

THE WARRIOR AND THE MAIDEN: THE PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATIONS
OF LASKARINA BOUBOULINA AND MANTO MAVROGENOUS IN THE GREEK
REVOLUTION

by

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ABSTRACT

OLYMPIA MASTROKOLIAS. *The Warrior and the Maiden: The Participation and Representations of Laskarina Bouboulina and Manto Mavrogenous in the Greek Revolution.*
(Under the direction of DR. CHRISTINE HAYNES)

This thesis explores the participation and representations of two popular and exceptional heroines of the Greek Revolution of 1821-1832, Laskarina Bouboulina and Manto Mavrogenous, and how their legacies have been used as symbols of nationalism by Greeks and philhellenes. Although decent scholarship exists on the Greek Revolution, attention to gender has been limited, and this particular revolution has been overlooked in the broader study of gender, war, and politics during the Age of Revolutions. In addition to offering their biographies to an Anglophone audience, this thesis aims to deepen our understanding of how Greek women, despite a strict patriarchal society, became involved in the political and social turmoil of war. Much like the studies on women in the French Revolution, the cases of Bouboulina and Manto are vital to understanding how revolution both reinforced and rejected traditional gender roles in the process of Greece's independence. Unlike in France, for instance, I argue that prior to the revolution Ottoman Greek women had more economic autonomy because of Greece's unique religious, geographical and maritime context. Even after independence, Greek women were included in the nation-building project to promote the expansion of its borders and people through ethnic means. By focusing on the commercial, military, and political activities of Laskarina Bouboulina and Manto Mavrogenous, this thesis argues that these elite patriotic women went beyond traditional methods of participation such as philanthropy and fundraising, serving—as warriors. An analysis of personal letters, naval correspondence, paintings, memoirs, statues, newspapers, folk history, literature and lithographs reveals that these women were unique in the history of nineteenth-century revolution and, for that reason, recognized for their

heroism by European sympathizers. The use of their image increased alongside the peak of the philhellenic movement from 1825-1827 and shifted according to political and social motives. Manto's image as the Mykonian Maiden remained fixed and the western counterpart to Bouboulina's Amazon and more "eastern" masculine role. I argue that these two tropes, whether physically or allegorically, were used to legitimize the Greek state by promoting investment and diplomatic support from the west and then later by Greek leaders and people to distinguish its revolutionary narrative from both west and east.

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DEDICATION

For my mother, Ourania Mastrokolias.

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INTRODUCTION: THE AMAZON AND THE MAIDEN

Bouboulina was beautiful
Her step was strong and confident
And like Artemis, was formidable
She walked fearlessly
Her eyes large like Hera's
Her glance wild and scintillating
Wearing a golden sewn dress
And a silver belt around her waist
And from that belt, hanging by her side
Was her sword.¹

The image of Greek war heroine Laskarina Bouboulina in the poem by *phanariot* romantic novelist Alexandros Soutsos illustrates two tropes of women warriors in the Greek Revolution of 1821: the Amazon and the Maiden.² The main figure in the poem, Bouboulina, is one of the two women whose life and participation in the revolution challenged acceptable female roles. Bouboulina, widow of a ship owner on the island of Spetses, fought during the war with her own ships and soldiers. Her actions in the Battles of Nafplion and Tripolitsa attracted international attention to the “Amazon Warrior.” Not represented in the poem, Manto Mavrogenous, from the island of Mykonos and heiress of the noble Mavrogenous family whose members held princely positions in the Ottoman Empire, contributed financially. Famous today as the defender and heroine of Mykonos, Manto selflessly pawned off almost all her inheritance to recruit and fund soldiers to fight in the war. Manto also interacted with philhellenes and wrote

¹ Anastasios K. Orlandos, *Nautika, ētoi, Historia Tōn Kata to Hyper Anexartēsiās Tēs Hellados Agōna Pepragmenōn: Hypo Tōn Triōn Nautikōn Nēsōn, Idiōs Tōn Spetsōn. 1887-1979* (En Athēnais: Ch.N. Philadelphis, 1869). This poem was written by Alexandros Soutsou, in *Tourkomatos Hellas*, 212. Soutsos was a close friend of Korais and spent years in Paris writing his initial works. Following his brother's death in 1825, Soutsos traveled to Nafplion where he wrote satirical poems about the new Greek state. It is possible, if the months aligned, that Soutsos and Bouboulina crossed paths in Nafplion in her final year of life (she remained in Nafplion until the start of 1825).
² I use the term Revolution instead of War for Independence because independence implies that two organized states are at war, whereas Greece was not an organized state, and the Ottoman Empire was not a nation. It was an empire. Historically, Greeks have called it a revolution but the debate of “war of independence” vs. “revolution” is a larger argument that deserves independent exploration.

letters to ladies' groups in Europe asking for their philanthropic support. These sacrificial acts earned her the maiden role, or Mykonian Madonna. Broken down, the poem features contradictory representations of Bouboulina's physical form, actions, and character. Bouboulina is characterized as beautiful, like the domestic, chaste, and youthful goddess Artemis. Further down she is compared to Hera, the powerful widow and often vengeful goddess of marriage and birth. By ascribing Bouboulina all these mythological qualities, Soutsou emphasizes the feminine and masculine abilities of the armed warrior Amazon. The contrasting yet interrelated representations of "The Warrior Mother," Laskarina Bouboulina, and Manto Mavrogenous, "The Charitable Madonna," provide an opportunity to explore how women were used as symbols and agents of Greek nation-building during the revolution and the centuries that followed.

Bouboulina and Manto challenged traditional and patriarchal notions of gender roles. This thesis investigates the roles exceptional women played in the Greek Revolution and the complex ways authors and artists depicted these women as revolutionaries, in addition to the active construction and preservation of their memory and image in the process of Greek nation-building.

Although both women are included in the national history of Greece, an analysis of what roles were available to each and how they respectively challenged or subscribed to those roles has not been explored in detail. By exploring why and how they fought, this research expands on their differences in age, upbringing, family, marital status, geographic and generational context. Apart from their gender, wealth, status, and fame, Bouboulina and Manto represent distinct roles. As the proto-feminist icon of Greece, Bouboulina's pioneering actions are unlike those of her contemporary, Manto Mavrogenous. Manto, the youthful virgin and charitable patroness and defender of the island of Mykonos, is more accurately represented by Soutsou's Artemis than Bouboulina, who was widowed and nearly fifty when the war began. Soutsou's choice to assign

Bouboulina both tropes confirms that women fought in combat, but why and how they fought is certainly less clear. These distinctions complicate the linear narrative of Greek identity and deserve greater attention.

Nineteenth-century publications indicate that Bouboulina was more popular among Greeks and that Manto was more popular among *philhellenes*.³ Manto's western European upbringing and noble status fit the acceptable qualities of female patriotism. While both women compare to tropes of women revolutionaries in Europe and the Americas at the time, as a warrior and admiral, Bouboulina was exceptional. This thesis reveals how and why Bouboulina's exceptional abilities were unique to Greek women and more broadly, women of eastern Europe.⁴ In addition to the cultural and historical explanations for Bouboulina's masculine actions and image, she was a product of the hostile and tumultuous maritime world of the late-eighteenth century. The pre-revolutionary experiences for women like Bouboulina and Manto were unique to Greek merchant communities.⁵ Those personal distinctions mirror the larger political conflict of the revolution itself. Although Bouboulina and Manto were able to transcend accepted female roles during the revolution, their independence and fluidity challenged Greek contemporaries and put them at odds with the competing political aims of revolutionary leaders. As a result, women of the newly independent Greek state were excluded and confined to more restrictive gender roles than their pre-war status but not in the same way that western case studies fixed gender

³ Olympitou, Eudokia. *Gynaikes tou agōna* (Athēna: Ta Nea, 2010), 84-85 (print); and in Eleni Varikas, "Women's Participation in the Greek Revolution," in *Political and Historical Encyclopedia of Women*, ed. Christine Fauré and Richard Dubois, (New York: Routledge, 2003), 161-162. Varikas' article is one of the many she writes on this subject, but the rest are written in French.

⁴ Eleni Varikas, "Women's Participation in the Greek Revolution," 161. Bestowed title of Admiral of the Russian fleet or the cross of Saint George, awarded by Tsar Alexander

⁵ Leonidas Mylonakis, "Transnational Piracy in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1821-1897," PhD Dissertation, University of California at Sand Diego, 2018.

roles as “public” and “private.”⁶ With the nation-building project still unfinished, the post-revolutionary women of Greece’s middle class were given more political influence through the public intellectual sectors of society than their western counterparts. I argue that this unique result was a continuation of the merchant maritime context that gave Ottoman-Greek women more influence and access to political systems overall.

Overview of the Greek Revolution and the Role of Women and Gender in Constructing the Greek Nation

Historically, women were excluded from official positions in war. But the nature of war has always propelled women into combat. In the context of the Greek Revolution women had several options: they fought alongside their men or independently (if they could), fought as men (rarely), and more commonly fought or leapt to their death to escape rape, plunder, and enslavement. The violence before and during the Greek revolution engaged the civilian population of all classes and necessitated women to take up arms. Politically women had no agency, but in certain circumstances, as in the case of Bouboulina, wealthy merchant women were inspired to serve in the revolution. However, this position certainly depended on a woman’s wealth and marital status.

*I felt my blood boil. I wanted to take up arms, to run to help those men who were fighting only for that precious liberty...But as I looked at the walls of the house where they kept me locked in, as I looked at the long gowns of female slavery, I remembered I was a woman and I sighed.*⁷

A self-educated, aristocratic woman living in the Ionian Island of Zakynthos documents her reaction on hearing of the Greek uprising. Elizabeth’s objection speaks for the majority of

⁶ Jill Vickers and Athanasia Vouloukos, “Changing Gender/Nation Relations: Women’s Roles and the Greek Nation-State” *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Vol 13, No.4 (2007), 507.

⁷ Elisavet Moutzan-Martinengou, *Autobiography, 1881* (translated by Helen Dendrinou Koliass) Athens: University of Georgia Press, (1989), 60.

women who, during and before the revolution, found themselves confined to their domestic sphere. Elizabeth's desire to take up arms was rare and impossible for someone of her class. Relevant to both peasant and elite classes, for women to "take up arms" was uncommon and met with hostility and distaste. A woman's place in Greek society was centered on marriage and family, not politics or war. Typically, arranged marriages served to secure financial wealth and as the war progressed, they were used to create political ties among opposing parties of the war.⁸ Although Elizabeth's pen wields a substantial case for women's roles, this study will center around two elite women, similar and dissimilar, who broke gendered boundaries and literally "took up arms" in the battle for independence. Although many women took up arms in the Greek Revolution, elite women had the choice to live comfortable lives. Instead of limiting their participation to philanthropy (more common method for elite women), Bouboulina and Manto chose to sacrifice their entire fortunes and lives for the cause. Their motives, as this thesis proves, ranged from patriotism, economic gain, escape, defense, and all the reasons any patriot, man or woman, would choose to fight. Their physical, financial, and political contributions to the war signified a time where Greek society acquired female figures of modernity. These were exceptional women who defied social norms, made their own choices, and took risks.

The Greek War for Independence or "The Greek "Revolution" according to Greeks, began in the Peloponnese between February and March of 1821. Most national historians characterize Greece's revolution as a culmination of geopolitical forces and a prevailing "sense of nationhood" that emerged in the wake of European liberalism of the Enlightenment and the

⁸ Eleni Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, "Women in the Greek War of Independence," in *Networks of Power in Modern Greece: Essays in Honor of John Campbell*, ed. John Campbell and Mark Mazower (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 49.

French Revolution of 1789.⁹ The key military events that triggered military action by 1821 included the Russo-Turkish Wars 1768-1774, the French Revolution of 1789-99, and the Napoleonic Wars, 1803-1815. However, the process of internal and external forces that promoted Greek military and political resistance began in the early eighteenth century. After the Battle of Vienna in 1683, Ottoman dominance of the Mediterranean slowly shifted towards the west but any hopes of expansion were crushed by the Holy Roman Empire. What followed was a series of issues that plagued the empire's ability to sustain its sophisticated centralized system of rule. These factors included the succession of weak Sultans, incompetent *viziers*, ill-equipped armies, and corrupt officials. These officials were now permitted to marry, inherit property, and enroll sons into palace corps. By the late eighteenth century, provincial elites stopped listening to Istanbul. This gradual shift to privileged lineage left the Ottomans vulnerable to European armies that grew stronger and more modern. Furthermore, taxes began to increase to fund wars, and local warlords in the Balkans set themselves up as dictators (a good example is Ali Pasha of Ioannina). In response, the Ottoman Empire increased surveillance on minority subjects to prevent internal and external opposition. This was more collectively felt by fringe regions and minority groups who experienced violent suppression and economic hardship.

The Russo-Turkish Wars that occurred between 1768-1774 and 1788-91 were fueled out of the ongoing desire by Russian monarchs to acquire warm water ports for geopolitical power. In 1713, the territories of Wallachia and Moldavia became vassal states to the Ottoman Empire, led by *phanariot* rulers. These rulers were Orthodox Christian Greeks from the prosperous

⁹ Douglas Dankin, "The Formation of a Greek State, 1821-1833," in *The Struggle for Greek Independence: Essays to Mark the 150th Anniversary of the Greek War of Independence*, ed. Richard Clogg (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1972), 159-177.

Phanar district of Constantinople who formed the upper ranks of Ottoman bureaucracy.¹⁰ Since the end of the Seven Years War in 1763 and withdrawal of France as Europe's first military power, Russia was able to take advantage of the Ottoman Empire's weakness to expand its territory. Catherine the Great of Russia, a notorious *philhellene*, capitalized by persuading Greeks and Slavs to participate in her campaigns under the promise of Byzantine-Orthodox hegemony and independence from the Ottoman "yoke." The Russo-Turkish Wars, or Orlov Revolts, were part of Catherine the Great's plan to make Greece a satellite state of the Russian Empire.¹¹ A combination of heavy taxation, restrictions, and surveillance were imposed on the peasants and merchant elites of the Ottoman empire. In response, elite members of minority communities banded together and welcomed European and Russian aid. What prompted these elites to consider revolution was a response to the constraints of traditional feudal processes that conflicted with the modern capitalistic material and ideological realities emerging in the West. Disruptions in the "balance of power" and the dissemination of liberalism and nationalist rhetoric began to dismantle the brokerage networks between the Ottoman Porte, its provinces, and communities.¹² Organizations of resistance began to form across Europe as elite *phanariots* gained more autonomy and political power abroad.

The most affluent and powerful leaders of the revolution, such as Alexander and Dimitrios Ypsilantis, came from this noble *phanariot* class. They gained wealth and power through Ottoman endorsements, traveled as diplomats, were educated in western schools, and

¹⁰ David Brewer, *The Greek War of Independence: The Struggle for Freedom from Ottoman Oppression* (New York: Overlook Duckworth, 2011), 51.

¹¹ The Russo-Turkish Wars are explained in the context of Bouboulina's island Spetses later in the chapter as the Orlov Revolution; See Theophilus C. Prousis, *Russian Society and the Greek Revolution* (DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1994).

¹² Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008). She analyzes how these Ottoman networks adapted during times of transition from emergence, empire, and nation.

lived in the finest quarters of Constantinople. Although these leaders forged connections with Russia, their overlord position did not attract large revolutionary support from the common Greeks in the principalities. Considered the first Greek revolt, the Russo-Turkish Wars (1768-74 and 1788-92) failed to secure Greek independence because the Russians came undersupplied and unable to convince enough Greeks, *klephts* and *armatoloi*, to take up arms. Divisions among Greeks and competing inter-Balkan interests prevented mass mobilization. Despite the failure of the first revolution, under the Treaty of Kucuk Kaynarca (1774), the Ottomans ceded the Crimean khanate to Russia and gave Austria the region of Moldavia. More importantly, Greek ships gained the right to sail under the Russian flag for protection. This protection played a significant role for Bouboulina's husbands, who were part of the merchant elite of Spetses and Hydra who revolted in the Russo-Turkish Wars (Aegean and Morea). Those anxieties produced the need for protection. Although Russia would support the Greeks later, the military backbone of the revolution of 1821 came from the leaders of these initial wars, clandestine societies, philanthropic funds, and mainland rebels. Revolutionaries already existed, but the events that took place between 1774 and 1821 offered the means and justification to mobilize once again.

The military events highlighted above were also fueled by the intellectual trends of the time. Although Greeks were geopolitically and socioeconomically fragmented, a combined effort of expats and *philhellenes* mobilized support from all over Europe through a secret society called the *Philiki Etaireia*. Greeks and *philhellenes*—European supporters of a Greek Independent state—illustrated and recorded the actions of Greek heroes and used them as national symbols to drum up support for the war. Although conservatism dominated the political scene in Europe during the 1820s, the Greek struggle for liberty attracted sympathy from across political lines. The *philhellenic* movement came out of secret resistance to the restoration and often manifested

in the form of imaginative poetry, art, theater, and literature. Romantics, then, were in effect the forerunners of late-nineteenth century nationalists because they insisted on celebrating the individual uniqueness of a given people's culture and history. For example, Lord Byron's poetry often dramatized his love affair with Greece and the revolution. Furthermore, Romanticism reached well beyond the small circles of artists and writers and into the everyday writing and thoughts of European men and women.¹³ Women played a significant role in the Romantic movement as writers and objects of romanticism. An emphasis on emotions allowed women a special place in this movement. Unlike their 1789 revolutionary counterparts, who often hosted *salons*, joined political clubs and publicly protested, women of the post-revolutionary world expressed their political opinions through literary means. Although the French Revolution initiated the argument for equal rights for women, the Napoleonic era neglected women's rights and codified male dominance in law. Given that Greece's formation would depend on the involvement of foreign aid, their political position had to coincide with similar European attitudes and interests.

The *Philiki Etaireia* was a "friendly brotherhood" of Greek and non-Greek sympathizers residing in and outside Greece proper. Some were *phanariots*, while others were merchants who had settled in the Russian port Odessa after the Russo-Turkish Wars. By 1818, the society had a large membership of prominent notables, military leaders and intellectuals who were stationed on mainland Greece.¹⁴ Collectively, these events and leaders ignited the first sparks of the war. Greek intellectuals, educated through liberal ideals abroad, found an opportunity to provoke nationalist revolution under the moribund Ottoman Empire, particularly within the islands and

¹³ Elisavet Papalexopoulou, "Tracing the Political in Women's Work: Women of Letters in the Greek Cultural Space, 1800-1832," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, vol. 39, no. 1 (May 2021): 1-25.

¹⁴ Brewer, *The Greek War of Independence: The Struggle for Freedom from Ottoman Oppression*, 33.

the Peloponnese region, that was mostly led by mainland bandits, or *klephts*. Despite their barbarity, shifting loyalties, and poverty, *philhellene* writers often cited *klephts*' military and patriotic service to the national cause. The *klephts*, who resented Phanariot merchant exploitation and capitalized on economic disparity to appeal to the peasant population, formed the bulk of military resistance under famous General Theodoros Kolokotronis, whose son Panos would later marry Bouboulina's daughter Eleni.¹⁵ The marriages and engagements between powerful families or revolutionaries were strategically important at forging trust as the emergence of the new Greek state took shape. Political fortunes were sealed through marriages and fundamental to understanding the decisions and actions of Bouboulina and Manto.

A uniform identity did not exist prior to the revolution due to the vast regional loyalties within the territory assumed to be part of Greece in its pre-Ottoman Byzantine borders. In addition, the creation of a Greek national identity emerged from outside perceptions that revived classical antiquity fused with Byzantine Orthodoxy.¹⁶ But more generally, the revolution began in Greece proper, or the *Morea* region of the Peloponnese that maintained more of a Greek identity than the northeastern and western regions of Ottoman Greece. This was mainly because the *Morea*, Aegean, and Saronic islands of Greece maintained a stronger sense of Greek heritage based on the continued autonomous shipping trade, relatively light taxes, and limited Turkish presence.¹⁷ The Greek Revolution began around March of 1821 and quickly spread through Greece proper. Although the Greeks made substantial gains over the Ottomans in the first year, the factionalism and conflicting conceptions of statehood led to a series of civil wars from 1823-

¹⁵ Christopher Kinley, "Imagining a Nation: Society, Regionalism, and National Identity in the Greek War of Independence" *The Madison Historical Review*: Vol. 13, Article 5. 2016.

¹⁶ Anna Efstathiadou, "Representing Greekness: French and Greek Lithographs from the Greek War of Independence and the Greek Italian War" *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2, (2011), 191; Kinley, "Imagining a Nation."

¹⁷ Brewer, *The Greek War of Independence*, 89.

1825.¹⁸ The in-fighting created the perfect opportunity for the Ottomans to reverse the early Greek gains. Ultimately, the European Powers intervened and used the opportunity to advance their own geopolitical agendas and investments in the region. With naval assistance from Britain, France, and Russia, the Greeks defeated the Ottomans at the Battle of Navarino in 1827. The Greeks had finally gained their independence, but the state and its new territory were constructed at the behest of the European powers. This included the fate of more radical revolutionary leaders and the second-tier men and women who contributed to the war. Regional and factional conflict contributed to the subsequent disputes over the establishment of the new political and judicial system after the revolution.¹⁹ The personal and political obstacles political leaders faced in forming the ‘ideal’ Greek nation reveals a moment where women and their roles were challenged and molded. These factions necessitated the temporary inclusion of these wealthy women but were unwilling to include women as formal citizens.

Historiography

This thesis seeks to enrich the topic of the Greek Revolution by examining the relationship between nationalism, gender, and war, and how revolutionaries, along with male and female supporters of the revolution, initiated the development of a complex Greek female identity. To quote the opening of Koula Xiradaki’s book, *Ginaikes tou 21’: Contributions, Heroism, and Sacrifice*, the broader historiography of the Greek Revolution of 1821 has become, “like the monasteries of Mount Athos: a place where no women enter.”²⁰ The bold opening of Xiradaki’s book cleverly summarizes the patriarchal reasons for the absence of women in the history of modern Greek studies. National histories of the Greek Revolution by Douglas Dankin,

¹⁸ Kinley, “Imagining a Nation.”

¹⁹ Dosis Doxiadis, *The Shackles of Modernity: Women, Property, and the Transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Greek State, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

²⁰ Koula Xiradaki, *Ginaikes tou 21’: Contributions, Heroism, and Sacrifice* (1995), 9.

Peter Paroulakis, Roderick Beaton, Thomas Gallant, and David Brewer dedicate but a few lines to the heroines of the war.²¹ Their research generally covers the broader historical debates concerning the complex origins of the revolution, geopolitical tensions, foreign policy, decisive battles, the “Eastern Question”, and the study of *philhellenes*. Greek and Anglophone historiography on the Greek Revolution is abundant, but as historian Eleni Angelomati points out, “the existing historiography offers a wealth of information in need of closer scholarly examination.”²²

Although the exceptional stories of Manto Mavrogenous’ and Laskarina Bouboulina’s contributions are included in the national histories of the Revolution, a more comprehensive analysis of the evolution of their private and public roles in the pre-revolutionary and revolutionary years has not been undertaken. Apart from the occasional journal articles and chapters from Greek books and anthologies, a historical monograph that exclusively focuses on Bouboulina’s and Manto’s physical and monetary contribution to the revolution has yet to be written. There are two explanations for this exclusion. The first is that women and gender history are relatively new fields in Greek historiography. However, a growing interest in cultural studies and women’s history developed alongside the feminist movement in the 1980’s. As historians have recently pointed out, “a younger generation of historians of both sexes have brought gender issues to the fore in their explorations of modern Greek history and the history of the Ottoman

²¹ Douglas Dankin, “The Formation of a Greek State, 1821-1833,” in *The Struggle for Greek Independence: Essays to Mark the 150th Anniversary of the Greek War of Independence*, ed. Richard Clogg (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1972); Peter Paroulakis, *The Greek War of Independence* (Darwin, Australia: Hellenic International Press, 2000); Roderick Beaton, *Greece: A Biography of a Modern Nation* (London: Penguin Random House, 2019); Tomas Gallant, *Modern Greece: From the War of Independence to the Present* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016); David Brewer, *The Greek War of Independence: The Struggle for Freedom from Ottoman Oppression* (New York: Overlook Duckworth, 2011)

²² Angelomati, “Women in the Greek War of Independence,” 48.

Greeks.”²³ The second is a matter of sources and is explained at the end of this introduction. Since the start of this project in 2017, and with the 2021 Bicentennial Celebration of Greece’s independence, newly published material reveals a growing interest in the role of Greek women that explore themes of family politics, property and inheritance laws, women’s intellectual work, education, philanthropy, and transnational and transatlantic comparisons.²⁴

Since around 2007, historians of modern Greece have incorporated gender in a way that historians have often done for women in the French Revolution, the Balkan women of the First World War, and Soviet women in the Second World War.²⁵ Building on the work of Greek gender historians Efi Avdela, Eleni Varika, Angelika Psarra, and Eleni Fournaraki, Demetra Tzanaki’s *Women and Nationalism in the Making of Modern Greece*, examines the relationship between gender and nationalism from the emergence of the Greek Kingdom in 1832 into the formation of the Hellenic Republic. She argues that over the long process of national unification, based on the *Megali Idea* (Great Idea), the Greek Kingdom promoted the rhetoric of a distinct moral behavior that empowered educated middle-class women to engage in more public activities over the course of the nineteenth century.²⁶ Because women were responsible for defining Greek morality and family, the duties between private and public overlapped, giving

²³ Fournaraki & Yannitsiotis 2013; Gotsi, Dialeti & Fournaraki 2015 as in article “The ‘Woman Question’ in the Greek (post)-Ottoman transition period by Haris Exertzoglou, 80.

²⁴ Mark Mazower, *The Greek Revolution*; Maureen Connors Santelli, *The Greek Fire: American-Ottoman Relations and Democratic Fervor in the Age of Revolutions* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020); Paschalis M. Kitromilidis and Constantinos Tsoukalas, *The Greek Revolution: A Critical Dictionary*; Doxios Doxiadis, *The Shackles of Modernity*; Haris Exertzoglou, “The ‘Woman Question’ in the Greek (post)-Ottoman transition period,” *Women, Gender, History*, No. 48, (2018); Elisavet Papalexopoulou, “Tracing the “Political.”

²⁵ For more on alternative means of female participation in revolution, identity, and nation-building see: Blom, Ida. Karen Hagemann, and Catherine Hall. *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century*. Oxford: Berg, 2000.; Hagemann. Karen, Gisela Mettele, and Jane Rendall. *Gender, War and Politics: Transatlantic Perspectives, 1775-1820*, 2013.

²⁶ The *Megali Idea* was the nationalist concept that Greece’s borders would be restored to those that existed beyond the ones acquired in the aftermath of the revolution to those of the Byzantine Empire stretching into the Balkans and Anatolia. This would also include Constantinople to “civilize the East” and to incorporate Ottoman Greeks into the Greek Kingdom.

women a central role in shaping national identity. Although her research is focused on the post-revolutionary years and the gradual achievement of “national citizenship,” Tzanaki’s emphasis on the contextual factors of culture, status, time, and place of nation-building complement the ideological framework of this thesis, which also explores how intellectuals’ use of print literature and images were tools of nation-building.²⁷ Most of her research relies on female educators, philanthropists, writers, and newspapers such as *Efimeris ton Kyrion (The Ladies’ Journal)*, that inspired modern Greek women to establish alternative modes of national citizenship.²⁸ While her work contributes a great deal to the broader scholarship on women in intellectual circles, Tzanaki does not focus on the years of the revolution or give a primary role to the heroines of this study.

In contrast to Tzanaki, Margaret Poulos’ *Arms and the Women: Just Warriors and Greek Feminist Identity* develops the female tropes crucial to this study and dedicates more attention to the revolutionary and Ottoman-Greek societal context investigated in this research. Her groundbreaking work begins with a discussion of Bouboulina and how the images of the heroine inspired the “female warrior” that later emerged in the context of Greece’s political transformations.²⁹ She asks the question, “why did these women choose to participate in armed conflict?” but gives no reason beyond female political power. Bouboulina’s case is exceptional, unique to Greece, and for reasons that Poulos does not explore, relative to the political Ottoman-Greek context of her time. Poulos’ second chapter examines Bouboulina’s role in financing the construction of armed ships and participation in naval battles. But in contrast to this study, Poulos does not incorporate the literature or the images of Bouboulina that inspired her research.

²⁷ Demetra Tzanaki, *Women and Nationalism in the Making of Modern Greece: The Founding of the Kingdom to the Greco-Turkish War*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 4.

²⁸ Tzanake, 4; *The Ladies Journal* (1887-1917) was a monthly newspaper that included everything from recipes to biographies of famous war heroes to political debates on justice and ownership of property an alternative means of citizenship and nation-building.

²⁹ Margaret Poulos, *Arms, and the Woman: Just Warriors and Greek Feminist Identity*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.), x.

These images reflect the religious, political, and intellectual movements that assigned Bouboulina and Manto their feminine or masculine, eastern or western identities. Although Poulos and Tzanaki address the use of Bouboulina's image in later feminist or national movements, they do not mention Manto. Giving Bouboulina and Manto a primary, rather than secondary, role in the revolution is necessary to illustrate how their public personas emerged through their own agency, how they differ from one another, and how their roles shift throughout the various stages of the revolution.

An exploration of Manto and Bouboulina's economic privileges as "merchant women" in Ottoman-Greek society prior to the revolution is necessary to distinguish women of the merchant class from the female tropes of other revolutions, and to illustrate how those factors gave Bouboulina and Manto a greater understanding of their civil and social rights. Relative to French society, class consciousness in early Ottoman-Greece had not developed. This factor, along with the religious tones, distinguishes the Greek Revolution as a national revolution rather than the social revolution of the French case. Recent research suggests that women had more fluid roles prior to independence and that the centralized, but highly contentious, Greek government established in 1832 curtailed women's activity afterwards.³⁰ The outcome in Greece compares to how the Napoleonic Codes restricted women's property ownership after the French Revolution but in contrast to the women of France, Greek women, or the majority of Greek speaking population resided outside of Greece's post-revolutionary borders. The Ottoman territories of Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, Crete, and Cyprus offered an opportunity for the visionaries of the Megali Idea to mobilize educational systems and national histories that could overcome political,

³⁰ Eudoxios Doxiadis "Standing in their Place: The Exclusion of Women from the Judicial System in the First Decades of the Modern Greek State, 1821-1850." *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1, May (2007), 75-97.

rural, and urban divides. As a result, educated women were given positions as teachers, writers, and journalists to promote bourgeois values through Greek language (*katharevousa* not *demotic* even though most Greeks spoke and understood *demotic*) and history.

Gender in the Age of Revolutions and Napoleonic Wars

The topic of the French Revolution dominates the historiography on gender, war, and nationalism. Through their interdisciplinary approaches, historians Olwen H. Hufton, Joan B. Landes, Dorinda Outram, Lynn Hunt, and Jennifer Heuer have championed the framework and methodology for examining gender and war.³¹ Holistically, their studies have examined the collective and individual impact of revolutions and have defined the contestations between public and private, symbolic and political, familial and national, social and cultural roles of women. Their examination of police records, family disputes, inheritance, artwork, provincial versus urban settings, internal political divides, and the daily experience of women across class indicate that women have always been active agents in society regardless of their political and social constraints. Much like the political rhetoric used by French women in police records, Manto also expressed her grievances to the Greek state for her survival and reputation. This study focuses on the exceptional heroines and the popular imagery of the revolution. Although less concerned with lower classes and the average women, the daily experiences and political entanglements in which Manto and Bouboulina found themselves produced similar results to the French Revolution.

³¹ For a closer study on the historiography on women of the French Revolution see: Olwen H. Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press., 1992); Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere: in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press., 1988); Dorinda Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class, and Political Culture* (New Haven, Conn./London: Yale University Press, 1989); Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993); Joan B. Landes, *Visualizing The Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press., 2001); Jennifer Ngaire Heuer, *The Family and the Nation: Gender and Citizenship in Revolutionary France, 1789-1830* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).

Historians Karen Hagemann, Ida Blom, Catherine Hall, Gisela Mettele, and Jane Rendall, (to name a few) champion the field of gender studies by applying gender as a means of investigation and method in the arena of war and politics, but Greece has not been included in their most notable studies.³² Their studies explore how war, or new “total war,” raises questions of national belonging, citizenship, nation formation, and national iconography. Hagemann’s contribution specifically addresses how Prussian women protected the nation as warriors during the Napoleonic Wars. Their questions regarding women’s motives and experiences in relation to their roles as patriots, soldiers, daughters, widows, warriors, and mothers broaden historians’ understanding of how the Age of Revolutions shaped gender norms.³³ Miller, Hagemann, and Aaslestad for example emphasize that feelings of devotion, fervor, and purpose rather than force were the most significant factor for military recruitment in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. Their argument for the case of Germany is similar to the Greek case where the flexibility of nationalism made it possible to exercise patriotism without formal political rights. Women’s moralizing role and domestic place was just as responsible for espousing patriotic sentiments.³⁴

Joan Landes’, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France*, argues that gendered imagery, particularly female caricatures and allegory, were the vehicle behind the process of promoting “French Republicanism to individuals’ self-understanding as citizens of the nation-state.”³⁵ The themes of the Spartan

³² Blom, Ida., Karen Hagemann, and Catherine Hall. *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Berg, 2000); Hagemann, Karen, Gisela Mettele, and Jane Rendall. *Gender, War and Politics: Transatlantic Perspectives, 1775-1820* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 3.

³³ Judith A. Miller, Karen Hagemann, Katherine Aaslestad, “Introduction: Gender, War and the Nation in period of Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars—European Perspectives” and Karen Hagemann, “Heroic Virgins’ and Bellicose Amazons’: Armed Women, the Gender Order and the German Public during and after the Anti-Napoleonic Wars,” in *Gender, War, and Politics*.

³⁴ Aaslestad et. al, “Introduction: Gender, War and the Nation in period of Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars—European Perspectives”, 503.

³⁵ Joan B. Landes, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 1.

warrior woman, Christian-patriotic martyrdom, and allegorical representation of women as freedom, liberty, and goddesses used to symbolize the nation are useful themes to the study of the Greek Revolution, but the concept of female citizen or republicanism was not yet broadly realized in the Greek case. Furthermore, the allegorical images of Greece did not replace pre-existing figures, like the queen or king, but revived classical Greek figures in conjunction with real heroes like Bouboulina and Manto. In contrast to the French Revolution and to the Napoleonic Wars, the Greeks had no pre-existing state, army, and navy or monarchy to dismantle and replace. Initially a republic, Greece was eventually forced to install a Bavarian King as their first monarch under the London Conference of 1832. To legitimize his reign and the new Greek state, he commissioned paintings of revolutionary battles and portraits of revolutionary leaders; Bouboulina being among them. For Greece, a community of ethnic ties had to be built along the way through ideas, language, material goods, political actors, and practices. These factors shaped and exposed competing visions of Greek identity, especially regarding gender. The factors that distinguish Bouboulina and Manto from other nineteenth-century revolutionary women is their wealthy status and their upbringing in the Ottoman-Mediterranean context. They were not peasants, artisans, or market women as in the context of the French Revolution and did not participate in popular revolts as commoners.³⁶ Unlike Paris, Athens was not industrialized or cosmopolitan. Greece was a patchwork of communities roughly linked through ideas rather than spatiality. Like Joan of Arc of France, Bouboulina and Manto were real and fought to defend against a national threat. But unlike Joan of Arc, Bouboulina and Manto were elite women of the merchant class, not peasants. Despite these distinctions, foreign writers compared Manto and Bouboulina to the heroic actions of Joan of Arc because the ideals

³⁶ Landes, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France*.

of devotion, patriotism, and allegiance to the nation surpassed the physical differences writers could not and did not fully understand or take the time to untangle.

In addition to the actions of warrior women, research on the political influence of elite women frames the intellectual and international space that Manto and Bouboulina occupied. Research by Glenda Sluga argues how elite women, usually wives or daughters of statesmen, bankers, financiers, and diplomats influenced economic and political decisions.³⁷ Manto's letters to philhellenic women of England and Paris are examples of how her activities align with and appeal to the educated women of Europe. Even if women could not vote, Manto was aware of the "secret influence" the women of France had on men and their decisions. Since 1814, the issues of humanitarian aid and the question of Greece's nationhood always emerged. By the time Manto wrote her letters in 1825, the feminine salons and balls thrown by the Congress' elite, created a space where private interests intersected with the public and where women held sway. Adding to Sluga's research, recent work by Elisavet Papalexopoulou specifically traces the work of female thinkers within the Greek cultural space (1800-1832) to demonstrate their influential role but also their political voice through a variety of writings. This thesis connects those broader intellectual trends and spaces to Manto's direct involvement in the revolution and to the European involvement in that outcome. Furthermore, the case of Bouboulina extends beyond the role of philanthropy and salonnières and shows how women actively fought in revolutionary wars.

³⁷ Glenda Sluga, "Who Hold the Balance of the World?" Bankers at the Congress of Vienna, and in *International History*, Vol. No. *American Historical Review*, 2017

Women in War in the Balkans

Historians of gender and nationalist studies have often privileged western European women over Southern or Southeastern European women, whose motives do not necessarily equate to popular political power and social upheaval. Although the focus of this study is on the early-nineteenth century, comparisons to twentieth-century national movements in the Balkans, Near East, and Eastern Europe indicate similar emphasis on female combat. What distinguishes this study, is the emphasis of a cultural and religious nationalism as the motivating factor for women to sacrifice for their “nation.” Historians of the Balkans have incorporated the demotic music, folklore, and myth of the nineteenth century and connect them to larger female mobilization in twentieth-century partisan movements, primarily regarding Soviet influence.³⁸ Similar to the timelines of Tzanake and Poulos’s studies, Jelena Batinic and Anna Krylova examine women in combat, focusing on how folklore influenced female volunteers in national movements after the Second World War.³⁹ Russia contains the most dramatic examples of women in combat during the World Wars. After the Bolshevik Revolution, Russia established multiple female battalions and regiments in the Red Army. But the most striking connection to the Greek case is the early traces of Tsar Alexander’s pattern of awarding Russia’s highest military honor, the cross of Saint George, to female fighters. In the Napoleonic Wars, women crossdressing fighters, who were caught but performed well, were allowed to stay on the condition that they adopt a male name. There are also examples of Balkan women receiving the cross of Saint George. Given that Bouboulina received this honor and title of Admiral from the

³⁸ Demotic music (and peasant dialect) refers to the regional songs and dances performed during special holidays and occasions in towns and villages

³⁹ Anna Krylova, *Soviet Women in Combat: A History of Violence on the Eastern Front* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Jelena Batinic, *Women and Yugoslav Partisans: A History of World War II Resistance* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Tsar, it seems that her actions were condoned by the Tsar and that the warrior combat trope was more common in Eastern Europe.⁴⁰

Theories of Nationalism and Orientalism

The modern Greeks were very different from their ancient ancestors, yet Europeans linked the heroic actions of modern Greeks to ancient myth to create a shared and intelligible experience that aligned with broader nineteenth-century movements and mentalities. European accounts of their roles emphasized themes of freedom to distinguish Greek women from Ottoman-Muslim subjects. To legitimize the Greek cause, they defined Greek gender roles by linking modern Greek people as the descendants of prominent ancient Greek figures, pagan gods, and goddesses, and to the heroic actions of Athenian and Spartan men and women. *Philhellene* writers and artists presented Bouboulina and Manto as direct descendants of these virtuous rebel women who refused to passively accept their social position. The idea was that these threads of female dissent and activism lingered quietly in the backdrop of Ottoman conquest and were part of a long Greek heritage that Europeans and diasporic communities of the *Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment* used to “re-awaken” and construct Greek identity. Though women have often been identified with goddesses of ancient Greece, they usually symbolized familial roles or the values of a nation or people, not physical military involvement, as in the case of Bouboulina.⁴¹ Nationalism and its resulting nations, according to historian Benedict Anderson, are “imagined communities.” A nation creates mutual feelings among those who share the same language and culture. Nationalists inculcate the notion of comradeship among those who share these elements. Anderson’s nationalist framework of feelings and belonging works well for the Greek case and the way that gender functioned alongside that process. How Bouboulina and Manto were seen

⁴⁰ Pamela Toler, *Women Warriors: An Unexpected History*, Boston: Beacon Press (2019), 50.

⁴¹ Karen Hagemann, et al. *Gender, War and Politics*, 1.

and how they saw themselves is what this study hopes to expand upon. A variety of literary and artistic sources indicate that over the course of the revolution, Bouboulina and Manto were used to generate and perpetuate a national narrative and eventually, a popular consciousness.

Greek intellectuals and leaders of the revolution were, as Europeans, divided over how to reconcile liberal and conservative views in practice and especially in the formation of the new Greek state. Although European sympathizers, *philhellenes*, played a vital role in shaping public imagination and Greek identity, the reality is that Bouboulina and Manto's actions were strange and shocking enough to inspire this narrative in the first place. Their nautical and financial contributions to the war challenged the patriarchal structures of their time and helped shape and legitimize the narrative of Greek freedom and identity. Although the Greeks did not have a clear political or social definition of "Greekness," by the end of the revolution, they had engaged in that process before and during the revolution.⁴² Far from one sided, the dialogue between Greeks and foreigners created a mutual exchange of ideas. I argue that Bouboulina and Manto embody those contradictions, which later emerge with the new Greek state and over the course of its identity as similar or different (and often superior) to the East and West, or both. By the end of the nineteenth century, Greeks started to distinguish themselves from western industrial Victorian culture and presumed notions of western modernity by embracing Greek Orthodox values and hard work as something uniquely Greek. Because the political systems Greece adopted after independence were imposed on them by the West, a resistance to reject parts that contradicted Greek identity and interests emerged. Greeks embraced a Byzantine past along with

⁴² Vickers and Vouloukos, "Changing Gender/Nation Relations: Women's Roles in Making and Restructuring the Greek Nation-State," in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, vol. 13, no. 4 (2007), 507. They explain that the nation building process occurred through more ethnic means (the Orthodox church, family and economic roles, and education) and should therefore be classified as an "Eastern" nationalism because of its uneven and predominantly agricultural economy.

antiquity to set Greece apart from the East, as the new meeting point or boundary of the East and West, and the gatekeeper of antiquity and western civilization. The heroic symbols of Manto and Bouboulina portrayed as both eastern and western offered a space for Greek women to have a more varied experience. The fluctuations seen in Bouboulina's image and character are not as prevalent with Manto. This is likely because Manto served as the counterpart to Bouboulina's more "eastern" and more masculine role that set Greece's revolutionary narrative apart from the west. As a result, Greek women were employed in the process of nation-building, tying together ethnic Greekness to territorial expansion.

Philhellenes' reasons for traveling to Greece and motives to produce and publish these works varied. Some traveled to explore, escape, or discover, while others published to protest, profit, or promote a cause. The question of which gendered tropes prevailed among Greeks or philhellenes depends on the stage of the revolution and the writer's perspective. Although most travelers were *philhellenes*, many were also critical of the Greeks' actions and often shocked to find that the modern Greeks showed no comparison to their ancient ancestors.⁴³ European artists in the nineteenth century used a "gendered language" in the romanticized art, poetry, and literature that, both literally and allegorically, represented nineteenth-century European and Greek gender roles. By "gendered language," I mean the representation of the female body as liberty or the nation engaging in physical sacrifice, patriotism, or leadership. What purpose did these artists have in depicting scenes of the revolution and how did that reflect nineteenth-century political values? As this study will show, French artists (such as Eugène Delacroix) and notable French citizens played a dominant role in the portrayal of Greece as both Oriental and European. Thus, the concept and image of an independent Greece was seen through an "othered"

⁴³ Something that later in the nineteenth-century, Greeks use as a tool to distinguish themselves as superior to the capitalistic and bourgeois attitudes of consumption of the morally corrupt West

lens.⁴⁴ Nineteenth-century artists and writers used the imagery of strong Greek women of the past to symbolize themes of national sacrifice and liberty. The theme of sacrifice was used to represent the vulnerability and massacre of the people or “nation.” There was also the more racial portrayal of vilifying the “other” who raped, enslaved, and murdered women and children. In that process, European *philhellenes* and artists often defined and preserved the public memory of these women as Orientalized or European, masculine or feminine, and self-sacrificing or selfish. Europeans at the time either “othered” Greeks as eastern or emphasized their kinship with the classical, western, past.⁴⁵ This western European “orientalism” of the East, as historian Edward Said argued, engineered and promoted stereotypes that were powerful enough to influence how individuals felt as whole. Portraying the Barbary pirates or the Ottoman leaders as the total opposite of European progress and civilization allowed the West, and Greek leaders, to gain and maintain power over the physical and intellectual narrative of certain groups.

The scope and publication of *philhellenic* books, texts, images, novels, poetry, and pamphlets dramatically increased between 1825 and 1827. *Philhellenes* are not emphasized to simply illustrate the extent of their support, but rather to notice the shift in the type of support, from whom it came, with a specific attention to women and humanitarian organizations and how this phenomenon shaped Greek female identity in the early years of the revolution and the later years of the nineteenth century. While the research of how Bouboulina (not Manto) was used as part of the evolutionary model of Greek female identity over the course of national regeneration and political shifts (war) exists, the rich narratives of their lives that hold such a dominant memory in the national history has not been available to an Anglophone audience or to non-Greek scholars. This absence has left Bouboulina, and especially Manto, largely unknown in

⁴⁴ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

⁴⁵ Beaton, *Greece: Biography of a Modern Nation*, 8-11.

comparison to women of the French, American, and Latin American revolutions. In the context of the Ottoman Empire and within Eastern Europe, and through war of independence versus a political revolution, Bouboulina and Manto are exceptions. Rather than taking place in official organizations of civil society (mainly because those did not exist in Greece beyond the church), philanthropy, camp-followers or as cross-dressers, Bouboulina and Manto played even more of a role as financiers and warriors. They fought as women in a male space and alongside their soldiers and family members. However, to appeal to philhellenes outside of Greece, the figure of Manto as “Maiden” ultimately won out over that of Bouboulina as “Warrior”—at least in the short term. Only later, as the Greek nation forged itself in subsequent conflicts, would Bouboulina become the more important figure within Greece itself.

A Note on Sources and Structure

The issue of *philhellene* sources is controversial. Greek Historian Helen Angelomatis-Tsougarakis states that, although there are memoirs and histories written by those who participated in the war and by philhellenes, they are often “fragmentary, subjective...partial...and often embellished to add romantic or exotic interest.”⁴⁶ While these sources can be problematic, together they reveal how women revolutionaries were represented and remembered. A closer look at these documents reveals how the memory and symbolic use of Bouboulina or Manto have been preserved and evolved. These romantic writings deserve consideration given the progress made in gender framework but also with new and greater access to official sources. According to Elizabeth Fraser’s *Mediterranean Encounters*, the heavy print traffic of travelogues and travel books propagated ideas of the Near East as “other”; however, the diverse professional roles of these writers and artists suggests the existence of a more “collaborative dialogue” than

⁴⁶ Helen Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, “Women in the Greek War of Independence” in Mark Mazower’s *Networks of Power in Modern Greece*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 45.

an outside or imposed portrayal on the subject.⁴⁷ In other words, the cumulative messages and meanings of these fragmentary *philhellenic* accounts, need to be read against the grain to produce an alternative and perhaps more clear image of Bouboulina's and Manto's contributions.

A typical challenge for all gender studies is the issue of sources. This usually concerns the fact that men typically wrote these histories. What they chose to write about women was usually from fascination or criticism, and often, was a way to pass judgment about the enemy they were fighting rather than to celebrate the woman's actions. Historians have had to adjust to the attitudes (bad or good) that men had about the women warriors presented. Another issue is that these sources are sometimes written well after the events occurred and not intended as historical sources or not written in a linear narrative. That means that historians must piece together the various accounts to get a full picture of a woman's actions. Then, when read against the grain of the male revolutionary narrative, a mosaic of proto-histories, personal journals and memoirs, popular paintings, prints, poems, newspapers, pamphlets, letters, government correspondence, reports, public memorabilia, and monuments produce a clearer and broader sense of their contribution. Although Bouboulina and Manto came from the mercantile elite, their character and motivations aligned with the heroic actions of common women depicted in paintings and travelogues of the time.⁴⁸ The challenge of including the experiences and actions of ordinary Greek women is an issue of sources, but as Kalliroti Parren, founder and writer of *The Ladies Newspaper*, stated in her 1889 address to the *International Congress for the Rights of Woman*, "If I were to follow the evolution of the Greek struggle step by step, and if I were to

⁴⁷ Elizabeth Fraser, *Mediterranean Encounters Artists Between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, 1774-1839*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017. Review by Roger Benjamin, University of Sydney.

⁴⁸ Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, Nina M. *French Images from the Greek War of Independence (1821-1830): Art and Politics under the Restoration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). Self-sacrifice and martyrdom were common themes in the Massacre of Chios, Missolonghi, Souliot women of Zalongo, and many more.

inspect every bloodied stone on our land, with each one that I would turn over I would discover a woman's tale."⁴⁹

The structure of this thesis is broken down into three parts and themes. Both chapters begin with a presentation of the prerevolutionary world and times the women under analysis matured as a way of considering the opportunities and limits in the Ottoman-Greek context and broader Mediterranean world of the early nineteenth-century. By doing this, I make it clear that their revolutionary actions pre-dated the start of the revolution and are tied to family, religion, status, education, and the effects of revolutionary ideas on their childhood and daily lives.⁵⁰ Afterwards, I analyze the evolution of their image and actions, and how their image was represented through gender tropes throughout the various political stages and events of revolution. Their involvement was subject to the political dynamics and circumstances of war. These women were defined by their own actions and through the roles assigned to them in popular literature and images of the broader *philhellenic* movement. Finally, I end each chapter with a brief analysis of how those tropes either change or stay the same, or the degree of such change, in images and memory in later stages of the Greek national and political history

⁴⁹ Margaret Poulos, *Arms, and the Woman*, 39.

⁵⁰ Mette Harder and Jennifer N. Heuer, *Life in Revolutionary France*; Evguenia Davidova, *Balkan Transitions to Modernity and Nation-States: Through the Eyes of Three Generations of Merchants, 1780s-1890s* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Doxiadis *Shackles of Modernity*.

CHAPTER 1: LASKARINA BOUBOULINA

“LADY CAPTAIN & WARRIOR MOTHER”

Born in a prison cell in Constantinople in 1771, Laskarina Bouboulina entered this world in the same dramatic manner in which she left it. A larger-than-life figure, Bouboulina’s contributions to the revolution fueled the imaginations of European philhellenes who recorded her actions.

Several described circumstances surrounding her untimely death in May of 1825:

Bouboulina’s house is one of the best on the island...her manners, reflective of her character, are a bit masculine but the reception she gave us was polite and hospitable. She offered us coffee, hookah and spoon sweets and showed great sorrow that we did not have time to stay for the dinner she had prepared for us. This modern Amazon with dark skin and bright eyes, full of flame, an object of praise and satire among the Greeks, came before me happy and sincere and welcomed me with great cordiality. Wanting me to tell her some good news, I announced the possible release of General Kolokotronis. If so, she replied, ‘I will go to the camp again and fight the Turks with him!’ Unfortunate woman! She did not have the opportunity to fulfill her wish. A few days later, on June 2nd [May 22], she was killed. It seems that one of the brothers [George Yiannouzas] seduced and abducted an island girl, [Eugenia Koutsi]. Because she was arranged to wed another, the young girl’s brothers encircled Bouboulina’s house [the house of her first husband Yiannouzas] to force the ‘seducer’ [her son] to return the girl so that she might resume her arranged engagement. The Amazon, who argued with them from the window, apparently used foul language in her exchange with the brothers that led to a pistol shot from the girl’s dishonored brother—suddenly putting an end to the heroine’s life. However, the island manners regarding the virtue of women were so strict that no persecution was carried out against the murderer. Instead, under the public outcry of the island, Bouboulina’s [son] was forced to marry the girl a few days later.⁵¹

The testimonies by James Emerson, Esq. and Count Pecchio illustrate the dramatic events of Bouboulina’s death in addition to the complex social and cultural structures on the island of Spetses at the time. As patriotic mother and woman of the house, she was described as warm, welcoming, and eager to feed her foreign guests. Bouboulina’s hospitality toward Emerson and

⁵¹ James Emerson and Count Pecchio, 130-131; and 336-357. Found in Olympitou, *Gynaikes tou agōna*, 68 and in K. Simopoulos, *Pws Idan Oi Kseni*, (Athens: 1978) t. D, 339. James Emerson is an Irish historian who wrote on the social conditions of Greek people under Ottoman rule.

Pecchio suggests that she maintained traditional domestic responsibilities acceptable for her gender and status. Contradictory to that domestic image is the mythical “Amazon,” her “masculine manners,” and use of “foul language” that indicate, when necessary, Bouboulina challenged the gender roles of her place and time. Ready to take up arms with General Kolokotronis, Bouboulina represented the power of an independent and liberated woman to protect her country and family. Emerson and Pecchio make a point to indicate that there was no justice following the heroine’s death, as custom dictated, because she was in the wrong. The combination of family drama, revolutionary infighting, and injustice highlight the intensity of violence in 1825, and perhaps, the limits of pre-revolutionary systems of controlling violence.

Even though the burgeoning Greek merchant class of the late eighteenth century started to adopt western European societal and cultural standards, Bouboulina grew up in the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman laws and local Greek customs shaped Bouboulina’s identity. However, Bouboulina’s public position and military actions conflicted with traditional Greek women’s roles and bourgeois European gender norms. In Ottoman Greek society, women had two options: a life of hard laborious work or a life of confinement. As a result, Bouboulina’s autonomy often intimidated Greek revolutionaries and shocked philhellenes. To make sense of her actions, philhellenes made Bouboulina “an aberration of nature—a woman exceptional in her embodiment of or capacity for manly virtues and qualities.”⁵² In myth, Amazons are represented as “obscure and indeterminate creatures” who over time acquired a negative reputation as their warlike “nature” was directly associated to excessive physical training, thereby producing masculine and exotic figures. Although Amazons were beautiful, their freedom deprived them of softer characteristics associated with western European standards of feminine beauty and

⁵² Poulos, 22-23.

character.⁵³ European writers exoticized Bouboulina to construct the secrets and marvels of an unknown land and people. In that process they Orientalized her and projected European standards on her image and actions. Even though Bouboulina's exceptional abilities and experience provide a limited case study of Greek women in the revolution, the way she was used confirmed the fact that most Greeks did not identify with the "Hellenes" who philhellenes expected to meet. The closest to what they expected were the educated elite and merchant revolutionaries. Education, however, was not intended to give women autonomy or free agency and certainly not active combat. It was through these obscure and competing political, regional, and local changes that gender roles could be invented or negotiated.

The histories, memoirs, and travelogues, like Emerson's and Pecchio's, represent contradictory variations of Bouboulina's personality and physical appearance, but their emphasis on her matronly figure and masculine authority are consistent trends. An account by Colegno claims that when the girl's brothers demanded that Bouboulina release their sister "through the window, Bouboulina screamed that in her house, she was the boss and that she could do as she pleased."⁵⁴ Regardless of whether she said these exact words, the message is that Bouboulina exercised power that transcended binary gender roles. The defense of her son and home reinforces the rare agency Bouboulina had in her life and the decisive role her contributions played in the early stages of Greek success. Rather than wield her pen in protest of her limitations as a woman, Bouboulina lived in defiance of it through her actions.

⁵³ Eleni Fournakraki, "Bodies that Differ: Mid and Upper-Class Women and the Quest for 'Greekness' in Female Bodily Culture (1896-1940)", *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 27, No. 12 (2010), 2058-2059. Kalliroti Parren, author of the *The Ladies Journal* analyzes the Amazon as public/Ottoman-Oriental/masculine vs. Heraia—the private/Hellenistic/modest—as means of inventing an acceptable and superior middle-upper class ideal of female Greekness.

⁵⁴ Xsiradaki, *Ginekes tou 21'*, 69 and in in K. Simopoulos, *Pos Idan Oi Kseni*, t. D, 185.

Despite the circumstances that allowed a woman like Bouboulina to come to the forefront of public life, the old realities of patriarchy still defined the rules of private life. Bouboulina dared to break those rules all in the name of patriotism. Her death, a tragedy shrouded in silence, ultimately highlights the ongoing struggle between the old and the new cultural context, in a world as contradictory and transient as any revolutionary period. A few days following her death, Tsar Alexander I sent a Russian delegation to bestow on her the title of Admiral of the Russian fleet.⁵⁵ Until recently, Bouboulina was the only woman in naval history to hold this title. In 2018, Greece finally honored the heroine by granting her the title of Rear Admiral of the Hellenic Navy. The same honor granted by Tsar Alexander to acknowledge Bouboulina's contributions two hundred years ago was denied to her by the nation she had sacrificed everything to liberate.

Combining philhellene memoirs with correspondence and legal documents, this chapter will place Bouboulina in the context of Ottoman and especially Spetsiot society to explain her remarkable agency in the war. The first section of this chapter provides the economic, military, and cultural aspects of Ottoman-Spetsiot society in the pre-revolutionary years to set the circumstances of Bouboulina's upbringing and childhood. What follows is Bouboulina's role as a wife, mother, and merchant next to her emergence as a revolutionary figure. Her place among soldiers and statesmen was recorded by philhellenes, travelers, and historians. The narrative of Bouboulina's role as "Lady Captain" is structured chronologically. This regional and socio-economic approach is crucial to understanding what acceptable roles were available to Bouboulina, with a specific consideration on how Bouboulina either challenged or subscribed to the norms available to her. Merchant women in the Ottoman Balkans could inherit property, manage their own dowry, and engage in commercial investments in ways that surpassed the

⁵⁵ Varikas, "Women's Participation in the Greek Revolution", 161.

abilities of most European women.⁵⁶ The opportunities Bouboulina had were generally available to Greek women of her class, but her political and combative roles were unusual for her time.

This study adds to the broader historical discourse surrounding gender and war by juxtaposing the practical contributions Bouboulina made to the revolution as a wealthy widow and mother, to the often masculine and contradictory representations of her image and actions over time. Because Bouboulina fought among men, these predominantly male accounts raise complicated questions regarding Greek women's public and private roles and how the influence of philhellenism and nationalism both shaped and reinforced gender roles during and after the revolution. Regardless of their contradictions, numerous memoirs and travelogues illustrate Bouboulina's heroic actions and exceptional role. This chapter will explore Bouboulina's role as 'Warrior Mother' through the intermediary and symbolic portrayals that accelerated the formation of a public imaginary of Greek women over the nineteenth century. The final part of the chapter examines the evolution of her image next to general paintings and common gendered depictions of the Greek Revolution to synthesize the national legacy of the war heroine in contrast to her contemporary and subject of the next chapter, the "Mykonian Madonna," Manto Mavrogenous.

⁵⁶ Davidova, *Balkan Transitions...*,104.

To gain an understanding of Bouboulina's actions, the backdrop of nineteenth-century Ottoman and Spetsiot day-to-day routine is essential. This section will focus on illustrating Spetses' maritime trade, involvement in pre-revolutionary conflicts, and explain how these developments set the stage for Bouboulina's upbringing, marriages, and public notoriety. Located in the Saronic Gulf and off the north-east coast from the Peloponnese, Spetses was a cosmopolitan island that attracted trade from around the Mediterranean (*Figure 1*). The way that Ottoman authority maintained its vast empire depended on the relationships between the appointed locals who would collect taxes and report to the Sultan. European society underwent significant change between the late seventeenth century and the early nineteenth century because of three significant events: the Russo-Turkish Wars 1768-1774, the French Revolution of 1789-99, and the Napoleonic Wars, 1803-1815. Disruptions in the "balance of power" and the dissemination of liberalism and nationalist rhetoric began to dismantle the brokerage networks between the Ottoman Porte, its provinces, and communities.⁵⁷ Especially impacted was the more recently annexed region of the Morea in 1715. A combination of heavy taxation, restrictions, and surveillance were imposed on the peasants and merchant elites of the empire. In response, elites banded together and welcomed European and Russian arms. The new loyalties and alliances were protected through the Masonic society, *Philiki Etaireia*, and funded by philhellenes and the Greek diaspora, specifically, the western educated *Phanariots*.⁵⁸ By 1818, the society had a large membership of prominent notables, military leaders, and intellectuals who were stationed on mainland Greece.⁵⁹ A large reason for why the Morea, or Peloponnese, led the revolutionary

⁵⁷ Barky, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*,

⁵⁸ Brewer, 29-30.

⁵⁹ Brewer, 35.

forces instead of other Balkan areas of Greek communities is directly tied to their relative autonomy from Ottoman rule.

Spetses's golden years were the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when significant changes in the social structure and economy occurred. In the fifteenth century, the population of the island consisted mainly of Arvanites (Christian Albanian migrants), but as business opportunities in trade of textiles and grain increased, mainland settlers arrived from Laconia, Kinouria, Argolida, and Ermionida. By the end of the eighteenth century, the island had acquired its final composition and settlement on the northwest side, facing the Argolis mainland. As trade flourished between the Danube, Mediterranean, and Caspian seas, Spetses built a prestigious maritime reputation but eventually found itself embroiled in a series of revolts and wars.

The first of these was the Orlov Revolution of 1769-70, which occurred during the Russo-Turkish Wars of 1768-1774. The Russo-Turkish Wars reflect the "dual character of tsarist policy," which protected Orthodox Christians under philhellene Catherine the Great, whose diplomats found economic opportunity among the Ottoman peripheries.⁶⁰ Spetses and the rest of the Morea was drawn into the revolution by Russian military commander Fyodor Orlov and the wealthiest Greek notable, Panagiotis Benakis, on the pretext that it would become a satellite-state of the Russian Empire. What Russia was unaware of, was that the Greeks did not all agree to this revolt and that, by fighting on the side of Benakis and Orlov, the Russians alienated other factions. Spetses and Hydra's leaders, including Bouboulina's father, supported Benakis.⁶¹ Under Captain Lazaros Massaoutis, Spetses took on a large role in supporting Orlov in the revolts. The

⁶⁰ Lucien J. Frary, "Russian Consuls and the Greek War of Independence (1821-31)" *Mediterranean Historical Review*, Vol. 28 No. 1, (2013), 47.

⁶¹ These islands neighbor each other and have similar economic and naval importance. Her father's and stepfather's roles also give Bouboulina an inherited "noble" status instead of klepht- which she sides with later in the Revolution.

revolt ultimately failed, the Russians retreated, and the island of Spetses was burned by Ottoman authorities.⁶² Despite the mistrust between the local Greeks and Russians for the revolt's failure, the Lazarou family renamed themselves to "Orlof" as means of showing pro-Russian loyalties.⁶³ These same notables, and their children, would take part in the Revolution of 1821. The history of these loyalties influences Bouboulina's participation in the revolution and her position in the civil war between revolutionary leaders in 1823-1825.

Greeks who survived the aftermath of 1769-70 sought amnesty from the Ottomans, which was at first denied. The war lasted until 1774, by which point Spetses finally acquired amnesty under the Treaty of Kucuk Kaynarca. This treaty ceded the Balkan territories to the Russians, gave autonomy to Moldavia and Wallachia, and provided unrestricted access to the Black and Mediterranean Seas for Russia. Most importantly, the Greeks were awarded special privileges on "import duties and tariffs," whereby Russians could "obtain the right to dispense 'berats' or protégé status to Ottoman subjects, thus affording them all the legal rights and economic privileges."⁶⁴ In simpler terms, the treaty allowed Greek elites and merchants to capitalize off the legal pluralism of the time. As a result, Spetsiots, well known for their shipping trade, acquired a large naval force, commercial trade, and wealth. They built ships and adopted foreign flags on their ships as protection from Barbary pirates or *corsairs*, which had flooded the Mediterranean in the late eighteenth century.⁶⁵ Pirates often pillaged coastal towns, seized ships, and captured Christians for the Ottoman slave trade.⁶⁶ In addition to protecting themselves, over

⁶² Gallant, *Modern Greece: From the War of Independence to the Present*, 18.

⁶³ Andreas Koubis, *Spetses in the Revolutionary Fight: From Orlof Revolt to the Naval Battle of Spetses 1770-1822* (Athens: Cultural Club of Spetses, 2002), 12, as cited in Householder, *Life and Legacy of Laskarina Bouboulina*, 2006, 3.

⁶⁴ Gallant, *Modern Greece*, 19.

⁶⁵ Molly Green, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press), 2000.

⁶⁶ Mylonakis, "Mediterranean Piracy in Near East,"

time Spetses won the favor of two local Ottoman admirals, thereby increasing their naval power and trade in grain. At first only sailing within Greek seas, by time of the Napoleonic Wars the Spetses merchants expanded naval activity into the Pontus region (northern Balkan region), across the Mediterranean, to the Baltic Sea and to the Americas. The ships from Hydra, Psara and Spetses were a light and swift fleet of “explosive boats” whose quick techniques in battle wreaked havoc on larger vessels.⁶⁷ The combination of protected merchant trade and improved techniques would prove decisive in Greece’s revolutionary naval fleet and its victories.

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars allowed Spetses to capitalize off European blockades. The French blockade on English trade in the Mediterranean, abolition of the Venetian presence, and the French-Spanish War created favorable conditions for Greek shippers who monopolized trade for the French. Greeks mostly traded grain, which secured great profits and led to the establishment of large commercial houses. As a result, the increase of foreign investments during and after the Napoleonic Wars broke the Ottoman monopoly on trade in Spetses and elsewhere in the Mediterranean. As prime investors, the French created opportunities for prominent local shipping heirs to form a large Spetsiot elite.⁶⁸ A broad French presence also strengthened the connection between the Greek intelligentsia and philhellenes, whose European customs and ideas influenced standards of higher education and the implementation of more structured and just political systems.

Evidence of everyday life on the island of Spetses is drawn from testimonials, travelogues, ship contracts, buying and selling lists, dowries, wills, letters, and clothing that were located among legal documents that elite merchants held onto for compensation for lost or destroyed ships. An abundance of these sources reflects the societal values of the island. A

⁶⁷ Varikas, 155.

⁶⁸ A large presence in Marseilles, where Bouboulina’s large safe was made.

lower-class perspective of life on the island is difficult to construct because servants and agricultural workers rarely maintained records due to the infrequent need for compensation. Servants and workers were also illiterate. Many elite households had slaves, or *arapines/arapisses*, and servants from the Peloponnese, or migrants from the massacres in Chios, Psara, and Kasios who came to the island for work.⁶⁹ Records of interactions with lower class servants and slaves are frequently noted and portray a complex society where eastern and western culture overlapped among the island's elite. This unique culture is crucial to understanding how Bouboulina's image and actions were illustrated as both "eastern" and "western."

A travelogue by a Methodist cleric named Wilson describes a visit to a Spetsiot home in 1824.⁷⁰ This visit was to the home of Captain Kolandtroutsou, who was described by the cleric as a handsome and athletic man around the age of forty-five. Wilson writes that the captain had "Turkish slaves." Upon entering the house, he had to take off his shoes, and to sit cross-legged on the sofa. The gentleman of the home greeted the visitor and then presented his wife and daughters, who served him water and "spoon sweets" (a syrupy fruit preserve made of bergamot rind or fig). Then they were each presented with smoking pipes that were four or five feet long and made of cherry wood. The gentleman smoked and then passed the pipe onto his neighbor while saying the phrase "and to your health." A cultural difference is mentioned at this point about the process and ritual of smoking. Wilson notes, "Greek smokers don't compare with the silent Germans who speak as much as horses do in a stable. In Greece, you 'fume' and chat—discussion without a pipe and a pipe without discussion is unthinkable."⁷¹ After ten minutes, the

⁶⁹ Kalomira Argiriou, "Genikes Ipothesis tou 19 Agona"

⁷⁰ Simopoulos, Pos Idan H Kseni Tin Ellada tou '21, 62-70. Missionaries and Protestantism in Anatolia, *Ellinikon kai to Ellinikon Ethnos* (Smyrni, 1836).

⁷¹ Simopoulos, 62-70.

“nikokira” (servant of the house) served coffee—without milk—in fine porcelain. Each cup was placed in a gold or silver socket because there was no base. The visit concluded with more smoking, the consumption of another coffee or two, and conversation.

In the account above, the hostess of the home presented her daughters, which suggests that captains allowed their women to be seen for the purpose of displaying status. The cleric was also a holy man in the eyes of the captain and unlikely to seduce his daughters. Elsewhere in the memoir, Wilson mentions that on a former visit to Hydra, he believed the women lived away from the main quarters (this was more often the case). In another visit to Theodore Santsou, he formulated the opinion that Greek women were mistreated. Santsou corrected him by exclaiming, “Do you see Captain Andrea (his son) ...if he wants, he can take his woman with him on his ship leaving for the campaign. He can of course also kill her if he wants!”⁷² Santsou confirmed that women were obedient to men but that captains could also bring their women on their ships should they find it necessary. The way of life on the islands was completely foreign to outsiders, who were often shocked by what they heard and saw. This is particularly important when considering the perspective of male philhellenes who recorded Bouboulina’s actions and sayings in both traditional female and more masculine roles, especially given her exceptional position as “Lady Captain” of her ships. The stereotypes projected on her emerged from this gender and cultural framework.

⁷² Simopoulos, 62-70.

Bouboulina: “Born a Rebel”

Originally from the island of Hydra, Bouboulina was born (1771) into a family of revolutionaries. Reminiscent of a classical Greek drama, Bouboulina was born in the right place and at the right time. Laskarina Pinotsis was born in a prison cell in Constantinople, while her mother Skevo was visiting her dying husband, Hydriot captain Stavrianos Pinotsis, who was arrested by the Ottomans for fighting on the Russian side of the Orlov Revolution of 1769-1770.⁷³ This revolution set the stage for both Bouboulina’s future and the Masonic organization that would later spearhead the Greek revolution, known as the *Philiki Etaireia*. Under Catherine the Great’s expansionist policies, the city of Odessa was founded in what is modern-day Ukraine. This city became a haven for Greek merchants who would later gather support and funding for the war. The Russian plan was to stir a Greek revolt against the Ottomans, revive the Byzantine Empire, and create a satellite kingdom out of Greece. Bouboulina’s father was one of the many island notables who met the Russian call with enthusiasm, based on the messianic orthodox belief that “blonde warriors from the north” would come liberate the Greeks from Muslims. The Russians ultimately failed, but these skirmishes created an opportunity for Greek commercial ships to act, as northern Balkan refugees fled into the Peloponnese carrying recollections of Ottoman brutality and the language of independence.⁷⁴ Although most recollections of the uprising were transmitted orally, publications in the form of propaganda circulated in the Balkans and Europe.

Four years after her father’s death, Bouboulina’s mother Skevo married Spetsiot captain Dimitrios Lazarou “Orlof” in 1776 and moved to neighboring Spetses. Her mother’s second

⁷³ Skevo, like Bouboulina, is a bold figure for taking the risk to travel to Constantinople well into her pregnancy and in terrible prison conditions. This boldness is repeated by Bouboulina in her trip to Constantinople in 1816 -1818 to secure and defend her inheritance.

⁷⁴ Brewer, ch.3-4.

marriage choice later influenced Bouboulina's political leanings, given that both her father and stepfather fought against the Ottomans prior to 1821. Furthermore, Orlof's reverence of Catherine the Great could have also influenced his progressive views on Bouboulina's education.⁷⁵ Her mother's remarriage also marked Bouboulina's unconventional destiny, as her stepfather allowed her to participate in the family's naval activities and provided tutors who educated her in writings of the Enlightenment.⁷⁶ For the average woman, Greek society was traditional and oppressive. Girls married as young as fourteen and had the moral responsibility of preserving their family's honor. A dowry was provided as a means of solidifying economic and family ties, but Greek women had full ownership of their dowry and could contest its misappropriation in church courts and even lay claims for divorce.

Demotic songs illustrate everyday women's fears and sorrows of "forced/arranged marriages, as well as the abduction of women by obsessed admirers."⁷⁷ These songs also contained themes of "marital love....and the sorrow and anguish of long-term spousal separation, as husbands pursued employment in distant foreign lands (*xenitia*) or went to sea."⁷⁸ Bouboulina more than likely heard these demotic songs from her mother and locals whose lives depended on long-distance trade. Typically, women in nineteenth-century Greek communities did not receive an education unless they were part of the Greek Phanariot diaspora or merchant elite.⁷⁹ In Spetses, an exception was made for women of wealthy captains, who were expected to assume inheritance in case of pirate attacks at sea. With the advantage of literacy along with the expectations of high-born standing and merchant trade, Bouboulina was situated to surpass the

⁷⁵ Householder, 3.

⁷⁶ Original first edition copies of Voltaire's publications are found among her personal items in Spetses.

⁷⁷ Poulos, 21.

⁷⁸ Poulos, 22.

⁷⁹ Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, 63-64.

more passive status of wife, mother, and daughter, because the stakes were high, and her patriotism was shaped by more radical revolutionary ideals.

Bouboulina grew up alongside her eight siblings and was known to have “loved the sea, gone swimming and fishing, steered ships, ridden horseback, and enjoyed *klepht* songs.”⁸⁰ Her literacy enabled her to read European books, pamphlets, poems, and songs that favored independence from oppressive regimes. One of the most widely spread and famous of these was Rigas Feraios’ battle-hymn “Thourios,” published in 1797, which addressed all Orthodox populations in the Ottoman Empire, not just the Greek-speaking. The poem’s most famous line proclaims it is “better to live one hour free...than forty years a slave and prisoner.”⁸¹ Much of the propaganda published by Greek and non-Greek supporters fashioned their messages in common vernacular and religious language to drum up support from all classes, but in terms of Bouboulina’s leanings, “the bourgeois youth abroad, along with some of the islands’ ship owners, were open to liberal tendencies and the ideas of the Enlightenment, science and progress, while the local intelligentsia, infused with a secular, democratic spirit inspired...by the French Revolution, advocated immediate action.”⁸² In addition, Bouboulina was exposed to the sailors’ talk of freedom and witnessed the Ottoman destruction of the island of Spetses in retribution for the Orlov Revolution of 1769. These experiences fueled her revolutionary ideals.⁸³

Bouboulina’s first marriage in 1788 was at the age of seventeen to Spetsiot captain Dimitrios Yiannouzas. This marriage gave her two sons, Gianni and George, and a daughter, Maria. At around the age of thirty, Bouboulina was widowed, after Dimitrios drowned in a

⁸⁰ Xsilaraki, 267. *Klepht* songs emerged in the 16th century. They are demotic songs, such as the poem by Rigas, that express themes of struggle, heroism, regionalism, and passion.

⁸¹ “Thourios”

⁸² Varikas, 155.

⁸³ Jennifer Heuer, *Life in Revolutionary France*, 487. Kindle Edition

conflict with Algerian pirates in 1797. Bouboulina was urged to remarry by her relatives. Her second marriage was to captain Dimitrios Bouboulis, whose name she adopted, becoming “Bouboulina,” or wife of Bouboulis. Witnesses described him as a violent personality, who was very keen on marrying Bouboulina.⁸⁴ From this marriage she had two more daughters, Skevo (after her mother) and Eleni, a son, Nikolaos, and three stepchildren.⁸⁵ In May of 1811, Bouboulis was killed in a squabble with two French “cruise” ships on his way back from Europe.⁸⁶ His crew, under the command of Antonios Kotsinomi, managed to save the ship and the capital he was transporting and bring them back to Spetses.⁸⁷ These two marriages strengthened her merchant position on the island, in addition to her own noble line and close relation to the well-known Mavrogenous family.⁸⁸

The conditions in which both spouses lost their lives is indicative of the dangerous maritime world Bouboulina lived in. These captains engaged in long-distance trade and smuggling, managing spoils, business operations, and high-risk investments. Considering the law of the time, her widowhood allowed her to take charge of a cash inheritance of 300 tallara, or Spanish silver coins, in addition to property and ships. Though she had two older sons Gianni and George, Bouboulina acted autonomously. Based on Byzantine Orthodox canonical law, women “were recognized as owners of their dowry and heirs of their husbands’ property as well as the children from the same and previous marriages—and even the late husband’s siblings.”⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Anastasios K. Orlandos, *Ta Naftika*, 68.

⁸⁵ Francois Pouqueville, *Historie de la regeneration de la Grece, 1770-1838*, “H Istoría Tis Ellin Epanastaseos”, reference to Alex Soutsou, *Tourkomahos Ellas*, 212.

⁸⁶ The ships he was on carried the English Flag, which explains the French attack in the context of 1811.

⁸⁷ Stefanos Ksenos and Hatzi Anargirou narrates the incident of Bouboulis’ death: as he was celebrating his victory, only to be shot in the head.

⁸⁸ Apparently, Bouboulina and Manto were distantly related through the daughter of Dimitrios Mavrogenous, Flora, which made her part of the ruling/noble local community; cited in Blancard, *The Mavrogenous Family*, Athens 2006; 384. and in Olympitou, 2010.

⁸⁹ Davidova, 111.

Bouboulina was responsible for the entire fortune but, given the circumstances of her husband's death and his status as honorary Russian citizen, Bouboulina faced inheritance complications as her own status was limited to Ottoman subject.

In 1816, the Ottomans tried to lay claim to Bouboulina's wealth due to Bouboulis' involvement in the Turko-Russian Wars in 1806-1811, where he served as Captain of the Russian Navy and an honorary Russian citizen.⁹⁰ Bouboulina had support from Russian Ambassador, and known philhellene, Count Stroganoff.⁹¹ For her, he helped produce an official letter signed by the Russian Admiral Senior, in which all her husband's services to Russia were cited. Her position was made even stronger by the fact that her ships were, at the time, flying the Russian flag, which was permissible under the 1774 Treaty of Kucuk Kaynarca, when certain rights were awarded to the Greeks. After three months of exile on an estate provided by Tsar Alexander I of Russia, Bouboulina received an audience with the Sultan's mother, Valide-Sultana. Impressed by her character and personality and moved by her pleas for help, the Sultana convinced her son, Sultan Mahmud II, to issue a *firman*, or royal decree, that protected Bouboulina and her fortune (*Figure 2*).⁹² This account is interesting in the fact that Bouboulina appealed to both the Russians and Ottomans and seems to have handled her negotiations in a diplomatic manner regardless of being a woman. Furthermore, she took the risk to act without a male representative, which was customary among merchant widows of the time.

After resolving the inheritance matter, Bouboulina managed and increased the family's fortune through partnerships, commercial activities, shipbuilding, and trade. Five of her ships

⁹⁰ Dionysios Kokkinos, *H Elliniki Epanastasi*, Athens: Melissa, t.2 – 156.

⁹¹ Mazower, 32. Baron Stroganoff (1770-1857), aristocrat and diplomat, made Count in 1826 but went on a mission to Constantinople between 1816-1821; supported repressed Greek Orthodox communities.

⁹² The *firman* is housed on display in the Bouboulina museum and on the back of that *firman*, are the plans for her flagship Agamemnon (see: Appendix A: Figure 2)

were used in trading grain in Constantinople, Pontus, and elsewhere.⁹³ To represent the level of Bouboulina's wealth, her flagship, *Agamemnon*, cost her 75 tallara. This was the largest ship in the entire naval fleet of the revolution. In its construction, Bouboulina had a heavy hand manipulating the plans to design a much larger and heavily armed ship (*Figure 2*). In 1820, she began the construction of her flagship *Agamemnon* in a Spetsiot shipyard. The vessel was thirty-three meters long and secretly armed with eighteen firing cannons. Later in the war, correspondence among the executives of Greece's Revolutionary and Provisional Administration in 1825 detailed the regional contributions to the war effort, which included Bouboulina's name and signature as representative of the islands Hydra and Spetses.⁹⁴ A closer look at a document from 1827 containing the overall monetary contribution from Psara, Hydra, and Spetses details the amount from each island. Spetses seems to have contributed 5,230,985.29, Hydra 10,505,041.00 and Psara 984,023.20. Bouboulina's role, therefore, goes beyond the heroic actions narrated in poems and memoirs. Spetses' financial contribution was equal to, if not well above, other islands that contributed to the burgeoning Greek navy and invaluable to bankrolling the initial Greek victories in 1821.

⁹³ Rigopoulos, *Apomnimonevmata*, 21, found in Olympitou, 47.

⁹⁴ GAK – 1825 Provisional Government Correspondence, "Εκτελεστικόν" 1821 – 1825 Reference Code: GRGSACSA_PCVLA.AA.S01.SS01.F000008.

The Revolution: “Lady Captain”

Around 1816-17, Bouboulina supposedly became a member or close affiliate of the *Philiki Etaireia*. An affiliation is plausible considering her strategic and financial contributions to the war and close ties with those listed.⁹⁵ The *Philiki Etaireia* was formed in Odessa, and during her 1816 visit to Constantinople and Russia, Bouboulina possibly met with members of the society who knew of her prominent position in Spetses. The exclusivity and secrecy of the society was alluring, and membership expanded as more important figures joined between 1816-1818. The protection Russia provided her, and the connections she forged with revolutionary figures, are critical in explaining her intermediary role in the revolution. Bouboulina’s important position in such a patriarchal society suggests some gender role fluidity in early modern Greek society, especially before independence. In the context of the revolution, Bouboulina evolves from merchant mother and widow to the warrior mother and amazon.

Historians have gone back and forth on whether women indeed did join the *Philiki Etaireia*. Various women, who were wives of members, joined for the security of the membership, and after “1818 on, the society began a very broad recruitment...systematically contacting all women who, by their proximity to institutions of power, might be useful to the cause.”⁹⁶ Admitted at the lowest level of hierarchy, their participation came in the form of donating dowries, collecting funds, and as couriers. Women were less suspect and could carry out missions under the noses of Ottoman authority or inspection.⁹⁷ Bouboulina’s name is not on the membership list, but brothers and close relatives of hers are, indicating that she may have been a silent benefactor or simply acted indirectly through her contributions to the war effort. In

⁹⁵ Householder, 4.

⁹⁶ Varikas, 159.

⁹⁷ Varikas, 159-160.

addition to her military contributions, the close ties she maintained with Russian diplomats and the Tsar in years leading up to the revolution made her politically and economically invaluable.

Bouboulina's preparations for the revolution included the illegal buying of arms and ammunition from foreign ports, which she brought to Spetses in secrecy on board her own ships and hid in her home and throughout the island. In 1818, Bouboulina's two stepsons brought her actions to the attention of Patriarch Gregory V. Gianni and Panteli Bouboulis accused Bouboulina of misusing their fathers', and their future, inheritance. The accusation was that Bouboulina used the inheritance without their permission specifically for the construction of warships suspected to aid a future uprising.⁹⁸ By 1818, the combination of revolutionary rumors and heavy underground recruitment of members to *Philiki Etaireia* led to Ottoman restrictions on the type of armament permitted on Greek vessels. Bouboulina's plans, however, were already secured from her trip to Constantinople and the *firman*. The armaments allowed would only be enough for defense against pirates. Bouboulina justified the need for the cannons to fend off pirate attacks to secure Ottoman interest as well as her own.⁹⁹ By Ottoman law, it was the Patriarch's administrative role to hold Greek Orthodox communities responsible for their legal and social behavior. Through the millet system, each community was locally administered by their own religious leaders. Each religious community had a representative in Istanbul, the Patriarch in this case. Typically, religious officials handled inheritance disputes because they had their own court systems that kept track of marriage files. The reasons her stepsons reported Bouboulina to the Patriarch instead of local Spetsiot authorities lead to several interesting conclusions.

⁹⁸ GAK, K.35e: 1820, "Patriarch's Denunciation of Bouboulina to the Metropolis of Nafplion and Argos."

⁹⁹ Bouboulina museum pamphlet; Kokkinos, 156.

The first is that as a merchant's widow, Bouboulina, likely had the legal and sympathetic support from local church officials. The second, is that her stepsons- went to the Patriarch to threaten her as a "condemned member of the church" without directly involving Ottoman and Spetsiot authorities.¹⁰⁰ Their timing was also opportunistic given how rumblings of the revolution had just started and how she had expanded their fortune. In response, Bouboulina presented the entire contents of her inheritance to the provosts of the island to preserve her reputation and to prove that her entrepreneurial abilities increased the value of the inheritance and legitimized her right to maintain full ownership. The Patriarch's denunciation was never withdrawn, but Bouboulina completed the construction of her ships and appointed her eldest son, Yiannos Yiannouzas, as admiral of her ships. Her stepsons never followed the legacy of their father and did not participate in the revolutionary efforts led by Bouboulina.¹⁰¹ Thus, Bouboulina's motives to support the rebels may have been premeditated, but what nudged her further was her stepsons' threat and the defense of her own property.

By 1821, Bouboulina had her own small army of Spetsiots—her "brave young lads"—who, together with the crews of her ships, she armed, fed, and paid. She built four ships in total, *Agamemnon*, *Achilles*, *Hercules*, and *Bouboulina*, and launched her fleet in the Battles for Nafplion, Monemvasia, Corinth, Argos, and Tripoli.¹⁰² On March 13, 1821, twelve days before the official beginning of the revolution, Bouboulina raised her own flag, which was also the first naval revolutionary flag, on the main mast of the *Agamemnon*. Although details about how Bouboulina's flag was designed are unknown, its symbolism reinforces the idea of national

¹⁰⁰ Gregory V was not a supporter of the revolution and played no active role in its preparations. But he did know what was being planned and excommunicated a lot of the rebels (Bouboulina included). His murder at the hands of Ottoman authorities at the start of the uprising, ironically serves as a symbolic martyr for the cause but also how the Greeks are rebelling against their own ecclesiastical authorities.

¹⁰¹ GAK, K.35e, 1820, "Patriarch's denunciation of Bouboulina to the Metropolis of Nafplion and Argos."

¹⁰² Xiradaki, 273.

‘regeneration’ or rebirth through the theme of sacrifice. The flag shows an eagle with an anchor at one foot and a phoenix rising from the other, symbolizing the rebirth of the nation with the aid of naval forces (*Figure 3*). The eagle’s lowered wings represent Greece’s captivity under the Ottoman Empire while the red represents the blood of the soldiers sacrificing their lives and the blue represents the sea. The symbols and themes of sacrifice and liberation later emerge in European paintings that display the efforts and experiences of Greek women in the same exact way. Both Greeks and Europeans’ use of these symbols and themes generate a gendered and religious element to the concepts of nation and freedom.

Most men name their ships after women, but as “Lady Captain” Bouboulina named hers after a man. Not just any man, but King Agamemnon, commander of the Greek forces who sailed to take down the Trojan rivals to the East. Perhaps, the name of her ship draws parallels to taking down the Ottomans in the East, but the remainder of the story deserves consideration. To be victorious, Agamemnon sacrificed his daughter to appease Artemis, and for that, his wife murdered him in revenge. The poem in the introduction of this project opens with Bouboulina as Artemis and Hera. Given the power the goddesses and his wife had over Agamemnon suggests that Bouboulina played an equal role to Europeans in emphasizing her Hellenic identity by endorsing the classical past promulgated by philhellenes. Her strength, self-assertion, and command of her “brave young lads,” also indicate that Bouboulina fought on her own terms.

In April of 1821, Bouboulina led the naval blockade of Nafplion with her oldest son from her first marriage, Yiannis Yiannouzas. One of the largest and most impregnable Ottoman strongholds in the Peloponnese, Nafplion was important to the Greek forces because the port contained heavy coastal fortifications and access to artillery that the Greeks desperately needed. Bouboulina’s blockade was the starting point for the legendary narrative of her brave role in

combat. A combination of the maternal mother and warrior tropes were used by philhellenes in positive but stereotypical ways. According to Orlando's account, Bouboulina "triumphantly entered the city of Argos, accompanied by her sons and many Spetsiot gunmen, the men of Argos were amazed by her strength and courage, and out of respect called her Our Lady."¹⁰³ Orlando applauds her, but an analogous account by Dionisios Kokkinos also draws attention to the soldiers' enthusiasm and respect for the "Kapetanissa" (Lady Captain), but with a special description of her physical characteristics and unusual place for a woman. Unlike Kokkinos, Orlando was only focused on the respect she received. Most of Kokkinos' attention objectified her physical qualities and reduced her to the more familiar stereotype of the "plump" widow mother who at the age of forty-five showed evidence of a childbearing figure.¹⁰⁴ Her stern masculine expressions, coupled with the gun and sword hanging from her belt, allowed her to captivate her warriors with the "magic of the heroine."

The naval blockade ended in a temporary retreat and random battles on the Argolis mainland. Splitting the forces fighting against Ali Pasha in Epirus, Mehemet Pasha sent 3,500 Ottoman troops under the leadership of Mustafa Bey to put down the rebellion in the Peloponnese. Their numbers alone caused the Greek forces to disperse. On April 24, 1821, Bouboulina's son Yianni died in a battle against the Ottomans in the outskirts of Argos. With the loss of her son, Bouboulina acquired the image of warrior mother. Taitbout de Marigny recalled that when hearing of her son's death, Bouboulina courageously "ran into the battlefield to retrieve her son's severed head, and on the way slaughtered three Turks with her own sword." Although grieving, Bouboulina delivered the news of her son's death herself: "my son is dead,

¹⁰³ Anastasios K. Orlandos

¹⁰⁴ Kokkinos, 159.

but Argos remains ours.”¹⁰⁵ The themes of victory and death are linked to the stories of Spartan women who sacrificed their sons in battle with pride. Although a mother, Bouboulina was portrayed as a patriot willing to risk her life and sacrifice her sons for Greece’s freedom. However, the portrayal of her warrior image was a product of the increasingly negative reputation of armed women that emerged in the context of universal male conscription (not a development in Greece but in Europe). Since the French Revolution, the idea of citizenship was linked to an exclusive male right that was earned through war. Women engaging in combat meant that the standard gender and social order was decaying and unnatural.¹⁰⁶ Bouboulina represented the traditional feminine love of her son and the direct war-time qualities of masculine virtues, namely, carrying guns and swords and cutting men’s heads off. In contrast to Marigny, German soldier and traveler Carl Kösterus, described Bouboulina wearing all black and a “black headscarf on her head,” and follows with “although most of what is written about her is exaggerated, she is a true patriot.”¹⁰⁷ He reduced her masculine warrior qualities to the mourning mother patriot, because even the idea that she would or could act as a man was incomprehensible and made men look inadequate. This mournful Bouboulina was popular among philhellenes who fused the mournful image of Bouboulina to artists’ allegorical paintings of Greek battles and massacres to stir sympathy for Greece’s suffering women, children, and culture (*Figure 13*).

It seems probable that the initial success in the revolution would have been difficult without Bouboulina’s initiatives and strong forces. Spetses became the first of the Saronic islands to enter the war on April 3rd, followed later by the fleets of Hydra and Psara. These islands provided approximately 300 naval vessels. As owner of her ships, Bouboulina had

¹⁰⁵ Simopoulos, 318. Tainbont de Marigny (in Morea at the time 1821-22)

¹⁰⁶ Hagemann, “Heroic Virgins and Bellicose Amazons,” 511.

¹⁰⁷ Simopoulos, 318. German soldier came to Greece as a mercenary of the Ottoman army and ended up on the Greek side because the agents who brought him in were fraudulent and the Greeks offered him large sums of money.

complete control over whether she would charter her vessels to the provisional government because “neither the revolutionary government nor the authorities of the islands could commandeer the ships and it remained at the discretion of the shipowner and each individual sailor as to whether they embarked on a mission.”¹⁰⁸ A letter written to Bouboulina in June of 1821 by male commanders Dimitris Ypsilantis and Andreas Lontou revealed a need for her ships to secure the Corinth Canal that was left open due to a disagreement among the regional leaders. The letter mentioned that Bouboulina’s brother and son were trapped in Galaxidi (a port near Corinth), and that additional ships were needed from Hydra and Spetses. Addressed as “Kapetanissa,” the female version for captain, or “Lady Captain,” the letter shows how their situation hinged on her assistance.¹⁰⁹ This is significant because, even after her son’s death, important statesmen gave Bouboulina authority and reverence in decisive moments. Her compatriots’ respect gave Bouboulina de-facto status as a general whose assistance was valued among and even above certain men.

Before the final Siege of Nafplion in 1822, Bouboulina set her sights on assisting the Greek campaign on land in Tripolitsa from May 1821 to September 23, 1821. Situated in the center of the Peloponnese, Tripolitsa had the largest population of Albanians, Jews, and Turks, many of whom took refuge following the initial stages of the revolution (*Figure 12*). As the headquarters of the Turkish governor in the Morea, the city housed enormous wealth. Bouboulina’s intentions aren’t recorded in the testimonies of the time, but we know for certain that she did not go alone. She was accompanied by many armed Spetsiot men and, based on

¹⁰⁸ Kitromilides and Tsoukalas, *The Greek Revolution: A Critical Dictionary*, 153.

¹⁰⁹ Anargiros Andreou Hatzi-Anargirou, *Ta Spetsiotika*, Athens: Mavromatis, 1861 “Epitsoli tou Andrea Lontou”, 221.

accounts from philhellenes and the leaders involved, she aimed to solidify her equal position among revolutionary chiefs, specifically Theodoros Kolokotronis, and to perhaps acquire riches from the city's potential fall. The significance of her role in Tripolitsa paints a less than honorable image of Bouboulina. Several observers justified her right to the spoils while most hold her to unfair and higher standards based on the virtues associated with being a woman: modesty, restraint, etc. By this point, Bouboulina had exhausted a significant amount of her resources and had lost her son. That loss carried with it a combination of emotions: bitterness, rage, uncertainty, pride, and even personal guilt. The typical experiences for women in war paint women as victims to rape, plunder, self-sacrifice, slavery, so the consideration that a woman would also take part in plunder suggest that Bouboulina acted as any other general did. The reality was that Greek soldiers needed money, uniforms, food, shoes, and munitions--a responsibility that Bouboulina also had to her young lads.

A collection of three accounts critically analyze Bouboulina's motives and aims in Tripolitsa. English cleric Waddington's account claims that Bouboulina made friends with Kolokotronis and acquired a rich share of the spoils in Tripolitsa. Immediately after the fall, "she triumphantly rode into the city on a horse, as an Amazon would...with blood still flowing in the streets."¹¹⁰ Waddington then shares that Bouboulina married her daughter to Kolokotronis' s son Panos to strengthen her position and influence in the Morea mainland and that the in-law relationship gave Kolokotronis crucial support from the Spetsiots. On a more critical note, Finley suggests that Bouboulina's actions were not honorable or independently made. The most popular narrative presents the Siege of Tripolitsa as the fulfillment of Bouboulina's promise to the Sultana to protect women of the harem. However, rather than the heroic and independent image

¹¹⁰ George Waddington's account as found in: Simopoulos, Pws Idan H Kseni Tin Ellada, 3rd edition, 452 and in Xiradaki, Ginaikes tou 21', 280.

of Bouboulina saving the women of the Tripolitsa harem, Finley states that Bouboulina was pressured by Petrobey Mavromichalis and Kolokotronis to enter the city and negotiate with the women to give up their money and jewelry in exchange for their lives and honor. This speaks to the fact that women warriors often engaged in combat because they knew that rape and suffering came with the besieging of cities. Her involvement in the siege was motivated by financial gain that also led to her position to save the women of the harem. Finally, Francis takes the middle ground, claiming that her actions should be both judged and defended. Spoils of war were not uncommon, and all chiefs, soldiers, and civilians engaged in this at times of conflict. He was certain that Bouboulina knew what she was doing and believed she had a right to do so. In fairness, she did not keep more spoils than anyone else and everything she did was a means to an end and in the service of the general needs of the nation.

A more positive, but romanticized representation of Bouboulina's actions is more in line with the popularly accepted national narrative of her actions in Tripolitsa. A few days before the fall of Tripolitsa, the capital city of the Peloponnese and the headquarters of Dramali Pasha (the provincial governor of the area), Bouboulina arrived at the Greek camp outside the city of Argos, riding a white horse, accompanied by her Spetsiot soldiers.¹¹¹ When they joined the forces on land, "I saw her in Argos saddled on a wonderful Arabian horse. What followed her was a mass of armed soldiers that ran by her side like hare, expressing joyful cries."¹¹² The symbolism of the horse is quite common in myth and in revolutionary writing. An image of her printed on a Russian Lubok, or popular print displaying religious and military narratives, which circulated at the time suggest that tales of Bouboulina made their way to Tsarist Russia (*Figure 4*). In the image, she is cast as the more commonly known icon of St. George slaying the dragon. Even

¹¹¹ Argiriou, 27. Lieutenant von Bollman is quoted by Greek historian Anastasios Orlandos

¹¹² Olympitou, 318.

though St. George is a male saint, in Russia titles of rank and honor were awarded with the St. George cross of bravery. Recent evidence claims that, despite the Tsar's conservative position, he was more progressive than he let on in diplomatic circles and bestowed this honor to several warrior women in Russia and the Balkans.¹¹³

As the events in Tripolitsa show, Bouboulina was bold and determined after her son's death. More positive representations of her are illustrated in Nafplion, where she fulfilled her duties as "Lady Captain." In his memoir, Spetsiot captain Anargiros Hatzi Anargirou recalls Bouboulina's overall role in the final Siege of Nafplion as:

a rare occasion for a woman and for our country, to gather money and ships and along with her sons to fight for her country! On December 4th, 1821, we remember she was ordering her men to start the fight, many of them hesitant to begin, she jumped onto a higher platform of her ship and said, 'Are you all women then, and not men? Gather front! Everyone followed her order and began fighting.'¹¹⁴

While this account is likely romanticized, Bouboulina's strong character, patriotism, and formidable presence are consistent themes (*Figure 12*). Her ability to manage and inspire men to fight is an exception to a woman's role of the time. The problem that this presents for men is that her ability to protect and boost morale elevated her strength while presumably pointing out male (Ottoman or Greek) weakness. By reducing her soldiers to "women," the writer's message is that Bouboulina was just as strong or more capable than Greek soldiers and male commanders. By elevating Bouboulina, writers are not only making judgments about Greek men but also political judgements and biases about the enemy. This proves that during war, a paradigm shift occurred in gender roles, that gave exceptional women like Bouboulina the ability to assume unprecedented leadership and respect. Her access to command was dependent on her ability to

¹¹³ Papalexopoulou, "Tracing the Political in Women's Work", 17; for more examples of the Tsar awarding the St. George Cross see Pamela Toler's, *Women Warriors*.

¹¹⁴ Hatzi-Anargirou, *Ta Spetsiotika*, t. A' 25.

finance her own ships and army, and on her status as a widow. Even so, the loss of her son in Tripolitsa left her with one less child and still vulnerable to patriarchal strictures. As a mother and warrior, she made social decisions to her secure her family's political power and gain. In response, Bouboulina solidified her political ascent by marrying off her daughter Eleni. With a large inheritance and marriage prospects among the revolutionary elite, Eleni became the next Helen of Troy.

The revolution had produced “a key form of power politics—the marriage alliance...leaders married off their offspring, cementing new coalitions, and establishing bonds of trust across class and regions.”¹¹⁵ Long-term regional and local tensions between the well-born *Phanariot* and *klephts* were often put aside for the sake of establishing the nation, and in that process, produced a new Greek elite out of old class distinctions. But these new ties were vulnerable to the uncertainties of war and death. Following the final Siege of Nafplion in 1822, Bouboulina and her daughter Eleni received residence in the city, funded by the new provisional state. In February of 1823, Eleni was married to Panos Kolokotronis, Theodoros Kolokotronis' first-born son who had acquired a large portion of the spoils of Tripolitsa. As garrison commander of Tripolitsa, Panos secured an alliance between the mainland leadership and shipping elite.¹¹⁶ What was considered a mutually beneficial union, turned out to be a disaster for Kolokotronis, and especially Bouboulina. On November 13th, 1824, Panos Kolokotronis died, leaving Eleni a widow at the age of seventeen, but rumors circulated that Eleni had started an affair with Captain Theodoros Grivas, one of Panos's leading fighters and upcoming chieftains. After Panos's death, Kolokotronis refused to allow Eleni to leave and hoped to arrange her second marriage with someone of his choice.

¹¹⁵ Mazower, *The Greek Revolution*, 204.

¹¹⁶ Mazower, 173.

In resistance, Eleni left her dowry at the Kolokotronis residence and fled to her mother's home in Spetses, where she secretly married Grivas.¹¹⁷ However, the nature of Eleni's dowry wasn't public knowledge and mostly based on speculation and rumor.¹¹⁸ But it was impossible for Eleni to not have had a substantial dowry. Bouboulina was still very wealthy when the couple was engaged in 1821 and she had also acquired spoils from Tripolitsa. The Frenchman, Maxim Raybaud, who was present at Argos during Panos and Eleni's engagement recalls the gossip around town was that the "bride's dowry was huge and did not cost her parents anything...but if the shadows of the victims who paid the costs could attend the wedding, the procession would reflect the ghosts of the dead who the riches belonged to."¹¹⁹ Eleni tried to retrieve the remainder of her dowry from Kolokotronis so that she could bring it into the marriage with Grivas. Unfortunately for Bouboulina and Eleni, rumors of the affair had circulated and put her in a disadvantaged position to ask for the dowry. Grivas, however, decided to take the matter into his own hands. Grivas trapped Kolokotronis in the fortress and demanded he return the dowry or else remain a prisoner. Kolokotronis asserted that he had nothing other than a small diamond pin and two diamond rings. Eleni made a list: diamonds, gold textiles, her mother's treasures from Tripolitsa, furs, dresses, all of which amassed to 250,000 grossia. Kolokotronis claimed that Eleni was lying. Both parties then hired liaisons to conduct communication.¹²⁰ Kolokotronis insisted that he only had a necklace and a ring and that the rest were his family's contributions. Furthermore, Kolokotronis claimed that these items were Panos's items from Tripoli, not

¹¹⁷ Mazower, 204; and in Argirou, 49; Rigopoulos, *Apomnimoevmeta*, 110; cited in Voglis, *Erga kai imeraï ellinikon oikogeneion*, 165-66; Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, "Women of the Greek War of Independence."

¹¹⁸ Kasomoulis (journalist of the revolution), in Gianni Vlahogianni Collection - GAK

¹¹⁹ Argiriou, 49.

¹²⁰ Grivas hires Valtinos (worked for Ali Pasa and then joined Philiki Et and started in Valto) and Kasomouli (born in Florina, member of P E, and took place during the Siege of Missolonghi and wrote his *memoires Stratiotika Enthimimata Tis Ellinikis Epanastasis 1821-1833*; in Gianni Vlahogianni GAK, File: 27- 220-227: Kolokotronis hired his men.... Papagianopoulo and Agalopoulo.

Bouboulina's, further insisting that the items were not personal items but looted under a collective war effort. Grivas, unsettled by this revelation, had Eleni swear on the name of the Holy Trinity that everything she claimed the dowry contained was factual, especially because Grivas had resorted to getting Eleni's brothers involved. Usually, Bouboulina independently handled her family's social and economic matters and would have never let her sons handle her own affairs. Unfortunately, Bouboulina had by that point already met her untimely death, defending her son's affair with the Koutsi girl. Eager to capitalize, Grivas took whatever he could from Bouboulina's mansion in Spetses shortly after her death as part of Eleni's dowry and inheritance. In 1829, Eleni's siblings asked Grivas for Bouboulina's shipping paperwork to receive compensation from the government for their contribution to the revolution.¹²¹

The Kolokotronis-Grivas conflict above demonstrates how the private issues of status concerned the Greek chieftains because it helped establish their authority through legitimate means and could make or break the already fragile provisional government. Eager to gain and maintain power, wealth and status, the struggle over Eleni's dowry mirrors the power struggle of the Civil War period of the revolution in 1824. By 1824, Bouboulina's fortunes had dwindled, and the oligarchs of the provisional government asked her to vacate the house she had been given in Nafplion.¹²² Her privileged origins in the merchant classes of Hydra and Spetses had provided her social and economic prestige, but her loyalty to Kolokotronis cost Bouboulina her reputation and fortune. Eleni's marriage to Grivas coupled with Bouboulina's son's affair with the Koutsi girl detailed at the start of this chapter show how quickly Bouboulina's status as patriot and warrior mother transitioned to enemy and victim.

¹²¹ GAK, Local Archives of Spetses, Collection: B, File: 371 "Arx Dimogerontias, Vivlio Praktikon, tomos B"

¹²² Argiriou, 49.

Bouboulina's patriotism and heroic deeds were reduced to her tragic ties to political and local vendettas. At the end of her life, Bouboulina was suspicious of plots to poison her given her close ties with Kolokotronis during the civil war. It is possible that the fatal shot was no accident, but no proof exists, and no investigation was conducted. It is worth keeping in mind that travelers took liberties when writing about what they saw and neglected to consider the realities and customs of time and place. The strategic intermarriages among the elite of the island were aimed at increasing family prestige, solidifying social alliances, securing property, and continuing the generation and familial name. The questioning of a marriage contract and the disobedience to family decisions involved costly stakes and violated the existing social values and practices, especially at a time when uncertainty prevailed, and traditional values were challenged in by external and internal forces of change. By 1825, Bouboulina's untimely death was public news. Several philhellenes recorded their versions of her death and in the short time that followed, published their histories for a wider European audience. The next section of this chapter illustrates the impact of those publications on Bouboulina's image and memory--more specifically, how her image evolved to represent Greek identity and how her image was used in the formation of the Greek nation-state.

Bouboulina's Image: "The Amazon or the Warrior Mother?"

Bouboulina's military and political contributions to the revolution were significant but the use of her image in the process of Greek nation-building and national memory deserves a closer look. A chronological analysis of her image is a challenge because images of her were printed and re-printed well after her time and depending on the artist, inspired by contradictory accounts recorded by philhellenes. Some of the themes explored in these images include but are not limited to motherhood, age, sacrifice, suffering, violence, myth, family, faith, female honor, and social status. The evolution of Bouboulina's image from the youthful, classical beauty to the aggressive Amazon Warrior is a result of the political and social rifts that occurred between 1822-1825 and again after 1832.

Bouboulina was at once a hero, victim, and enemy of the provisional government--a hero to philhellenes, a victim to her family and supporters, and an enemy to compatriots who felt threatened by her support to Kolokotronis. In the context of the civil war, Bouboulina was one of the few islanders to support Kolokotronis. Bouboulina's close association with the famous *klepht* isolated her (and possibly played a role in her death) from various Greek factions. But after Kolokotronis regained his position in the Peloponnese, philhellenes mythologized her role among the pantheon of revolutionary military heroes and made her part of the national folklore. In addition to her death, the surge of violence in the *Massacre of Chios* and *Massacre of Missolonghi* in 1826 were widely publicized in European and American art and press and the most popular subjects in public society (*Figure 5*).¹²³ These brutal events roused international compassion but also repaired and "excused" the atrocities committed by the Greeks in

¹²³ For more details on European and American women involved in the philhellenic movement, see Santelli, *The Greek Fire* and Maite Bouyssy, "Women in Philhellenism"

Tripolitsa.¹²⁴ As the written accounts from earlier in the chapter demonstrate, Bouboulina was both a victim of violence but also an agent of violent acts. The reconstruction and popular use of her image occurred after her dramatic death in 1825. By the late nineteenth-century, Bouboulina's image embraces both myth and reality and help shape Greek gender roles.

Whether fictional or factual, the symbolic importance of using a real Greek woman shaped the modern Greek heroine into someone who represented Greece's past, present, and future. The use of a real war heroine is significant because compared to the allegorical and more general representations of women used to generate national identity before and during the revolution, Bouboulina embodied specific values and qualities that reflect the emergence of a collective national identity over time. The contradictory images of Bouboulina in the nineteenth century mirror the political and geographical uncertainties of new Greek nation-state—more specifically the transition from the First Hellenic Republic to the Kingdom of Greece. Over the course of the revolution and into the late nineteenth century, Bouboulina is celebrated as heroine but also as a martyr, mother, and Amazon. By the twentieth century, Bouboulina's warrior image is used or rejected/replaced through the political transitions of dictatorship, communism, fascism, and feminism. While all these tropes appealed to various groups over time, internal and external to Greece, the overarching pattern is the consistent use and wide presence of her image to generate national belonging and national legitimacy.

From the start of the revolution to end of the nineteenth century, Bouboulina's image ranges from classical, youthful, feminine, and European to the Orientalized, masculine Amazon, lady captain and warrior mother. This is not to say that any of these tropes is precisely accurate but that the truth lies somewhere in between. The way philhellenes wrote about Bouboulina

¹²⁴ Varikas, 160.

reflected their own doubts, confusion, discoveries, and rapidly changing war circumstances in real time. However, their works were not published until several years later. As the images that follow show, artists constructed her image based on these highly inconsistent accounts and perceptions.

No official portrait of Bouboulina exists, but a present-day Greek would easily identify and describe her according to the popular image by Peter Von Hess (*Figure 9*). Hess's drawing of Bouboulina show her in action, leading her soldiers with her outstretched arm. Unlike Hess, Danish philhellene Adam Friedel participated in the early stages of the Greek Revolution and became closely acquainted with the leaders of the revolution, recorded descriptions, and published sketches of those he personally met (*Figures 7-8*).¹²⁵ Although Friedel's time in the Peloponnese (1821-1823) overlaps with Bouboulina's, his portrait of Bouboulina conflicts with the aged and harsher features of a warrior mother and lady captain. Friedel depicts a pale and youthful woman, spelled "Bubolino," with rouged lips and cheeks, curled hair, delicate hands, and a tiny waste. Bouboulina is wearing a cross around her neck, a traditional headdress, and belted sash around her dress. Elegantly seated in front of a Doric column covered in greenery, Bouboulina serenely looks into the distance, as a boat sails near a bridge in the body of water behind her. The writing below the portrait summarizes her role as the "distinguished Heroine from the Island of Spetses, whose devotions- the newspapers and journals- have so often recorded." Friedel's passage emphasizes the large scope and significance the press had in promoting images of Bouboulina and Greek women in the public sphere, but it also presents a passive female role. The pose in Friedel's print is not the image of a warrior but of an aristocratic lady who is much younger and more reserved than the 40-year-old mother and widow who took

¹²⁵ Ioli Vingopoulou, "Travelogues, Traveler's Views" *Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation*
<http://eng.travelogues.gr/collection.php?view=288>

up arms and led sieges. The most popular and widely produced images of Bouboulina between 1821-1826 present her as European, highly feminine, youthful, and charming. These dainty characteristics certainly do not align with the warrior actions recorded by witnesses and conflict with the descriptions of her physical features. Philhellene Niccolo Tommasseo describes Bouboulina, as “heavy built, with dark features, thick lips, flat and wide forehead, quick and androgynous gestures.”¹²⁶ In addition to masculine and aged features, the stark contrast between Adam Friedel’s lithograph, Tommasseo’s description, and Peter Von Hess’ painting present the competing tropes of the classical West and oriental “other,” heroic maiden, and warrior amazon. Friedel’s reasons for cleansing Bouboulina’s image of eastern or Oriental themes was likely to drum up support for the Greek cause from a more conservative audience. Peter von Hess’s drawing of the more masculine warrior Bouboulina developed after independence and under King Otto’s rule. By the 1840’s, Bouboulina’s actions were widely published, and the legitimacy of the state relied on a stable narrative of Greek heroism.

While historians have acknowledged the international impact of the philhellenic movement and communities, their attention to how Bouboulina’s image was used as part of that process deserves exploration. The initial accounts Europeans wrote about Bouboulina noted her honor, bravery, and overall ability to act freely. As presented earlier, Bouboulina’s unique Ottoman-Greek context, status, education, and widowed position allowed her this freedom. However, beginning in the 1820’s Europeans broadly defined those freedoms as a unique product of inherent Greek customs in contrast to the more oppressive conditions of Muslim-Ottoman women.¹²⁷ By doing so, they presented the romanticized tropes of civilized against the

¹²⁶ Niccola Tommasseo, *Quadri della Grecia Moderna* (Florence: 1876), 39.

¹²⁷ For more on philhellenic committees, theater performances, balls, and romantic literature see: Maureen Connors Santelli, *The Greek Fire*; Michael Glencross, “Greece Restored: Greece and the Greek War of Independence in

uncivilized, of the free versus the enslaved, as something that was part of a natural and biological condition of certain racial or ethnic groups.¹²⁸ The allegorical representation of Greece as enslaved or martyr is best illustrated in one of the most provocative paintings of the Greek Revolution, Eugene Delacroix's *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi*, first presented at an exhibition for Greek relief at the Lebrun gallery in July 1826 (*Figure 5*).¹²⁹ In paintings by Delacroix and various romantic artists, Ottomans were depicted as barbaric, backward, sex-crazed, and debauched, while Greeks (and by analogous association, westerners) were portrayed as victims, restrained, moderate, and rational. This language and image of the savage "other" is a product of changing attitudes and economic interests after the Napoleonic Wars. The once tolerant empire suddenly became vilified as an aggressive threat to European progress, economic interests, and safety. The sketches of Delacroix's Greece evolve with and reflect contemporary realities of Greek victories or losses at the time. Delacroix's preliminary sketches show that he abandoned heroic portrayals of Greece and replaced her image with the more mournful and protective mother figure depicted in the final painting in 1826.¹³⁰ This was of course intentional and political. In the center of the painting, a pale and tearful woman personifies a suffering and vulnerable Greece. The woman is youthful and an ideal of ancient Greek beauty. The death and destruction of war is seen in the battlefield and bloodied background, while Greece stands with her outstretched arms in disbelief and despair. With her hands outstretched, she struggles to stand on the ruins that represent the bedrock of western civilization and the threatened principles of liberty. Delacroix condemns pointless death, especially at the hands of the villainous Ottomans

French Romantic Historiography 1821-1830"; Marie Louise-Svane, "Tragedy or Melodrama? The Greek War of Independence in European Theater"

¹²⁸ Santelli, *The Greek Fire*, 38.

¹²⁹ Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, 91.

¹³⁰ Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, 92.

and forces a conservative and Christian audience to consider their passivity and responsibility. Unlike the dark figures in the background, Greece's skin is pale and the light shines on her blue, red, and white draped fabric. Her stance, like the Virgin Mary grieving the death of Christ (also a reference to the colors she wears), is firm yet kneeling as the light shines on her pale skin. This illuminates her whiteness and western identity against the dark and Egyptian warrior in the background and implies that Greece's fate rests on foreign and distant aid. Delacroix's Greece "unites the solemn notion of motherland with the philhellenic ideals of civilization and Christianity," whereas the depiction of the Egyptian soldier represented the racist tones of barbarism and Islam.¹³¹ The realities of the Massacre, romanticized by Delacroix through themes of female martyrdom and sacrifice, call on politicians of the Holy Alliance who had tabled the "Eastern Question," to fulfill their duty to provide relief in the name of Christian brotherhood. The message was loud and clear, if Greece's Christian women can be enslaved, raped, and murdered, then what can become of her Christian sisters? The pleas were answered by the women of Europe first. In the 1980's the allegorical image of Delacroix's *La Grèce* was used as the book cover of Prince Michael's novel *La Bouboulina*. His choice to use this image in 1980's shows how the figure of Bouboulina, and the allegorical representations of Greece became synonymous with Greek identity over time (*Figure 6*).

The violence in Eugene Delacroix's *La Grèce* appealed to the upper-class women in Paris, Lyon, and Cologne, as they interacted with the mercantile elite and refugee women of Greece.¹³² Evidence suggests that elite European women were the most effective at marketing and raising funds for the Greek cause.¹³³ In particular, the women of Paris's "liberal upper class,

¹³¹ Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, 91-93.

¹³² Bouyssi, 165.

¹³³ Bouyssi, 165.

the duchesses and bankers' wives—transposed the practice of collecting for charity onto a political plane.”¹³⁴ Frustrated with their own political restrictions, they took matters into their own hands. Conservative efforts to suppress or censor stirrings of “revolutionary” activity failed to curtail philhellenic activities among the more apolitical or progressive aristocratic elite in Europe. As a result, private balls, charities, and performances transformed into humanitarian and political action by 1827.¹³⁵ Though philhellenic works and movements emerged throughout Germany, England, and Italy, the French classicism and liberal thought of the Enlightenment forged a unique affinity between the two cultures.¹³⁶ These women saw themselves in the women of Greece and felt a common feeling of exclusion or oppression from their own nation. Thus, the enslaved or oppressed female is the metaphor of the enslaved nation and shared experience of women or the possibility of such enslavement, particularly of white, European, and Christian women (as in the Greek case) drummed up support. Newspapers such as *Le Constitutionnel*, the *Globe*, and *London Magazine* dedicated entire accounts to the events taking place in Greece and, furthermore, to the contributions local women made to raising funds for “distant suffering.”¹³⁷ The *Globe* for example, published reviews that examined the historical merits of Pouqueville’s *Histoire de la régénération de la Grèce*, next to the romantic literature and poetry of the time. The liberal romantics fused the classical and topographical themes of the pre-1820 travelogues of Greece to make sense of the contemporary realities of the Greek Revolution and to identify the origins of a national Greek character.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Bouyssy, 165.

¹³⁵ Bouyssy, 165.

¹³⁶ Glencross, 34

¹³⁷ Bouyssy, 165.

¹³⁸ Glencross, 35-37.

Collectively, philhellenic committees, poetry, theater, and art were highly effective in promoting financial, material and eventually, military support for the cause. Stories of Bouboulina's actions inspired prominent European women, specifically French women of Greek philhellenic committees and sub-committees to lead charitable fundraisers to provide humanitarian relief to Greek women and orphans. Philhellenic committees, such as the *Comite Grec*, promoted philanthropic aid and appealed to members across political lines. Following the Battle of Navarino in 1827, British, and Russian intervention in the Greek Revolution pushed French political opinion towards military intervention as humanitarian organizations led by aristocratic women "collected funds for the war...organized numerous social events, bazaars, balls, concerts, and exhibitions that were eagerly attended by fashionable French society."¹³⁹ To these events they began donning shawls "a la Robelina," based on the images by Adam Friedel. To fundraiser balls, they wore "blue and white, the Greek colors, were all the rage; the fashionable set wore blue and white sashes instead of precious chains, and in 1826, donned 'Missolonghi gray.'"¹⁴⁰ These philhellenic symbols of Bouboulina are more dainty but also representative of the more conservative peasant attire most Greek women wore.

As these images and organizations stirred sympathy, the images of Bouboulina served the purpose of confirming to outsiders that the Greek cause was moving forward, unified, and powerful after the disastrous effects of the Civil War and the Massacres of Chios and Missolonghi. The malleability of Bouboulina's image and actions appealed to a broad philhellenic audience that was often politically and socially divided over how to aid the Greek cause. As Bouboulina's actions show, during revolution, public and private roles were not fixed and could be negotiated. As pre-war systems—cultural and legal—broke down, Bouboulina was

¹³⁹ Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, 9-10.

¹⁴⁰ Bouyssi, 166.

able to fulfill her patriotic duties as mother and widow, and as generator and protector of both private and public realms. However, the more conservative (and concerned) philhellenes were shocked to see Bouboulina in the company of Greek generals, leading soldiers, and in combat. She was confrontational, assumed leadership, and made alliances on her own volition. On the one hand that freedom was celebrated as something uniquely Greek, and on the other a result of Ottoman oppression and a helpless a necessity of war. The other element was that Greeks' repressed state had repressed Greek history and customs and had over time forced the bellicose warrior Amazon to emerge and that it was the moral duty of the free Christian world to restore order and peace. The desperation to act outside of conventional gender roles is best represented in American philhellene, William Cullen Bryant's "The Song of the Greek Amazon." The message of the poem and image justifies the maiden's violent actions and masculine Amazon image as a reaction to oppression and duty to vanquish the death of her lover at the hands of the Turks (*Figure 11*). The popularity of this image in America suggests that Bouboulina's image reached a broader audience and deserves more global comparison.

By the turn of the century, a general allegory of Greece was replaced with the more active figure of Bouboulina (*Figure 10*). After her death, and into the late nineteenth century, Bouboulina's image evolved, but the images of the twentieth century consistently convey her as strong, courageous, regal, and in action. The reasons for this can be based on the refinement of female national identity but also a growing desire for female political agency that occurred in the twentieth century.¹⁴¹ Bouboulina is shown pointing and giving orders to her sailors, like an

¹⁴¹ Efi Kanner, "Discourses on Women's Rights and Feminist Interventions in the Ottoman Empire, Greece, and Turkey from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Interwar period", *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 28. No. 3 (2016) 66-92.

anonymous late nineteenth-century painting that resembles George Washington crossing the Delaware (*Figure 12*).

The story of Bouboulina proves that stronger emotions would prevail among the European elite after 1825. Bypassing the rational restraint of diplomats and politicians, the print media of the philhellenic community, paired with a strong Greek diaspora, legitimized, and cemented the future of the Greek state by 1827. The philhellenic movement conjured sympathy for the Greeks and led “Europeans to provide a range of political, military, economic and artistic means to support for the Greek cause.”¹⁴² It would be hard to envision Greek victory without individual philhellenes and philhellenism as a movement because the process of imagining the nation as an organized narrative, “depended on the private rather than official bodies—individuals and voluntary associations, rather than official governments.”¹⁴³ More specifically, the involvement of intellectuals and elites who mobilized communities and organizations within and outside of the future nation-state. Compared to other national movements which use folklore, myth, and warrior figures, the use of Bouboulina’s image was a necessary component in the construction of Greek and identity and nation-building in the twentieth century.

¹⁴² Efstathiadou, “Representing Greekness”, 191.

¹⁴³ Blom, et. al., *Gendered Nations*, 30.

Bouboulina's Legacy

Surpassing the presumed “weaknesses” of the female form, Bouboulina enriched and complemented the national pantheon of heroic men of the revolution. Bouboulina became a representative of female patriotism in Greece for generations to come. The Greek nation has commemorated her role with street names, statues, poems, plays, and placing her images on national currency (*Figure 14, Figure 15, Figure 16, Figure 17*). Traveling to the island of Spetses today, one would have to try very hard not to spot her statue in the center port or to leave without visiting her mansion run by her relatives. In addition, the personal items she left behind represent her status and lifestyle. Many of her items survive today, including precious Kutahya porcelain vases, first edition copies of Voltaire’s publications, gold-embroidered headscarves, Florentine furniture, Viennese coffee cups and a large safe from Marseille that was located on her flagship, Agamemnon.¹⁴⁴ In 1887, a female newspaper, *Εφημερίς των Κυριων*, dedicated an entire issue to the leaders of the Independence movement of 1821. Included among the numerous men was Bouboulina. From that point on, her image and actions became engrained in the national narrative. Even though Greek women did not achieve formal political citizenship after independence, the new state promoted women to take on professions as writers and teachers. The importance of language to construct a nation was a tool that leaders of the new state knew how to use. Her name and image did not lose its power, and if anything, Bouboulina gained enormous recognition as the nation formed. Despite her controversial political entanglements and sudden death, Bouboulina broke formality and sacrificed everything, including her livelihood, for the Greek cause. Bouboulina towed the line between private vs. public, masculine vs. feminine but Bouboulina was real and her actions, transcended the gender binary and created a space where

¹⁴⁴ The items mentioned are housed in her mansion in Spetses, that is now a museum and home to her 6th generation descendants.

she could be warrior and woman, patriot, and mother. Unlike her counterpart Manto Mavrogenous, and the subject of the next chapter, Bouboulina's identity proves that the relationship between gender and nationalism is not static but multidimensional.

CHAPTER 2: “THE MYKONIAN MADONNA: MANTO MAVROGENOUS”

To philhellenes, Manto, or otherwise known as “La Bella Greca” or the “Heroine of Mykonos,” embodied the familiar virtues and physical qualities associated with western elite women. The following excerpt from Maxim Raybaud’s *Mémoires sur la Grèce*, documents his observations and conversation with Manto at a New Year’s dinner hosted at the Mavrogenous home in December of 1821:

Manto Mavrogenous, who writers often include in their writings of Greece regardless of personal acquaintance, invited us to dine in her home one evening. Of the many guests present, the majority consisted of prominent island leaders. A joyful evening of games and dancing prevailed among the company, so often described by Guis and Choiseul-Gouffier...Manto is not the warrior who fights face to face with the Turks, but even if she doesn’t defend her country with her own hands, her value comes with the sacrifice of her entire fortune and patriotic influence over her compatriots. Raised in Trieste...Manto has all the characteristics of a well-groomed upbringing. She speaks Italian and French and is gifted with a sweet character...but when she speaks about the liberation of her homeland, she becomes animated, and her enflamed words flow with such natural fluency that make you hold your breath. One does not tire of listening to her. What distinguishes Manto is her pure and self-less love for her homeland. The absence of self-interest and indifference to her own future is touching. [Raybaud quotes her] “who cares what will become of me—all that matters is that my country is liberated. I have given everything I own to the sacred purpose of freedom. I will go to the camp of the Greeks to encourage them by example, to die, if necessary for her [*patrida*- Greece].” Still in her youth, these are Manto’s beliefs. Pleasant in every way, Manto’s slender figure and sophisticated dress coupled with her moral principles, undoubtedly honor the memory of the heirs of the Greeks fighting today. She nurtures a soft spot for foreigners who have abandoned their homes to fight in the name of Christianity. [again, Raybaud quotes her] “You gave up the comforts of civilization and left your family and friends...you bravely face the dangers of a death to participate in the efforts of poor slaves, who may not all be able to appreciate your devotion.” One sees that this kind daughter greatly magnifies our sacrifices and voluntarily turns a blind eye to the rewards we receive.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ Maxim Raybaud, *Mémoires sur la Grèce*, as quoted in Manouil Tasoulas, *Manto Mavrogenous*. Istoriko Archeio (Historical Archive), 2nd ed. Athens: The Municipality of Mykonos and “Perivolaki” (1997), 56-57.

Raybaud emphasized her beauty, eloquence, and hospitality, but more importantly the passion and sacrifice to her country. By correcting the polemical and exaggerated portrayal of the then twenty-five-year-old Manto, Raybaud heroizes her in the capacity that Manto confirms (to some degree) in her letters and reports—that she financed and gave commands. This distinction also sets her apart from the “warrior mother” Bouboulina who fought on the battlefields, led sieges, and influenced political matters of the new state. On the one hand, Bouboulina’s bold words and actions led to her untimely and tragic death, while on the other, Raybaud’s claim that “one does not tire of listening to her,” supports that fact that Manto was more popular among philhellenes. But in fact, Greeks’ opinions of Manto were more ambivalent, and as we will see, they did tire of hearing her.

Although Greeks accepted her patriotic commitment and generosity in the early stages of the war, it was the philhellenes who shaped Manto’s initial place in the Greek national narrative.¹⁴⁶ The later portions of Raybaud’s passage paint Manto’s “heroic maiden” trope. It is a sacrificial role that emphasizes Manto’s love for her homeland as pure from selfish interests and indifferent to her own future. Bouboulina’s selfish actions made her more masculine and ambiguous. His emphasis on her youth, elevated morality, and sophisticated ideas forges and reinforces a direct link between Greece’s modern people with its classical past and values. Pointing out her youth also suggests that she represents the present and future generation of the ideal Greek woman. It should be no surprise that Manto’s progressive beliefs and attitudes align with what Europeans wanted to believe about Greek identity and the idea of what Greece had the potential to be once liberated. As a member of the diverse and educated Greek diaspora, Manto’s beliefs were certainly influenced by the ideological trends of the Enlightenment, religious

¹⁴⁶ Vickers and Vouloukos, 504.

revivalism, and romanticism. Furthermore, Raybaud points out Manto's appeal to Christian brotherhood and philanthropic relief to the "poor slaves" of distant suffering. Manto stresses the thankless sacrifice Raybaud makes as volunteer artillery officer and how Greeks may not "be able to fully appreciate his devotion." With these comments, Manto highlights three important points that distinguish her from Bouboulina. The first is her characterization of Orthodox Christians as poor slaves, particularly to an oppressive and oriental Muslim regime against a western people.¹⁴⁷ The second point is that understood that not all Greeks shared the same national vision and that Greece's efforts were beholden to their western friends' assistance. The third is Manto's appeal to values of morality and duty, which suggests that Manto knew her conservative Christian audience would respond to a woman who "exhibited valor within or at least straddling the bounds of what society defines as properly feminine."¹⁴⁸

To many Greeks, Manto was technically a foreigner with a strange dialect and noble background. Therefore, it seems natural that philhellenes gravitated to her character and persona as a bridge to European Christian conservative groups. Manto's westernized upbringing made her the ideal prototype of the "modern Greek woman." Unlike Bouboulina, Manto was much younger, formally educated, and directly exposed to the cosmopolitan ideas of the "Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment" abroad.¹⁴⁹ She was part of a younger, "second generation" *phanariot* diaspora. These characteristics better fit the "ladylike" patriot of her western counterparts. In contrast to Bouboulina's Amazonian "Warrior Mother" image, Manto's charitable patriotism cast her as the pure, beautiful, and selfless "Charitable Madonna." This traditional representation is consistent

¹⁴⁷ Vickers and Vouloukos, 504.

¹⁴⁸ Holly A. Mayer, "Bearing Arms, Bearing Burdens: Women Warriors, Camp Followers and Home-Front Heroines of the American Revolution," in *Transatlantic Perspectives*, 173.

¹⁴⁹ Papalexopoulou, "Tracing the 'Political' in Women's Work: Women of Letters in the Greek Cultural Space, 1800-1832," 1.

throughout the publication of her image and written sources by prominent philhellenes, but their representation of Manto is embellished with the same classical themes used to illustrate Bouboulina's actions.

Having access to Manto's personal letters and reports reveal that while she was respected by philhellenes, she was not given the same respect by Greeks. Despite the abundance of Manto's personal letters and political correspondence outlining her contributions, most Greek historians of the Revolution overlooked her role. In contrast to Bouboulina, the use of Manto's image and actions in the folklore of the revolution emerge far later in the national history and maintain the "charitable heroine" trope. The fluctuations seen in Bouboulina's image and character are not as prevalent with Manto. This is likely because Manto served as the counterpart to Bouboulina's more "eastern" and more masculine role that set Greece's revolutionary narrative apart from the west.

The use of her image consistently represents western/classical themes and feminine gender roles. Manto's letters to male compatriots, family members, fiancé Dimitrios Ypsilantis, political reports, appeals to local governors, and international groups and leaders reveal the realities about her private and public life. Manto's story highlights the opportunities and limits Greek women faced during the revolution and how those limits were negotiated by Greek women in the evolutionary process of nation-building into the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Despite her higher place in society, her sacrifice was minimized as a free, yet highly patriarchal, Greece emerged. By the end of her life, Manto was left penniless—a victim of theft—and a political pawn to the new Greek state amidst the disorganization of war. Much like Bouboulina, regardless of her contribution to her nation, Manto became a victim of its cause.

From Trieste to Tinos: The “Merchant Daughter”

Manto’s family origins from her father’s side make her a descendant, and heir, to one of the oldest noble lines of the Phanariot aristocracy. Manto was “the great-niece of Prince Nicholas Mavrogeni, *dragoman* of the imperial fleet and prince of Moldavia and Wallachia.”¹⁵⁰ The Mavrogenous family wielded dominance in the Ottoman Cyclades for over three centuries. Most historians agree that the earliest traceable family had ties to Byzantine aristocracy but fled to the island of Euboea, outside of Athens, where they amassed a great deal of land, fortune, and influence. However, when the vizier of Euboea confiscated much of their property in 1672, the family fled to Constantinople, serving as *dragomans* or interpreters for the Sultan’s court in the *Phanar* district.¹⁵¹ Ottoman society excluded minorities from certain privileges but often promoted Orthodox Christians educated in the Greek language. In the Ottoman Empire, linguists had diplomatic utility, in handling trade and foreign affairs. Over time, the *dragoman* role evolved into a more noble status that opened opportunities for other members of the family at the Ottoman court and in foreign settlements.¹⁵² The family crest, documented in Theodore Blancard’s *Les Mavrogéni, histoire d’Orient*, details the archival investigation of the crest and analyzes the Moldavian and Wallachian symbols included (Figure 1).¹⁵³ The family name also has Venetian roots, tied to the 1618-1694 Venetian occupation of the Mani-Nafplion area of Peloponnesus. The name is specifically tied to the great Venetian Admiral Morozini, who in 1693 thwarted Turkish attempts to occupy Mani and whose Latin name, Mavrogenae, became Mavrogeni in Greek.¹⁵⁴ Manto’s connection to Admiral Morozini probably inspired philhellene

¹⁵⁰ Mazower, 203.

¹⁵¹ Olympitou, *Gynaikes tou agōna* (Athēna: Ta Nea, 2010), 72.

¹⁵² Pouqueville, *Histoire de la regeneration de la Grece*, vol. II, 504; Lacroix, *Les iles de la Grece*, 425; also cited in Blancard, 207.

¹⁵³ Blancard, *Les Mavroyéni, Histoire d’Orient (de 1700 à Nos Jours)*, 1: Par Théodore Blancard, 35 <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k938166d/f59.item.texteImage>

¹⁵⁴ Blancard, *Les Mavroyeni*.

writers to take some liberties to characterize her as physically leading her ships into battle. But unlike Bouboulina, who formally received the title of admiral, it is questionable if Manto personally led her ships and soldiers into battle.

In any case, in 1715, when Turkish forces captured the remaining Peloponnese, including Euboea, two members of the Mavrogenous family, Stefanos and Petros, fled to Paros, where they bought land and invested in the social institutions of the island, specifically the reconstruction of the Byzantine church, *Panagia Ekatontapilliani*, and the parochial Greek school.¹⁵⁵ Stephanos moved to Constantinople and served as *dragoman* in the Sultan's fleet, and Petros became vice-consul of Austria and England in the Cycladic islands. Their Phanariot status and connection to Paros affirmed the family's political and commercial influence over the Cycladic Islands, and in Europe, for generations to come. As Manto's story will show, these vast diplomatic and commercial links shaped Manto's ability to appeal to her Greek and non-Greek audience in her writings.

The main family lineage of concern is Petros (b. 1737), who married in Paros and had four children. Following his schooling, Petros's eldest son, Dimitrios, left for Mykonos, where he inherited land and acquired enough influence to become the governor or lord of the island. Dimitrios, or 'Dimitrakis' as they called him, had two marriages from which issued sixteen children total. His third child, Nikolaos, studied in Mykonos, and in 1780 married Zaharati Antoniou Hatzi Bati, who had four children, one of whom was Manto. A general understanding of the family's wealth is best illustrated through Zaharati's detailed recording of her dowry. Zaharati's father provided her with a large dowry, as the demands of her marriage to the son of the island's governor required.¹⁵⁶ According to the detailed description of her dowry, she brought

¹⁵⁵ Tasoulas, 38.

¹⁵⁶ Blancard, *Les Mavroyeni*, t. II 906-907.

to the marriage significant land and inheritance, an icon, olive groves, vineyards and figs, a local shop, and a house equipped with marble trimmings. The gifting of the icon from the parents to the couple had religious significance and is typical of Greek Orthodox families to this day. Icons are passed down from one generation to the next and signified blessings for the new couple. Appropriate to a woman of aristocratic status, the dowry contained domestic goods, including “numerous pairs of sapphire and pearl earrings, cuff links, gold crosses and rings, sixteen sets of sheets, a gold duvet, three silk duvets, gold and silk curtains, eight pairs of pillows, three mattresses, a dining room set with twenty chairs, bronze platters, silverware, pots and pans, and bulls and mules.”¹⁵⁷

After her father’s death, these belongings passed down to Manto, only to be subsequently sold off by her to support the revolution. A woman of her status inherited these valuable items with the expectation to hold onto them and to pass them down from one generation to the next. These family customs preserved wealth but also intended to preserve family identity and status over time. Her actions show the sacrifice and lengths of her patriotism. Her ability to contribute was dependent on the circumstances of her class and privilege, but regardless of her commitment and patriotism, Manto was bound by the physical constraints of her time. This suggests that women, like men, could have a strong sense of nationalist ideas and patriotic feelings, and that those feelings, as we will see, were strong enough for Manto to seize the opportunity to escape societal confines.

In 1788, Nikolaos was invited by his uncle, *dragoman* Nikolaos Mavrogeni, Prince of Moldavia and Wallachia, to join him as Great Commander in Bucharest, where he served as his uncle’s *spathari*, or legally armed swordsman. After his uncle’s murder in 1790, Nikolaos

¹⁵⁷ Blancard, *Les Mavroyeni*, 906-907.

returned to Mykonos and sent his family to Trieste, while he continued to pursue various investments in Trieste, Chios, Smyrna, Petroupoli, Mykonos, Paros, and Andros.¹⁵⁸ The reason for his uncle's murder is unknown, but was likely due to the political infighting exacerbated by quasi-independent Phanariot rule and on-and-off Russian entanglement in the Danubian region from 1768 onwards.¹⁵⁹ It is also likely that Ottoman leadership had those suspected of shifting loyalties removed. The stirrings in these regions, specifically after the Orlov rebellions (1768-1774) aided by Russia, marked the beginning of a revolutionary movement for autonomy in the region.¹⁶⁰ More importantly, it is likely that after the murder of his uncle, Manto's father joined the *Philiki Etaireia*. This is probably why he left Bucharest for Trieste and then Tinos. In this, he was exemplary of an emerging "middle-class" Greek diaspora in the late-eighteenth century, which began to challenge the prestige of noble positions in the Ottoman Empire.

After his uncle's death, Nikolaos left for Smyrna to connect with his merchant brother-in-law and then went on to Mykonos. He then took his family to Trieste, a free imperial city-state under Austro-Hungarian and Italian influence, where they lived among the thriving Greek parish that had an Orthodox Church and Greek school. The favorable conditions in Trieste allowed Nikolaos and his brother to partner in commercial operations with Chios's elite. Once established, the brothers made a respectable amount of money for their time and bought a house worth 38-40,000 lyres. The following autumn, in September 1791, the brothers requested to become formal subjects of the Austrian Habsburg Empire.¹⁶¹ The shift in her family's status from Ottoman to Austrian subjects made them easy targets to both the Ottoman and conservative

¹⁵⁸ "Em. Prassakaki's letter to Blancard," t. II, 757-758. quoted in Tasoulas, 42.

¹⁵⁹ Beaton, *Greece: A Biography of a Modern Nation*, 17.

¹⁶⁰ See Orlov in Bouboulina Chapter.

¹⁶¹ Tasoulas, 43. The source uses the Greek word for citizenship – but it cites where they found the information (in Greek) *The Greek Community of Trieste (1751-1830)*, 316.

Austrian authorities. However, this dual status was probably a way for the family to expand their economic gain and privilege, especially if Zaharati maintained her status as Ottoman subject. In the years that followed, Nikolaos and Zaharati were blessed with five children, Dimitrios (who killed himself in Nafplion after a failed romance), Antonio, Stefano (b. 1791), Eirini, and Manto (b. 1794-1796). This family wealth and status would later enable Manto to contribute to the revolution, but at a great personal cost.

Magdalene Mavrogenous, later known as “Manto,” was born in Trieste sometime between 1794 and 1796.¹⁶² As mentioned, her family’s island origins and membership in the *phanariot* community of Constantinople and the Danubian principalities shaped her personality and guided her later development. For the earlier parts of her life, Manto’s family lived in Trieste while her father traveled with commercial business partners. In 1802, Nikolaos began building the family home on Paros, and by 1809, belonged to the leadership of the island.¹⁶³ Regardless of ethnic ties to the island, Manto’s family was educated in western institutions. This fact, coupled with their political and economic rank, gave Manto immediate access to commercial and political activities. It was also common practice, as in the case with Bouboulina, that merchant wives handled commercial paperwork.¹⁶⁴ The extensive and detailed documentation of the family’s wealth written by Manto’s mother is proof of her education and thorough knowledge of family affairs.¹⁶⁵ Like Bouboulina, Zaharati’s management of the family’s bookkeeping and inheritance is evidence that literacy was the expectation, not the exception for women of the merchant class. Zaharati, whether she intended to or not, passed down her independent qualities to Manto.

¹⁶² Tasoulas, 43.

¹⁶³ Blancard t. II, 905.

¹⁶⁴ Davidova, *Balkan Transitions to Modernity and Nation-States*, 117.

¹⁶⁵ A detailed account of all the items Zaharati gave to Manto is listed in Blancard, *Les Mavroyeni*, 320, and is often referenced in the personal letters sent between the two over the course of the revolution

The turning point in Manto's life was the sudden death and possible murder of her father. Precise details of how or why he was murdered are unclear, but it is certain that he died around 1818, before the revolution broke out. In her memoirs, Zaharati insisted that he was poisoned.¹⁶⁶ Suspicions may be valid, considering the acceleration of revolutionary activities following the Napoleonic Wars. With Napoleon's defeat, the value of princely positions declined and came under suspect for subversion. Although the communities of the Greek diaspora were divided over the potential for Greek insurgence and engaged in varied degrees of revolutionary activity, recent scholarship suggests that Trieste was more active.¹⁶⁷ By 1818, Ottoman suspicion of *phanariot* conspirators had risen to the point where their privileges and positions were purged in the Sublime Porte. Another likely factor in his assassination was the discovery of his membership in the *Philiki Etaireia* (by Austrian or Ottoman authorities). Following her father's murder, Manto and her mother moved to the island of Tinos with her sister Eirini and her husband.

To better understand Manto's independent actions, a history of Tinos deserves some explanation. Until 1715, Tinos belonged to the Venetians as a center of trade; never formally annexed by the Ottoman Empire, Tinos remained autonomous. Throughout the transition from Byzantine to Venetian and then Ottoman rule, the Greek community there (also a strong Catholic community) adapted but maintained their religion, language, and local customs through the church and communal courts.¹⁶⁸ The Cycladic islands have had the strongest and longest tradition of community organization. In the seventeenth century, these communities established a set of rules to regulate issues of inheritance, transference of property, and moral conduct.¹⁶⁹ This level of local autonomy plays an integral role in the level of mobility and freedom to which

¹⁶⁶ Tasoulas, 44. In her memoirs, Zaharati writes a poem that describes how he was "eaten up" and poisoned.

¹⁶⁷ Kitromilides, 44.

¹⁶⁸ Brewer, *The Greek War of Independence*, 3.

¹⁶⁹ Kitromilides, *The Greek Revolution*, 84.

Manto's family was accustomed. Never bound to one place or one set of laws, Manto's upbringing fostered independent tendencies that aligned with the values espoused by the revolution but that would also jeopardize the islands' economic and local interests and stability. At the start of the revolution, Tinos, Syros, and Naxos remained neutral for the first two years. This was to avoid orders from the new administration and paying taxes to the new republic to fund a navy.¹⁷⁰ Her family's history of revolutionary activity did not align with the attitudes of most island leaders. This was the contradictory world that forced Manto to measure her level of loyalty to family, island, and nation.

Still in the middle of her studies, Manto continued her education in Tinos with the help of her mother's cousin Nikolaou Mavrou, also known as "papa-Mavrou," who was also the local priest. Besides Greek, Manto was fluent in French, English, and Italian. Tinos' historical records suggest that "papa-Mavrou" may have inspired her to play an active part in the revolution.¹⁷¹ While it seems unlikely that a priest would promote revolutionary upheaval, and in Tinos for that matter, he was probably one of the few educated individuals on the island whose historical and political knowledge reinforced ideas of the Enlightenment. Her uncle was described as a "wise and good patriot" who instructed Manto to study ancient philosophy and the history of Greece. Papa-Mavrou was also part of the *Philiki Etaireia*, making it likely that his revolutionary opinions influenced Manto.¹⁷² The details about Manto's life leading up to the revolution show a great degree of physical mobility, the influence of progressive ideals, and revolutionary activity modeled by her family members. The combination of her education and experiences in both

¹⁷⁰ Kitromilides, 148.

¹⁷¹ Tasoulas, "H Istoría tis Tinou, Alex E. Lagourou 69-70," 45.

¹⁷² Xiralaki, 288.

cosmopolitan and provincial settings may have motivated and allowed her to engage in more public activities.

The economic freedoms available to Bouboulina discussed in the previous chapter as merchant wife, mother, and widow were not the same for the “merchant daughter” Manto. Merchant daughters were educated (usually by a private tutor) and acquired properties from both the mother and father. Unlike Bouboulina, who was widowed, Manto handled her inheritance by insisting she receive it from her mother and through the support of relatives. The detailed evidence of Zaharati’s dowry is part of her careful record keeping of the family’s assets and valuable belongings. The monetary and property value Nikolaos left behind was enormous. According to P. Griparis, apart from the properties in Trieste, Petroupoli, Chios, Smyrna, Andros, Paros, and Mykonos, the cash sums alone, coming in from Moldavia, totaled 700,000 grosia.¹⁷³ What we don’t know is how his entire fortune was handled or divided after his death. What we do know is that in Orthodox councils that dealt with matters of inheritance, children had equal inheritance regardless of gender.¹⁷⁴ Generally, laws dictating inheritance and dowries in the islands were uniquely catered to the merchant class and gave women separate ownership of their dowries. But an education and personal management of dowry did not imply complete autonomy and free agency. Manto went beyond the social restrictions available to her by selling off her inheritance, traveling frequently, and engaging in a public relationship with revolutionary leader Dimitrios Ypsilantis. The social expectations for daughters of the Greek diaspora and Phanariot elite were for women of Manto’s class to be educated, but not overly opinionated, skilled but not employed or self-reliant. These restrictions and expectations were intended to secure a favorable marriage that would maintain and even elevate her family’s status and wealth.

¹⁷³ Blancard, *Les Mavrogeni*, t. 2, 738; Tasoulas, 16, in “Olympitou, Ginekes tou Agona,” 77.

¹⁷⁴ Davidova, 104.

Manto, like Bouboulina, challenged conventional gender roles across public and private realms. The reactions to her choices from outsiders, male compatriots, and family members range from desire and inspiration to intrigue and ambivalence, and more commonly from fellow Greeks, rejection, and disapproval. Although the revolution provided an opportunity for a woman like Manto to act independently, it came at a public and private cost that the stakeholders of the revolution were not prepared to accept. They saw Manto's maneuvers as a threat to the general order of society, and to the still vulnerable and undetermined image of Greek identity and the Greek nation to both insiders and outsiders.

The Revolution: “Heroine of Mykonos”

The “Heroine of Mykonos” traces Manto’s physical and monetary contributions to the revolution through a combination of secondary sources and her systematic reports, memos, appeals, and complaints demanding moral justification and material assistance from the state, which indicate that at the very least, she expected to be fairly recognized and compensated for her patriotic duties.

By March of 1821, the revolutionary leaders had mobilized forces on the Peloponnese mainland and the Saronic islands of Psara, Spetses, and Hydra. With the revolution officially declared, the Cycladic islands had to be informed. Shortly before the revolution erupted in 1821, Manto left Tinos for Mykonos where the story of her pursuit and sacrifice began. On April 2, 1821, a ship intended to recruit soldiers for the Saronic fleet arrived in Tinos and then Mykonos.¹⁷⁵ At the same time, word of the successful Siege of Nafplion led by Bouboulina and her frigate *Agamemnon* had reached Mykonos. According to French emissary and philhellene Francois Pouqueville, the people of Mykonos responded by forming a patriotic council. Manto joined this council to help recruit men and raise funds to arm four ships set to meet the remaining naval fleet in Tinos. Twenty days later, on April 25, Mykonos sent twenty-two of their men to the Peloponnese. According to eyewitness accounts, Manto was among the elite who directed the Mykonian fleet by rigging two ships that set sail with the rest of the Mykonian fleet to the island of Euboea in June of 1821. She had also sent a ship to the Athenian port in Piraeus to buy imported weapons from Europe. To defend Mykonos from attack, Manto helped form a small military corps to remain on standby.¹⁷⁶ It is in this spirit that European writers described and

¹⁷⁵ Tasoulas, 48. Note the years are based on the Old Julian calendar dates of the Revolution so the Gregorian and ‘western’ date of the revolution’s start is April 9th and the dates that follow shift by around 12-13 days.

¹⁷⁶ Pouqueville, *Historie da la regeneration de la Grece*, quoted in Xiradaki, 288-289

chronicled Manto's participation. They considered her intervention crucial in the organization of the defense of Mykonos. Like Bouboulina, Manto used her personal wealth to financially support soldiers and equip the ships necessary for the islands' defense. It is in this context that Manto's defense of her people, island, and homeland occurred and what prompted her to pursue the cause in the Peloponnese.¹⁷⁷ Manto was loyal to her Mykonian soldiers and fulfilled her duties for practical and personal reasons. Without a memoir, Manto's motives to go to war can be pieced together through the personal letters and political correspondence she left behind. In the general historiography of gender and war, women went to war for various reasons: to avenge their family (perhaps her father's murder), to defend their children, home, land, or nation, for ambition, to gain independence or freedom, patriotic commitment, escape, power, and so on. How those motives relate to Manto's role as daughter, peacemaker and diplomat, heroine, and charitable maiden broaden our understanding of how nationalism and gender work together in the process of nation-building.

Manto's early assistance in the war effort is documented by her own reports and by Maxim Raybaud. Most historians agree that Manto had no armed role in the struggle, but that she commanded forces by giving orders to the troops under her financial support. Most of her material assistance is well-documented. By her account, Manto claimed to have "had 150 soldiers armed and paid at her own cost, on a ship (frigate: *Themistocles*) she had chartered and captained by Marko Niordo to send assistance to the Peloponnese."¹⁷⁸ Before she sent the men to join Captain Niordo, however, she received information that on July 5th the Ottomans had invaded the nearby island of Samos. Manto delayed sending her troops to the Peloponnese and

¹⁷⁷ Kitromilides, 152, Recent scholarship has revealed that the activities of the Aegean islands, "were deployed for auxiliary services, such as scouting, mail delivery, and transporting men and resources"

¹⁷⁸ GAK, Esoterikon, Folder. 36, 13/7/1824, in Tasoulas, 52.

sent fifty of her men to Samos instead. At the same time, Manto made a bold choice that not only illustrates the passion with which she did everything but her determination to break free from convention. According to Manto, “on hearing the news of Samos, everyone who had the means to leave the island, left for Europe. Even my own mother sent someone to convince me to meet her in Tinos and from there to take refuge in Kythera. In my response to my family, I stated that as a patriot of my homeland, I will stay to fight, and if I were to die, it would be with my soldiers in the Peloponnese.”¹⁷⁹ Manto risks her relationship with her family but more importantly, with her mother. This is also problematic because her mother had possession of her inheritance. The disagreement displayed between Zaharati and Manto mirror the general divisions and uncertainty regarding support for the revolution among the islanders. The “islanders’ generally lukewarm response to the revolution” was a split between the “food-deficit” (shipping islands) and “food-surplus” islands who had no economic incentive to join the revolutionaries.¹⁸⁰ Tinos, as a food surplus island, had little reason and interest to join the revolution. As a result of this ambivalence, and from fear of Ottoman punishment, Manto lost 100 of the 150 soldiers she had already paid. Manto’s unconventional actions on a personal level challenged her relationship with her family, mostly her mother, but on a larger level risked her reputation as an unmarried noble woman who squandered her dowry for military pursuits and acted independently in legal and personal matters moving forward.

Despite societal and personal obstacles, Manto continued to demonstrate her commitment to the patriotic cause. An excellent example that illustrates Manto’s challenges occurred shortly after the initial occupation of Samos. On July 8th, the Turkish fleet embarked on their second naval venture. The purpose was for the Turks to transport 12,000 soldiers from their coast to

¹⁷⁹ GAK, *Esoterikon*, f. 36, 13/7/1824, in Tasoulas, 62-63.

¹⁸⁰ Mazower, 144-148.

Samos, but by the time Kari Ala arrived with transport, the Greek fleet of around 90 ships drove him off the island.¹⁸¹ The Greeks were victorious in Samos. This event emboldened Manto to gather the 100 soldiers that she had originally armed and paid to continue to the Peloponnese. However, as she was leaving, she discovered that an “elder” of the town collaborated with Manto’s servant to intercept a private letter that was intended and sealed for her from the captain. Manto confronted the servant to return the letter and later informed Ypsilanti regarding the details of the scenario.¹⁸² This scenario illustrates how Manto was often betrayed and that her efforts to assist the revolution were met with resistance and distrust. Such obstructionism continued because she was a woman, and because of the internal divisions on the islands regarding their position in the revolution. For example, one ship was stalled, ostensibly because a soldier onboard owed a minor debt of ten coins. In addition, weather complications (known as *meltemia* winds) left her crew stranded at sea, where many became sick. Despite these obstacles, Manto openly protested injustices and documented every experience extensively. In the end, Maxime Raybaud notes that Manto’s troops finally joined the remaining army in the central Peloponnese at the Battle of Tripolitsa in September of 1821. This endeavor, led by Commander in Chief Dimitrios Ypsilantis, General Kolokotronis, and Laskarina Bouboulina, was a success. As a result, by December of 1821, the First National Assembly began the formal process of independence and drafted the first provisional constitution.

Although a small part of a larger puzzle of the war, Bouboulina and Manto’s early involvement, physical and monetary, was important to Greek victory. It was not until after 1821 that significant funding for the revolution came from foreign investment bonds and loans.¹⁸³ On

¹⁸¹ Brewer, 96-97.

¹⁸² GAK, *Esoterika*, f. 36, 13/7/1824, in Tasoulas, 62-63.

¹⁸³ A banking norm born from the underground networks of monetary exchange that emerged at the time of Napoleon’s blockades. These networks allowed bankers great influence in national and international influence in

December 29, 1821, two men arrived in Mykonos, Nikolaos Kasomoulis and Dimitrios Ypsilantis' personal guard, Grigoris Salas. The purpose of their visit was to collect money and ships for the Greek naval fleet because they had failed to get either from Tinos. After their visit to Mykonos, records indicate that they had acquired a sum of 3,000 *grosia*. This money was most likely given by Manto.¹⁸⁴ After her contribution, the New Year's dinner mentioned in the opening passage of this chapter took place. This visit suggests several things: the first is Manto's proximity to the island's leaders but also how freely and openly she discussed her beliefs and situated herself among the early political leaders of the newly independent Hellenic Republic. An unmarried woman of her time was expected to be hostess but to voice her political views. While recent scholarship reveals that women of her class and refinement published their political beliefs through more literary methods, Manto's public and diplomatic role was uncommon for an unmarried aristocratic woman.¹⁸⁵ Her demands for fair legal treatment and proper compensation suggests that Manto expected to be treated as an equal to her male counterparts. The other significance of the visit is the timing between Salas' visit and Manto's eventual relationship with Dimitrios Ypsilantis.

In May of 1821, emissaries from Samos, Hydra and Psara went to the prosperous island of Chios. The wealthy and peaceful Chians had nothing to gain from joining the effort, but by April the island was surrounded by about 1,500 nearby Samian troops and revolutionaries. There, the revolutionaries led by Lykourgos Logothetis persuaded reluctant Chians to join the

diplomacy and war. Manto grew up in these bourgeois communities and was influenced by the humanitarian dialogue among salonnieres. Furthermore, membership in societies that supported humanitarian philhellenism were seen by the burgeoning elite as funding "peace" in the post-Napoleonic world-not insurgency. See: Glenda Sluga "Who Hold the Balance of the World? Bankers at the Congress of Vienna, and in International History"

¹⁸⁴ According to Greek Historian, Kokkinos as referenced in, Tasoulas, 55. This is also supported by Tasoulas because Manto's personal accounts claim she always gave funds to Greek leaders/compatriots from diaspora.

¹⁸⁵ Papalexopoulou, "Tracing the Political", 1.

revolution.¹⁸⁶ Splitting leadership of the island's main city, the Greek leaders sparked disorder and chaos on the island. By February of 1822, the Sultan responded by taking wealthy Chians hostage and sent a large fleet of soldiers and plunderers to invade the island.¹⁸⁷ By March of 1822, Chios was in dire need of food and weapons. News of women and children sold into slavery reached the Cyclades. Manto, with her cousins' assistance, pawned more belongings to provide financial assistance to the Christian refugees of Chios. Sadly, in one of her reports, Manto laments that her assistance failed to reach the island of Chios before the massacre had occurred.¹⁸⁸ By the time the Greek fleet had acquired the necessary supplies and devised a plan to help Chios, it was too late. Hydra could not afford to relieve Chios on their own, and soldiers demanded payment and supplies. As a result of these internal power struggles, the once beautiful and prosperous Chios was destroyed in four days.

In general, the Ottoman response was disproportionate to the reality of Chiot resistance and as a result, horrific scenes of escape, slaughter and enslavement were exhibited in 1824 by famous romantic painter Eugene Delacroix in his painting, *Massacre of Chios* (Figure 2). According to Ginouvier, to show her remorse for the massacre and the doom of her compatriots, "Manto came down to the main square in Mykonos dressed in black holding a cypress branch as a sign of mourning."¹⁸⁹ The cypress is a symbol of mourning and reverence in classical Greek and Roman history but also a biblical reference to the crown of thorns of Jesus's crucifixion. Although romanticized, Manto's sorrow in Ginouvier's popular novella (Figure 7) *Mavrogénie ou l'héroïne de la Grèce (1824-1825)*, paired with Delacroix's painting in 1824, further stresses

¹⁸⁶ Mazower, 146-147. Logothetis works with Chios' revolutionaries (Antonios Bournias); wanted to drag Chians in to leave Samos less isolated (defense) and for money/loot; Hydra was angry about footing the bill for Samos' "victories"

¹⁸⁷ Brewer, 162.

¹⁸⁸ Tasoulas, 62.

¹⁸⁹ Ginouvier, 59; Tasoulas, 63.

the romanticized narrative of Oriental barbarism against the helpless Christian women and children. Firsthand accounts of survivors indicate that mistreatment and exploitation of refugees also occurred at the hands of Greeks. While some neighboring islands provided passage to safety for free, others took advantage of the Chians by securing payment before boarding.¹⁹⁰ Although evidence of what happened to Manto's ship does not exist, it was likely used to provide survivors of Chios refuge and passage to other islands. Aside from patriotic commitment, Manto's motivation to engage in revolutionary activities in this early stage of the revolution was to protect innocent women and children. This selflessness is an example of her sacrifice which crystallized into her overarching identity as the "Mykonian Madonna."

That spring, Manto made the decision to leave her family home and to live with her aunt. Her decision was motivated by the constant disappointment and pressure she felt from her family to refrain from spending money on the war effort. She stated that, "I felt it necessary to leave my family home and move in with my aunt to fulfill my heart's desire with peace of mind."¹⁹¹ By April of 1822, the disaster in Chios put Mykonos and the rest of the Cyclades on high alert and left in its wake a refugee crisis. Unless the islands paid their taxes to the newly formed provisional government, the islands were left defenseless. With the transition to Mavrokordatos' leadership, a formal Greek fleet began to emerge.¹⁹² National tax reforms were passed to raise funds to maintain a navy, with large portions of the funds coming from individual and private contributions. Those funds came in monetary form but also personal commodities.¹⁹³ Collectively, these contributions played a pivotal role in the establishment of a centralized system that the newly independent republic would rely on to legitimize itself. Manto's

¹⁹⁰ Mazower, 154.

¹⁹¹ GAK, Esoteriko f. 36 1824.

¹⁹² Mazower, 156.

¹⁹³ Mazower, 157.

willingness to contribute to the newly formed commission of prefects (whose role was to raise revenues in the Cyclades) models the beginning of a centralized system and reforms that were essential to the success of the new republic.¹⁹⁴ Unfortunately, Manto was part of the minority on the island who did not feel obligated to local politics and loyalties. With tax riots and protests facing the new government, Manto rose above selfish aims and defended Mykonos as leaders squabbled among themselves.

On October 12, 1822, Manto saved Mykonos from Algerian pirates who were allied with the Ottomans. She borrowed money from her uncle and pawned her personal jewelry at 18% interest to gather 800 *grosia* to fund the campaign. Accompanied by her uncle, Manto recruited 200 soldiers in Tinos. With the money she armed them with weapons and put them on her cousin's ship.¹⁹⁵ They then returned to Mykonos to defend the island.¹⁹⁶ The news of the Algerian-Turkish fleet's passage in the straits of Tinos-Mykonos reached Spetsiot forces located in Tinos under Admiral Miaoulis. In the process of sending his forces, Miaoulis received news of Manto's defense. After the events in Mykonos, Manto's more masculine image as the "Heroine of Mykonos," began to emerge.

Besides philhellenic accounts of Manto's defense of Mykonos, personal memoirs by the island's chancellor George Skevas indicates that she expected the leaders of the island and the newly formed state to not only acknowledge her contribution but to also reimburse her for military services as a fellow patriot and citizen. As a merchant daughter of the Cyclades, Manto knew her legal rights but made the wrongful assumption that the new republic would treat her the same as they would a male soldier or general. Years later, she proudly stressed her efforts to

¹⁹⁴ Mazower, 157.

¹⁹⁵ GAK, Vlahogianni, V 87, 22

¹⁹⁶ GAK, Vlahogianni, V 87, 22; Tasoulas, 66.

Governor Kapodistrias, asserting “my island owes her continued existence to me; as the barbary [Algerian pirates] attacked her, I saved her.” After this battle, Manto submitted a report to the General Assembly of Mykonos to receive formal acknowledgement of her financial contribution of 800 *grosia* to negotiate the return of the jewelry she pawned for the money she used to pay the soldiers. The assembly did not respond immediately, and when Manto asked the assembly for repayment, she was told that they did not have the money to reimburse her.¹⁹⁷ Fed up with the island’s leadership, she appealed to the vice chancellor, George Skeva, to gather another general assembly so that she could personally read her initial letter outlining her expenses for the campaign. The meeting took place, but the assembly only offered to stamp a bill acknowledging the debt. A few days later, seeing that she had nothing to gain, Manto boarded a boat to the Saronic Island of Aegina, to submit a personal report to the Secretaries of State and Law to seek justice. After the events in Mykonos, Manto’s image as the “Heroine of Mykonos,” began to take shape.

Due to spending most of her money during the first two years of the war, Manto faced financial problems and had outstanding debts. To live within reasonable means, Manto requested her dowry from her mother. On February 6, 1823, she pawned a portion of her dowry—her fine silver serving set and utensils and a pair of emerald earrings—in Mykonos for 540 *grosia*.¹⁹⁸ In 1823, Manto left Mykonos for Nafplion to be closer to the cause. She left for Nafplion with the rest of her dowry, her uncle, and her brother Dimitrios. By March, Manto arrived in Nafplion and received temporary lodging from the garrison commander, Dimitrios Plapoutas. The house was in such ruin that she had to spend 300 *grosia* of her own money to repair it.¹⁹⁹ Until this point,

¹⁹⁷ Tasoulas, 68

¹⁹⁸ Tasoulas, 74; GAK, “Letter from Zaharati,” dated 1826.

¹⁹⁹ Tasoulas, 74.

Manto appears to always have a family member, usually male, who accompanied her revolutionary activities. Despite her mother's disapproval, it seems that her family encouraged Manto, or at the very least, acted as chaperone. These details indicate that unlike Bouboulina, who acted alone and led her soldiers into battle, Manto—whether by choice or imposed—followed some of the social expectations of her time. This might be for the purpose of securing an auspicious marriage and, thereby, gain a greater degree of autonomy. One of the most significant moments in a woman's life during this period was marriage. As a young, educated, beautiful, and relatively famous member of the newly independent Greek state, Manto expected an illustrious marriage. Her relationship with Ypsilanti demonstrates that Manto knew when to use her title and femininity to her advantage. Manto inspired and transfixed those who met her, particularly “foreign” men, and the philhellene community.

Manto's relationship with Ypsilantis most likely began when, in 1823, she requested a certificate that acknowledged her patriotism and support for the cause. This request introduced the Prince to Manto, who for two years had sent soldiers to the first regular military corps to take part in the Peloponnese campaigns. Manto's soldiers were part of Ypsilanti's troops in the Battle of Dhervenakia in July of 1822.²⁰⁰ The certificate states:

Lady Manto Mavrogenous, motivated by her patriotism, and struggle for the homeland, provided in times of need, a total of approximately 200 soldiers to the Peloponnesian campaigns. She paid their salaries with her own money, armed them with weapons, and provided food for them and their families. For her hospitable and noble actions, I bestow her a signed and stamped certificate.²⁰¹

Shortly after, Manto was engaged to marry commander Dimitrios Ypsilantis. The romantic details of their courtship are unknown, but several conclusions can be drawn from what they each brought to the relationship that could have motivated the engagement. Unlike his

²⁰⁰ Tasoulas 64; GAK, Esoteriko 36, 1824

²⁰¹ Kitromilides, 428; Tasoulas, 75-76: Arxeo Dimo Mykonou, signed by Ypsilantis, March 10, 1823.

handsome brother, the 28-year-old Dimitrios was described as “completely bald with some wrinkles, short and skinny and a shrill high-pitched voice that made him seem well into his forties (*Figure 3*).”²⁰² Despite his appearance, Dimitrios was “stable, honest, loyal, and easy-going,” according to the memoirs of General Kolokotronis. Kolokotronis made sure to humble the young prince by reminding him that the men he led were “simple and that the country he was fighting for would require him to set aside the luxuries of his cosmopolitan upbringing.”²⁰³ This account highlights the deeply rooted rivalries between the *phanariot* and *klepht* factions, and the suspicions Greeks had towards outside wealth and influence during the revolution. As great-niece to the Prince of Moldavia and Wallachia, Manto shared a similar cosmopolitan and noble background with Prince Ypsilanti that automatically made their relationship suspect to the *klepht* faction. This tension played out in her relationship with Ypsilanti but also distinguishes her from Bouboulina’s factional leanings with the *klephts* and close relationship with Kolokotronis. Typically, arranged marriages served to secure financial wealth, but as the war progressed, they were used to create political ties among opposing parties of the war.²⁰⁴

Their relationship progressed to the status of an engagement as confirmed in a document that the prince had provided as a prenuptial agreement that would assure Manto monetary compensation if the engagement were to be broken. Unlike the western church, an engagement in the Greek Orthodox church is a ceremonial step in the process of marriage in which the couple exchanges rings and is blessed by the priest. It is worth noting that women often followed their soldiers, especially love interests, into battle. Manto took this one step further by engaging in pre-marital relations (following/living together/next to Ypsilanti) over the course of their

²⁰² Voutier, 50-51.

²⁰³ Kolokotroni’s response is detailed in *Elliniki Ekdotiki Scholi* (Athens, 1978), 166.

²⁰⁴ Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, 49.

relationship that overlapped with the political infighting and military losses of the civil wars (1823-1825). Historically, women in war or on a ship were assumed to bring “bad luck” or a disturbance to the natural order of society. True to the misogyny of that time, leaders grew suspicious of Manto and later condemned her negative influence over Ypsilanti. This was likely due to his military and political failures between 1823-1825 that severely crippled Ypsilanti’s confidence in himself and the relationship.

In addition to her continuous attempts to acquire fair compensation for her contributions, Manto was often a victim of looting, theft, eviction, debt collection, horrible living conditions, and arson. Her time in Nafplion detailed economic hardship and lawlessness. On the morning of May 11, 1823, Manto’s house in Nafplion caught fire. Several men attempted to help; however, their intentions were not fully innocent. The men, primarily Hydriot soldiers, stole her valuables, specifically her father’s sword dating to Constantine the Great, and even her uncle’s and brother’s clothes.²⁰⁵ In response, Manto left Nafplion to live near Ypsilanti in Tripoli, where her servant said she continued her love affair with Ypsilanti.²⁰⁶ Although she was sometimes supported by the central administration, the local administration of the Cycladic islands refused to pay the sums she was owed.²⁰⁷ From 1823 to the end of her life, Manto was left with very little means of survival. The higher frequency and volume of Manto’s requests and reports to the government produced between 1823-1827 reflect a time of increased violence and instability that ultimately left Greek people, especially women, in desperate situations.

²⁰⁵ Tasoulas, 80.

²⁰⁶ Tasoulas, 79-80.

²⁰⁷ In 1828, Manto estimated that the total value of the items stolen from her were worth around 50,000 grosia. She stated that the reason she had those items on her in the first place were because they were part of her dowry and that she feared they would be seized from the enemy fleet (not by Greeks). See “Ginekes Tou Agona,” 87.

By 1824, the newly independent Greece was embroiled in a civil war between political factions: the rebels led by Kolokotronis in Tripoli and the formally elected government led by Koundouriotis in Kranidi. According to Philhellenes who met Manto, she never took a side in the civil war but was unintentionally involved with her association to Ypsilanti, mostly because her later campaigns conflicted with opposing revolutionary aims. Living in poverty and nearly deprived of all assets in Tripoli, Manto contacted Georgios Dikaios (Pappaflessas), who worked under Koundouriotis, and asked him to represent her case to the parliament. He wrote the following:

It is well known to the entire nation and in addition to the respected parliamentary body how much Miss Manto has benefitted the Greek people in various needs and how her sacrifice has found her in unfortunate circumstances. Therefore, she deliberately sends her uncle to present reports to demand her rights. I beg the parliament to not overlook her rights, and to provide assistance, specifically regarding her immediate needs.²⁰⁸

This grand gesture unfortunately did not produce the money that was owed but did qualify her to receive two bread rations a day from the established welfare program.²⁰⁹ Manto's struggles to secure housing and food, ongoing disputes with local citizens, and administrative reports indicate the instability and inability of the administration to meet the daily needs of its people, and additionally, how the revolution destabilized pre-revolutionary systems of status and privilege. Manto's affluence "bought" her way into the war but as the new state emerged, her sacrifices increased, and the economic and political rights linked to her wealth dwindled.

In 1825, Ypsilantis and Manto's engagement fell through.²¹⁰ Within the first year, Manto noticed that Ypsilantis began to withdraw from the relationship without reason and with contempt. The reasons for their breakup are not specifically stated in the documentation that

²⁰⁸ GAK Internal Affairs, 32, Argos, 20/5/1824, in Tasoulas, 102.

²⁰⁹ Tasoulas, 106.

²¹⁰ Tasoulas, 174.

survives, but several documents support the theory that their relationship was sabotaged by leaders of the revolution, specifically Ioannis Kolettis, who saw Manto as a threat. Leaders and friends of Ypsilantis feared that their relationship would forge a strong pro-Russian dynasty within Greece that could easily be manipulated by foreign interests. Manto expressed her disappointment at the sudden disappearance of their engagement papers to Ypsilanti.²¹¹ With this turn of events, Manto petitioned the Ministry of Religion and asked for a court hearing to obtain the papers.²¹² On August 23rd, she addressed the high priest of the Ministry of Religion but unfortunately this document has not survived. She did not receive a response but luckily, Manto sent another letter to the Ministry of Religion on October 8th that followed up on her initial report regarding the religious and personal matter. Recognizing that his reputation was on the line, Ypsilantis decided to assure Manto by honoring his promises. He agreed to turn over the document that confirmed their engagement to his friend, Panagiotis Anagnostopoulos for safe holding. But Anagnostopoulos refused to keep the original document, as he had reasons to believe they would break up again. Manto's response to Anagnostopoulos' refusal follows:

Since you don't want to keep the engagement papers, I will sign another document that says if we split up again, and ask you for that paper, that you have the right to tear it up and not show it to anyone. I will not condemn or speak badly on his [Ypsilantis] character, and if I don't stay true to my word--call me a liar.

To this, Anagnostopoulos responded: "I have received a sealed (proof of receipt) and stamped letter from D. Ypsilanti, of which contents I have no knowledge and promise to give it to either party involved if requested in the future."²¹³ As a friend and political advisor to Ypsilantis, Anagnostopoulos knew that he was in a poor financial situation and could not afford the

²¹¹ Olympitou, 100.

²¹² Arxeio Gerousias, F. 530.

²¹³ Anagnostopoulos, Oct. 22, 1825, from Kapodistriako, Arxeio F. 530, 17-18.

responsibility to compensate Manto if the relationship failed.²¹⁴ Ypsilantis had also failed to secure a political post in the second national assembly and suffered military losses in central Greece from 1823-1825. It is possible that the prince's poor health and indecisive character caused him to regret his commitment to Manto. Rumors had also circulated that she may have cheated on Ypsilantis with the philhellene, Blaquiere. The false accusations of this rumor were addressed in Nikolas Tommasaio's travelogues in which Manto confessed to "have only ever loved one man, Dimitrios Ypsilantis, and that her love never changed; even when she lacked any hope of becoming his wife."²¹⁵ The sources above suggest that Manto never foresaw her relationship with Ypsilantis failing. The accusations against her are a negative reaction to the fact that Manto fulfilled her patriotic duties publicly and as a woman. This evidences that patriotic and private ambitions were interchangeable during war. Despite, or perhaps in spite of, Manto's choice to marry a suitable man within her class, she failed to reduce her patriotic ambitions once engaged. Manto's zealous commitment to raise funds for the campaigns of Neokastro and Missolonghi in 1825 and 1826 demonstrate that she was unwilling to choose between the public role of patriot and private role of wife. While Greek compatriots treated Manto with ambivalence and condemnation, the heroism that made Manto famous in the early stages of the war were forever solidified in the European press abroad.²¹⁶

There is minimal documentation about Manto's life and actions between October of 1826 and April of 1827. According to Blancard, George Kozakis Tipaldos had a discussion with historian and journalist Ioannis Filimon in 1891, a friend of Ypsilantis, who believed that

²¹⁴ Tasoulas, 159.

²¹⁵ Xiradaki, 302.

²¹⁶ Between 1825-1826, six philhellenes publish books that showcase Manto's heroic efforts: Eduard Blaquieres, *Narrative of a Second Visit to Greece* (London, 1825); Maxime Raybaud, *Memoires Sur La Grece, pour server a l'histoire de la guerre de l' independance* (Paris, 1825); Maxime Raybaud, *Memoires Sur La Grèce* (Paris, 1826); G.A. Picquenard, *Victoire et conqueles des Grecs modernes* (Paris, 1826); L.S.W. Belloc, *Bonaparte et les Grecs* (Paris, 1826); Chennechet, *Histoire da la regeneration de la Grece*, (Paris, 1826).

Ypsilantis wanted to marry Manto but that a group of men, sent by Kolettis, kidnapped Manto and took her back to Mykonos. This “kidnapping” occurred without Ypsilanti’s knowledge while he was out of town. Discovering what happened, Ypsilantis was very upset but was persuaded by those around him to refrain from seeing Manto. The absence of Manto’s involvement in the campaigns of 1827 and silence in political records suggests that the kidnapping had indeed happened. Fond of Manto, Tipaldo believed that the timing of her kidnapping confirmed the serious commitment between the two but also the disapproval by most men who were shocked by her actions. In April of 1827, Manto appeared at the Third National Convention in Troezen with Nikolas Dragoumis.²¹⁷ There, Manto demanded two reports to be read aloud, one that entailed her sacrifices to the nation and the other condemning Ypsilantis.

I have brought documents that detail the various contributions I have made since the beginning of the struggle. These sacrifices were for my nation and the people of my country. As you all are aware of, the letters and reports that I have are evidence of the truth. The reports detail my crucial role in the defense of Mykonos, Neokastro, and in many parts of the Peloponnesian campaigns. To the most holy Greek Assembly, I sacrificed my entire inheritance for the sake of my country. Although a small compensation has been approved by previous pre-parliamentary decisions, they have always issued national bonds to that have failed to procure any monetary value. I am aware of the pressing needs of the nation and the bank’s deficit. It is with great haste that I ask for help, but I ask the assembly today to consider giving me a small pension to cover my current expenses and to accommodate me with a residence in Nafplion. My hope is that the assembly doesn’t ignore this small and justified request.²¹⁸

Of the two, the report detailing her contributions to the revolution was read while the other was not.²¹⁹ Manto produced an extensive number of reports like the one above. All of them reveal that she believed her role in the revolution was valuable and that she deserved a fair pension for her services. Manto’s attendance at the assembly was more personal than Bouboulina’s political

²¹⁷ Tassoulas 197.

²¹⁸ Tassoulas 198; GAK Antikeviritiki Epitropi F. 224, 196.

²¹⁹ Manto’s private matters were aired out to the public when she interrupted and demanded an audience with Kapodistrias in Troezen national assembly to protest injustice. Conflicting historical claims on whether it was read out loud.

influence in the first national assembly. Nevertheless, Manto's choice to make her personal case public, and to make the complaint on her own, was rare. For a rejected woman to denounce a leading figure of the revolution to an assembly of men suggests that she may have expected the authorities to repair her moral standing. In pre-revolutionary society, ecclesiastical authorities handled internal affairs of the family and individual conduct. The second report was not read aloud, but all these appeals contain religious, moral, and nationalistic themes.

That same day Manto left for Poros. Two days after the first report was read at the assembly, she sent another report repeating her need for lodging, and specifically, "the disagreements with Dimitrios Ypsilanti."²²⁰ Returning to Nafplion in May 1827, Manto once again found herself a victim to the disputes between factions. The details of the civil skirmishes are not important, but we do know that Manto retrieved some of her belongings, and caught in the crosshairs, was provided refuge by a soldier named Panagiotis and his wife.²²¹ The small number of Manto's belongings were stored in the Palamidi Fortress with Grivas. When she asked for the belongings, the soldiers at the fort refused to return them because she owed 700 *grosia*. But the council ordered the soldiers to return her items because of her desperation.²²² However, they never returned those items or the ring she pawned. Manto left Nafplion, dramatically expressing: "Nafplion has destroyed my life."²²³

Manto left for Aegina. In her time there she again requested her belongings and economic relief. She received a onetime payment of 300 *grosia*, a small portion of the 1,000 she had requested. The most striking thing was that the government, claiming not to have the money, appealed to a group of Philhellenes to gather the sum of 1,000 *grosia*. The philhellene response

²²⁰ GAK Antikuv. Epitropi, in Tasoulas, 199.

²²¹ Tasoulas, 203.

²²² Tasoulas, 206.

²²³ GAK Antik, Epit., 239.

produced no additional compensation.²²⁴ Manto's main objective was to retrieve the items she had stored with Grivas in the Palamidi Fortress before the soldiers left. After several attempts and correspondence from Aegina on August 23, 1827, the economic secretary gave her 550 *grosia*. She then had the ability to travel and retrieve her valuables from Nafplion. She asked for a home in Aegina and a monthly salary, itemizing each expense.²²⁵

The Treaty of London, signed by Russia, France, and England on July 6, 1827, formally recognized the independence of Greece and brought Greek victory in the Battle of Navarino against the Turkish-Egyptian fleet. After this victory, Kapodistrias was appointed president of the First Hellenic Republic on January 24, 1828.²²⁶ Kapodistrias arrived in Aegina on Jan 11, 1828, where Manto was among the first to rush to welcome him as president of Greece. During their personal meeting on January 23rd, Manto paid her respects, welcomed him to Greece and gifted him an ancestral heirloom: the sword from the era of Constantine the Great. In the discussion that followed between them and the government of Aegina, Manto requested that Kapodistrias accept the two reports Manto had submitted to the assembly in Troezen as well as several previous reports.²²⁷ What follows is her last appeal to Kapodistrias:

His Excellency, I am a woman and unlike a man I cannot find work to support myself. I have given everything I had to the cause, and I am experiencing a very hard time. I have heard many words of consolation, but they alone are not enough to help me meet my needs for my existence. I beg of you to give me a monthly salary, so that I may live with dignity. If I was a man, I would have asked for an undersecretary position due to my contribution to the cause. I believe you will understand my need to live with dignity, and not be a burden on my fellow human beings. I have great faith in your generosity and do not want to bother you anymore. Your servant until my last breath.²²⁸

²²⁴ Tasoulas 208.

²²⁵ Tasoulas, 210.

²²⁶ Gallant, *Modern Greece*, xvi.

²²⁷ Tasoulas, 220-221.

²²⁸ Olympitou, 95; Tassoulas, 233-234.

This letter reveals how, regardless of Manto's sacrifice, the reality of her sex prevented her from being compensated. A woman's place in Greek society was centered on marriage and family, not politics or war. Shortly after, Kapodistrias was assassinated.

Manto's final years are documented by her brother-in-law, Antonis Nazos, who confirmed Manto's squandering of the family's assets. He also claimed that Manto lied about getting permission to use her sister's dowry. Manto's actions disappointed her mother, and their relationship never recovered. They were embroiled in legal conflicts until her mother's death.²²⁹ Despite this, Manto's letters often reference her mother's assistance in her most desperate circumstances.²³⁰ Despite her financial ruin, Manto petitioned to gather more forces, even when the debts she had accrued surpassed her funds and the heirlooms she pawned. Rejected by her family for her choices, Manto lived the remainder of her life in poverty and survived through beggary on the island of Paros. Although the Greek state formally acknowledged her contributions, the reality was that it was unwilling to compensate her as a high-ranking military officer or soldier, only as a widow or wounded veteran. In 1840, Manto wrote personal letter to King Otto of Greece asking for compensation in land, money, and title:

"Your Majesty!

The Examination Committee of Nafplion was given the documents of my military accomplishments and my financial sacrifices that I had offered for independence of my homeland.

The (Parliamentary) Military Secretary, has letters between 18/30 January 1834 that ordered to review my accomplishments and sacrifices, and in particular to inquire about my legal rights, and the means of my compensation and award for my service.

The Committee's response to the Secretary assured me, and suggested I was owed monetary pension, land, and a service award approved by Your Excellency. But from then until today, I have received no award, or monetary compensation, besides a small pension enough to pay my maid's monthly salary.

²²⁹ Blancard, 911-912.

²³⁰ Archive Mykonos, 59, in Tasoulas, 229.

As far as the pension is concerned, the Secretary classified me as a widow or a veteran. Your Majesty, I was neither a widow nor married to be able to become a widow, nor was I ever wounded in the war to be considered a disabled veteran. The Secretary does not grant me same rights of army officers, but of a different sacrifice. As if my sacrifice to the homeland was different from those of the other officers. The nation should not discriminate between men and women, between those who fought the battles and others who sacrificed their livelihood for it.

The Secretary should have classified me as a combatant against the enemies of the homeland. I sacrificed enormous sums of personal money to recruit soldiers and I performed military duties on land and at sea. And then of course they made the big mistake of presenting me as a widow or as a wounded veteran.

The Department of Justice should have weighed my accomplishments and sacrifices, and then if I did not deserve a military rank, as a woman I am, to be given the rightful acknowledgement that belongs to me and the same and fair compensation that was given to military officers so that I no longer find myself alone, complaining among the fighters of my homeland.

This is what the Justice demands, and I hope to receive this blessing from His Majesty! Your excellency, I ask to be honored for my military achievements, and to be awarded proper pension for my military contributions and sacrifices.
I continue to hope for justice.

Your most loyal citizen,

Manto N. Mavrogenous
Athens, March 30, 1840.²³¹

This letter was found by chance, along with many others, in a general store and was first published in 1901 in the Archives of Modern Greek History. A mark above the letter contains King Otto's initials, suggesting that he read the letter and possibly intended to submit her request. Unfortunately, Manto died only several months later of typhoid fever. An extraordinarily brave figure, Manto was regarded a heroine abroad but became a victim of her own sacrifice to her homeland. At her funeral procession in 1840, Blancard (Figure 8) notes that Manto's casket was decorated in regalia reserved for Lieutenant Generals and carried to the

²³¹ Apxeio tis Istorikis kai Ethnologikis Etairias Athinon ap eg. 18044

church by prominent military officers.²³² Accounts that assign her this title, embellish her activity, but do it in a very positive light, unlike some of the accounts written of Bouboulina. The honor bestowed on Manto surpassed the injustice Bouboulina received from her own people following her death.

²³² Blancard, 911; Tassoulas, 290-291.

Forever “La Bella Greca”

This final portion, “La Bella Greca,” explores how certain documents present Manto as more heroine or victim, masculine or feminine, and how those themes conflict, challenge, or simply illustrate the emergence of a Greek female identity. When the revolution began, Manto assumed the roles of patriot and benefactor. In the testimonies of her contemporaries and Europeans, Manto is portrayed as the “neglected heroine;” the one who, although she “far surpassed Bouboulina,” was ignored by Greek historians.²³³ Manto “surpassed” Bouboulina by living beyond the tragic end of Bouboulina’s fate, but how she symbolically surpassed Bouboulina is a matter of wide-spread fame and her position among European intelligentsia. Foreigners noticed that Manto was different from Bouboulina, and regardless of exaggeration, chose to highlight those differences. Unlike with Bouboulina, there was a pattern of reducing Manto’s masculinity by amplifying her noble status, charismatic youth, beauty, and intelligence to maintain and celebrate the tropes of “republican daughter” or “heroic maiden.” There was only space for one (non) Amazon. Invoking Manto’s European upbringing, philhellenes shaped Manto’s image and identity to fit the model of the female patriot of the West. Both women were bound by their physical characteristics. Feminine and masculine physical tropes are assigned to them and repurposed and reused over the course of Greek nation-building to espouse a sense of Greekness, especially during bellicose periods.

In 1824, when Manto lived in Nafplion, she met many philhellenes, including the English historian Edouard Blaquieres. When Artinos A. Louriotis was sent to England in early 1823 to

²³³ Olympitou, 73.

get a loan for weapons, Blaquieres accompanied him on his return to Greece.²³⁴ On his second visit, Blaquieres had the opportunity to meet Manto in Nafplion and record her commitment to her nation. He emphasized her patriotism but described her motives as pure, selfless, and beyond comparison to her male compatriots who fought among each other. Most notably, he was “impressed by her fiery desire to see all Greek factions united.” He goes on to say how her monetary contributions were often crowned with success, but that her bitter criticism was directed to the indifference of Christians. With that statement, Blaquieres urged Manto to write a letter to the women of England who had vivid interest in Greece’s fate and for its children:

It is not only freedom that we seek, but our very lives depend on this war. The current crisis is terrifying and puts us before a dilemma: victory or death. One of the two, Greece will be reborn, she will rise beautifully and radiantly under the euphoric start of freedom, or her children will desperately bow down under the alter of glory and be lost on the ashes of their fathers. In the face of this desperate situation, it is natural for them to resort to the sympathy of the noble and benevolent souls of Christians all over the world...polite ladies, enthusiasm alone is not enough. Centuries of tyranny have exhausted us economically. Heroism is useless when it lacks the necessary means emerge-such as money, weapons, ammunition, food, clothing. And if I dare to rely on your sympathies, my goal is to secure asylum for the abused women and children of Euboea, which with your mediation we would find a way to recover and dedicate it to the memory of the women of England.²³⁵

In 1825, the French philhellene J. Ginouvier published *Mavrogénie ou l’héroïne de la Grèce*, describing his encounters with the beautiful and courageous Greek war heroine Manto Mavrogenous (*Figure 7*).²³⁶ Written in romanticized prose, the novella bolstered Manto’s fame and brought further international attention to the Greek Revolution, inspiring European aristocrats to assist through humanitarian or political means.²³⁷ The book’s representation of

²³⁴ It is important to note that the delegates (Orlando, Lourioti, G. Zaimi and Lenghen O Brein Ellie and Co.) were given 800,000 sterling at an interest of 59%. Later, Blancard came back with another 40,000-sterling delivered to Blake and Logothetis in Zakynthos and Smauel Barff in Corinth.

²³⁵ Blancard, 329-330; Tassoulas, 130-132.

²³⁶ Ginouvier, *Mavrogénie ou l’héroïne de la Grèce: nouvelle historique et contemporaine; suivie d’une lettre de l’héroïne aux dames parisiennes* (Paris: Chez Delaforest, 1825).

²³⁷ Sluga, 1403–1430.

Manto's fanatical patriotism played an influential role in the Greek Revolution.²³⁸ Although the novella's audience was probably limited to the upper classes, like that of travelogues and news publications about the Greek Revolution's early successes, Manto's patriotism persuaded Europeans to raise funds for the Greek cause. This was especially the case for British and French aristocratic women who sympathized through their own social and political challenges and their Christian moral duty to aid in the struggle of Greek women and children. To philhellenes, Manto or "La Bella Greca" the "Heroine of Mykonos," embodied the familiar virtues and physical qualities associated with western elite women.

Often greeted as "Bella Greca," Manto was noted for her beauty in the memoirs of those whom she met. In addition to her beauty, Manto's aristocratic education set her apart from most women in the nineteenth century, especially Greek women. Those who met her noted that she spoke Turkish, French, and Italian with the same fluency that she spoke Greek.²³⁹ Like Bouboulina, Manto's image was included in Danish philhellene Adam Friedel's twenty-five portraits of the heroes of the revolution. The lithograph portrait of Manto visualized the characteristics that Maxime Raybaud admired in "la belle Myconienne": "tall, thin, with gentle gestures and small facial characteristics and a sweet smile" (*Figures 4-6*).²⁴⁰ Her figure became known throughout Europe. Friedel was a friend to Dimitrios Ypsilantis and had been stationed in Greece at the beginning of the revolution. His portrait of Manto was printed with the following inscription: "Miss Manto, daughter of the infantryman Nikolaos Mavrogenis, the distinguished Heroine of Mykonos, a small island in the Greek archipelago." Copies of the collection in which this lithograph appeared were printed and carried in the largest bookstores in London. Around

²³⁸ Michael Glencross, "Greece Restored: Greece and the Greek War of Independence in French Romantic Historiography 1821-1830," *Journal of European Studies*, Vol 17. (1997): 33.

²³⁹ N. Tommaseo, *Quadri della Grecia Moderna*, 39.

²⁴⁰ Olympitou, 106.

the same time, Colonel Voutier's publication included Manto in his writings which recorded the events of the Algerian pirate attack on Mykonos: "the brave Manto crossed the island, inspiring her enthusiasm to her patriots...and where she rejected her many suitors by saying that she would never belong to a man who was not free."²⁴¹

Another account by French captain and philhellene Eugene de Villeneuve recalls that at their meeting in Nafplion in 1825 Manto "greet[ed] me with the most respectable and touching manners...on her head she had a bay branch, she took it off and handed it to me, saying to me 'always remember a woman whose heart is inflamed by the love for her country and its independence'."²⁴² Manto seemed to transfix those who met her, particularly men, and was well respected by the philhellene community that played a crucial role in the war of independence. Unfortunately, the same qualities that led to her popularity also instilled distrust among Greek leaders, specifically Alexandros Mavrokordatos and Ioannais Kolettis, who later sabotaged her engagement to Dimitrios Ypsilantis. Although Manto was an exception to the nineteenth-century norm of European elite women, her name is scarcely known in the historiography of women and revolution. These lithographs, travelogues, novels, and personal letters broaden our understanding on how Manto was used to create and project the image of a new Greek nation. Although her heroism is acknowledged in the Greek national narrative, her role has not yet been analyzed in terms of the broader history of women, family, widows, veterans and refugees in the Age of Revolutions. This role is commemorated in modern Greece in street names, statues, poems, film, plays, and national currency (*Figures 9-11*). The information used in this study hopes to illustrate how women were not only able to contribute as heroines, but how that national feeling relates to their roles as daughters, wives, and mothers. Though formal citizenship

²⁴¹ Voutier quoted in Tasoulas, 77.

²⁴² Villanueve quoted in Olympitou,107.

becomes a debate for later generations, Manto created nuance in the visualization of the Greek nation. Despite her social position and presumed gender norms, she broke formality and sacrificed everything, including her livelihood for the cause.

CONCLUSION

Whether allegorically or physically, the images of Manto and Bouboulina have been used to build the national story of independence and in that process served as a model of diverse Greek female identity. The eastern and western, masculine and feminine, peasant or youthful images of Bouboulina and Manto represent the patriot, the sacrificial mother, daughter, financier, and warrior. Greece, and more specifically, Spetses and Mykonos, have commemorated the significance of these two women to their local histories and Greece's national history since the reign of King Otto (r.1832-1863), but they were celebrated more as legend. They were not the subject of historical study until the first wave of Greek feminism in 1980's. To this day, the images of these women can be found all over Greece, but Bouboulina's image has changed to represent a variety of values overtime while Manto's remained fixed, and largely forgotten until the twentieth century. Bouboulina's heroic actions have been used in the subsequent Balkan Wars 1912-13, Greek Civil War of 1946-1949 and during the right-wing Dictatorship of 1967-1974 (Regime of the Colonels) by various political factions and groups to inspire troops. However, Manto--along with many other women, who would be far too numerous to include in this study--participated in similar ways.

Since the start of this project in 2017, I have had the fortune to witness a growing historical interest in the topic of the Greek Revolution—more specifically, in social categories that have not been researched in depth or revisited in decades. The combination of the bicentennial celebration of Greece's Independence and the recent transfer of the National Library's Archives to the newly completed Stavros Niarchos Center have ushered in what Mark Mazower has called, a "Greek Renaissance." Following the celebrations of 2021 through virtual events was both exciting and emotional because the historians and individuals presenting

stressed the gaps of gender analysis in the Revolutionary experience. They gave Bouboulina and Manto the credit and exposure they have always deserved but left historians with the challenge to unravel the stories of these fascinating women. Over the last few years, Bouboulina was finally given the titled of Admiral by the Greek Navy and the Mykonos airport was recently renamed the Manto Mavrogenous airport. These public commemorations are part of the commitment of the current Greek state to empower Greek women but also in response to a growing movement to revise and renew the national narrative to include comparative studies, the Ottoman context, and an abundance of sources like the petitions and reports produced by Manto. This fact situates her case among the numerous petitions and reports from veterans that were thoroughly recorded by the provisional state, but whose post-revolutionary stories were largely forgotten. Much more remains to be explored in this field, but I hope this research has provided a path towards diversifying the image and importance of these women to Greece but also to other case studies of gender, war, and nationalism.

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APPENDIX A: IMAGES/BOUBOULINA

FIGURE 1: Map of Morea or Peloponnese

Spetses, Hydra, Nafplion, Argos, Tripoli, Corinth, Monemvasia for Bouboulina's participation



FIGURE 2: Agamemnon Construction Plans

From: framed and housed in Bouboulina Museum in Spetses. *Firman* located on the other side in Ottoman approving the costs and construction.

FRONT



BACK



FIGURE 3: Bouboulina's Flag



FIGURE 4: Russian Lubok of Bouboulina, 1839.
One of the two housed in the Bouboulina museum. Both with Bouboulina on a white horse and
as St. George, the warrior saint.



FIGURE 5: Eugene Delacroix, oil on canvas 1826 *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi*



FIGURE 6:
Book cover of Prince Michel of Greece's book on the revolution. Titled Bouboulina but the female figure is Delacroix's *La Grèce*.

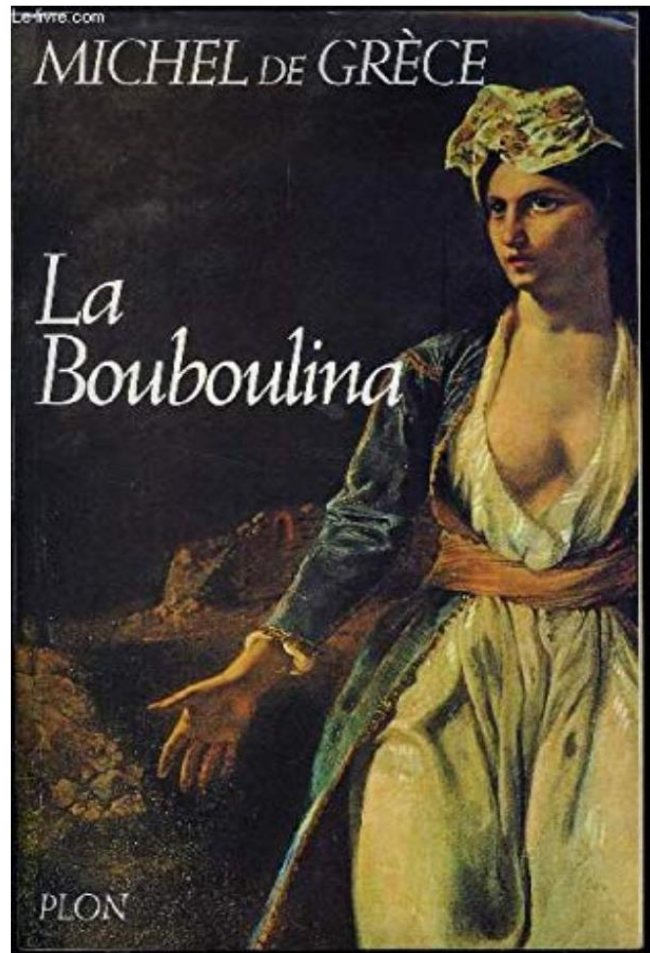


FIGURE 7: Bouboulina illustration by Adam Friedel, from *The Greeks: Twenty-four Portraits of the Principal Leaders and Personages, 1830-1832*. The Gennadius Library, the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.



FIGURE 8: Engraving by Adam Friedel, 1827



FIGURE 9: Peter von Hess, produced between 1839-1844. Reproduced in lithographs.

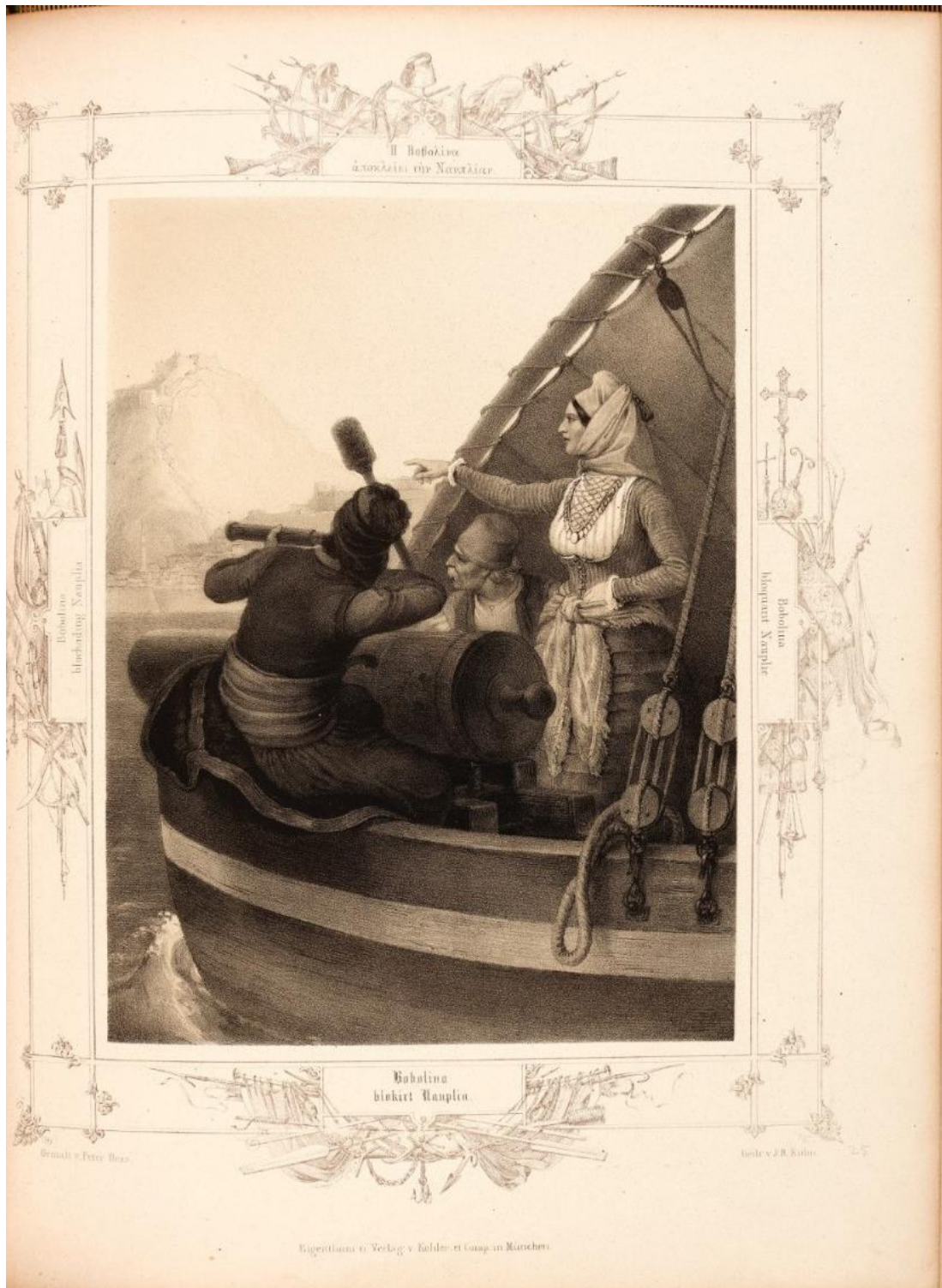


FIGURE 10:
Unknown artist, *Laskarina Bouboulina*. Second half of the nineteenth century. Oil on canvas.
National Historic Museum, Athens.



FIGURE 11: *W. M. Cullen Bryant "Song of the Greek Amazon"*, *The Library Company of Philadelphia* <https://levysheetmusic.mse.jhu.edu/sites/default/files/collection-pdfs/levy-117-062.pdf>



SONG
of the
GREEK AMAZON

„I buckle to my slender Side

(the Poetry by)

WM. CULLEN BRYANT ESQR.

To whom the Music is
Respectfully Inscribed

by

E. IVES JUN^R

Principal of the Philadelphia Musical Seminary

PHILADELPHIA

**Published by John F. Nevens 10 South 3^d St. 50¢*

FIGURE 12: Unknown Artist, *Bouboulina leading the Siege of Nafplion*, nineteenth century. Oil on canvas. Bouboulina Museum, Spetses.



FIGURE 13: 1838 Lithograph of Bouboulina. Full length portrait of Bouboulina with long hair and ancient Greek clothing, leaning sorrowfully on a rock by the sea. Tom. IV (Nicolo Tomasseo), "Grecia...", Tav.155. Central Service Archives (GAK)

Reference Code: GRGSA-CSA_PCENGRAVI.01.IT000233



FIGURE 14: Bouboulina's image on postage stamp



FIGURE 15: Bouboulina on the last drachma coin



FIGURE 16: Bouboulina's image on fifty drachma banknote



FIGURE 17: Bouboulina's statue in the main port and square in Spetses.



APPENDIX B: IMAGES/MANTO

FIGURE 1: Mavrogenous Family Crest

From: Blancard, *Les Mavroyéni, Histoire d'Orient (de 1700 à Nos Jours)*. 1 / Par Théodore Blancard,...

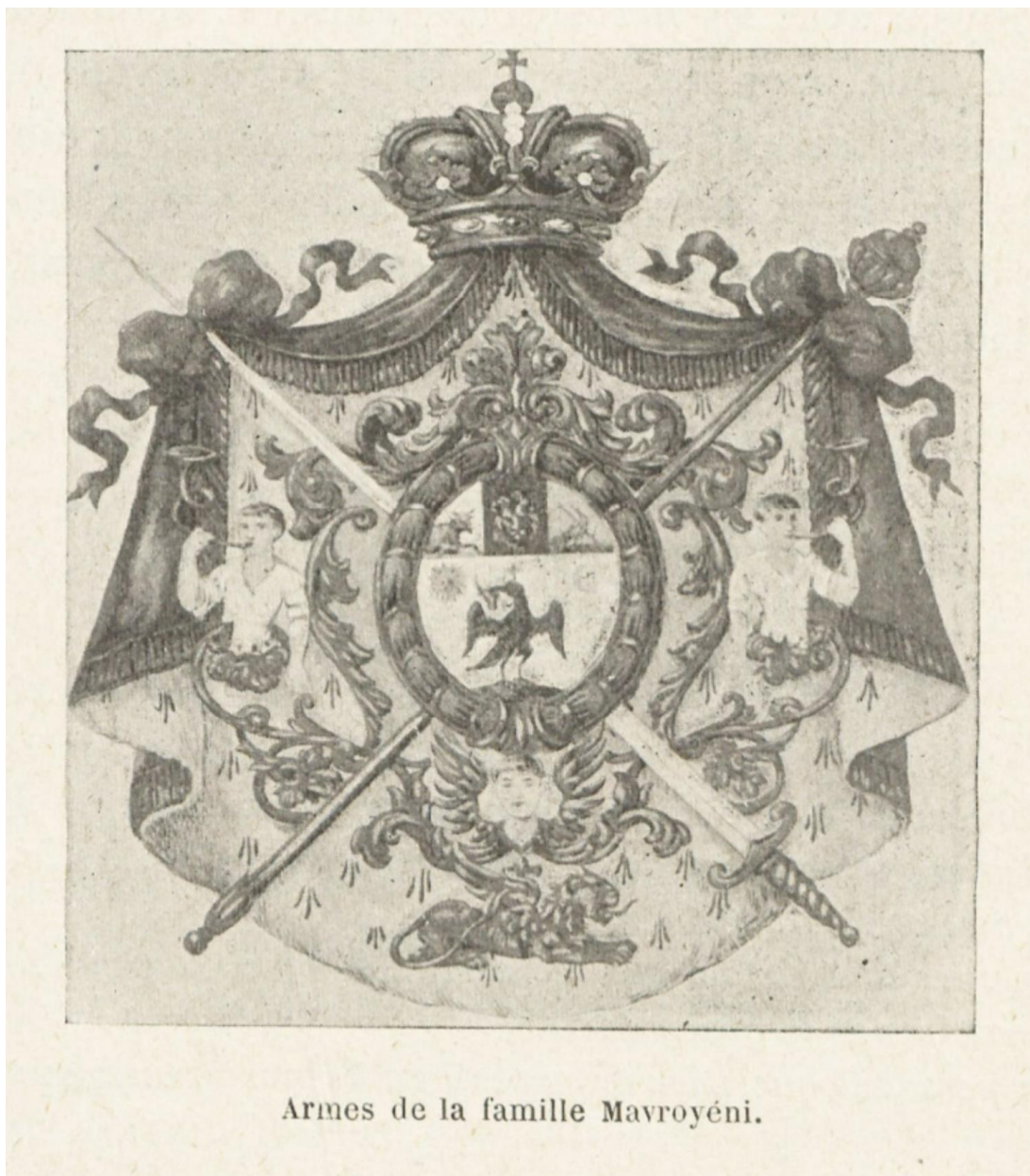


FIGURE 2: Eugène Delacroix, *Scenes of Le Massacre de Chios: Greek Families Awaiting Death or Slavery*, 1824. Oil on canvas. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



FIGURE 3: Dimitrios Ypsilantis

Adam de Friedel. *The Greeks, Twenty-four Portraits of the principal Leaders and Personages who have made themselves most conspicuous in the Greek Revolution, from the Commencement of the Struggle*, London, 1832.

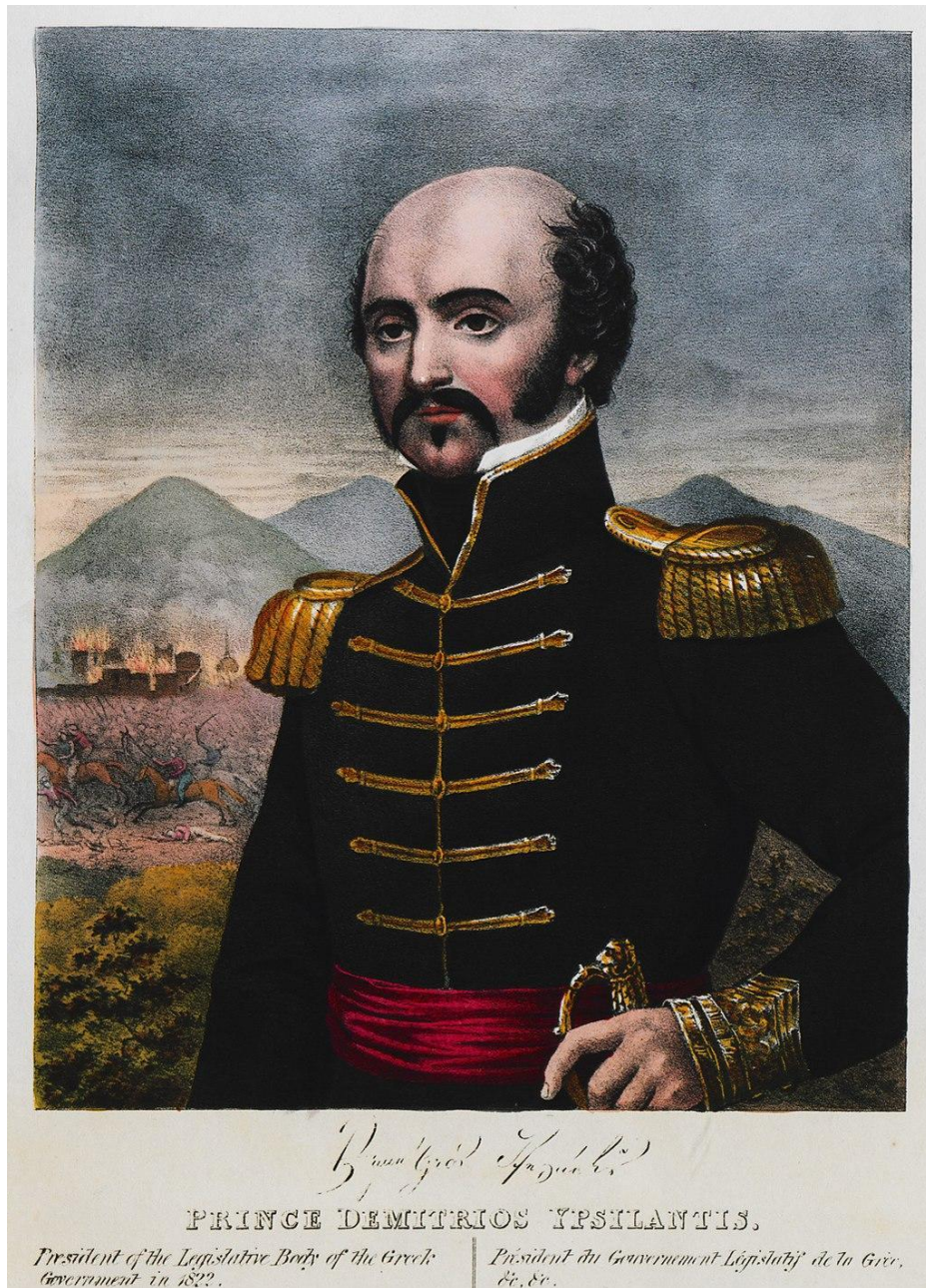


FIGURE 4: Manto Mavrogenous

Adam Friedel. *The Greeks, Twenty-four Portraits of the principal Leaders and Personages who have made themselves most conspicuous in the Greek Revolution, from the Commencement of the Struggle*, London, 1832.



FIGURE 5: Manto Mavrogenous, Adam Friedel



FIGURE 6: Manto Mavrogenous, Adam Friedel



FIGURE 7: Cover of Ginouvier's Novella, 1825

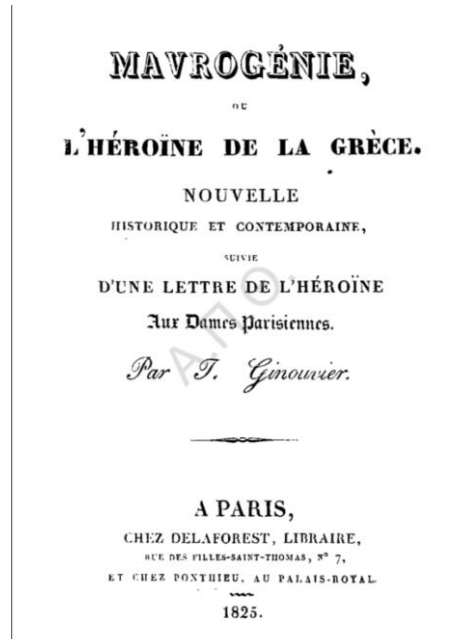


FIGURE 8: Cover of Blancard's history of the Mavrogenous Family

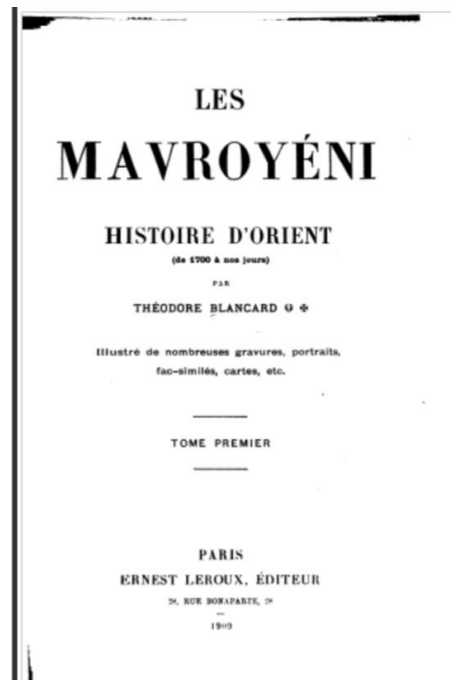


FIGURE 9: Manto's image on two drachmas

<https://en.ucoin.net/coin/greece-2-drachmas-1988-2000/?tid=4388>



FIGURE 10: Kostas Karayiannis film 1971 of Manto Mavrogenous played by Jenny Karezi



FIGURE 11: Photo of Manto Mavrogenous bust in the main square of Mykonos' port.

