologgi was manipulated in art by means of recurrent compositional structures that will be shown to have been sourced from Romantic and Classical prototypes. Through an analysis of images produced over nearly two hundred years, this chapter seeks to demonstrate that Byron's persona prior to 1820 influenced the aesthetic conceptualization of his sojourn in Mesologgi and the revolutionary township itself. It will be argued that these representations brought together historical and heroic subject matter that stabilized narratives attached to both Byron and Mesologgi, and elevated the political significance of each on the world stage.

Byron as a cultural icon in art

An extensive body of written work has focused on the Byron's motivation for going to Greece, and these invariably gravitate toward personal reasons.[6] The ambivalent attitude that existed among his contemporaries towards Byron can be traced to perceptions of his social conduct: and these persisted in Britain amongst some sectors of the community after his death. A letter by Sir Walter Scott to his friend Mrs. Hughes, dated 11 November 1824 displays the perception of Byron as a fallen idol in English culture. Scott referred to Byron as having 'distinguished talents and high imagination', but also an 'ill-directed love of pleasure'.[7] Nonetheless, he did praise him posthumously for his efforts in Greece. A standard response in scholarship to Byron has regarded him as an aristocratic traveller, later an outcast poet, but also as one of the most public figures in Europe of his day who sought to redeem his controversial lifestyle through a contribution to the Greek Revolution.[8] Byron was a leading literary persona recognized across the globe at this time and can be deemed as one of the first modern celebrities to

[6] Gamba (1825: 3-4) wrote that while Byron had shown interest in the Greek cause while in Italy and before being approached by the London Greek Committee, he was in a phase of personal impasse at the time. The spectrum of explanations for Byron going to Greece in 1824 extends from personal boredom to political engagement with the issue of Greek independence. The following texts are among the many biographies that consider the issue of Byron's involvement in the Greek War of Independence: Marchand (1957), Grosskurth (1997), Eisler (1999) and MacCarthy (2002).

[7] Grierson (Ed.) (1935, vol. 8: 421-22).

[8] Grosskurth (1997) provides one example of this assessment. See Ewen (2004: 40 and 62) for a discussion of 'freedom' as a central theme of Romanticism and its restorative effect on integrity. This idea was expressed in Philhellene rhetoric through the concept of the rebirth of the liberated Greek nation and can be considered as the arch-Romanticist approach to the Greek War of Independence.

have become associated with a revolutionary cause.[9] In recent scholarship Stephen Minta has sought to counter Romantic appraisals of Byron's death in Mesologgi as a tragic event by foregrounding the political significance of his presence in Greece during the revolution.[10]

In visual terms, Byron's portrait profile remains one of the most easily identifiable in nineteenth-century European art. The demand for portrait prints to accompany volumes of Byron's poetry increased after the success of the initial cantos of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage: A Romaunt* in 1812. The cult of Byron was such that by 1820 both his writings and his image were widely available throughout Great Britain.[11] Fiona MacCarthy has referred to this period as the 'years of Byromania', while Mihaela Irimia nominated 1812 as the year of Byron's departure from reality into myth, when the poet began to fall under the influence of his own literary characters.[12] Christine Kenyon-Jones is one of many writers on the topic of Byronic portraiture to consider the effect of celebrity on the refinement of his representation, including by the poet himself.[13] Byron commissioned portraits and complained about, or rejected, those not to his liking.[14] Largely drawing upon correspondence with Byron's publisher John Murray as evidence, current scholarship maintains that Byron manipulated his image to reflect a literary persona with an associated heroic element and thus contributed directly to the formation of Byronic iconography.[15] This key literature points to the artifice involved in the

[9] Douka-Kabitoglou (2018: 18). MacCarthy (2002: x) names Byron as the first European cultural celebrity of the modern age. Mole (2007), Heinzelman (Sept. 2008), McDayter (2009) and Tuite (2015) have also written about Byron and the invention of celebrity culture.

[10] Minta (1998; 2006; 2007 and 2011). Trueblood (1974: 15) has also concluded that it was Byron's political pragmatism rather than Romantic ideals that eventually led him to support the Greek insurrection.

[11] Beevers (2005: 6 and 24) has described the demand for images of Byron from 1813 onwards as 'insatiable'.

[12] MacCarthy (2002: 139) and Irimia in Cardwell (2004, vol. 1: 195).

[13] Kenyon-Jones (1999: 109-37) See also a compilation of writing on Byron and his visual image in Kenyon-Jones (2008). Kitton (Jan. 1894), Piper (1982), Beevers (2006) and Mole (2007) have also examined the Byronic image in art. Annette Peach (2000) has created the most comprehensive listing of Byron portraits.

[14] Prothero (Ed.) (1922, vol. 1: 284) and Marchand (Ed.) (1973-82, vol. 2: 224 and 234). Byron wrote to his publisher John Murray on 31 December 1814 demanding the destruction of an engraving based on a portrait by Phillips and that a new one be created (Marchand [Ed.] 1973-82, vol. 4: 248). The quick response by Murray two days later stating 'It is done – the plate has been obtained from the printer & shall never be used again', is attestation to the understanding by both men of the importance of image and popular success. Kenyon-Jones (2008: 19) refers to Byron's disagreements with the artists Holmes, Thorsvaldsen and West regarding his representation and concludes that in each case Byron wanted be presented in a more 'melancholy or disaffected' manner than the artists had planned.

[15] MacCarthy (2002: x), Kenyon-Jones (2008: 19), Greer in Kenyon Jones (2008: 29 and 31-32), Peach in Kenyon-Jones (2008: 57), Mole (2007), Mole in Kenyon-Jones (2008:70) and Beevers (2005: 24-37).

cultivation of the persona of Byron in contemporary visual culture. I have found it useful in interpreting visual material relating to Byron and revolutionary Mesologgi as it echoes earlier Byronic iconography.

Peach discerns the 'prefiguration of Byron as a Romantic hero', in the portrait of 1808-9 by George Sanders commissioned by the poet as a gift to his mother. [16] Byron appears on a windswept rocky shore wearing flattering, tight fitting attire with his page, Robert Rushton, on board a dinghy in the background. The portrait was engraved in 1812 and the image accompanied later editions of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*.[17] Kendrick argues that the character of Childe Harold can be distilled into a solitary hero who lived according to his own principles.[18] This 'Byronic branding' has been recognized as contributing to the success of the poet's oeuvre and creating a surge in market demand for images of the poet.[19] Byron's publisher also commissioned portraits and was known to give engravings of the poet as gifts at social functions, which amounts to both the promotion and commodification of his client.[20]

Germaine Greer suggests that Byron's extensive manipulation of his visual image to project an idea of the melancholy poet resulted in the formation of a Byronic type that was devoid of any significant pictorial or narrative value.[21] In contrast to Greer, Mole contends that the simplified visual conventions associated with Byron formed a discourse that supported his poetry and public profile.[22] These visual conventions, or Byronic iconographies that first emerged with his literary success and circulated widely in print form, became central to representations of him thereafter. As precepts for representations of Byron in Greece, youthful portraits of the poet contributed to the sense of heroic tragedy that became associated with Byron's death in Mesologgi. This chapter seeks to establish how artists further developed the heroic element in Byron's existing artistic

[16] Peach in Kenyon-Jones (2008: 60-61). See George Sanders, *George Gordon, 6th Lord Byron,* 1808-9, at https://www.rct.uk/collection/402411/george-gordon-6th-lord-byron-1788-1824.
[17] MacCarthy (2002: 88 and 183).
[18] Kendrick (c. 2010: 132).
[19] Mole (2007: 60) and Heinzelman (Sept. 2008: 497).
[20] John Murray refers to this practice in two letters to Byron dated 24 and 31 October 1814 (Nicholson [Ed.] 2007: 121-22 and 127).
[21] Greer in Kenyon-Jones (2008: 21, 29, 31 and 34).
[22] Mole in Kenyon-Jones (2008: 68-78).

persona to reflect his commitment to the Greek cause and his presence in Mesologgi, and how the town was conceptualized in these works of art.

The exploitation of Byron's artistic persona to project fascinating individual qualities is epitomized in a portrait by an artist who remains unknown, of his friend and banker Douglas Kinnaird, that emphasises his association with the poet (see figure 3.1). The book in Kinnaird's hands is open at *'Parisina'*, Byron's poem about illicit love and calamity.[23] This was intended, perhaps, as a reference to the poet's bohemian nature and to Kinnaird's own desire to associate himself with the *élan* for which Byron was known. In the background is a small reproduction of Westall's portrait of 1813 of Byron titled *George Gordon Byron, 6th Baron Byron* (figure 3.2).[24] Westall's portrait was created at a time of intense interest in Byron, and the elegance it conveys is consistent with the persona of the poet as a cultural icon, which Beevers considers to have been the intention of the artist.[25] Peach has judged that the Westall portrait, which became important in Philhellene depictions of the poet in Greece and established the 'Byronic Byron' in art.[26]

The components of Westall's portrait prefiguring later portrayals of Byron in Mesologgi, concern his life as a poet and aristocrat. These include an upturned collar, a cloak, his distinctive hairline and dimpled chin. Kinnaird has a similar leftward facing profile, head of curls and upturned open collar, which, along with a distinctive draped cloak, Doris Langley Moore holds responsible for the entry of the word 'Byronic' into the English vernacular.[27]A reproduction of Westall's Byron sits at head height on a

[23] Page (Ed.) (1970: 331-36). This portrait remains undated. The manuscript of *Parisina* was finished in November 1815 and published in 1816, therefore the portrait must postdate1816 (Burton 1974: 67).

[24] Byron referred to 'proposed designs' for a portrait by Westall and to sitting for the artist, in a letter to John Murray dated 21 April 1813 (Marchand [Ed.] 1973-82, vol. 3: 41).

[25] Beevers (2005: 55). A letter from Westall to Byron dated 11 January 1814 accommodating Byron's response to a portrait by him, not necessarily the one in question, suggests that the artist was keen to meet the famous poet's approval and maintain a professional attachment to him (Westall to Lord Byron, 11 January 1814). Engravings based on this portrait by Westall were quickly produced by James Heath, Thomas Blood and Charles Turner (see Peach 2000: 41-42; figures 23, 25 and 28).

[26] Peach in Kenyon-Jones (2008: 63).
Westall's conceptualisation of Byron in the 1813 portrait exercised a strong influence over portrayals of Byronic heroes and was exploited commercially as exemplified by Cruickshank's engravings of episodes in Clinton (1825: 440 and 624). In these images Juan wears the loose curls and wide-collared shirt of the Westall Byron portrait and the same distinctive leftward turned profile. Kenyon-Jones (2008: figure 10) supplies a further example of the influence exerted by Westall's modelling of Byron on the illustration of an episode in canto III of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*.

[27] Langley Moore (1971: 1). An upturned collar also forms a connection in the image between the bust of Napoleon on the table, Byron and Kinnaird. Byron was a great admirer of Napoleon, and was disappointed when the Emperor fell from power (MacCarthy 2002: 221).

bookshelf beside Kinnaird; the books below are labelled 'British poets'.[28] The inclusion of the Westall image forms a *mise-en-abyme* in the portrait as Kinnaird's pose approximates that of Byron in the Westall painting, thus closely connecting the two figures.

Byron is presented in Westall's portrait as seated with chin in hand, a pose that, together with the setting of a dark cavern, serves to emphasize the subject's identity as a poet (figure 3.2).[29] An opening between the rocks of the cave to the light outside suggests qualities of introspection and observation that evoke the Romantic myth of solitude as a marker of artistic genius.[30] Byron's left side is covered in a dark cloak, while his right side, including his face and upper torso, is bathed in light. His red jacket complements his delicate, flawless complexion and rose-coloured lips. Cascading curls over a strong, expansive forehead place focus on a perfectly formed brow-line that casts a partial shadow over Byron's left eye and contributes to the cerebral tenor of the pose. A prominent nose is balanced with an equally defined ear, the effect of which serves to enhance the overall harmony of the image. An elongated neck leads the viewer to an oval-shaped clasp securing Byron's loose-fitting collar.[31] The creation of this portrait coincided with Byron's meteoric rise as a writer. He could only have been pleased with the allure it bestowed on his persona.

A comparison of this image with a first-hand written account of Byron by Edward Trelawny illustrates the power attained by Westall's artistic representation. In his recollection of meeting Byron in Italy in 1822, Trelawny essentially described key components of the Westall portrait. He saw genius in Byron's eyes and lips, beauty in the pallid skin, grace in his curly hair, and commented that 'Nature could do little more than she had done for him, both in outward form and in the inward spirit she had given to

[28] A section of books on the shelf is labelled 'Shakespeare', suggesting the level of Byron's significance in British literature as Joburg (May-June 1967: 40) remarks of Byron's proximity to ….'the most famous of English poets'.

[29] Peach in Kenyon-Jones (2008: 62) refers to this posture of chin-in-hand posture as a standard iconography for poets.

[30] The notion of the poet as an isolated genius stems from the idea that creativity is a solitary achievement of an individual spirit (Brown c. 2001: 36). Hay (2010: xviii) discusses the prevalence of this idea during the early decades of 1800s and claims that Byron's voluntary exile in Italy fed the idea of his being a poet genius.

[31] Peach (2000: 43) considers Byron's critical interest in this work as a contribution to his 'romanticizing of the portrait'.

animate him'.[32] Trelawny did, however, differentiate between the 'Byronic' and Byron the man. He reconciled Byron's lameness and mode of dress with the idealized image of the poet's portraits by noting his '… very loose nankeen trowsers (sic), strapped down as to cover his feet: his throat was not bare, as represented in drawings'.[33]

The portrait of Kinnaird seeks to capture some of the enchantment of Westall's portrayal of Byron by association but with little success. However, Kinnaird's posturing in the portrait, as exhibited by the exaggerated collar, does serve to demonstrate the glamour that Byron had acquired in contemporary British culture along with his notoriety.

Romantic Hellenism and the image of Byron in Greece

Images of Byron became a reference to revolutionary Greece and also provided viewers with their first glimpses of a politicized and picturesque understanding of Modern Greece. One signature portrait of Byron in Greece is Thomas Phillips' *George Gordon Noel Byron, 6th Baron (1788-1824) poet*, 1814 (figure 3.3). Miliori has persuasively emphasized the importance of Hellenism to nineteenth-century British culture and its subsequent transition from cultural Philhellenism into its politicized phase, once the Greek insurrection erupted.[34] This phase of intellectual interest in Greece has become known as 'Romantic Hellenism' (as discussed in the introduction of this thesis); and its presentation of Greece became commonplace in nineteenth-century art and literature.[35] Parallel with the increasing interest of the West in the remaining vestiges of classical Greece, the nationalist agitations of Greek Enlightenment scholars ensured that the idea of Greek independence from Ottoman rule developed simultaneously.[36] European Romanticism has been seen to have influenced the ideological foundations of the new

[32] Trelawny (1878, vol. 1: 27).
[33] Trelawny (1878, vol. 1: 28).
[34] Miliori (2009: 65-81).
[35] Stern (1940: vii) credits Harry Levin with coining the term 'Romantic Hellenism' in 1931. The following are amongst the scholars who have written on the cultural significance of Romantic Hellenism for western society: Angelomatis-Tsougarakis (1990), Güthenke (2008), Langlois (1971), Peyre (1932), Webb (1982), Spencer (1986), Wallace (1997) and Grammatikos (2018). There is an overall consensus that its influence on western culture was considerable.
[36] See Chatzephotes (1971) for publications and political activities of Greek Enlightenment scholars leading up to the outbreak of the insurrection. Cockerell's journal from 1810-17 provides evidence that visions of ancient Greece informed the aspirations for liberty within the country. Cockerell recalled that while in Epirus at the house of the Greek primate Logothetis, Cockerell recalled 'Our talk was of their hopes of emancipation, as it always is when one is in the company with Greeks, with the inevitable references to Leonidas and the Hellenes' (Cockerell [Ed.] 1903: 228).

Greek state through the emerging widespread rhetoric emphasizing the antiquity of the Greek nation's origins and its incipient regeneration from stultifying Ottoman subjugation.[37] This rhetoric was sustained throughout the War of Independence and into the present.

Romantic Hellenism flourished during the era surrounding the 1821 insurrection and it was through the associations of his poetry with Greece that Byron also influenced the artistic conceptualization of the Greek nation. Byron achieved this by establishing an image of Greece in the minds of his readers, especially in the poetry written after his first visit there in 1809 and later, by drawing attention to the nation's subjugated state through his presence there in 1824.[38] McGann identifies passages of Byron's poetry that demonstrating his ideological engagement with the Greek Revolution, suggesting that it was the force of Hellenism that drew Byron back to Greece a second time, in order to participate in the insurrection.[39] In his seminal work on Romantic Hellenism titled *The Broken Column*, Harry Levin attached great importance to the contribution of Byron's textual Philhellenism to the success of the Greek Revolution and deemed it 'one of the most practical results of the romantic movement'.[40] Byron at Mesologgi became the ubiquitous emblem of Philhellenism because he personified a basic tenet of politicized Philhellene ideology: namely that the West had an obligation through cultural ties to classical civilization, to assist the Greek nation to rise up against its Ottoman oppressor. Byron's association with Mesologgi contributed to the stability of the nineteenth-century Romantic view of Greece, one that was able to coalesce the imagined with the real, and that remained firm throughout the insurrection and beyond.

The three-quarter length portrait of Lord Byron of 1814 by Thomas Phillips is arguably an artistic summation of Romantic Hellenism (figure 3.3). Byron's choice of Albanian dress inscribes his identity as an eclectic adventurer in an ancient land.[41] This

[37] Demaras (1982), (Beaton 1988: 92-109) Beaton in Beaton and Ricks (2009: 3), Wallace (1997: 207) and Grammatikos (2018: 12)
[38] See Minta (1998) for Byron's first journey.
[39] McGann (Ed.) (1980, vol. 7: xiii, 77 and 83).
[40] Levin (1931: 47).
[41] Schama in (Government Art Collection in collaboration with the Whitechapel Gallery 2011: 13) refers to the pose and dress as 'an act of sartorial self-branding' on Byron's part. Ziter (2002: 607, 615 and 617) attributes the conflation of his literary characters and his own persona to Byron himself in pursuit of exotic appeal and self-promotion, and deems his publisher was complicit in this process through commissioning of book-sized prints of literary characters that resembled Byron.

portrait made a significant contribution to the formation of the Byronic legend as it insisted that the viewer consider him in the context of his celebrated 'Oriental Tales'. Evidence of the portrait's prescriptive power is found in a comment by Leigh Hunt, who after meeting Byron in London stated that, 'he resembled in a lively manner the portrait of him by Phillips, by far the best that has appeared; I mean the best of him at his best time of life, and the most like him in features as well as expression'.[42] The remark that Byron resembled the portrait, rather than the reverse, demonstrates Kenyon-Jones' argument that with Byron's literary success a distorted identification developed in the Western imagination between Byron and the protagonists of his poetry.[43] Phillips created a self-assured figure of Byron in a heavily embroidered red velvet jacket, white skirt and jauntily worn head-dress. The thin moustache not present in other portraits of Byron, complements the exotic character of his clothing, as well as signifying masculinity, as does the slight shadow of the unshaven face.[44] Byron cradles a scimitar and has a cloak draped over his arms. The image forms the visualization of Byron's lines from stanza 58 of the second canto of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*:

> The wild Albanian kirtled to his knee,
> With shawl-girt head and ornamented gun,
> And gold-embroder'd garments, fair to see;[45]

Stanza 73 of this canto also referred to the subjugated Greek nation providing a focal point for the idea of their liberation:

> Fair Greece! Sad relic of departed worth!
> Immortal, though no more! Though fallen, great!
> Who now shall lead thy scatter'd children forth,
> And long accustom'd bondage uncreate? [46]

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[42] Hunt (1828: 12).

[43] Kenyon-Jones (1999: 110). Soubigou (June 2008: 45) cites the examples of Amédée Pichot, his French translator and Victor Hugo who both readily identified the persona of Byron with his poems and portraits of his heroes.

[44] Beevers (2005: 31) suggests that the addition of a moustache was a theatrical flounce on the part of Phillips who may have sought to further differentiate this image from another of his portraits of Byron that displayed the same profile and appeared with it in the Exhibition of the Royal Academy in 1814.

[45] McGann (Ed.) (1980, vol. 2: 62).

[46] McGann (Ed.) (1980, vol. 2: 68). *Childe Harold* provided an ideational prism for viewing Greece. Greg (1833**)**, who visited Greece after the Greek War of Independence, prefaced his first chapter on the topography of the country with stanza 85 of *Childe Harold* and thus conjured up an image of gods and heroes in an Arcadia.

These words formed the Philhellene movement's most exhilarating rhetoric directed toward the regeneration of Greek culture with the aid of the West.[47] The painting by Phillips has predominantly been considered from the perspective of 'Byroniana', that is, material that speaks of the man and his literary works, or of the exoticism of the image as expressed through Byron wearing oriental costume.[48] A critique of this portrait when it appeared at the Royal Academy in May 1814 considered that it conveyed 'the idea of the softness and the wildness of character of the popular poet of the East'.[49] The proximity of the date between the circulation of the poem *Tales of the Giaour a fragment of a Turkish tale* in 1813, which deplored the state of Greece in its opening passage, and that of its commission to Phillips that same year, for the portrait of Byron dressed as an Albanian suggests the poet sought his visual incarnation as the hero of this poem.[50]

The landscape setting of Phillips' 1814 portrait (figure 3.3) has not been given adequate consideration beyond general references to the Golden Age of Greece, despite the fact that it can be seen to display the binary set of oppositions that characterized a politicized Philhellene artistic vision of a subjugated Greece.[51] The opposition between the minaret-like shape visible on the tree-covered hill of the left, against ancient ruins on the lower right, against the backdrop of a stormy sky, foreshadowed the struggle for Greek political independence against the Ottoman power. The notions of change and accompanying idealism that characterised nineteenth century Romanticism, emerge physically from the landscape through the themes of ruins, exoticism, nature and power, and foreshadow the potential that the Greek nation could rebel against its Ottoman overlord. The idea that the Greek nation could rise up after centuries of imperial rule, was

[47] *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* was commenced in 1809 and finished in 1818. Byron claimed in the preface to the first and second cantos that the poem was written on his first journey to Greece, 'for the most part, amidst the scenes which it attempts to describe' (Page 1975: 179).

[48] The term 'Byroniana' appears to have been coined by *The Courier* newspaper in 1814 as a title for a series of five articles that reflected the cultural interest Byron and his poetry had generated in Britain at the time (Prothero 1898: appendix VII, items 4-8).

[49] Nicholson (Ed.) (2007: 100).

[50] Nicholson (Ed.) (2007: 99). Burton & Murdoch (1974: 47-48) refer to the entry for 19 March 1814 in Hobhouse's diary stating that the portrait was not a good likeness, to argue that the image created a persona based on fictional idealized characters from Byron's poems such as *Lara*, also published in 1814, and that creation of this modern hero type with foibles and lapses was the poet's greatest contribution to western European culture. Whereas McGann (2002: 141) argues that of all the Byronic heroes, the most famous is Childe Harold and that the character forms the prototype for the rhetoric of Byronism.

[51] Peach (2000: 60) gives a detailed description of Byron's costume in this portrait and contains the description of the landscape to, 'Background of stormy sky over rocky landscape with foliage and stream to l. and temple in ruins to r.'

enthusiastically adopted by the Romantic movement, and Beevers is one scholar who has linked the widespread recognition of this development in Greek identity with Byron's association with Greece.[52] Certainly, Byron's associations with Greece, created through his travels and paeans to the subject of Greek liberty in his poetry, made him a suitable candidate as an agent of the London Greek Committee in 1823.

Philhellenism, the London Greek Committee and Byron

Historical details regarding Byron's decision to go to Mesologgi exist, but they have mostly been interpreted from within the context of his biography. The topic of my study is the emergence of revolutionary Mesologgi as an emblem of the Greek War of Independence in art. This formed the focus of my approach to the archive of the Philhellene London Greek Committee. I have sought to examine this resource for an enhanced understanding of how Byron's presence in Mesologgi informed Philhellenism, and how artists responded to this connection.

Byron had been in self-imposed exile in Italy for seven years before the London Greek Committee was officially formed on 3 March 1823.[53] By this time the insurgents had also been extensively lobbying Philhellenes outside Greece for support and financial aid. A letter dated 8 October 1822, written by Alexander Mavrokordatos, who was the President of the western seat of the Provisional government and was stationed in Mesologgi at the time, to fellow Greeks on Corfu, ends 'Hellas is miserable and without help, without funds, and requires all the help that can be given'.[54] Accordingly, Mavrokordatos had dispatched Andreas Louriottis as an envoy of the Provisional Greek government to Spain and Portugal, as well as Britain, to solicit financial aid.[55] Louriottis' presence in London in February 1823 has been deemed a precursor to the formation of the London Greek Committee.[56]

[52] Beevers (2005: 124).
[53] Gordon (1832, vol. 2: 79-80).
[54] (My translation). Corfu was a British protectorate at the time (Protopsaltis, [Ed.] 1963-86, vol. 5, fascicle II: 357-58).
[55] Stobaugh (1965: 13) and St. Clair W. (1972: 207).
[56] Stobaugh (1965: 13-15). An undated letter in the London Greek Archive written by Louriottis and translated from French into English demonstrates the strongly propagandist approach used to attract western sympathy for the cause. Louriottis wrote 'The Greeks having been repressed by a despotism of almost four (sic) years suffering & slavery begin now to inhale purer air' and continued 'Greece was sure of the generous efforts of the English nation which have already begun to realise themselves…'. (Greek Committee [London] 1823-24: K1 M).

In due course, Byron was proposed as a prospective agent of the London Greek Committee in Greece by one of its earliest member, John Cam Hobhouse, a parliamentarian and Byron's travel companion on his first trip to Greece in 1809. He suggested that Blaquière call upon him in Italy while *en route* to Greece, on a fact-finding expedition on behalf of the Committee.[57] In his account of Blaquière's visit in a letter to Hobhouse dated 7 April 1823, Byron both expressed his commitment to the cause and expressed uncertainty as to his potential contribution, military or otherwise to the Greek War of Independence, confiding that the unpopularity of his name in England could damage the cause.[58] This seems a hollow concern, however, as he also stated his intention to proceed to Greece in July.[59]

A circular issued by the London Greek Committee in October 1823 calling for subscriptions reveals how the insurgent's historical ties to antiquity and the Christian tradition were instrumental in the endeavour to engage public opinion as the war proceeded.[60]

[57] Graham (1984: 326).

[58] Marchand (Ed.) (1973-82, vol. 10: 142-44). Despite the disapproval of his dissolute lifestyle by polite society, Byron commanded widespread popular interest in England at the time, as the volume of press reports of his activities attests. A typical article appeared in *The Morning Chronicle* on 1 January 1823 compiling gleanings of information from sightings of Byron on the continent. The article leaves all malice intact when it discredits a rumour that Byron had removed 'Countess of G' from a convent, 'for she is no subject for a nunnery' (Lord Byron in Italy. 1 January 1823).

[59] Bowring had written to Byron on behalf of London Greek Committee with the proposal that Byron act as an agent for the Committee on 14 March 1823 (John Bowring to Lord Byron in Genoa, 14 March 1823). Byron accepted the appointment with pleasure in a letter on 21 May 1823 (George Gordon Byron. (21 May 1823).

[60] Greek Committee (London) (1823-24: K1 W1). See also Greek Committee (London) (1823-24: K6 I^4), that demonstrates that the Suffolk Greek Committee was formed after Byron's arrival on the Greek mainland. The resolutions for its formation spoke of Greece as the 'cradle of arts and science', where members of a Christian family were combating 'infidel oppressors'.

> Such is the nature of the contest that is now at issue in Greece; and, if, there ever was a country that from its past glory and former renown, ought to call forth the wishes and prayers of those who enjoy the blessings of civilization for its success-- IT IS GREECE.' …She presents at this moment the most gratifying spectacle- an oppressed people, fighting successfully, and at every disadvantage, for their Religion, their Liberty, and their COUNTRY…[61]

The same rhetoric was deployed by Greek patriots both within Greece and the diaspora in their appeals to potential Philhellene supporters of the insurrection. An example is seen in a letter by Adamantios Korais in Paris dated 23 April 1823 to Edmund Henry Barker, one of the most enthusiastic English Philhellenes, who made religion a platform for the enlistment of support.[62] The value of Byron's intercession was expressed by Metropolitan Ignatios in a letter dated 29 June 1823 from Pisa to Mavrokordatos in Tripolitsa.[63] Ignatios considered that as member of the Greek London Committee and through his personal contacts, that Lord Byron could be of value in garnering wider support and so was anxious that the insurgents make a good impression on him.[64]

Adam de Friedel: the force of destiny, or the 'siege of Byron'

Among the Philhellenes who joined Byron in Mesologgi was the enterprising Danish artist Adam Friedel, who spent three years in Greece during the early stages of the insurrection, by one account wandering with a lithographic press on his back.[65] Friedel also seems to have been actively seeking involvement in governmental affairs and in 1823 was said to be raising funds in Egypt for the insurrection.[66]. It was revealed that he had fraudulently presented himself in Greece as a Danish baron, but this did not prevent

[61] Greek Committee (London) (1823-24: K1 W1).

[62] Greek Committee (London) (1823-24: K1 P4). This letter has been published in Demaras, Aggelou, Koumarianou and Frangiskos (Eds.) (1964-1984, vol. 5: 12-14).

[63] Protopsaltes (Ed.) (1963-86, vol. 5, fascicle 3: 355-56). Ignatios was the former Metropolitan (Bishop) of Arta and titular Metropolitan of Hungary and Wallachia, living in exile in Pisa from 1818 to 1828 [Protopsaltes (Ed.) (1959-61, vol. 4, fascicle I)].

[64] See also a letter from Ignatios to Mavrokordatos dated 29 July 1823 (Protopsaltes (Ed.) 1959-61, vol. 4, fascicle 2: 162).

[65] Marchand (Ed.) (1973-82, vol. 11: 127-28). See Koukiou-Mitropoulou (2007: 13-26) for an account of Friedel's sojourn in Greece.

[66] A letter dated 22 May 1822 signed by Friedel and Ioannis Varvatis to the Greek Provisional Government in Corinth was in relation to securing a building for governmental administration purposes in Argos Hellenic Parliamentary Archives. Archives of the Greek Regeneration (1976, vol. 9: 187) and Hellenic Parliamentary Archives. Archives of the Greek Regeneration (1978, vol. 11: 92-93).

Friedel once again assumed the bogus title upon arrival in England in 1824.[67] Mavrokordatos commended him to Bowring in London, and to Ioannis Karatzas in Italy as an excellent person to consult regarding the state of affairs in Greece.[68] Friedel also obtained a letter of recommendation to the London Greek Committee from Byron dated 4 March 1824.[69] Of greater interest here is the lithographic project Friedel commenced later in London, in the form of a pictorial album titled *The Greeks: Twenty-four portraits of the principal leaders and personages who have made themselves most conspicuous in the Greek Revolution*, which was universally well received and influenced the conceptualization of contemporary Greece in the West.[70] Byron was among the subjects selected for the second part of the album published in 1825, and five further images of Byron were successively added as the project expanded into six instalments by 1832.[71] This series was titled *Lord Byron, The noble advocate and supporter of the Greek nation*, dated from 1825 to 1828 and cast Byron as a poet and Philhellene.

A consistent element in all six lithographs is Byron's 'Homeric' helmet styled along classical Greek lines and recalling those worn by warriors in Homer's *Iliad.* Collectively the lithographs can be interpreted as a depiction of Byron in a transitory phase from poet to active Philhellene. Roderick Beaton has discussed this transition in terms of Byron's ideological development as a Romanticist poet that culminated in his involvement in the Greek War of Independence.[72] The inclusion of the helmet lends an

[67] St. Clair, W. (1972: 89-90). Howarth (1976: 90) includes Friedel in the group of eccentrics who were drawn to Greece during the War of Independence.

[68] Greek Committee (London) (1823-24: K7 P3) and Mavrokordatos (22 February 1824). Friedel's departure from Greece in March 1824 appears to have been shrouded in controversy. Edition No. 19 of the *Greek Chronicle* dated 5 March 1824 warns Swiss and German Philhellenes about Friedel and advises them to disregard his claims if he approaches their committees (Meyer 1958: no. 19: 4). Byron responded to complaints from Friedel in a letter to him dated 21 March 1824 by writing to the *Greek Chronicle* on the 23 March 1824 defending Friedel against an article questioning his motives for being in Greece.

[69] Marchand (Eds.) (1973-82, vol. 11: 127-28).

[70] Friedel (1824-1830). A review of a re-issue of Friedel's Greek portraits in the British press in 1827 indicates their reception as a form of news pictorial and recommended the lithographs 'to those who take an interest in the affairs of the ill-fated country, so precariously situated at the present time in its struggle for independence' (Fine arts: The series of lithographic drawings by Baron Adam de Friedel 18 July 1827 p. 3). Another positive review appeared in 1830 praising the lithographs for their artistic merit and historical value (Editor's notebook. January-June 1830: 240).

[71] The third instalment of 1827 was published in Paris and London (Koukiou-Mitropoulou 2007: 141).

[72] Beaton (November 24-27, 2010: 9-12) and Beaton (2013: 207).

air of authenticity to the depiction of Byron in Greece, as he is known to have taken there three such helmets.[73]

In all six images the helmet expresses Byron's engagement with the Greek insurrection and three portray Byron in a reflective mood against the backdrop of a Greek landscape.[74] The effect of Byron's helmet in the foreground coupled with the background landscape of mainland Greece in three plates (23a, 26 and 27) creates a heightened political context locating the poet in revolutionary Greece and artistically establishing Byron in a military role. This military dimension is also indicated by the inclusion of a sword upon which the helmet rests in four of the six plates.[75]

The background landscape in two plates 23 (a) and 26, which were included in the fourth edition of Friedel's album (1828) is undoubtedly that of Mesologgi. These two images were drawn by Bouvier and one plate 23 (a) is a black and white lithograph, while the other (plate 26) is a colour version of the same scene. Plate 26, (figure 3.4), is titled *Lord Byron, The noble advocate and supporter of the Greek nation,* and evokes Byron in Cephalonia before embarking for Mesologgi. In this lithograph Friedel presented Mesologgi as a low-lying citadel on a promontory extending into the lagoon. While there was conformity between this image and those of contemporary artists' depiction of Mesologgi as a fortressed town, all were largely imaginary and often emphasized the town's geographical location.[76] The persistent depiction of the inadequately fortified town

[73] Marchand (1957, vol. 3: 1079). However, Byron was not known to have ever worn them (Eliot 1992: 197).

[74] Friedel (1824-30: plates 23 a, 23 b, 24-27).

[75] Friedel (1824-30: plates 23 a, 23 b, 24, 25 and 26).

[76] See the following images for the conformity in the physical depiction of Mesologgi, figure 2.31 Artist unknown, *Ο θάνατος του Μάρκου Μπότσαρη* and appendix E figure E-3.1 Émile Jean-Horace Vernet, *Turkish ship set on fire during the siege of Missolonghi.* The 1826 and 1829 editions of Cheyère's, *Prise de Missolonghi,* sold for the benefit of the Greek cause (appendix E figures E-3.2 and E-3.3). The aspect of Cheyère's lithographs titled *Prise de Missolonghi* extends from the mountain slope on the left where exhausted survivors of the 1826 Exodus lament the siege of the town, over extensive battle scenes in middle-ground into the lagoon, where a large naval fleet is gathered (appendix E figures E-3.2 and E-3.3). The walled town contains buildings of eastern and western architectural styles including minarets, domes and pitched roofs. The town rests on a sandy flat that spills into the lagoon forming part of the gulf beyond. In fact, Cheyère's composition is closely related to the painting *The battle of Aboukir* by Louis-François Lejeune (appendix E figure E-3.4). This factor indicates that Cheyère contrived Mesologgi out of Lejeune's Napoleonic battle scene in Egypt. The physical commonality between Abu Qir and Mesologgi being promontories, undoubtedly prompted Cheyère to base *Prise de Missolonghi* on Lejeune's *The battle of Aboukir*. Evidence that closely connecting Cheyère's and Lejeune's compositions includes the palm trees that delineate both scenes and the similar citadel resting on the promontory, which juts out to open water. The fact that Cheyère conceptualized the fall of Mesologgi in the same way as Lejeune presented the ultimately failed Egyptian campaign by Napoleon against the British in 1799, holds great interest in terms of a wider art historical framework of nineteenth century war imagery and the

as citadel is intriguing.[77] Nikolaos Kasomoulis, an insurgent in Mesologgi at the time, refers in his memoirs to nothing grander than the 'defensive walls' by way of fortification of the town.[78] He conveys the tenacity of the insurgents by describing how planks of wood and soil were being used to consolidate the structure.[79] Empty houses were filled with dirt and incorporated into the defensive walls.[80] Amherst also referred to the mud-brick built walls of the town's 'citadel' in the playscript *The siege of Missolonghi or, Massacre of the Greeks* that was performed in England in 1826.[81] A comparable iconography can be found in the French Republican concept of the 'citadel of ideals' from the 1790s, as can be seen in the colour etching titled *Refrains patriotiques* (see appendix E figure E-3.5). In this Republican scene, a group of patriots are singing and dancing around a tree of liberty decorated with Republican clothing and adornments, including a red Phrygian cap and tricolour cockades; in the background stands a solid and pristine citadel. The incongruity of mud-brick walls with the idealized citadel in Amherst's play suggests that Mesologgi was being rhetorically created as the embodiment of western liberal values across Europe.

Despite having met Byron in Mesologgi, Friedel incorporated into his images items of the earlier Byronic iconography, and the work of other portraitists over ten years old. He probably instructed the artists and engravers of his Byron series, (Bouvier, Fairland and Simonau) to adopt the Byronic conventions such as the three-quarter profile,

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Greek War of Independence. Albeit that Napoleon's aims were Imperialistic, the propaganda potential of Cheyère's image, which was sold for the benefit of the Greek cause, rests on its connections to Lejeune's *The battle of Aboukir* showing a failed battle for a 'noble' cause.

[77] When entering Mesologgi in mid 1828 the German doctor Johann Daniel Elster (1828: 79) remarked that his battalion had retreated to the 'so-called castle of Mesologgi.'

[78] Vlachogiannis (Ed.) (1939-42, vol. 2: 199).

[79] Vlachogiannis (Ed.) (1939-42, vol. 2: 199-200).

[80] Vlachogiannis (Ed.) (1939-42, vol. 2: 107).

[81] Amherst (18--: Act 1, Scene 3). Although Gordon (1832, vol. 2: 232), a British volunteer officer, did not visit Mesologgi his historical account of the town's defensive walls stated that 'Under Byron's auspices the Greeks had applied themselves to strengthening the works of Messalonghi erecting what they called bastions, tenailles, lunettes, & c,; it would, however, be an error to attach to these words the value given to similar constructions in Europe, the fortifications consisting, in truth, of an avant fosse, a ditch, and rampart of earth faced with stone, from 2000 to 2400 yards in length, and presenting some flanks and angles, but without either covered way or outworks.' Ioannis Papadiamandopoulos, President of Administration Committee of western Greece and in Mesologgi at the time, did not mince his words about the deplorable state of the town's defensive walls in a letter dated 18 August 1825 to Koundouriotis, the President of the Executive arm of the Provisional Greek Government (Lignos [Ed.] 1920-27, vol. 5: 141-42). Papadiamandopoulos stated that the citadel, as such, no longer existed due to bombardment by the enemy, and that the only fortress remaining was the will of the people, who patched the walls through the night with soil that they stole from the military engineering works that the Ottoman forces were undertaking outside the town during the day (Lignos [Ed.] 1920-27, vol. 5: 142).

distinctive curly hair, high collar, cloak and pensiveness, for reasons of proven market appeal.[82] The Westall and Phillips portraits of Byron of 1813 circulated widely in print form within a year of their production and Friedel closely used these earlier portraits closely as a basis for the composition of all six images in his project (figures 3.2 and 3.5).[83] However, in two of the six engravings he did create verisimilitude in his portrayal of the poet in Greece by portraying Byron wearing a plaid cloak. Byron owned such a cloak as it is listed in a current account with Barffs and Hancock dated 25 December 1823 and for which he paid fourteen dollars bought in Cephalonia just before embarking for Mesologgi.[84] The three-quarter profile and Byron's dimpled chin clearly identifies this portrait as being based on Thomas Phillips', *Portrait of a Nobleman* 1813, where the poet is also wearing a cloak (figure 3.5). That which Byron is wearing in Friedel's portrait however, is far from the sombre one, in which Phillips clothed him in 1813 (figure 3.4). Although black as well, it has a dramatic red lining and fetching white wool collar.

In Friedel's lithograph the figure of Byron, with Mesologgi in the background, stands on the edge of a precipice with a pocket-sized object in his right hand, possibly a note-book (figure 3.4). In contrast to the chin-in-hand pose, an iconographic trope of Westall's introspective portrait (figure 3.2), Byron's left hand is placed under his jacket. The lightly embroidered jacket is vaguely military in style and the hand gesture of this composition is suggestive of devotion to the Greek cause.[85] The gesture in the image (figure 3.4) is also reminiscent of the 'hand in waistcoat' posture of eighteenth century portraiture that was based on a classical statuary model signifying orators and men of worth.[86] Friedel's representation upholds the earlier Byronic iconography of lively curls

[82] Friedel's portraits won critical acclaim regardless of their derivative nature. In 1830 *The British Magazine: A monthly journal of literature, science and art* gave them a glowing review in the Fine Arts section, while also acknowledging the influence of previous artistic depictions of Byron (Editor's notebook. January-June 1830, vol. 1: 240).

[83] Peach (2000: 41and 52). For example, three of the series Friedel's lithographs of Byron is clothed in the same garb as in Phillip's portrait of 1813. The last plate in the series titled *Lord Byron, The advocate and supporter of the Greek nation* is a close adaptation of Westall's portrait of 1813, *George Gordon Byron, 6th Baron Byron* that has Byron facing to the right instead of the left (figure 3.2 and Friedel 1824-30: plate 27). In plate 27 Byron is seated on rock-face, chin in hand, looking across choppy water to the sun-illuminated mainland. Byron is clothed in a similar fashion to that in the Westall painting with the addition of a bright blue, rather than a dark cloak.

[84] Friedel (1824-30: plates 23 b and 250. Plate 23 a is a black and white version of the colour plate 25. (Business affairs: Italian and Greek bills. 25 December 1823).

[85] Trelawny referred to giving Byron a gift of a green braided military jacket *en route* to Cephalonia. He claims that Byron arrived on the mainland dressed in it and that he wore it continuously (Buxton Forman [Ed.] 1910: 258).

[86] The pose was a made a trademark of Napoleon by Jacques-Louis David in 1812 (Meyer, A. 1995: 45-49 and 61-62). The detail of the inclusion of Byron's signature 'N. B^{n}.' which Byron is said to have adopted

and rosy complexion, features that here project an element of vitality. The addition of a cloak can be deemed a Romanticist stroke; the cloak having become a trademark of Byron the poet.[87] To a viewer aware of this journey's outcome, Friedel's image of Byron waiting to cross the Ionian Sea to mainland revolutionary Greece, becomes a depiction of the 'force of destiny' and accords with the popular perception of him as a solitary genius and turbulent personality who gave himself over fully to a liberal cause.

Friedel's representation of a reflective Byron standing across the gulf from Mesologgi also feeds into abiding speculation as to Byron's motivation in becoming involved in the Greek War of Independence (figure 3.4). Artistic representations of Byron and Mesologgi have not sought to capture the difficult Greek political realities he faced in deciding when, and where, to land in revolutionary Greece, or the circumstances awaiting him upon arrival in Mesologgi. Doris Langley Moore coined the term 'the siege of Byron' to describe his inundation by Greek military, civil and religious emissaries eliciting his support and resources in Cephalonia.[88] The London Greek Committee had expected Byron to proceed to the mainland and administer funds as they became available. But five months elapsed between Byron's arrival on British-governed Cephalonia in August 1823 and his eventual passage across to Mesologgi. Given his solicitude for his own image, it might reasonably be supposed he was waiting for more auspicious circumstances for his grand entrance into revolutionary Greece. A letter dated 28 May 1823 from Byron to Charles F. Barry in Genoa, indicates that despite the uncertainty of his role in Greece he was not wavering in his commitment and was willing to invest his own funds to the cause, in full knowledge other sources of finance were not secure.[89]

When Byron departed for Mesologgi at the end of December he still did not have a clearly defined role, despite asking the London Greek Committee for clarification since leaving Genoa for Cephalonia in July 1823.[90] Byron's eventual decision to proceed to

after the death of his mother-in-law, Judith Noel, the Hon. Lady Milbanke, because it mirrored the initials of Napoleon Bonaparte in the title of this lithograph by Friedel suggests a deliberate reference to Byron's adoration of Napoleon. On Byron's Napoleonism see McCarthy (2002: vii-x).

[87] Langley Moore (1974: 1).

[88] Langley Moore (1974: 389).

[89] Steffan (c. 1971: 60).

[90] See Moore (1830, vol. 2: 567) for a letter dated 7 July 1823 from Byron to Bowring, the Secretary of the Committee, where he stated, 'It would have given me pleasure to have had some more *defined* instructions before I went, but these, of course, rest at the option of the Committee'. There can be no

Mesologgi at this time was influenced by his contact with leaders among the insurgents, which at this point was more instructive to him than the London Greek Committee. Although his preference was to not become affiliated with any faction, he put himself at Mavrokordatos' disposal, but only once he was acting in an official capacity. Minta has concluded Byron did so because he agreed with Mavrokordatos that unity among the insurgents could be achieved via the raising of an English loan.[91] Similarly Yiorgos Theodorides' summation of the key political role Mavrokordatos had in mind for Byron, was for him to assist in obtaining the trust and support of the Greeks for the formation of strong central government.[92] A postscript to a letter from Mavrokordatos dated 2/14 December 1823 reassured Byron that he had assessed the state of Greek affairs correctly, pledged his support, and also pointed out that the moment to secure the fate of Greece had arrived.[93] The letter also appears designed to dispel any concerns about dissent amongst the Captains, by stating that successes would dissipate jealousies and old enmities. On 5/17 December 1823 Mavrokordatos maintained the pressure to cross over to Mesologgi, with another letter declaring he could not think of anything more beneficial than Byron's presence there.[94] Written a few days apart, without waiting for a response from Byron in between, these letters indicate the sense of desperation on Mavrokordatos' part.[95] This urgency reaches an undisciplined crescendo in a letter from him dated 21 December 1823/2 January 1824 to Byron in which he declared that the voyage across to Mesologgi on small boats is not dangerous, presumably in direct response to concerns Byron had expressed to the Provisional Government in October .[96]

doubt that the lack of instruction from the London Greek Committee perplexed Byron. In a journal entry dated 28 September 1823, Byron expressed his alarm at the fact that Blaquière had departed for England after completing his fact-finding assignment for the London Greek Committee without briefing him (Marchand [Ed.] 1973-82, vol. 11: 29). This entry also reveals that Metaxas, the Governor of Mesologgi had requested Byron's presence in Mesologgi, but in a letter to Hobhouse, Byron stated he could hardly go to Mesologgi without firm information from the Provisional government in Tripolitsa (Marchand [Ed.] 1973-82 vol. 11: 32). In a private letter not connected to the Greek London Committee, Hobhouse reassured Byron he was correct to wait for orders and an invitation from the Provisional Government (Graham 1984: 339).

[91] Minta (2006: 137).

[92] Theodorides (1998: 349).

[93] Mavrokordatos encouraged the moment with the words '…oui My Lord, le moment actuel doit décider du sort de la Grèce' (Protopsaltes [Ed.] 1963-86 vol. 5, fascicle 3: 641).

[94] Greek Committee (London) (1823-24: K6 J).

[95] The Senate wrote to Byron from Kranidi on the 22 December 1823 outlining the military, as well the financial state of affairs in Greece and also paid homage to Byron for his anticipated contribution to the 'sacred' struggle (The Senate. 22 December 1823).

[96] Letter of Mavrokordatos to Lord Byron (21 December 1823/2 January 1824).

In the consideration of when and where to land on mainland Greece, Byron sought to optimize his chances of a successful contribution to the Greek War of Independence. Byron's sense of the timeliness in his presence is demonstrated in a letter to Mavrokordatos on 2 December 1823 in which he introduced Colonel Stanhope, who preceded him to Mesologgi, as an envoy of the London Greek Committee.[97] Byron outlined the three possibilities for Greece as he saw them; to obtain liberty, to become dependent on the sovereigns of Europe or to remain under Turkish rule. His reference in the letter to civil war demonstrates an understanding of the volatility of internal Greek politics and possibly a recognition that a better moment for crossing over was not likely to arise because of this flux. On 27 December, just one day before sailing for Mesologgi, Byron wrote a letter measured in tone, stating as much to Thomas Moore.[98] He told of his being able to proceed to Mesologgi with a '*safe conscience*' because of Mavrokordatos' official appointment there.[99] He commented that he held enough money to pay his guard and believed he wielded sufficient influence over the Souliote insurgents to keep them in 'harmony' with some of the other groups. On the same day, he wrote to Kinnaird, asking him 'to stretch my credit and anticipate my means to their fullest extent'.[100] He displayed emotional reserves and gusto regarding the possibilities of both Greece and himself to Kinnaird, with the statement 'believe neither the *Good* nor the *evil* you may hear of Greece as yet – none of them have yet hit on the right place of the cause…'.[101] Although Friedel utilized preceding imagery referring to Byron's life as a poet and an aristocrat, he was able to transform him into a committed Philhellene, through the introduction of military references in the form of a helmet and sword and the creation of a reflective Byron against the background of Mesologgi (figure 3.4).

Joseph-Denis Odevaere: a hero's death in Mesologgi

Artistic narratives of Byron at Mesologgi, as the example of Friedel's lithographs demonstrate, have airbrushed the historical actuality of the difficulties Byron experienced on mainland Greece. The iconography of Byron at Mesologgi that emerged, conveys ennoblement for both the Greek cause of liberty and the man as an active Philhellene.

[97] Protopsaltes (Ed.) (1963-86, vol. 5, fascicle 3: 640).
[98] Moore (Ed.) (1830, vol. 2: 479-80).
[99] In a letter to Stanhope *en route* to Mesologgi Byron asked that his respects be conveyed to Mavrokordatos and to inform him that he was at his disposal (Marchand [Ed.] 1973-82, vol. 11: 87).
[100] Marchand (Ed.) (1973-82, vol. 11: 86).
[101] Marchand (1994: 82).

Hobhouse wrote to Byron on 12 February 1824, 'After what you have done for Missolonghi you must be looked upon as a deliverer'.[102] Byron had himself expressed satisfaction his financial aid had been essential in keeping the war effort going in Mesologgi.[103]The transformation of Byron into a hero of the Greek cause, commenced immediately upon his death and this image has not wavered since. In 1854 the Italian writer Benedetto Vollo in a poem about Greece referred to Byron as a warrior, saint and poet.[104] When the Belgian artist Joseph-Denis Odevaere painted *Byron on his Death-bed* c.1826 he adopted the almost identical sensuous facial features, striking brow and hair-line, to those of Westall's *George Gordon Byron, 6th Baron Byron*, 1813 (figures 3.6 and 3.2). Greer has argued that the classical statue *The Belvedere Apollo* was an inspiration for the Westall portrait.[105] Kenyon-Jones has recognized the association between Byron's profile and the statue of the God Apollo, but also credits Johann Casper Lavater's physiognomical system that circulated widely from the 1770s onwards, as having influenced Neoclassical aesthetics relating to the ideal in art.[106] Odevaere transformed Byron into a beautiful, god-like warrior on his death bed which also honoured Mesologgi as a place of liberal political ideals.

The painting *Byron on his Death-bed* c.1826 is firmly grounded in the rhetoric of French revolutionary politics, particularly that of the martyr (figure 3.6). The influence of his teacher Jacques-Louise David, is evident in the Neoclassical structure of the composition that strongly references David's *Andromache Mourning Hector*, 1783 (appendix E figure E-3.6). David communicates the nobility in Hector's death in combat through a naked body partially covered by sheet and wearing a laurel crown. Odevaere laid Byron out in a similar dead warrior mode, but covered his right foot with a sheet, which concealed his congenital condition.[107] This has the effect of eradicating a physical imperfection from an otherwise classically presented, beautiful body and symbolizing the regeneration of Byron's body in death.

[102] Graham (1984: 343).
[103] Marchand (Ed.) (1973-82, vol. 11: 144).
[104] Vollo (1854: 207)
[105] Greer in Kenyon-Jones (2008: 33). *The Belvedere Apollo*, 224 cm, marble, Rome, Vatican Museum, inv. no. 1015.
[106] Kenyon-Jones (2008: 20).
[107] Stewart (1997) for nudity in Greek sculpture as an artistic ideal and De Baecque (1997: 184) for a discussion of David's refinement of the dead hero figure.

The veneration of Byron as a dead hero by Odevaere utilizes the trope of light to the effect of an apotheosis. The tall lamp at the foot of the bed casts a golden hue over a body in superb physical shape, suggesting unspent vitality and a mis-timed death. A lyre on the floor beside the bed, seemingly just fallen from Byron's extended hand, provides a symbolic reference to his identity as a poet. Woven into the fabric panel of the wooden bed are the title of Byron's poems, they commence with *Ode to Napoleon, Bride of Abydos* and *Childe Harold*. The sword in its scabbard over the bed-head forms a reference to Byron as a soldier and facilitates the parallel with Hector, as this detail also exists in David's presentation of this dead hero.[108] The juxtaposition of the lyre with broken strings, suggesting the abandonment of the artistic life, and the sword resting close by, defines for Byron a heroic path from writer to soldier.

While *Byron on his Death-bed* was executed in, or around 1826, it is uncertain whether Odevaere painted this monumental work before, or after, the fall of Mesologgi. Although the town was certainly well known by 1824, the association with Byron was indelible after his death there on 19 April of that year from an infection after copious blood-letting undertaken by the doctors in attendance.[109] In a letter to Hobhouse on the 31 March 1824, Byron himself refers to Mesologgi as 'this now celebrated city'.[110] It is quite likely that the fall of the town, prompted Odevaere to use Byron as a subject to deliberate on the loss of both.[111]

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[108] Mavrokordatos had appointed Byron as Commander-General of the armed forces in Aetolia (Protopsaltes [Ed.] 1963-86, vol. 5, fascicle 4: 117-18 and 190). The position was not purely ceremonial and Byron acted in this military role, examples of this include, placing a Prussian officer under arrest after an outbreak of unruliness in the barracks; and requesting that Andreas Londos in Vostitsa send twelve of his men to Mesologgi for training under the English artificiers who had arrived in Mesologgi (Moore [Ed.] 1830, vol. 2: 759) and Londos Family (Eds.) (1914-16, vol. 2: 434).

[109] MacCarthy (2002: 518). An inventory of Byron's possessions at the time of his death shows that he travelled with eight volumes of Dr. John Reid's book *Essays on Hypochondriasis and Other Nervous Affections* (The inventory and valuation of sundry effects [sic] the property of the late Right Honorable Lord Byron, taken August 5th 1824. Unpublished manuscript (1824: 2) and (Reid 1821). Reid's volume included an essay on bleeding as a treatment for various ailments that cautioned against its use (Reid 1821: 321-36). According to Count Gamba (1825: 249) when Byron's physicians proposed the treatment he asked 'Have you no other remedy than bleeding? — there are many more die of the lancet than the lance'. This response appears to be paraphrasing of Reid's words 'Less slaughter, I am convinced, has been effected by the sword, than by the lancet, — that minute instrument of mighty mischief!' (Reid 1821: 329). In any case one can imagine Byron's unease as his condition worsened and the doctors persevered with bleeding as a treatment.

[110] Marchand (Ed.) (1973-82, vol. 11: 149).

[111] Odevaere also painted the subject of the fall of Mesologgi in a separate work in 1826 see appendix E figure E-6.4 *De laatste verdedigers van Missolonghi, 22 April 1826: episode uit de Griekse vrijheidsooring,* 1826.

Athanassoglou-Kallmyer has argued that it is as a martyr for Greek liberty that Byron was most often depicted in art over the years 1826-27.[112] Apart from referencing David's *Andromache Mourning Hector,* Odevaere referenced in equal measure the etching *Honneurs rendus à la mémoire de le Pelletier: jeudy 24 janvier 1793, le corps du martyr de la liberté,* 1793 (appendix E figure E-3.7). This image depicts the elaborate funeral of Louis-Michel le Pelletier, who was murdered by a bodyguard of Louis XVI because he had voted for the execution of the King at the National Convention. After his death, Pelletier was elevated to the status of Republican martyr and model patriotic citizen in French culture.[113] Pelletier's funeral bier is inscribed with the words 'I am satisfied because I poured my blood for the homeland'.[114] The dead Byron is presented in an almost identical fashion in Odevaere's painting to that of Pelletier in the engraving of 1793. The bodies of both heroes are partially enveloped in a sheet, their left arm dramatically dropping to their side and with a sword hanging off the head of the death-bed and funeral bier in each respective image.

Odevaere's idealized representation of Byron's dead body is the embodiment of the notions, hope and tragedy, that also came to define the city of Mesologgi. A statue at the head of Byron's bed, cropped from the waist up by the frame of the painting, is inscribed with the word 'liberty' in Greek and forms the key concept of the work (figure 3.6). The word appears like a headstone above Byron and aligns with the buildings in the classical Arcadian landscape in the background. Beaton connected these same elements in his political analysis of the significance of Byron's death in revolutionary Greece.[115] Roderick Beaton concluded that Byron died for the idea of a liberated Greece, with his figure becoming the epitome of the revival of ancient civilization in the modern world.[116] The Arcadian landscape in the painting above Byron acts like a trompe-l'œil that takes the viewer outside the death chamber, and could be an idealized Mesologgi. Another interpretation is that it is not a trompe-l'œil, and that Odevaere painted a window opening up to the landscape outside. The flat expanse of water in the foreground and the mountains

[112] Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1989: 87).
[113] Gillespie (2004: 161-62).
[114] 'Je suis satisfait puisque je verse mon sang pour la patrie'.
[115] Beaton (24-27 November 2010).
[116] Beaton (24-27 November 2010: 16).

behind, could be stylized visions of the topographical features for which the town is known best.[117] In either case Odevaere erected Mesologgi as a classical stage for Byron's death. [118]

Theodoros Vryzakis: Byron as the Messiah

Theodoros Vryzakis' painting *The reception of Lord Byron at Mesologgi,* 1861 represents Byron's arrival in the town on 5 January 1824 and depicts him as a religious figure amongst the insurgents (figure 3.7). Vryzakis' own biography was strongly linked to the insurrection as he was made an orphan at a young age after his father was killed during the War.[119] In 1844 he commenced art school in Munich under the sponsorship of the Bavarian State and Greek diaspora.[120] He would execute this painting at a time of immense political turmoil in Greece. In 1861 hostility between King Otto and his Greek subjects over issues related to limited constitutional rule had erupted and culminated with the dismissal of the King in 1862.[121] Considered in this political context, Vryzakis' pictorial narrative creates an idyllic moment of Greek nationalism because it depicts the town of Mesologgi united behind the figure of Byron during the Greek War of Independence.[122] This accords with Gourgouris' perception that Philhellenism contributed to Greek nationalist ideology through the internalization of the Greek War of Independence in the intellectual construction of Modern Greece.[123] In addition with the characterization of Byron as a figurehead of western Philhellene support in Greek culture by the historian Loukia Droulia.[124] The involvement of Vryzakis' in this process also brings nation and imagination together to represent Byron at Mesologgi as a strong legacy to the creation of Modern Greece.

[117] On the hundredth anniversary of Byron's death Drinkwater (1924) wrote a poem that evoked a vision of ancient Greece rising out of Mesologgi.
[118] Hess (2005: 106-7) considers Mesologgi came to function as a synecdoche of tragedy that collected classical, Romantic, political, religious, antiquarian and utopian visions of Greece through the figure of Byron.
[119] Chrestou (1981: 28-30), Komine-Dialetis (Ed.) (1997, vol. 1: 220-21), Tsoulios & Hadjis (1970, vol. 1: 1970: 15) and Spetsieri Beschi (2006).
[120] Komine-Dialetis (Ed.) (1997, vol. 1: 220).
[121] Beaton (2019: 140-41).
[122] Clogg (1988: 81-82).
[123] Gourgouris (1996: 143).
[124] Droulia (2007: 33).

When Stanhope wrote to Bowring on 28 December 1823, two weeks after his own landing in Mesologgi, he reported on conditions in Mesologgi and the huge anticipation surrounding Byron's imminent arrival:

> Missolonghi is placed in a state of difficulty. The neighbourhood has been ruined by two Turkish campaigns. Provisions are, consequently, very dear. The town is filled with the Primates, Capitani, and their followers, who have come here to attend the Congress assembled to consider the affairs of Western Greece. All are looking forward to Lord Byron's arrival as they would to the coming of a Messiah. […] Meanwhile the Greek soldiers and fleet murmur for pay. Mavrocordato tells them that he will pay them on receiving Lord Byron's loan. The loan comes not to hand, and I am called upon to give security for £100 borrowed from the German Committee.[125]

The moral support expressed by the presence of foreign Philhellenes in Mesologgi was mentioned in a letter in Greek dated 8/20 December 1823 from the inhabitants of the town to the London Greek Committee.[126] This acknowledged the presence of Stanhope, and reveals the town was eagerly waiting for the resplendent Lord Byron to arrive and join their cause, as the government had requested. Byron, by this time, had already made a considerable contribution to the War effort and the enthusiastic tone of the letter indicates hope held out to the Committee for continuing sponsorship.[127] Details of the failed campaign in the area led by Skodra Pasha were also relayed and added optimism to the letter. This letter illustrates an eagerness among insurgents in Mesologgi to engage Philhellene support, but also how news of military developments in Greece spread from the town, to the West, through Philhellene committees and their agents. The political

[125]Greek Committee (London) (1823-24: K7 H1 p. 2). See also (Stanhope 1824: 59-62).
[126]Greek Committee (London) (1823-24: K6 M p. 1-2).
[127] Hobhouse listed Byron's material contribution to Bowring in a letter dated 30 November 1823. This included arming of 40 troops, medicines and providing relief to the wounded and refugees in the Ionian Islands (Greek Committee [London] 1823-4: K4 G3, page 1). Byron continued funding the Souliote troops throughout his stay in Mesologgi. See (Manuscript notes written at Missolonghi by Byron, 1824: page 3. for an undated tally of expenses including payment for Souliotes that is bundled with a letter written by Byron to the *Greek Chronicle* in Mesologgi on 23 March 1824. A letter from Yiorgos Koundouriotis in Kranidi to his brother Lazaros in Hydra dated 11 January 1824 stated that Byron had paid for the Spetsiote fleet to proceed to Mesologgi (Lignos [Ed.] 1920-27, vol. 2: 25). Beaton (2013: 199) has concluded that the loan Byron provided for the launch was his 'single, but not inconsiderable, contribution to the *military* course of the Revolution'.

significance of this situation is captured in Vryzakis' representation of the reception to Byron's arrival in Mesologgi.

Vryzakis' pictorial narrative is consistent with historical accounts of Byron's arrival in Mesologgi and the symbolic value placed on his presence in Greece during the revolution. The painting depicts the lagoon upon which the town is situated, with naval activity and the crag of Varasova in the background. The only sign of destruction in the image is a single broken minaret amid the modest buildings of the town, that forms a corollary to the Philhellene trope of eradicating the Ottoman discussed in chapter two of this thesis. Count Pietro Gamba, who accompanied him to Mesologgi, described the event in the following manner:

> Lord Byron's arrival was welcomed with salvos of artillery, firing of muskets, and wild music. Crowds of soldiery, and citizens of every rank, sex, and age, were assembled on the shore to testify their delight. Hope and content were pictured in every countenance.[128]

A letter to Byron in Mesologgi from the Executive of the Provisional Government in Kranidi dated 17 January 1824 enunciated the hope that good reports by Byron in Mesologgi would facilitate the loan requested by the Greek representatives in London.[129] In a letter from Pisa to Mavrokordatos in Mesologgi dated 16/28 February 1824, Metropolitan Ignatios cautioned him about the effective management of the English loan, once it had been secured.[130] He recommended Byron for this task; which is evidence that Ignatios saw him as a suitable figurehead for the cause both within and outside Greece, and hoped that with toil and patience, Byron would overcome difficulties to become the 'saviour of Greece'.[131] The question to be asked is what could Ignatios, a man of the cloth, have been hoping for when he anointed Byron a saviour? He may have been a religious leader, at this time, however, he was acting as a political strategist and the reference to Byron as a saviour appears to have also been a way of pressuring Mavrokordatos to

[128] Gamba (1825: 84).
[129] The Executive of the Provisional Administration at Kranidi to Lord Byron at Mesolongi (17 January 1824). Unpublished typescript transcripts of Greek Letters by Michael Ward. John Murray Archive, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, MS 43550, no. 35.
[130] Protopsaltes (Ed.) (1959-61, vol. 4, fascicle 2: 186-88).
[131] Protopsaltes (Ed.) (1959-61, vol. 4, fascicle 2: 188).

remain focused on the potential contribution of Byron to the cause. Ignatios' anxiety regarding the turbulent political and administrative situation within Greece and his perception that Byron could smooth waters, is further visible in a letter he wrote on 1/13 March 1824 to Louriottis in London, who was there garnering support and finances.[132] Ignatios expressed hope that the example of Mavrokordatos' work with Byron in organizing Western Greece would be adopted throughout Greece.

Byron's perceptions upon arrival regarding his position in Greece's affairs, the sober tone of his letter to the London Greek Committee dated 28 January 1824, leaves no doubt that he felt somewhat overwhelmed by the enormity of the task at hand given the poor resources available.[133] This is seen in his comment in the letter that financially no one individual could possibly supply what was required.[134] Byron's short remark that 'we were very well received' shows that he was hardly revelling in the attention he gained upon arrival in Mesologgi.[135] Considered retrospectively, deciding where to land in Greece probably seemed simple to Byron, once confronted with the state of affairs on the mainland, including those of the London Greek Committee. Nearly a month after arriving in Mesologgi Byron expressed his annoyance with talk, probably by Stanhope, on proposed social and legal reforms, as well as the fact that William Parry had not yet arrived yet to commence organising the artillery.[136] He stated in no uncertain terms in this letter that the proposed Lepanto mission would provide a release from the exasperation he felt at hearing 'nothing but talk'.[137]

Vryzakis conveyed Byron as a symbol of Philhellenism through the adaptation of existing Byronic iconography, just as Friedel had done before him. Vryzakis clearly referenced Thomas Phillips' *Portrait of a Nobleman* with his treatment of Byron's brow, nose, lips with their distinctive plumpness in the left corner crease and dimpled chin, all

[132] Protopsaltes (Ed.) (1959-61, vol. 4, fascicle 2: 189). In letter to Byron on the same day Ignatios praised him for being declared as an enemy of the Porte by the Sultan. He also invoked the ancient gods, rather than Christ, claiming that Apollo and the muses were protecting Byron in his sacrifices in order to restore the temples of Greece. Meanwhile he did not omit to mention his own prayers for Byron's success (Metropolitan Ignatios 1/13 March 1824).
[133] Greek Committee (London) (1823-24: K7 E3). For the published text of this letter see Marchand (Ed.) (1973-82, vol. 11: 101-3).
[134] Greek Committee (London) (1823-24: K7 E3, p. 1).
[135] Greek Committee (London) (1823-24: K7 E3, p. 2).
[136] Greek Committee (London) (1823-24: K7 E3, p. 3).
[137] Greek Committee (London) (1823-24: K7 E3, p. 30).

making this apparent (figure 3.5). However, he transformed the usual loosely and flowing upturned collar of Byronic iconography with physiognomic effect. The more compact and neatly down-turned collar in his portrayal of Byron speaks of diligence, rather than of nonchalance. A further variation to established iconography is the transformation of the dark cloak that was often included in early portraits into a white, red-trimmed and crimson-lined himation worn by Byron draped over his military uniform.[138]

The air of leadership and authority denoted by Byron's clothing in Vryzakis' painting is reinforced through a strong, offering stance with his out-turned, open arms and widely planted feet. Vryzakis did not originate this pose; it was created by the French artist Tony Johannot in an illustration for the fourth line of stanza 30 of Lamartine's poem *Le dernier chant du Pèlerinage d'Harold* (figure 3.8).[139] Lamartine's poem has been interpreted as the integration of Byron and Childe Harold into a single persona that created a fictional account of the Byron's final months.[140] Johannot used Phillips' 1813 *Portrait of a Nobleman* (figure 3.5) as a model for the physiognomy of Childe Harold and chose to depict him in an open-armed stance for his illustration of the line *De chefs et de soldats Harold environné* of Lamartine's poem. Johannot's engraving is exceptional for its depiction of Byron immersed in a military setting. In this scene, Childe Harold holds a yatagan in his left hand and stands as a bondsman in Epirus surrounded by a tightly

[138] A himation was outer garment worn by the ancient Greeks over the left shoulder and under the right.

[139] Lamartine first published the poem in 1825, but Johannot's image did not accompany the text at this time. I believe that the image first appeared in the 1850 edition of Lamartine's *Oeuvres complètes* (1850, vol. 1: 436-37) and the image seen here in figure 3.8 came from the page between pages 416 and 417 of Lamartine's 1855 edition of *Premières et nouvelles méditations poétiques*. Byron had captured Lamartine's interest and he wrote an esoteric poem titled *L'Homme à Lord Byron* (De Lamartine 1820: 4-14). In a letter from Italy to Francis Hodgson dated 12 May 1821 Byron referred to the many translations of his own work into French, German and Italian and that Thomas Moore had written to him from Paris stating that 'the French had caught the contagion of Byronism to the highest pitch' (Marchand [Ed.] 1973-1982, vol. 8:114). See Estève (1909 and 1909: 117-19) for an extensive analysis of the influence of Byron on French literary Romanticism from the period between 1815-1850. On the surge in interest in Byron's literary works and French literary activity prompted by his presence in Mesologgi see Estève (1909: 117-19). Soubigou (June 2008: 46) has proposed that demand in France for engravings of Byron as the 'warrior poet' increased after the poet's death. Killick (Winter 2013: 94) has concluded that Byron became a Romantic political figurehead among French artists who personified a modern conception of post-Waterloo European history. It can be surmised that Byronism fuelled Lamartine's interest in the Greek cause, as he wrote a strongly Philhellenic poem in 1826, two years after Byron's death and the same the year that Mesologgi fell, titled *Invocation pour les grecs* (De Lamartine 1850, vol. 2: 206-9).

[140] Wilkes (2004: 25) and Kouzoupis (1967: 54-59). The year Mesologgi fell an anonymous Philhellene made a connection between Byron, the poet's literary figure Childe-Harold and the War of Independence in the form of a poetic address to the author that openly promoted the financial support of the insurgency on the title page (Un Philhellène 1826).

gathered group of Greek chieftains and soldiers, who are listening intently to him. Childe Harold's right hand is motioning towards the stockpile of military equipment before him. In the background a horde is charging on horseback and a flag positioned over this consolidates the scene.

Vryzakis' use of the figure from Johannot's engraving, derived from a work of literary fiction based on the Byron-Childe Harold nexus, is a measure of the extent to which Romanticist depictions of Byron, infiltrated Greek nationalist representations of his participation in the Greek War of Independence. Vryzakis replaced the yatagan that Childe Harold holds in Johannot's image with a stylized military cap in Byron's, which conveys the idea of his being in service to the Greek cause. The figure of Byron is bathed in light, and the distance between him and surrounding figures appears to contain a messianic aura. The predominance of white in his attire marks Byron as being a significant figure of the gathering and has religious overtones due to its association with light.[141]

The downturned collar that Vryzakis' painting shares with Johannot's illustration indicates that Vryzakis modelled his figure of Byron directly on Johannot's image of *Childe Harold*, without referencing Phillips' *Portrait of a Nobleman*. Another possibility is that Vryzakis' image is a composite of Johannot's and Phillips' representations. The thicker jowl of Johannot's work differentiates it from Phillips' and Vryzakis' images and suggests that Vryzakis may have used Phillips' representation as a reference for Byron's physiognomy and Johannot's for the stance. Regardless of this detail, what is evident is the influence of Byronism on the visualisation of nineteenth century Greek nationalism and the influence of Childe Harold on Vryzakis' depiction of revolutionary Mesologgi.

The esprit de corps among the insurgents is the main political idea contained in *The reception of Lord Byron at Mesologgi* and is expressed by Vryzakis through the

[141] In reality Byron's journey to Mesologgi had been an arduous one. In a letter to Mr. Muir from Dragomestri dated 2 January 1824 while waiting for the Greek fleet to escort him to Mesologgi, Byron wrote that the he had slept on deck without changing his clothes for five days, so even after a change of outfit it is unlikely that he landed looking as pristine as Vryzakis depicted (Moore [Ed.] 1830, vol. 2: 707).

unified response of the population to Byron's arrival on mainland Greece.[142] If the figure Vryzakis painted standing behind Byron is Stanhope, then this arrangement would reinforce Byron's position as first amongst Philhellenes in Mesologgi. Mavrokordatos stands between two armed leaders, which conveys unity between the administration and military bodies of the insurgency. Bishop Iosif Rogon looks to the sky as he blesses the moment, while the crowd comprising civilians and soldiers cheers animatedly, some holding revolutionary flags and others, branches of laurel. Vryzakis created a spirited reception scene that promoted patriotism and religion as a hallmark of the Greek nation. This is expressed symbolically in the highly decorated figures of the Bishop and the chieftain standing beside him. The silver thread in the garments of both creates a strong visual connection between them and emphasizes the association between Orthodoxy and patriotism in Greek identity. Reverence is also paid to Byron through the religious motif of a woman holding votive candles on the left, and a man, further left, bowing deeply towards him with clasped hands.

Vryzakis gave strength to Byron's stance by widely planting his feet, a feature not present in the Johannot's depiction of Childe Harold. This wide stance, combined with Byron's extended, white-gloved hands, appears to be spreading the aura that exists around him. The idea of his playing a role in the regeneration of Greece in the painting is subtle, yet extremely potent. The Deacon standing on the left of the Bishop amid a cloud of incense, holds an icon representing the resurrection of Christ (see figure 3.9 a). The Icon of the Resurrection is an archetypal image of victory in the Orthodox faith because it represents triumph over death. The golden-haired girl standing before the Icon reinforces the idea of Byron as the Saviour of the Greek insurrection. As she draws the attention of the person beside her to Byron, her raised pointed finger is directly in front of the Icon and below the figure of the resurrected and hovering Christ. The idea of Byron as the Saviour of Greece is ultimately delivered to the viewer through the crimson-coloured lining of Byron's himation. It is the same colour as the shroud unravelling around Christ as he soars up to heaven and into divinity (see figure 3.9 b). Vryzakis was an artist at the forefront of

[142] It was reported in the *Greek Chronicle* newspaper that Mavrokordatos at a meeting in Mesologgi on 23 December 1824, the day prior to Byron's landing urged the population 'Συναγροικηθήτε', literally, 'weld together'. Apart from emphasizing that unity was required for the success of the insurgency, he stressed that external support was necessary as the nation lacked material resources of its own. He stressed that no one would lend money when it was not clear to whom the money would go, and who would be paying it back (Meyer 1958: no. 4, 12 January 1824: 1-3).

Greek national consciousness in the nineteenth-century and I argue that he portrayed Byron arriving in Mesologgi in this devoted manner to promote the Greek nation, being a collective with shared religious consciousness. The detail that gives substance to this argument is that while Vryzakis closely referenced Johannot's *Childe Harold* he transformed the mantle worn by the figure of Byron in that engraving into a himation, a garment that signifies preparation for divine life in icons of the Eastern Orthodox Church (figures 3.8, 3.9 a and 3.9 b).

Ludovico Lipparini: Byron and Philhellene art in Greek material culture

The initial historical context of the painting *The oath being taken by Lord Byron at Missolonghi*, c.1850 by Ludovico Lipparini was Italian bourgeoning nationalism, but since then the painting has become a reference point for political emergence of the modern Greek nation-state in Greek culture (figure 3.10).[143] Thomas Phillips', *George Gordon Noel Byron, 6th Baron (1788-1824) poet* 1814 provided Lipparini with the prototype for the figure of Byron (figure 3.3). The painting is a highly stylized imaginary scene where Byron, sword in hand, and festooned as a Greek patriot, is taking an oath to liberty on the tomb of the hero Markos Botsaris. Lipparini conveyed the idea of the Greek Revolution as a sacred cause through the strong presence of the clergy and religious symbolism.[144] Byron's clothing shares the blue and white colours of the Cross-emblazoned Greek flag above him, and to which he is pointing. The initial harmony

[143] Also see Schmidt, A. (2010) for the increase in esteem afforded to Byron in Italy due to his involvement in the Greek cause. This painting is a miniature of a larger version by Lipparini *Lord Byron giura sul sepolcro di Markos Botsaris,* 1850. 250 x 350 cm con cornice, olio su tela. Treviso, Museo Civico, inv. no. P490. This scene is among the most romanticized of the Greek War of Independence and has passed into popular tradition through print culture, those of which carry text in Greek and therefore address a Greek viewers include:
Loverdos and Gryspos pub. *Ο όρκος του Λόρδου Βύρωνος επι του τάφου του Μάρκου Βότσαρη εν Μεσολογγίω 7 Απριλίου 1824,* see appendix E figure E-3.8, whose title purports that the event took place on 7 April 1824; Cappello lith., Marcovich dis., Venezia Lit. Kirchnayer, *Ο όρκος του Λόρδου Βύρωνα επί του τάφου του Μάρκου Μπότσαρη εν Μεσολοογγίω,* c. 1850-56. 68.5 x 95 cm, coloured lithograph. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 26318, currently on loan to Hellenic Museum, Melbourne;
Cappello lith. *Ο όρκος του Λόρδου Βύρωνα επί του τάφου του Μάρκου Μπότσαρη εν Μεσολοογγίω,* Venice, c. 1850-56. 84 x 66 cm, black and white lithograph, Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 26314;
Ant. Delola, des. Buzeghel lith. *Ο όρκος του Λόρδου Βύρωνα στον τάφο του Μάρκου Μπότσαρη στο Μεσολόγγι*, 65 x 80 cm, coloured lithograph. Athens. National Historical Museum, inv. no. 6440;
Sotirios Chrestides des. Staggel lith. *Το Ηρώον της Ελληνικής Επαναστάσεως, Ο όρκος του Λόρδου Βύρωνα στον τάφο του Μάρκου Μπότσαρη,* coloured lithograph in Dourvaris (1993: 55 and 199).

[144] The conglomeration of religious banners on the left behind the Archbishop and his gestures in Vryzakis' *The reception of Lord Byron at Mesologgi*, 1861 (figure 3.7) strongly resembles the arrangement of these in Lipparini's composition. As the Lipparini painting predates Vryzakis', it can reasonably be assumed that Vryzakis modelled his depiction of the clergy on Lipparini's painting.

created through the use of blue hues and red in the headgear among the gathered and clothing of the chieftain standing on the left, drops away when the figures are studied more closely. Lipparini's composition is not the joyous scene that Vryzakis created of Byron in Mesologgi in *The reception of Lord Byron at Mesologgi*, 1861 (figure 3.7) but one of collective lament for the dead Botsaris. The majority of people around the tomb are looking either downcast, mournful or are making motions of supplication; but since the painting was created after the emergence of the Greek state, Byron's jubilant posture is suggestive of Botsaris' tomb at Mesologgi being an altar to liberal politics. An incongruity in the painting that reinforces this interpretation is that the priest behind the Bishop is holding the communion chalice. The presence of the chalice suggests perhaps Lipparini was portraying an ecclesiastical mass; in which case Botsaris' tomb has indeed been transformed into an altar. Lipparini also proliferated the Philhellene narrative of Byron as a Saviour of a renewed Greece, through his elevation above all others in the visual centre of the scene. The wounded kneeling insurgent with his arm in a sling on the left and the one with head bandaged on the extreme right are totally focused on Byron and this conveys anticipation in his presence. Lipparini emphatically connected Modern Greece with classical and western civilization through the figure of the contemplative Philhellene standing in the background on the right, with the soldier in the hoplite style helmet behind him.

The display of Lipparini's painting within a cabinet containing a configuration of artefacts connected to the insurgency at the Benaki Museum in Athens illustrates the role nineteenth century Philhellenism has played in the long-term unifying politics of Greek nationalism.[145] The cabinet, shown here in figure 3.11 is the first item that visitors to the Museum encounter as they enter the gallery space housing objects relating to the Greek War of independence.[146] Byron shares the cabinet space with Dionysios Solomos, Modern Greece's foremost national poet and who remains closely associated with the poetry of national liberation. Byron's pistols and a manuscript score of Solomos' *Hymn to Liberty*, which was adopted in 1865 as Greece's national anthem, are also part of the

[145] See Bennett (2005: 525 and 529-33) for a discussion on museum spaces and their influence on the construction of culture and their historicizing ability.
[146] Third floor, Gallery 33, Benaki Museum, Athens.

display, along with other Byroniana.[147] The display of Lipparini's painting among these items affords Byron prominence in the formation of the Greek State, but also reveals the politics involved in the manipulation of historical narratives in the construction of nation.

Apostolos Koustas: Byron as The Greek National Hero

The adaptation of Byronic iconography by the painter and engraver Apostolos Koustas (1954-) in his paean to the poet, titled simply *Byron*, 1999 demonstrates that his presence in Mesologgi continues to represent Philhellenism (figure 3.12). His veneration of Byron's death in Mesologgi is closely modelled on Richard Westall's 1813 portrait of him and classical Greek grave stelae (figures 3.2 and 3.12). While Koustas utilized Byronic iconography relating to literary genius, he released this iconography from its original 1813 context by removing Byron from the cavern, in which he sat isolated in Westall's portrait, into the domain of a public funerary monument that references individual heroism. Funerary stelae were significant monuments in antiquity that assisted an ongoing relationship between the living with the departed.[148] Koustas' image of Byron shares a motif with Kostis Palamas' poem *Byron* written in 1924 that metaphorically equates the man to a shrine and therefore an object of worship.[149] Palamas, raised in Mesologgi, referred to Byron dying like a Messiah, thereby contributing to Byron's installation as a national hero of Greece.[150]The solemn and introspective qualities of Westall's portrait are magnified by their placement on the funeral stelae, and are suggestive of the warrior types carved on some of these monuments.[151] This reference is assisted by the effective use of black, blue, grey, white and mauve colours and the bold outline that creates the illusion that the figure of Byron is in sculptural relief. The name 'Lord Byron' is inscribed in English below the entablature of the grave stelae, and 'Mesologgi 19-4-1824' appears in Greek at the base. The response in Greek to the written

[147] The hymn was written in 1823, and published in Mesologgi, London and Paris in 1825. It appealed explicitly to Philhellene sentiments in Europe for support of the insurrection (Tiktopoulou 1998) and Mackridge (1989: 61).
[148] Friis Johansen (1951: 165). The tomb was the location where the soul received offerings and worship, and was thought to continue a ghostly existence (D. C. R. 1928:116).
[149] Palamas (1972, vol. 9: 23-25).
[150] Palamas (1972, vol. 9: 25).
[151] Grossman (2001: 101).

English is a neat reference to both Philhellene support for the Greek Revolution and the connection between Byron and Mesologgi.[152]

The lithograph by Koustas provides an example supporting the contention by Mykoniatis that the Romantic dimensions of Byronism influenced later visual portrayals of the Greek War of Independence.[153] As an example of this Mykoniatis cites an aquatint designed by Robert Seymour in William Parry's 1825 publication, *The Last Days of Lord Byron: with his Lordship's Opinions on Various Subjects, particularly on the State and Prospects of Greece*.[154] The plate in question is the aquatint engraving titled *Lord Byron attended by his Souliote Guards*, and depicts Parry's recollection of Byron on his daily horse-ride across the mud flats of the lagoon at Mesologgi (figure 3.13).[155] The viewpoint is from within the fortified walls of the town looking northwards towards the mountain range beyond. Four cannons set within a bastion dominate the foreground. Amongst the cannons are two men; one seated and smoking, and the other standing and pointing to Byron on a white horse accompanied by his entourage as they ride past with the Souliote guard in attendance on foot. The two men at the cannons form a visual trope similar to that of figures in repose, included in idealized landscape scenes of early travellers to Greece that focused on classical architectural ruins.[156] Despite the recognition by Mykoniatis of the idealizing propensity of art relating to the Greek War of Independence, he acknowledged the illustrations in Parry's volume as being amongst the most vivid and convincing with regard to Byron's time in Mesologgi.[157]The authority of the image as historical document is reinforced by the inclusion of geographical features particular to Mesologgi, in this instance the low lying mountains north of the town.[158] However, the well-known difficulties Byron experienced with the Souliotes concerning their pay that

[152] In 2008 the Greek Parliament by decree number 130/2008 inaugurated 19 April, the day Byron died in Mesologgi, as National day of Philhellenism and International Solidarity.
[153] Mykoniatis (1982 b: 189).
[154] Mykoniatis (1982 b: 190). Parry was military artificier and a member of Byron's brigade at Mesologgi (Brewer 208-211). His publication circulated in 1825, and appears to have been part of the burst of publishing activity at the time that related to Byron's presence in Greece (see Gamba 1825 as one example).
[155] Some additional three hand-coloured aquatints representing Byron's life at Mesologgi where included in Parry's volume; one portrayed the poet with his dog, the others portrayed Byron's house and lastly, the poet on his death bed.
[156] See Figure 1.8 for an example by Pomardi and Demetriou (2008: 75).
[157] Mykoniatis (1982 b: 190).
[158] At the time two water channels partially surrounded Mesologgi and stopped either side of the entrance to the town (Sakalis c. 2000: 8).

ultimately caused the abandonment of the Lepanto expedition does not seem to have detracted from the documentary value attached to this image by Mykoniatis.[159] This response is indicative the image has been interpreted as representative of Byron's commitment to the Greek cause.[160]

The solemnity contained in Koustas' lithograph of Byron through the use of funeral stelae, echoes the insurgents' despair at his death and their concern for ongoing Western support for the War. When discussing Philhellenism and the process leading to the first English loan for the Greek War of Independence, Lignades refers to Byron's personal contribution to the cause as having been moral, as well as financial.[161] Thomas Gordon's 1832 account, based on first-hand knowledge, refers to Byron's labouring for 'the regeneration of Greece' and defines his assistance as being 'with his person, his talents and his purse'.[162] The inhabitants of Mesologgi, formally acknowledged Byron's honouring the bills drawn by Mavrokordatos from his own funds during March 1824, before the first loan was realized.[163] At this time the Mesologgians proclaimed Byron a benefactor and a citizen of the town for his work in the 'salvation' of western Greece. [164] The proclamation stated that this was not solely for the much-needed funds that he had provided, but also for the benefit his position and words afforded the cause. Further

[159] In his notes on the Souliotes made on 15 February 1824 Byron wrote, 'having tried in vain at every expense-considerable trouble- and some danger to unite the Suliotes for the good of Greece- and their own – I have come to the following resolution.-I will have nothing more to do with the Suliotes-they may go to the Turks or –the devil….' (Marchand [Ed.] 1973-82, vol. 11:111-2). Gamba (1825: 192) recalled that on the 20 February a group of Primates came to visit Byron after a German officer had been killed in an altercation with a Souliote in the town. They requested a loan of 3,000 pounds to pay the rowdy among the Souliotes so that they may leave the town. Byron agreed on the proviso that they ensured that the group did indeed vacate the town. This should be interpreted as political manoeuvring on Byron's behalf because he distanced himself from actually paying the Souliotes himself for this outcome. Documents in the Greek State Archives indicate that during his time in Mesologgi Byron set income from the salt pans of Mesologgi as security on a loan issued by him to government (see General State Archives 1834 ref. code GRGSACSA_PAO005.00.SFO01.SFO02.S02.SS02.SS02.F000266, items no. 107-8). Byron also cited another reason for the abandonment of the Lepanto expedition as being the reluctance of the Souliotes to launch an attack 'against Stone walls' (Marchand [Ed.] 1973-1982 1973-82, vol. 11: 145). This appears to have been a reference to the fortifications of Lepanto and the preferred military tactics of the Souliotes.

[160] Byron qualified his frustration with the Souliote clans in his notes dated 15 February 1824 with the statement that he remained at the disposal of the Greek government despite their mercenary conduct (Marchand [Ed.] 1973-82, vol. 11: 112).

[161] Apart from the 4,000 sterling that Byron forwarded to the government, Byron committed an additional 11,000 for the war effort in Mesologgi (Lignades 1970: 211).

[162] Gordon (1832, vol. 2: 82)

[163] See Greek Committee (London) (1823-24: K7 A5, K7 B5, K7 S4, K7 T4, K7 U4, K7 V4, K7 W4, K7 X4, K7 Y4 and K7 Z4) for related correspondence.

[164] Mesolongi City Council (17 March 1824).

evidence of the significant contribution of Byron and the London Greek Committee to the day to day financing of the War in Mesologgi are the receipts in the archive of the Committee and signed by Mesologgi war council members, for items such as gunpowder, charcoal, oil for armoury, wages for carpenters, masons and blacksmiths, funeral expenses of people who died in action as well as the general running of the War Office.[165] A letter from 30 December 1824 from Demos Skaltsas, an insurgent from the central mainland, to Georgios Duovouniotis who was also from that area, outlining administrative and military operations at Mesologgi at the time, provides evidence that after his death Byron remained in the minds of the insurgents as the focus of British Philhellenism.[166] Skaltsas referred to the depletion of the resources Byron had provided and intimates that British Philhellene material aid was all but finished without his presence.

The practical aspect to the outpouring of grief in Mesologgi upon Byron's death resided in the fear that an immediate source of funds was lost to the town. Two letters, one a draft of the other, written by the Ephors of Mesologgi immediately after Byron's death to the gentlemen of the London Greek Committee, constituted an attempt to extract back-pay owed to the Souliote troops that had been pledged to them by Byron.[167] The content lacks all sentimentality beyond the reference that Byron's sudden death 'unfortunately deprived us of his person and assistance'.[168] The Ephors' anxiety is palpable and Byron, they stated had been paying the Souliotes at the rate of 30 piastres a month, while all others were receiving 20 piastres. It follows that with Byron gone, the Souliotes had begun demanding similar payment from the Ephors of the town.[169] The

[165] In a letter to Kinnaird from Mesologgi dated 21 February 1824, Byron anticipated the approval of a loan to the Greek government and stated that he was supporting the government of western Greece at the time with a combination of his own and Committee funds, 'I am maintaining the whole machinery nearly (in *this* place at least) at our own cost' (Murray [Ed.] 1922, vol. 2: 288-89). For receipts for sums received and the nature of disbursements see (Greek Committee [London] 1823-24: K8 A4, K8 B4, K8 C4, K8 D4, K8 M3, K8 03, K8 P3, K8 Q3, K8 S3, K8 T3, K8 U3, K8 V3, K8 W3, K8 X3, K8 Y3 and K8 Z3). K8 D4 is dated 1 May 1824, and reads 'Received from the estate of the late Right honorable Lord Byron'.

[166] Oikonomou (1964: 481-82).

[167] One of these letters is held in the General State Archives in Athens (Draft of letter from Ephors of Mesologgi to English Philhellenes. General State Archives Athens. 11 April 1824). The other is written in Greek and has the same content down to the requested sums and their allocations. It is also dated 11 April 1824 and is found in the London Greek Archive (Greek Committee [London] 1823-24: K8 Q).

[168] Draft of letter from Ephors of Mesologgi to English Philhellenes. General State Archives Athens. (11 April 1824; p. 2) and Greek Committee (London) (1823-24: K8 Q, p. 1).

[169] Koliopoulos (1984: 182) refers to the memoirs of Kasomoulis to demonstrate how steadfast the Souliote bands were in their demand for pay. Kasomoulis stated that after Mesologgi fell, Notis Botsaris urged his

Ephors stated that their request to have the outstanding sum honoured by the Philhellenes was justified because given the poor state of the treasury, the Greek Government would never have entered such an agreement with the Souliotes.[170]

The insurgents were also reliant on Byron's ongoing role as one of the commissioners of the anticipated English loan.[171] Thus, a group of Mesologgian citizens wrote to the London Greek Committee on 12/24 May 1824 and stressed the strategic importance of the town and urgent need to strengthen its fortifications.[172] This letter commenced confidently with the statement that the town was already famous in Europe and asks the Committee in Byron's name to continue to help his new homeland.[173] The matter of unspent funds left by Byron was also raised in the letter. Mavrokordatos was also perturbed by Byron's death and wrote from Mesologgi to Yiorgios Koundouriotis, the President of the Provisional Government in Nafplion on 8 April 1824, deploring the bad fortune that had snatched away one of Greece's sincerest friends and benefactors, before turning to practicalities.[174] Mavrokordatos had informed Koundouriotis that he had written to Louriottis and Orlandos, the Greek loan agents in London, to act immediately to ensure the appointment of a new commissioner as a replacement for Byron.[175]

Johann Jakob Meyer, a Swiss Philhellene and the editor of the Mesologgian newspaper *Greek Chronicle,* in a letter to Stanhope in Salona from Mesologgi on 18 April 1824, commenced by posing the question whether Byron's death was harmful to Greece or not. [176] He reasoned that it was not, because a portion of the English loan had already arrived in Zakynthos with Blaquière. However, Meyer wrongly believed that Gordon had

band, who had not been paid for months, to proceed to Nafplion and demand their what they were owed from the Provisional Government (Koliopoulos 1984: 182).

[170] Draft of letter from Ephors of Mesologgi to English Philhellenes. General State Archives Athens. (11 April 1824, p. 2) and (Greek Committee [London] 1823-24: K8 Q, p. 2).

[171] St. Clair, W. (1972: 209-11).

[172] Greek Committee (London) (1823-24: K8 G2).

[173] The word 'homeland' is ambiguous here. It could refer to Mesologgi in particular, rather than Greece as a whole, given that Byron had been made a citizen of the town on 16 March 1824.

[174] Lignos (Ed.) (1920-27 vol. 2: 204-5).

[175] Lignos (Ed.) (1920-27, vol. 2: 205).

[176] Greek Committee (London) (1823-24: K8 K, p. 1). The *Greek Chronicle* was established through the partial support of the London Greek Committee. Stanhope had entrusted the printing press that the Greek London Committee sent to Greece to Meyer, and used the newspaper to disseminate his political and social ideals. Issues surrounding this had been another source of tension between Stanhope and Byron (Lignades, 1970: 214-15). Although Stanhope had initially quarrelled with Meyer when he had not been accommodating of him regarding content, later when the London Committee's printing press was being used to publish the paper he praised him profusely (Stanhope 1824: 39, 46, 61, 84, 88 and 92). Meyer's assessment of Byron's death as having no consequence for the revolution perhaps contains remnants of Stanhope's ill sentiment towards Byron.

also arrived in the role of Commissioner to administer the loan, and therefore Byron's death would not have consequences for its distribution. In fact, Byron's death had held up the release of the first instalment of the loan because there was no one else in Greece with the authority to dispense it. When the second instalment of the loan arrived in June 1824, it was also stockpiled with the first, in the vault of Samuel Barff on Zakynthos, pending arrangement for its consignment to the Provisional Greek Government.[177] Luriottis and Orlando when conveying developments in England to Ignatios based on their communication with Mavrokordatos, stated that Byron's unexpected death was a veritable calamity for Greece as any delay in funds would be detrimental.[178] They also wrote that the government had decreed a period of public mourning and made testimonials of gratitude to Byron whose loss was huge at such a critical time for the country.[179]

Edmund Barker, one of the most enthusiastic Philhellenes in England, saw Byron as the figure-head of the London Greek Committee and several months after his death expressed concern at the slackening of support for the cause. His belief that Byron had died at a critical time for the insurgents is reflected in his letter of 8 June 1824 that stated 'The melancholy event of Lord Byron's death & the depressed state of the Greek Loan call upon the friends of the Greek Cause to renew their activities'.[180] William St. Clair linked the fall in Greek stocks in London directly to the outbreak of the news of Byron's death.[181] On 10 September 1824, *The Examiner* reported on a meeting of Greek bond-holders in London and labelled the delay of loans as harmfully prolonging the suffering of the Greek people.[182] This suggests that the international profile Byron had provided for Philhellenism, had been critical to ongoing support in England.

Koustas acknowledged Byron's contribution to the war effort in Mesologgi through the adaptation of the early Byronic iconography. The artist transformed Byron from a cultural icon, to an icon of Mesologgi and the Greek War of Independence through

[177] St. Clair, W. (1972: 180).
[178] Letter dated 18 May 1824 to Ignatios in Pisa from Orlando and Louriottis in London (Dalleggio [Ed.] 1949: 75-77).
[179] Dalleggio (Ed.) (1949: 76).
[180] Letter dated 8 June 1824 from Edmund Barker in Thetford to London Greek Committee (Greek Committee [London] 1823-24: K9 A1, p. 1). See Bartle (1962) and Penn (1936) for problems that arose during 1824 in the functioning of the Committee due to poor subscriptions, the Greek agents' difficulties in negotiation of loan and the bond scandal connected to the floating of the loan.
[181] St. Clair, W. (1972: 212).
[182] Cause of the Greeks (10 September 1826: 579).

the association between his life as a poet and his death in the town for the cause of Greek liberation. In doing so, Koustas has illustrated how Byron at Mesologgi defines nineteenth century Philhellenism and has contributed to the definition of Modern Greece.

Art was a major vehicle that transformed Byron into a vanquished hero of the Greek War of Independence at Mesologgi. Artists adopted pre-existing Byronic iconography that signalled solitary intellect in depictions of the poet as a Greek compatriot. Byron's commitment to the Greek insurrection created enormous anticipation in Greece regarding Western aid and intervention into a war that did not officially have the sanction of Western governments, or the resources for decisive military engagements. Portraits of Byron by Richard Westall and Thomas Phillips created in 1813 provided key leitmotifs for artists in the development of Byron as an active Philhellene. Representations of Byron by Adam de Friedel and Ludovico Lipparini strongly referenced Phillip's portrait of Byron as a noble gentleman in their transformation of the poet. Joseph-Denis Odevaere's painting of Byron on his death bed is a further example of the significant contribution made by art to the conceptualization of Mesologgi as a place of hope and tragedy through Byronism. Odevaere metaphorically recreated Mesologgi along the lines of a regenerated classical landscape and connected Byron's death to liberal political values. In Odevaere's painting Byron is transformed from the poet and aristocrat in Richard Westall's portrait into the embodiment of politicized Philhellenism, that is, the desire to see the descendants of the ancient Greeks free.

Created well after the establishment of the Greek nation-state, Vryzakis' *The reception of Lord Byron at Mesologgi* 1861 demonstrates the enduring influence of Romanticism and Philhellenism on the artistic conceptualization of Mesologgi and in turn, Modern Greece. His visual reference to Johannot's engraving of Byron as the fictional character Childe Harold, created a thematic connection to heroism and elevated the poet to a Saviour of the Greek nation. The combination of hope and tragedy that characterized images of Byron in Greece established him as a political entity after his death in Mesologgi. Koustas' response to Byron in Mesologgi venerates the poet's death, while pursuing the Greek cause, and therefore his contribution to modern Hellenism. Art has contributed significantly to the fusion of the death of Byron in Mesologgi into the larger narrative of the difficult struggle by the Greek nation for independence. For this

reason, these depictions have also contributed to the dominant role that Mesologgi today plays in modern Greek culture regarding the ideological creation of Modern Greece.

Chapter 4
Eugène Delacroix and François-Émile de Lansac: the fall of Mesologgi and Greek suffering

Eugène Delacroix's painting *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi,* 1826 (figure 4.1) and François-Émile de Lansac's *Épisode du siège de Missolonghi,* 1827 (figure 4.2) depict the devastation by Ottoman forces reinforced by the Egyptian troops of Mehmet Ali and commanded by his son Ibrahim Pasha Mesologgi on 11 April 1826. The town had passed under Ottoman control when both works graphically conveyed that the Greek insurrection was failing and would establish Mesologgi in Philhellene propaganda as the pre-eminent signifier of Greek heroism. These paintings also demonstrate the large extent to which Philhellene art was embedded in pre-existing iconography, a factor that enabled the contemporary viewer to readily interpret them and facilitated emotional engagement. This chapter argues that it was the visual rhetoric of blood spilt at Mesologgi, combined with the images' iconographical connections to French Republicanism and Christian symbolism narratives, that contributed to the most powerful of Philhellene messages: that the West was abandoning the Greeks to Ottoman barbarity.

Philhellene art as a manifestation of Orientalism in Western culture

These pictorial narratives presented the fall of the township of Mesologgi as synonymous with the triumph of Ottoman tyranny, while at the same time striving to deny the Ottomans any claim to a moral victory over the Greek nation. Motifs in the middle ground beside the left shoulder of each female protagonist, present strong elements of Philhellene propaganda. Delacroix's painting presents a dark skinned and an elaborately dressed Egyptian soldier bearing the Ottoman horsetail military standard of war as he triumphantly enters the town, while the personified Greece laments the destruction of Mesologgi. This contrast is loaded with Orientalist ideology that perpetuated the stereotype of the Ottoman empire as a threatening military power.[1]The ghostly Doric columns beside the mother in Lansac's painting make a reference to Greece's classical past. The impression that these columns are dissolving into thin air, also forms an analogy

[1] Aksan (2004: 25) has argued that the Ottoman empire ceased being a military threat in Europe after being defeated in the 1768-1774 war with Russia that resulted in cession of significant areas of Muslim territory.

with the failure of the insurrection at the time, and casts doubt on the possibility of a regenerated ancient Hellas.

These paintings thus illustrate how Philhellene art constructed Modern Greece through the simultaneous elevation of the Greek insurgents into potential reincarnations of ancient Hellenes and the perpetuation of the pre-existing Orientalist negative stereotypes of Ottoman brute force and barbarism. Gilbert Hess has plausibly argued that the Orientalist depiction of events at Mesologgi by writers and artists, served to emphasize the victimization of the Greeks.[2] Indeed, there are extreme examples of reductive dichotomies constructed for this purpose from the earliest Philhellene propaganda such as the German political pamphlet *The cause of Greece, the cause of Europe,* written in 1821 by Heinrich Gottlieb Tzschimer, which presents the Ottomans as 'Asiatic barbarians, having nothing in common with the nations of Europe except soil'.[3] However, Edward Said's well-known exposé of the complicity of Western literature in creating 'ineradicable distinction between Western superiority and Oriental inferiority' with a view to justifying Western colonialization of the East, does not pertain strictly to Neohellenism and its experience of Ottoman colonial rule.[4] Nonetheless, the negative associations of Orientalism served Philhellene art by providing a clearly understood framework for the promotion of the cultural nexus between Greece and the West, in opposition to the alleged barbarity of the East. Thus, in Delacroix's *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi* the aforementioned turbaned soldier holding aloft the Ottoman standard signifies barbarous oppression (figure 4.1).[5] Even at grass-roots level committed Philhellenes advocated support for the Greek insurgents along the lines of good versus evil. Thus J. G. Goodwin, the Curate of Ewhurst in England, espouses the cultural polarity between Ottoman and Christian in his letter of 2 November 1823 to the secretary of the London Greek Committee describing his accompanying donation of one pound to the

[2] Hess (2005: 104).
[3] Tzschimer (1821: 4).
[4] Said (1978: 42).
[5] Harper (2011: 158-59) identified the turban as a symbol of any non-Christian figure and the menacing Turk in anti-Ottoman propaganda. While the use of this iconography in Philhellene art is plentiful, the use of the turban to signify the Ottoman in a negative manner is not consistent in Philhellene art. Artists including Boggi, Dupré, Krazeisen, Von Hess, and Friedel depicted Greeks insurgents and foreign Philhellenes wearing turbans, and in fact Greek men did in fact wear this headgear during the Ottoman period. See appendix E figure E-4.1, Théodore Leblanc, *Camp des Grecs palikares devant Lépante.1827.* Théodore Leblanc had travelled through Greece in 1828-31 and in this painting depicts a gathering of respected Greek figures from the insurgency gathered at Lepanto, some of whom are turbaned.

cause, as support for those 'poor Greeks' struggling for 'rational liberty' against 'tyranny and oppression'.[6] Zanou has termed such gestures 'conservative Philhellenism' in that they bypassed the issue of the legitimacy of Ottoman rule over Greece, to which the Holy Alliance adhered, observing the Treaty of Vienna by stressing instead the harsh conditions endured by the Greek nation.[7] Philhellene artists also argued the need for 'rational liberty', through the propaganda that centred on Greek suffering at the fall of Mesologgi.

By the time Mesologgi fell in 1826, Ottoman cruelty was already firmly established as a theme in Philhellene art. An engraving of 1823 titled *Greek ladies and children landed at Smyrna and driven to the slave market,* 1823 makes evident how the negative images of Ottoman rule utilized Philhellene advocacy in favour of the subjugated Greek population (figure 4.3). The engraving appeared in book published by Riebau that presented an overtly pro-Greek history of the events of the insurrection and its compilers, applied to the London Greek Committee for financial backing: forwarding a description of the plates intended for inclusion in the book and a prospectus.[8] The image in figure 4.3 depicts Greek women and children arriving in Smyrna from Chios after Ottoman reprisals for the outbreak of insurgency in the region.[9] The design of the third plate was described by the compilers in the proposal to the London Greek Committee as follows:

[6] Greek Committee (London) (1823-24: K3 V4).
[7] Zanou (2014: 10-12).
[8] Greek Committee (London) (1823-24: K3 W, K3 X and K3 Z).
[9] Greek Committee (London) (1823-24: K3 Z, p.1). A year later Eugène Delacroix painted the same subject in *Scènes des massacres de Scio; Familles grecques attendant la mort ou l'esclavage,* except that he presented the Greek population in a deplorable, as well as a vulnerable state in Ottoman hands (appendix E figure E-4.2). St. Clair, W. (1972: 78-81).

> The Port of Smyrna with a number of Turkish boats filled with Greek women and children brought from Scio in deep grief. Some being landed and stripped nearly naked. Beautiful figures, fine faces and forms are driven by the ferocious (Turks, who had murdered their husbands, fathers or brothers) to the slave market where another set of monsters are eager to buy – either boys, or girls to satiate brutal desires.[10]

This description and the corresponding image of Greek captives in danger of sexual violation demonstrate how Philhellenism engaged extreme Orientalist attitudes to make Greek suffering, perceptible to viewers (figure 4.3).

Similar propaganda was projected onto Mesologgi after the Ottoman recapture of the town and visual art was one of its principal vehicles. In 1826 nearly twenty-nine thousand people paid to see Delacroix's painting *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi* among other paintings in two exhibitions organized for the relief of the Greek insurgents by the Philhellene Committee of Paris at the Lebrun Gallery.[11] The exhibition was not restricted to works relating to the Greek War of Independence, but the focus on providing material relief to the Greeks, gave it the characteristic of a political campaign. The fact that three-quarters of the takings from the Lebrun exhibition were allocated to purchasing the freedom of women and children prisoners taken from Mesologgi, indicates the traction Philhellene propaganda attained when focused on the famous town.[12]

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[10] Greek Committee (London) (1823-24: K3 Z, p.2). Another image that was proposed for the publication and depicting Ottoman atrocities was titled *The Greek Patriarch murdered at Constantinople & a citizen impaled alive*, 1823 (see appendix E figure E-4.3).

[11] Two successive exhibitions were held at the Le Brun Gallery from 17 May to 2 July and the second from 16 July to 19 November 1826 (Athanassoglou-Kallmyer 1989: 39-41).

[12] Valérie Bajou in (Constans 1996: 54). The theme of Mesologgi and Greek slavery was directly taken up by Charles Brocas at the Paris Salon of 1827 where he exhibited a painting of a fictional scene depicting French Philhellenes on a mission to buy back captured Messologgian women and children after the fall of the town (Janson 1977, vol. 1827: 45). Research conducted by Will Smiley (2012: 234-35) cites Ottoman State Archives to reveal that mass enslavement was authorized by the Porte in areas under revolt and slaves became a commodity for trade. Aksan (2007 a: 269) also refers to enslavement being a means of punishment used by the Porte during the Greek insurrection. Gordon (1832, vol. 2: 265) estimated that several hundred of the 3000 to 4000 women and children taken into slavery after the fall of Mesologgi were freed through Philhellene aid. The conjecture in the West about the institution of slavery in the Ottoman Empire was exploited by Philhellene propaganda emphasizing the abuse of Greek captives. Smiley (September 2012: 560) opines that 'Ottoman slavery was a varied, and arguably not unified institution. Some slaves suffered greatly, others less so; most were private property held in households and harems, others were in state hands…'. Zilfi (2010: 182) claims that Ottoman military campaigns produced a spike in the supply of slaves and that 'Greek insurrectionary activity led to the sudden and shocking enslavement of several thousand Greek subjects.'

While the fall of Mesologgi was seen as a catastrophe since it had been among the few remaining Greek strongholds in the country, the town also became a positive symbol of the Greek nation's commitment to the insurrection. A week after Delacroix's painting was first exhibited, Mesologgi was referred to as *le boulevard de la Grèce* in the French Chamber of Deputies.[13]The significance of this phrase derives from the fact that French boulevards were once built on the ruins of old ramparts, such that the word has connotations of resistance, and its application to Mesologgi suggests that the town was being incorporated into a familiar political construct centred on the ideal of Greek liberty.[14]

The effectiveness of Delacroix's portrayal of the Greek nation and the difficulty of sustaining its insurrection can be gauged by the response of contemporary commentators who habitually referred to the painting as *La Grèce expirant sur les ruines de Missolonghi*, rather than simply *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi*, as Delacroix had originally titled his work.[15] For example, Bertrand Barère, a former member of the National Convention during the French Revolution, who was exiled under the Restoration and went to Brussels, became a keen observer of the Greek War of Independence and created a catalogue for an imaginary Salon exhibition of 230 paintings with titles forming a meditation on contemporary politics.[16] The catalogue entries for numbers 117, 125 and 145 had titles commencing with *La Grèce expirant et devouée à la morte par l'egoïsme et l'hypocrisie*, suggesting a close engagement with Delacroix's *La Grèce sur les ruines, de Missolonghi.*[17] Variations between the titles for these three works assigned responsibility for the death of Greece to Christian princes, royalty and ungrateful children (a reference to the West). The title for entry 125 added that the Turks, Arabs, Egyptians, French, English, Russians and Austrians had all been responsible for digging Modern Greece's grave.[18]

[13] Chambre des deputés. Présidence de M. Ravez. Séance du 23 mai. (24 May 1826: 4).
[14] More recently Mazurel (2013: 118 and121) has used the expression 'Missolonghi, le boulevard de la Grèce' in support of the argument made by Espagne and Pécout (2005: 7) that the town was the first Pan-European liberal political construct of the nineteenth century.
[15] Johnson (1964: 261) and Sérullaz (1984, vol. 2: 333).
[16] Bouyssy (1992: 40, 1993: 213 & 222 and 2005: 39-40).
[17] Bouyssy (1992: 1034, 1035 and 1037).
[18] Bouyssy (1992: 1035).

A consensus has emerged among modern scholars regarding the political reverberations of the fall of Mesologgi in Europe. Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer has identified the heroism of the defenders of Mesologgi as inspiring French artists' interest in the Greek War of Independence and noted that while the exhibition of Delacroix's *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi* was being exhibited at the Lebrun Gallery, the lobbying of the Bourbon Government in favour of the Greek cause peaked.[19] After the fall of Mesologgi, Charles X declared himself a Philhellene, and the art historian Albert Boime considers that this caused irreparable damage to the Metternich system of diplomacy.[20] The historian Leon Carl Brown has also directly attributed the emergence of public opinion as a voice in the Eastern Question to the town's fall.[21] Christine Peltre has identified such scenes of bravery as the primary focus of Philhellene art between 1820-30 and, like Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, identified the heroism of the defenders of Mesologgi as inspiring artists' interest in the Greek War of Independence.[22] The premium these assessments placed on the importance of the fall of Mesologgi, in terms of influencing public opinion in France, sharpens the focus on the means Delacroix and Lansac employed to depict the suffering of the Greek insurgents.

Delacroix and Lansac distilled the narrative of the Greek War of Independence into the experience of a single female at Mesologgi and presented it as being characteristic of the war. After the fall of the town, the French liberal newspaper *Le Journal des Débats* reported that Greeks who had held Mesologgi against the Ottoman forces, displayed a new quality of valour and had formed a sacred battalion which included women and children.[23] Accounts of the event were repeated across several European newspapers and countries, with Leigh Hunt's English periodical *The Examiner* reporting details on 21 May 1826 and acknowledging their source as the French newspaper *Le Courrier*

[19] Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1989: 66-107). Loukia Droulia's (1974) bibliography of Philhellene publications demonstrates that there was a huge increase in Philhellene publishing activity after the fall of Mesologgi. The town was regularly invoked for fund raising purposes by Philhellenes and the revenue from some publications such as the funerary song *Le siège de Missolonghi* went to the benefit of the War (C***, F.: 1826). Lobbying for the Greek cause also intensified in England at this time with a petition presented in the British parliament on 19 May 1826 seeking support for the insurrection and emphasizing the 'extreme sufferings and gallant spirit' of the Greek people (Foreign intelligence: The fall of Missolonghi 21 May 1826: 326).

[20] Boime (2004: 216).

[21] Carl Brown (1984: 53).

[22] Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1989: 66-107) and Peltre (1997: 75 and 77). See also Barau (2009: 151-161).

[23] Missolonghi a succombé le 22 avril après de nouveaux prodiges de valeur. (15-16 May 1826:1).

Français.[24] Reference to women and children was clearly an emotive tool used by Philhellene propaganda to convey to the public the intensity of Greek patriotism and the extent of the sacrifice.

The dependence of Philhellene imagery on pre-existing European artistic tropes relating to the abuse of women and children, becomes apparent in a comparison of *Massacre des Grecs à Missolungi* 1827 by Achille Devéria with *Massacre of the Innocents* c.1611 by Peter Paul Rubens (figures 4.4 and 4.5). The biblical story of the slaughter of newborn males in Bethlehem at the behest of the Roman Senate's appointee King Herod, lest one become a threat to his rule, was depicted by Rubens as a crush of bodies, with babies being torn from their mother's arms. Likewise, in Devéria's image of slaughter in Mesologgi an infant is held aloft and is about to be flung to the ground by soldiers, as in Rubens' painting. Another protagonist in Déveria's composition is the Ottoman horseman at the centre of the image who can be perceived to signify the Ottoman as the 'cruel oppressor'.[25] The effort involved in crushing the Greeks' defiance is emphasized by the rider's own partially dishevelled state, as indicated by the unravelling of his turban. A Greek insurgent on foot lunges at the Ottoman horseman with his scimitar from below. However, the inevitable fall of Mesologgi is chillingly adumbrated by Devéria in the string of human heads attached to the breast-plate of the Ottoman's horse.

The Orientalist aesthetics that characterize Delacroix's *Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi* resonated with those of the pre-eminent French poet of the age, Victor Hugo, who found the beauty of personified Greece all the more moving when viewed against the horrible foil of the Egyptian soldier and the severed heads in the background, staining the stone wall with blood (see in detail in figure 4.6).[26] An entrenched Orientalist viewpoint also informs the derogatory remarks made in 1826 by the art critic Jean-Baptiste Boutard about the Ottomans collectively as a race in his review of Delacroix's painting. Boutard declared that the arm protruding from the debris symbolized a nation 'enslaved by slaves', an ignominious measure of the debasement of the Greek nation

[24] Foreign Intelligence: The fall of Missolonghi (21 May 1826: 324).
[25] Colding Smith (2010: 26), see also chapter one, footnote 127 for further references on the development of the trope of Oriental despotism in western culture.
[26] Johnson (1981-89, vol. 1: 70) and (Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1989: 101). The Liberal French newspaper *Le Courrier Français* on 18 May 1826 reported that 5,000 Christians had been slaughtered during the final siege and referred to their decorating the walls of the Seraglio (Dimakis 1976: 264).

under Ottoman rule.[27] Boutard's Orientalist dictum seems to have passed into wider usage and the expression 'the slaves, in fact, of slaves' occurs in Thomas Gordon's description of the Greek population under Ottoman rule in his historical account of the Greek Revolution.[28]

Philhellene propaganda played a key role in the perpetuation of the negative Ottoman stereotype in Europe in the mid-nineteenth century as attested by an Italian engraving of 1844 by Vincenzo Gajassi, titled *The massacre of the Greeks by the Turks in Patrasso: Greek women, men and children are shot, hung, beheaded or dismembered as they try to flee by boat* (figure 4.7). The composition was titled *Gli eroi di Patrasso, il 5 aprile 1821* with its first issue in 1834 and depicted the outbreak of the Greek insurgency at the beginning of April 1821 at Patras, across the gulf from Mesologgi.[29] At this juncture Mesologgi had not yet joined the revolution and the Dutch consul of Patras, along with his family, fled to the town seeking refuge from hostilities.[30] The caption of Gajassi's lithograph of 1844 states that 'the Greeks of Patras on 5 April 1821 tired of the assault of the Turkish barbarians, assail them for the first time and a horrid massacre resulted'. The image is full of fury on both sides, but carries a definite political bias towards the Greeks. Gajassi depicted a group of Greeks fleeing the carnage; on the left and in the foreground, families are boarding a boat while gunfire is being exchanged and corpses lie strewn on the ground, or float in the water. In the centre of the image a Greek insurgent is beheading an enemy soldier. Two Ottoman corpses hang from nooses directly above, while on a ledge further above are two severed heads. The 1844 re-issue of this print from 1834 was a wedding present, as revealed in the dedication by Gajassi to the couple Luigi Mastrocola and Vincenza Pfyffer, whom he describes as 'lovers of the arts', and whose marriage he states 'bestows smiles upon love and beauty'. The engraving is a gift of visual horror, but is indicative of the strength of the Greek insurrection as vehicle for the expression of burgeoning Italian nationalism in the 1840s, under the strict

[27] Noon (2003: 58).
[28] Gordon (1832, vol. 1: 32). The Philhellene writings of René Chateaubriand (e.g. 1825 a: 66-67) also tend towards extreme Orientalism describing the military campaign of Ibrahim Pasha, the eventual conqueror of Mesologgi as an attempt to exterminate the Greek race and install that of Negro slaves in the homeland of fine arts and freedom.
[29] Spetsieri Beschi & Lucarelli (1986: 314) have identified that Gajassi based this image on Pouquevelle's historical account of the event.
[30] Zoras and Zoras (Eds.) (1991: 14).

censorship of Austrian rule. This can be noted in the dedication to the happy couple that displays no discomfort at the violence depicted by the image.

Mesologgi and the Western family

The significance of the fragmented family in Lansac's painting for the purposes of Philhellene propaganda derives from the notion of the 'Western family', which included the idea that European nations formed a family thereby underpinning the entitlement of the Greek populace to sympathetic consideration in France. The domestic family formed a key trope in the portrayal of the Greek fight for liberty across all Philhellene genres, and the art historian Elizabeth Fraser has identified the theme in Delacroix's *Scènes des massacres de Scio; Familles grecques attendant la mort ou l'esclavage,* 1824. [31] The idea of a 'Western family' also contained a strong tone of paternalism implying an obligation on the part of the French to alleviate the miserable situation of their Greek Christian kin.[32]

The frontal pose of the female figure in Delacroix's painting is relieved by the slightly three-quarter view of her face and her uplifted gaze, while the head of the mother in Lansac's painting is severely turned away from the viewer. The averted gaze of both women is an effective way of expressing their interior turmoil and suggests one could not possibly understand the full horror of their situation. The paintings thus form an emotional plea for empathy, that does not allow the viewer to remain disengaged from the dignified suffering depicted.

The following interpretation of Lansac's *Épisode du siège de Missolonghi* is from the catalogue of the Salon of 1827:

> A Greek woman, rushed to the ramparts where her husband was killed at her feet and was taking her own life along with her child's at the moment of the breach by the Turks.[33]

[31] Fraser (2004: 39). An example from literature is the poem *La Famille Grecque ou l'affranchisement de la Grèce* by Servan de Sugny (1824).
[32] Fraser (2004: 11 and 59).
[33] Janson (1977: 213). My own translation. The trope of using women and children to portray patriotic heroism was not unique to Philhellene art. The engraving titled *Trait de courage héroïque: des brigands de la Vendée, s'étant rendus maîtres de Saint-Mithier* 1793-94 depicts a scene from the war in the Vendée

The image of a mother dying at the ramparts as the Ottoman forces were entering Mesologgi is seen to imply that the she chose to spare her child a horrendous fate through filicide, before turning the bloodied knife upon herself.[34] This reading has been further elaborated over time. For example, the index file card, for the painting in the Municipal Museum in Mesologgi, where the painting is housed, provided a variant twentieth-century narrative of the subject. It identified a dead Turk at the mother's feet, whom she killed in order to escape violation, before stabbing her child so as to prevent his falling into the hands of the enemy and then finally she plunged the dagger into her own heart.[35] The inflamed narrative, elevated the heroism of the mother, portraying her as being both vulnerable and brave, and demonized the Ottoman enemy (for in all probability Lansac was not depicting an enemy combatant at her feet). The triadic scheme of the family unit in Lansac's work can be compared to the painting *A dead soldier* by Joseph Wright of Derby, through the crumpled figure of the dead male who anchors the scheme in both paintings (figure 4.8). In Derby's painting the distraught mother is holding her dead husband's hand to that of their baby, which is cradled in the feeding position. The child has become detached from her breast as if to emphasize the devastation of the family unit.

The Western construct of the imperial Ottoman as a brutal overlord maltreating vulnerable women and children had already surfaced in Western art before the Greek War of Independence erupted. Lansac's highly emotive pictorial narrative of a woman killing herself and her son to escape capture by the enemy evokes the legend of the twenty-two Souliote women who threw themselves with their children off a cliff at Zalongo after their clan had been decimated by Ali Pasha's troops, in the autumn of 1803.[36] This tragic tale was taken up by the French artist Claude Pinet around 1820 in the painting *La danse de Zalongo, ou Les femmes souliotes* (figure 4.9). A key political concept dialectically connects Lansac's *Épisode du siège de Missolonghi* to Pinet's painting is self-determination. Claude Fauriel, the French philologist and historian, promoted bravery as

region in France where a woman with a young girl clutching at her side, is about to blow up a gunpowder keg just as the enemy forcefully enters her home (see appendix E figure E-4.4).

[34] The verse *Mères, endormez vos enfants: Chant de Missolonghi* appeared in a French songbook, and euphemistically implored the mothers of Mesologgi to put their children to sleep as the enemy approached (Arnoult 1826: 91-93). Pacini (s.d.) composed the music score for the Arnoult's song and it sold for 1 franc for the benefit of the Greek cause.

[35] Émile De Lansac, *Épisode du siège de Missolonghi*, Municipal Museum Mesologgi, Index file, inv. no. 1.

[36] Finlay (1971, vol. 1: 51).

a Greek national trait in his annotations to the anthology of Greek folksongs he published in Paris in 1824, which included a cycle on the Souliotes and their wars with Ali Pasha.[37] In the eighth song of the cycle Despo, a clan elder, prefers suicide to subjugation by Ali's troops and instructs her kin 'Let us not be slaves of the Turks, my children, follow me!'.[38] Images of revolutionary Mesologgi, such as *Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi* by Delacroix and *Épisode du siège de Missolonghi* by Lansac harnessed the perceptions of Ottoman savagery disseminated by publications such as Fauriel's anthology to argue for Western intervention into the Greek War of Independence as a moral imperative: in more than one sense, 'the family' was in danger of extermination.

The ruins of Mesologgi

The deployment of negative Ottoman stereotypes which enabled artists to convey a distressing image of subjugated Greece was complemented by the strategic placement of classical ruins, to denote the Philhellene hope that Greek civilization could be regenerated upon the liberation of a modern nation. The personification of Greece and her upturned hand in Delacroix's *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi* recalls the corresponding gesture in the frontispiece of Choiseul-Gouffier's *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce* 1782 (figure 1.6).[39] This gesture is one of humble supplication and conveys the idea of the wounded spirit of subjugated Greece. The appearance of ruins in Choiseul-Gouffier's frontispiece can be seen as an expression of what Hanink has construed as the invention of the Western notional debt to the ancient Greeks, for the cultural heritage they bestowed on Europe.[40] The often arbitrary inclusion of classical ruins in art works created during the Greek War of Independence, can also be interpreted as an assertion of this debt, given its potency as an inspiration to support the modern Greek cause.[41] Both Delacroix and Lansac manipulated the idea of 'ruins' to create an image of Mesologgi as

[37] Fauriel (1824-1825, vol. 1: Guerres des Souliotes, song 8, unpaginated).
[38] Despo Botsi was the matriarch of a Souliote family, who died through self-immolation among the female members of her extended family before the household came under attack (Stasinopoulos 1979, vol. 3: 438). Fauriel (1824-1825, vol. 1: Guerres des Souliotes, song 8, unpaginated, line 11). The Souliote mother, as a trope of a heroine who takes this decisive action on the approach of Ali Pasha also was also subsumed in English literature see F.H. (January-June 1825: 293).
[39] Boisset (2003: 147) connects the construction of the liberal politics in Delacroix's painting to Choiseul-Gouffier's frontispiece.
[40] Hanink (2017: 106).
[41] Cf. Beaton (2019: 95)

the land of gods as well as of modern war heroes.[42] In the process, Philhellene art contributed to making ruins a symbol of Modern Greece.[43]

The inclusion of ruins in images of Mesologgi functioned as a visual prompt for the ancient heritage of the Greek nation, and for Europe's debt to Greece. However, their placement by Lansac in his painting was also an act of invention, for the town itself did not have an ancient history.[44] Lansac's addition of ruins is an example of how the projection of key Philhellene tropes onto Mesologgi, fashioned the town into a principal emblem of the Greek Revolution. A parallel example occurs in a letter written to the town's survivors after its fall and dated 24 July 1826 by the Philhellene Committee of Marseille.[45] The letter appeared in the *L'Independant* newspaper in Greek and French on the 6 December 1826 proclaiming that their sacrifice for faith and fatherland marked them as true descendants of the Athenian Generals Miltiades and Aristides.[46]

A conflation of classical ruins with modern war debris at Mesologgi was also contrived by Delacroix in *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi* and formed a powerful warning to Philhellenes that the whole Greek insurrection was in a precarious state.[47] The reference to ruins may have instantaneously brought antiquity to mind for Philhellenes, but the fragments of war were Delacroix's concern. A pile of heroic ruins under which the defenders had vowed to be buried ,was how the Swiss editor of the *Greek Chronicle*, Johann Jakob Meyer, described Mesologgi in a letter written there just before its fall, and which appeared in both the English and French press shortly thereafter.[48] It prefigures Delacroix's personified Greece partially kneeling on a tombstone-like slab of stone while

[42] Literary Philhellenism focusing on Mesologgi also includes the remarkable poem by Charles (1974, original 1826) titled *Hellénide sur le siège et le triomphe de Missolonghi*, which was sold for the benefit of the Greek cause and hailed the Greeks of Mesologgi as demi-gods. Homeric heroes and the Spartan Leonidas are also invoked before the poem ends with an emotive account of the plight of the defenceless Greek women and children and an appeal that the martyrs of the fallen town be avenged.

[43] Hamilakis (2007) argues that ruins acquired a collective national function as the new Greek state was being created while Peckham (2001: 34) considers that during this same phase in emphasizing continuity with ancient Greece ruins also facilitated the deletion of Greece's Ottoman legacy.

[44] The nearest ancient sites to Mesologgi are Pleuron and Calydon, which are respectively six km and ten km away.

[45] Mossière (1994, vol. 1: 116).

[46] Mossière (1994, vol. 1: 116).

[47] This transformation of the iconography of ruins to signify war debris corresponded with developments in literary Philhellenism. Thus Charles-Manuel Didier (1826: 9) penned the poem *La ruine de Missolonghi* in May 1826 conjuring up scenes of carnage in a town that had been reduced to ruins.

[48] Meyer perished with the defenders of Mesologgi (Copy of a letter written by M. Meyer, a swiss, Editor of the Greek Chronicles, just before he perished with the defenders of Missolonghi. *Galignani's Messenger*, 7 June 1826: 3).

a lifeless arm extends from a pile of debris to rest on a toppled cannon, signifying a struggle to the death.[49]

Yet another personification of Greece on the ruins of Mesologgi was created by Charles Abraham Chasselat in 1831, is titled *La Grèce pleurant sur les ruines de Missolonghi* 1831, and evidently referenced Delacroix's painting (figure 4.10). His personified Greece is elegantly attired 'à la grecque' in a neo-classical empire-line dress and as the title states, sits weeping on the 'ruins' of Mesologgi. The façade of the ancient temple in the background is comprised of fairly intact statuary columns with collapsed sections in the foreground; both show the ravages of time and neither are the ruins of war. The new Greek state had been founded by the time this image was created, and Chasselat saw fit to foist classical ruins on Mesologgi as a symbol of Modern Greece.

Classical ruins applied to Mesologgi became a consistent trope in Philhellene art as demonstrated by the fine lithograph, *Prise de Missolonghi par Ibrahim Pacha (25 Avril 1826)*, 1829 by Vautrin and Mauro (figure 4.11). This highly impassioned scene portrays a tearful, but composed mother caught up in the clash between the Ottoman forces and the defenders of Mesologgi during the final siege of the town. The mother has an open wound on her right breast and is attempting to staunch the bleeding with a cloth while cradling her suckling baby, with her other arm. The broken Corinthian column in the left foreground is an example of the trope of classical ruins in Philhellene art.[50] The lithograph also illustrates another ideologically charged trope of Philhellene art aimed at distancing Greek identity and culture from oriental influences and stressing its proximity to the west. This is subtly adumbrated in the stylised, on the hem of the mother's skirt (figure 4.11). The proximity of this pattern to the broken fluted column in the foreground, has the effect of keeping the subject of classical culture prominent in a scene otherwise dominated by war. The battle raging in the background is expressed in the customary Philhellene manner by a collision between the standards of the Turks and Christian Greek forces with the symbolic Crescent and Cross echoing the Crusades.

[49] Cf. Nochlin (1995: 16-18) on the symbolism of the fragmented body as a site of suffering and the aesthetics of revolution in Restoration France.

[50] Conceptually the placement of Grecian ruins or relics in the foreground was not original to Philhellene art. Seventeenth century cartographers such as Jacob Sandrart (1660) decorated the title plates of maps with such iconography.

It can be argued that without resorting to gratuitous ancient ruins, Delacroix's *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi* contrives to connect Modern Greece to antiquity through the refined figure of Greece personified, forging a philosophical link between aesthetics and virtue (figure 4.1). French revolutionary rhetoric enlisted the idealization of ancient Greece in expressions of the political ideal of individual freedom.[51] He reproduced the 'Greek profile' of the Pheidian style in his personification of Greece: her forehead and nose are connected by an almost straight continuous line, with another imaginary line, between the base of the nose and the ear forming a right angle to it. This illustrates what Winckelmann identified in 1763 as the Greek concept of *kalokagathia*, namely the coalescence of beauty and virtue in classical art.[52] Delacroix imbued his Greece personified with these physical and moral attributes and conveyed the idea of her dignified and stoic response to the direst adversity. Her composure amidst the carnage bespeaks nobility of spirit and heroism of the highest order. Indeed, Delacroix's personification of Greece bears a striking resemblance to the statue *Vénus de Milo* by her torso and the impassivity of her expression.[53] The personification is life-size and comparable in scale to the *Vénus de Milo*, which further facilitates the association of the two works. This subtle alignment with the concept of ideal beauty in classical art, set against the backdrop of the marauding Egyptian Ottoman soldier, formed a highly charged plea for Greek liberation.[54]

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[51] Athena Leoussi (1998: 25-29) has identified the classical body as a positive symbol of the nation in nineteenth-century European culture and has argued that the classical inspiration underpinning Philhellene art was part of a more general and long-standing artistic tradition of quoting ancient Greek and Roman artistic prototypes from the era of the Renaissance. Cf. De Baecque (1997) and Warner (1985) for the metaphorical properties of the body as a tool for political discourse in Revolutionary France.

[52] Valdez (2014: 18). See Winckelmann (1849 and 1972) and Pommier (1989) for the influence of antiquity on aesthetics in France during the Enlightenment and the Revolution.

[53] *Aphrodite, Vénus de Milo* c.100 BCE. 211 x 44 cm. Parian marble. Paris, Musée du Louvre. The statue of the goddess Aphrodite from the island of Milos has been on permanent display at the Louvre since 1821 (Haskell & Penny 1981: 329). Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1982: 92) has suggested that preparatory drawings for *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi* indicate that Delacroix relied on Hellenistic and Roman personifications of the polis in the collection of the Louvre Museum for his personification of Greece.

[54] Grigsby (c. 2002: 284) has proposed that the personification's light skin tone was fundamental to Delacroix's construction of Greek identity in opposition to that of the dark Ottoman conquering soldier in the background on the right and considers that her shimmering white dress emphasizes her paleness. Leoussi (1998: 7) points out that early anthropological writing identified Greeks as part of the Caucasian race with skin colour and head-shape as primary signifiers. Delacroix's sharp side-profile of the Egyptian soldier could thus be considered a morphological focus on the face. As an intention, this is more evident in a preparatory study titled *Negro in Turban* for *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi* where similar features to those of the Egyptian soldier are seen more clearly (see Grigsby c. 2002: 285 for study by Delacroix).

On the other hand Delacroix's conferral of the physical attributes of the goddess of beauty from classical art on Modern Greece, acquires different political overtones when viewed in the prism of Fleming's contention that a crypto-colonial motivation underlies Western attempts to appropriate the history and ideology of ancient Greece as the origins of the modern West's culture.[55] It invites consideration of Philhellene sponsorship of the Greek insurrection in a less altruistic or humanitarian light.

Republican iconography as a tool of politicized Philhellenism

The iconographic traditions that were used to deliver key Philhellene ideas relating to liberalism were not particular to the Greek War of Independence. Hélène Dupuy has identified a set of symbols revived from antiquity and instilled with feminine values that were central to the artistic expression of nation in Revolutionary France.[56] It is not surprising, therefore, that a direct association can be found between Republican politics and Philhellenism. For example, when the Philhellene volunteer Andrea Dania, who was an Italian political refugee and ex-officer of the French Cavalry, was commanding the Philhellene Corps under attack from Ottoman troops at the Battle of Peta in Epirus in 1822, he urged his troops to surge forward with the Republican cry of 'freedom or death'.[57] The banner emblazoned with 'La liberté ou la mort' held aloft by a mobilized group in the revolutionary French poster by Jean-Baptiste Lesueur dating from 1792 (figure 4.12) illustrates the provenance of this slogan. The desperate yet self-assured mother of Lansac's painting personifies the cry of 'freedom or death' and relegates life without freedom beneath death, and ultimately rejects the political status quo.

Delacroix's *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi* shares several iconographic details with the painting *La Liberté ramenant aux people la Justice et la vertu,* 1794-95 by Jean-Jacques Taillasson (figure 4.13). The shape of the headdress worn by Delacroix's personification of Greece can be viewed as a stylized Phrygian cap (which was originally worn as a symbol of enfranchisement in ancient Rome and later adopted by French

[55] Fleming (2002: 43). Cf. Wallace (1997: 10-13) on the integration of this idea into British culture during the nineteenth century.
[56] Dupuy (1989: 1397-1405).
[57] The Philhellene Corps was ultimately defeated and Dania died at Peta. Dania injected into his motivational address to his comrades, a reference to the bravery of Leonidas at Thermopylae, and a dose of religion. He stated that no other road existed except the one to the sky, and that the Philhellene Corps had to create an example of courage for the descendants of the ancients and for all Christians who might fight and die for freedom and Christianity (Elster 2010: 230). See also St. Clair, W. (1972: 33 and 101).

revolutionaries).[58] The Phrygian cap along with the loose hair and white flowing gown of Delacroix's Greece are directly connected to the neoclassical imagery of the French Republic. Taillasson's allegorical figure of Liberty bringing virtue and justice to the people, features these same three motifs of cap, loose hair and classical gown and can be compared to other contemporary female emblems like that of the personification of the Republic on the French government letterhead of 1799 (figures 4.13 and 4.14). Two French citizens in the right of Lesueur's poster (fig. 4.12) are also wearing or holding a red Phrygian cap. While the Phrygian cap fails to reach its full representative status in Delacroix's painting, because the multi-coloured, heavy embroidery of the headdress somewhat obscures its symbolic shape, the loose white gown worn by Delacroix's personified Greece under her modern dress coat has more than just a passing likeness to the one worn by the goddess-like figure of Liberty in Taillasson's painting (figure 4.13).

Marianne, the female symbol of Liberty during the French Revolution, was often presented wearing a flowing white garment that alluded to the virtues of antiquity.[59] Thus, the female personification of Liberty in Taillasson's *La Liberté ramenant aux people la Justice et la vertu* reveals the Hellenic inspiration of French Republican art that idealized the revolutionaries as successors to the ancients (figure 4.13). The prominence Delacroix gave his personification's gleaming white chiton-like garment aligns it with this Republican trope. The iconography of Liberty in French Republican art can therefore be deemed partly responsible for the perception of the town of Mesologgi as being a symbol of freedom for the Greek nation, or as Delacroix's title suggests a symbol of Greece.

Delacroix also clothed his personification of Greece in the red, white and blue colours of the French Republican flag. However, these are also the colours in which the Virgin Mary has been painted since the Renaissance, so the scheme can be seen to add a religious dimension to the subject of patriotism in *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi*.[60] Sara Lichtenstein has identified two possible sources for the personification's hand gestures and both connect Delacroix's painting with the cult of Mariolatry in nineteenth-century French art.[61] One of these is Jacques-Louis David's painting, *Les Sabines* of 1799, where, in the battle between the Romans and the Sabines,

[58] Harris (1981) and Agulhon (1981: 2).
[59] Hanson (2007: 208).
[60] An example is the painting *The Virgin in prayer* by Sassoferrato (appendix E figure E-4.5).
[61] Lichtenstein (1979).

a Sabine woman is depicted kneeling with her arms extended over a group of infants thereby drawing attention to their plight (figure 4.15).[62] Another influence on Delacroix's *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi* identified by Lichtenstein is a Marcantonio print after Raphael's painting *Virgin lamenting over the body of the dead Christ*, or indeed the painting itself, both dating from the early 1500s (figure 4.16).[63] Raphael depicted the mourning Virgin Mary with outstretched arms, open palms and averted gaze also characterized by Delacroix's personification of Greece.[64] In the context of Philhellenism, the iconographic allusion to the Virgin Mary's open mourning Delacroix provided in the painting heightens the pathos of the depiction of the plight of Christian Greece.

The art historian and Director of the National Gallery of Greece Marina Lambraki-Plaka, has identified Delacroix's painting *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi* foremost, as a reference to the Greek nation's 'Holy Passion'.[65] The religious significance of Delacroix's conceptualization of Greece in the stance of suffering for liberty can be associated with the Christian doctrine of salvation and ultimately links suffering to hope through the sanction of God.[66] Lambraki-Plaka's heightened awareness of the Christian religion as a Philhellene theme also casts the struggle for liberation, and therefore for the Greek nation, as sacred. The sanctity of political struggle was not exclusively a Philhellene notion, it is present in the Republican force of Taillasson's painting of Liberty bringing justice and virtue to the people (figure 4.13). His scene is sanctified by the hand of the deity hovering in the clouds above the crowd, eager to receive liberty.

Lansac arguably represented the sanctity of Greek suffering through references to the Holy family. The frontality of the dead child's face in Lansac's *Épisode du siège de Missolonghi* can be connected to the distinctive presentation of the infant Christ in *Madone de la maison d'Orléans* by Raphael (figure 4.17). The primary emotion evoked by images of the Madonna and Christ child is maternal love. Lansac painted the dead child at Mesologgi with a draped arm, which echoes Pietà scenes in traditional Christian iconography (figure 4.16 contains this detail). By appropriating the traditional religious

[62] Lichtenstein (1979: 95).
[63] Lichtenstein (1979: 95-6).
[64] Delacroix reproduced the gesture later in his own depiction of the Lamentation of Christ, *Pietà*, c.1850 (appendix E figure E-4.6).
[65] Lambraki-Plaka (1997: 3).
[66] Romans 5:3 (King James Version).

model of maternal love and Lamentation, Lansac's *Épisode du siège de Missolonghi* leads the viewer through a gamut of emotions to the horror of filicide (figure 4.2). Central to this narrative is the bloodied dagger in the mother's hand, which despite the suicidal outcome also signifies heroism through the autonomy and self-possession it depicts.

The mother holding the dagger in Lansac's *Épisode du siège de Missolonghi* could also be said to connect the painting iconographically to the narratives of female self-sacrifice from classical antiquity, such as Dido the legendary Queen of Carthage and emblem virtue in classical Roman literature, and the sexual violation of Lucretia whose suicide led to the foundation of the Roman Republic. [67] Lansac appears to have used elements from the three famous Renaissance works of art, the drawing *Lucretia* by Raphael and the engravings of his compositions titled *The suicide of Lucretia* and *Dido* by Marcantonio Raimondi, to emphasize the desperate plight of the women of Mesologgi (see figures 4.2, 4.18, 4.19 and 4.20). Lansac painted his lead figure barefoot, as does Raphael, in his drawing of Lucretia (figure 4.18), his Greek heroine's face in sharp profile as in the engraving *The suicide of Lucretia* (figure 4.19), while the manner in which her dagger is plunging downwards, can be compared to that of Dido in the engraving of figure 4.20.

The desperate state of the Greek insurgency conveyed by Lansac's painting also resides in the annexation of the optimistic symbol of the child as nation, to create a narrative of despair. This aspect of his composition is understood more fully in this context when considered alongside the engraving *La Greca che Fugge da Missolungi* 1837 by Narducci (figure 4.21). This engraving indicates that the Greek mother emerged in Italy as a patriotic figure after the Greek War of Independence during the era of burgeoning nationalism.[68] The depiction of a Greek mother, brandishing a scimitar and fleeing with her child from Mesologgi expresses bravery. The caption prescribes this interpretation specifying that the Greek mother is fleeing the Ottoman troops amid the smoking ruins of the town not out of fear, but in order to save her child. However, Lansac's painting was created in the volatile period immediately after Mesologgi had

[67] Ellen Harris in Grafton, Most, and Settis (Eds.) (2010: 268-69) and Alexander Murray in Grafton, Most, and Settis (Eds.) (2010: 914-15).
[68] See Urbani (2002:10) on the utilization of modern Greece as a cultural model by the Italian Risorgimento.

fallen and used the image of the heroic, but desperate act of filicide to emphasize that the Greek insurrection was collapsing.

Spilt blood as a symbol of Greek suffering and patriotic sacrifice

Eugène Delacroix's *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi*, 1826 (figure 4.1) and François-Émile de Lansac's *Épisode du siège de Missolonghi*, 1827 (figure 4.2) support the argument that an iconography of blood was the chief trope by which Philhellenism expressed Greek patriotic sacrifice and suffering. Marie-Thérèse Bouyssy has concluded that the symbol of spilt blood became a Philhellene obsession, which also formed part of a larger French political reference to the reign of terror.[69] In addition she has argued that Mesologgi became the vehicle for graphic and damning Philhellene rhetoric that conjured up visions of flowing rivers of Greek blood.[70] Philhellenes used the motif of spilt Greek blood across all genres, to amplify the message, that as the fall of Mesologgi demonstrated, without Western intervention the insurrection was doomed to failure.[71]

Graphic images of spilt blood at Mesologgi provided a vehicle for the theme of Greek suffering. Moreover, the rhetoric regarding Ottoman atrocities committed there had preceded the fall of the town, as the front page of 14 April 1826 edition of the newspaper *Le Constitutionnel* attests.[72] News of the capture of the town had not yet reached France, but the newspaper nonetheless was referring to the spilt blood of the brave Mesologgians as a crime against humanity.[73] Another example of vigorous artistic treatment of the heroic misfortune of the Greeks at Mesologgi, is the poem titled *Missolonghi, Dithyrambe* published in 1825 while the final siege of the town was in progress.[74] The poem reveals that the creation of Mesologgi in the European imagination was taking form before its fall and mobilized key elements of Philhellene propaganda. Its author made the connection of the Greek nation to antiquity made clear, but its most

[69] Bouyssy (2005: 55).
[70] Bouyssy (1995: 32).
[71] Two examples include the poem *La Guerre sacrée, ou Hommage à l'héroïsme des Grecs* by Le Prévost D'Iray (1827: 16) where the vanquished defenders of Mesologgi were said to have sown the soil with their blood, and another titled *Missolonghi: or, the Turkish Massacre* by Utopia (17 June 1826: 374) where fallen Mesologgi implores Greek heroes to avenge the Cross, the nation's murdered children and its destroyed castles. The French Philhellene Committee heavily engaged the rhetoric of spilt blood of innocent and unfortunate Christians at Mesologgi when calling for support for the Greek cause (Philhellene Committee [Paris] June 1826: 2, 15, 53 and 58).
[72] Le Constitutionnel (14 April 1826).
[73] Le Constitutionnel (14 April 1826: front page).
[74] *Missolonghi. Dithyrambe* (1825).

vigorous message stressed the association of the Mesologgians' fight for liberty with their religious identity.[75] One of the most impassioned lines referred to the Cross for years having been soaked in Greek blood.[76] This emotive approach formed a criticism of conservative politics by emphasizing that the West was abandoning the people of Mesologgi to ferocious Egyptians, who, the poem claimed, would slaughter children, women and the elderly.[77]

In his acclaimed historical account of the fall of Mesologgi, the French poet and journalist Auguste Fabre creatively incorporated Christianity and antiquity when describing the map of Greece as covered in blood and ruins.[78] Fabre's account is another example of the extent to which anti-Ottoman opprobrium fuelled Philhellenism and the motif of spilt blood stirred emotion. He referred to defeated Greece being taken over by 'negroes of Darfur' with women and children being buried under the debris of the Cross.[79] The question of how successful was this rhetoric surrounding the spilt Greek blood in mobilizing public opinion cannot be answered categorically. However, on 6 July 1827 the preamble of the Treaty of London concluded by France, Great Britain and Russia to bring the war to a close, referred to the 'necessity of putting an end to the sanguinary struggle'.[80] The rhetoric of 'Greek spilt blood' at Mesologgi might therefore be seen as infiltrating diplomatic policy.

The blood prominently displayed on the square architectural stone block at the feet of Greece personified and beside the lifeless arm in Delacroix's *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi* implied that the Greek blood being spilt at Mesologgi was also that of the ancients.[81] The theme of ancient blood staining the modern country's soil appeared

[75] *Missolonghi. Dithyrambe* (1825: 10).
[76] *Missolonghi. Dithyrambe* (1825: 9).
[77] *Missolonghi. Dithyrambe* (1825: 4-5 and 7).
[78] Fabre (1827: 15).
[79] Fabre (1827: 15).
[80] Schwartzberg (July 1988: 288).
[81] Ignatios, the ex-Metropolitan of Arta manipulated this rhetoric in a letter to Lord Byron dated 21 June to 3 July 1823 by stating that, 'The Greeks have been awaiting the moment to show the world that the blood of their fathers flows still in their veins; and now that the moment has arrived they have shown that their exploits are as sublime, as noble, as great, as those of the heroes led by Themistocles, Miltiades, and Leonidas' (Cochran 2013: 3). The Swiss philhellene Johann Jakob Meyer, who participated in the final siege of Mesologgi contributed to the mythologizing of the town's defenders as ancient heroes. Meyer's newspaper reports from within the town have greatly contributed to the idealization of wartime Mesologgi not least because he died in the final siege. Meyer's account of the blockade on 3 February 1826 in the *Greek Chronicle* stated that looking across the churned up lagoon, the last defenders' could see to an army comparable in size to that of Xerxes (Meyer 1958: no. 9/10, 3 February 1826: 2). The

in Philhellene literature at the commencement of the insurrection. Delacroix also engaged the rhetoric of blood ties between the modern and ancient population of the land to signify the moral obligation of the West to support the Greek Revolution.[82] Dimakis' collation of French press reportage on the Fall and Exodus of Mesologgi demonstrates that the town entered the imagination of the West through images involving concepts such as blood of the martyrs, immortal defenders of the nation and the vanquished buried under the town's ashes.[83] The fall of Mesologgi provided a location for the consolidation of this propaganda and the concomitant references to religion as a pillar of Greek patriotism.[84]

The utilization of blood by Philhellene artists comprises an iconographical link to Christian religious art through French Republican politics. De Baecque has identified the body at the centre of metaphorical language in French Revolutionary art, with bleeding wounds of martyrs representing sacrifice for political reform.[85] One of the best-known paintings from the French Republican era is *Marat Assassiné* by Jacques-Louis David (figure 4.22). David drew from religious imagery in creating his hagiography of the French Republican journalist Jean-Paul Marat. The stylised convex-shaped wound on Marat's chest is similar to those in portrayals of the crucified Christ in religious art. An example of the pronounced shape of this wound can be seen in the sixteenth-century German Pietà sculpture (Master of Rabenden, *Vesperbild*, figure 4.23). The wound on Jesus Christ's right side in this sculpture is the corporeal evidence of his suffering and sacrifice. In France the heroes of the revolution were viewed as martyrs to the cause and were elevated as the legitimate precursors of liberalism.[86]

Bouyssy connects the rhetoric surrounding Greek blood spilt at Mesologgi to internal French politics in the period of Restoration, in particular through the writing of Bertrand Barère.[87] After the fall of Mesologgi he referred to a river of steaming Greek blood resulting from the cold calculations of European diplomacy, and evoked smoke and

poem *Stances sur la ruine de Missolonghi et sur les espérances des Grecs* referred to streams of blood flowing on sacred soil, with ancient Greece referred to throughout (Levée J-B. 1827: 4).

[82] Bert (1821: 4).

[83] Dimakis (1976: 185-304).

[84] Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1989: 66-107) has persuasively shown that in France, Philhellene images of the defenders of Mesologgi depicted their plight as martyrdom. See appendix E figure E-4.7 for Pierre Roch Vigneron, *La prise de Missolonghi*, 1827 for an example of painting that placed emphasis on religion as an inspiration for the vanquished.

[85] De Baecque (1997: 4).

[86] Schnapper (1989: 109).

[87] Bouyssy (2012: 125).

blood colouring the dunes and lagoons of the town.[88] Barère's emotive rhetoric attests amply to the role of the fallen town as a rallying point for Philhellene sentiment and that the symbol of sacrificial blood forged a referentiality between Republican and Philhellene art that incriminated kings, European governments and Ottoman Imperial rule.[89] Barère further deplored the French aristocrats' lack of fraternity with the Greeks, accusing them of declining to shake hands with a liberated Greece, whose dying hand would stain their future with blood.[90]

The importance of spilt blood to Philhellene iconography of revolutionary Mesologgi is also is evident in the lithograph by Vautrin and Mauro titled *Prise de Missolonghi par Ibrahim Pacha (25 Avril 1826)* discussed above (figure 4.11). The stylized semi-circular wound on the distressed and weeping mother's right breast in the lithograph is similar in form to that of the revolutionary Marat in *Marat Assassiné* by David (figure 4.22). The Christ-like wound of the mother in figure 4.11 by Vautrin and Mauro equates the passion of Christ with the suffering of the Greek insurgents.[91] The Greek mother's facial expression and stylized streaming tears in *Prise de Missolonghi par Ibrahim Pacha (25 Avril 1826)* could be said to resemble that of Christ as the 'Man of Sorrows' in Latin and Byzantine art. Domenico Ghirlandaio's *Man of Sorrows* c.1490, provides one example of the presentation of Christ in this liminal period between his death and resurrection (figure 4.24). The comparison of a woman to Christ himself rather than a suffering Virgin Mary is a remarkable feature of this Philhellene lithograph. The fact that the Greek mother in figure 4.11 also shares the iconography of head inclined sideways to signify agony, as seen in the icon titled *Christ de Pitié* 1480-1500 (figure 4.25), might suggest that Vautrin and Mauro were intent on alluding to a Christ-like Passion as a prelude to the Greeks' ultimate triumph, subject to Philhellene support.

[88] Folio number 199 in papers of Bertrand Barère in Bouyssy (1992: 571).
[89] Out of a corpus of Barère's 212 papers on Greece and the problems of the nation's attaining independence 56 refer to Mesologgi (Bouyssy 1992).
[90] 'Diplomates and princes du 19è siècle, vous n'avez pas voulu serrer la main suppliante de la Grèce affranchie. Sa main mourante vous a marqués d'une tache de sang pour que l'avenir vous reconnaisse et vous punisse' (Folio number 195 in papers of Bertrand Barère in Bouyssy 1992: 573).
[91] This trope was also prevalent in politicized literary Philhellenism. A poem titled *Missolonghi* published in 1828 by the American writer Lidia Huntley Sigourney paralleled the fallen defenders of Mesologgi with Christ on the Cross (Mathaiou 2001: 103).

The image of Greek heroism in the face of Ottoman cruelty

The sublimated eroticism of the partially exposed female breast that Lansac placed at the very centre of his painting *Épisode du siège de Missolonghi,* 1827 evokes the exoticism that surrounded the Levant in the Western imagination (figure 4.2).[92] The mother's breast in Lansac's painting lacks the fecundity of Republican images that staged nation as a nurturing figure and formed part of French revolutionary iconography.[93] While Delacroix deified his personification in *Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi* as a goddess, or with sentiments of mariolatry, Lansac opted to eroticize his female figure. The partially exposed female breast of the mother in Lansac's painting is linearly connected to the rapidly approaching turbaned Ottoman troops on the left raising clouds of dust in their wake (figure 4.26). İrvin Cemil Schick has traced the motif of the Ottoman as a sexual predator and has argued that it forms part of the sexualization of national conflict in Philhellene art.[94] The sexualized nudity in Lansac's *Épisode du siège de Missolonghi*, 1827 exploits the Orientalist narrative of the licentious Ottoman through the raised knife aimed at her breast by female and dramatically intercepting the approach of the aggressors.

Another instance of the definition of the cruel Ottoman as a sexual predator can be seen in Johann Lorenz II Rugendas' coloured aquatint titled *Missolunghi's Fall* 1826, depicting the attempt of the besieged to break through the blockade of the town (figure 4.27). The caption under the title of Rugendas' image directs the viewer's attention to the explosive fire in the background denoting the self-immolation of those unable to join the exodus.[95] But this detail is upstaged by the depiction of the brutal desires about to be unleashed on the female captives including young girls. (see detail in figure 4.28). In this tableau a turbaned Ottoman soldier has one arm firmly around the waist of a young Greek female, whom he has hoisted off the ground in an aesthetic cue for sexual despoliation.[96] The sword in his other hand is about to descend on a Greek man seeking to rescue the

[92] Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1989: 11) has attributed popular interest in the Greek insurrection to the fact that the West found the affair 'simply exotic, picturesque and infinitely romantic'.
[93] See Dupuy (1989, vol. 2: 1400-2) for examples of images where this motif involved a voluptuous presentation of the female form.
[94] Schick (2007: 279-95).
[95] See Gordon (1832, vol. 2: 262-63) for a historical account of this event.
[96] Rugendas uniformly differentiated the defenders of Mesologgi from the Ottoman forces in the battle scene chiefly through their headwear. The Greeks appear in small red or blue round caps, and the Ottomans in multi-coloured turbans, or fezes with or without turbans securing them. Curiously the Greek males are dressed impractically in sandal-like footwear, perhaps a reference to the ancients.

captured female. In identifying the Ottoman scimitar as part of the Western visual tradition of the fierce and dangerous Turk, Wheatcroft has suggested that artists often made the weapon resemble a meat-cleaver.[97] However, in Rugundas' image both Greeks and Turks wield similar swords of this description, and the turban is the main marker of differentiation between the two populations.

Rugendas also depicts an elderly Greek woman kneeling at the captured girl's feet attempting to prevent her from being carried away.[98] DelPlato has identified a category of nineteenth-century harem images connected with the Greek War of Independence suggesting that captured Greek women were destined to be sold as slaves, to harems and forced conversions to Islam.[99] The presence of a Greek priest in Rugendas' scene of the young Christian girl's abduction intensifies the pathos. The animated priest is strategically placed opposite the girl and the Cross raised in his hand mirrors the raised sword of the Ottoman abductor. The Cross in the priest's hand is complemented by those on the flag behind, in an emphatic reminder of the Christian religious identity of the Greek victims (see figure 4.29 for detail).

The portrayal of another young woman, this one dead in the centre foreground with splayed arms and head drawn back in Rugendas' *Missolunghi's Fall* is also suggestive of sexual assault, rather than of combat (see detail figure 4.28). Her exposed right breast displays the mark of the martyr in Christian and Republican art in the form of a deep convex wound copiously dripping blood. The wound confronts the viewer with an emblematic representation of the suffering Greeks at Mesologgi, which in turn came to denote the precarious state of the whole insurrection after the town's fall.

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[97] Wheatcroft (2005: 262-63).

[98] Kastriti (2006: 84) has identified scenes of seizure as a symbol of Greece under Ottoman rule. Historical accounts of Christian females falling into Ottoman hands abounded with many specific to events at Mesologgi. One such text by Mazro (1828) was sold as a fund raiser by American Philhellenes its title *Turkish barbarity: an affecting narrative of the unparalleled sufferings* …. was clearly designed to play on to draw anti-Ottoman sentiment.

[99] DelPlato (2002: 90). See also Prousis (1985: 38-41 and 44-50) on the topic of Greek prisoners taken as war booty, the forced conversion of Christian captives to Islam and ransoms paid by Philhellenes for the release of Greek prisoners. This is not to say that civilian Muslims did not suffer at Mesologgi with the eruption of the insurgency. Finlay's (1971: 163) historical account relays that at the time that only the higher-ranking Turkish families were spared, while the majority were killed and women and children were taken as slaves by the wealthier Greek families. St. Clair, W. (1972: 1) poignantly acknowledged atrocities against the Turkish population during the Greek War of Independence with the remark that 'The Turks of Greece left few traces'.

The construction of Eugène Delacroix's *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi*, 1826 and François-Émile de Lansac's *Épisode du siège de Missolonghi*, 1827 was driven by a cultural hierarchy that perceived the West as superior to the East and further claimed Greece as part of Europe. Delacroix's interaction with the Greek Ideal in classical art provided the viewer with an aesthetic and ideological context to the theme of heroism predicated on concepts of beauty and virtue, residing in the Greek heritage. The influence of Classicism on Philhellenism was most apparent in both paintings through the iconography of ruins, which raises the question of whether interest in the Greek nation's attaining liberty from Ottoman rule would have arisen had it not been for the privileged position of Hellenic antiquity in Western culture. The question posed by Delacroix's *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi* and Lansac's *Épisode du siège de Missolonghi* was whether Hellenism would end with the destruction of Mesologgi.

In addition to the iconography of ruins, the other key mode of Philhellene political expression employed by Delacroix and Lansac was that of denigration of the Ottoman forces. Their focus on subjugated vulnerable females on the Greek side, cast the victorious Ottomans as unmitigated 'barbarians'. Orientalism provided the interpretive framework for these paintings, which rendered the insurgents as worthy of Western support and as having a moral right to liberty. Lansac's pseudo-historical *Épisode du siège de Missolonghi* dramatized the implied danger of sexual violation of the Greek mother and gave the measure of her heroic despair, in portraying her decision to kill and suicide rather than fall captive to the Ottoman forces. Mobilizing and adapting French Republican and Christian iconographies, Delacroix's *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi* 1826 and Lansac's *Épisode du siège de Missolonghi* 1827 established Mesologgi as a place of heroism and sacrifice. Through the projection of the key Philhellene rhetoric of 'freedom or death' and 'spilt Greek blood' onto the destruction of the town, these artists contributed to the development of an iconography of the town that powerfully conveyed the danger that the Greek insurrection would fail without Western support.

Chapter 5
The Mesologgian landscape and the imagining of nation after the Greek War of Independence.

As his boat slid over the shallow water from the south towards land, the classical scholar William J. Woodhouse remarked: 'Immediately before us there is a complex system of lagoons, on the edge of which, four miles away, we distinguish Mesolonghi, a name of deathless fame in modern Greek history'.[1] Woodhouse's description of the town in 1897 melds geography with history and demonstrates how the name of Mesologgi has come to acquire constituting power regarding the emergence of Modern Greece as a political entity. The geographical features that served to signify Mesologgi in art were the lagoon and the promontory upon which the town is situated, as well as the mountains to its west, north and east. This nexus between the visual image of landscape and nationhood has not been previously addressed within the context of Mesologgi and Philhellene art. Through an examination of images created in the period following the Greek War of Independence, this chapter will argue that depictions of Mesologgi and the topography of the area became part of the iconography of the Greek War of Independence, especially as a symbol of the formation of the nation-state.

This chapter will demonstrate that the distinctive geographical features of Mesologgi were used by artists in various interpretations of the landscape to promote the idea of the town as a bastion of Greek patriotism, and in so doing have also contributed to the enduring historical significance attached to the town to the present day. Depictions of the town presented in this chapter span the century and a half from 1837 to 1987. Unlike the images of war-time, such as that of the disastrous loss of the town, which Philhellene artists used to plead for support for the Greek insurrection, it will be argued that the post-revolutionary images emphasize the smallness of the town as a way of magnifying the heroic legend of Mesologgi.

Militarily the Greek War of Independence ended with the naval Battle of Navarino on 20 October 1827, when the allied powers of Britain, France and Russia intervened and

[1] Woodhouse W. J. (1973: 9). See also Appendix E figure E-5.1 for image titled *Mesologgi across the lagoon with fisheries in the foreground*, c.1890s produced from a glass-plate negative created by William J. Woodhouse.

destroyed the Ottoman fleet.[2] One of the immediate tasks for the European powers became the delineation of the territorial boundaries of the new Greek nation state. Indicative of the dilemmas involved was the response of Klemens von Metternich, the Austrian Foreign Minister, and staunch advocate of the legitimacy of Ottoman rule over the Greek nation; when confronted by the prospect of the formation of Modern Greece as a political entity, he wrote to Esterhazy, the Austrian Ambassador to London on 8 June 1826, 'It is difficult to say exactly what is to be understood by Greece'.[3]

As late as 1830 diplomatic deliberations invoked Metternich's view that Greece should be geographically confined to the Peloponnese and the Cyclades.[4] However, Viscount Palmerston had already insisted in a speech to the House of Commons on 1 June 1829 that the new country could not possibly exclude Athens, Thebes, Marathon, Salamis, Plataea, Thermopylae and significantly, Mesologgi.[5] In Palmerston's view the delineation of Modern Greece conjured up ancient history and modern legend, with Mesologgi defining the new Hellenism based on the town's military resistance to Ottoman imperial power.[6] The Protocol of 22 March 1829 created Greece geographically and duly placed Mesologgi inside the north-western continental frontier referred to as the Arta-Volos line.[7] A treaty securing the reversion of Mesologgi into Greek hands was signed on 3 May 1829, and General Richard Church, a British military officer appointed Commander of the Greek land forces, entered the town on 20 May shortly after the departure of the Ottoman garrison.[8]

[2] Brewer (2001: 325-36).
[3] Metternich (Ed.) (1970, vol. 4: 319). Metternich had chaired the 1815 Congress of Vienna and had remained firmly committed to protecting legitimacy of rule by the Ottoman Empire over the Greek nation.
[4] Papadopoulos, S. (1962: 175).
[5] Bulwer (1870, vol 1: 346).
[6] Campbell's poem *On the battle of Navarino* written in 1828 merged old and new Greece by extolling the toil of the defenders of Mesologgi and the tithe of their bloodshed for the sake of the Christian Cross against the Mussulman Crescent (Campbell 1907: 208-9). For current purposes, Palmerston's remark that Mesologgi must be included within the new boundary of Greece and Campbell's reference to the town in a poem about the decisive battle of Navarino demonstrate the significance of Mesologgi in the intellectual creation of modern Greece as a new political entity.
[7] Dontas (1966: 140).
[8] Dakin (1972: 56). Full independence for Greece was signed off by Britain, France and Russia in the Protocol of London in February 1830, but the frontiers of the new state were not fully determined until May 1832 [Beaton 2019: 110 and Constantopoulou (Ed.) 1999: 16-17).

Landscape as a setting for nation

As a visual term landscape identifies how topography can be formulated to acquire subjective signifying properties.[9] An example of landscape's ability to convey sophisticated ideologies is provided by the comparison of Hugh William Williams' *Parthenon of Athens in its present state* (figure 5.1) and Charles Robert Cockerell's *The Parthenon of Athens restored* (figure 5.2) which reveal how select artistic criteria were engaged to promote Athens as a nineteenth century symbol of expectant rejuvenated Greece and modern Hellenism. The images appeared as the first two plates of part one in Williams' book *Select Views in Greece* published in 1823, and each was accompanied by a similarly titled poem on the theme of the decline, and restoration of classical civilization respectively.[10] The comparison of two historical aspects of the Parthenon in these engravings reveal the ability of art to inscribe architecture and landscape with cultural ideals. These plates presented the monument in reverse chronological order, i.e., the image of the time-worn temple that the artists encountered (figure 5.1) preceded the imagined original state of the Parthenon as a restoration (figure 5.2).

The sequence of the plates presented architecture as emblematic of refined culture and Cockerell's reimagined Hellene world with a restored Parthenon in this historical context can be seen to make an assertive claim about the future of Modern Greece.[11] The restored Parthenon in the second plate (figure 5.2), projects an ideology of 'rehellenizing' Greece in the modern era that was pure fantasy.[12] The first plate (figure 5.1) depicts the temple after Lord Elgin had removed sections of the marble sculptures from the pediment and metope friezes.[13]Modest domestic buildings appear in the engraving to the right and left of the Parthenon, with small groups of people in quasi-oriental dress recumbent around its base, some talking, some holding pipes and others with a staff, or rifle in hand. The second plate (figure 5.2), *The Parthenon of Athens restored*, forms a sharp contrast

[9] Cosgrove (1985: 46) and Cosgrove & Daniels (Eds.) (1988: 1).
[10] Fine Arts: Select views in Greece. (October 1823).
[11] There is no evidence that Cockerell created this restoration in this context. A study of Cockerell's works by Bordeleau (2006: 17, 24-25 and 254-58) based on the architect's unpublished Royal Academy notes, diary and sketchbooks pinpoints his acute awareness of the relationship between architecture and memory, and the narrative potential of the built form relating to history and environment.
[12] The plates are not numbered in Williams' publication, however, for ease of reference within this thesis I have taken the liberty of naming them plates one and two.
[13] This appears ironic to the twenty-first century eyes because Lord Elgin's actions have come to represent a disregard for the modern population as the custodians of the ancient culture of Greece.

to the first with the Parthenon depicted in its supposed original condition and as a functioning temple (figure 5.1). In this idealized and programmatic scene, the statue of the goddess Athena presides over a grandiose religious ceremony involving a sacrifice at a central altar with thousands of people present. The span of the landscape in the second plate takes the viewer out to the Saronic Gulf and into the far distance. Several other public buildings in pristine condition appear in the middle-ground, including the Erechtheion with its Caryatid porch. The image of Athens created by this plate is of a sophisticated city in its golden age populated with civic-minded citizens, in contrast to the random Levantine appurtenances of plate one. In juxtaposition, Williams' and Cockerell's drawings of the Parthenon, created during the Greek War of Independence, and published at a time when the Greek nation-state was yet to be formally established, demonstrate the function of the ruin as a symbol of a collective European civilization. This presentation visualized the anticipation of Philhellenes that their idealized construction of antiquity would materialize following the Greek War of Independence.

Williams used the sequence of Parthenon plates in his later publication of 1829 titled *Select views of Greece* to buttress the emergent nation state. The Greek Society of Friends of the Arts (Philomousos Etaireia, founded in Athens in 1813) also imagined Modern Greece as the physical incarnation of antiquity and had commenced planning during the War of Independence for the 'purification' of the landscape of structures foreign to the golden era of Greece.[14] The clearing of the Parthenon of any buildings that did not belong to the classical era by Cockerell in his image, epitomized the desire to build Greece from the remains of antiquity, rather than any other era of the country's history.

The landscape images that follow are examined for the development of a nineteenth century iconographical tradition in relation to revolutionary Mesologgi as an emblem of Modern Greece and a unifying symbol of nationhood for the newborn country. While the Greek people were united by religion and language they were socially a very differentiated population.[15] Apart from economic diversity, intense regionalism

[14] Hamilakis (2007: 86).
[15] See Clogg (1988: 42), Dakin (1972: 14-15) and Calotychos (2003: 61) for a discussion of these groups that included Phanariots, church hierarchy and clergy, island ship-owners, merchants and a rural class.

contributed to passionate internal struggles even during the insurrection.[16] These power struggles continued in the early years of monarchical rule in the form of a poor relationship between the state as a political institution and the people.[17] A recent study of nationalism in Greece and Turkey by Özkirimli and Sofos concluded that it 'is haunted by a fixation on territory' and that construction of national space involves the actual or imagined grafting of the nation onto physical environments.[18] Güthenke has also argued that landscape gained importance in the period after the War of Independence in the representation of Greece as a united political entity, and she identifies landscape as an aesthetic, 'enabling form of Hellenism'.[19] This argument is supported by Howarth and Stavrakakis who conclude that landscape functions like any other discourse to 'form the identities of subjects and objects'.[20] The images selected here will not focus on Greece's ancient legacy, but instead identify a fusion of nation and landscape through references to the Greek War of Independence that emphasize Mesologgi's connection to the emergence of the modern Greek state. The first painting chosen to illustrate this nexus emerged from the front line of the insurrection.

General Makriyannis: the role of art in the formation of the canon of Greek historical sources

Much has been written about the memoirs of the semi-literate Greek General Ioannis Makriyannis, and the exceptional qualities that set apart his authorial feat from other numerous accounts of the Greek War of Independence, making his memoirs a fundamental source of twentieth-century Greek nationalism.[21] Along-side his writings, another exceptional aspect of his contribution to modern Greek consciousness is the set of twenty-four paintings that Makriyannis commissioned from Panayiotis Zographos for lobbying, with the intention of presenting them to the heads of state of the three Great Powers. Zographos' images are best described as topographical battle paintings that have

[16] Petropoulos (1968: 20) has argued at the first national assembly held in December 1821 participants regarded their presence more as representatives of their regions, rather than members of a national body of government.
[17] Veremis (1983: 60).
[18] Özkirimli and Sofos (2008: 103), also Sofos and Özkirimli (2009: 19).
[19] Güthenke (2008: 6-7, 10-11, 20-43 and 62).
[20] Howarth and Stavrakakis in Howarth, D., Norval, A., & Stavrakakis, Y. (Eds.) (2000: 3).
[21] Seferis (1982: 25-65), Theotokas (2010), Kakridis (1972) and (Lidderdale (Ed.) (1966). Revisionist appraisals of Makriyannis have been conducted by Simopoulos (1986), who considered that Makriyannis was also a religious fanatic and was self-serving in putting his war recollections to paper; also, Lambropoulos (1988: 44-46, 52-58 and 61=65) who has criticized the privilege that Makriyannis' ethnocentrism has been accorded in the Greek culture. See also Giannoulopoulos (2003).

influenced the development of popular patriotic perceptions of the War of Independence and Greek identity.[22] The paintings brought together war episodes from across the country in a corporeal and systematic way to present liberty as a collective national achievement. The depictions of these battles allowed viewers to conceptualize Greek identity through heroism, and therein lies the political role of Mesologgi in Makriyiannis' narrative of the revolution.

Having served as a General during the War, it was not surprising that Makriyannis would become involved in domestic politics while serving as a battalion commander under Governor Kapodistrias from April 1828 onwards.[23] The new Greek State disappointed Makriyannis' hopes for his liberated homeland. His grievances multiplied under the Absolute Monarchy, whose Regents he deemed opportunistic and disrespectful to war veterans.[24] General Makriyannis commenced writing his memoirs in 1829 and continued into the 1850s in a bid to establish his viewpoint alongside other historical writings of the period.[25] He expressed concern for the future of a politically volatile new nation state beset by economic uncertainty and party factionalism. He grappled with the meaning of 'ethnos', the term he applied to the Greek nation, and he espoused patriotism and religion as its core.[26] Makriyannis agonized over issues of the state's responsibility towards its people, and vice versa, in the manner of one viewing for the first time his homeland as a national entity as opposed to the regional location of his family's roots.[27]

It was after his retirement from civic life that Makriyannis commissioned Panayiotis Zographos and his two sons to illustrate important battle scenes from the War of Independence.[28] The project was an ambitious endeavour by a man of modest means,

[22] The first illustration in the series is titled *The righteous decision of God for the liberation of Greece* and is an allegorical depiction of God directing angels to crown the benefactor powers of the new nation, while the twenty-fourth depicts the personification of ancient Greece recording in gratitude the names of Philhellenes who fought for the nation's freedom on a tablet of immortality (Makriyannis 1976).

[23] Makriyannis (1977: 297-98), Dakin (1972: 45, 50-1, 75), Brewer (2003: 340) and Gritsopoulos (1970: 227).

[24] Dakin (1972: 78), Makriyannis (1977: 379-81 and 408) and Christopoulos & Bastias (Eds.) (1975, vol. 13: 64-65, 77 and 91-92). See Kitromilides (2013: 343) on the failure of liberalism in Greece as a result of Bavarian maladministration.

[25] Makriyannis (1977: 92 and 388). See Simopoulos (1986: 13) for a list of war memoirs published by others prior to 1849.

[26] Makriyannis (1977: 91-92).

[27] Makriyannis (1977: 112, 130 and 350)

[28] Makriyannis (1977: 384-85 and 395-400) and Millar (1995: 954-55).

but was not far removed from the Greek popular practice of commissioning religious icons from painters. Makriyannis' reason for embarking on the pictorial account of events was the same as he gave for taking up the pen to write his memoirs; so that his observations and experiences sat alongside those of others, and thus he entered the genre of illustrated historiography.[29]

Balaes has argued that Makriyannis hatched the idea of an artistic depiction of the Greek Revolution while he was on a military assignment to Aitoloakarnania in 1836, to quell an uprising involving irregular troops.[30] This, in fact, was not Makriyannis' first journey to the region of Mesologgi, he was born on the western mainland and mercantile pursuits had previously taken him to the town, as had other war-time activities.[31] The Nobel Laureate poet Odysseus Elytes also supported that idea that Mesologgi was instrumental in Makriyannis' decision to embark on the series of paintings.[32] While on duty in Mesologgi under the Command of General Richard Church, Makriyannis observed first-hand, and later recorded in his memoirs, the anarchy prevalent in the region.[33] The extreme violence and the fact that some brigands had entered into capitulation agreements with the remaining Ottoman forces in the region offended Makriyannis' strong sense of patriotism.[34] His memoirs refer to an illustration project of the Greek War of Independence shortly after the account of his visit to Mesologgi, stating that he engaged an artist upon his return to Athens.[35] So, it appears that his arrival in post-war Mesologgi, and finding the region of his birth in such turmoil, was indeed the defining moment for the commencement of Makriyannis' pictorial history of the war.

It might be speculated that Makriyannis was inspired to commence his own artistic project on the formation of the Greek state having seen the German artist Peter von Hess working on a pictorial commission from King Ludwig I on the liberation of Greece.[36] One wonders whether Makriyannis had seen Peter von Hess sketching in Athens

[29] Makriyannis (1977: 384).
[30] Balaes (1991:147). On the problem of brigandage in the region at this time see Koliopoulos (1979: 20-25).
[31] Makriyannis (1977: 104, 116 and 130).
[32] Elytes (1974: 420-21).
[33] Makriyannis (1977: 373).
[34] Makriyannis (1977: 373).
[35] Makriyannis (1977: 384-85 and 395).
[36] Papanikolaou, M. (1981: 113-19).

and was inspired to commence his own artistic project on the formation of the Greek State. Zographos created four sets of twenty-four bodycolour copies on paper between 1836 and 1839 from the original twenty-five oil paintings on wood, which Makriyannis presented as gifts to King Otto of Greece and the Ministers in residence of the three powers involved in establishing the Greek State.[37]

A depiction of Mesologgi is of course included in Makriyannis' commission; it is the fifteenth painting in the series and presents a cartographic-like image titled *Various sieges of Mesologgi* (figure 5.3). The painting shows the small town nestled in a broad landscape comprising the lagoon, and a flat plain, surrounded by mountains with the extensive Ottoman army bearing down upon it. The expansiveness of the landscape in the painting emphasizes the smallness of Mesologgi and serves to intensify the magnitude of its heroic role in modern Greek history. This is the narrative of revolutionary Mesologgi that has also become firmly established in Greek culture and as Makriyannis' project clearly demonstrated, landscape art is exceptionally capable of conveying this message.[38]

General Makriyannis claimed to have explicated the battle scenes to Zographos in situ in some instances.[39] Landscape dominates in Makriyannis' narratives of war, perhaps with a view to enabling his viewers to recognize their particular place of origin on what effectively forms a map of the Greek War of Independence. The manipulation of landscape to cultivate a national psyche is referred to by Leontis as 'topographies of Hellenism'.[40] Likewise, Peckham's study on nationalism and the politics of place in Greece, underscores this point with the assertion that landscape painting assisted in the expression of a nascent sense of political and cultural community.[41] To orientate the viewer Zographos' *Various sieges of Mesologgi* engaged the commonplace Philhellene conception of revolutionary Mesologgi as a small, but heroic, military centre embodying a 'David and Goliath' contest with Ottoman forces (figure 5.3). Zographos' illustration communicates this by placing the town in the bottom left-hand corner of the painting

[37] Makriyannis (1976: 1 and 1977: 396-99) and Lidderdale (1976: 3).
[38] A comparable motif occurs in a folk poem calling upon the mountains surrounding Mesologgi to help the small town to hold out after neighbouring regions had succumbed to the Ottomans. (Papathanosopoulos 1962: 259).
[39] Makriyannis (1977: 396).
[40] Leontis (1995:11).
[41] Peckham (2001: 26).

against the extensive landscape inundated by Reshid Pasha's advancing phalanxes of horsemen and infantry. The atmosphere of foreboding this imparts to the work is further emphasized by the clearly delineated, but limited number of buildings, contained within the walls of Mesologgi. The vibrantly coloured sea that surrounds the town serves to keep Mesologgi and its smallness, and therefore vulnerability, in the viewer's mind.

Makriyannis stated that he dismissed an unnamed western artist whom he first engaged on the project after the completion of several works before commissioning Zographos, who belonged to a family of icon painters.[42] In his essay for the catalogue to Elizabeth Gertsakis' exhibition *Beyond Missolonghi* that referenced Zographos' scenes the cultural theorist Nikos Papastergiades credited Makriyannis with sufficient self-awareness to have rejected the 'romantic tone' of Western painting in favour of something imbued with his own culture.[43] Papastergiades' argument points to the mutual effect of projection and identification in the process of self-representation, which in turn suggests that Makriyannis' aesthetic was driven by his identity, or cultural consciousness. Makriyannis clearly stated that there was a language barrier between himself and the Western artist whom he first commissioned, but also specified, 'He made two or three, they were not any good, I paid him and he left'.[44] As the language barrier was there from the outset of the commission, Balaes has reasoned that it was not the only reason Makriyannis chose to dismiss the Western artist and that the matter was a question of differing aesthetic sensibilities between the two.[45] Odysseus Elytes also considered the reason for Makriyannis' settling on Zographos was the issue of artistic taste and execution and concluded that the psychological connection with the Greek artist prevailed in his final choice.[46] Elytes' view is supported by fact that Makriyannis referred to Panagiotis Zographos in his memoirs first as being a veteran, and then to his being an artist.[47]

A further interpretation of these images by the art historian and critic, Nikos Moschonas, has dismissed the possibility that Makriyannis scorned the realistic Western

[42] Makriyannis (1977: 395).
[43] Gertsakis (1994: 10). Gertsakis' choice of the title *Beyond Missolonghi* for her exhibition demonstrates the power and longevity that the narrative of Mesologgi has acquired in the construction of Greek national identity.
[44] Makriyannis (1977: 395). Translation is my own.
[45] Balaes (1991: 147-48).
[46] Elytes (1974: 421-22 and 426).
[47] Makriyannis (1977: 395-96).

academic style on the grounds of aesthetic taste, and instead considers that his final choice of Zographos was based on the need for a technique that could expediently narrate events and was also widely accessible to the public.[48] Makriyannis utilized his pictorial series as an *aide-mémoire* for his compatriots.[49] Veterans sought Makriyannis out after hearing about 'the pictures of war' as he referred to the series in his memoirs.[50] He endorsed the illustrations to veterans with narratives of the battles depicted, by pointing out where they had fought, 'so as to see their homeland free'.[51] This suggests that Makriyannis was not merely using the illustrations to record events according to his memory, but was also aiming to create a type of primer of the Greek War of Independence. His desire to circulate multiple copies in lithographic form also supports the view that Makriyannis was consciously attempting to build the nation's cultural and political coherence around the shared experience of the insurgency.[52]

A lack of formal perspective in the series allowed greater density in the artistic narrative, and as is in the case with *Various sieges of Mesologgi* (figure 5.3), enabled the concurrent presentation of events from different chronological moments. This factor emphasizes the sustained efforts on the part of the defenders of the town to hold out against successive Ottoman attacks, as well as providing a historical overview of revolutionary Mesologgi. Each painting in Makriyannis' series included a caption featuring a numbered textual description of the battles and a key by which the viewer can locate these episodes in the terrain. However, not all of the text accompanying Zographos', *Various sieges of Mesologgi* was illustrated. For example, item number 11 in the key to the painting is a list of 57 individuals and groups, including foreign Philhellenes, who commanded, or participated in, these sieges and who were not presented pictorially.[53]

The animation Zographos imparted to his subject matter, the phalanxes of the horses, the rendering of the vegetation, as well as the shading along the coastline and mountain slopes are reminiscent of sixteenth century Ottoman miniature painting. This

[48] Moschonas in Komine-Dialetis (Ed.) (1997, vol. 1: 448-49).
[49] Makriyannis (1977: 410).
[50] Makriyannis (1977: 410).
[51] Makriyannis (1977: 410).
[52] Makriyannis (1977: 385-86).
[53] The key at the bottom of the painting contains twelve entries that describe the illustrated military events.

art form largely chronicled historical events in a topographical setting.[54] The building layout and crenellated walls of Mesologgi in the bottom right of the composition (figure 5.4) also approximates the dense lateral grid format for fortresses in Ottoman miniatures.[55] Some features, such as the aerial view, the inclusion of names of principal people in history, and the key provided at the base of each composition for the content provided, can similarly be associated with the composite character of Venetian cartographical engravings from the mid-sixteenth century that also distorted scale to highlight important aspects of the landscape and topographical features.[56] In any case, without belonging to any single stylistic tradition, Zographos seems to have captured Makriyannis' vision to the latter's satisfaction.

The vibrant pictorial narration of events by Zographos' *Various sieges of Mesologgi* (figure 5.3) celebrates the small town holding out for six years against the Ottomans, before succumbing heroically. This is chiefly conveyed by Zographos' richly colourful palette, with its predominance of bright blue and pale yellow. Notably there is an absence of blood in the clashes between the defenders of Mesologgi and the Turks. In the middle ground of the composition the fallen defenders are signified by prostrate figures who remain as neat in their appearance as those of their comrades still engaged in combat. The aesthetic stylization of events at Mesologgi in Zographos' painting extends to the Greek insurgents presented in white clothing in the closely fought battles taking place outside the town's walls. This immaculate presentation belies historical accounts by eye-witnesses, such as Kasomoulis, who were present when the town passed into Ottoman control on the evening of 11 April 1826. In his memoirs Kasomoulis recalled that intolerable hunger after the year-long blockade of the town drove some people to eat vermin and human remains.[57]

[54] See Ebel (January 2008: 8, 9, 10 and 12) for town views painted by Matrakçi Nasuh who was the first Ottoman miniaturist to engage city and topographical views to represent the geographical scope of the Ottoman State.

[55] For examples see Ebel (January 2008: 8, 9, 10 and 12) and Özgül (2012: 188-89).

[56] See Wilson (2005: figures. 1, 56, 57, 64, 65, 66 and 67) for examples of these features in Venetian cartographical engravings. Also see Karabelas (2006: item 9) for a hand-drawn map that depicts the Turkish held town of Preveza under siege by Venetian forces on 20 September 1684 for the similar grid-like layout and crenellated walled town of Mesologgi that extends into the sea as Zographos depicted it in figure 5.4.

[57] Vlachogiannis (Ed.) (1939-42, vol. 2: 241-43 and 256).

Zographos' depiction of Mesologgi in the final siege presents the town still standing without any noticeable debris and retaining the appearance of an impenetrable fortress, its gleaming white walls curiously at odds with the depiction of the bombardment by the Ottoman artillery being answered by Greek cross-fire. Similarly, Zographos depicts the bridge connecting the promontory of Mesologgi to the northern plain as a sturdy stone structure. The abundant use of white in the painting suggests that Makriyannis and Zographos are inscribing Mesologgi with symbolic status in the history of the Greek Revolution. Apart from fires in three locations, this idealization of Mesologgi gives no hint of a town devastated by the final siege; the luminous fortifications and intact buildings captured by the Ottoman forces amount to a hagiography of the town.

Zographos' well-ordered landscape did not prevent the depiction of crucial events, such as the destruction of Basiliadi, the protective fort in the lagoon, and the self-immolation of those too frail to participate in the final exodus by the blowing up of artillery magazines in two locations.[58] Makriyannis' narration to Zographos clearly paid attention to historical detail, to judge by the correct direction of the arrival of the ships of the Ottoman commander Ibrahim Pasha, after storming the Morea. However, as a promotion of the Greek revolutionary spirit, Makriyannis' narration is also selective and demonstrates how legends develop into tidy narratives, or are constrained by a particular framework. Thus, there is no reference in the *Various sieges of Mesologgi* (figure 5.3) to the monastery of St. Simeon on Mt. Arakynthos, six kilometres north of the town, where those who undertook the Exodus were to regroup. The landscape in Zographos' painting could have easily accommodated it, but Makriyannis apparently elected to reinforce the legend that the last defenders chose to martyr themselves to Greek liberty rather than continue in subjugation.

A curious aspect of Zographos' *Various sieges of Mesologgi* (figure 5.3) involves what is best described as a folkloric approach to Greek identity based on the antinomy between the defenders and the Ottoman besiegers of the town. Item number 8, in the key at the base of the composition refers to an episode taking place within the walls of Mesologgi immediately on the right of the bridge connecting the town to the plain (see

[58] These events are numbered 5, 7 and 9 in the key beneath the painting.

figure 5.4). The narrative of the episode is unintentionally comic in stating that two women resisted a Turk by seizing him by the beard when he entered the town. Zographos appears to have only loosely followed Makriyannis' description of this scene (provided in the legend below the painting), because rather than depicting the women standing face to face with the Ottoman soldier and holding him by the beard, both stand behind him with one holding what looks to be his unravelling turban. However, the discrepancy between the textual narration and artistic execution of this scene is of no real consequence to the message conveyed. The scene appears designed to ridicule the Ottoman soldiers and can be considered a visual trope of Greek nationalist discourse whereby a pitiable and abused Greece retaliates desperately against Ottoman tyranny.[59]

This scene also contributes to the legends emerging from the Greek War of Independence surrounding the heroic participation of women in the defence of Mesologgi.[60] As seen in chapter four of this thesis, the principal tropes applied to women as part of the iconography of the insurrection were the Greek mother, the vulnerable female or the brave insurgent with sword in hand. While the text accompanying Zographos' images enables the viewer to decipher events, the example of the two females confronting the Ottoman soldier demonstrates how the developing iconography of the Greek War of Independence and nationalism are entwined. The iconography of this scene is steeped in a Greek Orientalist perspective and engages positive selective self-stereotyping against the Ottoman.[61] This scene is in all probability historical fiction but it illustrates the perception of the indomitable spirit that sustained the under-resourced insurrection. Certainly, the scene demonstrates the potential of iconography to nurture cultural beliefs by implanting visual images in the collective narrative.

[59] A comparable scene appears in the caricature titled *The rising sun or faction defeated* satirizing the liberalism of the Prime Minister George Canning and depicting personifications of the Holy Alliance (France, Russia, Austria and Spain) posing under a cloud of ignorance. To the left of them Greece has grabbed Turkey by the beard (see appendix E figure E-5.2).

[60] An example of this post-war trope can be seen in figure. 2.2 where Deneuville depicted women at the battle front during the first siege of Mesologgi on Christmas Eve of 1822, when the defenders of the town successfully repelled the attack by Omer Vrionis. The women are depicted literally fighting with their bare hands and hurling stones at their besiegers.

[61] Biernat, Green & Vescio (1996: 1194) define self-stereotyping as 'perceiving oneself as a member of a group and consequently behaving in line with this social identity'.

Ludwig Köllnberger and Adalbert Marc: encountering the Nation

Images produced of Mesologgi after the war were not only created by, and for Greek citizens. Two amateur artists among the Bavarian soldiers stationed in the Kingdom of Greece in the 1830s were inspired to paint landscapes of Mesologgi. [62] Ludwig Köllnberger and Adalbert Marc depict an unassuming war-ravaged town, but their watercolours capture something of the optimistic symbolism associated with the town in the discourse of Greek nationalism (figures 5.5 and 5.7). These two landscapes, are titled *Messalonghi* and *Missolunghi* respectively and are both dated 1834.[63] The compositions share the same elevated viewpoint from the slopes situated in close proximity to the north-east of the town. The artists had the choice of a more elevated and striking viewpoint further west that would have taken in the ancient ruins in the locality, as shown in Pomardi's 1806 *Panorama from Pleuron, looking South*, which was later published in three parts and titled *Ruins of an ancient city near Messalonghi in Aetolia* in Dodwell's *Views and Descriptions* in 1834 as plate 25 (see figures 1.10, 1.11 a, b and c).[64] The fact that Marc's and Köllnberger's watercolours have a perspective devoid of any references to antiquity suggests that their focus was the town itself and the wide expanse of the lagoon before them.

Upon first glance *Messalonghi* and *Missolunghi* (figures 5.5 and 5.7) appear sufficiently similar to encourage the assumption that one is a copy of the other.[65] Köllnberger can be placed in Mesologgi in March - April 1834, but there is no conclusive evidence that Marc was ever actually there despite his Battalion's being listed as being present in the region at this same time.[66] The more detailed features of the slopes rising

[62] Papanikolaou, M. (1981: 133-37 and 203-4) and Bronzetti (1842: 34). Brigandage and insecurity at the frontiers meant the German battalions that largely formed the Greek regular army at this time were stationed in various parts of Greece (Finlay 1861 vol. 2: 345-56). See Schuster (1909) on the expeditions of Bavarian Auxiliary Corps in the newly formed Greek nation state.

[63] Köllnberger's *Messalonghi* forms part of the two volumes of watercolours created between 1834-35 during his service in Greece (Baumstark 1999: 388-92). It appears that Köllnberger's father may have nurtured a Philhellene spirit in his son as in 1826 Köllnberger senior had formed an aid organization in Passau for the relief of the Greeks (Baumstark 1999: 388). Marc had volunteered to serve in Greece and also created two albums of watercolours over 1833-1836 in which *Missolunghi* 1834 is included (Baumstark 1999: 392).

[64] See Zernioti and Camp (2014: 96-97) for an image of the original pen and ink drawing by Pomardi.

[65] Rienhard Kirner (Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Kriegsarchiv, Munich) has suggested another possibility; that both watercolours may have been based on a common source.

[66] Bronzetti (1842: 198), a Major in the Bavarian army at this time, refers to German troops being in the region of Mesologgi during the spring of 1834 and states that the 6th Battalion assembled in Mesologgi on the 15 August 1834. According to Friedrich (2015: 172) Corporal Köllnberger initially belonged to the 1st Bavarian Line Infantry Battalion and then rose to the rank of Lieutenant in the 6th Battalion.

from the sea in Köllnberger image (figure 5.5), strongly suggests that he was the artist responsible for the original composition. Slight variations between the two watercolours exist, most notably in the differing depiction of the three men that appear in the left foreground of each work. In Köllnberger's composition, a shepherd's hut made of dried grass is shown behind these men. The depiction of the hut is true to this traditional structure of the time in western mainland Greece, and therefore suggests that Köllnberger had seen one at first hand. A hut does not appear in the corresponding location in Adalbert Marc's composition. Perhaps the structure in Köllnberger's work may have confounded Marc, so he may have chosen to omit it. Marc's outlining in ink of the three figures who are brought closer in the foreground than those in Köllnberger's work, emphasizes their soldierly identity. This is especially relevant to the central figure standing with a rifle slung over his shoulders, and his left hand resting on the handle of his sword. Apart from these figures and the town itself, the rest of Marc's composition is worked quite loosely and sparingly when compared to Köllnberger's watercolour.

The most striking similarity between the compositions by Marc and Köllnberger is the portrayal of the town in the landscape, notably the presentation of the town gate, fortifications and buildings. Likewise, in the portrayal of Fort Basiliadi, which is situated on the nearest islet to Mesologgi and played a significant role in the defence of the town.[67] In both watercolours the flag-adorned gate looks remarkably intact in contrast to the surrounding ramparts and walls that appear to be little more than mounds of earth. This modest depiction of the defensive walls is a departure from the 'citadel of ideals' and 'tragic city' type of representation that had become the norm for Philhellene artistic depictions of revolutionary Mesologgi.[68] As Makriyannis' *Various sieges of Mesologgi* intimates, the town did not have any natural features for defence and was fully exposed to an approach from the north when the insurrection broke out there at the end of May 1821. Between July and September, trenches were dug and the soil used to build a low

Papanikolaou, M. (1981: 133) and Fuchs (1999: 388) report that Köllnberger was initially in the 3rd Infantry Battalion. Köllnberger was billeted in Lepanto when in the 6th Battalion (Haggenmüller 2015: 3). Heydenreuter (1995: 113) places Köllnberger at Mesologgi in March and April of 1834. Adalbert Marc joined the Bavarian army in 1831 and served in the 7th Battalion in Greece from December 1833 to December 1835 (Aichner 1999: 392). Friedrich (2015: 160) lists this Battalion as being in present in Mesologgi and the surrounding region on 21 March 1834. However, Marc referred to 'glorious' Mesologgi with its 'crumbling walls and death mounds' in his memoirs while he was stationed across the gulf in Patra without stating that he had ever been there (Marc: 1834-1835).

[67] Stasinopoulos (1979, vol. 1: 227-8).

[68] See the Appendix E figures E-1.8 by Plattel, figure E-2.4 by Raffet and E-5.3 by Fonville for examples.

wall for fortification that effectively made Mesologgi an island.[69] In 1823, an engineer-designed, but simple fortification was built.[70] Once the town was liberated in May 1829 permits were granted to citizens to reclaim the stone that had been taken from their homes for this defensive wall.[71] The entry gate that features prominently in both Marc's and Köllnberger's watercolours was rebuilt shortly thereafter.[72] These two factors may account for the disparity between the pristine condition of the gate and the gaps in the walls in Marc's and Köllnberger's paintings. In both watercolours the large scale of the flag with its prominent Cross contributes to marking the town as part of the newly formed nation-state and its official religion.

As a symbol of the new nation-state, the Greek flag is presented against the sprawling backdrop of a vivid seascape that is blue enough to lend some colour to the islands and landmass opposite Mesologgi. There are two depictions of Greece juxtaposed in these watercolours; the war-torn and the picturesque. Anne-Marie Thiesse has argued that it is possible to evoke nation through references to landscape and that an effective codification of the natural environment became established in the nineteenth century among writers, poets and artists.[73] The bright light that characterizes these watercolours by Köllnberger and Marc epitomizes nineteenth century topographical landscape paintings by artists such as Carl Rottmann, Ludwig Lange, Karl Krazeisen, Peter Von Hess and Edward Lear, which revel in the blue skies and seascapes of Greece.[74]

The sanguine mood created by the light in paintings of Mesologgi by Köllnberger and Marc is at odds with narrative accounts of the town from the period. For example, the description of John Lloyd Stephens who travelled to Greece in February 1835 as part of a tour around Europe. Stephens was forced by adverse conditions to disembark at

[69] At this time the defensive wall was 1.20 metres high and he surrounding trench 2.50 metres wide with a depth of 1.50 metres (Doulis 1976: 18).
[70] Doulis (1976: 22).
[71] Doulis (1976: 52).
[72] Doulis (1976: 37).
[73] Thiesse (2007: 22-23).
[74] Examples include Krazeisen's *Mountains of Albania – Burdzi of Nauplia,* 1826. 31.5 x 25 cm, water colour. Athens, The National Art Gallery and Alexander Soutzos Museum, inv. no. Π.1325/B/17; Peter Von Hess, *Griechische Landleute am Meeresstrand,* 1838. 62.7 x 82.4 cm, oil on canvas. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen - Neue Pinakothek, inv. no. WAK 357 and Edward Lear, *View of the temple of Aphaia in Aegina,* 1849, 25.5 x 35.5 cm, watercolour on paper. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 24060. See Kalligas (Ed.) (1978) for examples of landscapes of Greece by Rottmann and Lange. See also Papanikolaou, M. (1981: 130-37) on the subject of Bavarian soldier artists in the years 1833-34.

Mesologgi, where he inspected the remnants of the house in which Byron had died, the ramparts and bastions of the town, and also met with the descendants of Markos Botsaris.[75] Even allowing for seasonal variations, it is hard to reconcile the damp and gloomy town described by Stephens with the luminous newborn landscape portrayed by Marc and Köllnberger:

> The town stands upon a flat, marshy plain, which extends several miles along the shore. The whole was a mass of new-made ruins -- of houses demolished and black with smoke -- the tokens of savage and desolating war. In front, and running directly along the shore, was a long street of miserable one-story [sic] shantees, run up since the destruction of the old town, and so near the shore that sometimes it is washed by the sea, and at the time of our landing it was wet and muddy from the rain. It was a cheerless place, and reminded me of Communipaw, in bad weather. It had no connexion with the ancient glory of Greece, no name or place on her historic page, and no hotel where we could get a breakfast; but one of the officers of the customs conducted us to a shantee filled with Bavarian soldiers drinking.[76]

Tsigakou has concluded that descriptions of Greece written by travellers were often more accurate than the contemporary pictorial representations because the landscapes were 'tinted as a result of an intellectual process' that idealized antiquity.[77] Tsigakou has also argued that in the early nineteenth century, artists chose to disregard the present-day gloomy state of locations that had experienced a glorious past, and duly

[75] Stephens (1840: 2-5).

[76] Stephens (1840: 1-2). Bronzetti (1842: 215-18) was a Major in the Bavarian Regiment and was in Mesologgi in 1834. Mesologgi's climate, air and water held no appeal for him. The collapsed ramparts reminded him of the walls of the Biblical Jericho and he was glad to leave the gloom for the town of Patra (Bronzetti 1842: 215-18 and 222). Predl (1836: 116) who was a Lieutenant in the Bavarian Infantry Battalion stationed in Mesologgi over 1834-35 commented that the troops did not have a warm reception in the town due to the billeting arrangements that put strain on the population. Moreover, there was enormous social unrest relating to the fact that the country was not in a financial state to recompense or indemnify those who had participated in the War and the Bavarian administration was trying to transform the irregular militias into a regular army (Dakin 1972: 66). This consolidation was not going smoothly, and in Acarnania there were outbreaks of tension between local bands and the garrison. See (Parish 1838: appendix 109-10) for letters from Sir Edmund Lyons in Athens to Viscount Palmerston in London dated 29 February 1835, 7 March 1835 and 24 March 1835 giving an account of the rebellious bands and their activities in, and around Mesologgi.

[77] Tsigakou (1981: 26).

eliminated details inconsistent with the perceived spirit of Greece.[78] Consistent with Tsigakou's assessment that foreign artists often embellished the Greek landscape is the detail of the white buildings depicted by Marc and Köllnberger that marry the town to the serenity of the water and islands in the background, rather than with destroyed ramparts and walls. The landmass in the foreground takes up the least area in each watercolour, while the majority of the scene depicted is taken up by the lagoon, blue-hued islets and sky. The optimistic imagery created by Marc and Köllnberger reveals that the artists were captivated by the light and wide seascapes of the Greek mainland's western coastline. However, the inclusion of the sentinel-like gateway to the town with its large flag billowing in the wind indicates that these artists also felt compelled to inscribe the landscape with the experience of a war which had a positive outcome for the Greek nation. Both depictions disclose that the artists were respectful of the 'soil of fallen but immortal Greece', as Stephens described the land when he initially went ashore and before he fully absorbed the gloominess of Mesologgi in the harsh February weather.[79]

In both watercolours by Köllnberger and Marc a palm tree can be seen behind the destroyed ramparts not far from the gate on the right, the existence of which is attested to in contemporary popular narratives of the heroism of revolutionary Mesologgi (see figure 5.6 for clearer detail from Köllnberger's watercolour). In an unpublished manuscript titled '*The soldier palm*', the historian Spyridon Sakalis has studied accounts of a mature palm known locally known as 'Kourma' that was growing in Mesologgi during the Greek Revolution and survived as a living monument to the town's defenders.[80] A published historical account reports that 'Kourma' remained standing throughout the insurrection despite the cannon balls and shrapnel embedded in its trunk.[81] Of course, Köllnberger or

[78] Tsigakou (1981: 28 and 1991: 17). Rottmann is an example of an artist who put aside the poor conditions of Greece due to the ravages of war and painted the beauty of the landscape. When Rottmann arrived in Greece at the end of 1834 he commented, 'If only the heavenly pleasures of creative activity were not bound up with so many earthly inconveniences; but Greece is a picture of destruction, it is frighteningly beautiful (Kalligas [Ed.] 1978: 20).

[79] Stephens (1840: 1).

[80] I have translated the manuscript's original title of *Αγωνιστής Φοίνιξ* in Greek as the 'Soldier Palm', (Sakalis 2010: 1-2). Sakalis has gathered an anthology of Greek poetry and folk songs that pay homage to this palm tree (Sakalis 2010: 2-4). Kostis Palamas' momentous work in Greek Symbolist poem *The Palm* refers to immortal blood flowing through a palm tree, that may well have been a reference to the palm in question (Katsimbalis & Karandonis [Eds.]1986: 840.

[81] Lappas (1910: 300-1). The German nobleman Prince Puckler-Muskau passed through Mesologgi in September of 1836 and remarked on the heartbreaking appearance of a solitary palm standing heroically among the debris of the town (Puckler-Muskau 1840: 5).

Marc were not necessarily aware of this local lore; for many Philhellene images of revolutionary Mesologgi included palms trees, probably as a succinct way of establishing the 'exotic' levant and Mediterranean for the viewer.[82] Moreover, there was also another large palm tree in the town at the time, which may also be the one depicted in these watercolours.[83] Perhaps Marc and Köllnberger included a solitary palm in their landscapes because its immense size insisted to the artists that it be included. Nevertheless, they may equally have been aware of the palm known as 'Kourma' for such was the force of its legend that in 1860 a civic ceremony was conducted with the clergy in attendance to mark its replanting in the cemetery of those fallen in the war, known as the 'Garden of heroes'.[84] Today palm fronds form part of the iconography of heroism displayed in Mesologgi during the yearly commemoration of the exodus on Palm Sunday when the town is adorned with them.[85]

Dominique Papety: land of heroes

A palm tree also dominates the pencil drawing titled *Un palmier à Missolonghi* c. 1846-47 by Dominique Papety towering over the modest houses and the mountain range in the background (figure 5.8). Christine Peltre has identified Papety as an artist attracted to Greece for its classical past, but also interested in all aspects of the modern nation.[86] This interest is reflected in the variety of subjects sketched by Papety ranging from antiquities, Byzantine churches and landscapes to contemporary politicians, daily customs, domestic life and costumes of the modern population across the country.[87] Papety created four sketches in Mesologgi dated c.1846-47 that are bound into one of the albums (Album 4) of the artist's work held in the Louvre. These four pencil drawings

[82] An example in this thesis is seen in Devouges' *Missolonghi*, where a single palm tree hovers above the defenders of Mesologgi as they embark on the exodus on the evening of 11 April 1826 (figure 1.18).

[83] A drawing by Robert Pearce, who was in Greece briefly in 1821-22, is titled *Misolonghi from the flats outside of Vasiladi* and includes two large palm trees (see Sakalis c.2000: 12-13 for this image). In this drawing one of the palms is depicted at the lagoon's edge on the western reach of the town, and the other is located on the north-eastern side and is identified by Sakalis (c.2000: 13) as being the 'soldier palm'. General Spyromilos (1969: 165) in his chronicle of revolutionary Mesologgi referred to a group of defenders gathering at 'the Palm tree' opposite Dolma, a small islet in the lagoon.

[84] Sakalis (2010: 2), Florou (Ed.) 1999: 38) and Lappas (1910: 300). Schaub (1863: 108) referred to a palm tree in the garden of heroes in the vicinity of Botsaris' tomb, the tumulus of the fallen defenders of the town and to Byron's monument.

[85] See Appendix E figure E-5.4 Spiridoula Demetriou, *Mesologgi, Palm Sunday* 2009, Photograph. The commemoration is a moveable feast falling on Palm Sunday, the day of the exodus in 1826. It thus incorporates the symbolism of the Christian ritual in which the palm frond represents Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem on his way to victory over death.

[86] Peltre (1997: 118-19) places Papety in the region of Mesologgi in the summer of 1846.

[87] Reiset (1866: 391) and Constans (1997: 196).

appear in the following sequence: the house in which Byron died, the tumulus of the defenders who died during the final exodus, a mature palm tree and the tomb of Markos Botsaris.[88] Papety's choice of subjects makes evident that he was aware of the tripartite scheme that had come to represent the narrative of revolutionary Mesologgi on the world stage comprising of Lord Byron, Markos Botsaris and the vanquished last defenders of the town.

The grouping of Papety's Mesologgi sketches create a topography of Greek heroism set within the landscape, or a collection, so to speak, of revolutionary monuments in the township of Mesologgi. It is remarkable that Peltre did not refer to Papety's *Un palmier à Missolonghi*, that is, the sketch of a palm at Mesologgi, when considering the rest of the artist's Mesologgi sequence.[89] Peltre's response reveals an interest in the town for its historical importance in the Greek War of Independence above all else, with no knowledge of the local dimension of the legend associated with this palm tree. While this particular palm was not the only palm tree drawn by Papety when he was in Greece, the fact that the sketch appears among a sequence that had a clear historical focus reveals an awareness of this palm tree's contribution to the narrative of revolutionary Mesologgi in the region.[90] This conclusion is based on the fact that in 1846-47, when Papety created his Mesologgi series of sketches, the palm known as 'Kourma' was not located in the Garden of Heroes, as were the monuments depicted in the drawings preceding and following *Un palmier à Missolonghi*. It can be surmised that Papety must have visited the palm in its location not far from the Garden of Heroes specifically to draw it between committing the other notable subjects to paper; possibly after its significance was pointed out to him. The possibility that Papety recognized the historical significance of the palm

[88] Dominique Papety: *Missolonghi, maison où est mort Lord Byron,* c.1846-47, 6.7 x 12.4 cm, lead pencil. Paris, Louvre Museum, Cabinet dessins, Fonds des dessins et miniatures, album Dominique Papety -4-Folio 32, RF 1773.3, 38; *Tombeau des Grecs morts à Missolonghi,* c.1846-47, 6.7 x 12.4 cm, lead pencil. Paris, Louvre Museum, Cabinet dessins, Fonds des dessins et miniatures, album Dominique Papety -4-Folio 33, RF 1773.3, 39; *Un palmier à Missolonghi,* c.1846-47. 6.7 x 12.4 cm, lead pencil. Paris, Louvre Museum, Cabinet dessins, Fonds des dessins et miniatures, album Dominique Papety -4-Folio 34, RF 1773.3, 40 and *Missolonghi, tombeau de Marco Lotgar* [sic]. *Pleuron, relevés d'architectures* c.1846-47, 6.5 x 12.4 cm, lead pencil. Paris, Louvre Museum, Cabinet dessins, Fonds des dessins et miniatures, album Dominique Papety -4-Folio 35, RF 1773.3, 41.

[89] Peltre (1997: 208).

[90] Another sketch by Papety that included a palm tree is *Bateau et palmier de Janina*, c.1846-47, 10.4 x 6.8 cm, lead pencil and watercolour. Paris, Louvre Museum, Cabinet dessins, fonds des dessins et miniatures, album Dominique Papety -4-Folio 20, RF 1773.3, 22.

as a symbol of Greek resistance to Ottoman rule also suggests that the inclusion of it by Marc and Köllnberger in their landscapes may not have been coincidental.

Panorama of Messolonghi: a topography of a commemorative landscape

Historical intervention marks the landscape in the six-panelled *Panorama of Missolonghi*, whose fourth panel, shows the north and east edges of the town, which face the plain (figure 5.9) .[91] Little is known about the provenance of the panorama; the artist is unknown, and a firm date of production has not been established.[92] In the sky along the top of the panorama in faint pencil are inscribed 'Missolonghi 1', 'Missolonghi 2', 'Missolonghi 3', 'Gate' and 'Ld Byron's Lunette'.[93] Apart from indicating that this text was added from 1824 onwards, the year of Byron's presence and death in the town, the decision to signal only the location of the bastion named after him during the war, when many more existed, perhaps reveals the sensibility of an English artist.[94] The undamaged buildings depicted in the panorama also suggest that the drawing could have been created before the fall of the town in 1826, but it seems more likely it was created in the post-war period at the time when Mesologgi was being reconstructed. Certainly, in Köllnberger's and Marc's 1834 renditions of the town, the gate shown in this panorama stands intact among the rubble of the walls (seen in detail in the middle foreground and to the right of the latter composition figure 5.10). The presence of the town's gate in this condition indicates that the panorama was not created before 1829, as the gate was restored after the town passed back into Greek hands that year.[95]

The area left of the gate that is clearly visible in the panorama (figures 5.9 and 5.10) was designated as a national monument to the fallen defenders of the Mesologgi by a governmental decree on 14 May 1829, and was officially inaugurated in 1838.[96] Moreover, further orders were issued for the construction of the wall that extends from

[91] *Panorama of Missolonghi* is displayed behind glass and I was unable to obtain a clear photograph if it unencumbered by reflection. See Appendix E figure E-5.5 for a photograph of the entire panorama.
[92] The present owner obtained the panorama in England several decades ago.
[93] These markings are not easily decipherable in figure 5.9. The inscription 'Ld Byron's Lunette' appears just left of the centre of figure 5.9, and 'Gate' is marked slightly to the left of this point to signify the stone-built entrance to the town, while 'Missolonghi 3' is marked on the far right.
[94] See Lapie (1826) for a map that includes all the bastions built into the defensive wall of Mesologgi.
[95] Doulis (1976: 37).
[96] Kapodistrias (25 May 1829). A commemorative stone at the entrance states that the Garden of Heroes was founded in 1829.

the gate on 14 October 1838, following the visit of King Otto and Queen Amalia to Mesologgi.[97] But what cannot be seen in *Panorama of Missolonghi* is 'The Garden of Heroes', as the burial space to the fallen defenders subsequently became known: the area it should occupy is not built up in any way in the drawing. Therefore, it can be estimated that the panorama refers to, or dates from the period between 1829 and 1838.[98]

The watery environment of Mesologgi dominates the panorama and the economic connection of the inhabitants with the lagoon is emphasized through the fishing scene in its first panel (figure 5.11).[99] Shallow water and mudflats weave around buildings in several places with fishing huts on stilts extending into the lagoon. Vertical wooden poles that divide the lagoon into fishing allotments can be seen in the central panels (three and four) of the panorama, which creates a sense of industry and toil in the drawing (figures 5.9 and 5.13). The public squares and roads in the town are depicted as largely unpaved, and the stone from which many of the single and double-storey buildings are constructed is roughly hewn, while quite a number of the houses are built from wood and mud-bricks painted with lime (figures 5.12 and 5.13). The terracotta-tiled roofs, balconies and arched windows lend some refinement to these simple structures.

The unassuming appearance of the town did not prevent visitors such as Colonel William Mure from imagining parallels between the ancient Greeks and the modern Greek nation on the basis of war-time events in Mesologgi.[100] Mure visited the town in 1838 while *en route* to ancient Pleuron, which is located several kilometres north of the town. No doubt the parallels drawn by Mure would have been facilitated by the elevated

[97] Doulis (1976: 54) and Kleisovitis (2010: 104).

[98] William Greg (1833: 47) made mention of Marco Botsaris' being buried at the ramparts of Mesologgi during his visit to the town in 1832 and stated that although the tomb was 'scarcely distinguishable from the surrounding earth, it is in no danger of being forgotten'. In 1835 Stephens (1840: 4) also described Botsaris' modest grave, which lacked 'monumental marble that emblazoned his deeds and fame'. David d'Angers' marble monument to Greek nationalism *La jeune grecque au tombeau de Marco Botzaris à Missolonghi* was exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1827 and was installed in the Garden of Heroes in 1838; it is included in Papety's sketch *Missolonghi, tombeau de Marco Lotgar* [sic]. *Pleuron, relevés d'architectures* c.1846-47, (Louvre Museum inv. no. RF 1773.3, 41), which suggests that *Panorama of Missolonghi* predates Papety's visit to Mesologgi. Cf. Kleisovitis (1 July 2013) on the arrival and installation of David d'Angers' monument in Mesologgi.

[99] More recently the Greek artist Cristodoulos Galtemis has described the lagoon as a baptismal font, which conjures up an image of Mesologgi as the spiritual home of modern Greece, or a place of national initiation (Christos and Sofia Moschandreou Aitoloakarnania Museum of Contemporary Art and Gallery Argo 2007: unpaginated).

[100] Mure (1842, vol. 1: 130 and 143).

view from Pleuron that took first took in the ruins, and then the settlement of Mesologgi in the distance. Mure commenced the chapter on his stay in Mesologgi in his published journal with an epigram by the lyric poet Simonides on the fallen Greeks in the Persian Wars. The translation began with the line 'If glorious death be virtue's brightest crown' and finished with 'Who true to Hellas and to freedom died'.[101]

Mure promoted Mesologgi as a destination for any traveller to post-war Greece interested in ancient history and Hellenism.[102] His description of Mesologgi corresponds quite closely to the town's depiction in *Panorama of Missolonghi*:

> Mesolonghi, in the midst of its ruins, wooden sheds, and straw hovels, contains, scattered here and there, a few of the better class of Greek two-story [sic] houses. The shops were well stocked with provisions and merchandise; and what with the garrison, the recruiting establishment, and the crowds of country people in the bazar [sic], the interior of the town presented a lively bustling appearance. In the centre of each of the principal thoroughfares is a piece of coarse stone causeway a relic of the Turkish period, scarcely broad enough to admit of two horses passing abreast. The interval between it and the houses on each side was in most places a river of liquid mud.[103]

Despite the quagmire, Mure hailed Mesologgi as a symbol of the Greek national spirit. But, in the rest of his description, he emphasized the smallness of the township and its dank environment, features that were also portrayed in the *Panorama of Missolonghi* and would become part of the standard historical narrative of the Greek War of Independence:

[101] Mure (1842, vol. 1: 143). Mure was a British colonial officer and classicist, who had requested a position on Ithaca so he could search for the palace of Homer's Odysseus (Gallant 2002: 23 and 200).
[102] Mure (1842, vol. 1: 145).
[103] Mure (1842, vol. 1: 143).

> The resistance which Mesolonghi opposed to the Turkish armaments successively fitted out against it, supplies the most brilliant chapters in the history of the late eventful war. The great catastrophe of the siege of 1825-6, more especially, ought to be sufficient, in the eyes of every impartial admirer of true heroism, to invest its squalid ruins with an interest equal to any that can attach to the most splendid remains of Greek or Roman architecture; and entitles the band of warriors who defended them, to a place in the annals of valorous achievement, second to that occupied by no other body of men in any age or country. The very dilapidation, mud, and misery, in which the place is now sunk, is but an additional claim on our generous sympathies, as affording living evidence of the sufferings, as well as the prowess of the garrison.[104]

These responses by Mure demonstrate that with the emergence of the Greek nation state, the celebration of Mesologgi as a symbol of modern Hellenism, succeeded its previous role of providing a focus for Philhellenes during the crucial stages of the insurgency.

The importance of the cultural and historical value of Mesologgi in the articulation of modern Hellenism continues to evolve into the twentieth and twenty-first century as is evident in the modification made to the *Panorama of Missolonghi* before it was circulated as an illustration in two monographs about the town published in Greek in 1990 and 2008.[105] A minaret had appeared prominently in the left foreground of panel four of the original panaroma (see detail in figure 5.10). Yet, this Islamic architectural feature from the Ottoman era does not appear in the panorama as presented in both monographs.[106] A minaret did originally exist in Mesologgi – it is visible in Fauvel's *Messolonghi* (1834) seen in figure 1.4 of this thesis, as it does in the middle-ground of Cassas' *Vues panoramiques d'Anatolico, de Missolonghi et de Patras* (c.1784-87) seen in figure 1.5, and again in William Purser's *Missolonghi*, seen in Appendix E figure E-5.6. When

[104] Mure (1842, vol. 1: 144).
[105] Kokosoulas (1990: 220-21 and 2008: 8-9).
[106] Supplementary text locating the town geographically and identifying some of its neighbourhoods also appears on the reproductions of *Panorama of Missolonghi*. In a conservative Athenian afternoon newspaper with national circulation, Savvides (Saturday, 29 September 1990) referred to Kokosoulas' (1990) monograph on Mesologgi as an authoritative text most worthy of the attention of the Academy of Athens.

visiting Mesologgi in February of 1805, Edward Dodwell noted that the town had only one small mosque whose minaret had a pointed roof.[107]

The twentieth century removal of the minaret from the nineteenth century panorama of Mesologgi is a reconfiguration of the landscape to promote, or indeed endorse, the creation of culturally homogeneous Modern Greece out of a long-term subjugated land. Neil MacGregor, the Director of the British Museum, had commented in 2013 that the removal of post-antique era monuments after the formation of the Greek nation state was controversial, and that these removals 'feed into a larger ongoing debate around the creation of –and the competing identities of –modern Greece'.[108] If the term Greek Orientalism existed, then eradication of Eastern elements and 'banishing the other' in the construction of national identity would be central to its definition. Alexis Polites and more recently, Sükrü Ilicak have argued that nineteenth century Greek historiography also contributed to the authoritarian shaping of Greek national consciousness in relation to the War of Independence.[109] Polites acknowledged the influence of the era on Greek national ideology by describing its role as that of 'father' of the nation.[110] Polites contended that collective Greek consciousness based on the national experience was one of the gains from the War of Independence, largely supplanting the strong regionalism and local alliances that pre-dated the insurgency.[111] While Ilicak has pointed out that the development of historical moments into single-voiced master narratives of national ideology is not unique to Greece, he does emphasize that the process has involved the negation of almost every aspect of the Ottoman heritage in Greece and its relegation into despotic 'otherness'.[112]

The historian Mark Mazower attributes the dismissal of the Ottoman past to a sense of shame at a period of oppression and stagnation in Greek culture deemed inimical to Greece's claims to modernity.[113] Consistent with this idea is the conclusion by

[107] Dodwell (1819, vol. 1: 93-94). A precise date for when Mesologgi's mosque was demolished remains unidentified.
[108] MacGregor in Camp, Jenkins, Tsigakou, Sloan, & Bornstein (2013: vii).
[109] Polites (1993: 30-47) and Ilicak (2011: 2-9).
[110] Polites (1993: 11 and 32-33).
[111] Polites (1993: 33).
[112] Ilicak (2011: 1). I borrow the expression 'single-voiced' from Cosgrove (1999: 7) who used it in relation to historical narratives to argue that viewpoint and context are inescapable in all constructions of knowledge.
[113] Mazower (2005: 474).

Konstantinos Tsitselikis after having examined the antagonizing influence of Islam on Greek national consciousness over the last century that, 'such negative perceptions of the historical experience are reproduced – often in fanciful ways – through the official and symbolic systems, all of which has helped in the formation and cohesion of the nation state.' [114] Seen from Said's interpretive framework of Orientalism, the iconography of subjugation in Greek culture, as expressed in the erasing of the minaret from *Panorama of Missolonghi*, reflects the Greek experience of Ottoman culture as a colonialist imposition, as well as the Orientalist aim of Greek nationalism to detach Greece from the Levant.[115] Such denialism left no scope for acknowledgment of any Ottoman influence on Greek culture in the above drawing.

The removal of the minaret from *Panorama of Missolonghi* further demonstrates how historical spaces and nationalist mentalities can be closely intertwined. The minaret continues to be an unsettling symbol in the context of Greek nationalism where binary oppositions between East and West remain largely unintegrated within the national psyche.[116] Certainly the phrase 'de-Ottomanized' has been used by Ilicak to argue that Greek historiography has made it difficult for generations of historians to deviate from an ideology of binary oppositions between Greek and Turk – that is relevant to this example.[117] If the minaret in the *Panorama of Missolonghi* signified a 'dependant landscape', then its removal from the image plainly establishes a liberated land and Mesologgi becomes a commemorative landscape of this event.[118] The rejection of Imperialism in this way could be seen as a visual discourse that reinforces the 'breaking of the Ottoman yoke' in cultural memory; a type of psychological decolonization of

[114] Tsitselikis (2012: 14).

[115] See Vasunia (2003) on the topic of Hellenism and Orientalism in the context of Said's theory of Orientalism.

[116] Todorova (1997: 44) refers to the 'pejorative edge' that the East maintains in Greek culture. See chapter 3, page 98 of this thesis for the symbol of the broken minaret in Vryzakis' painting titled *The reception of Lord Byron at Missolonghi* (figure 3.7) as a corollary to the Philhellene trope of eradicating the Ottoman from revolutionary Greece.

[117] Ilicak (2011: 4)

[118] I borrow the phrase 'dependant landscape' from Amherst's playscript *The siege of Missolonghi or, Massacre of the Greeks*, where it is used to establish the presence of the Ottoman encampment outside the town (Amherst 18--: Act 1, Scene 2). The poet Felicia Hemans designated the minaret as a negative mark on the Greek landscape in the lines 'Still, where the column of the mosque aspires,/Landmark of slavery, towering o'er the waste' and thus connected the symbol to the demise of the nation (Hemans 1817: 17).

Greek identity.[119] Hence, the removal of the minaret from reproductions of the *Panorama of Missolonghi* demonstrate how Mesologgi as a historical place has come to function as part of the iconography of liberated Greece and is indicative of the cultural dimensions that landscape can acquire in the national psyche.

Sotiris Iosophides: national landscape and emotional claims

Mesologgi appears as scarcely more than a suggestion behind a golden streak in Iosophides' landscape titled *Το Μεσολόγγι*, 1987 (figure 5.14). The sky is characterized by an interplay of light and darkness created by broad brushstrokes. Light breaks through the heavy clouds and is reflected off the water in the foreground. At the same time this light seems to be hovering over the town. The mountain range behind the coastal plain forms the backdrop for the town's barely discernible buildings on the low horizon. The dark, green tinged shadows in the landscape hint at olive groves.

Upon viewing the painting for the first time I became aware that I was comparing it to perceptions of Mesologgi accumulated while conducting my survey of Philhellene art. My immediate assumption was that Iosophides had looked across the Gulf of Patras from Rio, the town in which he resides, and painted the solemn landscape late one autumn *en plein air*. However, Iosophides' stated that his perspective was framed by a mental image imbued with a constructed identity of Mesologgi that has formed across nearly two centuries.[120] In written correspondence concerning how, and when, the painting was created, Iosophides confirmed that he worked on the painting *Το Μεσολόγγι* in his studio.[121] Iosophides' written rumination on Mesologgi was that the town is perpetually suspended between the sky and the lagoon, almost incorporeal just like its spirit.[122] He referred to the town as 'historical Mesologgi' and to the prevailing rainy atmosphere and 'spirit' of the place.

[119] See Steele (2007: 15-19) for the mediating functions of socio-cultural landscape and the link between memorial landscapes and identity formation on a local, regional and national level. Steele supports the view that versions of the past are accumulated through practices of incorporation and inscription, which maybe intentional or unintentional.

[120] Tolia-Kelly (2010: 4 and 85) has argued that a cultural geography of identity exists where discourse becomes entwined in the materiality of cultural space. See also Cook and Tolia-Kelly (2010: 99-101) and Rose & Tolia-Kelly (2012: 3-4) on this topic.

[121] Letter from Sotiris Iosophides in Rio to Spiridoula Demetriou in Melbourne dated 13 July 2010.

[122] Letter from Sotiris Iosophides in Rio to Spiridoula Demetriou in Melbourne dated 13 July 2010.

Whitney Davis' theory of pictoriality describes recursive art, such as Iosophides' *Το Μεσολόγγι* that was animated by the artist's perceptions of Mesologgi, which in turn imbued the painting with associated qualities.[123] According to Davis 'a picture is a visual recursion of nonpictorial stuff, of matter or marks'. [124] The author Nikos Kazantzakis' statement that place names in Greece have 'strange and irresistible power' demonstrate how Davis' theory of perceptions and the physical place apply to Sotiris Iosophides' landscape of Mesologgi.[125] After travelling through the Morea in the Peloponnese, Kazantzakis reflected that, 'A Greek landscape does not give us – if we know how to listen and to love –an innocent tremor of beauty. The landscape has a name, it is bound up with a memory—here we were shamed, here glorified; blood or sacred statues rise up from the soil, and all at once the landscape is transformed into rich, all encompassing History…'.[126] While clear landmarks of the Greek War of Independence are not present in Iosophides' *Το Μεσολόγγι* the ideological setting of the difficult struggle for independence was achieved through chiaroscuro and the scale of the town in the painting. The smallness of the town against the expansive, brooding sky and lagoon can be interpreted as part of the morphology of heroism that has come to define Mesologgi in world history.

In closing this chapter, I refer once more to Woodhouse's description of Mesologgi as a place of immortal fame in Greek history; a claim that was prompted by his initial view of the town, and which was not much different from Iosophides' depiction from across the Gulf of Patra. Iosophides' painting demonstrates how the name of Mesologgi has come to constitute the power of landscape as a setting for nationhood. Iosophides, like Woodhouse, responded to Mesologgi not as a place, but a political voice. The works of art considered in this chapter demonstrate the iconographical value of the Mesologgian landscape in the conceptual framework of the emergence of Modern Greece as a national political entity. The first example of how Mesologgi has been positioned in historical consciousness through landscape art was Makriyannis' commission to Zographos titled *Illustrations of events in the Greek War of Independence: 15. Various sieges of Missolonghi.* It was argued that Zographos engaged geography to anchor

[123] Davis (2011: 150-86).
[124] Davis (2011: 150).
[125] Kazantzakis (1966: 9).
[126] Kazantzakis (1966: 8).

revolutionary Mesologgi in the public's collective memory of the Greek War of Independence. Likewise, although Marc and Köllnberger were clearly more enchanted by the sunlight and the expansive sea before them, their landscapes celebrated the fledgling Greek nation-state by painting a heroic Mesologgi emerging from the ruins of war. Papety's drawing *Un palmier à Missolonghi* is an indication that the iconography of heroism, as represented by the symbolic palm of local folklore, is an important means of visually conceptualizing revolutionary Mesologgi.

Most controversial of all the images considered in this chapter was *Panorama of Missolonghi.* The removal of the minaret from the original panorama before it circulated more widely in recent monographs on Mesologgi reveals that for some, the process of state-building also remains one of de-colonisation. However, the altered state of the original panorama is a nationalist distortion because it advocates that a Hellenic landscape should not contain traces of the Ottomans in Greece. The disappearance of the minaret from *Panorama of Missolonghi* is evidence of a dogma that insists that Greek identity must retain religion as a firm element in the definition of Greek culture. Iosophides conveyed the overarching legend of past heroism that is closely related to Mesologgi today in Greek society through the ethereal qualities he projected onto the landscape surrounding the town. The common characteristic of all the works of art considered in this chapter is that these landscapes give tangibility to Modern Greece with an emphasis on the revolutionary spirit of a small nation. Just as Mesologgi served the Philhellene imagination during the War of Independence in its attempt to alert the world to the struggle for Greek liberation, post-war images of the town also provided a new propaganda presenting the town as a bellwether of Greek nationalism. The treatment by artists of the Mesologgian landscape in the above survey reveals a determination to respond to the town as part of the historical construction of Modern Greece.

Chapter 6
The iconic status of Vryzakis' *The Exodus from Missolonghi*: nineteenth-century Philhellene art in the service of Greek nationalism

This chapter analyses the significance of nineteenth century Philhellene iconography in the painting *The Exodus from Missolonghi*, 1853 by Theodoros Vryzakis (figure 6.1). It also evaluates how depictions of revolutionary Mesologgi in nineteenth century Philhellene art continue to reinforce beliefs pertaining to the town and the emergence of Modern Greece as a political entity. Vryzakis depicts the indomitable defenders of Mesologgi attempting to break through the Ottoman blockade on the night of the feast of St. Lazarus on 11 April 1826, after a year-long siege.[1] He builds on the effusive Philhellene propaganda that presented of the defenders as a Christian nation and the loss of Mesologgi as a moral victory for the vanquished. This chapter will argue that Vryzakis thereby created the quintessential painting of the War of Independence for the ongoing articulation of modern Greek identity, a view that challenges Ilias Mykoniatis and other art historians who have hesitated to nominate a single work to represent the episode in art.[2] It will be seen that Vryzakis developed the religious contrast between Greek and Ottoman foregrounded in nineteenth-century Philhellenic propaganda, into a conflation of devotion to God with that to nation, so spiritual redemption becomes the reward for patriotic sacrifice.

It will be argued that the collective depiction of the Mesologgians as vanquished heroes embodies the key Philhellene trope of 'freedom or death' and enabled artistic depictions of the town to function as an iconographic element of the Greek War of Independence, forming a reference point for Greek nationality today. The political and cultural impact of nineteenth-century Philhellene imagery on the contemporary Greek national psyche has received surprisingly to date little attention even though historians readily acknowledge that Turkey 'happens to reside in the dark recesses of the

[1] The day selected by the collective agreement of the last defenders is fraught with religious symbolism. According to John 11:1-44), Jesus resurrected Lazarus four days after his burial and this was the final miracle he performed before his own Passion and resurrection. The symbolic parallel between the raising of Lazarus from the dead and the regeneration of the Greek nation after centuries of subjugation to the Ottomans is evident.

[2] Mykoniatis (1979 a: x).

subconscious of modern Greeks', to quote Thanos Veremis.[3] The first part of this chapter aims to redress this deficiency by examining the iconographical connections between Vryzakis' painting and earlier Philhellene art, with a view to demonstrating the influence Philhellenism wielded on the conceptualization of the modern Greek nation, and the power of imagery to shape national consciousness. The final part of this chapter describes an annual ritual enacted in Mesologgi up until the present time in which a copy of Vryzakis' painting by Aggelos Kasolas is paraded in solemn procession from its display site in the Municipal Gallery of Mesologgi to the Church of St. Spyridon and then to the Garden of Heroes memorial. The ritual forms part of a two-day commemoration of the Exodus of 1826, staged over the weekend of Palm Sunday. During this time the painting is afforded all the reverence of a religious icon, which thereby serves to sanctify the fall of Mesologgi in Greece's emergence as a nation-state from under Ottoman rule, and reinforces the connection between Orthodox Christianity and Greek national identity.

The fall of Mesologgi in earlier artistic sources

Vryzakis' elevation of the fallen Mesologgians to celestial heights in *The Exodus from Missolonghi* 1853 (figure 6.1) was a departure from many contemporary pictorial narratives of the fall of the town that emphasized the despair of its population. Images of the Mesologgians fighting to the last, became increasingly important in Philhellene art as the military position of the Greek insurgents worsened to the point where Athens was the only major bastion on mainland Greece remaining in Greek hands.[4] Mesologgi had been of strategic importance and its defeat warned the West and Greeks alike, of the probable fate of the rest of the country.[5] Nonetheless, the Mesologgian people in Vryzakis' painting appear calm in their attempt to break through the Ottoman lines. The clothing of those

[3] Veremis (2007: 14).

[4] The Acropolis of Athens was surrendered by the Greeks in mid 1827 (Christopoulos & Bastias [Eds.] 1975, vol. 12: 420-25) and St. Clair, W. (1972: 317).

[5] Numerous Philhellene literary and historical sources evince this reaction to the fall of Mesologgi: e.g. the political pamphlet titled *'Missolonghi n'est plus! Appel aux Amis des Grecs'*, published directly after the fall of the town (Paganel 1975/1826). Similar rhetoric is found in the correspondence of Samuel Gridley Howe, an American Philhellene in Greece during the insurrection, notably a letter to William Sampson dated 19 December 1825 from Athens which reads, 'Greece is in danger, but if Missolonghi should be succoured, prospects will brighten' (Howe 1907: 166). A letter dated 30 April 1826 expresses Howe's visceral response to the fall: 'I write you with an almost broken heart. Missolonghi has fallen!' and he urges an end to the western policy of neutrality (Howe 1907: 170). From within the besieged town, a letter 22 February 1826 to the Provisional Government affirms the defenders' commitment to fight until the end, while another dated 23 March 1826 declared that if Mesologgi should be freed, so would all of Greece (Sardelis 1984: 66 and Protopsaltes [Ed.] 1963: 343).

engaged in battle is in pristine condition, suggesting they are unsullied by their fight against their besiegers. The dead in the painting lack the open wounds that characterized many earlier politicized Philhellene works which solicited Western intervention into the Greek War of Independence. However, Vryzakis did not fail to utilize the Philhellene trope of the unifying force of Christianity and patriotism, a key feature of Greek cultural identity.

Moreover, the imagery adopted by Vryzakis in his presentation of the defenders of Mesologgi as national heroes, relied strongly on ideas that stirred up the West against Ottomans three decades earlier in Philhellene art from the era of the Greek War of Independence. The lithograph titled *Au profit des Grecs, Missolonghi sauvée. Le 25 Mars 1826, Dédié aux Dames Françaises*, 1826, by René Auguste Flandrin (figure 6.2) demonstrates how Philhellene politics reconstructed Mesologgi into an emblem of the Greek War of Independence at a critical time. The lithograph depicts the night-time clash that resulted from the Mesologgians' attempt to break through the surrounding Ottoman blockade on 11 April 1826. The lithograph's caption provided an incorrect date (25 March) for the exodus from the town, and this error could be a conflation with the officially designated commencement date for the uprising in 1821. While the uprising broke out across the country over several months starting in March 1821, the leadership of the insurrection had advisedly nominated 25 March as the date of its commencement, in order to coincide with the Feast of the Annunciation in the Orthodox liturgical calendar, and thereby create an analogy between the conception of Christ and the commencement of the rebirth of the Greek nation.[6]

An alternative explanation for the caption's 25 March 1826 dating of the battle scene is that the artist may have confused Mesologgi's fall with the Battle of Kleisova which took place on that day at a small islet by this name in the lagoon.[7] The loss of Kleisova to the Ottomans was a prelude to the fall of Mesologgi, and artists have associated the two events very closely, as seen in the German lithograph *Missolonghi am 23. April 1826.* c.1828 by the Swiss artist Follenweider (appendix E figure E-6.1), which

[6] Finlay (1971: 143-44).
[7] Christopoulos & Bastias (Eds.) (1975, vol. 12: 411-12).

appears to be making a reference to both military defeats.[8] In the foreground of Follenweider's depiction of Mesologgi's fall is a small islet scattered with human skeletons, which suggests the earlier military clash at Kleisova. Both Flandrin's and Follenweider's lithographs carry auxiliary text that they were sold for the benefit of the Greek cause and are additional examples Mesologgi's destruction being utilized by Philhellene artists to spread the news that the insurgency across the country was in a critical phase.[9]

Flandrin's composition *Missolonghi sauvée...,* 1826 (figure 6.2) reveals how Philhellene iconography delivered the message that foreign intervention was needed if the Greek nation was to be liberated, and how Mesologgi came to serve Philhellene politics in this regard. As was customary in Philhellene art, the flat-water of the lagoon in Flandrin's lithograph, alerts the viewer to the fact that the location of the military episode is Mesologgi. The necessity for Western intervention into the Greek insurrection is clearly conveyed through the figure of the collapsed Ottoman soldier in the centre foreground: his dislodged turban signals the Greek nation could only be liberated through the elimination of the Ottoman forces. This message is accentuated by the contrasting passages of light and dark in the composition drawing attention to the fallen Ottoman figure.

Philhellene artists had been utilizing the trope of the fallen Ottoman soldier with military standard and turban as part of the iconography of Greek liberation from the early

[8] The date of 23 April given by the caption is not incorrect, but conforms to the Gregorian calendar, which was not in use in Greece at the time.

[9] Flandrin's lithograph also carries a dedication to the endeavours of French women, who were very active in garnering funds to support of the Greek cause, particularly in 1826 when Philhellenic sentiments intensified (Mossière 1994, vol. 1: 104-5). Another image produced shortly after the fall of Mesologgi on the 31 May 1826 titled *Quête pour les Grecs* by Josêphine-Clémence Formentin (see appendix E figure E-6.2) depicts stylishly dressed ladies, one of whom is wearing blue and white Greek colours, emptying bags of coins on a desk. The lithograph refers to the ancient heroic connections of the modern Greeks by including a lithograph of Jacques-Louis David's *Leonidas at Thermopylae* in the background. Leonidas was a symbol of universal suffrage in French Republican art and its inclusion by Madame Formentin demonstrates the French political context of Philhellene art. Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1981: 648) has suggested that the scene is set in the office of the French Philhellene Committee. By mid 1826 the Paris Greek Committee was a large movement that reached across Europe (St. Clair, W. 1972: 271). The title *Quête pour les Grecs* of the lithograph was clearly building on the momentum that Philhellenism had acquired as the *cause du jour* in France as it echoed the title of the song *La Quête* written by the famous socialite and poet Delphine Gay, the song circulated on 25 August 1825 and was set to music by the composer Jacques-Marie Beauvarlet-Charpentier on 3 May 1826, it was performed for the benefit of the Greek cause (Girardin 1825 and Constantzos 2016: 17).

stages of the insurrection. A renowned example is the lithograph, *Réveil de la Grèce, La Grèce inspireé par le géni de la liberté, se lève, brise ses fers et ses oppresseurs sont foudroyés* 1822 by Ange-René Ravault; it depicts the personification of Greece having broken the shackles on her arms, and treading on a deceased Ottoman soldier lying among broken statuary (figure 6.3). The subheading to the title of the lithograph draws attention to the oppressors' being struck by lightning in the background by way of divine retribution, a sign of God's direct support for the Greek insurgency.[10]

One year later in 1823, a lithograph by Langlumé titled *Le réveil des Grecs* also employed similar imagery and title to those of Ravault to convey the message that the destruction of the Ottomans was a prerequisite for the revival of the Greek nation (figure 6.4).[11] Langlumé placed an armed Greek insurgent at the centre of the composition with one foot trampling an Ottoman standard and turban while looking upwards at two angels guiding the group of insurgents forward. The headstones of Leonidas and Themistocles in the right foreground remind the viewer of the connection between modern and ancient Greece, as does the ancient temple in the background. Both lithographs (figures 6.3 and 6.4) strongly associate patriotism with religion; *Réveil de la Grèce* 1822 displays the words religion, patrie, gloire and prospérité in the corners of the image, while *Le réveil des Grecs* prominently brandishes the symbol of the Cross on the flag, being carried by a Greek insurgent as he fervently looks to the heavens. A priest just behind him has his arms raised in earnest supplication, while one of the angels hovering above, holds a sword and a set of scales; both items are symbolic references to the justice of the Greek insurgents' cause. The angels appear to be pointing the insurgents towards a city of domed buildings crowned with crescents and surrounded by a fortress.

The visual analogy in Ravault's image of the oppressors being thunder-struck by the political awakening of the Greek nation is also present in Langlumé's lithograph where a lightning-bolt has toppled to the ground a Crescent-adorned spire. The significance here shows that the Ottomans were facing divine retribution for the

[10] The iconography of a lightning bolt traditionally refers to divine acts (Hall 1996: 192).

[11] The designer of this lithograph is likely to be Achilles Devéria. The image was used to illustrate the cover of sheet music with the same title (see Amandry 1981: 40 and 41 for image and details). Droulia (1974: 65) has dated the lithograph and music score to 1823. A similarly titled poem circulated in 1825 and is an example of artistic Philhellenism providing inspiration for literary Philhellenism (Dehèque 1825).

subjugation of the Greek population. The motif of the dislodged turban was also used by Rugendas, who in the centre foreground of his composition *Missolunghi's Fall* 1826 (figure 4.27), placed a turban beside a fallen Ottoman standard. The work was produced in the same year as Flandrin's image and adopts a similar approach to that of Langlumé. This indicates that Philhellene iconography of the fallen township of Mesologgi played a significant role in the perpetuation of centuries-old European animosity towards the Ottoman Empire and one that artists continued to use long after the Greek War of Independence was resolved.[12] Furthermore, the presence of a priest in both Langlumé's and Rugundas' lithographs, dated 1823 and 1826, respectively indicates the projection of Philhellene rhetoric relating to the insurgent's Christian identity onto Mesologgi, a unifying theme for the Greek nation that Vryzakis also emphasized in the painting *The Exodus from Missolonghi*, 1853.

The early American engraving by Tisdale titled *Fall of Missolonghi* served as the frontispiece in Comstock's *History of the Greek Revolution* published in 1828 demonstrates the importance of the image of Mesologgi in contemporary historical accounts of the Greek insurrection (figure 6.5). Mesologgi was still in Ottoman hands in 1828 when Comstock's heavily propagandist history was published. The title page boasts that the book was based on official government documents and first-hand reports of the war. A reference in the right-hand corner of the plate directs the viewer to the text where Comstock offers a resolutely Philhellene account of the town's fall that included derogatory remarks about the physical characteristics of the Ottoman forces.[13]

Tisdale's drawing of the fall of Mesologgi conveys two main ideas, the first relating to Mesologgi as a citadel of modern political ideals and the second to the Greek War of Independence as a 'David and Goliath' battle between a small Greek nation and a mighty Empire (figure 6.5). Tisdale elevated Mesologgi metaphorically from the plain upon which it is located and placed it on a plateau.[14] The Ottoman soldiers scaling the

[12] See Appendix E figure E-6.3 for the title plate of Casimir Delavigne's 1840 publication *Messéniennes at chants populaires* portraying a personified Greece having disarmed an Ottoman among ancient ruins. The chains that once restrained the personification by the waist are broken and she is holding a sword in one hand and an Ottoman war standard with two tails in the other, while triumphantly standing with one foot resting on a defeated Ottoman soldier who is clasping a broken sword.

[13] Comstock (1828: 376).

[14] Another artist who presented the town in a similar fashion was Fonville (see appendix figure E-5.3). The German poet Wilhelm Müller wrote a cycle of four poems on the fall of Mesologgi in 1826 in the poem

walls on ladders in Vryzakis' painting reflected the Orientalist trope promoted by Philhellenes such as Chateaubriand, who presented the Ottomans as barbarians bent on exterminating a Christian race.[15] Mesologgi remains intact behind high walls in Tisdale's composition and is comprised of multi-storey European-style structures, some with cupolas or spires. The town is surrounded by an impressive fortress featuring a large watchtower, and curiously, there is a gothic church among the buildings. His imaginative architectural presentation of Mesologgi as a western town with a Cross-emblazoned flag flying above in the wind claims Greece as part of Europe, while the grand restructuring becomes a form of exaltation. The very year that Tisdale's drawing circulated in America, the Greek writer George Serouios conjured up Mesologgi as a colossus of inspiration disproportionate to its size by referring to the town as the 'Palladion of Greece'.[16]

Like other previous Philhellene works of art, Tisdale's *Fall of Missolonghi* also employed the iconography of the fallen turban to identify and negatively characterize the Ottoman soldiers among the fray outside the walls of the town. His illustration of the exodus by the last defenders of Mesologgi is crammed with turbans and raised scimitars that signify the violent loss of the town. The characterization of Mesologgi as the town of spilt Greek blood is amplified by the artist through the depiction of soldiers holding a weapon in each hand. In the left foreground a solitary cylindrical hat falls, as a scimitar descends on its owner in symbolic representation of the fall of the town.

Like Tisdale, Vryzakis idealized the town through the representation of its architecture. He painted the town stretching upwards to the heavens and surrounded by war-ravaged fortifications topped by a turret.[17] However, in contrast to Tisdale's depiction of the annihilation of the Greeks at Mesologgi, Vryzakis created a triumphant atmosphere out of a scene of carnage. Cultural histories of many nations incorporate military defeat as a source of patriotic inspiration and the early patriotic construction of the fall of Mesologgi is well demonstrated in an emotive figure of speech attributed to Demetrios Ipsilantis, a prominent member of the Philiki Etairia who landed in the

titled *Das Neue Missolonghi* in which he describes fallen Mesologgi as a castle created by God (Schwab 1837, vol. 2: 302-3).

[15] Chateaubriand (1825 a: 8).

[16] Serouios (1828: 1).

[17] In the poem titled *Missolunghi's Himmelfahrt* 1826 Wilhelm Müller conjured up Mesologgi ascending to the heavens and summons Christians to intervene and free Greece (Schwab 1837, vol. 2: 299-301).

Peloponnese to participate in the insurrection.[18] Writing to the Third National Assembly that was convened on 12 April 1826, Ipsilantis tried to encourage his compatriots with the statement that the fall of the town should not inspire fear, but a resurgence of the spirit that ignited the uprising and averred that the 'breast of every Greek is a second Mesologgi'.[19]This emotive synecdoche of Mesologgi and Greek national spirit epitomizes the fallen town's elevation into a symbol of modern Hellenism.

Fundamental to Vryzakis' recreation of the fall of Mesologgi as a scene of victory is the characterization of the last defenders as martyrs to the Greek cause for liberty. In this regard the painting shares commonalities with Cornillon's lithograph *Apothéose des martyrs de Missolonghi* of 1826 (figure 6.6).[20] Both compositions create a narrative of patriotic sacrifice with the Mesologgians presented as exemplars of heroism located on a liminal stage between heaven and earth. The portrayal by Cornillon of the vanquished defenders as martyrs by Cornillon defines immortality as the ultimate victory, but also identifies heroism and Christianity as distinct characteristics of the Greek nation.[21] The title of Cornillon's lithograph is a paean to the self-immolation of two groups among the remaining defenders of Mesologgi who did not participate in the exodus due to illness, or old age.[22] The enemy presence in the scene is subdued, with only a few Ottoman vessels appearing on the lagoon, while to the right of the composition the town burns. Cornillon's

[18] Macleod Ed. (2008:1), Stasinopoulos (Ed.) (1979, vol. 4: 384-92) and Dakin (1972: 45).

[19] '…το στήθος κάθε Έλληνος είναι δεύτερον Μεσολόγγι' (Protopsaltes [Ed.] 1963-86, vol. 6: 142).

[20] Cornillon's lithograph is among the early artistic responses to the event, the cultural journal *Bibliographie de la France* announced its circulation at the commencement of August 1826 (Gravures et lithographies, 9 August 1826: 695).

[21] The first revolutionary constitution of 1822 adopted at Epidauros was drawn up according to the French model and was designed both to demonstrate to Europe that the Greek nation was ready for independence and to promote national unity in the socially and politically fragmented nation. Significantly it designated Christianity as part of Greek citizenship (Hellenic Parliamentary Archives: https://paligenesia.parliament.gr, vol. 3: 25).

[22]For contemporary historical accounts of the self-immolation of these groups see Finlay (1971: 395), Gordon (1832, vol. 2: 262-63), Michos (1883: 79) and Spyromilos (1969: 214-15). For examples of paintings that portray these self-immolations, or make reference to them see: appendix E figures E-6.4 Joseph-Denis Odevaere, *De laatste verdedigers van Missolonghi, 22 April 1826: episode uit de Griekse vrijheidsooring* 1826; E-6.5 Ary Scheffer, *Les débris de la garnison de Missolonghi au moment de mettre le feu à la mine qui doit les faire périr* c.1826; E-6.6 C. Langlois, *Destruction de Missolonghi* 1827; E-6.7 Lit. di P. Bertotti, *Io stesso accorrero a dare il fuoco alla mina e cosi martiri periremo della Patria e della Religione* 1839; E-6.8 Theodoros Vryzakis, *Η θυσία του Καψάλη*, [n.d.]; E-6.9 Theodoros Vryzakis, *Η ανατίναξη του Χρήστου Καψάλη* [n.d.] and E-6.10 Friedrich-Christoph Nilson, *Οι εναπομείναντες της φρουράς του Μεσολογγίου τη στιγμή που βάζουν φωτιά στην πυρατιδαποθήκη για να ανατιναχθούν* 1876.

apotheosis of the defeated Mesologgians emphasizes that no humiliation attended the town's reversion to Ottoman occupation.[23]

Cornillon was able to fashion the self-immolation of the last defenders of Mesologgi into an explosion of Greek patriotism through references to the French Republican political rhetoric of 'freedom or death'. Cornillon's lithograph displays Republican imagery seen in the coloured woodcut titled *Unité, indivisibilité de la Rép. fra point de milieu,* c.1793-94 (figure 6.7).[24] Cornillon's image of Mesologgi's destruction resonates with traditional French Republican imagery, and reaffirms the principles of contemporary liberal opposition to despotic Bourbon rule (figures 6.6 and 6.7). The eye of Providence, a symbol of divine truth widely used in French Republican imagery, and the oval plaque found in the left of the woodcut, was also adopted by Cornillon in the form of a triangle radiating light found in the top right-hand corner. The text the left plaque contains celebrates the second constitution ratified for use during the French Revolution in 1793; it established a republic in the place of a feudal system, a political system comparable to the Ottoman regime under which the Greeks had lived for centuries (figure 6.7). Cornillon's lithograph of 1826 thus serves to illustrate the international context within which Philhellene art, Greek history and French politics all came into alignment to convey patriotic sacrifice and spiritual transcendence.

The skyward thrust of the explosion depicted in Cornillon's *Apothéose des martyrs de Missolonghi* (figure 6.6) hurls human figures upwards, but lacks the turmoil taking place in the explosion depicted in the French revolutionary woodcut (figure 6.7). The human figure immediately above the walls of the Mesologgi, for example, appears to be ascending as if in controlled flight, rather than being violently thrown by a blast. [25]

[23] The poem *Hellénide: sur le Siège et le Triomphe de Missolonghi* by Charles (1826/1974) also presented the town's fall as a victory and referred to the Mesologgians as demi-gods.

[24] The explosion portrayed in this woodcut represents the insurrection of 10 August 1792 in Paris that resulted in the fall of the French monarchy after the storming of the Tuileries Palace by the National Guard of the revolutionary Paris Commune. The allegories, slogans and symbols in the woodcut's composition pertain to Republican values and attributes of state. For example, the scene illustrates fidelity to the ideal of liberty through the Phrygian cap, a symbol of the French Revolution, being blown to high heaven and therefore suggesting commitment until death to the cause.

[25] The following year the Viscount of Marquessac wrote a funeral chant that referred to the insurgents at Mesologgi as defenders of the Cross willing to die for their territory, and who received the palms of martyrdom as their reward. The final line refers to an infinite Kingdom opening up before them (Urbain de Marquessac 1827: 8).

Angels await in the middle ground of Cornillon's composition to crown the Mesologgian combatants with laurel victory wreaths. This angelic crowning of the insurgents will later take place in Vryzakis' painting where it also signals the volition of the Mesologgians to attain freedom or die trying. Alongside the iconography of laurel crowns, the palm fronds in both images are combined with the symbol of the Cross to reinforce the defenders of Mesologgi as martyrs to the Greek cause.[26]

The iconography of martyrdom in Cornillon's lithograph is consistent with the rhetoric of 'freedom or death' that dominates the narrative of the exodus of Mesologgi. Personal and historical accounts have categorically stated that the choice of self-immolation was made by those who were physically unable to participate in the collective resolution to seek refuge at the monastery of St. Simeon, on Mt. Arakynthos, after supplies and all hope for the arrival of back-up forces was spent.[27] My search for images portraying the Mesologgians who succeeded in reaching the monastery of St. Simeon after the exodus has yielded a reference to the painting by Victor Delassus titled *Les assiégés de Missolonghi* in the catalogue for the 1827 Paris Salon.[28] The entry for the painting in the Louvre Museum guide for 1828 provides the expanded title *Les assiégés de Missolonghi réduits aux abois, se font jour à travers les hordes égyptiennes pour se réfugier au mont Aracynthe*.[29] The entry describes a large column of people, some *en route* to their last refuge, and asserts that the artistic narrative is dominated by the depiction of those who managed to escape the carnage and are waiting for others to catch up.[30] The text states that a compatriot priest is among them, and while they are in despair,

[26] As a symbol in Christian art, the palm frond is charged with associations of victory over death and martyrdom (Hall 1996: 231-32). See appendix E figure E-6.11 *Martyrdom of Demetrius*, for a scene of the martyrdom involving the iconography of a crown being bestowed on the military saint.

[27] See Vlachogiannis (Ed.) (1939-42, vol. 2: 259) for the account of this decision provided by Kasomoulis in his memoirs of the final days before the fall of Mesologgi. Also see Protopsaltis (Ed.) (1963: 352-54) for a letter to the Provisional Government from nine Captains who survived the blockade describing the desperation that prompted the decision. Contemporary accounts by the historians Fabre (1827: 301-1), Gordon (1832, vol. 2: 260-62), Finlay (1861 vol. 2: 107) and Trikoupis (1860-62, vol. 3: 338) also referred to St. Simeon as the destination of the Exodus from the town, as did the collective decision by the defenders (Vlachogiannis [Ed.] 939-42, vol. 2: 261). Testimonies estimate the number of survivors at between 1,300 and 2,000 out of an approximate Mesologgian population of 9,000-10,000 (Gordon 1832 vol. 2: 265), Makris (1957: 77) and Prousis (2008 a: 93).

[28] Janson (1977, vol. 1827: 62).

[29] Martin (1828: 133-35). According to Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1989: 146), who has conducted an extensive study of French images and the Greek War of Independence, this painting remains untraced. The register of paintings for 1827 Salon from the Archives des Musées Nationaux (France) refers to the painting as *Scène du siège du Missolonghi* and provides the dimensions of 36 x 62 cm (Griffiths and Mill: Database of Salon artists).

[30] Martin (1828: 133-34).

the courage of those who managed to reach the ridge of Mt. Arakynthos is likened to that of Botsaris and Leonidas.[31]

As the example of Cornillon's lithograph demonstrates, the mythology of the Homeric warrior tradition accompanied Philhellenism into its most politicized phase after Mesologgi fell back into Ottoman control. Among billowing clouds of smoke above the burning town in *Apothéose des martyrs de Missolonghi* (figure 6.6) stands an ancient warrior embodying the heroic code of sacrifice for a noble cause.[32] A priest kneeling beside him holds a Cross aloft in a gesture of benediction. Above them an angel carries laurel crowns in preparation for their apotheosis, while to the right another angel has descended and directs a group of insurgents towards heaven, guiding one of them gently by the arm.

The divine element overseeing the Greek insurgents' spiritual transcendence is represented by a tetragram in Masoretic Hebrew text within an equilateral triangle.[33] This symbol in the top right-hand corner is surrounded by a circle of glory, and is given further emphasis through a halo of billowing clouds upon which the seraphim wait to receive the martyrs of Mesologgi. The rays emanating from the circle of glory also emphasizes the infinite holiness of the trinity watching over events and reinforce the idea of the Greek Revolution as a just and holy cause. This iconography establishes the moral victory of the Greeks in the face of defeat at the fall of Mesologgi [34]

A slight difference in emphasis to the dominant narrative that the last defenders of Mesologgi were martyrs to liberty occurs in a contemporary Swiss almanac of world events titled *Le véritable messager boiteux de Neuchâtel*, which included an article in

[31] Martin (1828: 134-35).
[32] On the use of Homeric Greece in western culture to evoke virtue see Valdez (2014).
[33] For connections between European Freemasonry and the Greek War of Independence see Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1989: 12), Rizopoulos (2005 and 2006). See appendix E figure E-6.12 titled *La Maçonnerie instruisant les peuples* for an example of this iconography in Masonic imagery. For Masonic interest in the fall of Mesologgi see the *Masonic Mirror and Mechanic's Intelligencer* (Intelligence. Greece. 28 May 1826: 175).
[34] The rhetoric of defeat as a moral victory at Mesologgi was also engaged by literature when the modern Greek nation-state emerged politically. Thus, Ludwig I of Bavaria wrote a poem referring to the ruins of Mesologgi as a triumph (Louis I, 1845: 85). The attainment of immortality in heroic defeat is also expressed in the poem *Fall of Missolonghi* (K, August 1826: 359): 'Think them not dead! the brave can never die!'

1827 titled *Défense héroïque et memorable de Missolonghi.*[35] A woodcut print accompanying the article and showing the last days of the town was titled *Défense héroïque, assaut et prise de Missolonghi, le 23 Avril 1826* (figure 6.8) juxtaposes Christianity and Islam in the form of a the minaret dominating a crucifix-topped cathedral as a backdrop to two scenes of self-immolation. The two flags billowing in the wind on the peripheries of the town on the left and right form iconographical references both to Mesologgi as part of a modern Crusade against Islam, and to French Republicanism.[36] The banner on the left prominently displays a Cross, while the other brandishes the French Imperial Eagle of Napoleon's regiments. As such the image is an example of events at Mesologgi as a vehicle for Republican propaganda in French cultural production during the Restoration. The caption accompanying the image states that after the garrison was driven from the town by hunger, those managing to run the Ottoman blockade were able to regroup, while the elderly and injured who remained behind set fire to powder magazines and perished under the ruins. The explicit political message the image conveys is of the brilliant heroism at Mesologgi, set among the misfortune of the modern Hellenes seeking independence.

While the caption for the woodcut print *Défense héroïque, assaut et prise de Missolonghi, le 23 Avril 1826* does not emphasize a religious context for the exodus and the self-immolation, the article accompanying it in the almanac provides an antagonistic narrative about the 'Ottoman menace' towards Christianity by referring to the five-year bloody struggle of the Greeks against the 'despotic yoke of the Turks' (figure 6.8).[37] This illustrates how Mesologgi as an emblem of the Greek struggle was used to activate European intervention into the Greek Revolution by fuelling western prejudice against the East.[38]

[35] Le véritable messager boiteux de Neuchâtel pour l'an de grace 1827 (1827: 65-69).
[36] See Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1989: 14-37) on the notion that the Greek War of Independence was depicted as a modern Crusade against Islam in French Philhellene art between the years 1821-1824.
[37] *Le véritable messager boiteux de Neuchâtel pour l'an de grace* (1827: 65 and 67-69).
[38] Schmidt-Haberkamp (2011: 187) detects a pervasive hostility towards the Ottoman empire in the almanach *Le véritable messager boiteux de Neuchâtel* and refers to the print *Défense héroïque, assaut et prise de Missolonghi, le 23 Avril 1826* (figure 6.8) as serving to fuel European perceptions of the 'Turkish danger'.

Vryzakis and Nationalism

Shortly after the formation of the Greek nation-state, Vryzakis was on the verge of his teenage years and living in an orphanage established by the Kapodistrias administration. In 1832 the classical scholar Friedrich Thiersch selected him for further education in Germany.[39] Vryzakis commenced art school in Munich in 1844 and received financial support from the Greek community until 1855 to develop his artistic practice.[40] The Kingdom of Greece was still in its turbulent infancy in 1853 when Vryzakis commenced painting three identical versions of *The Exodus from Missolonghi*. He clearly considered the episode of three decades earlier to be a definitive moment in modern Greek history.[41] Little is known about Vryzakis' ideas on nationalism, but the fact that he created three versions of the painting suggests that he supported the notion of a collective Greek nation emerging from the Greek War of Independence.[42]

The social unity Vryzakis depicted among the column of citizen soldiers in *The Exodus from Missolonghi* as they attempt to break through the blockade of the town dominates the composition and might be seen to encapsulate the Herderian concept of a nation founded on shared consciousness of cultural identity.[43] In contrast to this retrospective display of national unity, there is much evidence of a prevalence at the time of a localized sense of Greek identity, as attested for example, by George Finlay in the notes he made between 1823 and 1824 on his experience in Greece.[44] It was further demonstrated following the fall of Mesologgi, when the Executive of the Provisional Government failed to supply reinforcements and some Greek captains capitulated to the Ottoman forces in return for security and authority in their particular regions.[45] From the

[39] Vryzakis' father had been killed during the first year of the insurrection (Komine-Dialetis [Ed.] 1997, vol. 1: 220) and Mertiri (1993: 191-92).
[40] Lydakis in (Komine-Dialetis [Ed.] 1997, vol. 1: 221).
[41] Exact dates for the creation of each version have not been established (Spetsieri Beschi 1977: 49-50).
[42] I use Jenkins' (2014: 105) criterion for a collective social formation: 'similarity among and between a plurality of persons'. The establishment of revolutionary Mesologgi in the modern Greek psyche in relation to significant episodes during the insurrection may have struck Vryzakis when visited the country in the late 1840s and when toured battle sites interviewing veterans (Peckham 2001: 27).
[43] See Spencer (1997: 2 and 6) for Herder's emphasis on communal solidarity in the formation of nation. Kasomoulis, a participant in the final siege of the town, reported that in the exodus the last defenders of Mesologgi formed three columns, one of which included civilians (Vlachogiannis 1939-42, vol. 2: 259-60). Evidence that the heroism of these townsfolk had passed into legend may be seen in their representation in an engraving titled *Messalonghi 1826 d. 22 April* by Rethel, included in an illustrated German historical work of 1848 (see appendix E figure E-6.13).
[44] Finlay (1823 – 1824: G.F A 1 section 2 page 16).
[45] Papadopoulos, S. (1962: 33).

1830s onwards, national cohesion was undermined by the alienation of much of the population by the high-handed behaviour of the Bavarian regents and monarch.[46] This was the cultural and political context of Vryzakis' composition, and explains his recourse to the fall of Mesologgi as the bedrock of national unity, as opposed to the parochialism and alienation prevalent in its aftermath.

National unity is given visual form in Vryzakis' *The Exodus from Missolonghi* through the idealized depiction of a collective utopian township where the community is spiritually and politically united against the Ottoman Empire. The portrayal of patriotism as a quality of national identity can be seen in the effective grouping of citizen soldiers crossing the rough-hewn bridge as they commence the exodus. The leitmotif of a couple in a farewell embrace, standing below the Greek flag belongs to the western artistic tradition of a soldier departing for active service bidding loved ones good-bye (figures 6.9, appendix figures E-6.14 *The soldier's departure* 1791 by George Morland and E-6.15 *L'enrôlement des volontaires ou la patrie en danger* 1799 by Guillaume Guillon-Lethière).[47] The embracing couple in Vryzakis' painting advance together among their comrades and thus the motif serves to elevate civic duty over private life, while also extending the definition of family to include nation.

Three divergences from pre-existing Philhellene art in *The Exodus from Missolonghi* 1853 by Vryzakis are firstly that the painting does not engage the ideology of European Hellenism that portrayed cultural continuity between contemporary and classical Greece.[48] However, this is consistent with the fact that Mesologgi was not an ancient town. Secondly, apart from the use of spilt heroic blood, a trope that featured in French Republican imagery, Vryzakis did not underpin the notion of Greek liberty with overt Republican iconography.[49] But, this can be seen to reflect that Modern Greece did

[46] Clogg (1988: 74).

[47] See appendix E figure E-6.14 for *The soldier's departure* 1791 by George Morland, which depicts a soldier's farewell embrace with a woman while a drummer's beat calls him to join other soldiers leaving in the distance. Also, appendix E figure E-6.15 for Guillaume Guillon-Lethière's *L'enrôlement des volontaires ou la patrie en danger* 1799, where an enlisting volunteer is doing the same.

[48] The term 'European Hellenism' is used here to denote European versions of what constituted Greek people and their culture.

[49] While the trope of blood as it appears in Vryzakis' *The Exodus from Missolonghi* 1853 is directly connected to Scheffer's use of the same in *Jeune Grec défendant son père*, 1827 (figure 6.12), spilt blood as a symbol of Greek patriotism and sacrifice was utilized outside the framework of French Republican politics by Dionysios Solomos (1825: 48) in stanzas 148-49 of his *Hymn to liberty* where he referred to spilt blood to stress fraternal ties between the insurgents fighting for faith and fatherland.

not emerge from the war as a liberal republic. Finally, the iconography of broken chains to signify the release of the Greek nation from subjugation that was a key Philhellene trope was not referenced in any way by Vryzakis. An explanation might be that within the framework of Greek heroism at Mesologgi this iconography was not suitably reverent for his hagiography of the town's fall.

Vryzakis' vanquished Greek hero at Mesologgi

Philhellene artists advanced the development of a Greek national identity by depicting archetypal insurgents taking up arms against Ottoman rule. Vryzakis' hero leading the column embarking on the exodus was not one particular person at Mesologgi, but a reflection of the idealized Greek insurgent as the figure emerged in Philhellene art directly after the end of the War of Independence. There are close pictorial parallels in the stance and physiognomy of Vryzakis' hero at the exodus of Mesologgi with those of other contemporary figures. These are Krazeisen's hero under the ruins of Corinth (1828-31, figure 2.1), Schwanthaler's (c.1840-43, figure 2.4) and Heideloff's (1835, figure 6.10) images of Botsaris attacking the Turkish camp at Karpenisi and Peter von Hess' depiction of Anagnostaras beating the Ottomans near Valtezza in the Peloponnese (c.1835-40, figure 6. 11).[50] The heroes in all these images have a wide forehead with a strong brow-line, flowing long hair held in place by their headwear, distinctive moustaches and feet planted widely apart.[51] Schwanthaler's and Heideloff's depiction of Markos Botsaris stepping over the body of a lifeless Ottoman soldier as he advances into battle and Von Hess' depiction of Anagnostaras beating the Turks near Valtezza portrayed the archetype of the Greek War of Independence hero as a slayer of Ottomans in an ascent towards freedom (figures 2.4, 6.10 and 6.11).

Whereas Tisdale employed the trope of raised scimitars to denote Ottoman success in Mesologgi (figure 6.5), Vryzakis adapted it for his depiction of the Greek hero at the head of a column of besieged Mesologgians attempting to break through the Ottoman lines, just as Heideloff (figure 6.10) and Von Hess (figure 6.11) had done before

[50] Worthy of note is that Athanasios Iatrides also presented Botsaris in this pose, see figure 2.29 a.
[51] An example of this iconography's use in twentieth century Greek popular art to celebrate heroes of 1821 is Theophilos' *The hero Athanasios Diakos in 1821* (see appendix E figure E-6.16).

him.[52] Vryzakis' appropriation of a signifier of strength to depict the fall of Mesologgi contributes to the rhetoric of the moral victory attained by the vanquished heroes of the Palm Sunday exodus of 1826. As he surges forward to engage the enemy, Vryzakis' lead figure raises a scimitar with one hand and confidently brandishes a Cross-emblazoned Greek flag in the other, just as Krazeisen's Captain does in figure 2.1. The effect of the scimitar and Greek flag moving in unison powerfully animates the hero-figure in Vryzakis' painting, making the figure central to the narrative. Vryzakis completed the vision of the Mesologgian vanquished hero as a Greek patriot and Christian soldier by the positioning of this figure directly under Christ, thus simultaneously connecting him with the earthly and celestial.

There are many echoes of pre-existing figures, postures and schematic forms from European Philhellene works of art in Vryzakis' *The Exodus from Missolonghi*. Spetsieri Beschi has identified Ary Scheffer's painting *Jeune Grec défendant son père*, 1827 where a Greek youth strikes a protective pose with his right foot to shield his fallen father from the enemy, as prefiguring the stance of the leader of the exodus from Mesologgi in Vryzakis' painting who also has a foot defensively placed before a fallen comrade (figure 6.12 and 6.13).[53] Significantly, in relation to iconographical connections between Philhellene works, Scheffer in 1827 appears to have created the motif of undying patriotism expressed through an expiring insurgent firmly holding onto his weapon, which was a trope also utilized by Filippo Marsigli in the painting *La morte di Marco Bozzari*, 1836-39 where the deceased Markos Botsaris is depicted doing the same (figures 6.12 and 2.17). The fallen comrade at the front of the column in Vryzakis' *The Exodus from Missolonghi* is also still holding onto his scimitar (figure 6.13).

Another trope of Philhellene art engaged by both Scheffer in 1827 and Vryzakis in 1853 is the blood-stained clothing of the fallen. As discussed in chapter four, the aestheticization of wounds can be seen as a means of sanctifying the Greek insurrection. Just as the lithograph *Prise de Missolonghi par Ibrahim Pacha (25 Avril 1826)* by Vautrin and Mauro both aestheticizes the wounds of the Greek warriors and creates a quasi-religious context of the shedding of blood for a sacred cause, thus Vryzakis' *The Exodus*

[52] In the poem titled *Missolonghi: or, the Turkish Massacre*, that was published in June 1826 and signed with the nom de plume 'Utopia' (1826: 374) raised Turkish scimitars signal the fall of the town.
[53] Spetsieri Beschi (1977: 53-54).

from Missolonghi also signifies the Greek sacrifice for liberty by blood staining the vest and coat of the fallen soldier and the complementing enemy blood on his scimitar (figures 4.11 and 6.13). Significantly, this fallen soldier is the solitary bloodstained casualty in Vryzakis' painting to reference the Philhellene hagiography of patriotic sacrifice at Mesologgi through the iconography of blood. However, this figure with his blood-stained scimitar quite possibly provides a connection with a heroic trope created by Pouqueville relating to the death of Markos Botsaris. As mentioned in chapter two of this thesis, Pouqueville referred to the deceased Botsaris' blood-stained scimitar as signifier of his dying in the defence of Mesologgi and the fatherland. [54]At the same time, Vryzakis painted the skirts of the other insurgents as gleaming white and conspicuously stain-free, thereby conferring a numinous quality on their death-defying exodus and presaging a clean start for the nation born out of the heroic sacrifice of Mesologgi.[55]

In the same vein, Vryzakis' inclusion of women and children in his depiction of the exodus can be seen as another example of the nexus between Mesologgi and the re-birth of the Greek nation. This theme was prevalent in earlier Philhellene works of art, an example being Louis-Benjamin Devouges' painting *Greek defenders of Mesologgi* 1830 (figure 6.14). Among the defenders at the rampart in Devouges' painting are a young boy and a woman, which reinforces the analogy between family and the emergent Greek nation. The theme of family on the ramparts of Mesologgi in Devouges' painting connects with earlier Philhellene depictions of communion scenes within the besieged town, which served to emphasize the shared faith with the Christian West for propagandist ends.

Nationalism and religiosity

Vryzakis gave Greek nationalism a religious dimension in the painting *The Exodus from Missolonghi* by depicting the final goal of mankind as admission to heaven. This is a reasonable interpretation of the light illuminating the citizen soldiers from above and forming a direct pathway to heaven where Christ the Redeemer awaits with

[54] Pouqueville (1824, vol. 4: 410).

[55] A comparable example of the sanctification of Mesologgi in Philhellene literature at the time of the fall of the town is this comment by Pouqueville (1826-27, vol. 3: 534-35) 'Missolonghi, ville d'éternelle mémoire! territoire sacré de l'honneur et de l'héroïsme!'

outstretched arms. Emphasis on the nexus between the Greek Revolution and Christianity had been a staple of Philhellene propaganda in both literature and art since the outbreak of the revolution.[56] Artistically this leitmotif was inaugurated in the death scenes of Markos Botsaris, and thereafter artists tended to frame military episodes at Mesologgi within a religious context, with an emphasis on sacrifice as a form of Greek heroism. Religion was a mainstay of Greek identity not only during the Ottoman era among the revolutionaries, but also in the formation of a national identity for the emergent modern Greek State.[57] Accordingly, Greek politicians and historians duly emphasized the Christian Byzantine heritage of Modern Greece.[58] Vryzakis utilized the Byzantine symbolism adopted in nineteenth-century German Nazarene art, to create a religious context for the fall of Mesologgi and the ensuing regeneration of the Greek nation.

The German Nazarene art movement, which melded theology with political philosophy, strongly influenced not only the Christian imagery of Vryzakis' *The Exodus from Missolonghi,* but also his technique. The lack of visible brushstrokes and the captivating snap-shot stillness that characterize the figurative approach of Vryzakis in this composition, bespeak the influence of Nazarene art on the execution of this painting. Indeed, Vryzakis' *The Exodus from Missolonghi* might be read as a Last Judgment scene, given the clear visual parallels with two German church frescoes; the first by Wilhelm Lindenschmidt the elder is titled *Die Bauernschlacht von Sendling 1705,* dated 1831-32 (figure 6.15) and depicts the massacre of Bavarian peasants in Sendling, Munich on 25 December 1705 during the uprising against Austrian Imperial rule. [59] Like Vryzakis'

[56] Notable among a plethora of literary examples is the ode to Greek deliverance by Bert (1821: 3) depicting Greek insurgents as fighting against their oppressors under Christian flags.

[57] The Declaration dated 25 March 1821 and sent by the Messenian Senate of Calmata [sic] to the Governments of Europe claimed: 'Never was a cause more just, more holy than ours; we fight for our sacred religion, for our lives, for our honour, for our property, which our oppressors have never respected' (Messenian Senate of Calmata [sic], & Mayromichale: 15 June 1821). See also Frazee (1969: 61 and 81-88, 1977: 128) and Kitromilides (1994: 186).

[58] In the period of Constitutional Monarchy, the government of Ioannis Kolettis, formulated the irredentist ideology known as the Great Idea *(Megali Idea)* which dominated Greek politics from 1844 until 1922. It laid claim to ancestral homelands where Greeks still lived but that were not included in the modern Greek state the Great Powers created after the end of the Greek War of Independence; the programme also imagined a revived Byzantine Empire (Clogg 1988: 76, Peckham 2001: 38-42, Laliotou 2007: 136-38 and Stouraiti & Kazamias 2010: 11-34). On the integration of Byzantium into the trajectory of national history in the early 1850s by historiographers including Zambelios and Paparrigopoulos, see Demaras (1982: 376-79) and Hatzimidimitriou (1983).

[59] Mykoniatis (1979 a: 66) and Spetsieri Beschi (1977: 53) both make associations between the conceptualization of Vryzakis' painting and the Sendling fresco. See Wuermeling (1980: 223-44) for an account of the Sendling massacre.

composition, this fresco has Christ as the Redeemer flanked by angels presiding over the clash. The second fresco is by Peter Cornelius, a leading Nazarene artist who taught at the Munich School before the attendance of Vryzakis. Traces of his exposure to Cornelius' work can be seen in a comparison of *The Exodus from Missolonghi* with a fresco of the Last Judgement, commissioned by King Ludwig, father of Greece's King Otto, and executed from 1836 to 1839 (figure 6.16).[60] In accordance to Christian doctrine, Cornelius depicts the Second Coming of Christ as heralding the final and eternal judgment by God of his people leading to the resurrection of some, and the consignment of others to Hell.[61] The fresco features the Christ the Redeemer of Byzantine art, as does Vryzakis' painting. Cornelius' Last Judgement scene covers both earthly and the celestial planes, with a figure seated on a cloud in the lower reaches of heaven holding an open scripture. Vryzakis similarly divided his composition into three planes and painted the defenders of Mesologgi on a bridge hovering in a liminal space between heaven and earth with the enthroned Christ sitting in judgement above. In the Christian tradition heavenward ascent signifies divine approval being afforded to the virtuous.[62]

Other details in Vryzakis' painting suggesting Nazarene influence are the two dead women holding babies at the base of the bridge as the Ottomans breach the walls of Mesologgi (figure 6.1).[63] One of the mothers is supine, and although she is dead, her face is bathed in light as if asleep, in the manner of the Dormition of the Virgin in Christian art where three days of sleep preceded her resurrection. The posture of this dead mother in Vryzakis' painting further resembles that of the fallen Bavarian peasant in the centre foreground of Lindenschmidt's *Die Bauernschlacht von Sendling 1705* (figure 6.15). [64] The peasant's clear vertical connection with Christ above through a beam of light provides a vital clue as to how Vryzakis' painting should be interpreted: the viewer is to

[60] Andrews (1964: 55).
[61] Hall (1996: 186-89).
[62] Aune (2003: 65).
[63] Mykoniatis (1979 a: 66) connects the deceased mother wearing a head-dress on the right in Vryzakis' painting with the deceased female with a child clambering over her body in Eugène Delacroix's *Scènes des massacres de Scio; Familles grecques attendant la mort ou l'esclavage.* He further associates the woman lying facedown with loose hair and arm around her child in the left foreground in Vryzakis' painting with the corresponding figure in the foreground of Ary Scheffer's *Les femmes souliotes* 1827 (appendix E figures E-4.2 and E-6.17).
[64] Worthy of note is the configuration formed by this fallen peasant along with his comrade brandishing the flag of rebellion who also is standing astride his body. The same configuration is found in Scheffer's *Jeune Grec defendant son père* (figure 6.12), and Vryzakis' *The Exodus from Missolonghi*, suggesting that it forms an iconography for battlefield comradery.

approach this section of the narrative through the figure of the deceased mother following the path of light that connects her to the insurgents above and ultimately to Christ.

This figure of the dead mother lying face upward also connects Vryzakis' composition with the religious concept of the Awakening, prominent in Nazarene art.[65] The biblical story of spiritual awakening and entry into the Kingdom of God provided a framework for the Philhellene narrative of the regeneration of Hellenism. The Kosmokrator pictorial type chosen by Vryzakis with Christ at the centre as the 'ruler of the world' and flanked by angels, combined with the use of light to guide the viewer's eye from the figure of the deceased mother, over the Mesologgians clashing with the Ottoman besiegers and up to Christ, serves to present the heroic sacrifice of the Mesologgians as purification and death, as their path to immortality. The dead mother's prospect of spiritual rebirth equates with vindication of the Greek nation's quest for liberty. By contrast the darkness and the Ottoman soldiers around the female body conveys the Orientalist outlook of Greek popular culture that Modern Greece was born out of the 'grave of slavery'.[66]

The ongoing influence of Vryzakis' pictorial narrative on the ethos of pride in the endeavour of the War of Independence, as instilled in Greek school children, can be seen in a drawing from the exhibition *Children…In the footsteps of the heroes of 1821* held in 2009 at the National War Museum in Athens (figure 6.17).[67] The exhibition formed part of the celebrations for Greek National Day of that year and displayed the responses of sixth grade primary school students to the Greek War of Independence as depicted in works of art held by the museum.[68] The title of the drawing *The wars and bloodshed of 1821* makes no reference to Mesologgi but the conceptual connection to Vryzakis' painting is clear in the depiction of a Christ seated among the clouds, and halo of light

[65] Grewe (2009: 30).

[66] In 1861 Karpos Papadopoulos, a Lieutenant-Colonel during the Greek War of Independence, commenced his historical account of Georgios Varnakiotis' role in the Revolution and events at Mesologgi with the statement 'Greece was raised from the gloomy grave of slavery and the nation was crowned with liberty and autonomy' (my translation) (Papadopoulos 1861: prologue, p. 1).

[67] Translation of the title is my own. Vryzakis' influence over the conceptualization of the exodus from Mesologgi is evident in a popular print that circulated in 1892 in the Greek satirical newspaper Νέος Αριστοφάνης where episodes from the 1821 insurrection were also depicted in a serious tone (appendix E figure E-6.18).

[68] Katsimbas, Loukas & Lolis (2009). Translation of title is my own.

directly above the war scene.[69] The makeshift wooden bridge of Vryzakis' painting is absent from the child's drawing, but a moat is signified by a rippling motion in brown and yellow pencil between the two land masses upon which the opposing forces stand in confrontation. An indication that the young artist has interpreted Vryzakis' *The Exodus from Missolonghi* 1853 as a homage to Greek liberty is the relational positioning of the Ottoman and Greek flags. While in Vryzakis' painting the Ottoman Crescent is marginally higher than the Greek flag, in the child's drawing the blue and white Cross of the Greek flag towers over the Ottoman crimson. This overamplification suggests a willingness to engage with iconographies that positively define identity.[70] A further example of the student's enthusiastic response to Philhellene iconography from the nineteenth century found in Vryzakis' painting is that the capital 'O' in the title of the drawing and the scimitar in the top right-hand corner are spouting blood. The presence of the iconography of spilt blood in the drawing signalling the patriotic sacrifice of the insurgents at Mesologgi is an indication that Vryzakis' painting continues to serve as a conduit for nineteenth century ideals pertaining to the liberation of the Greek nation.

Vryzakis' *The Exodus from Missolonghi* and Greek culture

All three of Vryzakis' versions of *The Exodus from Missolonghi* were still in the painter's atelier in Germany when the first formal public procession and collective memorial service at the Garden of Heroes in Mesologgi was held in 1859.[71] The event was organized locally by the publisher of the *Greek Chronicle* newspaper and a Church cantor, who designated the Saturday night of St. Lazarus and Palm Sunday as the official dates of commemoration.[72] The linking of commemorations to the moveable feast-day in the Orthodox religious calendar rather than 11 April, which was the date of the exodus

[69] The National War Museum in Athens has a copy of Vryzakis' *The Exodus from Missolonghi* painted by Coccia (appendix E figure E-6.19).

[70] A semiological assessment of the potency attributed to each symbol might point to historical reasons and cultural alignment of the viewer by way of explanation. A waxing crescent moon of the northern hemisphere might ordinarily symbolize unseen or unrealised potential. See Davis (2004 and 2011: 230) on symbolic renderings in the making of 'experience' and the cultural dimensions of vision.

[71] Vryzakis bequeathed his paintings to the Greek state in 1878 (Spetsieri Beschi 1977: 49-50 and Petronikolos 1968: 89-92).

[72] Petronikolos (1968: 89). Before 1859 the religious memorial for fallen of the exodus had been held at Pentacost, the seventh Sunday after Easter Sunday (Manolatos 2016: 91). The transference of the commemorations to St. Lazarus Day and Palm Sunday for the sake of greater resonance with contemporary Mesologgian population, is an instance of 'invented traditions' that create a legitimized framework for collectivity between members of a community or social group (Hobsbawn in Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983: 3 and 263-64). On the construction of national identities and historical continuity see Gillis (Ed.) (1994), Jones (2007), Hall (1997) and Nora (1989).

in 1826, has ensured a heightened religious character for the event for evermore. The earliest reference to any of Vryzakis' three versions of *The Exodus from Missolonghi* being included in commemoration during a litany at St. Spyridon and in the procession at Mesologgi, dates from 1915.[73] At this time, the painting appears not to have been officially assigned any role in proceedings at Mesologgi, since a government decree dated 30 December 1925 detailing how the hundredth anniversary of the exodus was to be celebrated across Greece only mentions Vryzakis' painting was to appear on a 2.5 drachma postage stamp.[74] However, for the 1926 centenary the Mayor of Mesologgi was granted permission to borrow a second version of the painting from the National Gallery, as the one held at the Town Hall was in poor condition.[75]

The portrayal of the defeat of the insurgents at Mesologgi as a sacred sacrifice for the creation of a modern Greek state continues to this day in official discourse, including commemorative events. For current purposes, the most notable of the latter is a celebration held annually in Mesologgi a week before Easter at which Vryzakis' *The Exodus from Missolonghi* plays a conspicuous role. On the feast day of St. Lazarus and on the following day, Palm Sunday, a copy of Vryzakis' *The Exodus from Missolonghi* 1853 made by Aggelos Kasolas in 1929, becomes the focus of a liturgical procession and religious and civic rituals commemorating the fall of the town in 1826 (figure 6.18).[76] These proceedings elevate the town into a national symbol of the Greek War of Independence and are attended by government officials, politicians, clergy and armed forces from a national and regional level.[77] Foreign nations from which Philhellenes came to participate in the defence of Mesologgi during the Greek War of Independence are also represented. Proceedings commence on the afternoon of the Feast day of St. Lazarus with the conveyance of Kasolas' painting from the Municipal Gallery where it is housed, to the Cathedral of St. Spyridon and then to the Garden of Heroes.

[73] Spetsieri Beschi (1977: 51).
[74] Mesologgi Centenary Committee:1826-1926 (1926: 96). A correspondent for *The Times* newspaper who was present in Mesologgi for the centenary of Byron's death in 1924 referred to the 'Eikon of the Saint' being carried by a priest at 'the customary anniversary celebration commemorating the famous sortie' at the Church of St. Spyridon (From our special correspondent, 21 April 1924: 7).
[75] Spetsieri Beschi (1977: 51).
[76] I observed these events in Mesologgi on four occasions including the year 2009.
[77] The programmes for annual commemoration of the 1826 exodus give these details (Municipality of the Holy City of Mesologgi 2008-13 and 2015-18).

Vryzakis chose the 1826 Exodus from Mesologgi to exemplify the Greek insurgents' effort to attain political independence and used Philhellene iconography to portray how the defenders of Mesologgi were heroic exemplars of the cause. The iconography of spilt Greek blood in the pursuit of freedom can be traced from Scheffer's *Jeune Grec défendant son père* 1827 to Vryzakis' *The Exodus from Missolonghi* 1853 to Charpenter's 1856 lithograph of Vryzakis' composition and finally to Kasolas' *The Exodus, 10 April 1826* dated 1929 (figures 6.12, 6.1, 6.19 and 6.18). The projection of this key Philhellene iconography onto revolutionary Mesologgi demonstrates the important role that nineteenth century Philhellene iconography has played in the establishment of revolutionary Mesologgi, as reference point for Greek culture regarding the emergence of the modern Greek state.

Significantly, Kasolas was a local Mesologgian artist and icon painter and he based his copy on the 1856 lithograph by Charpenter after two of the three original versions of Vryzakis' *The Exodus from Missolonghi* were destroyed in a fire in the town on 15 February 1929 (figure 6.19).[78] Charpenter's 1856 lithograph of the painting further heightened the apotheosis of the participants in the exodus by amending certain details: thus he limits the blood-stains on the garments of the fallen comrade at the front of the bridge to his inner vest, whereas Vryzakis had painted a larger stain extending to the left, front exterior of his coat (figures 6.13 and 6.20). The adoption of Charpenter's symbolic wound by Kasolas left the fallen comrade's outer garments as gleaming white as the clothing of his compatriots, and thus symbolically enhanced the sanctification of the last defenders of Mesologgi in their endeavour (figure 6.21).

It is remarkable that Kasolas' copy, made in 1929 after the accidental destruction of two of Vryzakis' canvases, has acquired the status of a sacred image despite never having been formally consecrated as an icon (figure 6.18). Conventionally Kasolas' painting is referred to as the 'Icon of the Exodus' rather than the 'Painting of the Exodus' in both oral tradition and in textual sources, such as the index card for the painting's blue gold-embroidered overhead covering, which specifies that item is for the 'Icon of the

[78] Komine-Dialetis (Ed.) (1997, vol. 2: 168 and Spetsieri Beschi (1977: 51). The National Gallery of Greece now houses the sole surviving version of the painting, which Spetsieri-Beschi located in the Greek Embassy in Rome (Spetsieri Beschi 1977: 52).

Exodus'.[79] Moreover, programmes for the yearly commemorations circulated by the Municipality of Mesologgi in recent times exclusively refer to the painting as such.[80] A reference to Kasolas' painting in the national press in 1994 at the time of the yearly commemoration of the exodus, explained that it is treated as a sacred icon because it represents the glory of the defeat at Mesologgi and ethos of the struggle for liberty.[81] This response reflects how effectively Greek nationalism with the incorporation of nineteenth-century Philhellene tropes has focused the narrative of the Greek Revolution onto the exodus from Mesologgi.

The national self-affirmation expressed in Vryzakis' divinely ordained identification of Mesologgi with the emergence of Modern Greece enjoys broad popular appeal, as can be seen in the positive response to Kasolas' copy at the yearly commemoration in the town. The narrative's nationalist attraction can be said to reside in the association the composition makes between the Mesologgi's fall and the revelation of the nation's future political independence. Orientalist perceptions of Greeks and Ottomans in the painting further strengthen the advocacy of Greek struggle for liberty as part of modern Greek identity. The painting is remarkable for adumbrating the sanctification of the Mesologgians even before their transcendental journey to heaven is completed, by making them appear almost airborne as they cross the bridge to embark on the exodus with their radiant white clothing emitting a light more luminous than that of the mandorla encircling Christ above them.[82]

The religious dimension of Vryzakis' narrative is amplified once Kasolas' copy is removed from the municipal gallery. Kasolas' painting is accorded a degree of public

[79] Thus, a national television broadcast of the 2018 commemoration referred to Kasolas' 'Icon of the Exodus' as Mesologgi's most sacred artefact (Hellenic Broadcasting Corporation: 31 March 2018). The index card in the Municipal Museum for Kasolas' *The Exodus, 10 April 1826* refers to the work as a painting while the one for its canopy describes its function as being the cover for the 'Icon of the Exodus' (see figure 6.24 for the image of the canopy).

[80] Examples include *Municipality of the Holy City of Mesologgi* (2011: 9) and (2017: 11).

[81] Sardelis (Sunday 24 April 1994: 5).

[82] Kastriti (2006: 96) has also identified transcendence as a central concept in Vryzakis' painting and considers it to be an extension of the Philhellene perception of the Greek War of Independence as a holy war against Islam. This references the use of white garments in Christian iconography to represent Jesus' Transfiguration into a spiritual state - cf. Matthew 17: 2, 'his face was shining like the sun, and his clothes were dazzling white'. Examples include the icon by Theophanes the Greek titled *The Transfiguration*, c.1403 and Raphael's painting *The Transfiguration* 1516-20 (appendix E figures E-6.20 and E-6.21 for these images).

veneration normally reserved for sacred artefacts (see figures 6.22, 6.23, 6.24, 6.25, 6.26, 6.27 and 6.28). Accordingly, worshippers make the Trinitarian 'Sign of the Cross' prayer gesture of the Orthodox faith before kissing the painting (see figures 6.22, 6.26 and 6.27).[83] This response confirms the transformation of Kasolas' painting into a devotional object evoking religious sentiment and expressing a collective affinity with the fallen heroes of revolutionary Mesologgi. Members of the Clergy carrying the Benediction Cross of Bishop Iosif Rogon lead Kasolas' painting in the procession to the Cathedral of St. Spyridon and then to the Garden of Heroes (figure 6.23).[84] Kasolas' painting is present at all three religious ceremonies held over the Commemoration weekend in Mesologgi: Saturday Vespers on the Feast of St. Lazarus; a Te Deum on Palm Sunday morning at the Cathedral of St. Spyridon and finally a memorial service for the fallen of the Exodus at the Garden of Heroes (figures 6.25, 6.26 and 6.28). The last ceremony features the distribution of 'kolyva' (sweetened wheat ritually blessed in the memorial services for deceased family members) thereby cementing the nexus between contemporary Mesologgians and the fallen of 1826 (figure 6.28).

In accordance with Orthodox religious practice, such memorial services for the fallen would have commenced as the first anniversary of their deaths approached and therefore would have preceded any civic commemorations of the exodus. In May 1829, after Mesologgi had passed back into Greek hands, the Governor Ioannis Kapodistrias established the Garden of Heroes as a national shrine by a governmental decree in which he referred to the fallen at the exodus as 'martyrs' and declared that yearly religious services should be held for the repose of their souls in the first Church in Mesologgi under restoration at the time.[85] In doing so, Kapodistrias facilitated the ongoing expression of patriotism in relation to the emergence of the new nation-state within a religious context that consolidated Orthodoxy as part of Greek identity in the national consciousness.

[83] I also observed people crossing themselves as the 'icon' passed before them during the procession. The Presidential Guard and Armed Forces personnel performed the secular equivalent by saluting, as did a young boy in national costume (see Paulakis and Paulakis 2008: 13 minutes to 13.30 minutes mark for film footage of these occurrences at the 182nd commemoration of the exodus at Mesologgi).

[84] Bishop Iosif Rogon was the religious leader of the Mesologgians during the final siege. He perished on 12 April 1826 when the Ottomans gained control of the town (Stasinopoulos [Ed.] 1979, vol. 2: 225-26).

[85] Kapodistrias (25 May 1829: 1).

Apart from enshrining religion in the definition of the town, the sanctification of the exodus of Mesologgi has safeguarded its role in the cultural and social definition of the Greek nation. A recent example of the political uses that revolutionary Mesologgi has served, is provided by a newspaper article dated 28 March 2010 reporting on the one hundred and eighty-fourth commemoration of the exodus in Mesologgi. [86] The article's headline quoted a speech given by Karolos Papoulias, the President of Greece at the time whose message to the nation from Mesologgi was that 'we will not yield to the crisis created by the bankers', a reference to the worsening economic crisis in Greece in 2010.[87] Papoulias' use of the first-person plural, coupled with the historical associations of heroic defiance inherent in the venue, illustrate the contemporary functioning of revolutionary Mesologgi in the promotion of Greek patriotism. An earlier instance occurred during the pre- second world war Metaxas dictatorship. Against a backdrop of barely constrained social unrest, the regime sought to reactivate revolutionary Mesologgi in the national imagination by way of a clarion call to collectivist nationalism.[88] It issued a national decree ordaining the town as the 'Holy City of Mesologgi' and formally institutionalized Palm Sunday as the national official commemorative date for the Exodus, as first established years earlier in 1859 by local tradition in Mesologgi. [89] Nowadays the rich programme of commemorative events over the weekend includes a 9.2 kilometre running race from the Monastery of St. Simeon to the township. Titled 'The race of sacrifice' the event commemorates the last defenders' attempt to break through the Ottoman blockade and represents a further example of the infusion of religion into the construction of Greek national identity around the history of Mesologgi. [90]

[86] Malavetas (28 March 2010).
[87] Malavetas (28 March 2010).
[88] See Mazower and Veremis (1993: 123) for an account of the faltering economic conditions that prevailed in the interwar years and resulted in political instability and conflicts within Greek society. Also Sarandis (1993:147-79) for the ideology of the Metaxas regime.
[89] Ministry of Ioannis Metaxas (26 April 1937: 1002). Metaxas was not the first dictator to refer to Mesologgi as a 'sacred' town. During the centenary celebrations of the Exodus in 1926, General Pangalos also referred to the 'sacred' town of Mesologgi while bestowing a medal of gratitude on the town for saving Greece (Le centenaire du siège de Missolonghi: Missolonghi 25 avril. 26 April 1926: 3).
[90] Orthodoxy continues to enjoy an advantage in the rhetoric of Greek nationalism where the Church is portrayed as the spiritual leader of the Greek nation under the Ottoman millet system, which privileged religion as the index of ethnicity (Clogg 1988: 18) and Runciman (1968: 165-85). On the subject of religion and nationalism see Burleigh (2005: 153-58), and on the Orthodox Church and Greek nationalism see Frazee (1969: 13, 40-41, 45-46 and 49-70) and Grigoriades (2013: 13-35).

Philhellenism and symbols of otherness

The public response to Kasolas' painting during the yearly commemoration of the 1826 Exodus in Mesologgi provides an example of how positive self-stereotypes can be unhesitatingly embraced by a nation.[91] Historic events as emblems of nationhood are not exclusive to Greek culture, nor are patriotic remembrance ceremonies to honour war dead that simultaneously construct identity in relation to national history.[92] However, the all-encompassing idea that contemporary national solidarity is to be based on a historic struggle with religious overtones for emancipation from Ottoman rule, continues to reinforce a nineteenth-century construction of Modern Greece in popular culture today. It is redolent of the simplistic perception of the national significance of Mesologgi articulated by the first Prime Minister of Greece, Spyridon Trikoupis, in his history of the Greek Revolution, first published in 1853-57, and still in print and online today. Trikoupis asserted that Mesologgi proved the radical incompatibility of Greeks and Turks, and forced the three Great Powers to intervene in Greece's favour.[93] Animosity towards the Turk as a fundamental ingredient of Greek patriotism is also reinforced in contemporary Greek culture through the continuing veneration of anti-Islamic Philhellene iconography. Orientalism therefore infuses contemporary Greek nationalism with a validation of religion as a positive and essential element of Greek identity. Grigoriadis has argued that despite the Europeanization and globalization of Greek culture, the sequestration of religion from Greek nationalism is unlikely, because of what he terms the 'sacred synthesis' between modern Hellenism and Orthodoxy in identity discourse.[94]

The Orientalist construction of the Greek collective in opposition to the Ottoman carries the mark of the existential issues of oppression, desire for liberty and residual

[91] On the subject selective self-stereotyping and collective social identity see Biernat, Green & Vescio: (1996). On the constructed nature of nationalism and its cultural practices through materialization of the national memory, cf. Anderson (1991), Assmann & Czaplicka (1995), Boyarin (1994: vii-xiv and 1-37), Breuilly (1993: 64), Gellner (2006: 52-61), Gillis (1994: 1-24), Halbwachs (1992: 51), Hamilakis (2007: 22), Hoock (2010: 40), İnaç & Ünal (2013: 224-26), Leerssen (2006: 569), Lowenthal (1985: 185-242), Nora (1989: 7-24), Özyürek (2007: 11) and Smith (1991: 21 and 2010: 138).

[92] Cf. the statement by the Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard at the Anzac Day commemoration in Gallipoli in 2012: 'We come here in honour of qualities that defined the Anzacs and we hope, however faintly, might also define ourselves' which appears to affirm a belief that the failed Gallipoli campaign of 1915 against the Ottomans shaped Australian identity. Gillard also claimed that the campaign was the story of all Australians (Gordon: Saturday 28 April 2012). Cf. also Steyn (1997: 1 and 4) who describes identity formation as a process whereby differentiation is made between the 'self' and 'other' through 'desire, denial, affirmation and negation…'.

[93] Trikoupis (1860-62, vol. 3: 343).

[94] Grigoriadis (2013: 91).

angst connected to long-term subjection to colonial rule. As such, Orientalism can only be separated from Greek patriotism in a more expansive definition of nation. Until such a time Philhellene iconography in paintings such as Vryzakis' will continue to impose a definition of identity on the Greek psyche that centres on opposition to, and difference, from the Turk.

Vryzakis created a victory painting for the Greek nation out of a military catastrophe at Mesologgi. Philhellene iconographies that established the Greek insurgents as Christian soldiers rising against their Islamic overlord were projected by Vryzakis onto revolutionary Mesologgi and contribute to the standard account of heroism in Greek popular culture today. Vryzakis' representation of the last defenders of Mesologgi as martyrs in transfiguration denotes their sacrifice for liberation and consolidates the religious context of the Greek War of Independence. The reverence that Vryzakis' pictorial narrative receives via the copy of the painting by Kasolas at the yearly commemoration of the Exodus from the town in 1826 indicates the enduring cultural and psychological importance of religion to the definition of Modern Greece as a political entity. Today Vryzakis' *The Exodus from Missolonghi* 1853 serves to valorize the nationalist nexus between revolutionary Mesologgi and the Greek nation's liberty from Ottoman rule. Vryzakis' incorporation of Philhellene imagery also demonstrates how foreign conceptions have contributed significantly to the historiographical definition of Modern Greece.

Conclusion

This study has explored the scope and significance of Philhellene iconography that sought to support the liberation of the Greek nation from Ottoman rule through depictions of Mesologgi. My thesis has argued that a coherent iconography of the Greek Revolution (1821-1832) grew out of early traveller's depictions of Ottoman Greece and imagery associated with revolutionary France in the 1790s. Art was a vital part of the pro-Greek campaign that sought to influence public opinion and to internationalize the cause of Greek independence at a time when Western powers recognized the sovereignty of the Ottoman Porte over Greece. As the military centre of western Greece, Mesologgi became the barometer of the Greek insurrection's progress globally. Consequently, Mesologgi became an artistic subject readily identified by its landscape as well as the renowned personalities associated with events taking place there the most significant being Markos Botsaris, and Lord Byron.

This thesis has argued that the political agenda of Philhellene art influenced the selection of appropriate imagery, with the Christian identity and the heroism of the vanquished defenders of Mesologgi featuring prominently in depictions of the Greek Revolution. By tracing the development of this imagery through successive eras dating from the early travellers to Greece in the eighteenth century and their interest in antiquity, to the outbreak of the insurrection and the political emergence of the nation-state, this thesis has explored the ways in which Philhellene art elevated the town of Mesologgi as an emblem of the Greek War of Independence.

As a consequence, this study has extended knowledge of Philhellene iconography and its projection onto Mesologgi, and its influence on the conceptualization of Greek nationhood by nineteenth-century European and Greek artists. The adoption by Greek nationalism of a Philhellene perspective, including the visual conventions applied to Mesologgi, enabled a definition of Modern Greece based on the end of subjugation to Ottoman rule, which is still upheld in Greek culture today. Research for this thesis has unveiled the need for more systematic exploration of images of the death of Markos Botsaris in circulation across the globe. Spetsieri-Beschi & Lucarelli (1986) have provided a comprehensive survey of art that related Philhellenism to the Italian

risorgimento movement, but the solidarity for the Greek insurgents displayed for example in Germany and its local political context requires further study. More systematic research is required on Revolutionary Mesologgi in print culture in order to showcase the international significance of the Greek War of Independence through displays of 'artwork' on paper. Images of revolutionary Mesologgi and its attached visual narrative in the illustrated press, decorative arts and theatre also warrant investigation.

Politicized Philhellene art, i.e. images promoting Greek liberation from Ottoman rule, began to appear in Western travel literature in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and developed out of growing antiquarian interest in Greece. Examination of Philhellene images in chapter one of this thesis revealed that this interest in Greece was culturally and historically specific to the classical era, yet gradually widened under the influence of the Enlightenment. At the forefront of politicized Philhellene art was the vignette on the title page of Choiseul-Gouffier's *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce,* 1782 (figure 1.6). Depicting a shackled personification of Greece among ruins, this image revealed the increasing association of the modern nation with the country's ancient heritage and reinforced the claim that Greek culture had become degraded under Ottoman rule. Choiseul-Gouffier's title plate is an example of the shift of interest from the ancient Greeks to the modern population and the developing belief that the modern Greek people were 'enslaved' under Ottoman control. Nevertheless, the definition of Hellenism, as the intellectual contribution of antiquity to western culture, remained unchanged. Ruins therefore became a persistent trope in the reference to the long-past glorious days of ancient Greece in images that also condemned Ottoman rule over the modern Greek people. As ruins became more or less an obligatory feature of Philhellene art, this iconography was also replicated in images of Mesologgi, despite the town not having any ancient classical heritage.

Anti-Ottoman vituperation intensified in the decades before the outbreak of the Greek insurgency in 1821. An early example is the engraving *O miserable me, doomed to slavery* 1801 where an Ottoman looks away with indifference to the pain his scimitar has inflicted on a semi-naked and bleeding female who is standing among broken classical statuary (figure 1.7). The apathy towards the suffering woman, who ostensibly represents Modern Greece, is further emphasized in the image by the Ottoman's relaxed

posed with one hand cavalierly resting on his hip. The use of ruins to signal the degradation of Modern Greece under Ottoman rule in this image, as well as the 'slave in chains' motif expressed by title page of Choiseul-Gouffier's *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, 1782 (figure 1.6) was continued in a publication by the antiquarian Edward Dodwell in 1821 as shown in the title page of his publication *Views in Greece* (figure 1.9). Dodwell also engaged the trope of the cruel oppressor, by depicting a seated, turbaned Ottoman who languorously restrains a female with a heavy chain. To the left of the vignette, is a shield bearing an owl encircled with olive branches; both these symbols are ascribed to the Goddess Athena. An ancient Greek warrior's helmet to the right of the chained female, completes the reference to war and the need for the modern Greeks to 'break the chains' of Ottoman rule.

The transformation of the modern Greek population from suffering, but powerless beings, as depicted in the 'enslavement' scenarios just discussed in to a nation vigorously claiming liberation, was greatly boosted by portrayals of the Souliote leader Markos Botsaris. Chapter two demonstrated that Philhellene art solidified the identification of Botsaris with Mesologgi through scenes of military action against the Ottoman forces, which raised the international profile of the town. Images of Botsaris therefore, were an important vehicle by which revolutionary Mesologgi came to occupy a central place in a more politicized Philhellene art. This art reveals that by the time Mesologgi passed back into Ottoman hands in April 1826, images relating to Botsaris' career and death emphasized his contribution to the Greek War of Independence chiefly through Christian motifs and references to him as the 'new Leonidas'. Artists depicting the mourning of Botsaris aligned his death to that of Christ by the utilization of the pose from the Deposition of Christ from the Cross, thereby enabling the association of martyrdom with patriotism. Depictions of Botsaris' death at Karpenisi and burial at Mesologgi suggested to the West that although the Greek insurgents lacked numbers, they had both the courage and devotion to a higher purpose to defeat the Ottoman forces eventually. In these circumstances the depiction of Botsaris as the vanquished Christian hero facilitated a similar framing of the fall of Mesologgi in 1826 as a victory in defeat in the promotion of the Greek War of Independence in the West by Philhellene art.

A close examination of the imagery depicting Botsaris from 1826 to 1865 revealed the development of the motif of the 'weapon in hand', into a statement about the resolute commitment of the Greek nation to political independence. While Langlois in 1826 depicted Botsaris' weapon falling from his hand as he lies dying in the pose of the Deposition, Marsigli in 1836-39, Lipparini in 1840, Delacroix in c.1860-62 and Deneuville in 1865 all portrayed the lifeless Botsaris still holding firmly onto his scimitar (figures 2.9, 2.17, 2.19, 2.27 and 2.28). In Marsigli's earlier sepia and chalk depiction of the death of Botsaris dated 1827 (figure 2.16) the hero did not have a weapon. As I propose in chapter two, the origins of the 'weapon in hand' motif to illustrate Greek patriotism can be traced back to the painting *Jeune Grec défendant son père*, 1827 by Ary Scheffer and the idea gained momentum through its utilization in subsequent of images of Botsaris (figure 6.12).

Botsaris imagery was also important in the perpetuation of Philhellene iconography circulating after 1822-23 that continued to express the need to remove Ottoman rule over the Greek nation. This idea was expressed graphically through the motif of Greek insurgents trampling upon the Ottoman, or his military standards and flags (figures 6.3 *Réveil de la Grèce, La Grèce inspireé par le géni de la liberté, se lève, brise ses fers et ses oppresseurs sont foudroyés* and figure 6.4 *Le réveil des Grecs*). Among the artists who engaged this iconography in their portrayals of Botsaris in military action are Schwanthaler, Marsigli and Iatrides (figures 2.3, 2.17 and 2.29 a). Iatrides' enthusiastic apotheosis of Botsaris involves the hero simultaneously trampling two enemy soldiers, one of whom is already dead while the other is about to experience the full force of Botsaris' raised scimitar (figure 2.29 a). Iatrides further saw fit to emphasize Botsaris' triumph using a Philhellene formula: before bringing his scimitar down upon the Ottoman, Botsaris dislodges his victim's turban (figure 2.29 a). In Philhellene visual language, this signified the extirpation of Ottoman rule over the Greek nation. The influence of images of Botsaris in shaping the formulation of the Greek hero figure at Mesologgi becomes evident with the portrayals of Botsaris with his scimitar raised above his head by Iatrides (c.1830, figure 2.29 a) and Heideloff (*Bozaris ueberfall* 1835, figure 6.10) to mention just two examples, that can be placed alongside Vryzakis' representation of the figure leading the citizen soldiers in their attempt to run the Ottoman blockade in *The exodus from Missolonghi* 1853 (figure 6.1).

After the death of Botsaris in 1823 Mesologgi's fame continued to grow internationally as the War of Independence proceeded and other episodes of historical significance unfolded, not least Lord Byron's presence and death in the town in 1824. This thesis has examined how Byronic imagery came to establish the poet as a Messiah of the Greek War of Independence. An examination of this imagery revealed that a well-established iconography relating to Byron as a poet was adopted by artists to portray him as an active Philhellene in Mesologgi. Most notable of these influences are the portraits dating from 1813 by Richard Westall and Thomas Phillips (figures 3.2 and 3.5). A question that primed this study was how Byron's imagery contributed to the dominant role that Mesologgi plays in modern Greek culture today regarding the ideological creation of Modern Greece. A painting that offered a response to this inquiry is *Byron on his Death-bed* c.1826 by Joseph-Denis Odevaere, who chose to reproduce the facial features of Byron created by Richard Westall, albeit by replacing the vibrant glow of the poet in the original portrait with a stony pallor (figures 3.2 and 3.6). The painting represents the apotheosis Byron in Greece and was produced the year that Mesologgi fell, not the year of Byron's death. Odevaere's painting is an example of how Philhellene art reinforced the vanquished hero narrative attached to both Byron and Mesologgi, and elevated the political significance of each globally.

A painting on public display today and one that can be accepted as knowledgeably representing Byron during the Greek War of Independence is Theodoros Vryzakis' *The reception of Lord Byron at Mesologgi,* 1861 (figure 3.7). Vryzakis created a composite figure of Byron out of Thomas Phillips' distinguished oil painting titled *Portrait of a Nobleman* 1813 and Byron portrayed as Childe Harold in an engraving by Tony Johannot (figures 3.2 and 3.8). One is surprised to find an illustration for the poem *Le dernier chant du Pèlerinage d'Harold* by Lamartine at the centre of the depiction of Byron at Mesologgi. Indeed, Vryzakis' use of this engraving emphasizes the importance of print culture in the development of the narrative of Mesologgi in art. Vryzakis' reworking of Phillips' and Johannot's figures and the display of the painting *The reception of Lord Byron at Mesologgi,* 1861 in the National Gallery in Athens has ensured that Romantic depictions of Byron remain central to the pictorial tradition of his presence in Greece. Vryzakis' depiction of the rapturous reception of Byron at Mesologgi as virtually a

religious figure amongst the insurgents reflects the acknowledgement of the Philhellene support for the liberation of Greece.

After the death of Byron in Mesologgi on 19 April 1824 the next major event of the Greek War of Independence to inspire a surge in the production of Philhellene art was the fall of the town on 11 April 1826. Two monumental paintings that conveyed vigorous anti-Ottoman propaganda were Eugène Delacroix's *Greece on the Ruins of Missolonghi* 1826 and François-Émile de Lansac's *Épisode du siège de Missolonghi* 1827 (figures 4.1 and 4.2). Both artists reinforced the centuries old negative stereotype in Western culture of the Ottoman as a 'cruel oppressor' in order to galvanize the West into supporting the Greek insurrection. Delacroix expressed Orientalist condemnation through the depiction of an Egyptian Ottoman soldier breaching the walls of Mesologgi, while the personification of Greece is holding up her arms in supplication (figure 4.1). The juxtaposition of their contrasting skin tones correspondingly expressed abhorrence at the possibility that Greece could fall into the hands of 'barbarians' as declared by literary works of Philhellenism at this time. The depiction of an infanticide-suicide in progress by the mother in Lansac's painting *Épisode du siège de Missolonghi* also exploited Orientalist perceptions and sensibilities through the implication that the presence of Ottoman soldiers posed moral danger for both mother and her child.

While Delacroix and Lansac manipulated the West's cultural affiliation with classical Greece through references to antiquity, both artists also rebuked the West for its lack of support of the suffering Greeks by presenting Mesologgi as the town of spilt blood. The earliest example of this motif in art advocating the liberation of the Greek people examined in this thesis is seen in *O miserable me, doomed to slavery* 1801 (figure 1.7), which depicts the cruelty of an Ottoman overlord towards the personification of Greece. However, when this motif was applied to Mesologgi, it became a reference to the patriotism and sacrifice of the town's defenders. Examples of the motif of spilt Greek blood at Mesologgi connect Philhellene art with French Republican art as well as Christian symbolism. These include: the convex bleeding wound on the breast of the nursing mother in the lithograph *Prise de Missolonghi par Ibrahim Pacha (25 Avril 1826)* 1829 by Vautrin and Mauro, and a similar injury on the deceased young woman among the column of people attempting to run the Ottoman blockade in the lithograph titled

Missolunghi's Fall, 1826, by Johann Lorenz II Rugendas (figures 4.11 and 4.27). The wounds on both women connect the images to *Marat Assasiné*, 1793 by Jacques-Louis David, where Marat's bleeding wound renders him a martyr to political change through the iconographical connection it creates with the crucified Christ (figure 4.22 and 4.23).

Lansac's use of the motif of spilt blood frames the Greek War of Independence as a rejection of the political status quo and embodies the French Republican rhetoric of 'freedom or death'. Delacroix utilized the motif in another context altogether and adroitly connected the modern Greek people with that of antiquity, through the blood on the stone block in the foreground, at the personification's feet. While the title of Delacroix's painting *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi* implies that they are ruins of war, rather than ancient ruins, some ambiguity is created by the torso of the personification and its classical appearance. The suggestion proposed by the arrangement of the personification, blood and fallen statuary is that the Greek blood being spilt at Mesologgi was also that of the ancient Greeks, and therefore Western inaction was not honouring cultural ties with classical antiquity. Delacroix and Lansac painted Mesologgi as a town of spilt blood at a crucial time in the insurrection, to signify that a Greek victory against the Ottoman empire was highly unlikely without foreign support.

The need for impassioned Philhellene art promoting Greek liberation through scenes of Mesologgi's fall receded after the formation of the Greek state in 1832, but this did not mean that the town ceased being a subject in art. This era saw the elevation of vanquished Mesologgi from a vehicle for Philhellene propaganda advocating western intervention into the insurgency, to a symbol of the birth of the modern Greek nation. While preceding chapters of this thesis argued that the topography of Mesologgi in art served to create a tangible location for the Greek insurrection in the imagination of European Philhellenes, chapter five of this thesis explored the relationship created by artists between landscape and nationhood. One painting examined which projected the ethos of the Greek Revolution onto the Mesologgian landscape was that commissioned by General Makriyannis, and executed by Panagiotis Zographos. In his composition *Illustrations of events in the Greek War of Independence: 15. Various sieges of Missolonghi* (figure 5.3) Zographos elevated Mesologgi as a symbol of national heroism both through his use of a bright palette and his depiction of the overwhelmingly

disproportionate size of the Ottoman forces deployed against the defenders of the small town.

In terms of the iconography of revolutionary Mesologgi, its small size nestled in the expansive landscape depicted by Zographos, conveyed an atmosphere of tenacity in adversity that Philhellenes had associated with the town in writing and art during the Greek War of Independence. Paradoxically, like many artists, such as Fonville (figures E-5.3), Zographos also succumbed to the idealization of Mesologgi as a Greek bastion, through the imaginative re-creation of its architectural features and fortifications. Although the Bavarian soldiers and amateur artists, Ludwig Köllnberger and Adalbert Marc did not idealize Mesologgi in this same way, the bright palette in both watercolours did create the effect of an optimistic future with a further connection to the nascent nation-state being made through a billowing Greek flag set against a serene blue lagoon, dotted with vessels (figures 5.5 and 5.6). The deployment of Mesologgi in the construction of a national landscape is also seen in the treatment of a nineteenth century panorama of the town and its surrounds that involved the removal of a minaret before it circulated widely in two published monographs by Kokosoulas in 1990 and 2008 (figure 5.10). The exclusion of this symbol from the panorama was quite likely done to de-Ottomanize a landscape and construct Mesologgi as a setting that depicted the end of Greek subjugation.

The analysis of Vryzakis' *The exodus from Missolonghi* in chapter six identified the Philhellene visual tropes that enabled the artist to focus on the patriotism of the Greek insurgents at Mesologgi. Given the fact that Vryzakis created three versions of his painting it can be surmised that his intention was the dissemination of this monumental pictorial narrative of the last defenders of Mesologgi, as an image that unified patriots and Christians. This assertiveness can also be connected to the notion of a single unified Greek identity, which had become a central tenet of Greek nationalism in the nineteenth century that was used to define the political, religious and social character of the nation.

Vryzakis evoked the image of the transfiguration of Christ into heaven from Western art, to allow the viewer to luxuriate in the spiritual transcendence of the last defenders' after their patriotic sacrifice for liberty. The focus on this sacrifice of the Greek

insurgents at Mesologgi, enabled the loss of the town to be developed into a symbol of the Greek War of Independence through the theme of martyrdom and triumph. As chapter four demonstrated, the most potent of Philhellene symbols that emerged from the town after its fall, was of spilt Greek blood at Mesologgi. The association between patriotism and religion made by early Philhellene works such as the lithographs *Réveil de la Grèce, La Grèce inspireé par le géni de la liberté, se lève, brise ses fers et ses oppresseurs sont foudroyés* 1822 and *Le réveil des Grecs*, c.1823 was intensified through the symbol of spilt blood in Philhellene art (figures 6.3 and 6.4). The two central figures at the head of the column embarking on the exodus in Vryzakis' *The exodus from Missolonghi* were closely modelled on Ary Scheffer's *Jeune Grec défendant son père* 1827, including the blood stain on the fallen patriot's clothes that signified sacrifice for liberty. However, Vryzakis limited the blood stains on the dead Mesologgian to his upper garments and kept the patriot's skirt immaculately white (figures 6.12 and 6.13). This act of aestheticization of the Philhellene trope of spilt blood at the head of the column attempting to run the Ottoman blockade, has the effect of sanctifying the entire group as Christian martyrs.

Like many examples of Philhellene art examined in this thesis, Vryzakis also established the Ottoman as the 'despotic other' in his painting *The exodus from Missolonghi* 1853 through highly emotionally charged motifs. The clash of the East and West, and the cliché of 'barbarians at the gate' are expressed simply through the opposition of the Greek and Ottoman flags in the painting. The Philhellene scheme of the Greek hero 'trampling the Ottoman' is seen in the figure kneeling at the front of the bridge about to plunge his scimitar into the advancing Ottoman. This enemy soldier is the only Ottoman in the scene without a turban, which suggested that it has been knocked off by the Greek combatant and thus pictorially reinforced the heroism of Mesologgi according to established Philhellene iconography. Another item of Philhellene invective visualised by Vryzakis is the claim of Ottoman cruelty, chiefly expressed in the emotive form of the deceased mothers and their children in the foreground. Vryzakis' presentation of Greek identity through this Orientalist idiom continues to this day to influence cultural perceptions of the country's Ottoman past. The influence of Philhellene art over Greek national consciousness, as being a nation that succeeded in 'breaking the Ottoman yoke', is seen in the reverence paid to Kasolas' copy of Vryzakis' *The exodus from Missolonghi*

1853, at the commemoration of Mesologgi's fall that still takes place annually. The projection of Philhellene iconography celebrating Greek patriotism onto Mesologgi by earlier artists therefore offers coherence and focus for Greek nationalism as expressed through Vryzakis' emancipation narrative.

Nineteenth century Philhellene art formed part of an international campaign that sought to garner public support for an insurrection that did not have the sanction of European governments. In promoting Greek independence from Ottoman rule, Philhellene art idealized ancient Greece and made modern Greek heroism a subject for contemporary viewers. Pre-existing visual tropes pertaining to antiquity, French Republicanism and religion formed the basis of Philhellene iconography that was projected onto revolutionary Mesologgi. This imagery also perpetuated Orientalist perceptions of the Ottoman empire. The worthiness of the Greek nation for Western support was expressed by artists expressed in compositions that amplified the heroism of the small town. Artists created scenes of the fall of Mesologgi where the love of homeland and religious faith were shown to have fuelled patriotism, and the iconography of spilt blood was evidence of the insurgents' commitment to liberty. The high volume of Philhellene art pertaining to revolutionary Mesologgi kept the Greek War of Independence active as a diplomatic and humanitarian issue across the globe until the Great Powers succumbed to the realization that after six years the insurrection was being extinguished by the Ottoman forces, and intervened to bring about the end of the conflict in the Greek nation's favour. Nearly two centuries after the commencement of the Greek War of Independence the nineteenth century Philhellene artistic conceptualization of the Greek nation as Christian patriots with ties to antiquity taking up arms against the Ottoman empire endures, with Mesologgi firmly established as the sacred space for the national narrative of political independence. It is hoped that by placing Mesologgi at the focal point of an analysis of the Philhellene artistic narrative that this thesis has demonstrated its hitherto underappreciated coherence and importance.

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Imagining Modern Greece:
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Volume 2
Illustrations and Appendices

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Figure E-6.4 Joseph-Denis Odevaere, *De laatste verdedigers van Missolonghi, 22 April 1826: episode uit de Griekse vrijheidsooring,* 1826. 58 x 86 cm, oil on canvas. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-1093.

Figure E-6.5 Ary Scheffer, *Les débris de la garnison de Missolonghi au moment de mettre le feu à la mine qui doit les faire périr,* c.1826. 26 x 20 cm, oil on canvas. Dordrechts, Dordrechts Museum, inv. no. DM/S/33.

Figure E-6.6 C. Langlois pinxt., lith. de Engelmann, Marin Lavigne del., *Destruction de Missolonghi,* 1827. 36 x 47 cm, black and white lithograph. Athens, National Historical Museum, Print Collection, inv. no. 4948/20. Reference: Constans (1996: 288) dates this lithograph 27 January 1827.

Figure E-6.7 Lit. di P. Bertotti, *Io stesso accorrero a dare il fuoco alla mina e cosi martiri periremo della Patria e della Religione,* frontispiece, *Novelle interessanti, istruttive e dilettevoli*: *L'assedio ossiano gli ultimi giorni di Missolungi*, Page 17 x 10 cm, image area 10.5 cm x 7 cm, black and white lithograph. Coppi (1839). Image courtesy of National Library Braidense.

Figure E- 6.8 Theodoros Vryzakis, *Η θυσία του Καψάλη,* [n.d.]. 134 x 144 cm, oil on canvas. Nafplio, National Art Gallery and Alexander Soutzos Museum, inv. no. Π 1299.

Figure E-6.9 Theodoros Vryzakis [according to oral history as stated on index card for painting], *Η ανατίναξη του Χρήστου Καψάλη,* [n.d.]. 1.32 x 1.41 cm, oil on canvas. Mesologgi, Municipal Galley of Mesologgi, inv. no. 29.

Figure E-6.10 Friedrich-Christoph Nilson, *Οι εναπομείναντες της φρουράς του Μεσολογγίου τη στιγμή που βάζουν φωτιά στην πυρατιδαποθήκη για να ανατιναχθούν,* 1876. 83 x 115 cm, oil on canvas. Athens, Private Collection (Tsigakou: 2015: 50 and 210).

Figure E-6.11 *Martyrdom of Demetrius*, date unknown, panel, The Sinai Icon Collection, Michigan Inventory Number 1720. By permission of Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt. Photograph courtesy of Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to Mount Sinai.

Figure E-6.12 Charles Mercereau lith., Frick frères imprimeur, Orcel éditeur, *La maçonnerie instruisant les peuples,* 1837. 550 x 360 mm, black and white lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Department of Prints and Photography, inv. no. RF MAT-1, NQ-D-023902.

Figure E-6.13 A. Rethel inv., X. Steifensand sc., *Messalonghi 1826 d. 22 April,* 1848. 140 x 95 mm, black and white steel engraving. Bülau (1848: plate between pages 240 and 241).

Figure E-6.14 George Morland, *The soldier's departure,* 1791. 30.5 x 25.5 cm, oil on canvas. Wirral, National Museums Liverpool, Lady Lever Art Gallery, inv. no. LL 3673.

Figure E-6.15 Guillaume Guillon-Lethière, *L'enrôlement des volontaires ou la patrie en danger*, 1799. 59 x 100 cm, oil on canvas. Vizelle, Museum of the French Revolution © Coll. Museum of French Revolution / range Vizelle, inv. no. MRF 1985.14.

Figure E-6.16 Theophilos, *The hero Athanasios Diakos in 1821,* [n.d.]. 39.5 x 26.5 cm, oil on cardboard. Thessaloniki, Macedonian Museum of Contemporary Art, inv. no. 0000.065PA.0379.

Figure E-6.17 Ary Scheffer, *Les femmes Souliotes,* 1827. 261.5 x 359.5 cm, oil on canvas, Paris, Louvre Museum, inv. no. 7857.

Figure E-6.18 Artist unknown, P. Pegadiotes ed., Grossi lith., *Η Έξοδος του Μεσολογγίου* in Newpaper *Νεός Αριστοφάνης* 12 July 1892. Newsheet 60 x 40 cm, image size 52.5 x 33.5 cm, chromolithograph. Athens, National Historical Museum, Print Collection, inv. no. 4948/182.

Figure E-6.19 Coccia, copy of Vryzakis' *Exodus from Mesologgi.* Athens, War Museum. Photo courtesy of Dimitris Kamaras. https://flic.kr/p/zjx22q

Figure E-6.20 Theophanes the Greek, *The Transfiguration*, c.1403. 184 x 134 cm, tempera on wood. Moscow, Tretyakov Gallery, inv. no. 12797

Figure E-6.21 Raphael, *The Transfiguration*, 1516-20. 410 x 279 mm, tempera on wood, Vatican City, Vatican Museum, inv. no. Cat. 40333.



Figure 1(i) William Heath (pseudonym 'Paul Pry'), 'Paul Pry' signature figure Esq del., J. McLean pub., *Imperial bears Grease(Greece) or a peep into futurity,* 1828. 25 cm x 34.9 cm, hand-coloured etching. Canberra, John Robertson Collection.



Figure 1.1 Thomas Kitchin creator, John Barber sculp., *Map of Part of Greece and the Peloponnesus*, 1776. 30 x 37 cm, black and white engraved map. (Chandler 1776: facing page 1). Image supplied by and reproduced courtesy of the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.



Figure 1.2 James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, E. Rooker sculp[t.], *Of a Doric Portico at Athens*, 1762. 37 x 52 cm, black and white engraving, Stuart and Revett (1762, vol. 1: pl. 1). Image supplied by and reproduced courtesy of the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.



Figure 1. 3 Julien-David Le Roy del. in Graecia, Jacques-Phillippe Le Bas sculp., *Vue de quelques fragments d'un Temple, situé dans un lieu de l'Attique appellé Thoricion,* 1758. 37 x 52 cm, black and white copper plate etching. Le Roy (1758: p1. 2). Image supplied by and reproduced courtesy of the State Library of Victoria.



Figure 1. 4 Fauvel del., St. Aulaire lithog., lith. de Melle Formentin, *Messolonghi,* 36.5 x 50.5 cm, black and white lithograph. Stackelberg (1834: pl. 29). Image supplied by and reproduced courtesy of the Gennadeion Library, Athens.

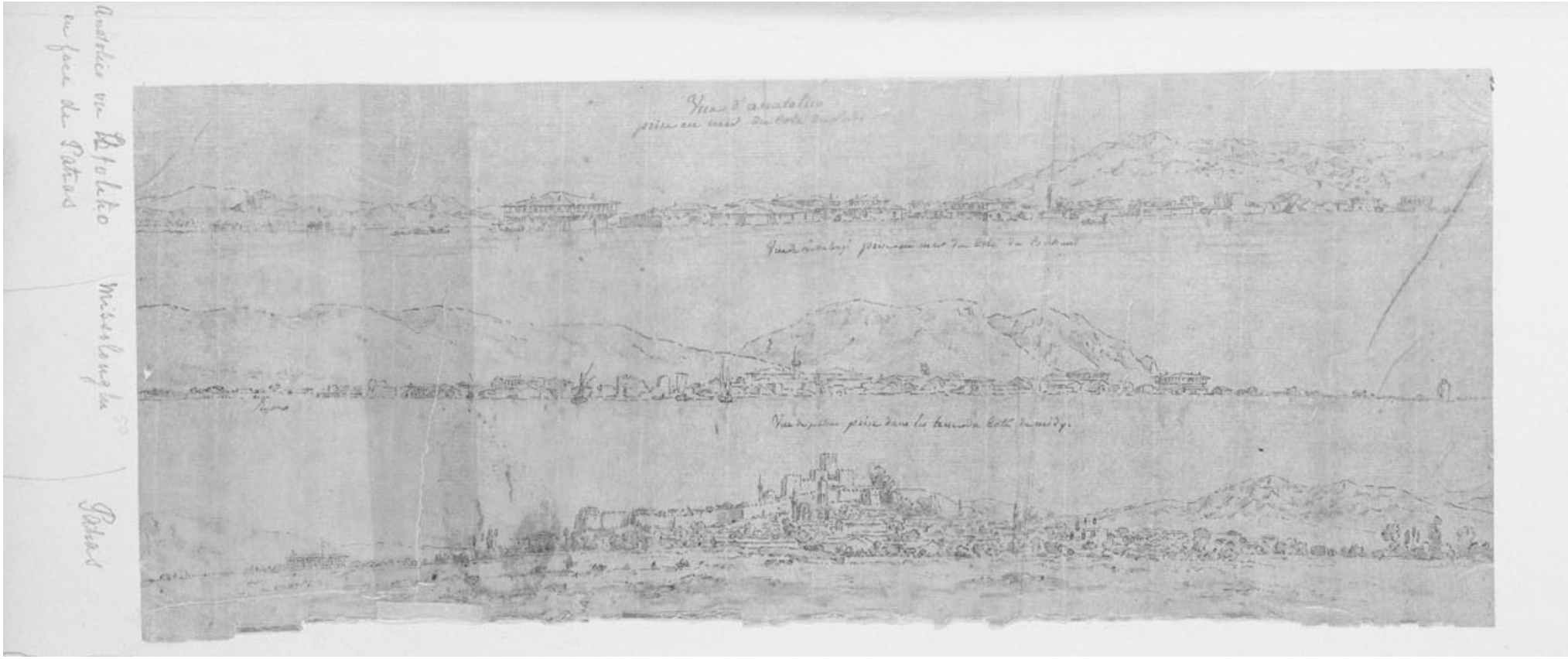

Figure 1.5 Louis-François Cassas, *Vues panoramiques d'Anatolico, de Missolonghi et de Patras*. c.1784-87. 59.2 x 42.5 cm, pen, black ink and grey wash on tracing paper. Paris, Louvre Museum, album of Louis-François Cassas -1- Folio 16, inv. no. RF 4841.51, recto. Image supplied by and reproduced courtesy of Louvre Museum.

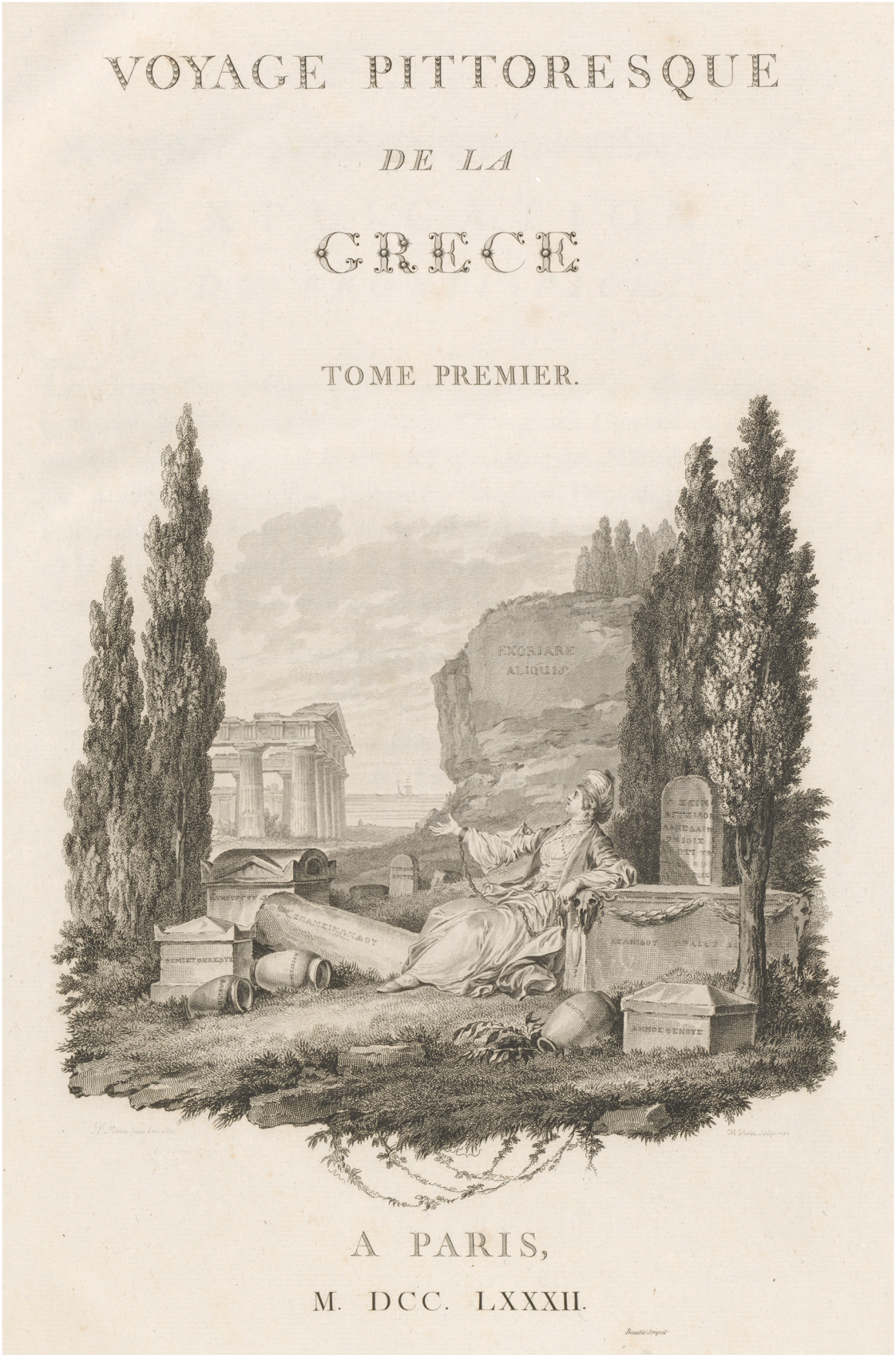

Figure 1. 6 J. M. Moreau junior Inve. Delin., C.N. Varin Sculpy and Beaublé Scripsit, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce,* title page*,* 1782. 37 x 27 cm, black and white engraving. Choiseul-Gouffier (1782: vol. 1). National Library of Australia, RBef CLI4455-56. Image supplied by and produced courtesy of the National Library of Australia.



Figure 1.7 *O miserable me, doomed to slavery,* 1801. 15 x 9 cm, black and white copper engraving. Korais (1821, 2nd edition: frontispiece in Droulia 1983: pamphlet 6). Image supplied by and reproduced courtesy of State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.



Figure 1. 8 Simone Pomardi dis., Pietro Parboni inc., *Teatro a Messolongi*, 1820. 13.5 x 20.7 cm. black and white engraving. Pomardi (1820, vol. 1: page 37). Image supplied by and reproduced courtesy of the British School Library, Athens.

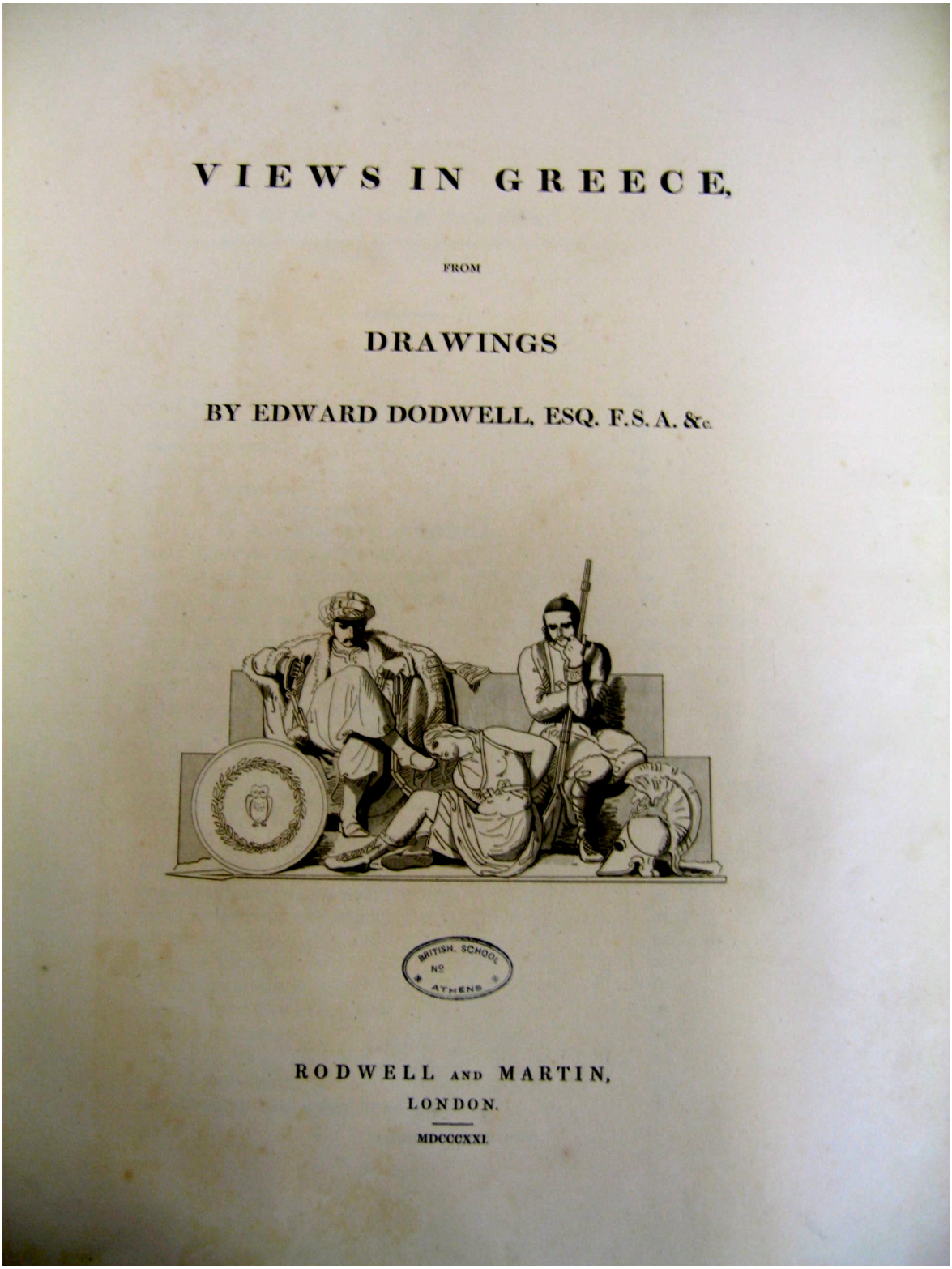

Figure 1.9 *Views in Greece,* title page vignette. 51.5 x 37.5 cm, black and white engraving. Dodwell (1821:). Image reproduced courtesy of the British School of Athens.



Figure 1. 10 Simone Pomardi, *Panorama from Pleuron, looking south,* April 3, 1806. 50 x 163 cm, pen and ink. Zernioti and Camp (2014: 96-97).



Figure 1. 11 a *Ruins of an ancient city near Messaloggion in Aetolia,* printed by C. Hullmandel, plate 25, part a, 27.3 x 40.3 cm, black and white lithograph. Dodwell (1834). Image reproduced courtesy of the Gennadeion Library, Athens.



Figure 1. 11 b *Ruins of an ancient city near Messaloggion in Aetolia,* printed by C. Hullmandel, plate 25, part b, 27 x 40.2 cm, black and white lithograph. Dodwell (1834). Image reproduced courtesy of the Gennadeion Library, Athens.



Figure 1. 11 c *Ruins of an ancient city near Messaloggion in Aetolia,* printed by C. Hullmandel, plate 25, part c, 26.5 x 39.5 cm, black and white lithograph. Dodwell (1834). Image reproduced courtesy of the Gennadeion Library, Athens.



Figure 1. 12 Artist unknown, *Flag with Greece represented as the goddess Athena and the inscription 'Η ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ 'Η ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ (either freedom or death),* inscribed around the Cross is Greek for 'Jesus Christ conquers'. 19th century. 92 x 150 cm, coloured paint on linen. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. ΓΕ 8398.



Figure 1.13 *Allegorical figure*, [S. I.]: [s. n.], [1793], 6.2 x 8.1 cm, black and white engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Department of Prints and Photography, RESERVE FOL-QB-201 (134), Michel Hennin Collection: 11824.

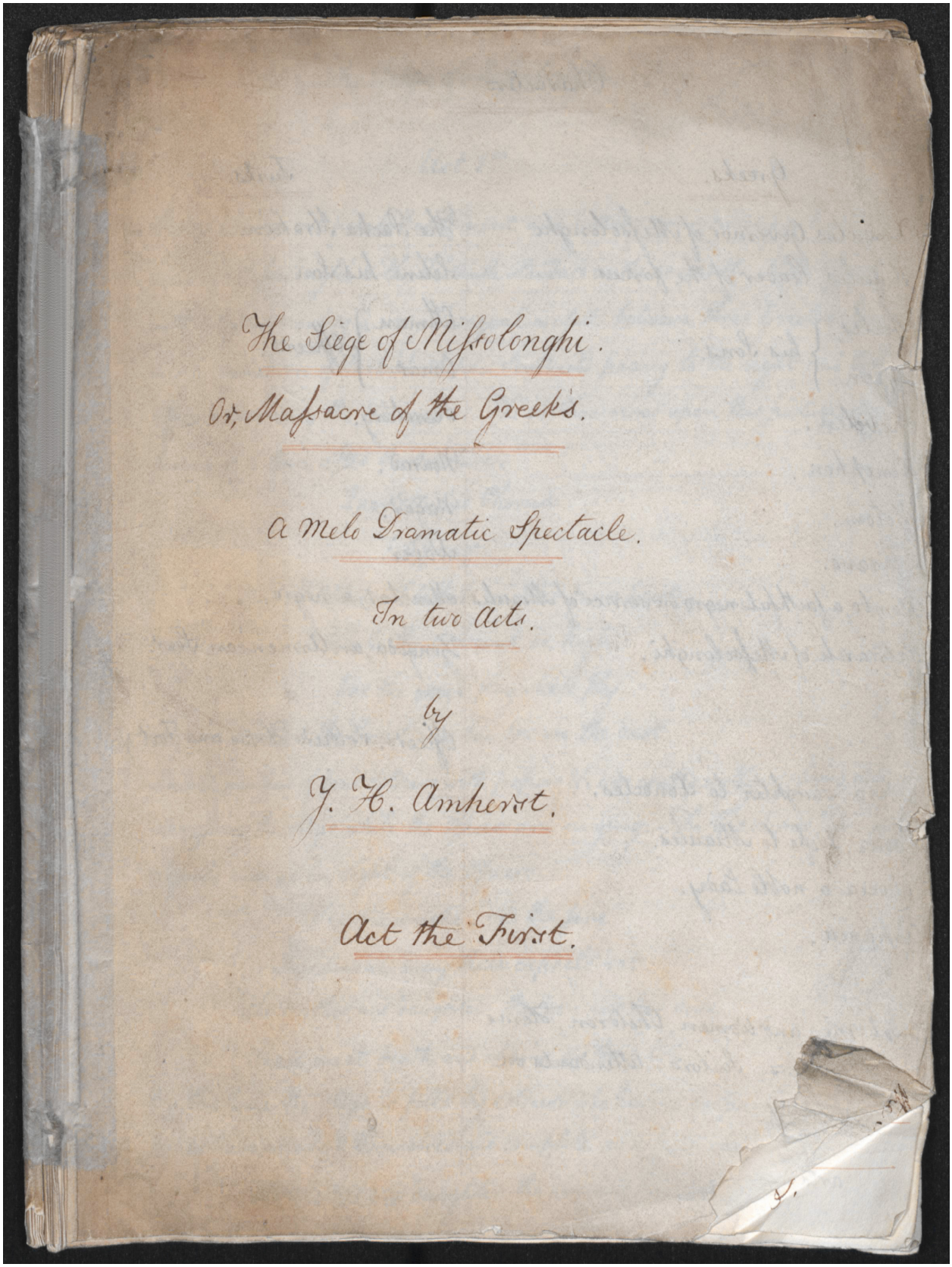

Figure 1. 14 J. H. Amherst, *The siege of Missolonghi or, Massacre of the Greeks: a Melo Dramatic Spectacle in two acts, title page of manuscript,* [18--]. 23 x 19 cm. Canterbury, Templeman Library, © Special Collections & Archives, University of Kent. PETT MSS.S.59 Spec Coll.



120 LAST WEEK OF THE PRESENT PERFORMANCES.

ROYAL AMPHITHEATRE, ASTLEY'S.

MONDAY, JUNE 19th, 1826, AND DURING THE WEEK,
THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE

PATAGONIAN HERCULES!

Who will Display his uncommon Athletic and Muscular Exercises.

31st Time, an entirely New Local, Characteristic, Eccentric, Panoramic, Pedestrian and Equestrian SPEAKING PICTURE of LIFE, MANNERS, and PECULIARITIES of the Present Day. Called,

PAUL PRY on HORSEBACK

OR A PEEP AT THE ELECTION.

With New & Old Music, extensive Scenery, Dresses and Decorations, in which the extraordinary Stud of Horses and Store of Vehicles of every Description, Carriages, Gigs, Waggons, Carts, &c. &c. belonging to this Theatre, will be displayed in an entirely novel manner.
The Overture and Music composed and arranged by *Mr. M. Lawrence.*—The Scenery by *Messrs. Walker and Stanfield.*—The Dresses by *Mr. Smithies and Mrs. Auld.*—The Decorations by *Mr. Kelly.*—The Machinery by *Mr. Evans.*—*The Piece written and arranged by Mr. MONCRIEFF.*
The whole of the extensive Equestrian Arrangements under the superintendance of Mr. Ducrow.

FIRST COURSE.

Mr. PAUL PRY *intruded* upon & dished up highly seasoned, at his *Lodgings in the Haymarket*, garnished with Opening Trio Medley, "Cherry Ripe, Sweet Home, Huntsman's Chorus, & Cries of London," Comic Song to follow.
"*Paul Pry's New London Ditectory for* 1826,"
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Parties Present, Paul and his Neighbours.
(Remove) *Mrs. Paulina Pry's Lodgings in the Adelphi.*
East India Curry—side dishes—panic—pecuniary crisis—hints—eh! you understand, take away.—PARODY, "*I've been roaming.*"
Present Mrs. P. the Nabob and his Daughter, Black Footman in attendance.

SECOND COURSE.

Smithfield Market on a Friday,—(CORRECTLY PENNED.)
Bartlemy Fair,—beef, mutton—tender drover—dish of larks *ad cap tandem*—hits at horse flesh—old dishes to serve up—entre-*meats*—Hopping Ned, Mr. Barbican, and the Horse Vienna—gilt gingerbread—Yorkshire sauce—Paul in a stew—dish of flummery—BUSY settling the hash.
Parties, Tommy Doncaster and his Man; Hopping Ned, Mr. Barbican, &c.
(Remove) Apartment in Sir Waverly Wayward's House.
Old English Sir Loin and glass of *Love-age*—opposition—oil & vinegar, chalk for Cheese—game—chops en papillote (see placard)—bullock's liver, bread, &c.
PARODY, "ISABEL" to clear the Cloth.
Persons present, Sir Waverly, Wilfred, Jemmy White, Jack Cox, &c.

THIRD COURSE.

A made Dish.—*Inside of the Leaping Bar Inn,*
on the high Road to Holloway—glasses ready and to be charged—tea and toast, breakfast.
Paul Pry and his Horse, Bury's, Leap in the Bar.
Liqueurs, hasty pudding, mincemeat, early purl, whipped syllabub, meddlers, all cleared, put it down to the bill—*Present, Paul and Party.*
(Remove) *High Road to Holloway.*
Pepper and Salt—no port—sherry off—ducks—the *cloth* removed—a snack by the way.—*Present, principally Passengers.*

FOURTH COURSE.

Interior of the Union Arms Hotel, Committee Rooms.
Orders on all sides, & every thing agreeable,—mustard & vinegar,—my dear-a spilling the gravy,—uncovering the dishes,—toad in a hole.
Present, Board of Committee Men, &c.
(Remove) *Hustings at Holloway.*
Hodge podge—cutting it fat—giving it mouth—PAUL PRY and his HORSE on the HUSTINGS,—cut and come again—ham, eggs, potatoes, *butter* pudding drawing the claret.—*Present, Electors and Candidates.*

DESERT.

Apartments in the Union Arms Hotel.
Love apples—a pair—w[h]ine—hob and nobbing—Song and Sentiment.
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Taking the chair—GRAND PROCESSION—Bread, Beef and Beer—marrow bones and cleavers—odd fellows—saying grace—Shew of Hands.

Principal Characters.—Mr. Paul Pry, from the Haymarket, Mr. HERRING.
Sir Waverly Wayward, ... a rich Baronet, Candidate for the Borough of Holloway, ... Mr. LAWRENCE.
Squire Wilful, ... a Wealthy Nabob, rival Candidate for the Borough of Holloway, ... Mr. CARTLITCH.
Wilfred Wayward, ...Son of the Baronet, in Love with Miss Winifred, ...Mr. BEDFORD.
Jemmy White,.....an independent Wall Chalker,.....Mr. ELLIOTT.
Hopping Ned, alias Cutaway Teddy, (ad vivam) Mr. SANDERS.
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Jack Cox, an old Printer's Devil, Mr. GOLL. Mr. Barbican, a City Connoisseur, Mr. FOLLETT. Jack Higler, a tender hearted Drover, Mr. J. SMITH.
Sambo, Squire Wilful's Black Servant, Mr. WATKINS. Splitvote, Mr. POPE. Tipp'em, Mr. WIDDICOMB.
Captain O'Killman, Horse Dealers, Voters, &c. &c. &c. by the whole Company.
Mrs. Paulina Pry, from the Adelphi, Mrs. PEARCE. Miss Winifred Wilful, Mrs. VALE.
Mrs. Portly, Landlady of the Leaping Bar Inn, Mrs. SLADER Ladies, Chambermaids, Fruitwomen, &c. &c. &c.

Previous to which, The Exercises of HERR CLINE on the ELASTIC CORD.

Delight & Admiration never fail to accompany the Exercises of HERR CLINE. The Evolutions he displays have every claim to Novelty, & are considered by the Managers so very superior and unimproveable that they make no scruple in announcing him as the first Performer of the day. To bring forward the Exhibition of this Artist's Powers in this line of the Gymnastic Exercises to all possible effect, & in a manner deserved by the skill and merit they combine, considerable expence has been incurred, the Managers having purposely provided, amongst other Splendid Appurtenances, an Elegant and Tasteful Decoration, representing the *TEMPLE OF THE MUSES,*
And thus are enabled to offer to the Public another great Novelty, in addition to those that have been already so much approved of and signally Applauded.
He will conclude his wonderful Performance, for the *First Time*, with the

GRAND FLIGHT of PLUTO from the STAGE to the GALLERY!

IN THE CIRCLE.—Among other Equestrian Entertainments, will be executed

THE GRAND AMAZONION ENTREE

Performed by Four Knights & Four Ladies, mounting Eight Horses.
Each of which is of a different breed, uniting the Arabian, the Turkish, the Norman, the Cossack, the Andalusian, the Corsican, the Hanoverian, & the English.

To conclude with

Mr. DUCROW's

Wonderful Act of Equestrianism of unprecedented Effect, and never attempted but by himself, during which he will ride, at one time,

THREE HORSES!!!

ENTIRELY UNCAPARISONED. Clown to the Equestrian Scenes, Mr. J. DUCROW. Riding Master, Mr. WIDDICOMB.

The Evening's Entertainments will commence with the Grand Military Spectacle in Two Acts, Called

WAR in INDIA; or, the Burmese Empire.

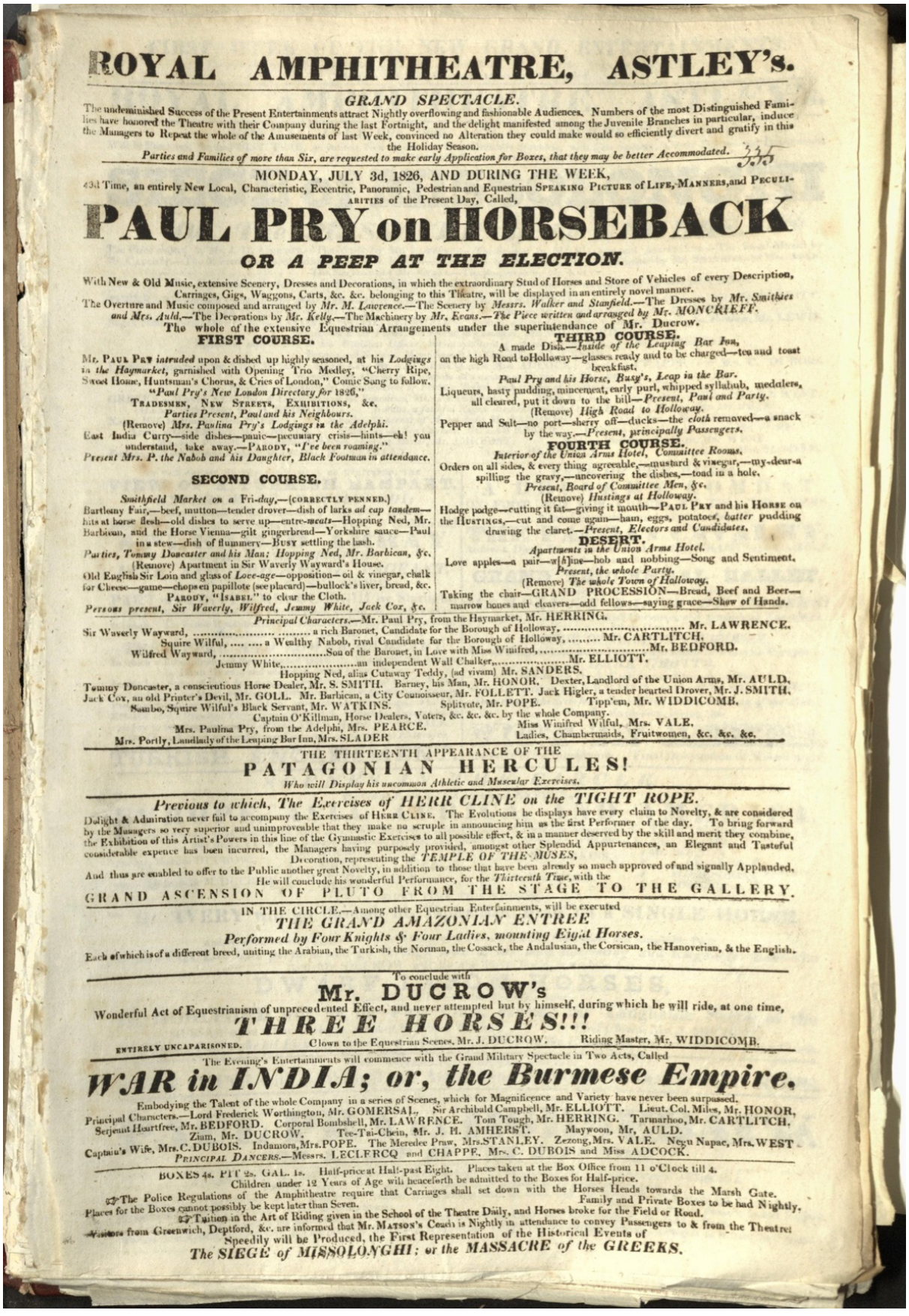
Embodying the Talent of the whole Company in a series of Scenes, which for Magnificence and Variety have never been surpassed.

Principal Characters.—Lord Frederick Worthington, Mr. GOMERSAL. Sir Archibald Campbell, Mr. ELLIOTT. Lieut. Col. Miles, Mr. HONOR.
Serjeant Heartfree, Mr. BEDFORD. Corporal Bombshell, Mr. LAWRENCE. Tom Tough, Mr. HERRING. Tarmarhoo, Mr. CARTLITCH.
Ziam, Mr. DUCROW. Tee-Tai-Chein, Mr. J. H. AMHERST. Maywoon, Mr. AULD.
Captain's Wife, Mrs. C. DUBOIS. Indamora, Mrs. POPE. The Meredee Praw, Mrs. STANLEY. Zerong, Mrs. VALE. Nemu Napac, Mrs. WEST.
PRINCIPAL DANCERS.—Messrs. LECLERCQ and CHAPPE, Mrs. C. DUBOIS and Miss ADCOCK.

BOXES 4s. PIT 2s. GAL. 1s. Half-price at Half-past Eight. Places taken at the Box Office from 11 o'Clock till 4.
Children under 12 Years of Age will henceforth be admitted to the Boxes for Half-price.
☞The Police Regulations of the Amphitheatre require that Carriages shall set down with the Horses Heads towards the Marsh Gate.
Places for the Boxes cannot possibly be kept later than Seven. Family and Private Boxes to be had Nightly.
☞Tuition in the Art of Riding given in the School of the Theatre Daily, and Horses broke for the Field or Road.
Visitors from Greenwich, Deptford, &c. are informed that Mr. MASON's Coach is Nightly in attendance to convey Passengers to & from the Theatre.
On MONDAY Next, the First Representation of the Historical Events of

The SIEGE of MISSOLONGHI; or the MASSACRE of the GREEKS.

Figure 1.15 Playbill Royal Amphitheatre (London), *Paul Pry on horseback or, a peep at the election, (Playbill announcing forthcoming first performance of The Siege of Missolonghi: Or, The Massacre of the Greeks).* 19 June 1826. 38 x 24.9 cm. London, British Library, General Reference Collection Playbills, 171.



ROYAL AMPHITHEATRE, ASTLEY's.

GRAND SPECTACLE.

The undeminished Success of the Present Entertainments attract Nightly overflowing and fashionable Audiences. Numbers of the most Distinguished Families have honored the Theatre with their Company during the last Fortnight, and the delight manifested among the Juvenile Branches in particular, induce the Managers to Repeat the whole of the Amusements of last Week, convinced no Alteration they could make would so efficiently divert and gratify in this the Holiday Season.

Parties and Families of more than Six, are requested to make early Application for Boxes, that they may be better Accommodated.

MONDAY, JULY 3d, 1826, AND DURING THE WEEK,

43d Time, an entirely New Local, Characteristic, Eccentric, Panoramic, Pedestrian and Equestrian SPEAKING PICTURE of LIFE, MANNERS, and PECULIARITIES of the Present Day, Called,

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Delight & Admiration never fail to accompany the Exercises of HERR CLINE. The Evolutions he displays have every claim to Novelty, & are considered by the Managers so very superior and unimprovable that they make no scruple in announcing him as the first Performer of the day. To bring forward the Exhibition of this Artist's Powers in this line of the Gymnastic Exercises to all possible effect, & in a manner deserved by the skill and merit they combine, considerable expence has been incurred, the Managers having purposely provided, amongst other Splendid Appurtenances, an Elegant and Tasteful Decoration, representing the *TEMPLE OF THE MUSES,*

And thus are enabled to offer to the Public another great Novelty, in addition to those that have been already so much approved of and signally Applauded.

He will conclude his wonderful Performance, for the *Thirteenth Time*, with the

GRAND ASCENSION OF PLUTO FROM THE STAGE TO THE GALLERY.

IN THE CIRCLE.—Among other Equestrian Entertainments, will be executed

THE GRAND AMAZONIAN ENTREE

Performed by Four Knights & Four Ladies, mounting Eight Horses.

Each of which is of a different breed, uniting the Arabian, the Turkish, the Norman, the Cossack, the Andalusian, the Corsican, the Hanoverian, & the English.

To conclude with

Mr. DUCROW's

Wonderful Act of Equestrianism of unprecedented Effect, and never attempted but by himself, during which he will ride, at one time,

THREE HORSES!!!

ENTIRELY UNCAPARISONED. Clown to the Equestrian Scenes, Mr. J. DUCROW. Riding Master, Mr. WIDDICOMB.

The Evening's Entertainments will commence with the Grand Military Spectacle in Two Acts, Called

WAR in INDIA; or, the Burmese Empire.

Embodying the Talent of the whole Company in a series of Scenes, which for Magnificence and Variety have never been surpassed.

Principal Characters.—Lord Frederick Worthington, Mr. GOMERSAL. Sir Archibald Campbell, Mr. ELLIOTT. Lieut. Col. Miles, Mr. HONOR.

Serjeant Heartfree, Mr. BEDFORD. Corporal Bombshell, Mr. LAWRENCE. Tom Tough, Mr. HERRING. Tarmarhoo, Mr. CARTLITCH.

Ziam, Mr. DUCROW. Tee-Tai-Chein, Mr. J. H. AMHERST. Maywoon, Mr. AULD.

Captain's Wife, Mrs. C. DUBOIS. Indamora, Mrs. POPE. The Meredee Praw, Mrs. STANLEY. Zezong, Mrs. VALE. Negu Napae, Mrs. WEST

PRINCIPAL DANCERS.—Messrs. LECLERCQ and CHAPPE. Mrs. C. DUBOIS and Miss ADCOCK.

BOXES 4s. PIT 2s. GAL. 1s. Half-price at Half-past Eight. Places taken at the Box Office from 11 o'Clock till 4.

Children under 12 Years of Age will henceforth be admitted to the Boxes for Half-price.

☞ The Police Regulations of the Amphitheatre require that Carriages shall set down with the Horses Heads towards the Marsh Gate.

Places for the Boxes cannot possibly be kept later than Seven. Family and Private Boxes to be had Nightly.

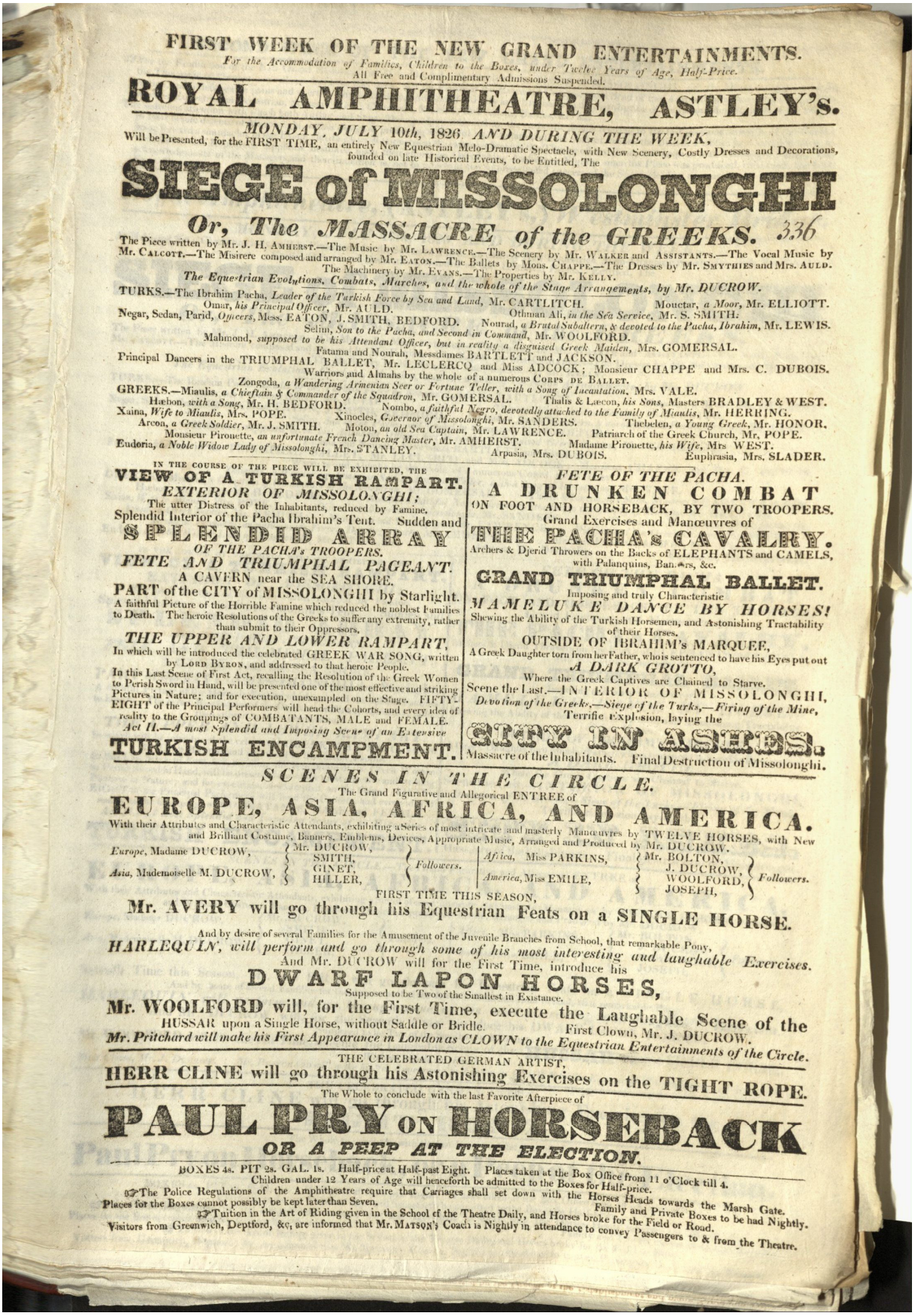
☞ Tuition in the Art of Riding given in the School of the Theatre Daily, and Horses broke for the Field or Road.

Visitors from Greenwich, Deptford, &c. are informed that Mr. MATSON'S Coach is Nightly in attendance to convey Passengers to & from the Theatre.

Speedily will be Produced, the First Representation of the Historical Events of

The SIEGE of MISSOLONGHI; or the MASSACRE of the GREEKS.

Figure 1.16 Royal Amphitheatre (Astley's), London. *Paul Pry on horseback, or, a peep at the election (featuring The Siege of Missolonghi: Or, The Massacre of the Greeks),* 3 July 1826. 38 x 25 cm. Playbill, Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, Harvard University, TCS 63 (vol. 71).



FIRST WEEK OF THE NEW GRAND ENTERTAINMENTS.

For the Accommodation of Families, Children to the Boxes, under Twelve Years of Age, Half-Price.

All Free and Complimentary Admissions Suspended.

ROYAL AMPHITHEATRE, ASTLEY's.

MONDAY, JULY 10th, 1826. AND DURING THE WEEK,

Will be Presented, for the FIRST TIME, an entirely New Equestrian Melo-Dramatic Spectacle, with New Scenery, Costly Dresses and Decorations, founded on late Historical Events, to be Entitled, The

SIEGE of MISSOLONGHI

Or, The MASSACRE of the GREEKS.

336

The Piece written by Mr. J. H. AMHERST.—The Music by Mr. LAWRENCE.—The Scenery by Mr. WALKER and ASSISTANTS.—The Vocal Music by Mr. CALCOTT.—The Misirere composed and arranged by Mr. EATON.—The Ballets by Mons. CHAPPE.—The Dresses by Mr. SMYTHIES and Mrs. AULD.

The Machinery by Mr. EVANS.—The Properties by Mr. KELLY.

The Equestrian Evolutions, Combats, Marches, and the whole of the Stage Arrangements, by Mr. DUCROW.

TURKS.—The Ibrahim Pacha, *Leader of the Turkish Force by Sea and Land*, Mr. CARTLITCH. Mouctar, *a Moor*, Mr. ELLIOTT.

Omar, *his Principal Officer*, Mr. AULD. Othman Ali, *in the Sea Service*, Mr. S. SMITH.

Negar, Sedan, Parid, *Officers*, Mess. EATON, J. SMITH, BEDFORD. Nourad, *a Brutal Subaltern, & devoted to the Pacha, Ibrahim*, Mr. LEWIS.

Selim, *Son to the Pacha, and Second in Command*, Mr. WOOLFORD.

Mahmond, *supposed to be his Attendant Officer, but in reality a disguised Greek Maiden*, Mrs. GOMERSAL.

Fatama and Nourah, Messdames BARTLETT and JACKSON.

Principal Dancers in the TRIUMPHAL BALLET, Mr. LECLERCQ and Miss ADCOCK; Monsieur CHAPPE and Mrs. C. DUBOIS.

Warriors and Almahs by the whole of a numerous CORPS DE BALLET.

Zongoda, *a Wandering Armenian Seer or Fortune Teller, with a Song of Incantation*, Mrs. VALE.

GREEKS.—Miaulis, *a Chieftain & Commander of the Squadron*, Mr. GOMERSAL. Thalis & Laecon, *his Sons*, Masters BRADLEY & WEST.

Hæbon, *with a Song*, Mr. H. BEDFORD. Nombo, *a faithful Negro, devotedly attached to the Family of Miaulis*, Mr. HERRING.

Xaina, *Wife to Miaulis*, Mrs. POPE. Xinocles, *Governor of Missolonghi*, Mr. SANDERS. Thebelen, *a Young Greek*, Mr. HONOR.

Arcon, *a Greek Soldier*, Mr. J. SMITH. Moton, *an old Sea Captain*, Mr. LAWRENCE. Patriarch of the Greek Church, Mr. POPE.

Monsieur Pirouette, *an unfortunate French Dancing Master*, Mr. AMHERST. Madame Pirouette, *his Wife*, Mrs WEST.

Eudoria, *a Noble Widow Lady of Missolonghi*, Mrs. STANLEY. Arpasia, Mrs. DUBOIS. Euphrasia, Mrs. SLADER.

IN THE COURSE OF THE PIECE WILL BE EXHIBITED, THE

VIEW OF A TURKISH RAMPART.

EXTERIOR OF MISSOLONGHI;

The utter Distress of the Inhabitants, reduced by Famine.

Splendid Interior of the Pacha Ibrahim's Tent. Sudden and

SPLENDID ARRAY

OF THE PACHA's TROOPERS.

FETE AND TRIUMPHAL PAGEANT.

A CAVERN near the SEA SHORE.

PART of the CITY of MISSOLONGHI by Starlight.

A faithful Picture of the Horrible Famine which reduced the noblest Families to Death. The heroic Resolutions of the Greeks to suffer any extremity, rather than submit to their Oppressors.

THE UPPER AND LOWER RAMPART,

In which will be introduced the celebrated GREEK WAR SONG, written by LORD BYRON, and addressed to that heroic People.

In this Last Scene of First Act, recalling the Resolution of the Greek Women to Perish Sword in Hand, will be presented one of the most effective and striking Pictures in Nature; and for execution, unexampled on the Stage. FIFTY-EIGHT of the Principal Performers will head the Cohorts, and every idea of reality to the Groupings of COMBATANTS, MALE and FEMALE.

Act II.—A most Splendid and Imposing Scene of an Extensive

TURKISH ENCAMPMENT.

FETE OF THE PACHA.

A DRUNKEN COMBAT

ON FOOT AND HORSEBACK, BY TWO TROOPERS.

Grand Exercises and Manœuvres of

THE PACHA's CAVALRY.

Archers & Djerid Throwers on the Backs of ELEPHANTS and CAMELS, with Palanquins, Banners, &c.

GRAND TRIUMPHAL BALLET.

Imposing and truly Characteristic

MAMELUKE DANCE BY HORSES!

Shewing the Ability of the Turkish Horsemen, and Astonishing Tractability of their Horses.

OUTSIDE OF IBRAHIM's MARQUEE,

A Greek Daughter torn from her Father, who is sentenced to have his Eyes put out

A DARK GROTTO,

Where the Greek Captives are Chained to Starve.

Scene the Last.—INTERIOR OF MISSOLONGHI,

Devotion of the Greeks.—Siege of the Turks,—Firing of the Mine,

Terrific Explosion, laying the

CITY IN ASHES.

Massacre of the Inhabitants. Final Destruction of Missolonghi.

SCENES IN THE CIRCLE.

The Grand Figurative and Allegorical ENTREE of

EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, AND AMERICA.

With their Attributes and Characteristic Attendants, exhibiting a Series of most intricate and masterly Manœuvres by TWELVE HORSES, with New and Brilliant Costume, Banners, Emblems, Devices, Appropriate Music, Arranged and Produced by Mr. DUCROW.

Europe, Madame DUCROW, { Mr. DUCROW, SMITH, GINET, HILLER, } *Followers.*

Asia, Mademoiselle M. DUCROW, { Mr. DUCROW, SMITH, GINET, HILLER, } *Followers.*

Africa, Miss PARKINS, { Mr. BOLTON, J. DUCROW, WOOLFORD, JOSEPH, } *Followers.*

America, Miss EMILE, { Mr. BOLTON, J. DUCROW, WOOLFORD, JOSEPH, } *Followers.*

FIRST TIME THIS SEASON,

Mr. AVERY will go through his Equestrian Feats on a SINGLE HORSE.

And by desire of several Families for the Amusement of the Juvenile Branches from School, that remarkable Pony,

HARLEQUIN, will perform and go through some of his most interesting and laughable Exercises.

And Mr. DUCROW will for the First Time, introduce his

DWARF LAPON HORSES,

Supposed to be Two of the Smallest in Existance.

Mr. WOOLFORD will, for the First Time, execute the Laughable Scene of the HUSSAR upon a Single Horse, without Saddle or Bridle.

First Clown, Mr. J. DUCROW.

Mr. Pritchard will make his First Appearance in London as CLOWN to the Equestrian Entertainments of the Circle.

THE CELEBRATED GERMAN ARTIST,

HERR CLINE will go through his Astonishing Exercises on the TIGHT ROPE.

The Whole to conclude with the last Favorite Afterpiece of

PAUL PRY ON HORSEBACK

OR A PEEP AT THE ELECTION.

BOXES 4s. PIT 2s. GAL. 1s. Half-price at Half-past Eight. Places taken at the Box Office from 11 o'Clock till 4.

Children under 12 Years of Age will henceforth be admitted to the Boxes for Half-price.

☞The Police Regulations of the Amphitheatre require that Carriages shall set down with the Horses Heads towards the Marsh Gate.

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Figure 1. 17 Royal Amphitheatre (Astley's), London. *The Siege of Missolonghi: Or, The Massacre of the Greeks),* 10 July 1826. 38 x 25 cm. Playbill, Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, Harvard University, TCS 63 (vol. 71).



Figure 1.18 Louis Benjamin Marie Devouges, *Missolonghi*, 1828. 71.5 x 86 cm, oil on canvas. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 8989.



Figure 2.1 Nach der Natur gez. v. Krazeisen, Selb Lith. Auf Stein gez. von P. Hess, *Ein Kapitän mit seinen Pallikaren im Gefechte,* 31 x 26 cm, black and white lithograph. (Krazeisen, 1828-31: vol. 6 [1829]).



Figure 2.2 Deneuville pinx., Regnier, Brettannier and Morlon lith., Imp. Lemercier & Cie., *Défense de Missolonghi*, 1865. 54 x 70 cm, hand-coloured double tinted lithograph, Athens, National Gallery and Alexandros Soutzos Museum, inv. no. 2455.



Figure 2.3 Ludwig Michael von Schwanthaler designer, Joseph Kranzberger, Claudius Schraudolph, *Frieze in Eleftherios Venizelos Hall, (Mavrokordatos defending Mesologgi and Botsaris attacking the Turkish camp at Karpenisi, corner of the east and south walls)*, c.1840-43. 120 cm x 59 m, fresco secco. Athens, Greek Parliament building.



Figure 2.4 Ludwig Michael von Schwanthaler designer, Joseph Kranzberger, Claudius Schraudolph, *Frieze in Eleftherios Venizelos Hall,* detail of Botsaris advancing into battle (Papanikolaou, M. 2007: 64-65).

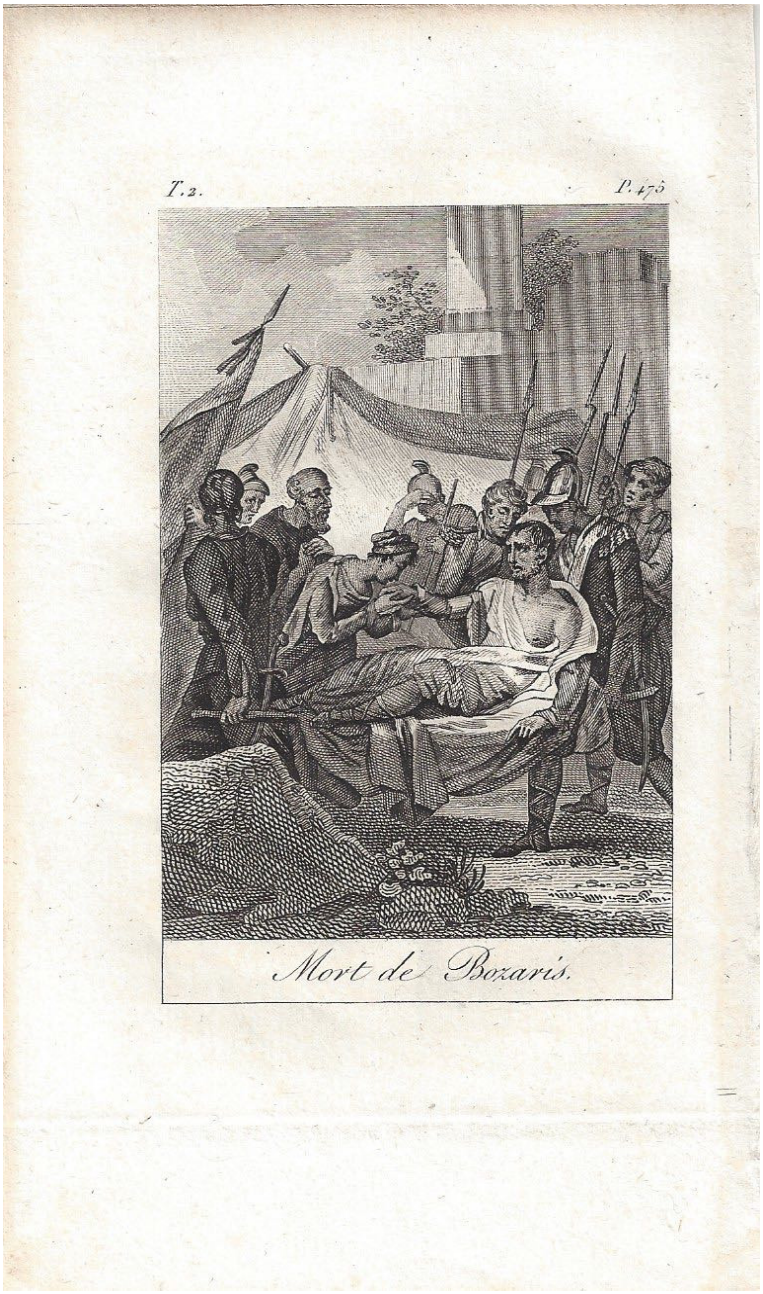


Figure 2.5 *Mort de Bozaris*, 1825. Full page 17 x 10 cm; image size 10.5 x 6.5 cm, black and white engraving. Dufrénoy (1825, vol. 2: 475). Canberra, John Robertson Collection.



Figure 2.6 *M. Botsaris taking communion before the attack at Karpenisi*, [n.d.]. 28 x 22 cm, oil on wood. Athens, Presidential Mansion, Collection of the National Art Gallery and Alexandros Soutzos Museum, inv. no. 248.



Figure 2.7 Verso figure 2.5.

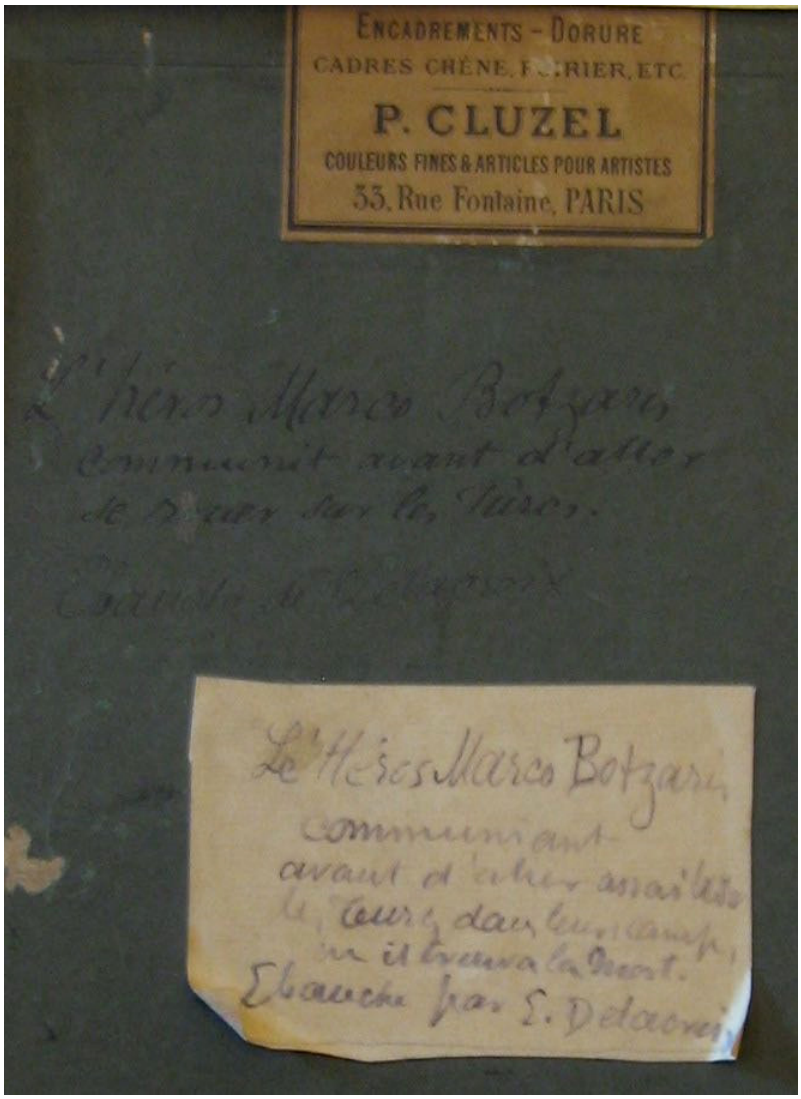


Figure 2.8 Verso figure 2.4, detail of labelling.



Figure 2.9 C. Langlois pinxt., lith. de Engelmann, Maurin del., *Mort de Marc Botzaris le 20/8 Août 1823*, 53 x 64 cm, black and white lithograph. Athens, National Historical Museum, Print Collection, inv. no. 729. Reference: Constans (1996: 287) dates this lithograph 16 August 1826.



Figure 2.10 Benjamin West, *Death of General Wolfe*, 1770. 152.6 x 214.5 cm, oil on canvas. Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada. inv. no. 8007.



Figure 2.11 Langlois peint., Aug. Strixner lithog., imprim. chez J. N Strixner (1782-1855). *Θάνατος του νέου Λεωνίδα Μάρκου Μπότσαρη*, 19th century. 50 x 60 cm, black and white lithograph. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 28096.



Figure 2.12 I. K., after C. Langlois 1826, *Ο θάνατος του Μάρκου Βότσαρη κατά την 8/20 Απριλίου 1820* [sic]. 19th century. 31.5 x 47 cm, black and white lithograph. Athens, National Historical Museum, inv. no 4948/21.



Figure 2.13 M. Fontana inv. e dis. Lit. Giac. Kirchmayr, after C. Langlois 1826. *La morte di Marco Botzari*, 19th century. 74.5 x 58 cm, black and white lithograph. Athens, National Historical Museum, Print Collection, inv. no. 10518.



Figure 2.14 Pericles Chelmis (?), after C. Langlois 1826, *Ο θάνατος του Μάρκου Βότσαρη εν Καρπενησιω 8 Αυγούστου 1823*, 19th century. 50.5 x 63 cm, black and white lithograph. Athens, National Historical Museum, Print Collection, inv. no. 11928.



Figure 2.15 Sotiris Chrestides after C. Langlois 1826? G. Staggel lith., D. Pappademetriou publisher., *Το ηρώον της Ελληνικής Επανάστασης, Ο θάνατος του Μάρκου Μπότσαρη εν Καρπενισιω τη 8 Αυγούστου* 1823, [post 1858]. 52 x 66 cm, chromolithograph (Dourvaris 1993: 57).



Figure 2.16 Filippo Marsigli, *La morte di Marco Bozzari*, 1829. 30.5 x 47.5 cm, sepia and chalk. Athens, National Gallery and Alexandros Soutzos Museum, inv. no. 3523.



Figure 2.17 Filippo Marsigli, *La morte di Marco Bozzari*, 1836-39. 63 x 91 cm, oil on canvas. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 8969.



Figure 2.18 Filippo Marsigli, Giuseppe Simonetti dis., *La difesa del corpo di Marco Bozzari*, c.1850. 58 x 77 cm, black and white lithograph. Naples, Marie Antoinette and Adelaide Pagliara Foundation Collection, University Suor Orsola Benincasa, inv. no. 20774.



Figure 2.19 Ludovico Lipparini, *La Morte di Marco Botzaris*, 1840. 160 x 230 cm, oil on canvas. Trieste, Civico Musei di Storia ed Arte, inv. no. 20208.



Figure 2.20 Jean-Claude Bonnefond, *Un Officier grec blessé devant les mers d'une ville prise d'assaut*, 1826. 2.05 x 1.72 cm, oil on canvas. Lyon, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. A-154.



Figure 2.21 Ludovico Lipparini, *The death of Botsaris,* 19th century. 58 x 73 cm, oil on canvas. Sotheby's 1995 (78-9). Photograph Courtesy of Sotheby's, Inc. © 1995.



Figure 2.22 Ludovico Lipparini dip., Marcovich dis., Clerici inc., *La Morte di Marco Bozzari,* 1845. 126 x 175 mm, black and white lithograph. Gemme d'arti Italiane (1845, anno primo: 152).



Figure 2. 23 Festette Lipparini Lajos, Kore Metszette Hanfstaengl lith. *Bozzaris Mark Halala,* 1846. 53 x 64 cm, black and white lithograph. Thessaloniki, University of Thessaloniki, inv. no. ARC-2005-570.



Figure 2.24 Unknown artist, *Episode of the Greco-Turkish war,* 19th century. 129 x 181.5 cm, oil on canvas. St. Petersburg, Peterhof Museum, inv. no. PDMP 1223-zh, acquired 1988.



Figure 2.25 Dionysios Tsokos, *Ο θάνατος του Μάρκου Μπότσαρη*, c.1844-47. 60 x 80 cm, oil on canvas. Athens, National Gallery and Alexander Soutzos Museum, inv. no. K. 803.



Γραβεῖον Α΄ ξυλογραφίας, τῆς κατωτέρας τάξεως.

Ὁ Βότζαρις, ἔργον Σπ. Γουζέλα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν.

Figure 2.26 Spyridon Gouzelas, *Ο Μπότσαρης θνήσκων*, c.1856. 12.25 x 16.50 cm, black and white woodcut. Director of Athens School of Fine Arts (15 December 1856: 420).



Figure 2.27 Eugène Delacroix, *Botzaris surprises the Turkish camp and falls fatally wounded*, c. 1860–62. 60.1 x 73.5 cm, oil on canvas, Ohio, Toledo Museum of Modern Art, inv. no. 1994. 36.



Figure 2.28 Deneuville pinx., Regnier, Brettannier and Morlon lith., Imp. Lemercier & Cie., *Mort de Marcos Botzaris*, 1865. 46 x 60 cm, hand-coloured double tinted lithograph. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 26328. Reference: Bibliothèque Nationale de France. (28 October 1865: 496).



Figure 2.29 a Athanasios Iatrides, *Πράξις ηρωϊκή του Μάρκου Μπότζαρη εις το Καρπενήσι, 1823, Αυγούστου 8η*, c.1830. Sheet 53 x 42 cm, image area 51 x 38 cm, indian ink and sepia on paper. Athens, National Historical Museum, Print Collection, inv. no. 4542-2.



Figure 2.29 b Athanasios Iatrides, *Ο Μάρκος Μπότζαρης πληγωθείς καιρίως και υπασπιζόμενος από ολίγους των στρατηγών του εξέρχεται της μάχης, εν ω οι λοιποί στρατιώται εξακολουθούν μαχόμενοι και διασκοπίζοντες το πλήθος των εχθρών,* c.1830. Sheet 53 x 41 cm, image area 51 x 37 cm, indian ink and sepia on paper. Athens, National Historical Museum, Print Collection, inv. no. 4542-3.



Figure 2.29 c Athanasios Iatrides, *Ο θάνατος του Μάρκου Μπότζαρη το 1823 ολίγας στιγμάς ύστερον από την κάτα του έχθρου νίκην εις την στιγμήν του θανάτου παραγγέλλει εις την στρατιώτας να μιμηθούν το παράδειγμα του,* c.1830. 50 x 35 cm, indian ink and sepia on paper. Athens, National Historical Museum, Print Collection, inv. no. 4542-1.



Figure 2.29 d Athanasios Iatrides, *Η κηδεία και ο ενταφιασμός του Μάρκου Μπότζαρη εις Μεσολόγγιον,* c.1830. 50 x 37. 5 cm, indian ink and sepia on paper. Athens, National Historical Museum, Print Collection, inv. no. 4543.

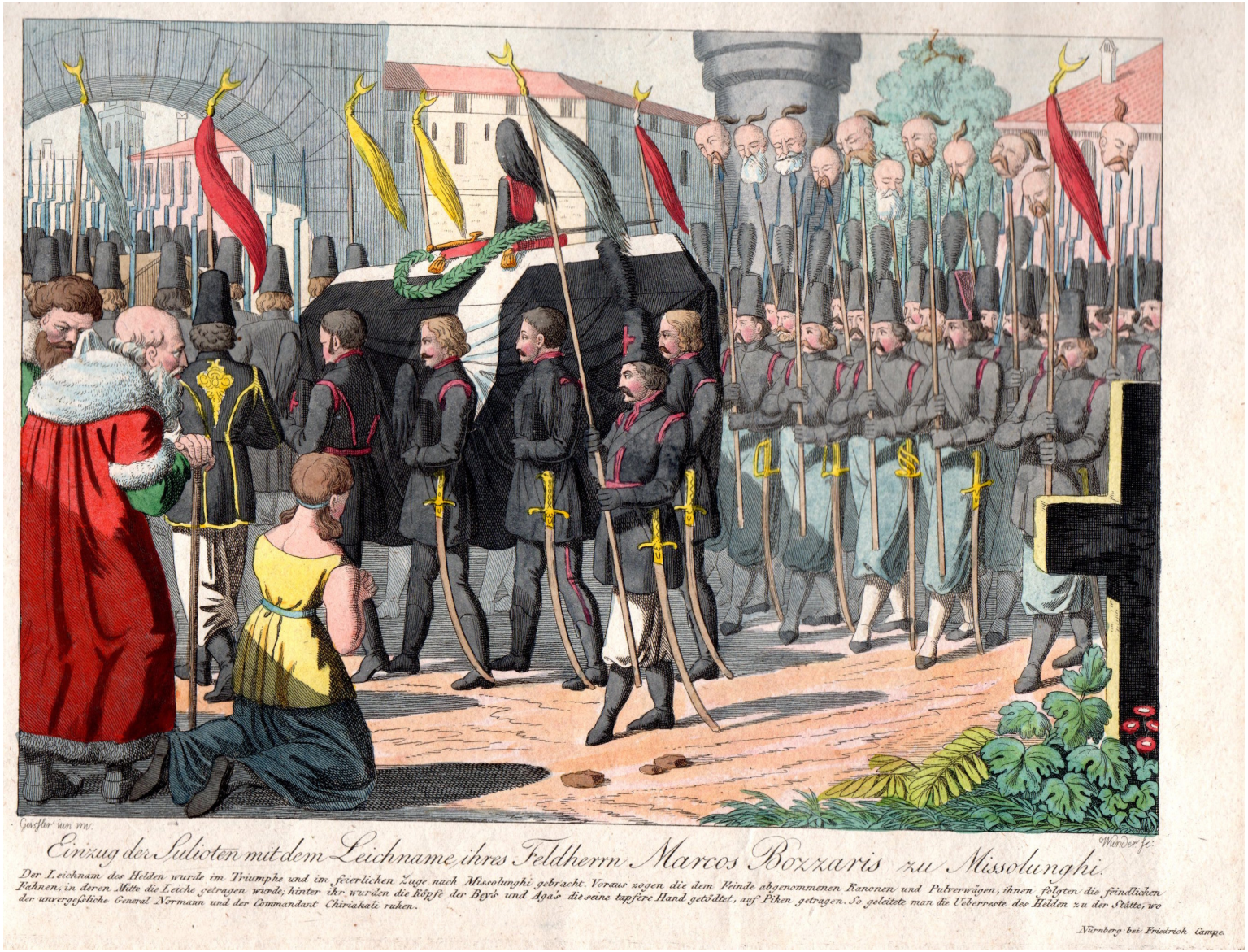


Figure 2.30 Christian Gottfried Geissler del. Johann-Benedict Wunder sc. Friedrich Campe pub., *Einzug der Sulioten mit dem Leichname ihres Feldherrn Marcos Bozzaris zu Missolunghi*, c.1825. Sheet 18.5 x 24 cm, image area 14.5 x 20.5 cm, etching with original hand-colour. Canberra, John Robertson Collection.



Figure 2.31 Artist unknown, *Ο θάνατος του Μάρκου Μπότσαρη,* 19th century. 65 x 102 cm, oil on canvas, Nafplio, National Gallery and Alexander Soutzos Museum, inv. no. K.1056.



Figure 3.1 Artist unknown, *The Honble Douglas James William Kinnaird*, post 1816. 22.5 x 27 cm, coloured pastel. Collection of Hon. Mrs. Caroline Best. National Portrait Gallery (Great Britain) & Courtauld Institute of Art 2003: slide 9.

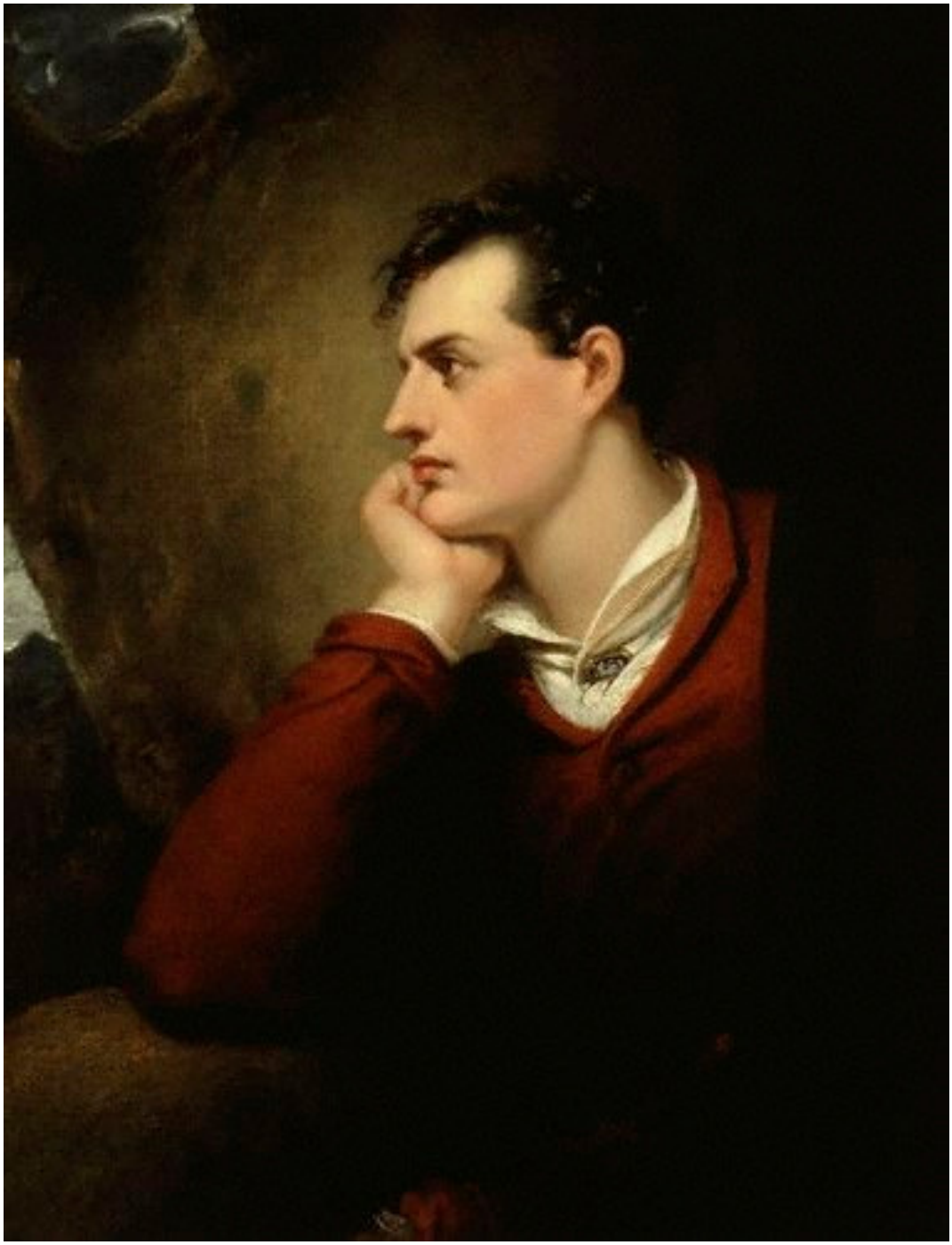


Figure 3.2 Richard Westall, *George Gordon Byron, 6th Baron Byron*, 1813. 91.4 x 71.1 cm, oil on canvas. London, National Portrait Gallery, inv. no. NPG 4243.



Figure 3.3 Thomas Phillips, *George Gordon Noel Byron, 6th Baron poet (1788-1824)*, 1814. 127 x 102 cm, oil on canvas. Athens, British Embassy, United Kingdom Government Art Collection, inv. no. 1976.



Figure 3.4 Adam de Friedel publisher, Bouvier del[t.], *Lord Byron, The noble advocate and supporter of the Greek nation.* 1828. 31.5 x 21.5 cm, hand-coloured lithograph. Friedel (1824-30: part 2, plate 26).



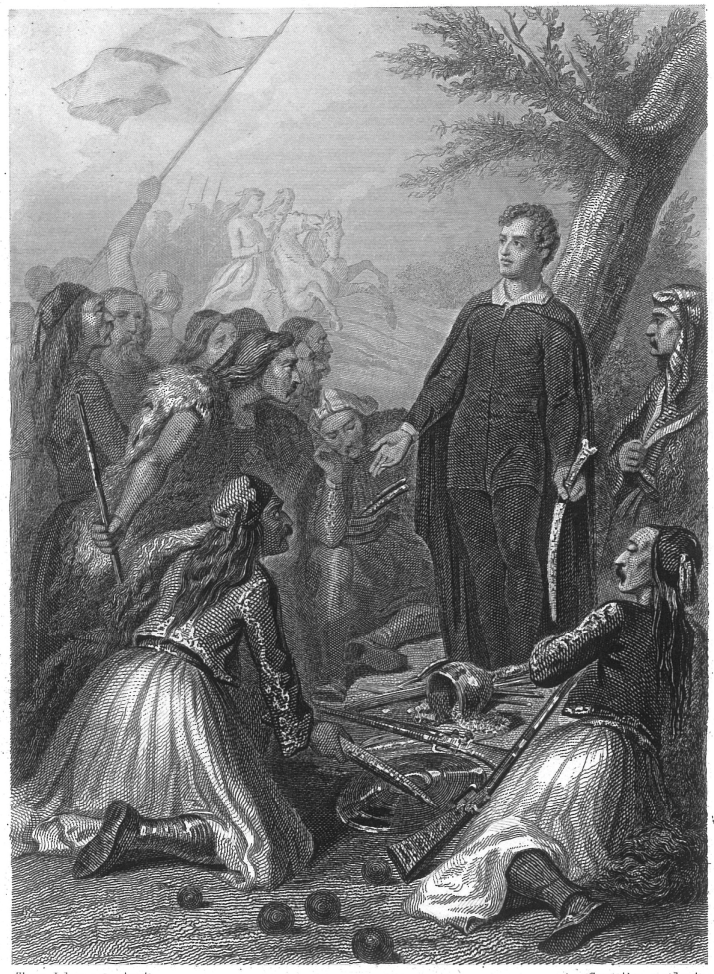
Figure 3.5 Thomas Phillips, *Portrait of a Nobleman*, 1813. 88 x 70.5 cm, oil on canvas. Nottinghamshire, Newstead Abbey Collection, inv. no. NA 532 BLDIDNA000454-1.



Figure 3.6 Joseph-Denis Odevaere, *Byron on his Death-bed,* c.1826. 166 x 234.5 cm, oil on canvas. Bruges, Groeninge Museum, inv.no. 0000.GRO0350.1.



Figure 3.7 Theodoros Vryzakis, *The reception of Lord Byron at Mesologgi,* 1861. 155 x 213, oil on canvas. Athens, National Art Gallery and Alexander Soutzos Museum, inv. no. Π. 1298. © National Art Gallery and Alexander Soutzos Museum, photograph Stavros Psiroukis.



Tony Johannot pinxit. Gouttière sculpsit.

CHILDE HAROLD.

De chefs et de soldats Harold environné...

(Deuxième Chant du Pèlerinage de Childe Harold XXX.)

Imp. F. Chardon Aîné 30, r. Hautefeuille. Paris.

Figure 3.8 Tony Johannot pinxit, Gouttière sculpsit, Imp. F. Chardon, *Childe Harold,* c.1855. Sheet 23 x 14 cm, image area 12.5 x 9 cm, black and white copperplate engraving. Melbourne, Demetriou Collection.



Figure 3.9 a Theodoros Vryzakis, *The reception of Lord Byron at Mesologgi.* Detail of figure 3.6, Icon of the Resurrection.



Figure 3.9 b Theodoros Vryzakis, *The reception of Lord Byron at Mesologgi.* Detail of figure 3.6, Byron.



Figure 3.10 Ludovico Lipparini, *The oath being taken by Lord Byron at Missolonghi*, c.1850. 16 x 19 cm, oil on canvas. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 9009.



Figure 3.11 Display cabinet containing Ludovico Lipparini, *The oath being taken by Lord Byron at Missolonghi*, alongside other art and artefacts relating to Greek War of Independence. Athens, Benaki Museum, Gallery 33.



Figure 3.12 Apostolos Koustas, *Byron*, 1999. 112 x 76 cm, hand-coloured lithograph on cotton paper. Mesologgi, Diexodos Museum of Literature & Art.

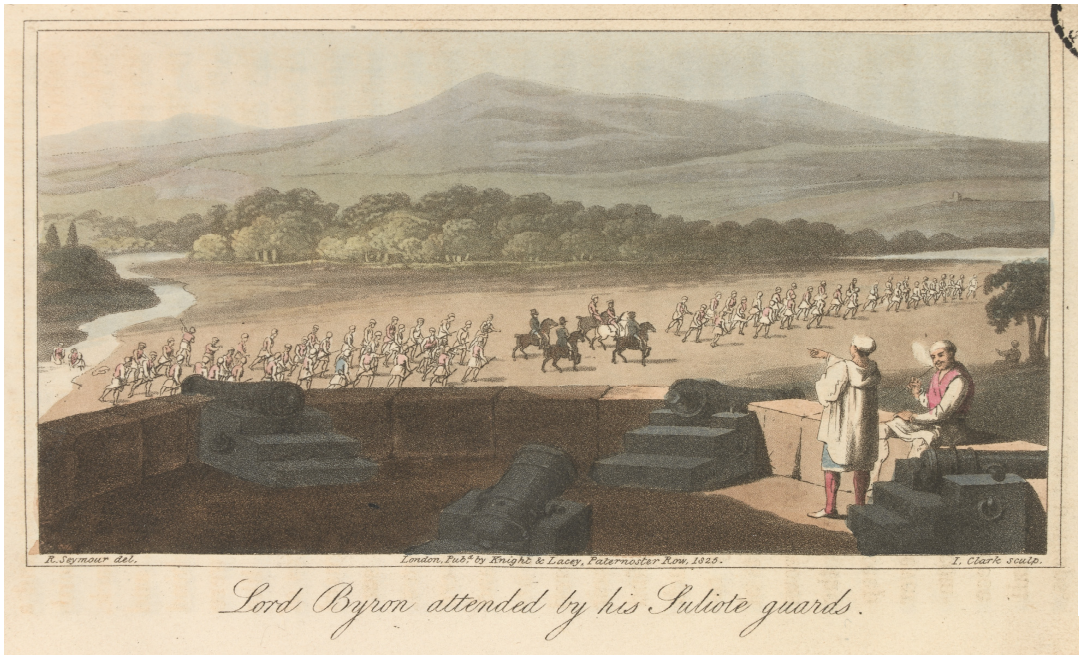


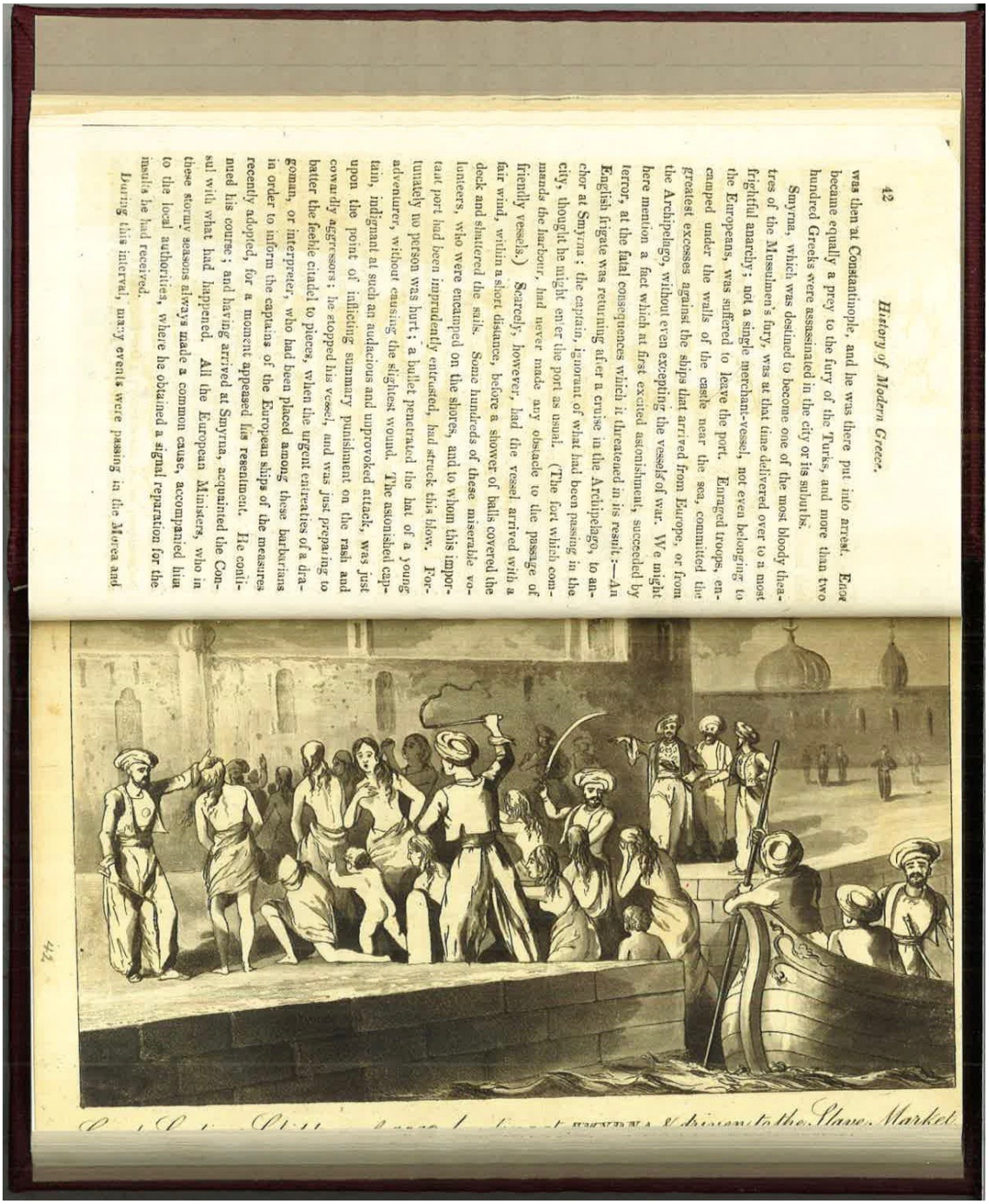
Figure 3.13 Robert Seymour del., I. Clark sculp., *Lord Byron attended by his Suliote Guards*, 8.6 x 14.2 cm, hand-coloured aquatint. Parry (1825: 76). Image supplied by and reproduced courtesy of the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.



Figure 4.1 Eugène Delacroix, *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi*, 1826. 213 x 142 cm, oil on canvas. Bordeaux, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. BXE 439.



Figure 4.2 François-Émile de Lansac, *Épisode du siège de Missolonghi*, 1828. 233 x 195 cm, oil on canvas. Mesologgi, Municipal Museum, inv. no. 1.



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was then at Constantinople, and he was there put into arrest. Enos became equally a prey to the fury of the Turks, and more than two hundred Greeks were assassinated in the city or its suburbs.

Smyrna, which was destined to become one of the most bloody theatres of the Musulmen's fury, was at that time delivered over to a most frightful anarchy; not a single merchant-vessel, not even belonging to the Europeans, was suffered to leave the port. Enraged troops, encamped under the walls of the castle near the sea, committed the greatest excesses against the ships that arrived from Europe, or from the Archipelago, without even excepting the vessels of war. We might here mention a fact which at first excited astonishment, succeeded by terror, at the fatal consequences which it threatened in its result:—An English frigate was returning after a cruise in the Archipelago, to anchor at Smyrna; the captain, ignorant of what had been passing in the city, thought he might enter the port as usual. (The fort which commands the harbour, had never made any obstacle to the passage of friendly vessels.) Scarcely, however, had the vessel arrived with a fair wind, within a short distance, before a shower of balls covered the deck and shattered the sails. Some hundreds of these miserable volunteers, who were encamped on the shores, and to whom this important post had been imprudently entrusted, had struck this blow. Fortunately no person was hurt; a bullet penetrated the hat of a young adventurer, without causing the slightest wound. The astonished captain, indignant at such an audacious and unprovoked attack, was just upon the point of inflicting summary punishment on the rash and cowardly aggressors; he stopped his vessel, and was just preparing to batter the feeble citadel to pieces, when the urgent entreaties of a dragoman, or interpreter, who had been placed among these barbarians in order to inform the captains of the European ships of the measures recently adopted, for a moment appeased his resentment. He continued his course; and having arrived at Smyrna, acquainted the Consul with what had happened. All the European Ministers, who in these stormy seasons always made a common cause, accompanied him to the local authorities, where he obtained a signal reparation for the insults he had received.

During this interval, many events were passing in the Morea and

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Greek ladies and children landed at Smyrna & driven to the Slave Market

Figure 4.3 *Greek ladies and children landed at Smyrna and driven to the slave market,* 1823. 19 x 10.6 cm, black and white aquatint. History of modern Greece from 1820 to the establishment of Grecian independence. Religion, formation of the senate, names of the senators, their power & duties, officers, naval and military, code of laws, numerous battles by sea and land, with the rapid fall of the Turkish Empire in Europe, Asia & Africa. The cruelties, assassinations and ravages of the Turks. Description of Constantinople, official documents annexed. Embellished with neat engravings (G. Riebau 1823: plate 2). Image courtesy of Library of Congress.



Figure 4.4 Achille Devéria del, Feillet lith. *Massacre des Grecs à Missolungi,* 1827. 24.5 x 30.8 cm, black and white lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NQ-C-040241, R 150644.



Figure 4.5 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Massacre of the Innocents,* c.1610. 142 x 182 cm, oil on oak panel. Ontario, The Thomson Collection © Art Gallery of Ontario, inv. no. AGOID. 106855.

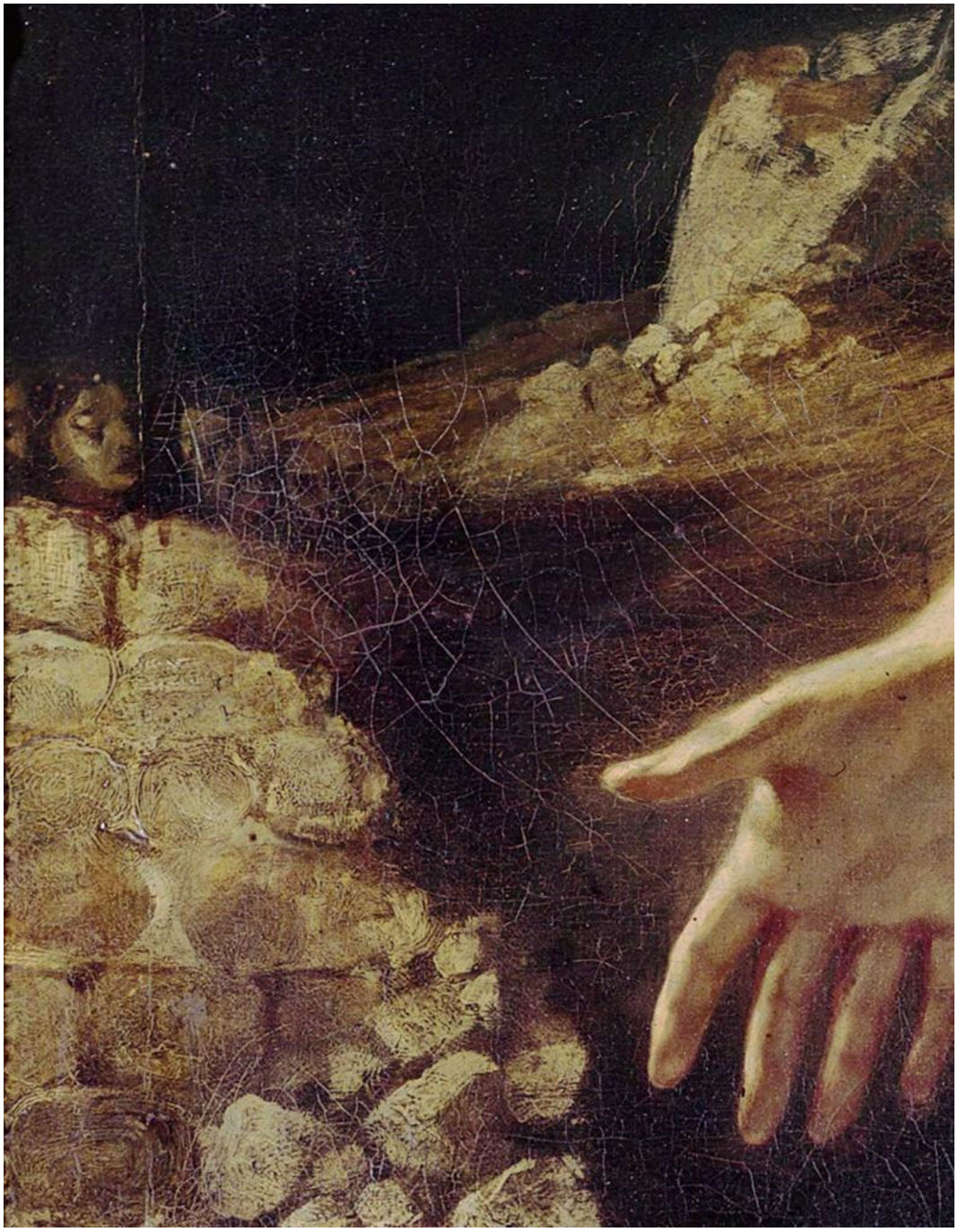

Figure 4.6 Eugène Delacroix, *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi*, Detail. Image provided by Erich Lessing Culture and Fine Arts Archives/ARTRESOURCE, N.Y.



Figure 4.7 Vincenzo Gajassi inv. dis. e inc., *The massacre of the Greeks by the Turks in Patrasso: Greek women, men and children are shot, hung, beheaded or dismembered as they try to flee by boat*, 1844. 31.2 x 42.2 cm, black and white engraving with etching. London, Wellcome Library, Wellcome Trust, inv. no. ICV No 42185.



Figure 4.8 Joseph Wright of Derby, *The Dead Soldier,* 1789. 165.1 x 198.12 cm, oil on canvas. Michigan, University of Michigan Museum of Art, inv. No. 2006/1/156.



Figure 4.9 Claude Pinet, *La danse de Zalongo, ou Les femmes souliotes,* c.1820. 69 x 90 cm, oil on canvas. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 8997.



Figure 4.10 Charles Abraham Chasselat signé, *La Grèce pleurant sur les ruines de Missolonghi,* 1831. 20 x 13 cm, sepia. Zoumboulakis Galleries (1982: 36).



Figure 4.11 Vautrin and Mauro Dèp. *Prise de Missolonghi par Ibrahim Pacha (25 Avril 1826)*, 1829. Sheet 24 x 33.5 cm, image 19.1 x 27.9 cm, black and white lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, inv. no. RC-A-89068, M 110258.



Figure 4.12 Jean-Baptiste Lesueur, *Citoyens poussant le cri 'La Liberté ou la Mort'; Le Cris Français; Départ d'un soldat volontaire pour les armées révolutionnaires combattant aux frontiers,* 1792 . 36 x 53.5 cm, gouache on cardboard cut-pasted on blue-washed paper. Paris, Carnavalet Museum, inv. no. D 9068.



Figure 4.13 Jean-Jacques Taillasson, *La Liberté ramenant aux people la Justice et la vertu,* 1794-95. 34 x 50 cm, oil on canvas. Vizelle, Museum of the French Revolution © Coll. Museum of French Revolution / range Vizelle, inv. no. 2003.11.



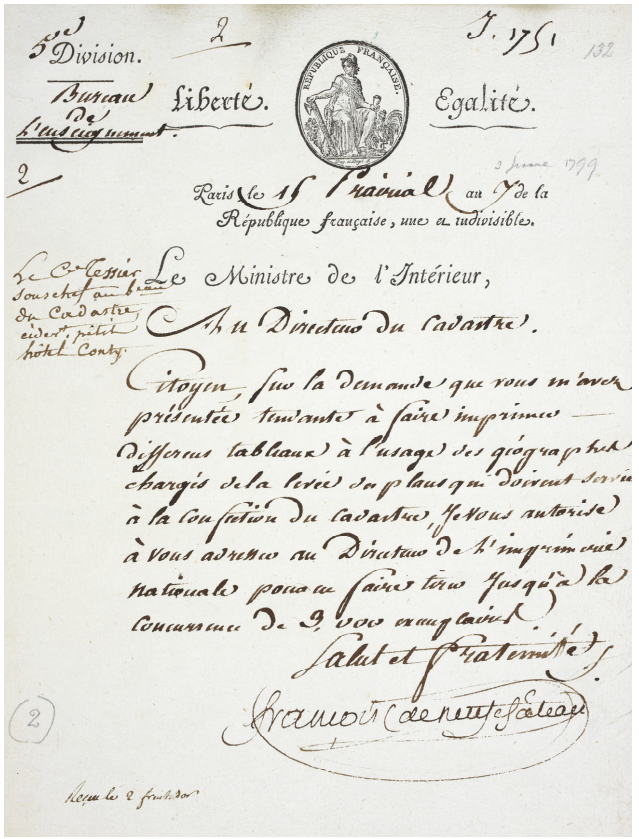

Figure 4.14 Nicolas François, Comte de Neufchâteau (Minister of the Interior, of the French Republic), letter to ‘Directeur du Cadastre’. Paris, 3 June 1799. London, British Library, Add MS 15945, f. 132.



Figure 4.15 Jacques-Louis David, *Les Sabines,* 1799. 385 x 522 cm, oil on canvas. Paris, Louvre Museum, inv. no. 3691.



Figure 4.16 Marcantonio after Raphael, *The Virgin lamenting the dead body of Christ,* 1515-17. 307 x 217 mm, black and white engraving. London, The British Museum, inv. no. 1868,0822.27.



Figure 4.17 Raphael, *La Madone de la maison d'Orléans,* 1506. 29 x 21 cm, oil on wood. Chantilly, Musée Condé, inv. no. PE-39.



Figure 4.18 Raphael, *Lucretia*, 1508-10. 39.7 x 29.2 cm, Pen and brown ink over black chalk, partially incised with a stylus. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 1997.153.



Figure 4.19 Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael, *The suicide of Lucretia,* c.1512. 21.6 x 13.4 cm, black and white engraving. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 21.10894.



Figure 4.20 *Dido*, after Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving after Raphael, 16th century. 15.9 x 12.6 cm (image); 16.1 x 12.7 cm (sheet), black and white engraving. San Francisco, Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts, Legion of Honor Museum, inv. no. 1963.30.36945.



Figure 4.21 Pietro Narducci, C. Fracassetti eng. *La Greca che Fugge da Missolungi,* 1837, 38 x 28 cm, colour engraving. Athens, Sakalis Collection.



Figure 4.22 Jacques- Louis David, *Marat Assasiné,* 1793. 165 x 128 cm, oil on canvas. Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, inv. no. 3260. © RMFAB, Brussels / photo: J. Geleyns - Ro scan.



Figure 4.23 Master of Rabenden (German), *Vesperbild (Pietà),* c.1515-20. Overall: 89.1 x 77.2 x 32.4 cm, polychromed and gilded lindenwood. Cleveland, Ohio, The Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. CMA_.1938.294.



Figure 4.24 Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Man of Sorrows (Christ Crowned with thorns),* c.1490, 54.3 x 33.7 cm, egg tempura on panel. Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, inv. no. Cat. 1176 a. John G. Johnson Collection, 1917.



Figure 4.25 École créto-vénitienne (Nicolas Tzafouris?), *Christ de pitié*, 1480-1500, 47.5 x 1.38 cm, tempura and gold on wood. Paris, Petit Palais City of Paris Fine Arts Museum, inv. no. PDUT1974.



Figure 4.26 François-Émile de Lansac, *Épisode du siège de Missolonghi*. Detail.

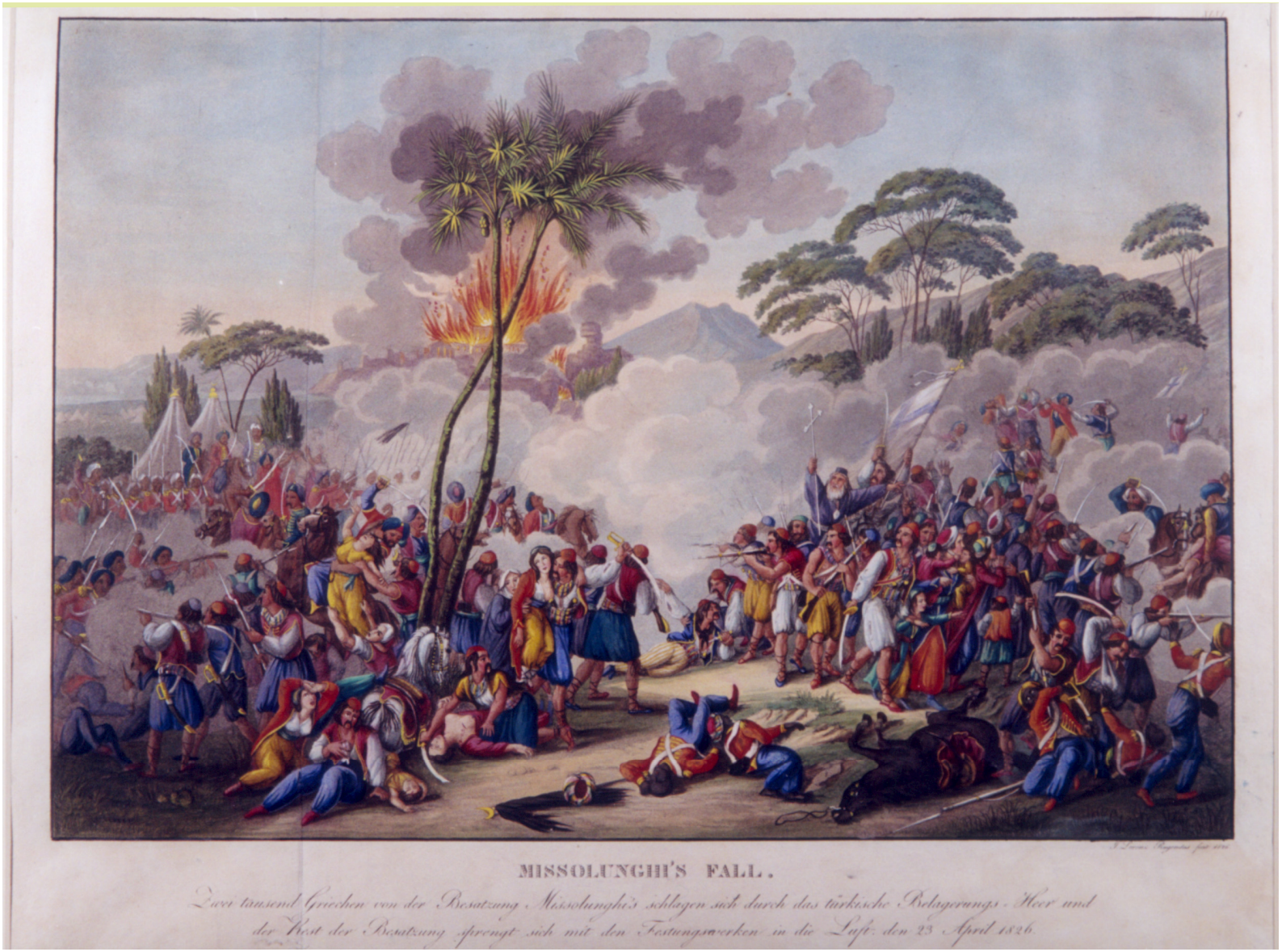

Figure 4.27 Johann Lorenz II Rugendas fecit, *Missolunghi's Fall,* 1826, 37 x 52 cm, hand-coloured aquatint. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 23965.



Figure 4.28 Johann Lorenz II Rugendas, *Missolunghi's Fall,* Detail I, Woman displaying mark of martyrdom.



Figure 5.1 Drawn by H. W. Williams, engraved by W. Miller, *Parthenon of Athens in its present state,* sheet 17 x 26 cm, image 7.5 x 12 cm, black and white steel engraving. Williams (1829, vol. 1: [plate 1]).



Figure 5.2 Drawn by C. R. Cockerell, engraved L. Horsburgh, *Parthenon of Athens restored*, sheet 17 x 26 cm, image 6.5 x 12.5, black and white steel engraving. Williams (1829, vol. 1: [plate 2]).



Figure 5.3 Demetrios Zographos after Panagiotis Zographos, commissioned by General Yannis Makriyannis, *Illustrations of events in the Greek War of Independence: 15. Various sieges of Missolonghi*, after 1837. 51.4 x 64.8 cm, bodycolour on paper with legend in ink. RCIN 923712, DM 6074. Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2018.



Figure 5.4 Demetrios Zographos after Panagiotis Zographos, commissioned by General Yannis Makriyannis, *Illustrations of events in the Greek War of Independence: 15. Various sieges of Missolonghi*, detail of town.



Figure 5.5 Ludwig Köllnberger, *Messalonghi*, 1834. 17.9 (18.3) x 24.5 cm, watercolour. Munich, Bayerisches Haupstaatsarchiv, Abt. IV Kriegsarchiv, under the will of Mr. Moosdiele-Hitzler, inv. no. BS III/21, sheet 15.

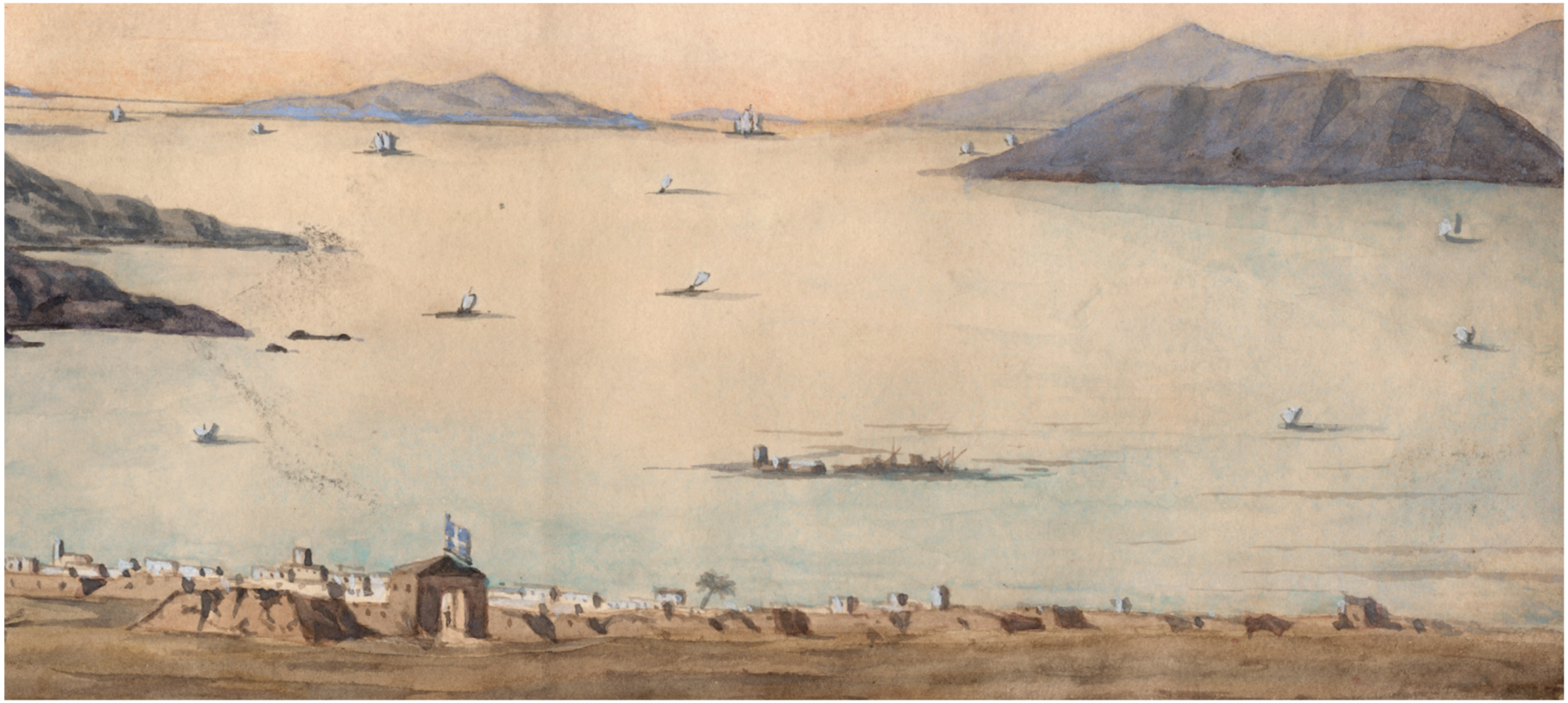

Figure 5.6 Ludwig Köllnberger, *Messalonghi,* detail of town gate and palm tree in middle foreground.



Figure 5.7 Adalbert Marc, *Missolunghi,* 1834. 14.5 x 17.5 cm, watercolour and ink. Ingolstadt, Bayerisches Armeemuseum, inv. no. G. 625 vol. 2, no. 9.



Figure 5.8 Dominique Papety, *Un palmier à Missolonghi,* c.1846-47. 12.4 x 6.7 cm, lead pencil. Paris, Louvre Museum, Cabinet dessins, Fonds des dessins et miniatures, album Dominique Papety -4-Folio 34, RF 1773.3, 40.

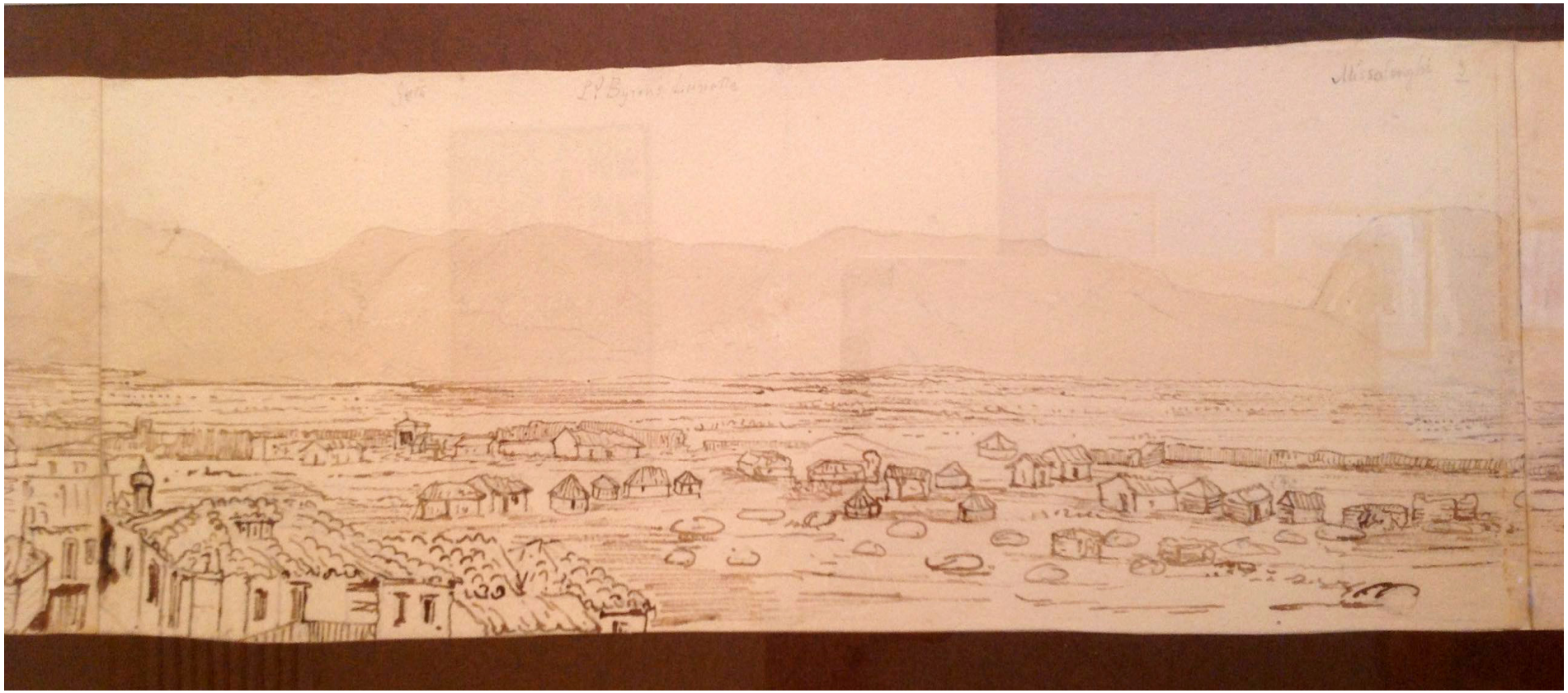

Figure 5.9 Artist unknown, *Panorama of Missolonghi,* nineteenth century, [n.d.]. Panel four of the six that comprise the 11.5 x 180 cm panorama, brown ink, wash and lead pencil. Athens, Kotinis Collection.

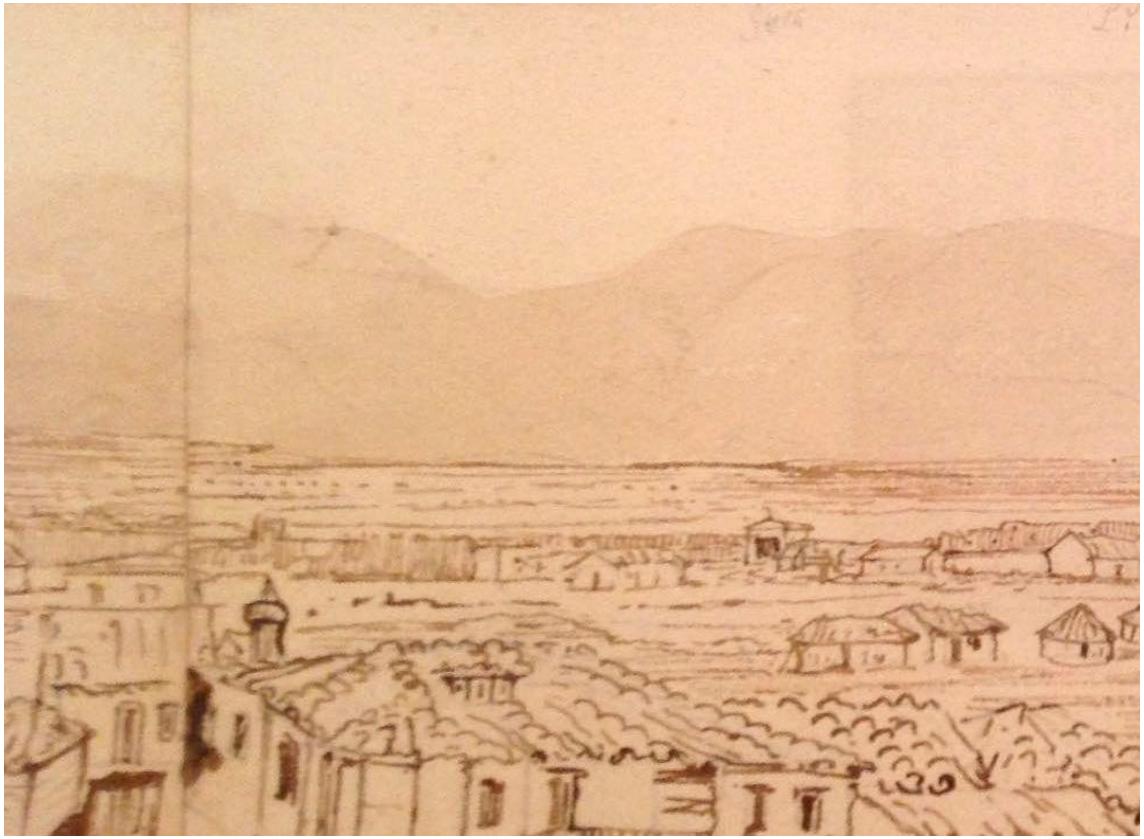

Figure 5.10 Artist unknown, *Panorama of Missolonghi.* Detail of panel four; town gate and minaret.

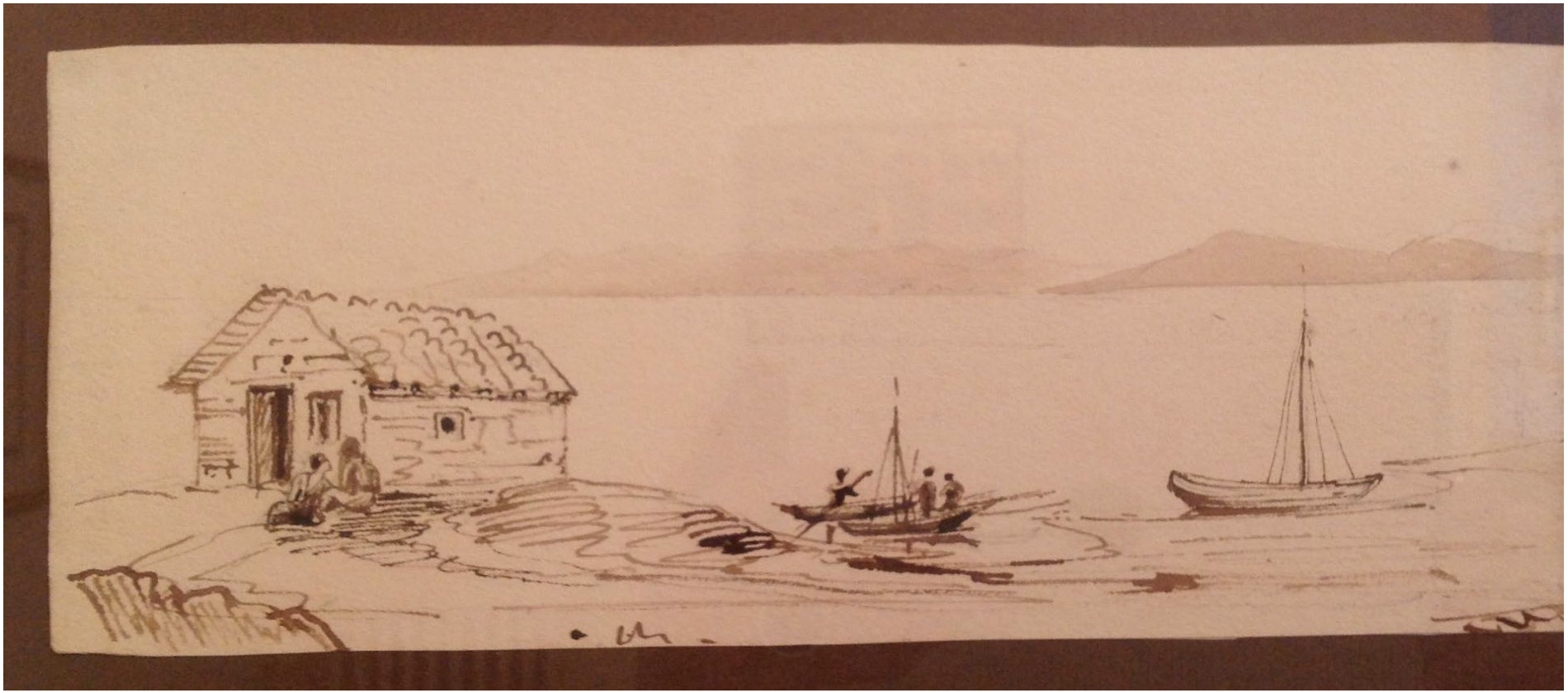

Figure 5.11 Artist unknown, *Panorama of Missolonghi.* Panel one of six; fishing scene.

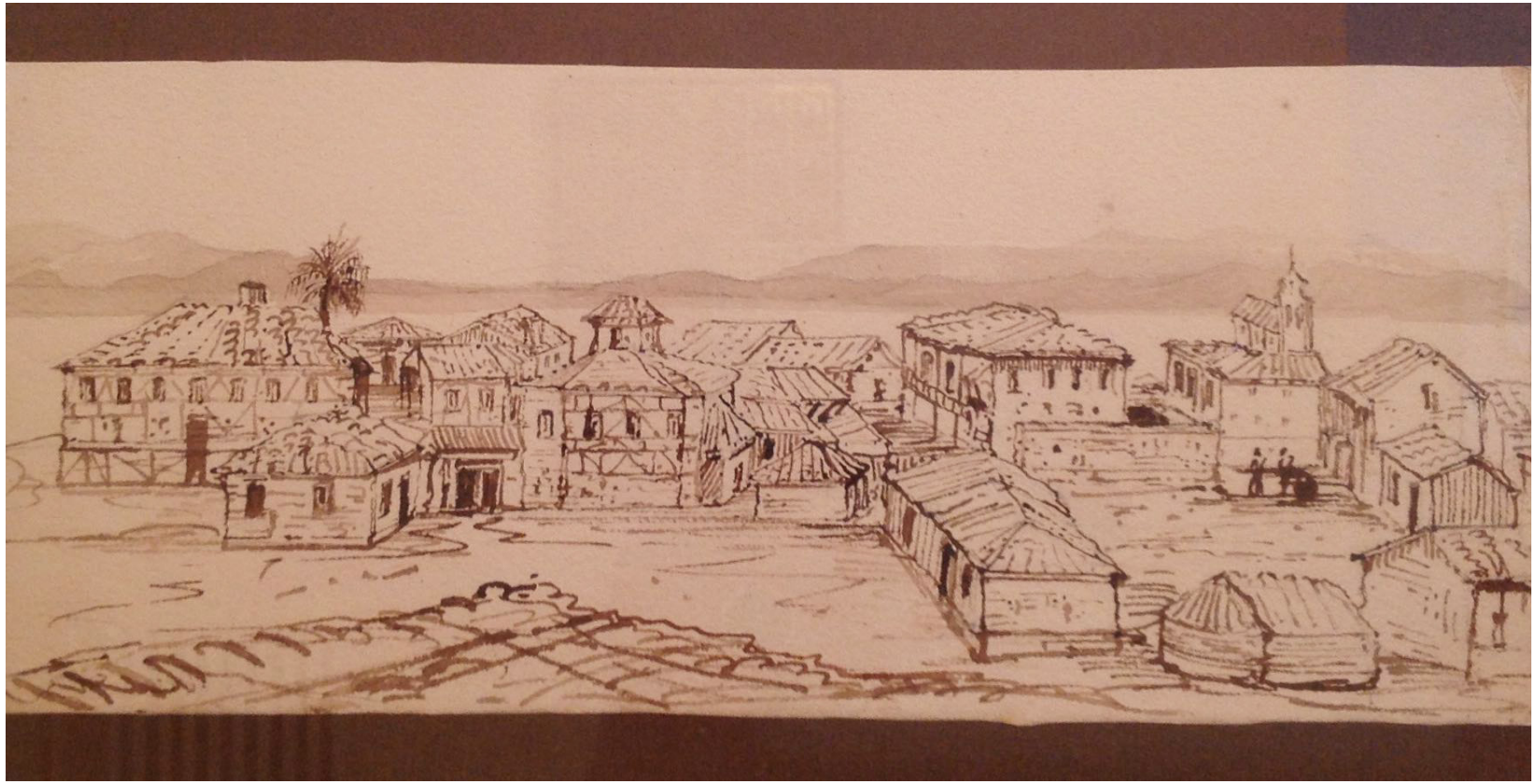

Figure 5.12 Artist unknown, *Panorama of Missolonghi.* Detail of panel two of six; north-western townscape I.

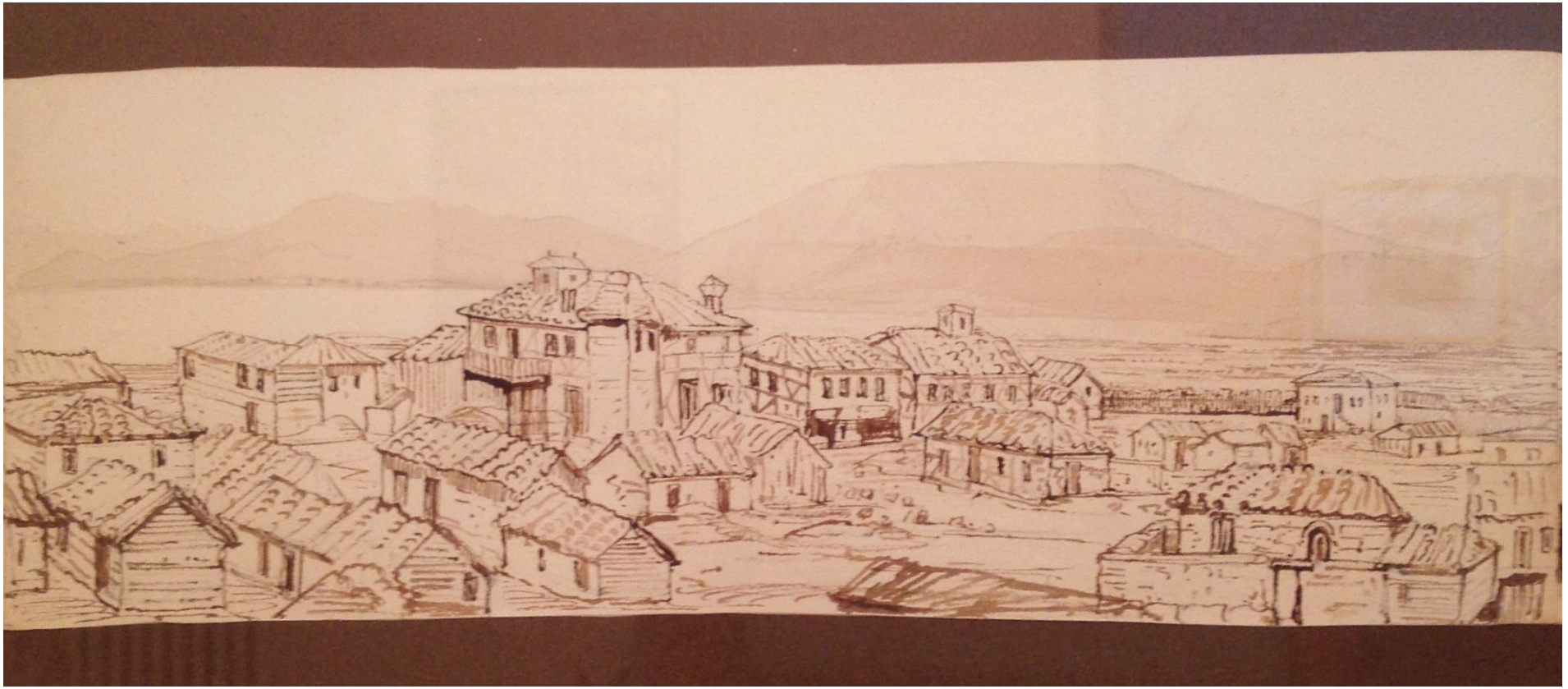

Figure 5.13 Artist unknown, *Panorama of Missolonghi.* Panel three of six; north-western townscape II.



Figure 5. 14 Sotiris Iosophides, *Το Μεσολόγγι*, 1987. 71 x 61.5 cm, acrylic on hardboard. Patra, Private Collection.



Figure 6.1 Theodoros Vryzakis, *The exodus from Missolonghi*, 1853. 169 x 127 cm, oil on canvas, Athens, National Art Gallery and Alexander Soutzos Museum, inv. no. Π. 5446.

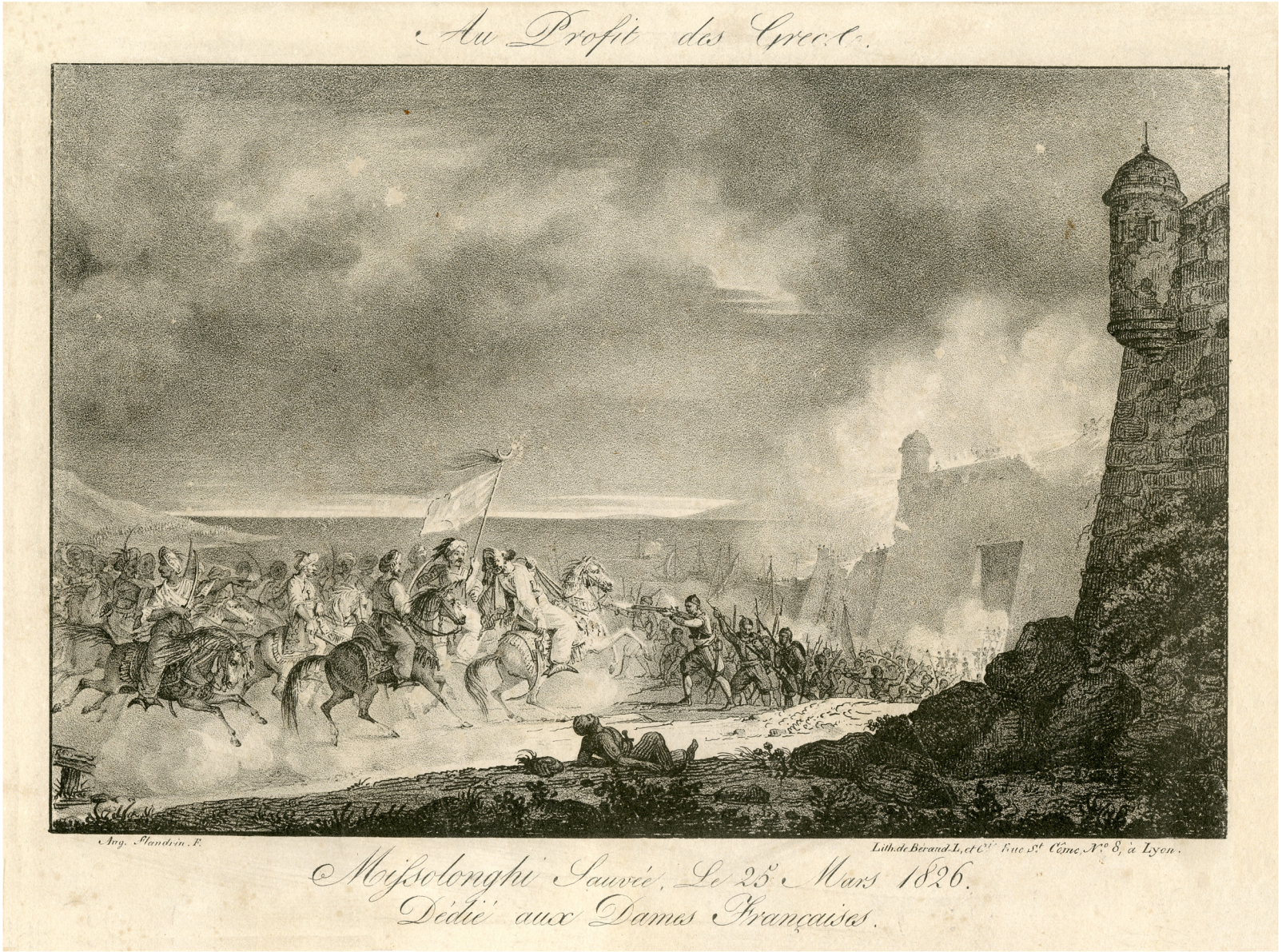

Figure 6.2 Aug. Flandrin, Lith. de Béraud-L. et Cie, *Au profit des Grecs, Missolonghi sauvée. Le 25 Mars 1826, Dédié aux Dames Françaises,* 1826. 19.5 x 26 cm, black and white lithograph. Athens, National Historical Museum, Prints Collection, inv. no. 827.



Figure 6.3 Ange-René Ravault, inv. et del., lithog. de C. Motte, r. des Marais. *Réveil de la Grèce, La Grèce inspireé par le géni de la liberté, se lève, brise ses fers et ses oppresseurs sont foudroyés,* 1822. 43 x 53 cm, black and white lithograph. Athens, National Historical Museum, inv. no. 874.



Figure 6.4 A. D. del., Langlumé lith., *Le réveil des Grecs,* c.1823, 19.5 x 22.5 cm, black and white lithograph. Canberra, John Robertson Collection.

E. Tisdale del.

See page 375

FALL OF MISSOLONGHI.

HISTORY

OF THE

GREEK REVOLUTION;

COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

OF THE

GREEK GOVERNMENT;

SKETCHES OF THE WAR IN GREECE, BY PHILIP JAMES GREEN, ESQ.
LATE BRITISH CONSUL FOR PATRAS, IN GREECE; AND THE
RECENT PUBLICATIONS OF MR. BLAQUIERE, MR.
HUMPHREY, MR. EMERSON, COUNT PECCHIO,
RT. HON. COL. STANHOPE, THE
MODERN TRAVELLER,

AND OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

BY JOHN L. COMSTOCK, M.D.

ACCOMPANIED BY A

MAP OF GREECE, AND OTHER ENGRAVINGS.

New-York:

WILLIAM W. REED & CO.

1828.

Figure 6.5 E. Tisdale del., *Fall of Missolonghi,* 1828. Sheet 178 mm x 168 mm, image area 130 mm x 162 mm, black and white copper engraving. Comstock (1828: folding plate opposite title page). Image reproduced courtesy of the National library of Australia by Special Collections, University of Melbourne. Fielding (1917: 58) provides the additional detail that the engraver of this plate was V. Balch.

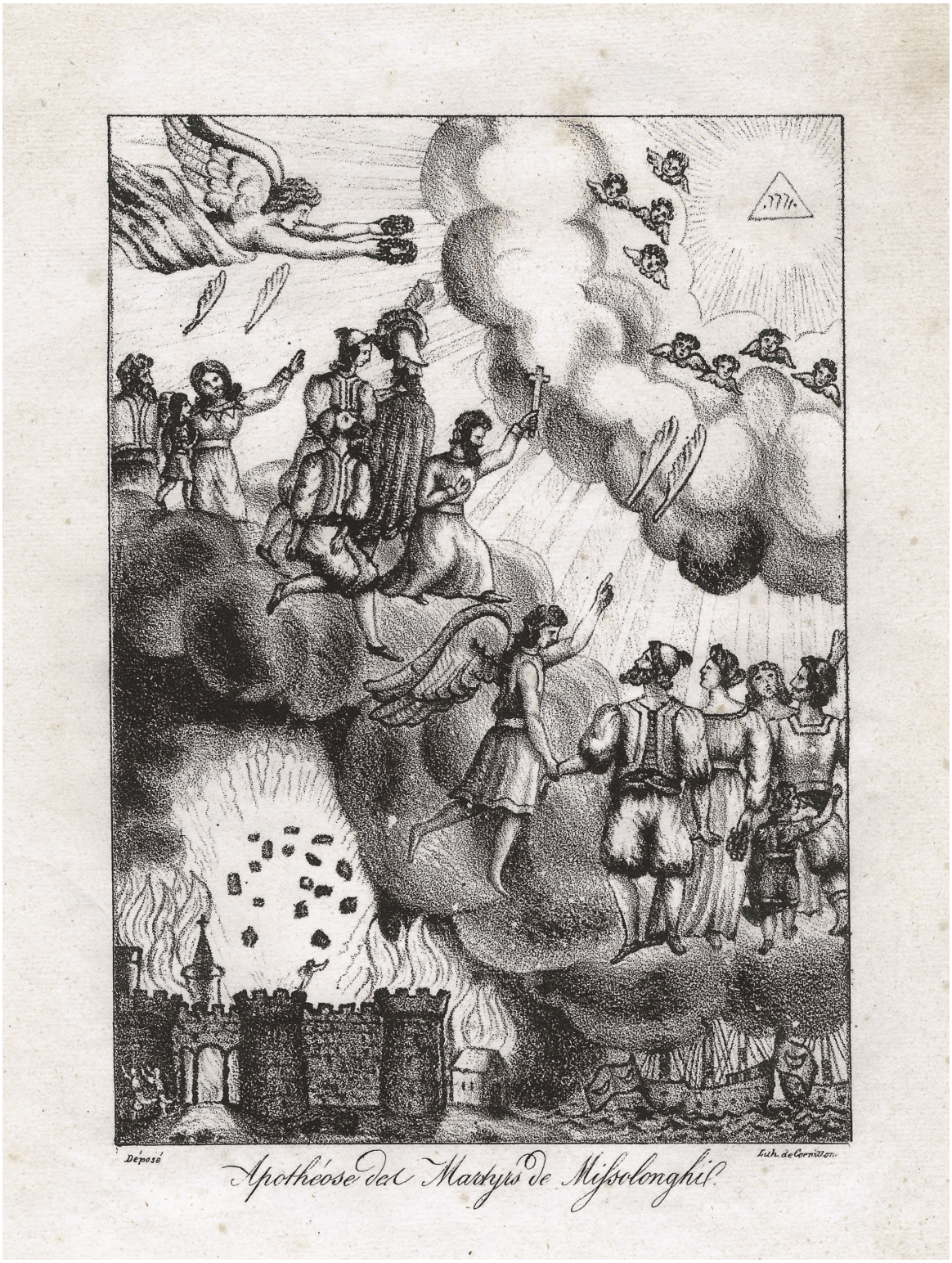

Figure 6.6 Cornillon lith., *Apothéose des martyrs de Missolonghi*, 1826. 136 x 188 mm, black and white lithograph. Athens, National Historical Museum, Print Collection, inv. no. 826.



Figure 6.7 *Unité, indivisibilité de la Rép. Fra: point de milieu,* 1793-94. 7 cm diameter, coloured woodcut. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Department of Prints and Photography, Michel Hennin Collection, vol. 134, inv. no. 11832.



Figure 6.8 VL, *Défense héroïque, assaut et prise de Missolonghi, le 23 Avril 1826,* 1827. 16 x 28 cm, black and white woodcut. Le véritable messager boiteux de Neuchâtel pour l'an de grace 1827 (1827: 66).



Figure 6.9 Theodoros Vryzakis, *The Exodus from Missolonghi*.
Detail of figure 6.1, embracing couple in farewell stance under Greek flag.



Figure 6.10 P. H., Heideloff inv., *Bozaris Ueberfall,* 1835. 16.8 x 9.8 cm, black and white copper engraving. Gess (1835: facing page 680).



Figure 6.11 Peter von Hess designer, H. Kohler & Atzinger engravers, J. B. Kuhn printer, Kohler & Comp publishers, *Anagnostaras beats the Turks near Valtezza,* c. 1835-40. 48 x 34 cm, hand-coloured lithograph. Athens, General State Archives of Greece, inv. no. GRGSACSA_PCENGRAVI.01.F000335.IT000010.



Figure 6.12 Ary Scheffer, *Jeune Grec défendant son père,* 1827. 45 x 37 cm, oil on canvas. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 11177.



Figure 6.13 Theodoros Vryzakis, *Exodus from Missolonghi*, 1853.
Detail of insurgents at the front of column embarking on Exodus.



Figure 6.14 Louis-Benjamin Devouges, *Greek defenders of Missolonghi*, 1830. 40 x 31 cm, oil on canvas. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 8998.



Figure 6.15 Wilhelm Lindenschmidt the elder, *Die Bauernschlacht von Sendling 1705,* 1831-32. Fresco, Munich, Old Church St. Margaret, north façade. Photo courtesy Herbert Thiess.

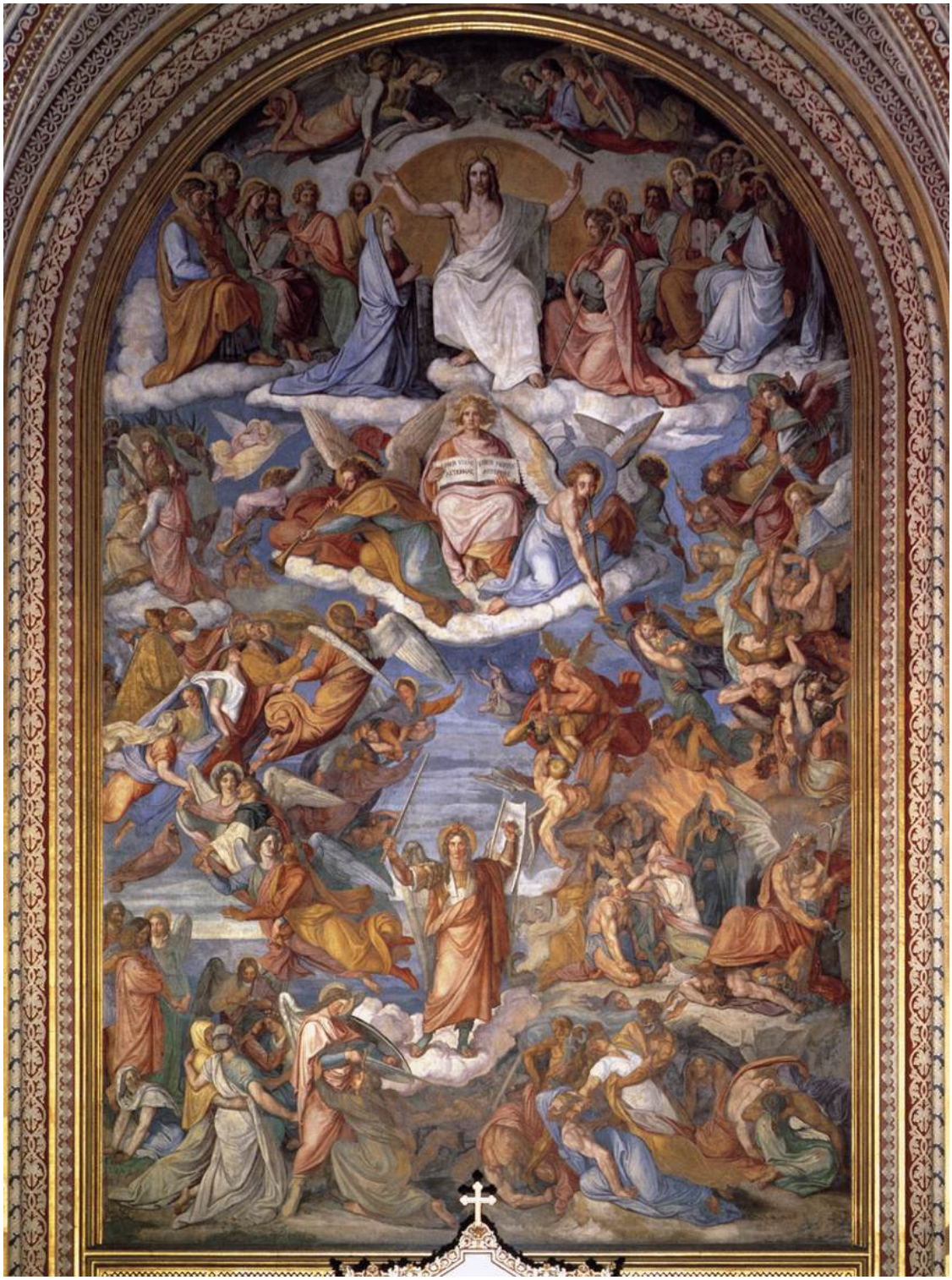

Figure 6. 16 Peter Cornelius, *The last judgement,* 1836-39. 28.3 x 11.3 m, fresco, altar wall, Munich, Ludwigskirche. Image provided by Web Gallery of Art: http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/c/corneliu/lastjudg.html



Figure 6.17 Artist unknown, *Οι πόλεμοι και οι σκοτωμοί του 1821*, 2009. Coloured pencil and coloured felt-tipped pen on paper. Exhibition titled Τα παιδιά: Στα χνάρια των Ηρώων του 1821. National War Museum, Athens, 23 March – 2 April 2009.



Figure 6. 18 Aggelos Kasolas, (from the workshop of Demetrius Z. Kasola and Sons), *The Exodus, 10 April 1826,* 1929. 1.6 x 77.5 cm, oil on canvas, Mesologgi, Municipal Museum (gallery display, first floor), inv. no. 34.



Figure 6.19 Theodore Vryzakis, Lemercier imp. Paris, A. Charpenter Lith, *Έξοδος της φρουράς του Μεσολογγίου τη 11/22 Απριλίου 1826. Τω μεγαλειοτάτω βασιλεί της Ελλάδος Όθωνι τω Α^Ω. Ευσεβάστως ανατίθησιν Θεόδωρος Π. Βρυζάκης,* 1856. 93 x 64 cm, black and white lithograph. Athens, National Historical Museum, Print Collection, inv. no. 14926.

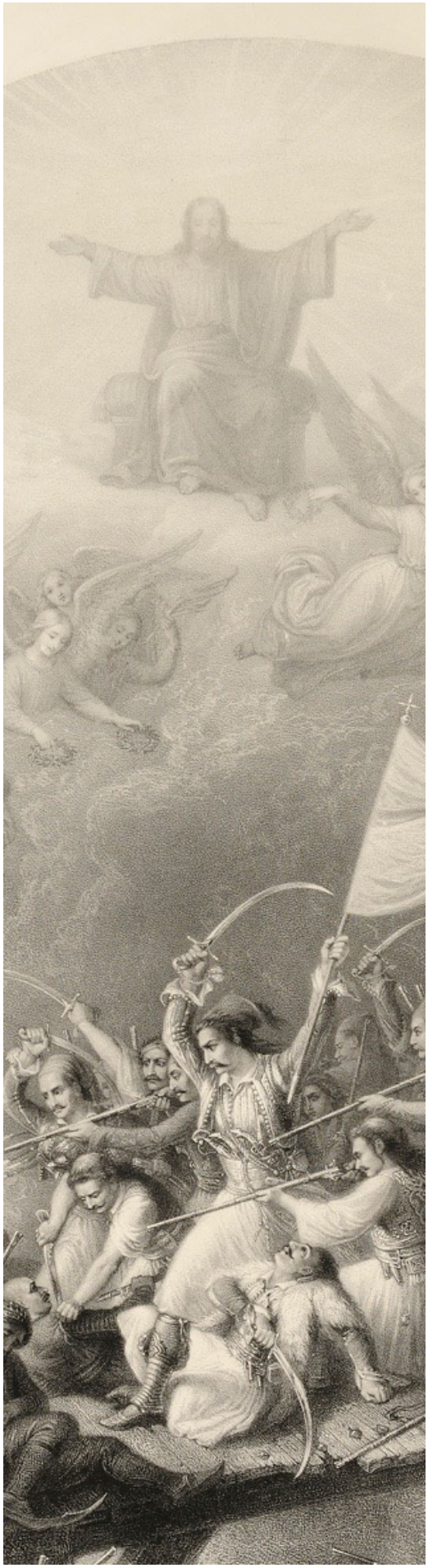

Figure 6.20 Theodore Vryzakis, Lemercier imp., A. Charpenter Lith*, Έξοδος της φρουράς του Μεσολογγίου τη 11/22 Απριλίου 1826. Τω μεγαλειοτάτω βασιλεί της Ελλάδος Όθωνι τω Α^Ω. Ευσεβάστως ανατίθησιν Θεόδωρος Π. Βρυζάκης*, 1856. Detail of fallen comrade's wound.



Figure 6. 21 Aggelos Kasolas, *The Exodus, 10 April 1826,* 1929. Detail of fallen comrade's wound.



Figure 6.22 Aggelos Kasolas, *The Exodus, 10 April 1826*, 1929. Veneration of the 'Icon of the Exodus', prior its departure for the Cathedral of St. Spyridon, afternoon of St. Lazarus Feast Day, 4 April 2015, Mesologgi, Municipal Museum (entrance hall, ground floor). Image courtesy of Mesologgi Municipal Museum.



Figure 6.23 Aggelos Kasolas, *The Exodus, 10 April 1826,* 1929. Benediction Cross of Bishop Iosif Rogon leading 'Icon of the Exodus' in procession from Municipal Museum to the Cathedral of St. Spyridon for Vespers, afternoon of St. Lazarus Feast Day, Mesologgi, 11 April 2009.



Figure 6.24 Aggelos Kasolas, *The Exodus, 10 April 1826,* 1929. 'Icon of the Exodus' leaving Municipal Museum for Vespers at the Cathedral of St. Spyridon, afternoon of St. Lazarus Feast Day, Mesologgi, 11 April 2009.



Figure 6.25 Aggelos Kasolas, *The Exodus, 10 April 1826,* 1929 beside the Cross of Bishop Iosif Rogon in preparedness for Saturday Vespers on the Feast of St. Lazarus, Cathedral of St. Spyridon, Mesologgi, 11 April 2009.



Figure 6.26 Aggelos Kasolas, *The Exodus, 10 April 1826,* 1929. Mesologgi, Cathedral of St. Spyridon, veneration of the 'Icon of Exodus' and Cross of Bishop Iosif Rogon, during Vespers on the Feast of St. Lazarus, 11 April 2009.



Figure 6.27 Aggelos Kasolas, *The Exodus, 10 April 1826,* 1929. Veneration of the 'Icon of the Exodus', after civic commemorations for the 1826 Exodus on the night of St. Lazarus Feast Day, Mesologgi, Garden of Heroes, 11 April 2009.



Figure 6.28 Aggelos Kasolas, *The Exodus, 10 April 1826,* 1929, Presidential guard, Clergy and 'kolyva', the ritual wheat for the deceased blessed and shared during the Orthodox memorial service. Palm Sunday, Garden of Heroes, 11 April 2009.

Appendix A

Gordon (1832: 301). *History of the Greek Revolution.*

of Spezzia went there en masse (in the second week of June), leaving their own town empty. While the united squadrons were getting ready for sea, a garrison of 1000 Stavrophores, paid and maintained out of the fund above alluded to, was introduced into Hydra; Fabvier reinforced it with nine companies of infantry and one of artillery, promising to go there in person if the enemy appeared; and as the Castriotes and Kranidiotes engaged to throw themselves into the island upon the first alarm, the concentration of sixty armed vessels, 21 fire-ships, 5000 sailors, and 4000 troops and militia, set a Turkish coup-de-main at defiance. These measures continued in force for six weeks, until all present fear of an attack from the Capitan Pasha having blown over, the garrison was withdrawn, and the Spezziote families returned home. A beginning of defensive arrangements being thus made at an expense not exceeding L.8000, the machine was kept in motion by the Philhellenic committees, which for a full twelvemonth bore the whole charges of the war.

In France, Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Poland, and Sweden, one common enthusiasm confounded all distinctions of society, and the glorious funeral of Messalonghi produced in Christendom a spirit resembling that of the crusades. The King of Bavaria, the royal house of Prussia,* the Princess Sophia of Sweden, and the Duke of Orleans, patronised and largely swelled the subscription lists; and as the splendid donations of the higher classes were surpassed by the humble but countless offerings of peasants and artisans, Europe paid to Greece, during the year 1826, a contribution of L.70,000 sterling. The greater por-

* Besides liberal anonymous subscriptions, the King of Prussia sent an officer to Greece with pecuniary succour to the German Philhellenes.

Appendix B

Gilbert Murray's *Mesolonghi Capta.* (Gaisford Prose 1887).

The desire of British-based Philhellenes to showcase Mesologgi within the heroic heritage of ancient Greece persisted into the late nineteenth-century, as attested by the prose piece titled *Mesolonghi Capta* by Australian-born classics scholar Gilbert Murray.[1] The twenty-one years old Murray wrote *Mesolonghi Capta,* in classical Greek and 'in the style of Herodotus' as a student at Oxford University in 1887 for which he was awarded the Gaisford Greek Prose Prize.[2] The narrative of *Mesolonghi Capta* refers to the year-long blockade and the final siege by the united Egyptian and Turkish forces that culminated in the exodus from Mesologgi by the defenders to St. Simeon on Mt. Arakynthos.[3] Murray's prose posits Mesologgi as a locus of the heroic spirit of classical Greece, a place where ancient blood still flowed in the Greek nation's veins. The combination of classical language with the subject of modern Greek history in *Mesolonghi Capta* makes the town emblematic of both a resurrected Greece, but also of the universal liberal values political freedom and justice that have been associated with idealised Hellenism in western culture.[4]
The effect of the narrative of Mesologgi falling nobly being written in the style of an historian from the classical era is that the reader is taken to visit antiquity via revolutionary Mesologgi and it indicates that Murray recognized modern Greece as part of evolving Hellenism.

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[1] Murray (1887: 1-16).
[2] Oxford University, *The historical register of the University of Oxford* (1888: 160). I thank Dr. Christopher Stray for making it known to me that the fall of Mesologgi was the prescribed subject for the Gaisford Prize of 1887. According to the Oxford University Statues for 1888 the Dean of Christ Church, Regius Professor of Greek and one other member of Convocation nominated annually by the Vice-Chancellor judged the entries for the prize and then set the topic for the coming year (Oxford University*, Statuta Universitatis Oxoniensis* 1888: 468).
[3] The structure of Murray's narrative and details included suggest that Finlay's *History of the Greek Revolution* (1861, vol. 2: 84-111) may have been one of the historical accounts he drew on for information.
[4] The patriotism of the Mesologgians had also reached mythic proportions in French literature during this time. See Guiberteau (1887) for a twenty-seven page poetic tract on the subject.

Appendix C

Finlay (1823 - 1824). *The Papers of George Finlay: notes written on my first visit to Greece in 1823-1824*. Athens, British School at Athens, MSS. G. F. A1 section 2, pp.11-2.

> But I have not yet mentioned a name which has filled all Europe with its glory, & which first revealed to the western world that valour & patriotism were not entirely extinct amongst the modern Greeks. The Souliotes, who with about 4000 warriors continued to for many years to defeat the armies of Ali which often amounted to 15000 men, armed to defend their barren rocks with a spirit of independence as noble as that of the heroes of Marathon & Platea. They have added fresh glory to their country, and perhaps when a thousand years have elapsed, the name of the Souliote Marcos Bozzaris maybe added to the names of Leonidas & Epaminondas & every nation on the face of the earth maybe challenged in vain to produce the such instances of exalted patriotic courage.

Appendix D

Details on authorship of *M. Botsaris taking communion before the attack at Karpenisi,* [n.d.]. 28 x 22 cm, oil on wood. Athens, Presidential Mansion, Collection of the National Art Gallery and Alexandros Soutzos Museum, inv. no. 248 (figure 2.5).

Two undated notes in different handwriting on the reverse side of the painting titled *M. Botsaris taking communion before the attack at Karpenisi* provide a descriptive title and details of authorship (figure 2.6).[1] The upper inscription is written directly onto the green backing of the painting and states in French, 'The hero Marcos Botzaris took communion before going to strike the Turks. Study by Delacroix' (figures 2.7 and 2.8). The second note, also in French, is written on a piece of white paper stuck to the backing, and describes the painting as 'The hero Marco Botzaris taking communion before going to attack the Turks in their camp, where he found his death. Study by E. Delacroix'(figures 2.7 and 2.8).[2] Neither Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, nor Renè Huyghe, who have conducted extensive research on Delacroix and the Greek War of Independence, make any reference to a painting by Delacroix of Botsaris shown in this act, that is, taking communion.[3] A search of drawings by Delacroix in the Louvre, and in Sérullez's two volume publication of the same covering the period 1798 to 1863, has not revealed any preparatory drawings that would indicate that this painting was developed from sketches created

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[1] A label on the back of the painting from the picture framing and art supply firm of P. Cluzel indicates that the work was placed in its current frame in Paris (see figure 2.6). Regarding the date of work, Cluzel appears in a trade directory in 1880 as a manufacturer of frames operating from Rue Fontaine Saint-George 33, which is also the address on the framer's label on the backing of the painting (Destremau 1995: 239).

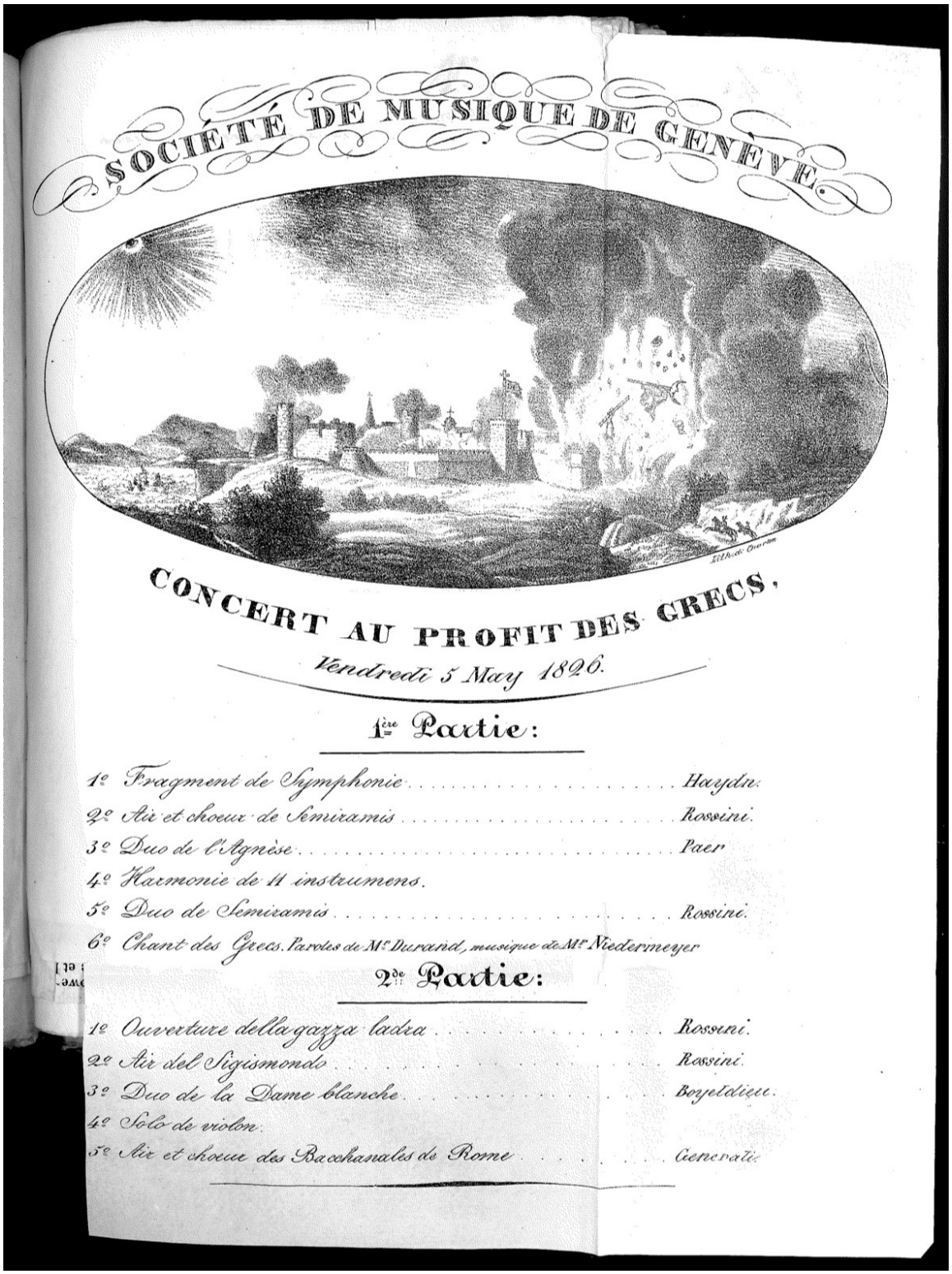
[2] Translations are my own. The text of the notes respectively read 'Le heros Marco Botzaris commun..it avant d'aller de rouer sur les Turcs. Ebauche de Delacroix', and 'Le Heros Marco Botzaris communiant avant d'aller assaillir le Turcs, dans leur camp, ou il trouva la mort. Ebauche par E. Delacroix'.

[3] Huyghe (1971) and Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1983,1989 and 1991). Delacroix's religiously themed works were mostly comprised of biblical subjects, and images of Christ or saints**.** Beneath the high gloss of its varnish, the mannered style of the painting does not have the loose brush strokes or bold colouring of two paintings by Delacroix that depict Botsaris attacking the Ottoman camp at Karpenisi (see figure 2.7 and Huyghe 1971: plate 13).
In correspondence on this issue and upon viewing an image of *M. Botsaris taking communion before the attack at Karpenisi* Athanassoglou-Kallmyer commented that it has no relation whatsoever to Delacroix, and 'Style and composition undermine such a connection' (email dated 10 December 2009 to author from Athanassoglou-Kallmyer).

by Delacroix, or his studio.[4] The inventory card for the painting *M. Botsaris taking communion before the attack at Karpenisi,* states that it was acquired by the National Gallery of Greece and Alexander Soutzos Museum (Athens) in 1927, and initially lists Delacroix as the artist, but additional comments state that the work has been deemed inauthentic by R. Lebel.[5] The composition is far removed from the style and dynamism of Delacroix's battle scenes where Turks and Greeks are shown in active exchange.[6]

[4] Sérullaz (1984).
[5] This could possibly be the art historian and collector of nineteenth century art, Robert Lebel.
[6] An example is *Scène de bataille entre Grecs et Turcs,* 34 x 51.7 cm. Paris, Louvre Museum, inv. no. RF 10032, which contains a fallen figure in the centre of the battle and is identified by Sérullaz (1984, vol. 1: 80) as an episode involving Botsaris.

Appendix E



SOCIÉTÉ DE MUSIQUE DE GENÈVE.

CONCERT AU PROFIT DES GRECS,

Vendredi 5 May 1826.

1ère Partie:

1° *Fragment de Symphonie* ..... *Haydn.*
2° *Air et choeur de Semiramis* ..... *Rossini.*
3° *Duo de l'Agnèse* ..... *Paer*
4° *Harmonie de 11 instrumens.*
5° *Duo de Semiramis* ..... *Rossini.*
6° *Chant des Grecs. Paroles de Mr Durand, musique de Mr Niedermeyer*

2de Partie:

1° *Ouverture della gazza ladra* ..... *Rossini.*
2° *Air del Sigismondo* ..... *Rossini.*
3° *Duo de la Dame blanche* ..... *Boyeldieu.*
4° *Solo de violon.*
5° *Air et choeur des Bacchanales de Rome* ..... *Generali*

Figure E-1 (i) Société de musique du Canton de Genève, *Concert au profit des Grecs, vendredi 5 may 1826. Avec une lithogr. de Gabriel Charton représentant la prise d'une ville (Missolonghi?),* 1826. 1 f. : fig. ; 26 cm, black and white lithograph. Geneva, State Archives of Geneva, AEG RIGAUD 44/66.

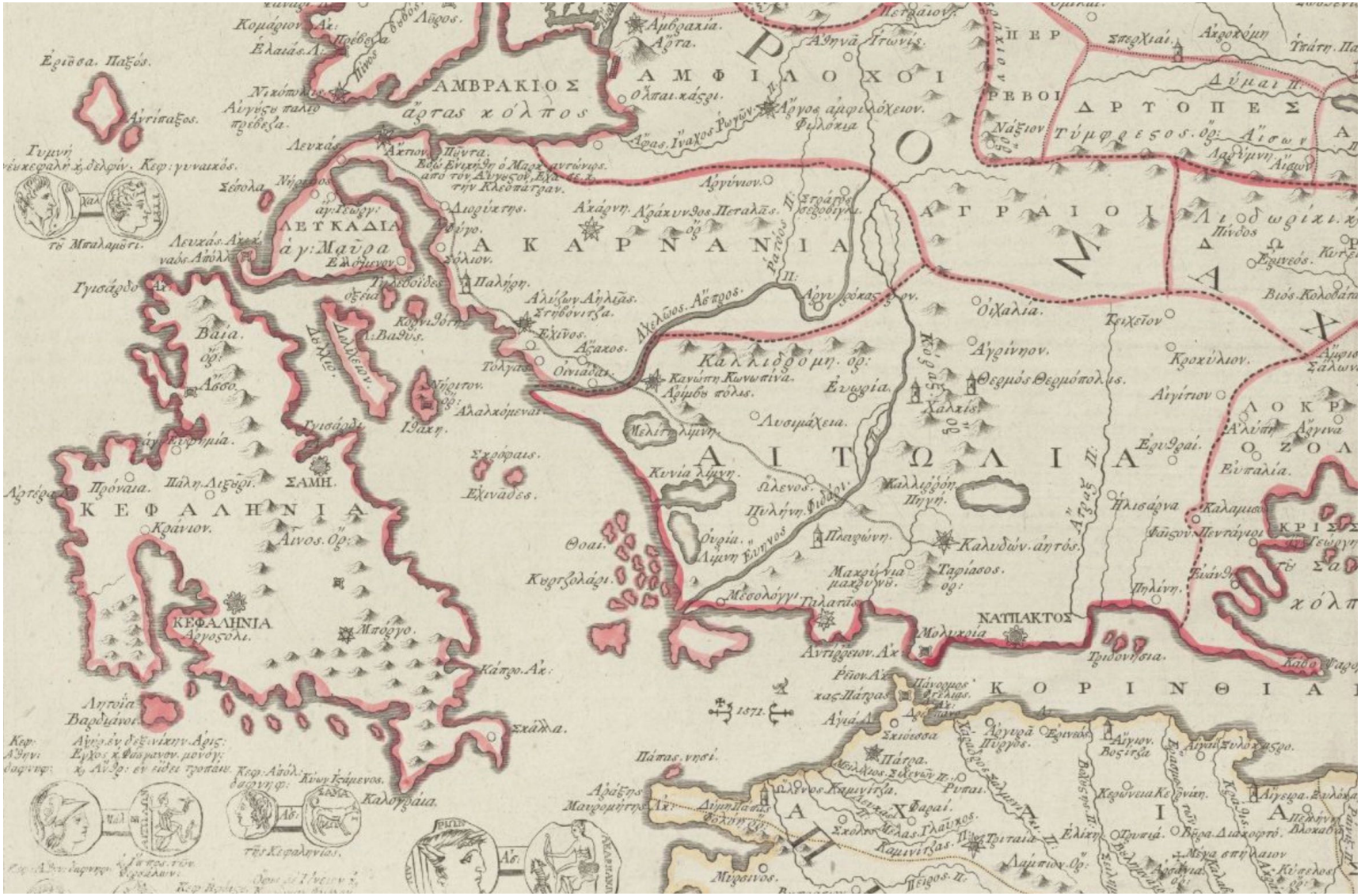


Figure E-1.1 Rigas Velestinlis, Franz Müller pub., *Charta of Greece (Χάρτα της Ελλάδος εν η περιέχονται αι νήσοι αυτής και μέρος των εις την Ευρώπην και Μικράν Ασίαν πολυαρίθμων αποικιών αυτής ...: Νυν το πρώτον εκδοθείσα παρά του Ρήγα Βελεστινλή Θετταλού),* 1797. 1 map on 12 sheets, 202 x 210 cm, black and white engraving, outline colouring. This image: sheet 5 (50 x 70 cm) detail of lower left. Cambridge, Harvard Library, Harvard Map Collection, Hollis number: 012733465. Mesologgi appears in the middle of the bottom third of this image. The town is located east of the Evinos River, but is situated incorrectly to the west of it by this map.



Figure E-1.2 Artist unknown, printed by Tremblay, *Liberté/Fraternite/Egalité/Ou la mort/Unité indivisibilité de la République*, 1792. 39 x 26 cm, hand-coloured wood-block engraving, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Department of Prints and Photography, inv. no. RESERVE FOL-QB-201 (134), Michel Hennin Collection: 11787.



Figure E-1.3 Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier, *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*, c.1789, 71 x 56 cm, oil on wood panel. Paris, Musée Carnavalet, inv. no. P 809.



ROYAL AMPHITHEATRE, ASTLEY'S.

At the general Request of Numerous Families, for the gratification of the Juvenile Branches, the whole of the Popular Entertainments will be Repeated. Families and Parties of more than Six, are recommended to make early Application for Boxes, owing to the unusual influence of Company, to witness the few remaining Representations of the present Amusements.

MONDAY, JUNE 26th, 1826, AND FOLLOWING EVENINGS
THE SEVENTH APPEARANCE OF THE
PATAGONIAN HERCULES!
Who will Display his uncommon Athletic and Muscular Exercises.

37th Time, an entirely New Local, Characteristic, Eccentric, Panoramic, Pedestrian and Equestrian SPEAKING PICTURE of LIFE, MANNERS, and PECULIARITIES of the Present Day, Called,

PAUL PRY on HORSEBACK

OR A PEEP AT THE ELECTION.

With New & Old Music, extensive Scenery, Dresses and Decorations, in which the extraordinary Stud of Horses and Store of Vehicles of every Description, Carriages, Gigs, Waggons, Carts, &c. &c. belonging to this Theatre, will be displayed in an entirely novel manner.
The Overture and Music composed and arranged by *Mr. M. Lawrence*.—The Scenery by *Messrs. Walker and Stanfield*.—The Dresses by *Mr. Smithies and Mrs. Auld*.—The Decorations by *Mr. Kelly*.—The Machinery by *Mr. Evans*.—*The Piece written and arranged by Mr. MONCRIEFF.*
The whole of the extensive Equestrian Arrangements under the superintendance of Mr. Ducrow.

FIRST COURSE.

Mr. PAUL PRY *intruded* upon & dished up highly seasoned, at his *Lodgings in the Haymarket*, garnished with Opening Trio Medley, "Cherry Ripe, Sweet Home, Huntsman's Chorus, & Cries of London," Comic Song to follow.
"*Paul Pry's New London Directory for 1826*,"
TRADESMEN, NEW STREETS, EXHIBITIONS, &c.
Parties Present, Paul and his Neighbours.
(Remove) *Mrs. Paulina Pry's Lodgings in the Adelphi.*
East India Curry—side dishes—pause—pecuniary crisis—hints—eh! you understand, take away.—PARODY, "*I've been roaming.*"
Present Mrs. P. the Nabob and his Daughter, Black Footman in attendance.

SECOND COURSE.

Smithfield Market on a Fair-day,—(CORRECTLY PLANNED.)
Bartlemy Fair,—beef, mutton—tender drover—dish of larks *ad cup tenderes*—hits at horse flesh—old dishes to serve up—entre-mets—Hopping Ned, Mr. Barbican, and the Horse Victuals—gilt gingerbread—Yorkshire sauce—Paul in a stew—dish of flummery—Bluey settling the lush.
Parties, Tommy Doncaster and his Man: Hopping Ned, Mr. Barbican, &c.
(Remove) Apartment in Sir Waverly Wayward's House.
Old English Sir Loin and glass of *Love-age*—opposition—oil & vinegar, chalk for Cheese—game—chops en papillote (see placard)—bullock's liver, tripe, &c.
PARODY, "ISABEL" to clear the Cloth.
Persons present, Sir Waverly, Wilfred, Jemmy White, Jack Cox, &c.

THIRD COURSE.

A made Dish.—*Inside of the Leaping Bar Inn*,
on the high Road to Holloway—glasses ready and to be charged—tea and toast, breakfast.
Paul Pry and his Horse, Bury's, Leap in the Bar.
Liqueurs, hasty pudding, mincemeat, curly pate, whipped syllabub, medlars, all cleared, put it down to the bill—*Present, Paul and Party.*
(Remove) *High Road to Holloway.*
Pepper and Salt—no sort—sherry off—clocks—the *cloth* removed—a snack by the way.—*Present, principally Passengers.*

FOURTH COURSE.

Interior of the Union Arms Hotel, Committee Rooms.
Orders on all sides, & every thing agreeable,—mustard & vinegar,—my dear—a spilling the gravy,—uncovering the dishes,—toad in a hole.
Present, Board of Committee Men, &c.
(Remove) *Hustings at Holloway.*
Hodge podge—cutting it fat—giving it mouth—PAUL PRY and his HORSE on the HUSTINGS,—cut and come again—ham, eggs, potatoes, *batter* pudding drawing the claret.—*Present, Electors and Candidates.*

DESERT.

Apartments in the Union Arms Hotel.
Love apples—a pair—a fine—hob and nobbing—Song and Sentiment.
Present, the whole Party.
(Remove) *The whole Town of Holloway.*
Taking the chair—GRAND PROCESSION—Bread, Beef and Beer—marrow bones and cleavers—odd fellows—saying grace—Shew of Hands.

Principal Characters,—Mr. Paul Pry, from the Haymarket, Mr. HERRING.
Sir Waverly Wayward, ... a rich Baronet, Candidate for the Borough of Holloway, ... Mr. LAWRENCE.
Squire Wilful, ... a Wealthy Nabob, rival Candidate for the Borough of Holloway, ... Mr. CARTLITCH.
Wilfred Wayward, ... Son of the Baronet, in Love with Miss Winifred, ... Mr. BEDFORD.
Jemmy White, ... an independent Wall Chalker, ... Mr. ELLIOTT.
Hopping Ned, alias Cutaway Teddy, (*ad vivum*) Mr. SANDERS.
Tommy Doncaster, a conscientious Horse Dealer, Mr. S. SMITH. Barney, his Man, Mr. HONOR. Dexter, Landlord of the Union Arms, Mr. AULD.
Jack Cox, an old Printer's Devil, Mr. GOLL. Mr. Barbican, a City Connoisseur, Mr. FOLLETT. Jack Higler, a tender hearted Drover, Mr. J. SMITH.
Sambo, Squire Wilful's Black Servant, Mr. WATKINS. Splitvote, Mr. POPE. Tipp'em, Mr. WIDDICOMB.
Captain O'Killman, Horse Dealers, Voters, &c. &c. &c, by the whole Company.
Mrs. Paulina Pry, from the Adelphi, Mrs. PEARCE. Miss Winifred Wilful, Mrs. VALE.
Mrs. Portly, Landlady of the Leaping Bar Inn, Mrs. SLADER Ladies, Chambermaids, Fruitwomen, &c. &c. &c.

Previous to which, The Exercises of HERR CLINE on the TIGHT ROPE.
Delight & Admiration never fail to accompany the Exercises of HERR CLINE. The Evolutions he displays have every claim to Novelty, & are considered by the Managers so very superior and unimproveable that they make no scruple in announcing him as the first Performer of the day. To bring forward the Exhibition of this Artist's Powers in this line of the Gymnastic Exercises to all possible effect, & in a manner deserved by the skill and merit they combine, considerable expence has been incurred, the Managers having purposely provided, amongst other Splendid Appurtenances, an Elegant and Tasteful Decoration, representing the *TEMPLE OF THE MUSES*,
And thus are enabled to offer to the Public another great Novelty, in addition to those that have been already so much approved of and signally Applauded.
He will conclude his wonderful Performance, for the *Seventh Time*, with the
GRAND ASCENSION of PLUTO from the STAGE to the GALLERY!

IN THE CIRCLE.—Among other Equestrian Entertainments, will be executed
THE GRAND AMAZONIAN ENTREE
Performed by Four Knights & Four Ladies, mounting Eight Horses,
Each of which is a different breed, uniting the Arabian, the Turkish, the Norman, the Cossack, the Andalusian, the Corsican, the Hanoverian, & the English.
To conclude with
Mr. DUCROW'S
Wonderful Act of Equestrianism of unprecedented Effect, and never attempted but by himself, during which he will ride, at one time,
THREE HORSES!!!
ENTIRELY UNCAPARISONED. Clown to the Equestrian Scenes, Mr. J. DUCROW. Riding Master, Mr. WIDDICOMB.

The Evening's Entertainments will commence with the Grand Military Spectacle in Two Acts, Called
WAR in INDIA; or, the Burmese Empire.

Embodying the Talent of the whole Company in a series of Scenes, which for Magnificence and Variety have never been surpassed.
Principal Characters.—Lord Frederick Worthington, Mr. GOMERSAL. Sir Archibald Campbell, Mr. ELLIOTT. Lieut. Col. Miles, Mr. HONOR.
Serjeant Heartfree, Mr. BEDFORD. Corporal Bombshell, Mr. LAWRENCE. Tom Tough, Mr. HERRING. Tarpaulin, Mr. CARTLITCH.
Ziny, Mr. DUCROW. Tee-Tai-Chein, Mr. J. H. AMHERST. Maywoon, Mr. AULD.
Captain's Wife, Mrs. C. DUBOIS. Indamora, Mrs. POPE. The Meredee Prau, Mrs. STANLEY. Zezuna, Mrs. VALE. Nena Napue, Mrs. WEST
PRINCIPAL DANCERS.—Messrs. LECLERCQ and CHAPPE, Mrs. C. DUBOIS and Miss ADCOCK.

BOXES 4s. PIT 2s. GAL. 1s. Half-price at Half-past Eight. Places taken at the Box Office from 11 o'Clock till 4.
Children under 12 Years of Age will henceforth be admitted to the Boxes for Half-price.
☞The Police Regulations of the Amphitheatre require that Carriages shall set down with the Horses Heads towards the Marsh Gate.
Places for the Boxes cannot possibly be kept later than Seven. Family and Private Boxes to be had Nightly.
☞Tuition in the Art of Riding given in the School of the Theatre Daily, and Horses broke for the Field or Road.
Visitors from Greenwich, Deptford, &c, are informed that Mr. MATSON'S Coach is Nightly in attendance to convey Passengers to & from the Theatre.
On MONDAY Next, the First Representation of the Historical Events of
The SIEGE of MISSOLONGHI; or the MASSACRE of the GREEKS.

Figure E-1.4 Playbill Royal Amphitheatre (London), *Paul Pry on horseback or, a peep at the election, (Playbill announcing forthcoming first performance of The Siege of Missolonghi: Or, The Massacre of the Greeks).* 26 June 1826. 37.7 x 24.6 cm. London, British Library, General Reference Collection Playbills. 171.



Royal Amphitheatre, (ASTLEY's,) Westminster Bridge.

☞CHILDREN UNDER 12 YEARS OF AGE HALF-PRICE TO THE BOXES.

REVIVAL OF PAUL PRY!

And Last Week of Signore Romanines' Engagement.

☞The Novel Entertainment offered for the First Time in this Country, on Monday last, by LE SIGNORE ROMANINE having been witnessed with all the expected Interest and Applause, on each Evening during the past Week, they will have the honor of Repeating their singularly skilful & graceful Exercises Every Evening of the Present Week.

MONDAY, AUGUST 14th, 1826, AND 5 FOLLOWING EVENINGS,

The Entertainments to commence at a Quarter-past Six, *exact time*, with the New Splendid and Impressive Historical Spectacle of the

Siege of Missolonghi

Or, The MASSACRE of the GREEKS.

The Piece written by Mr. J. H. AMHERST.—The Music by Mr. LAWRENCE.—The Scenery by Mr. WALKER and ASSISTANTS.—The Vocal Music by Mr. CALCOTT.—The Misirere composed and arranged by Mr. EATON.—The Ballets by Mons. CHAPPE.—The Dresses by Mr. SMYTHIES and Mrs. AULD. The Machinery by Mr. EVANS.—The Properties by Mr. KELLY.

The Equestrian Evolutions, Combats, Marches, and the whole of the Stage Arrangements, by Mr. DUCROW.

TURKS.—The Ibrahim Pacha, *Leader of the Turkish Force by Sea and Land*, Mr. CARTLITCH. Mouctar, *a Moor*, Mr. ELLIOTT.
Omar, *his Principal Officer*, Mr. AULD. Othman Ali, *in the Sea Service*, Mr. S. SMITH.
Nagar, Sedan, Parid, *Officers*, Mess. EATON, J. SMITH, BEDFORD. Nourad, *a Brutal Subaltern, & devoted to the Pacha, Ibrahim*, Mr. LEWIS.
Selim, *Son to the Pacha, and Second in Command*, Mr. WOOLFORD.
Mahmoud, *supposed to be his Attendant Officer, but in reality a disguised Greek Maiden*, Mrs. GOMERSAL.
Fatama and Nourah, Messdames BARTLETT and JACKSON.
Principal Dancers in the TRIUMPHAL BALLET, Mr. LECLERCQ and Miss ADCOCK; Monsieur CHAPPE and Mrs. C. DUBOIS.
Warriors and Almahs by the whole of a numerous CORPS DE BALLET.
Zongoda, *a Wandering Armenian Seer or Fortune Teller, with a Song of Incantation*, Mrs. VALE.
GREEKS.—Miaulis, *a Chieftain & Commander of the Squadron*, Mr. GOMERSAL. Thalis & Læcon, *his Sons*, Masters BRADLEY & WEST.
Hatzon, *with a Song*, Mr. H. BEDFORD. Nombo, *a faithful Negro, devotedly attached to the Family of Miaulis*, Mr. HERRING.
Xaina, *Wife to Miaulis*, Mrs. POPE. Xinocles, *Governor of Missolonghi*, Mr. SANDERS. Thebelen, *a Young Greek*, Mr. HONOR.
Arcon, *a Greek Soldier*, Mr. J. SMITH. Moton, *an old Sea Captain*, Mr. LAWRENCE. Patriarch of the Greek Church, Mr. POPE.
Monsieur Pironette, *an unfortunate French Dancing Master*, Mr. AMHERST. Madame Pironette, *his Wife*, Mrs. WEST.
Eudoxia, *a Noble Widow Lady of Missolonghi*, Mrs. STANLEY. Arpasia, Mrs. DUBOIS. Euphrasia, Mrs. SLADER.

In the course of the Evening will be introduced, for the *Seventh Time* in England, the Performances of

La Signora Rosalia and La Signora Veronica Romanine on

THE FLYING WIRE,

CONSISTING OF

A MEXICAN PAS,

And a Variety of Exercises, termed ORICHALCIAN, remarkable for the Surprising Equilibrio, Dexterity, and Gracefulness in the Execution of them, with **FLAGS, RINGS, BALLS, &c.**

SIGNORA ROSALIA will conclude the First Part of her Performance by a

CONCERTO upon the FRENCH HORN,

Which she will execute while maintaining it upon the Lips in Equilibrium, without any Assistance, which uncommon and difficult Feat excites the greatest Wonder and Enquiry.

The Whole of this Novel Entertainment is concluded by the Scene of the

ITALIAN PEASANT GIRL!

AND A MIMIC DANCE OF RAPID EXECUTION.

Equestrianism in the Circle!

Miss E. Ducrow will give an Academical Demonstration of the Art of Equitation.

In as much as it relates to the Accomplishment of Females in that Polite & useful Acquirement, mounting successively Two Horses, *Bucephalus & Aboukir.*

Mr. DUCROW will Manage the Turkish Mare, BEDA,

And the Two Dwarf Lapon Horses.

Horsemanship, by Mr. WOOLFORD.

The Entertainments to conclude, *(by Desire,)* with

Paul Pry on Horseback

Or, A PEEP AT THE ELECTION.

Principal Characters.—Mr. HERRING, Mr. LAWRENCE, Mr. CARTLITCH, Mr. BEDFORD, Mr. ELLIOTT, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. J. SMITH, Mr. HONOR, Mr. AULD, Mr. GOLL, Mr. FOLLETT, Mr. J. SMITH, Mr. WATKINS, Mr. POPE, Mr. WIDDICOMB, Mrs. PEARCE, Mrs. VALE, and Mrs. SLADER.

BOXES 4s. PIT 2s. GAL. 1s. Half-price at Half-past Eight. Places taken at the Box Office from 10 o'Clock till 4.
Children under 12 Years of Age will henceforth be admitted to the Boxes for Half-price.
☞The Police Regulations of the Amphitheatre require that Carriages shall set down with the Horses Heads towards the Marsh Gate.
Places for the Boxes cannot possibly be kept later than a Quarter to Seven. Family and Private Boxes to be had Nightly.
☞Tuition in the Art of Riding given in the School of the Theatre Daily, and Horses broke for the Field or Road.
Visitors from Greenwich, Deptford, &c. are informed that Mr. Masson's Coach is Nightly in attendance to convey Passengers to & from the Theatre.

Figure E-1.5 Royal Amphitheatre (Astley's), Westminster Bridge, London. *The Siege of Missolonghi: Or, The Massacre of the Greeks*, 14 August 1826. 15 x 10 1/8 inches. New Haven, Crawford Theater Collection, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University, MS 1387, Box 21, Folder 143.

Theatre-Royal, Bristol.

☞ There will be no Performance on SATURDAY Evening.

LAST WEEK of Performing until the Winter Season.

THE CELEBRATED

SIGNORAS ROMANINE

Have renewed their Engagement, and will perform FIVE NIGHTS MORE:

LAST NIGHT BUT FOUR OF MR.

DUCROW'S

PERFORMING HERE.

On MONDAY, Oct. 30, 1826,

Will be presented, Third Time, a Grand Impressive Spectacle called THE SIEGE OF

Missolonghi;

Or, the MASSACRE of the

GREEKS.

Received on the two first representations with the loudest Acclamations of Applause.

The Piece written by Mr. J. H. AMHERST.—The Music by Mr. LAWRENCE.—The Scenery by Messrs. WALKER & DONALDSON.—The Vocal Music by Mr. CALCOTT.—The Misirere composed and arranged by Mr. EATON: The Ballets by Mons. CHAP.—The Dresses by Mr. SMYTHIES and Mrs. AULD.—The Properties by Mr. KELLY. The Machinery by Mr. BOCANNAN.

The Equestrian Evolutions, Combats, Marches, and the whole of the Stage Arrangements by Mr. DUCROW.

In the course of the Piece will be exhibited, THE VIEW OF A TURKISH RAMPART.

A Characteristic Mameluke Dance, by Monsieur CHAP & Miss WILKINS.

EXTERIOR OF MISSOLONGHI;

The utter Distress of the Inhabitants, reduced by Famine.

SPLENDID INTERIOR OF THE PACHA IBRAHIM'S TENT.

Splendid Array of the Pacha's Troops.

FETE AND TRIUMPHAL PAGEANT.

A CAVERN near the Sea-Shore.—Part of the CITY of MISSOLONGHI by Starlight.

A faithful Picture of the Horrible Famine which reduced the noblest Families to Death.

The heroic resolution of the Greeks to suffer any extremity, rather than submit to their Oppressors.

THE UPPER & LOWER RAMPART,

In which will be introduced the celebrated GREEK WAR SONG, written by Lord BYRON, and addressed to that heroic People. In this Last Scene of First Act, recalling the Resolution of the Greek Women to Perish Sword in Hand, will be presented one of the most effective and striking Pictures in Nature; and for execution, unexampled on the Stage. The Principal Performers will head the Cohorts, and give every idea of reality to the Groupings of COMBATANTS, MALE & FEMALE.

Act. II.—*A Most Splendid and Imposing Scene of an Extensive*

TURKISH ENCAMPMENT.

A DRUNKEN COMBAT ON FOOT & HORSEBACK, by Two TROOPERS.

GRAND EXERCISES AND

Manœuvres of the PACHA's Cavalry.

Archers and Djerid Throwers,

ON ELEPHANTS.

Outside Ibrahim's Marquee; Greek Daughter torn from her Father, who is sentenced to have his Eyes put out.

A Dark GROTTO, where the Greek Captives are Chained to Starve.

Scene Last.—Interior of Missolonghi,—Devotion of the Greeks,—Siege of the Turks,

FIRING OF THE MINE, TERRIFIC EXPLOSION,

LAYING

THE CITY IN ASHES!

Massacre of the Inhabitants.—Final Destruction of Missolonghi.

TURKS.

The Ibrahim Pacha, Leader of the Turkish Forces by Sea and Land ..... Mr. MARLOW
Mauctar, a Moor ..... Mr FILLINGHAM | Omar, his Principal Officer ..... Mr. WATKINS | Nagar ..... Mr. LANSDOWN
Nourad, a Brutal Sabaltern, and devoted to the Pacha ibrahim .... Mr. VILLARS | Sedan ..... Mr. ALDRIDGE
Selim, Son to the Pacha, and second in command ..... Mr. M'GILL
Mahmoud, supposed to be his Attendant Officer, but in reality a disguised Greek Maiden ... Miss PITT
Zongoda, a Waudering Armenian Seer, or Fortune Teller, with a Song of Incantation ..... Mrs. GOULD

GREEKS.

Miaulis, a Chieftain and Commander of the Squadron ..... Mr. CLARKSON
Thalis & Læcon, his Sons ..... Master PARTLETON & Master H. PARTLETON | Hæbon, with a Song ..... Mr. BYNG
Noubo, a faithful Negro, devotedly attched to the family of Miaulis .... Mr. BAKER | Moton, an old Sea Captain .... Mr. DUFF
Xenocles, Governor of Missolonghi ... Mr. SMITH | Theoleo, a young Greek .. Mr. WILLIAMS
Monsieur Pirouette, an unfortunate French Dancing-Master ... Mr BARRY
Madame Pirouette, his Wife ..... Mrs. FREDERICK | Arpasia .... Miss WILKINS
Eudocia, a Noble Widow Lady of Missolonghi ..... Mrs. CLARKSON | Euphrasia ..... Miss JOYNER
And, Xania, Wife to Miaulis .... Mrs. M'CREADY.

After which,

HERR BENJAMIN,

The German Samson

Will go through his Astonishing MUSCULAR EXERCISES and

Feats of Strength.

The Signoras VERONICA and ROSALIA

ROMANINE

On the Thread-Wire,

Will commence their performances with SEVERAL NEW AND PECULIAR EQULIBRIUMS.

THE SIGNORA ROSALIA

Will, for the second time, go through the MANUAL & PLATOON EXERCISE, will IMITATE A

DRUNKEN SOLDIER,

And METAMORPHOSE HERSELF from a SOLDIER to a NYMPH.

Will Dance, LE PAS DE BAYADERES,

And conclude with the FLIGHTS IN THE AIR, accompanying herself on the CASTANETS.

To which will be added, Last Time, a New Comic Pantomime called

OBERON, or Harlequin's Ordeal.

CHARACTERS AS BEFORE.

On TUESDAY & WEDNESDAY will be presented the Grand Impressive Spectacle called THE SIEGE OF MISSOLONGHI; or, The Massacre of the Greeks, with the Performance of Signoras ROMANINE; the Feats of HERR BENJAMIN, THE GERMAN SAMSON; and an Entire New Dramatic Oriental Romance called THE DÆMON's TRUMPET; or, the Magic Ring; with New Dresses, Decorations, Music, &c. As performed in London, with Universal Applause.

Mr. DUCROW'S Benefit will take place on Thursday; being positively the Last Night but One of Performing here until the Christmas Holidays.

Tickets and Places in the Boxes, to be had of Mr. SMITH, at the Theatre, from Eleven till Three o'clock.

Tickets for the Pit and Gallery to be had at the General Printing-Office, 9, Narrow Wine-Street.

SOMERTON, Printer.

Figure E-1.6 Theatre Royal, Bristol. *The Siege of Missolonghi: Or, The Massacre of the Greeks*, 30 October 1826. 50 x 19 cm. Playbill, Bristol, The National Archives, Bristol Record Office, ref. no. BRO 8982/81.



Figure E-1.7 L. Lipparini, inc. A. Viviani, *Una barca di Greci,* 1846. 191 x 155 mm. Gemme d'arti Italiane (1846: 81).



Figure E-1.8 Henri-Daniel Plattel, Imprimerie de Cheyère, *L'Archevêque de Missolonghi donnant sa benediction,* 1826. 44 x 49 cm, black and white lithograph. Municipal Gallery Thessaloniki (2003: 54).



Figure E-1.9 Alexis-Nicolas Pérignon, *La fin de Missolonghi, resolution héroïque de ses inhabitants,* 1849. 1.74 x 2.50 m, oil on canvas. Athens. Private Collection. Constans (1997: 211).



Figure E-1.10 L. Rossignon pinx[t]., Chrétien del[t]., Lith: de C. Motte à Paris. *Missolonghi, 20 Février 1826, Communion des Grecs pendant le combat,* 1826. Sheet 52 x 64 cm, image area 43 x 57 cm, black and white lithograph. Athens, National Historical Museum, inv. no. 326/8155.



Figure E-1.11 Louis Joseph Toussaint Rossignon. *Η τελευταία μετάληψη των Μεσολογγιτών,* c.1826. 1.00 x 1.30 m, oil on canvas. New York, Private Collection (Constans 1997: 199 image and page for 210 text).



Figure E-1.12 G. A. Kasola after L. Rossignon pinx[t]., Chrétien del[t]., *Ο επίσκοπος Ιωσήφ Ρωγών κοινωνά τους πιστούς στην ντάπια του Φραγλίνου,* [n.d.]. 1.19 x 1.37 cm, oil on canvas. Mesologgi, Municipal Gallery, inv. no. 41.



Figure E-2.1 K. Theocharis artist, A. Galanos publisher, *The Exodus of Mesologgi (10 April 1826),* 1895. 43 x 60 cm, coloured lithograph. Athens, National Historical Museum, inv. no. 4948/29.

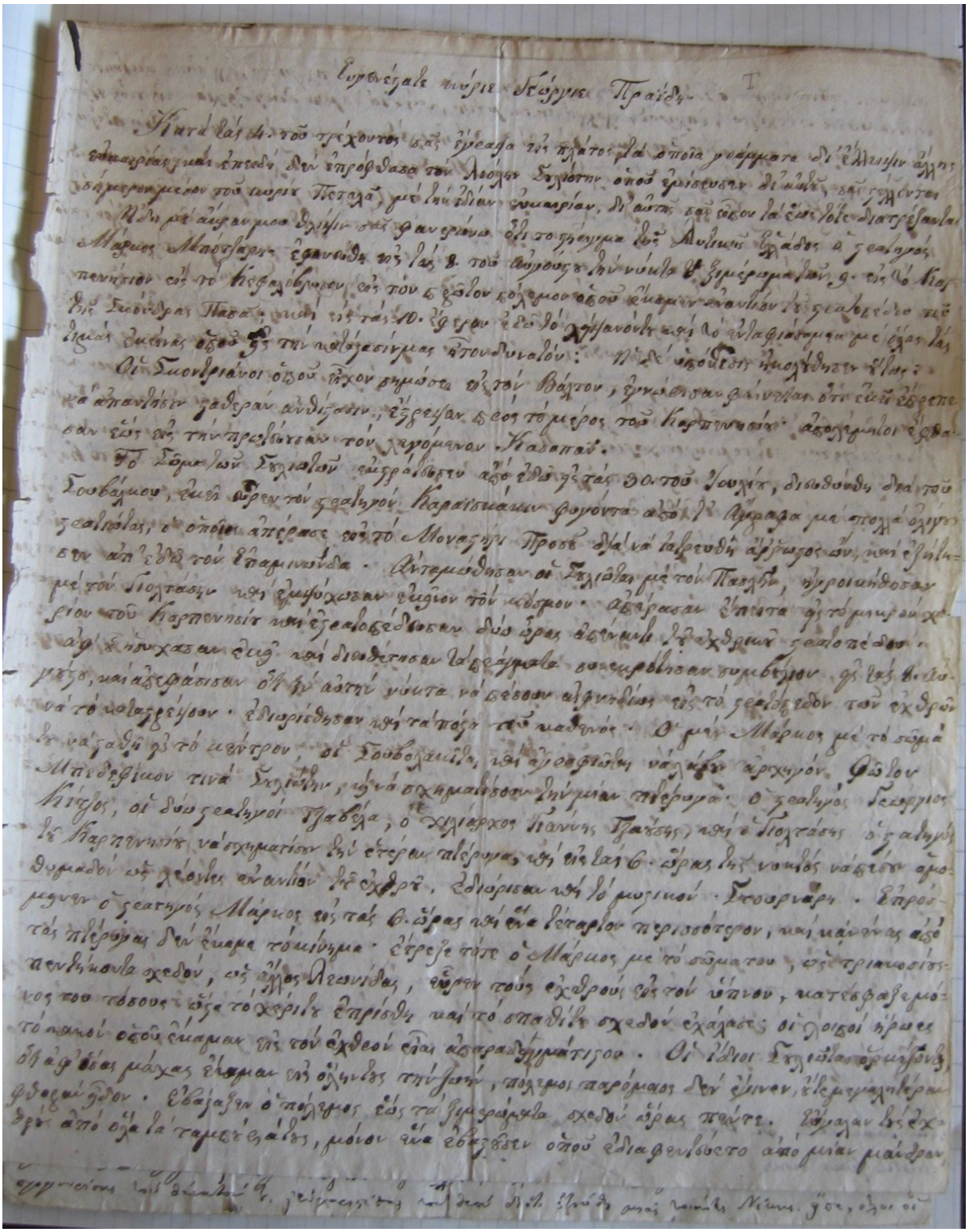


Figure E-2.2 *Letter to Yiorgos Praides*, *Secretary to Alexander Mavrokordatos,* undated. The archive of the London Greek Committee. Athens, National Library of Greece, Manuscript number: K 4 T, page 1.

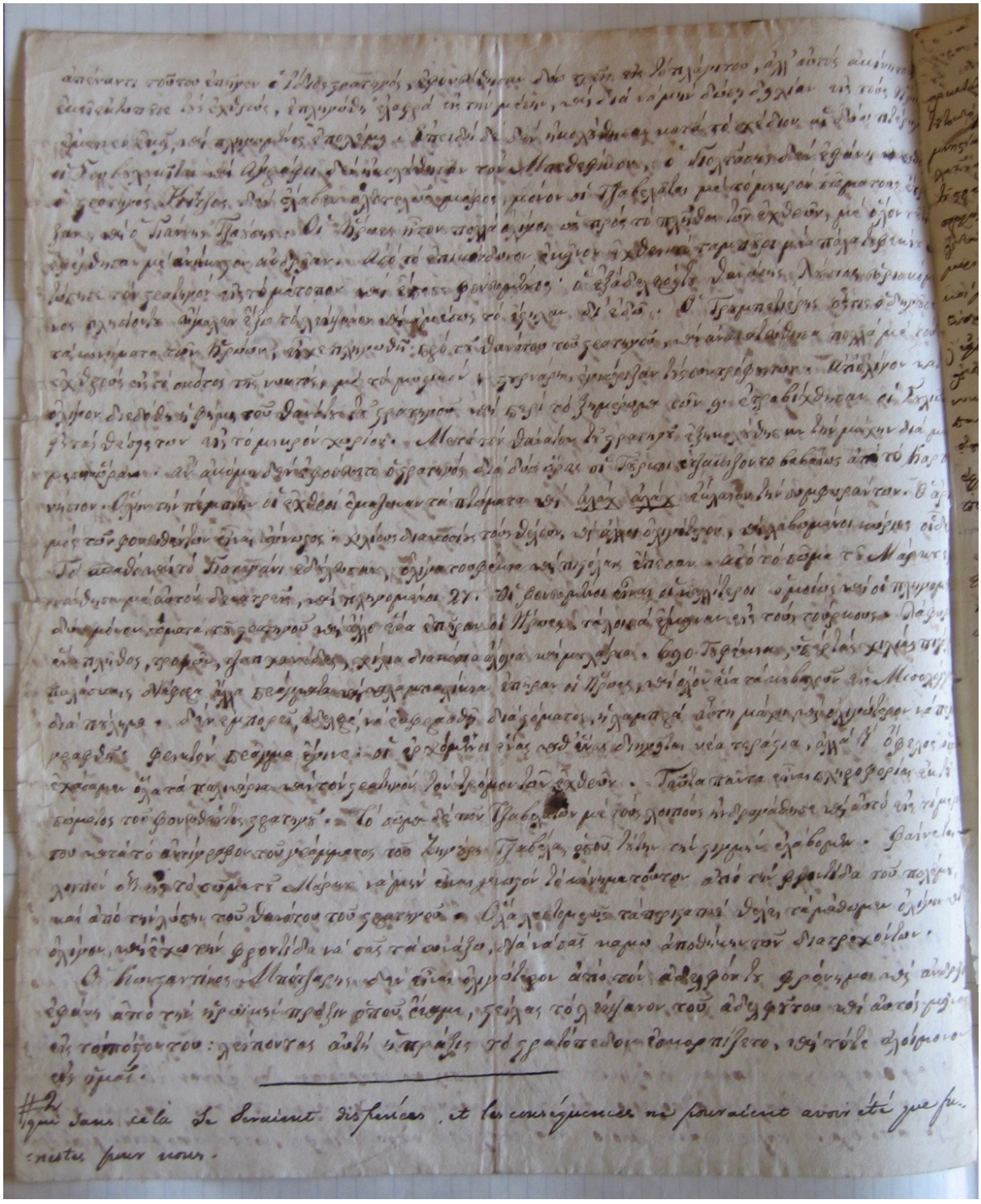


Figure E-2.3 *Letter to Yiorgos Praides*, *Secretary to Alexander Mavrokordatos,* undated. The archive of the London Greek Committee. Athens, National Library of Greece, Manuscript number: K 4 T, page 2.



Figure E-2.4 Denis-Auguste-Marie Raffet inv^{t}. et del^{t}. lith. de Villain and Ostervald éditeur, *La communion des Grecs à Missolonghi,* 1826. 30.5 x 43.5 cm, black and white lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, inv. no. DC-189 (J, 1)-FOL.



Figure E-2.5 Donato Francesco de Vivo, *The death of Lambros Tsavellas,* 1855. 107 x 132 cm, oil on canvas. Athens, National Art Gallery and Alexander Soutzos Museum, Nafplion Annex, inv. no. Π. 6206.



Figure E-2.6 Peter von Hess, *The death of Markos Botsaris at Karpenisi, 8 August 1823*, c. 1832-40. 28 x 21 cm, hand-coloured lithograph. From the album 'Befreiung Griechenlands in XXXIX Bildern entworfen von Peter Hess'. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 24088.



Figure E-2.7 Theofilos (Chatzimichael), after Peter von Hess, *Τη εν Καρπενήσι νίκη των Ελλήνων. Ο θάνατος του Μάρκου Βότσαρη το 1823*, 1932. 75.5 x 1.21 m, oil on canvas. Lesvos, Municipal Art Gallery 'Theofilos', inv. no. 2. Image in Kynegou-Phlaboura (1979: 16).



Figure E-2.8 Simon Marmion, *The Lamentation of Christ ,* early 1470s. 51.8 x 32.7 cm, oil and tempera (?) on oak panel. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 1975.1.128.

MARCO BOZZARI CHE DISARMA UN TURCO

RICAMO SU CANOVACCIO DELLA SIGNORA *CLEMENTINA PASANISI VICUÑA.*

Fra gli oggetti che abbellivano la mostra di arti e manifatture in quest'anno, attirava gli sguardi de'curiosi e degl'intelligenti un lavoro di nobile e gentil donzella napoletana, della sig.ª Clementina Pasanisi nata Vicuña. Era desso un ricamo su canovaccio di nove palmi e mezzo di lunghezza per sei di largo, da servir per ricoprire un di quei moderni mobili che con vocabolo francese non ancora italianizzato chiamansi *pâtés*. Rappresentava il ricamo, copiato da un disegno francese su carta graticolata imitante i lavori di mosaico, Marco Bozzari che calpesta una bandiera nemica di cui s'è impossessato, e mostrandola ad un Turco, gl'impone di



G. Riccio lit.

(Marco Bozzari che disarma un Turco.)

rendere le armi, mentre colla destra tien per le redini il suo cavallo.

Un anno intero di non interrotto lavoro è costato il ricamo alla giovane emulatrice dell'antica Aracne, ricamo condotto in lana e seta: chi conosce il magistero di tali lavorii, sa quanta difficoltà presenti l'esattezza del così detto *punto piccolo*, non che quanta maestria abbisogni per ben adattare le varie gradazioni de'colori, poichè le tinte delle lane differiscono quasi sempre dai colori del disegno che serve d'innanzi. Somma pazienza ed espertezza è poi necessaria per lo scompartimento del canovaccio, dovendosene contare tutti i fili per poi scompartirli proporzionatamente al lavoro che sopra vi si vuole eseguire. Che tutte queste difficoltà sieno state egregiamente superate dalla sig.ª Pasanisi Vicuña, che nell'esecuzione siasi mostrata maestra, che infine sia

Figure E-2.9 G. Riccio lit., *Marco Bozzari che disarma un Turco*. Poliorama Pittoresco, (30 July 1842, vol. 6: 401).



Figure E-2.10 Émile Jean-Horace Vernet, *Η ήττα του πασά (La défaite),* 1827. 44 x 34 cm, oil on canvas. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 9002.

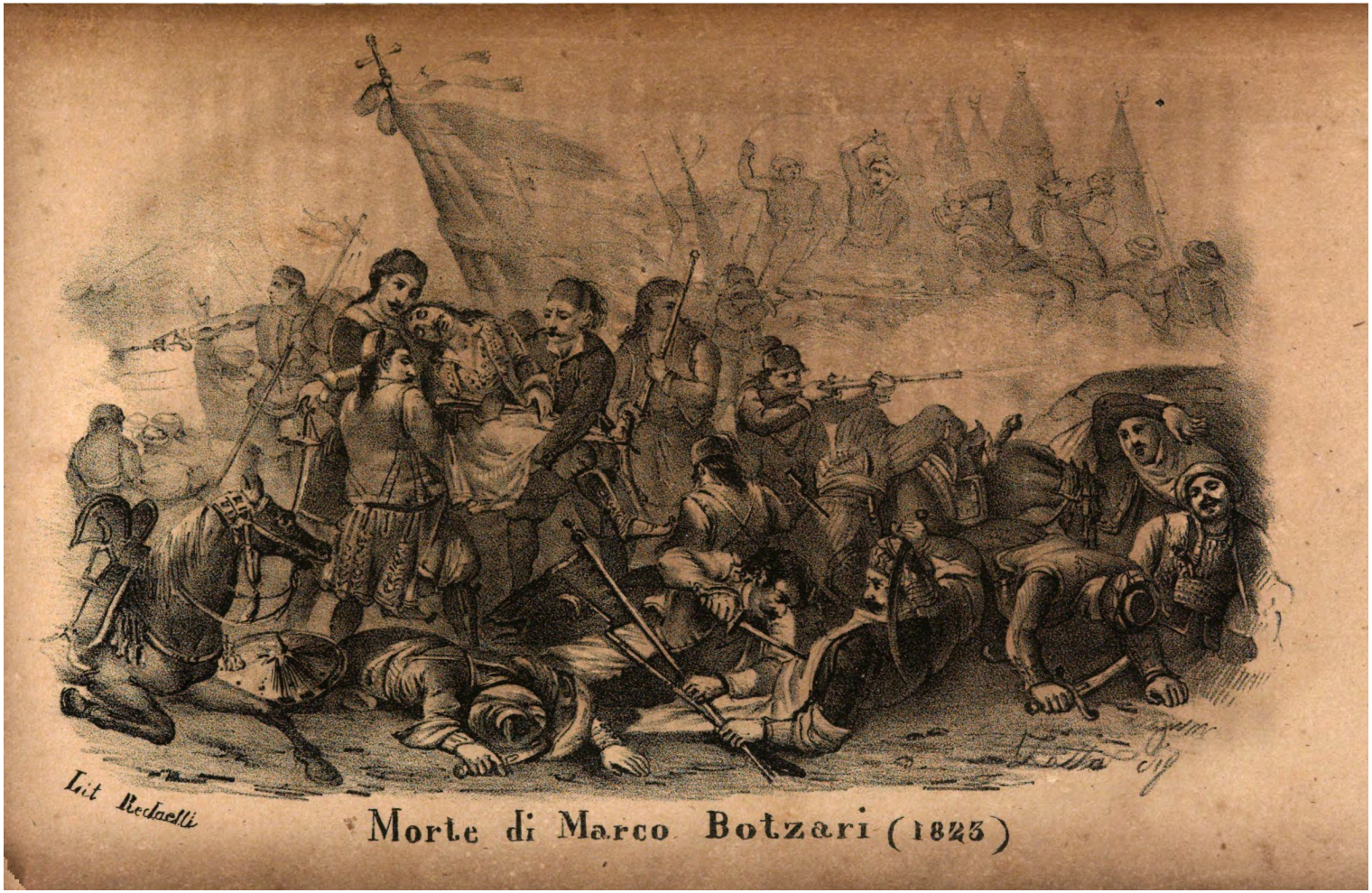


Figure E-2.11 Zotta dis., Redaelli lit., (after C. Langlois 1826), *Morte di Marco Botzari (1823),* 1854. 13 x 20 cm, black and white engraving. Pouqueville (1854: between pages 432 and 433). Image courtesy of Hathi Trust Digital Library.



Figure E-2.12 Juan de Juni, *Entierro de Christo,* 1541-44. Polychrome wood carving. Valladolid, National Sculpture Museum, inv. no. A25conjunto.



Figure E-3.1 Émile Jean-Horace Vernet, *Turkish ship set on fire during the siege of Missolonghi,* 19th century. 20.5 x 39 cm, oil on canvas. Athens, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 8992.



Figure E-3.2 A. Cheyère lith., C. Laurent editeur, *Prise de Missolonghi: au profit des Grecs,* 1826. Sheet 46 x 58.5 cm, image area 34 x 50.5 cm, black and white lithograph. Athens. National Historical Museum, inv. no. 6428.



Figure E-3.3 A. Cheyére lithographer, C. Laurent publisher, *Prise de Missolonghi: au profit des Grecs,* 1829. 56.8 x 46.1 cm, colour lithograph. Providence, Brown University Library, Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, inv. no. Gr-B 1825 If-1.



Figure E-3.4 Louis François Lejeune, *Bataille d'Aboukir. 25 juillet 1799*, c.1803-04. 185 x 225 cm, oil on canvas. Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, inv. no. MV6856.



Figure E-3.5 Artist unknown, F. Bonneville éditeur, *Refrains patriotiques,* 1792-94. 28.5 x 31 cm, colour etching. Paris, National Library of France, Department of Prints and Photography, inv. no. RESERVE QB-370 (29)-FT 4, De Vinck Collection: 5010.



Figure E-3.6 Jacques-Louis David, *Andromache Mourning Hector,* 1783. 2.75 x 2.03 m, oil on canvas. Paris, Louvre Museum, D. L. 1969-1.



Figure E-3.7 Unknown, *Honneurs rendus à la mémoire de le Pelletier: jeudy 24 janvier 1793, le corps du martyr de la liberté*, 1793. 9.5 x 16.5 cm. etching. Paris, National Library of France, inv. no. RESERVE FOL-QB-201 (130), Michel Hennin Collection: 11484.



Figure E-3.8 Loverdos and Gryspos lith. *Ο όρκος του Λόρδου Βύρωνος επί του τάφου του Μάρκου Βότσαρη εν Μεσολογγίω 7 Απριλίου 1824.* [n.d.]. 49 x 63 cm, coloured lithograph. Athens, National Historical Museum, inv. no. 56.



Figure E-4.1 Théodore Leblanc, *Camp des Grecs palikares devant Lépante.1827.* 1833. 111 x 126 cm, oil on canvas. Versailles, Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, inv. no. MV 4843; INV 5744; LP 156.



Figure E-4.2 Eugène Delacroix *Scènes des massacres de Scio; Familles grecques attendant la mort ou l'esclavage,* 1824. 419 x 354 cm, oil on canvas. Paris, Louvre Museum, inv. no. 3823.



Figure E-4.3 Artist unknown, *The Greek Patriarch murdered at Constantinople & a citizen impaled alive*, 1823. 19 x 10.6 cm, black and white engraving. History of modern Greece from 1820 to the establishment of Grecian independence. Religion, formation of the senate, names of the senators, their power & duties, officers, naval and military, code of laws, numerous battles by sea and land, with the rapid fall of the Turkish Empire in Europe, Asia & Africa. The cruelties, assassinations and ravages of the Turks. Description of Constantinople, official documents annexed. Embellished with neat engravings (1823: plate 1).



Figure E-4.4 Jean Thouvenin graveur, J.-Frédéric Cazenave dessinateur du modèle, Chezle cit. Pezard èditeur, *Trait de courage héroïque: des brigands de la Vendée, s'étant rendus maîtres de Saint-Mithier*, 1793-94. 26.5 x 37.5 cm, black and white stipple engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Department of Prints and Photography, inv. no. RESERVE FOL-QB-201 (134), Michel Hennin Collection: 11858.



Figure E-4.5 Sassoferrato, *The Virgin in prayer,* 1640-50. 73 x 57.7 cm, oil on canvas. London, National Gallery, inv. no. NG200.



Figure E-4.6 Eugène Delacroix, *Pietà,* c.1850. 35 x 27 cm, oil on canvas.
Oslo, National Gallery, inv. no. NG.M.01179.



Figure E-4.7 Pierre Roch Vigneron, *La prise de Missolonghi,* 1827. 97 x 130 cm, oil on canvas. Bagnères-de-Bigorre, Musée des Beaux-Arts Salies, inv. no. 858-1-615. Image courtesy of © Musée Salies - Didier Sorbé.



Figure E-5.1 W. J. Woodhouse. *Mesologgi across the lagoon with fisheries in the foreground,* c.1890s. Contemporary digital image produced from a glass-plate negative created by Woodhouse. Sydney, Woodhouse Archive, Nicholson Museum - University of Sydney, inv. no. NM2007.125.12.



Figure E-5.2 Henry Heath fec[t], Pub[d] May 10 by J. Fairburn Broadway, *The rising sun or faction defeated,* 1827. 247 x 348 mm, hand-coloured etching. London, British Museum, Museum Number 1948, 0214.916.

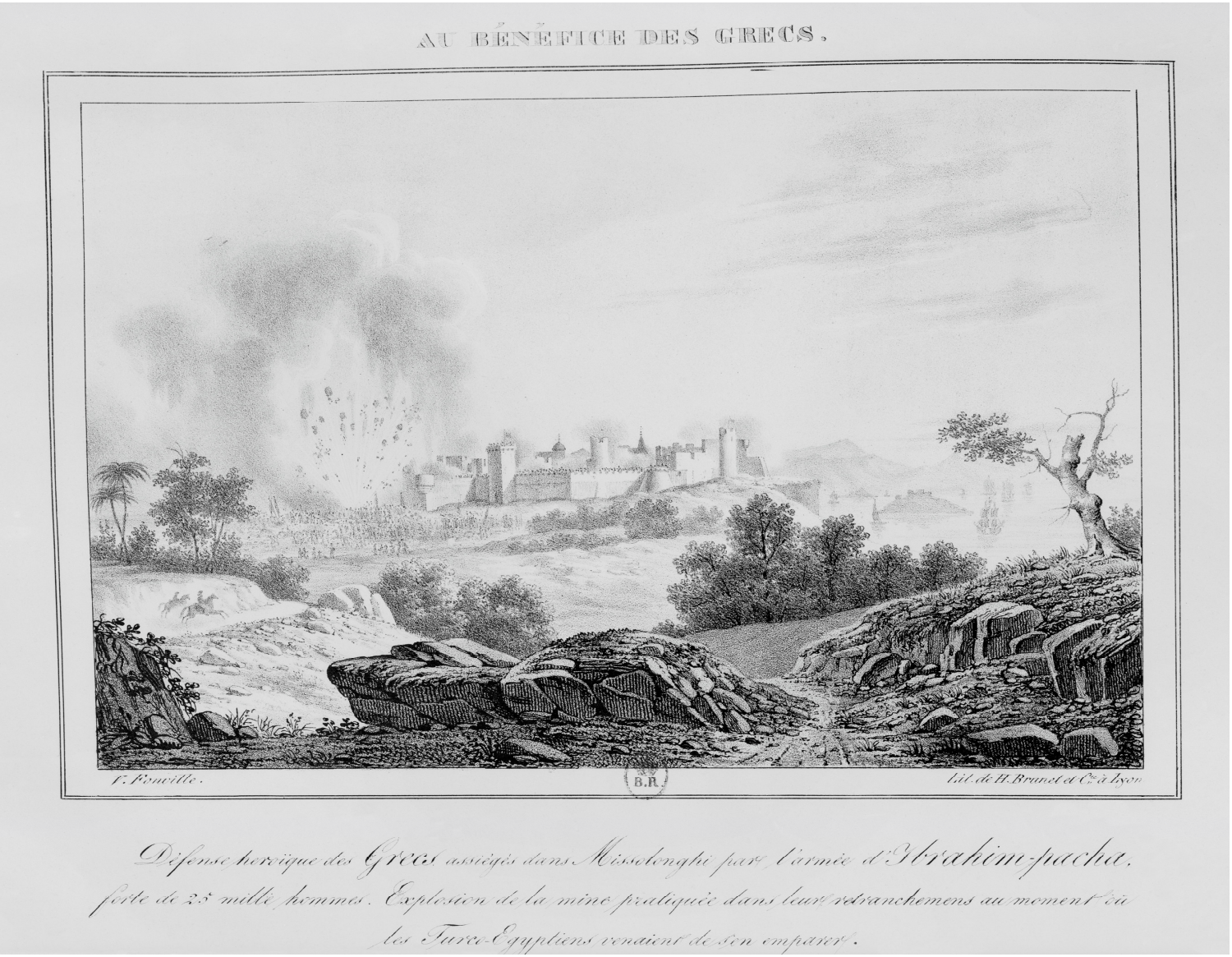


Figure E-5.3 Nicolas-Victor de Fonville graveur, H. Brunet éditeur, *Au bénéfice des grecs: Défense héroïque des grecs assiégés dans Missolonghi par l'armée d'Ibrahim-pacha, forte de 25 mille hommes. Explosion de la mine pratiquée dans leurs retranchemens au moment où les Turcs-Egyptiens venaient de sen emparer,* 1826. 23.1 x 29.9 cm, black and white lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, inv. no. QC 3 (1826) FOL TOME 2 FONVILLE.



Figure E-5.4 Spiridoula Demetriou, *Mesologgi, Palm Sunday*, 2009. Colour photograph.



Figure E-5.5 Artist unknown, *Panorama of Mesologgi,* nineteenth century, [n.d.]. 11.5 x 180 cm, brown ink, wash and lead pencil. Athens, Michael Kotinis Collection.



Figure E-5.6 Drawn by William Purser, engraved by E. Finden, published by J. Murray, *Missolonghi,* 1834. Sheet 17 x 24 cm, image area 9.2 x 13.4 cm, black and white steel engraving. Melbourne, Demetriou Collection.



Figure E-6.1 Gezeichnet v. Follenweider, Lith. von A. Merian, *Missolonghi am 23. April 1826. Der Erlos dieses Blatts zum Besten der Griechen.* 1828. 44 x 48 cm, black and white lithograph. Mesologgi, Municipal Museum, inv. no. 89.



Figure E-6.2 Joséphine-Clémence Formentin, Imp. Litho. *Quête pour les Grecs,* 1826. 20 x 26 cm, hand-coloured lithograph. Athens, National Historical Museum, inv. no. 14343.

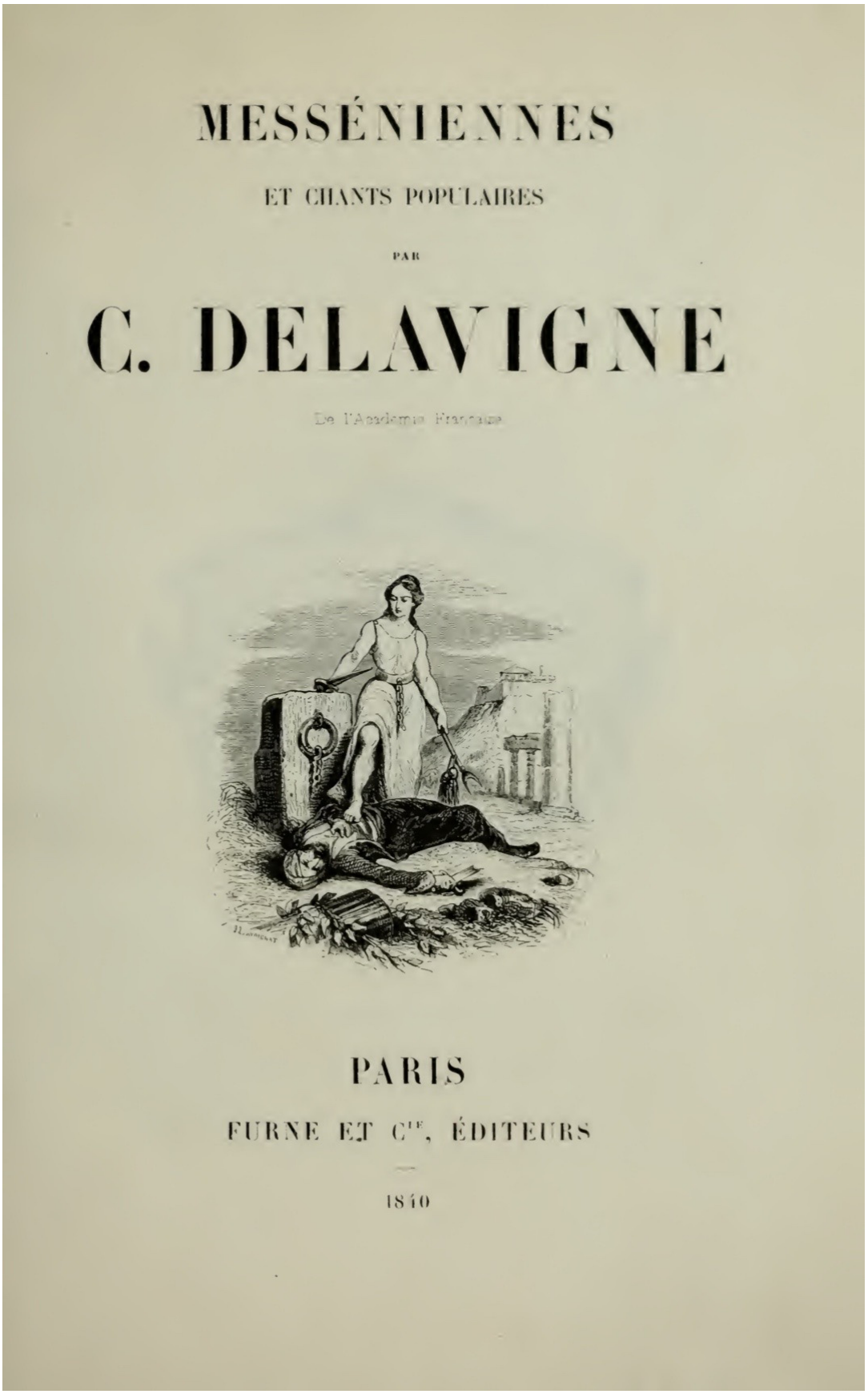


Figure E-6.3 H. Lavoignat, *Personification of liberated Greece with broken chains around her waist holding sword and Ottoman horse tail war standard while trampling an Ottoman soldier*, title page vignette, 26 x 16.5 cm, black and white wood engraving. Delavigne (1840).



Figure E-6.4 Joseph-Denis Odevaere, *De laatste verdedigers van Missolonghi, 22 April 1826: episode uit de Griekse vrijheidsooring,* 1826. 58 x 86 cm, oil on canvas. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-1093.



Figure E-6.5 Ary Scheffer, *Les débris de la garnison de Missolonghi au moment de mettre le feu à la mine qui doit les faire périr,* c.1826. 26 x 20 cm, oil on canvas. Dordrechts, Dordrechts Museum, inv. no. DM/S/33.



Figure E-6.6 C. Langlois pinxt., lith. de Engelmann, Marin Lavigne del., *Destruction de Missolonghi,* 1827. 36 x 47 cm, black and white lithograph. Athens, National Historical Museum, Print Collection, inv. no. 4948/20.

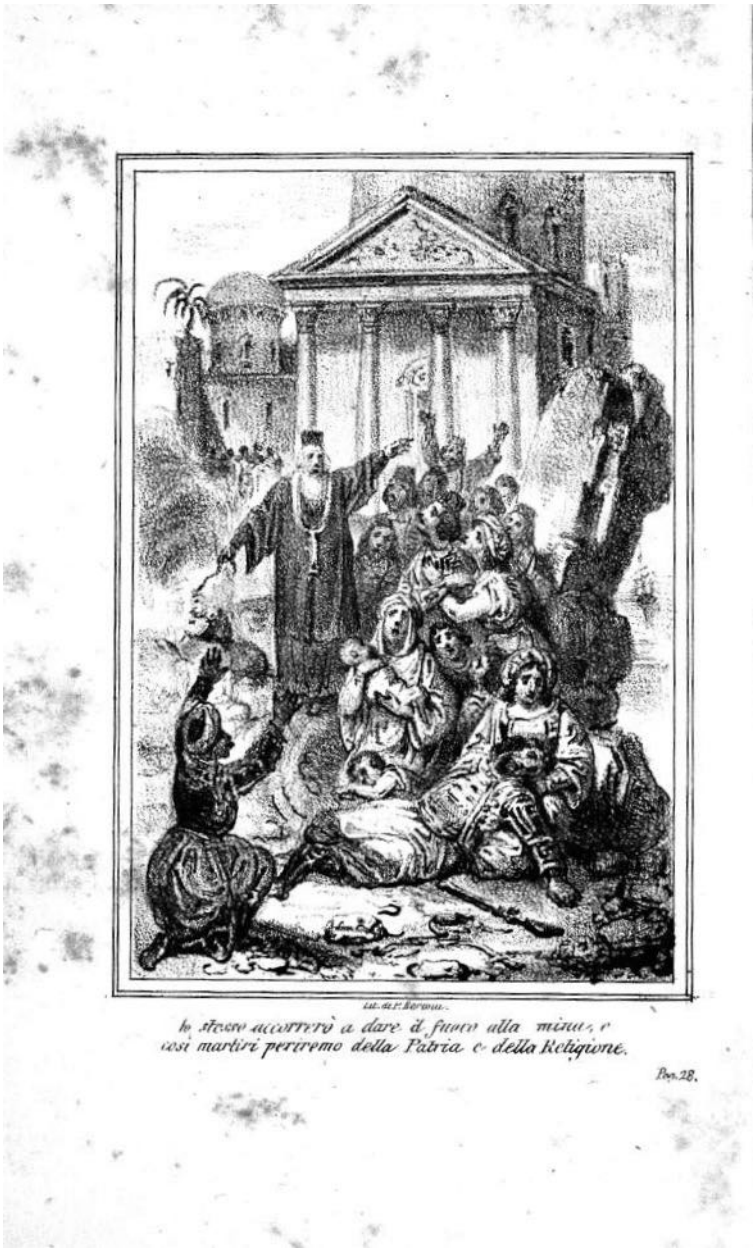


Figure E-6.7 Lit. di P. Bertotti, *Io stesso accorrero a dare il fuoco alla mina e cosi martiri periremo della Patria e della Religione,* frontispiece, *Novelle interessanti, istruttive e dilettevoli: L'assedio ossiano gli ultimi giorni di Missolungi*. Page 17 x 10 cm, image area 10.5 cm x 7 cm, black and white lithograph. Coppi (1839). Image courtesy of National Library Braidense.



Figure E- 6.8 Theodoros Vryzakis, *Η θυσία του Καψάλη,* [n.d.]. 134 x 144 cm, oil on canvas. Nafplio, National Art Gallery and Alexander Soutzos Museum, inv. no. Π 1299.



Figure E- 6.9 Theodoros Vryzakis [according to oral history (codex entry, Municipal Gallery of Mesologgi)], *Η ανατίναξη του Χρήστου Καψάλη,* [n.d.]. 1.32 x 1.41 cm, oil on canvas. Mesologgi, Municipal Galley of Mesologgi, inv. no. 29.



Figure E-6.10 Friedrich-Christoph Nilson, *Οι εναπομείναντες της φρουράς του Μεσολογγίου τη στιγμή που βάζουν φωτιά στην πυρατιδαποθήκη για να ανατιναχθούν,* 1876. 83 x 115 cm, oil on canvas. Athens, Private Collection (Tsigakou: 2015: 50 and 210).



Figure E-6.11 *Martyrdom of Demetrius*, date unknown, panel, The Sinai Icon Collection, Michigan Inventory Number 1720. By permission of Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt. Photograph courtesy of Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to Mount Sinai.

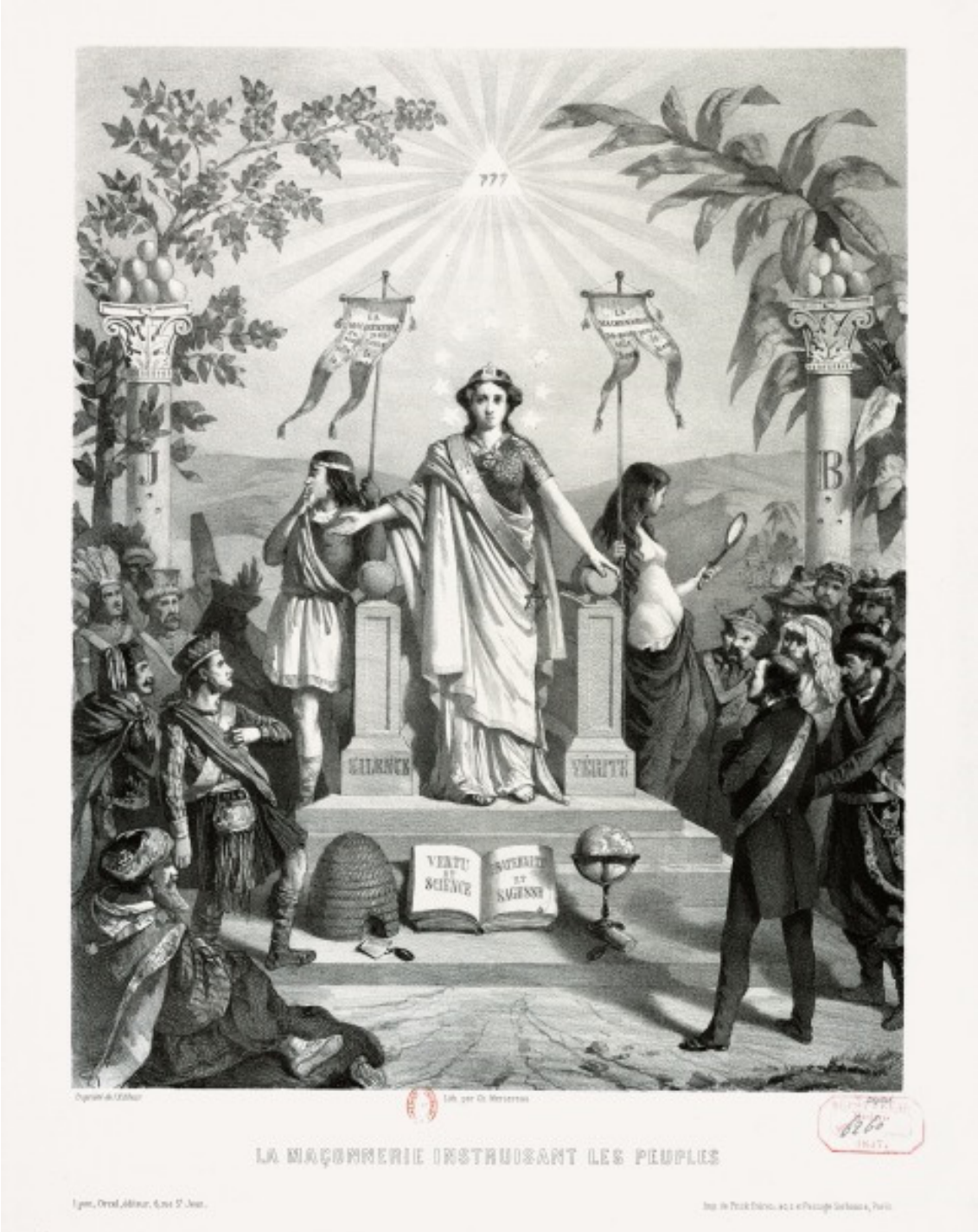


Figure E-6.12 Charles Mercereau lith., Frick Frères imprimeur Orcel éditeur, *La maçonnerie instruisant les peuples,* c. 1837. 550 x 360 mm, black and white lithograph. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Department of Prints and Photography, inv. no. RF MAT-1, NQ-D-023902.



Figure E-6.13 A. Rethel inv., X. Steifensand sc., *Messalonghi 1826 d. 22 April.* 1848. 140 x 95 mm, black and white steel engraving. Bülau (1848: Plate between pages 240 and 241).



Figure E-6.14 George Morland, *The soldier's departure,* 1791. 30.5 x 25.5 cm, oil on canvas. Wirral, National Museums Liverpool, Lady Lever Art Gallery, inv. no. LL 3673.



Figure E-6.15 Guillaume Guillon-Lethière, *L'enrôlement des volontaires ou la patrie en danger*, 1799. 59 x 100 cm, oil on canvas. Vizelle, Museum of the French Revolution © Coll. Museum of French Revolution / range Vizelle, inv. no. MRF 1985.14.



Figure E-6.16 Theophilos (Chatzimichael), *The hero Athanasios Diakos in 1821,* [n.d.]. 39.5 x 26.5 cm, oil on cardboard. Thessaloniki, Macedonian Museum of Contemporary Art, inv. no. 0000.065PA.0379.



Figure E-6.17 Ary Scheffer, *Les femmes Souliotes,* 1827. 261.5 x 359.5 cm, oil on canvas, Paris, Louvre Museum, inv. no. 7857.



Figure E-6.18 Artist unknown, P. Pegadiotes ed., Grossi lith., *Η Έξοδος του Μεσολογγίου* in Newpaper *Νεός Αριστοφάνης* 12 July 1892. Newsheet 60 x 40 cm, image size 52.5 x 33.5 cm, chromolithograph. Athens, National Historical Museum, Print Collection, inv. no. 4948/182.



Figure E-6.19 Coccia, copy of Vryzakis' *Exodus from Mesologgi.* Athens, War Museum. Photo courtesy of Dimitris Kamaras, https://flic.kr/p/zjx22q



Figure E-6.20 Theophanes the Greek, *The Transfiguration*, c.1403, 184 x 134 cm, tempera on wood. Moscow, Tretyakov Gallery, inv. no. 12797.



Figure E-6.21 Raphael, *The Transfiguration*, 1516-20. 410 x 279 mm, tempura on wood, Vatican City, Vatican Museum, inv. no. Cat. 40333.