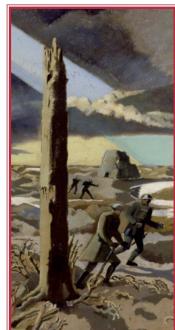


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**Alternative Narratives of the Greek Revolution: An Intellectual Map of Messolonghi (1821–1880)**

*Panagiotis El Gedi*

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## ALTERNATIVE NARRATIVES OF THE GREEK REVOLUTION: AN INTELLECTUAL MAP OF MESSOLONGHI (1821–1880)

*Panagiotis El Gedi*

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**ABSTRACT:** The relationship between space and time is quite complex, especially when combined with other categories, such as poetry and history. This study takes Messolonghi as a case study and tries to see space in relation to time. In particular, it proposes, on the one hand, to look at Messolonghi as a chronotope and, on the other, to focus on the poetry of the period from 1821 to 1880. The contribution aims to create an “intellectual map” of Messolonghi in which we can integrate both the memoirs of the combatants and the discourse of poetry, arguing that historiography and literature use similar methods during this period. The Appendix lists indicative poetic material around Messolonghi.

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The historiographical works on the Greek Revolution reserve – rightly – a special place for the sieges of Messolonghi and the heroic sortie. Spyridon Trikoupis, for example, includes in his own history a whole chapter on the description of Messolonghi and its siege,<sup>1</sup> while almost all the memoirs of the combatants describe the sortie, sometimes in more and sometimes in less detail. When news of the fall reached Epidaurus, where the Third National Assembly was meeting, work was interrupted under the weight of the events: “When the deplorable news was announced to the National Assembly, which was meeting at that time in Epidaurus, everyone remained speechless and silent for a long time, and as Kolokotronis says, ‘each and every one of them measured our destruction with his mind.’”<sup>2</sup> The site of Messolonghi, just a few days after its fall, became a site of memory (*lieu de mémoire*) and a national symbol of resistance to Ottoman rule. The surviving combatants, men, women and children, arrived in Nafplio almost a month later, where they were welcomed with honours: “All the people went out to receive them, the cannons fired, and tears of joy and great admiration filled the people, when they observed the figure of the Guard and the saved old Generals”.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Spyridon Trikoupis, *Ιστορία της Ελληνικής Επαναστάσεως: Έκδοσις δευτέρα επιθεωρηθείσα και διορθωθείσα*, vol. 2 (London: Taylor and Francis, 1862).

<sup>2</sup> Nikolaos Makris, *Ιστορία του Μεσολογγιού*, ed. Emmanouil Protopsaltis (Athens: G. Tsoukalas, [1957]), 79.

<sup>3</sup> Nikolaos Kasomoulis, *Στρατιωτικά ενθυμήματα της Επαναστάσεως των Ελλήνων (1821–1833): Προτάσσεται ιστορία των Αρματωλισμού*, ed. Giannis Vlachogiannis (Athens: Pageios Epitropi, 1939), 2:300.

The events of Messolonghi, especially those of the second siege and the sortie, are known nowadays from various sources: administrative documents, the newspaper *Ελληνικά Χρονικά*, the memoirs of the combatants and the historical works on the Greek Revolution. Some of these sources are primary sources, that is, written by people who lived through the sortie, and others are secondary sources, that is, they were written on the basis of research by people who did not live through the sortie but who are close to the events in terms of time and space. Although many memoirs can be said to put emphasis on Messolonghi, the main works that have been used as historical sources are the memoirs of Artemios Michos, Nikolaos Kasomoulis, Ioannis Spyromilios, Nikolaos Makris and perhaps Petros Stephanitis.<sup>4</sup>

At the crossroads of the linguistic and the spatial turn, this article would like to propose the extension of the research of the sources concerning the narrative about Messolonghi and thus expand the historical research on two levels: on the one hand, on the axis of synchrony and, on the other, on the axis of diachrony with the space of Messolonghi as the centre of focus. The proposal focuses on the use of poetry about Messolonghi from 1821 to 1880,<sup>5</sup> that is, it includes both the years of the revolution and the years of the establishment of the state – in other words: it examines romantic nationalism.

<sup>4</sup> See Artemios Michos, *Απομνημονεύματα της δευτέρας πολιορκίας του Μεσολογγίου (1825–1826)* καί τινες άλλαι σημειώσεις εις την ιστορίαν του μεγάλου Αγάνος αναγόμεναι, ed. Spyridon Aravantinos (Athens: Typ. tis Enoseos, 1883); Kasomoulis, *Στρατιωτικά ενθυμήματα*; Ioannis Spyromilios, *Απομνημονεύματα της δευτέρας πολιορκίας του Μεσολογγίου (1825–1826)*, ed. Giannis Vlachogiannis (Athens: [Typ. S.K. Vlastou], 1926); Makris, *Ιστορία του Μεσολογγίου*; Petros Stephanitis, *Απομνημονεύματα (1821–1839)*, ed. Triantafyllos E. Sklavenitis (Athens: Etairia Lefkadiikon Meleton, 2019).

<sup>5</sup> Obviously, the topic of the connection between history and poetry is not new, while the more specific issue of poetry and the Greek Revolution has been of interest to scholars, especially on the occasion of the bicentenary in 2021. See Alexis Politis, *1821–1831. Με την ελευθερία γεννιέται και η καινούρια λογοτεχνία: Ποίηση, πεζογραφία, λογοσύνη* (Heraklion: Crete University Press, 2021); Eri Stavropoulou, *Η νεοελληνική ποίηση και το Εικοσιένα: Διάλογος με την ιστορία* (Athens: Institute of Historical Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2021). Many poetical texts in the anthology of Thanassis Galanakis, ed., *Χαίρε, ω χαίρε, Ελενθεριά! Ο Αγώνας του 1821 στην ελληνική και ξένη ποίηση* (Athens: Piraeus Bank and Takis Sinopoulos Foundation, 2021). Panagiotis Stathis' paper remains important: “Λογοτεχνία και ιστορική μνήμη: Το Εικοσιένα στην πεζογραφία, 1830–1880,” in *Λόγος και χρόνος στη νεοελληνική γραμματεία (18ος–19ος αιώνας): Πρακτικά συνεδρίου στη μνήμη του Αλέξη Πολίτη*, ed. Stefanos Kaklamanis, Alexis Kalokerinos and Dimitris Polychronakis (Heraklion: Crete University Press, 2015), 621–54.

### *Messolonghi as a Chronotope*

For geography, Messolonghi is a specific place, while for literature it is a theme. How can we see Messolonghi as a research object, by connecting space and time in an abstract way? By introducing the concept of the chronotope, as Michael Bakhtin suggested, we can reconceptualise Messolonghi:

In the literary artistic chronotope ... spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot, and history. This intersection of axes and fusion of indicators characterizes the artistic chronotope.<sup>6</sup>

The chronotope, of course, has strong connections with reality, since in the chronotope the space and time of literature are equated with real/historical space and time.

Hayden White, elaborating further on the concept of the chronotope, argued for its value in historical studies, as it can combine space and time with social and cultural categories:

the chronotope is directly accessible to analysis by study of both the documentary records of a society and the testimony of individual writers, novelists, poets, journalists, letter-writers, autobiographers, scientists, philosophers, and so on – whose work permits the drawing of a set of the "mental maps" of a given time, place, and cultural condition and the construction of the "legend" which they all took for granted as the common code they shared both for making and reading the terrain of consciousness that they effectively occupied. The construction of something like an "atlas" of such "mental maps" would give us a good idea ... of what was conceived to inhabit the terrain of possible action for agents, individual and collective, at given times and places.<sup>7</sup>

Taking Messolonghi as a chronotope, we can transcend a series of difficulties posed by the juxtaposition of history and poetry, namely the "real" and the "imaginary". This therefore means that we can not only widen our representations of the past, that is, enrich the historical and documentary material about Messolonghi, but also broaden our mode of perception regarding the ways of representing and perceiving historical space and time.

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<sup>6</sup> Michail Bakhtin, quoted in Hayden White, "The Nineteenth-Century as Chronotope", *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 11, no. 2 (1987): 122.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 124.

In addition, the special emphasis on poetry for the period from 1821 to 1880 may be useful in order to look at the question of truth.<sup>8</sup> It is well known that poetry during this period was mostly patriotic – indeed, it contrasted with the foreign novel – and invoked truth: patriotism was equated with truth and truth of representation with national truth.<sup>9</sup> The poetry of this period is a historiography with poetic grace. If we take the above into account, we could move beyond the dichotomy of (true) historiography versus (false) literature and realise that there is a confluence of these discourses, since they have the same intentions and purposes, namely to serve the truth of the nation.

#### *An Example of Alternative Historiography within a Historiographic Field*

Artemios Michos left his rather well-off family in Epirus and shortly afterwards he found himself in the second siege of Messolonghi. Michos took notes, which he later corrected when the struggle was over and had made a career in the army. These notes, as the editor of his work informs us, were not published for two main reasons:<sup>10</sup> firstly because the events were still fresh and he feared that he would stir up political passions, and secondly because he wished to go to Messolonghi for an examination in order to draw up a topographical map – memory needs space and its representation in order to clarify the meaning.

Michos' papers remained incomplete and were published after his death in 1883. The erudite Spyridon Aravantinos, who published the work from Michos' notes, prefaced the description of Messolonghi from Trikoupis' *Ιστορία της Ελληνικής Επαναστάσεως* as an introduction, followed by a diary-like "Brief Description" of the events of the second siege (April 1825–January 1826). This is followed by a continuous and annotated (incomplete) narrative on the same subject with several details, which we should suppose was definitely written after the war and with the assistance of administrative documents, which Michos later collected. The work includes another incomplete list of the combatants who participated in the defence of Messolonghi, and also notes those who were killed during the sortie. Finally, there is a continuous account of some individual military events.

Michos (or Aravantinos) titles this incomplete work *Απομνημονεύματα*. Although his categorisation in this literary genre today could not be said to be

<sup>8</sup> For a case study, see Dimitris Angelatos, *Πραγματικότης και ιδανικόν: Ο Άγγελος Βλάχος και ο αισθητικός κανόνας της αληθοφάνειας, 1857–1901* (Athens: Metechmio, 2003).

<sup>9</sup> See Stavropoulou, *Η νεοελληνική ποίηση και το Εικοσιένα*, 23–38.

<sup>10</sup> Michos, *Απομνημονεύματα της δευτέρας πολιορκίας του Μεσολογγίου*, γ'-η'.

correct, Michos is essentially compiling a chronicle of the second siege, as he organises his material by date (day and month):

On the 20th [April 1825] the leader of the opposing army, Kütahi, arrived at his camp outside the wall.

On the 29th to the 30th [April 1825] at night, Mitros Vayas and eight others deserted from the enemy camp.

On May 7 [1825] around midnight, a small attack was launched against the enemy.<sup>11</sup>

If the “Brief Description” is a chronicle because of its diary recording, rather the continuous narrative that follows this part of the work is a chronography, as it intends – but does not succeed, because the author did not complete it – to narrate the events with a different method: the material is organised again in line, that is, chronologically, but the narrative is developed with the assistance of documents and other sources – that is, the author seeks to create a narrative about the events of Messolonghi.<sup>12</sup>

Michos moves within the limits and framework set by the chronotope of Messolonghi and for this reason he chooses to organise the material by day. It should be remembered that Johann Jacob Meyer published the diary of the siege through his *Ελληνικά Χρονικά* – and Michos does exactly the same. His narrative starts from the moment the *Ελληνικά Χρονικά* stops publishing, which means that the author – now privately – continues what Meyer had started, apparently in order to preserve the memory of the events on a day-by-day basis.

So Michos is trying to write a historiographical work, to record in detail the events and to narrate what he has lived. His work is also important for literature, however, even though it is not part of it. The publication of Michos’ *Απομνημονεύματα* provided historical material for the authors of another generation, after that of the struggle. Kostis Palamas had Michos’ work in his library, peppered with marginalia;<sup>13</sup> Andreas Karkavitsas probably read the work and was inspired to write one of his short stories,<sup>14</sup> while Georgios Drossinis had this work in mind, when he decided to publish the *Ημερολόγιον της πολιορκίας του Μεσολογγίου* in 1926, by copying Meyer’s diary publications,

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>12</sup> About chronicles, chronography and historiography, see Hayden White, “The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality,” *Critical Inquiry* 7, no. 1 (1980): 5–27.

<sup>13</sup> See Yannis Xourias, ed., *Κατάλογος της βιβλιοθήκης Κωστή Παλαμά* (Athens: Idryma Kostis Palamas, 2010), 154 (entry no. 1018).

<sup>14</sup> See the short story “Η θυσία,” in Andreas Karkavitsas, *Παλιές αγάπες, 1885–1897* (Athens: Estia, 1900), 169–91 (first published 1896).

commemorating the centenary of the sortie and supplementing the work with what Michos failed to find: a topographical map of Messolonghi.<sup>15</sup>

### *Poetic/Alternative Narratives of Messolonghi*

Messolonghi, that is, the events of the sieges and the sortie at this location, became an object of treatment early on. We might divide this elaboration into three moments: before the great events, at the time of the great events, and the impact of these events. But such a straight line would obscure the variety of approaches to this chronotope. Instead, below we will try to present some examples in which Messolonghi is a dynamic category, constantly under development. The material in this regard is only indicative and our intention is to present some interesting aspects that can be placed in dialogue with the historiographical methodology, but without breaking with it or becoming the antithesis of it. These alternative narratives are therefore based not on representation but on the methodology of capture. The majority of the material I have collected is left for future analysis in the Appendix of this article.

#### The First Siege: A History in Verse

Stassinos Mikroulis lived through the first siege of Messolonghi and decided to write about the siege shortly afterwards. The time of the narrative is 1822–1823, while his work was printed in Messolonghi a year later. It is important to note the title of the work: *Ιστορία της Δυτικής Χ: [έρσουν] Ελλάδος*. Although the title would suggest this is an historiographical work, Mikroulis is in fact writing a “simple poem”. What we perceive as a tension between history and poetry does not exist for Mikroulis. Instead, he composes a narrative poem in which he narrates, sometimes in detail and sometimes in summary, the events of the first siege: “I decided to take a pencil in my right hand / to describe the war of Messolonghi / when Omer Pasha and Reshid Pasha attacked it / along with selected Arvanites who obeyed his every command.”<sup>16</sup>

We could say that Mikroulis is not a poet, but that he composes a folk rhyme and maybe that is the case. Mikroulis was addressing the national imaginary audience, whom he wanted to inform about the events. Beyond informing, however, he also wants to preserve the events he recounts – and thus his narrative:

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<sup>15</sup> See Johann Jakob Mayer, *Ημερολόγιον της πολιορκίας του Μεσολογγίου 1825–1826*, ed. Georgios Drossinis (Athens: Syllogos pros Diadosin Ofelimon Vivlion, 1926).

<sup>16</sup> Stassinos Mikroulis, *Ιστορία της Δυτικής Χ: [έρσουν] Ελλάδος* (Messolonghi: Typ. Dimitriou Mestheneos, 1824), 3.

“May God, the poet of the world, have glory, / To give good light to my soul and my mind. / May your servant record the story of Sondra, / To be a testimony for ever and ever.”<sup>17</sup> In the same direction, Spyridon Paidakos, who funded the publication of the poem, notes: “firstly so as not to forget the brave deeds of the inhabitants …, with which they proved to be genuine descendants of those immortal old Greeks and secondly so as to motivate those of the young people who desire the same glory and the same zeal”.<sup>18</sup> Poetry, therefore, preserves the memory of events and has an educational value, just like historiography.

### The Romantic Tradition: Poetic Persona and Witness

Georgios Zalokostas was at the second siege of Messolonghi and he survived the sortie. In 1851 he took part in the Ralleios poetry competition, where his work *To Μεσολόγγιον* was awarded a prize. The prize-winning work, which is an excerpt from an unfinished composition, is divided into two parts (“Messolongion” and “Klissova”) and features Dimos, a fighter who takes part in the siege of Messolonghi and the battle of Klissova, as the protagonist. Dimos is a poetic persona of Zalokostas, who was then in the fourth decade of his life:

When I once spent my time on non-poetic pursuits,  
Though I was already middle-aged  
I now appear as a combatant.  
For I am still young in soul, a story of greatness  
I will attempt to sing.  
Respectful goddess, the veil of the past is lifted  
And from the sky, fiery  
She bends her right hand to me  
And I'll go to the treeless places of Kerasovo.<sup>19</sup>

Zalokostas attempts to narrate the past in artistic terms and become a national poet. He is the person who transforms experience into poetry with aesthetic claims, but above all he is the person who transforms the past into history through poetry. It is important to note, however, that Zalokostas exploits the Romantic poetic tradition to achieve his aim: on the one hand, the poetic modes (themes, motifs, language, style) of the poetry of his time and, on the other, a significant Romantic hero. Dimos is most probably drawn from Spyridon

<sup>17</sup> Mikroulis, *Iστορία της Δυτικής Χ: [έρσον]* Ελλάδος, 14.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>19</sup> Georgios Zalokostas, *To Μεσολόγγιον: Απόσπασμα ποιήματος* (Athens: Typ. K. Antoniadou, 1851), 5.

Trikopis' *O Δήμος*, a work whose action is set in Messolonghi.<sup>20</sup> Zalokostas attempts to narrate an experienced past and thus to contribute to an imaginary national historiography, since most of his original poetic production is patriotic and draws on recent history and the Greek Revolution.<sup>21</sup>

### A Comprehensive Narrative: Oral History

In 1876, the multi-talented Antonios Antoniadis, then a headmaster in Piraeus, published *Μεσολογγιάς*, a work commemorating the 50th anniversary of the sortie. Antoniadis chooses to subtitle his work with a literary term in order to identify it: "historical epic". Indeed, *Μεσολογγιάς* is an epic, insofar as it is organised in 24 rhapsodies, and it is historical in nature, insofar as it concerns the recent historical past. On a second level of reading, Antoniadis constructs a war epic, since, on the one hand, it represents war events and, on the other, the title and the organisation of the material into rhapsodies emphatically recalls the *Iliad* – Antoniadis as another Homeric poet writes an alternative Iliad of modern Greece. But there is a third level of reading: *Μεσολογγιάς* is an epic in the sense of a celebration of the heroic deeds of the Greeks, and indeed a historical epic since it is based on historical material.

Antoniadis did not live through the events of Messolonghi, like Michos and Mikroulis; on the contrary, he was nurtured with an national romantic patriotic discourse. But the particular significance of *Μεσολογγιάς* lies in the method Antoniadis chose to write his work:

Old men here [Messolonghi], having just survived the rough skin from the time, tell with justifiable pride, how the Messolonghi artillerymen destroyed the barbarians with bombs ...; how Makris' oxen did not contain a single bomb in the barbarians' flesh ... Women with white hair, under the sorrows of the past, barely able to hold back their wails and tears, pointing to the salty grasses of the earth, with which they fed their children ...; they lead the traveller to the places where the dry blood has not even been able to be wiped from the earth by the rains.

Wishing to transmit these oral traditions to our nation, at a time when material life is overwhelming our young society, I composed *Μεσολογγιάς*.<sup>22</sup>

Antoniadis composes a narrative oral history in verse based on the testimonies of those who survived the sortie and after an examination of the location of

<sup>20</sup> See Spyridon Trikopis, *O Δήμος* (Paris: Didot, 1821).

<sup>21</sup> For Zalokostas' poetry and 1821, see Stavropoulou, *H νεοελληνική ποίηση και το Εικοσιένα*.

<sup>22</sup> Antonios Antoniadis, *Μεσολογγιάς: Έπος ιστορικόν* (Athens: Typ. K. Antoniadou, 1876), θ'.

Messolonghi. His informants are elderly men and women. For Antoniadis, the written account of oral history is of interest; this history reflects a living truth, which is national truth and has an educational character. Fifty years after the sortie, the poet believes the nation is in moral decline and his aim is now twofold: to record history and also to stimulate the national spirit. It does not matter if Antoniades exaggerates, if he presents the events in an inflated way and if plausibility is often abolished in order to emphasise heroism – all this can be justified by his educational purpose, but in parallel by the fact that he does not speak himself – the poet is a mediator between the past and the present, a historian who takes the evidence and transforms it poetically into a narrative.

### *Future Perspectives*

The alternative narratives about Messolonghi presented above do not exhaust the subject, but they do problematise the relationship between poetry and history from the revolution until 1880. As has become clear, there is a confluence of these two kinds of discourse, and poetry does not propose a different truth about Messolonghi, but mainly a methodological multiplicity. Of course, the question remains pending until much of the poetic production is examined in the light of the lens suggested above.

If we accept that even the memoirs of the combatants sometimes present an alternative methodology to historiography, such as, for example, Michos' diary narrative, then we can also see that historiography in this period is governed by multiple tropes. The cases of Mikroulis, Zalokostas and Antoniadis are typical, as all of them compose narrative poems with the purpose of narrating the events concerning Messolonghi and clearly saying that they are writing historiography.

It goes without saying that the site of Messolonghi has been transformed through multiple processes into a site of memory, as Pierre Nora put it. It is also known that through multiple processes the events of Messolonghi were incorporated into a national mythology in order to constitute the imaginary of the newly formed state of that time. If we try to approach Messolonghi through a chronotopic approach, we will realise that the Messolonghi of poetry coincides to a large extent with the Messolonghi of historiography and of the memoirs: the same space and time or, better, the space and time of poetry show great similarities (and probably many times are the same) with historical space and time.

Poets and historians proclaim that what they tell is true, that it really happened and that this is the real truth about Messolonghi. Their discourse constitutes,

creates and produces the chronotope of Messolonghi, the Messolonghi of the subjects of that time, that is, both a monumentalised and a mythologised Messolonghi – but above all a Messolonghi still inhabited and real, which is governed by historicity. Poets and historiographers try in various ways to narrate this historicity.

If, therefore, we were to construct an “intellectual map” of Messolonghi, as White urged, we would include the narratives that constitute it as a chronotope: the historiographical works, the memoirs, literature, etc. In this way we would be able to see that what is understood as Messolonghi by 19th-century subjects is made up of discourses of various kinds and has a dynamic: it is constituted and continually reconstituted.

This article has sought to offer guidelines for the creation of the “intellectual map” of Messolonghi, focusing on the area and the major event of the sortie. How could we extend this process by constructing such maps? How could the creation of an “atlas”, that is, the assembly of many similar such maps, change our perception of the past with regard to space? The digital application *Atlas 1821* provides an interesting perspective and sets the basis for this kind of a project.

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## APPENDIX

MESSOLONGHI: POETIC MATERIAL FOR AN INTELLECTUAL MAP  
(1821–1880)

[Anonymous], “Άσμα της περιφήμου συμμαχίας των ενδόξων Αλβανών μετά των ηρώων Ελλήνων της Ηπείρου,” *Εφημερίς Αιτωλική* (Messolonghi), 10 September 1821. Republished in Ekaterini Koumarianou, *O τύπος στον Αγώνα* (Athens: Estia, 1971), 1:21–22.

Spyridon Trikoupis, *O Δήμος* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1821). Reviewed in *Γενική Εφημερίς της Ελλάδος*, no. 9, 4 November 1825, 35–36.

## 1822

[Anonymous], [MS collection of Freiherr Albert von Sack: *Neugriechische Lieder aus Athen, Kypros, Zakgethos e.t.c.*, 1822], 87: 13. Published as Ioanna Mavrogeorgi, *Neugriechische Lieder: Gesammelt vom Grafen Sack* (Berlin: Romiosyni, 2006). Cf. Socratis Kougeas, “Η προς τους Ελληνας και τα δημοτικά τραγούδια των Ελλήνων αγάπη του Niebuhr,” *Ελληνικά* 12 (1952–1953): 277–88; Spyridon Trikoupis, “Η Λίμνη του Μεσολογγίου,” *Εστία* 1 (1876): 368.

## 1824

[Anonymous], “Θούριον ἄσμα,” *Ελληνικά Χρονικά* (Messolonghi), 12 March 1824, 6. Cf. MS. 255 (630), Romanian Academy; Glykeria Protopapa-Bouboulidou. “Χειρόγραφοι συλλογαί ποιητικών κειμένων ΙΗ' και ΙΘ' αιώνος,” *Δωδώνη* 2 (1973): 342–43.

[Stassinos Mikroulis], *Istoria της Δυτικής Χ: [έρσουν]* Ελλάδος (Messolonghi: Typ. Dimitriou Mestheneos, 1824), 3–13 (“Η εκστρατεία του Ομέρ Πασά και του Ρουσίτ Πασά εναντίον της Δυτικής Χέρσουν Ελλάδος”); 14–23 (“Η εκστρατεία του Σκόνδρα Πασά εναντίον της ιδίας επαρχίας”). Republished by Istoriki kai Ethnologiki Etereia (Athens, 1971). Cf. Olivier Voutier, *Lettres sur la Grèce* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1826), 50; Ioannis K. Mazarakis-Ainian, “Τα ελληνικά τυπογραφεία του Αγώνος (1821–1827),” *Νέα Εστία* 88, no. 1043 (1970): 284.

Iakovos Rizos [Rangavis], “Αίνιγμα,” *Ελληνικά Χρονικά* (Messolonghi), 5 November 1824.

Iakovakis Rizos Neroulos, “Ωδή εις τους Έλληνας,” *Ελληνικά Χρονικά* (Messolonghi), 17 September–1 November 1824 [unfinished].

[Angeliki Palli], “Ωδή.” *Ελληνικά Χρονικά* (Messolonghi), 17–20 December 1824.

Ioannis Mais, [manuscript verses]. Published in Dinos Konomos, “Ανέκδοτα στιχουργήματα του Ιωάννη Μάη για το Μεσολόγγι (1824),” *Επτανησιακά φύλλα* 13, no. 2 (1986): 38–49.

1825

Dionysios Solomos, *Ύμνος εις την ελευθερίαν* (Messolonghi: Typ. Dimitriou Mestheneos, 1825).

F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, *Histoire de la régénération de la Grèce: Comprenant le précis des évènemens depuis 1740 jusqu'en 1824*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Firmin Didot père et fils, 1825), vol. 4, 129–30 (note) [translation of Markos Botsaris' rhyme and a song about Messolonghi by Olivier Voutier, *Lettres sur la Grèce* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1826), 262–64, 220–24].

1826

Olivier Voutier, *Lettres sur la Grèce* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1826), 206–24 (4. “Τραγούδι ηρωικόν του Μισολογγίου”, 5. “Τραγούδι του Ανατολικού” [=Arnold Passow, ed., *Τραγούδια Ρωμαϊκά: Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1860), 253], 7. “Τραγούδι του Μισολογγίου εις ήχον ηρωικόν” [=Emile Legrand, ed., *Recueil des chansons populaires grecques* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1874), 128–35].

P.M.L. Joss, *Παραδείγματα ρωμαϊκής ποίησεως: Specimens of Romantic Lyric Poetry* (London: Glynn, 1826), 36–57: “Ο Δήμος, ποίημα κλέφτικον Σπυρίδωνος Τρικούπη”.

[Dimitrios Pavlou?], [two verses in text], *Εφημερίς των Αθηνών*, 27 March 1826, 129: “Το Μισολόγγι τό σωσαν τα στήθη τα δικά σας / του Μπότσαρη η φρόνησις και η ομόνοιά του”. Cf. Alexandre Soutzo, *Histoire de la révolution grecque* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1829), 436–37 (note).

Panagiotis Soutsos, “Τραγούδιον εις την πτώσιν του Μεσολογγίου,” *Γενική Εφημερίς της Ελλάδος*, 9 June 1826, 255–56. Republished in Ekaterini Koumarianou, *O Τύπος στον Αγώνα* (Athens: Estia, 1971), 3:276–81.

Dimitrios Ainian, “Ωδή εις το Μεσολόγγι,” *Γενική Εφημερίς της Ελλάδος*, 10 April 1826, 211–12. Republished in Amvrosios Frantzis, *Επιτομή της ιστορίας της αναγεννηθείσης Ελλάδος, αρχομένη από τον 1715 και λήγουσα το 1835*, vol. 1 (Athens: Typ. Konst. Kastorchi, 1839) 426–29; Ekaterini Koumarianou, *O Τύπος στον Αγώνα* (Athens: Estia, 1971), 3:254–56.

Iakovakis Rizos Neroulos, *Ανέκδοτα Ποιημάτια*, ed. Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire (Paris: Chamerot, 1876), 17–23 (“Ωδή εις Μεσολόγγιον”). According to the Introduction (5) these poems were written around 1826.

Amvrosios Frantzis, *Επιτομή της ιστορίας της αναγεννηθείσης Ελλάδος, αρχομένη από τον 1715 και λήγοντα το 1835*, vol. 1 (Athens: Typ. Konst. Kastorchi, 1839), 424–26 ([Anonymous], “Υμνος Μεσολογγίου, τον οποίον ἐψαλλον οι απλοί Ἑλλήνες μετά την πτώσιν αυτού”), 426–29 (Dimitrios Ainian, “Ετερον ἀσμα Μεσολογγίου”). Republished as Dimitrios Ainian, “Ωδή εις το Μεσολόγγι,” *Γενική Εφημερίς της Ελλάδος*, 10 April 1826, 211–12.

Angeliki Palli, “Τηι Μισολόγγηι: Ωδή.” Published in Varvara Theodoropoulou-Livada, *Αγγελική Πάλλη Βαρθολομαίη και το έργο της* (Athens: Vakalopoulos, 1939) 44–47.

[Dimitrios Pelekassis], “Ο Τσαμαδός.” Published in Edgar Quinet, *De la Grèce moderne et de ses rapports avec l'antiquité* (Paris: Levrault, 1830), 443 [as folk song; cf. 138–43]. Republished in Arnold Passow, ed., *Τραγούδια Ρωμαίικα: Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1860), 256; Ζακύνθιος Ανθών 24 (1877): 404; Dinos Konomos, “Ανέκδοτα κείμενα φίλων και γνωστών του Σολωμού,” *Επτανησιακά Φύλλα* 5 (December 1957): 113–14.

[Iakovos Rizos Rangavis], “Αι παρθένοι του Μισολογγίου.” Published in Glykeria Protopapa-Bouboulidou, “Χειρόγραφοι συλλογαί ποιητικών κειμένων ΙΗ' και ΙΘ' αιώνος.” Δωδώνη 2 (1973): 341–42. Cf. Iakovos Rizos Rangavis, *Ποιήματα*, vol. 2 (Athens: Koromilas, 1836), 251–52.

## 1827

Karl Theodor Kind, *Neugriechische Volkslieder im Originale und mit deutscher Uebersetzung, nebst Sach und Worterklaerungen / Τραγώδια των νεωτέρων Ελλήνων* (Grimma: Beyer, 1827), 28–30 (XII. “Τραγώδιον του Ανατολικού” [=Arnold Passow, ed., *Τραγούδια Ρωμαίικα: Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1860), 253; Olivier Voutier, *Lettres sur la Grèce* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1826), 212–14]).

## 1828

Georgios Serouios, *Τη σεπτή σκιά του μεγαλωνύμου και μεγαλοδόξου Μεσολογγίου* (Aegina: Ethniki Typografia, 1828), 1–20 (“Ωδή εις το Μεσολόγγιον”), 21 (“Ελεγεία”), 22–38 (“Ωδή εις την Μεσολογγίου φρουράν”).

1829

Alexandre Soutzo, *Histoire de la révolution grecque* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1829), 262–64 [song for Messolonghi; cf. Olivier Voutier, *Lettres sur la Grèce* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1826), 220–24], 436–37 [two verses about Messolonghi; cf. *Εφημερίς των Αθηνών*, 27 March 1826, 129].

1833

Dimitrios Drossos, *Πρόδρομος των ποιητικών πονημάτων* (Livorno: Sardi, 1833), 43–47 (“Εις το Μισσολόγγιον ωδή”).

Loudovikos [Ludwig I of Bavaria], *Ποιήματα περί Ελλάδος*, trans. A.R. Rangavis (Nafplio: Vassiliki Typografia, 1833), 34 (“Μεσολόγγι (μετ’ αποκρουσθείσαν ἐφοδον)”), 41 (“Οταν απεδείχθη ψευδής η ἀλωσις του Μεσολογγίου”), 42 (“Επιφώνημα εις το Μεσολόγγι”), 43 (“Εις του Μεσολογγίου την δευτέραν ἀλωσιν από τους Ἑλληνας”).

1834

Ilias Christofidis, ed., *Στίχοι ηρωικοί και ερωτικοί διά την ανθούσαν νεολαίαν της Ελλάδος* (Aegina: Typ. Koromila, 1834) 54–55 (“Του Μεσολογγίου”).

1835

Konstantinos Tobras and Konstantinos Ioannidis, eds., *Άσματα διαφόρων ποιητών* (Nafplio: Typ. Tobra kai Ioannidi, 1835) 47–49 (“Άσμα Μεσολογγίου εις ήχον ηρωικόν”).

Andreas Koromilas, ed., *Ανθολογία ἡ συλλογή ασμάτων ηρωϊκών και ερωτικών* (Athens: Typ. Koromila, 1835), 42 (“Αντίστασις του Μεσολογγίου κατά των Τούρκων και υπεράσπισις αυτού”).

1836

Iakovos Rizos Rangavis, *Ποιήματα*, vol. 2 (Athens: Typ. Koromila, 1836), 251–52 (“Αι αιχμαλωτισθείσαι νεάνδες του Μεσολογγίου”).

1837

Konstantinos Tobras and Konstantinos Ioannidis, eds., *Άσματα διαφόρων ποιητών* (Nafplio: Typ. Tobra kai Ioannidi, 1837), 73–75 (“Άσμα Μεσολογγίου εις ήχον ηρωικόν”).

1838

Nikolaos Pikkolos, *Φιλομούσον πάρεργα* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1838), 212–19 ([Byron], “January 22d. 1824. Messalonghi. On this day I complete my thirty-sixth year” / “22 Ιανουαρίου 1824, Μεσολόγγι. Σήμερον απογεμίζω τον τριακοστόν έκτον χρόνον της ηλικίας μου.”). Translation of Lord Byron’s poem, written at Messolonghi.

Ilias Christofidis, ed. *Στίχοι ηρωικοί και ερωτικοί διά την ανθούσαν νεολαίαν της Ελλάδος* (Athens: B. Ritz, 1838) 54–55 (“Του Μεσολογγίου”). Cf. the lost edition, maybe with the same poem, Ilias Christofidis, ed., *Ωδαί ηρωικαί και ερωτικαί διά την νεολαίαν της Ελλάδος* (Piraeus: Typ. Christofidou, 1838).

1839

Amvrosios Frantzis, *Επιτομή της ιστορίας της αναγεννηθείσης Ελλάδος, αρχομένη από τον 1715 και λήγοντα το 1835*, vol. 1 (Athens: Typ. Konst. Kastorchi, 1839), 424–26 ([Anonymous], “Υμνος Μεσολογγίου, τον οποίον έψαλλον οι απλοί Έλληνες μετά την πτώσιν αυτού”), 426–29 (Dimitrios Ainiian, “Ετερον άσμα Μεσολογγίου”), 457–59 ([Anonymous], “Άσμα ψαλλόμενον μετά την πολιορκίαν του Νεοκάστρου”).

1840

Konstantinos Levidis, ed., *Τα Ελληνικά Χρονικά εφημερίς πολιτική εκδοθείσα εν Μεσολογγίω υπό του Δ.Ι. Μάγερ* (Athens: Vassiliko Lithografio, 1840). Reprint of the journal *Ελληνικά Χρονικά* and poems 1824–1826 that are introduced in this Appendix.

1841

Konstantinos Chantziris, ed., *Ελληνικός Νέος Παρνασσός ή απάνθισμα των εκλεκτότερων ποιήσεων της αναγεννηθείσης Ελλάδος* (Athens: Typ. Garpola, 1841), 74–76 ([Dionysios Solomos], “Η πολιορκία του Μεσολογγίου κατά την παραμονήν των Χριστουγέννων του 1822 ή Η θρησκεία ασπαζόμενη την ελευθερίαν”).

1842

Nikolaos Saltelis, *O Κνδωνιάτης* (Athens [=Smyrna]: [Graffitis], 1842), 113–21 (“Άσμα Δ', Μέρος Α', Πάθη”). This part narrates the events of Messolonghi, among others.

Zois Panou, *Ποιήσεις διάφοροι* (Athens: X.A. [=Christos Anastasiou], 1842), 109–10 (“Μεσολόγγι”).

1843

Λ., “Βύρωνος Ωδή. Γραφείσα εν Μεσολλογίω την 10 Ιαν. 1824”, *Μνημοσύνη* 1 (1843): 11–13. Cf. Pikkolos, *Φιλομούσον πάρεργα*, 212–19.

1845

Anastasios Giannopoulos, *Τα τρόπαια του Θεοδώρου Γρίβα* (Athens: Rallis, 1845), 51–58 (“Η Μεσολογγιάς”).

1847

[Georgios Tertsetis], *Απλή Γλώσσα: Συλλογή ποιημάτων και διηγήσεων* (Athens: Typ. Nikolaïdou Filadelfeos, 1847), 28–31 (“Ο Ιμπραΐμης και ο Κιουταχής”).

1850

Efrosyni Samartzidou, “Η Μεσολογγίτις παρθένος επί λόφου, θεωρούσα την ωραίαν Επτάνησον,” *Πατρίς* (Corfu), 24 May 1850, 327. Cf. Georgios Zoras, “Γύνος εις την Επτάνησον και τον Σολωμόν,” *Επτανησιακά μελετήματα*, vol. 2 (Athens: Spoudastirion Vyzantinis ke Neoellinikis Filologias tou Panepistimiou Athinon, 1959), 191–92.

1851

Georgios Zalokostas, *To Μεσολόγγιον: Απόσπασμα ποιήματος* (Athens: Typ. K. Antoniadou, 1851).

1852

Spyridon Zambelios, *Άσματα δημοτικά της Ελλάδος εκδοθέντα μετά μελέτης ιστορικής περί Μεσαιωνικού Ελληνισμού* (Corfu: Ermis, 1852), 613 (22. “Η έξοδος του Μεσολογγίου” [=Arnold Passow, ed., *Τραγούδια Ρωμαίικα: Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1860), 258]), 629 (40. “Ετερον του αυτού” [=Passow, *Τραγούδια Ρωμαίικα*, 5]), 628 (107. “Θάνατος καπετάν Γληγόρη Λιακατά” [=Passow, *Τραγούδια Ρωμαίικα*, 261]).

1853

Anastasios Giannopoulos, *Ανατολικόν πνεύμα εις δύω* (Patras: Typ. Georgiadiou, 1853), 62–70 (“Τα εν Μεσολογγίω άταφα σπλάχνα του λόρδου Βύρωνος”).

Emmanouil Stamatakis, ed., *H Τερψιχόρη ἡ απάνθισμα ασμάτων κλεπτικάν, ηρωικών, ερωτικών, δυστίχων καὶ οθωμανικών* (Athens: Angelidis, 1853) 45–50 (“Άσμα Μεσολογγίου Εἰς ἡχον ηρωικόν”).

1854

Theodoros Orfanidis, *Αποσπάσματα εκ των ποιήματος Ο Άπατρις* (Athens: Typ. Mavrommati, 1854), 21 (XXIV).

1859

Georgios Zalokostas, *Tα ἀπαντά* (Athens: Typ. Mavrommati, 1859) 35–63 (“Το Μεσολόγγιον (απόσπασμα)”), 301–5 (“Τοις εχθροίς της Ελλάδος, κατά την πτώσιν του Μεσολογγίου (μετάφρασις)”).

Spyridon Melissinos, *H πτώσις του Βυζαντίου. Είς στεναγμός του Μεσολογγίου: Η Ενσάρκωσις του Σωτήρος. Τρία αποσπάσματα ἐκ τίνος ανεκδότου ποιήματος επιγραφομένου Ελλάς καὶ Ορθοδοξία* (Corfu: Typ. Ionia, 1859).

Athanasiros Iatridis, ed., *Συλλογή δημοτικών ασμάτων παλαιών καὶ νέων* (Athens: Typ. Mavrommati, 1859) 44 (“Ληστές καὶ Μεσολογγίτισσες”), 94 (“Κιουταχής στο Μεσολόγγι”).

1861

Emmanouil Georgiou, ed., *Αφροδίτη η φιλομειδής, ἡτοι συλλογή ασμάτων διστίχων, χορού καὶ ἄλλων διαφόρων* (Athens: Typ. Mellon tis Patridos, 1861) 127 (“Το Μισολόγγι”), 128 (“Εξοδος Μισολογγίου”).

Panagiotis Synodinos, *Εθνεγερτήρια σαλπίσματα: Συλλογή πέμπτη* (Patras: Typ. E.P. Christodoulou, 1861), 26–30 (“Το 1854”).

Antonousa Kampouropoula, *Λάμπρω: Τραγωδία εἰς πράξεις πέντε* (Messolonghi: Ellinika Chronika, 1861). Republished as Antonousa Kampouropoula, *Λάμπρω: Τραγωδία εἰς πράξεις πέντε*, ed. Konstantinos Fournarakis (Chania: Erisma, 2013).

1866

Spyridon Trikoupis, “Η Λίμνη του Μεσολογγίου,” *Πανδώρα* 17 (1866–1867): 135.

Sofoklis Karidis, *Ἐμμετρα καὶ πεζά εἰς βιβλία δέκα. Βιβλίον πρώτον. Περίοδος πρώτη* (Athens: Typ. Fos, 1866), 19–24 (Δ'. “Τα θύματα”).

1868

P\*\* [=Ioannis Raptarchis, ed.], *Παρνασσός ή Απάνθισμα των εκλεκτότερων τεμαχίων της νέας ελληνικής ποιήσεως* (Athens: Typ. Radamanthys, 1868), 190–93 ([Georgios Zalokostas], “Εκ του ‘Μεσολογγίου’”), 549–52 ([Sofoklis Karidis], “Τα θύματα”).

1870

[Evanthia Kairi], *Άλωσις Μεσολογγίου: Δράμα εις πράξεις τρεις*, ed. E.I.K. [=Elpida I. Kyriakou] (Galați: Fimi, 1870). Kyriakou's edition of Kairis' *Νικήρατος* (1826).

1873

Georgios Zalokostas, *Τα ἀπαντα*, ed. Evgenios Zalokostas, (Athens: Typ. Adelfon Perri, 1873), 47–82 (“Το Μεσολόγγιον (αποσπάσματα)”), 383–88 (“Τοις εχθροίς της Ελλάδος, κατά την πτώσιν του Μεσολογγίου (Εκ των του Φραγκίσκου Δραγομάνου)”).

1874

Emile Legrand, ed., *Recueil des chansons populaires grecques*, 126–34 (70. “Η πολιορκία του Μεσολογγίου”).

1875

Antonousa Kampouraki, *Η έξοδος του Μεσολογγίου: Τραγωδία εις πράξεις πέντε* (Athens: Typ. Vlastou, 1875).

1876

Iakovakis Rizos Neroulos, *Ανέκδοτα Ποιημάτια*, ed. Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire (Paris: Chamerot, 1876), 17–23 (“Ωδή εις Μεσολόγγιον”).

Sofoklis Karidis, *Λυρικά ποιήματα: Όνυχες* (Athens: s.n., 1876) 13–17 (Δ'. “Τα θύματα”).

Antonios Antoniadis, *Μεσολογγιάς, ἐπος ιστορικόν* (Athens: Typ. K. Antoniadou, 1876).

Filologikos Syllogos Elliniki Palingenesia, *Τα κατά την επέτιον εορτήν του πέμπτου έτους της Εικοστής Πέμπτης Μαρτίου 1876* (Athens: Typ.

Adelfon Varvarrigou, 1876) 13–20 (Emmanouil Stratoudakis, “Μεσολόγγι. Επικολυρικόν ποίημα”).

Spyridon Trikoupis, “Η λίμνη του Μεσολογγίου,” *Εστία* 1 (1876): 368.

1878

Konstantinos Palamas, *Μεσολόγγι* (Messolonghi: Ditiki Ellas, 1878).

1880

Panagiotis Matarangas, ed., *Παρνασσός ήτοι απάνθισμα των εκλεκτοτερων ποιημάτων της Νεωτέρας Ελλάδος* (Athens: Typ. N. Roussopoulou, 1880), 213–18 (Georgios Zalokostas, “Εκ του Μεσολογγίου”), 219–25 (Georgios Zalokostas, “Κλείσοβα”), 360–61 (Spyridon Trikoupis, “Η λίμνη του Μεσολογγίου”), 719–22 (Sofoklis Karidis, “Τα θύματα”).

Ioannis Kordoroumpas, *Ο θρήνος και οδυρμός της εξόδου του Μεσολογγίου* (Messolonghi: Typ. Gourgourini, 1880).

Undated

[before 1822] Spyridon Trikoupis, “Η λίμνη του Μεσολογγίου.” Published in *Tertsetis, Απλή Γλώσσα: Συλλογή ποιημάτων και δημήσεων* (Athens: Typ. Nikolaidou Filadelfeos, 1847), 32–35; *Πανδώρα* 17 (1866–1867): 135; *Εστία* 1 (1876): 368; Matarangas, *Παρνασσός ήτοι απάνθισμα των εκλεκτοτερων ποιημάτων της Νεωτέρας Ελλάδος* (Athens: Typ. N. Roussopoulou, 1880), 360–61.

[±1830–1850?] Georgios Lassanis, “Εις το Μεσολόγγι,” *Τα άπαντα Γεωργίου Λασσάνη*, ed. Grigorios Geroukis, vol. 1 (Kozani: Typ. Voreiou Ellados, [1952]), 23–47.

