# LIBERATING HELLENISM FROM THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

## Comte de Marcellus and the Last of the Classics

GONDA VAN STEEN

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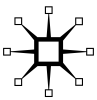



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*Cover*: The Venus de Milo stored in a packing crate at the Louvre before the invasion of the German army in 1870.

To Sarah and Vincent Verhasselt

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# Note on Translations, Text Editions, and Transliterations

All translations from the original French and modern or ancient Greek are my own, unless otherwise noted. For quotations from Said's *Orientalism*, however, I have used the standard 1979 English translation. I have preserved original spellings and occasional inconsistencies in spellings. I have also maintained original letter types (italics). For Marcellus's account of the purchase of the Venus, or Chapter 8 of his *Souvenirs de l'Orient*, I have used the 1994 edition by de Lorris, to remain consistent with my references to the other records and exchanges on the Venus de Milo, which I accessed in the same edition. For all other references to Marcellus's *Souvenirs*, I have employed the more recent edition by Leboucher (2006), whose text is based on the second edition of the *Souvenirs* (1854) with orthographical adjustments. To avoid confusion, I have inserted the name of the source text with each reference to, or quotation from, the *Souvenirs*.

I have tried to write with a diverse readership in mind. Therefore, no knowledge of either ancient or modern Greek is assumed in this book. All quotations from Greek sources have been translated. I have also translated the original titles of modern Greek primary and secondary sources in order to facilitate a critical rereading of the given materials. On the vexed problem of transliterating from the Greek, I adhere to the main principles issued by the Library of Congress unless a Greek name has a well-established form of its own in English. For ancient Greek and Latin proper names, I adopt the conventional Latinized forms broadly used in the English language. Both systems work better together without diacritics in a book in which ancient and modern Greek names occur side by side. For the names of Greek scholars publishing in English, French, or German, I maintain the preferences of the authors. Lastly, my quotations from French and English travel accounts generate their own spellings of names, which I have respected. It does explain, however, why, for example, the Ottoman Kaptan Pasha appears also as "Captain Pasha" or as "Capitan-Pacha."

# Map of Greece and the Ottoman Empire in 1801

Introduction

# Enter the Intrepid Traveler

## Steering into the Thick of History

When the French traveler Comte de Marcellus (1795–1865) went looking for the presumed school of Homer on the island of Chios, he asked some local women for directions, but to no avail.[1] He recalls,"when I persisted and asked about the seat of Homer, they answered me in all seriousness that Omer Pasha, whenever he came to Chios, seldom removed himself that far from the city; and that, in any case, he would sit only on rugs."[2] It wasn't the Greek women but Marcellus who had a lot to learn about Greece and the Orient. And so did his readers back in France. This is a book, then, about learning and unlearning about Greece and the Orient, about travels and travel writing, with the intrepid Marcellus as our guide. Marcellus was a French royalist, who benefited from the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne.[3] In 1815, at the age of twenty, he had been dispatched to Constantinople to assume the position of secretary to the French embassy. Five years later, when he visited Chios, he was no longer a novice to the Orient of (would-be) Greece and the Ottoman Empire. He also sensed that the Greek territories were stirring themselves for a national uprising. Yves Leboucher, who recently brought renewed attention to Marcellus, characterizes his crucial historical position as a diplomat and travel writer as follows: "He [was] one of the last travelers to see the Orient in a kind of primordial state, before an entire part of that dream evaporated in the rubble of the combats."[4] Life in Constantinople was to change soon for the French aristocrat. In April or May of 1820, some of his Greek neighbors invited Marcellus to a staged reading of Aeschylus's *Persians*. To top off a good season, he collected the Venus statue from the Aegean island of Melos, where it had been unearthed only a few weeks earlier. When Marcellus carried off the Venus of Melos, his actions became of lasting historical significance. But his attendance at

the clandestine reading of Aeschylus's *Persians* in the midst of the Greek revolutionary stirrings was, arguably, of the same, if not of greater import. Marcellus was, after all, the only one who lived to tell the tale.

Of all colorful western Europeans who took their slice of the Orient in the early nineteenth century, the young Marcellus seems to have had more luck than he deserved. Apart from the seat of Homer, there was so much more waiting to be discovered in an Orient that, as Suzanne Marchand has argued, "embraced the territory from eastern Vienna to the Bering Straits."[5] But what about the larger historical relevance of Marcellus? Certainly, his tall stories have it all: terror, violence, blood, beheadings, sex, shady financial deals, turbaned villains, innocent victims, smooth operators, and teary sound bites. But there is more to Marcellus's accounts: the story of the diplomat's acquisition of the Venus enables us to question French imperial designs and the (im)possibility of common cultural ownership at the time when such masterpieces were up for grabs. The story of the reading of the *Persians*, or the counterpart to the first tale, projects a sense of reveling in the shared western proprietorship of classical texts and in fashionable philhellenic sympathies. Both accounts generate many an internal Orientalist spectacle, which has escaped the notice of France, the Near East, and their observers alike. Also, they are richly populated by representatives of that ambiguous cultural and symbolic terrain that was would-be Greece in 1820. As a result, Marcellus's record proves to be an exciting and important platform from which to reexamine the age-old West-East conflict. This book reaches beyond the standard sources to dig into the archives and encourages us to redraw the outlines of mutually dependent Orientalism and Hellenism, imperialism and nationalism. The relationships among these concepts are fraught with problems, which are more complicated than has been grasped thus far. I aim, then, to take stock of the broader significance of those concepts and their relationships and also to bring subtlety to them based on my close readings of Marcellus's stories.

In his traditionally royalist and Catholic family, Marcellus received his share of a socially conservative classical education.[6] He knew ancient Greek very well. His French translation of the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus of Panopolis (fifth century CE) remains significant even today. Marcellus made adequate progress also in modern Greek. He even mastered a few good Greek proverbs.[7] Marcellus spent some five years in the Orient, until he left Constantinople in late October of 1820. By 1822, he had joined Chateaubriand (1768–1848), then French ambassador to London, as first secretary to the London embassy. In Chateaubriand's absence, Marcellus, still only twenty-seven years old, became *chargé d'affaires* in perhaps the

most important French diplomatic mission.[8] Marcellus rose through the diplomatic ranks quickly, but retired in 1830 when, in the July Revolution of 1830, the people dethroned the last Bourbon king. Only thirty-four years old, he then devoted his time to writing, mainly about Greece and the Orient.[9] Marcellus's best-known travelogue, *Souvenirs de l'Orient* (*Memoirs of the Orient*, 1839), is the embellished record of his travels in the eastern Mediterranean and the Levant from 1816 to 1820. The travel book saw several editions in the course of the nineteenth century (1839, 1854, 1869; newest edition 2006).[10] Conservative pressures affected Marcellus's travel narratives, but he was also keenly aware of them. "I would have considered my journey to be imperfect and a near-failure, if a classical name had escaped my memory," he confessed in the preface to his *Souvenirs*.[11] However, Marcellus's profound engagement also with contemporary French authors (Chateaubriand, Condorcet, Abbé Barthélemy, Charles Rollin) lends his accounts a distinctive perspective. Thus the retired diplomat collected and translated modern Greek folk songs and developed an eye for performances of a nontraditional nature, akin to the secret, in-house reading of Aeschylus's *Persians*.[12] He fashioned his story of the Venus in the Romanticist mold of fascination with ruins and literary fancy, which overtook "rational" scholarship and the dogma of the old, institutionalized belief system.

Marcellus readily mixed diplomatic reporting, a layman's folklorism, Romanticist adventure fiction, and the gentlemanly study of antiquity. His writings combined empirical observation and traditional scholarship, and they prove especially fruitful for interdisciplinary studies and intercultural comparisons. Some of Marcellus's collecting activities, such as his collecting of Greek folk songs, native plants, and flowers bespoke his narrative persona of a receptive foreigner, who had allied himself with Greece in a sympathetic and supportive bond. Marcellus was a cog, however, of a complex diplomatic and political machine: he was part of the West's bold discussions about imperialist expansion and about the anticipated dismantling of the Ottoman Empire. Meanwhile, the Frenchman lived and worked close to the Sublime Porte, the Ottoman Empire's nerve center, which comprised the highest echelons of its administrative and institutional structures and oversaw large Turkish and other ethnic populations.[13] Marcellus took his professional duty to represent France to the East seriously. In his later life as a "public intellectual," however, the duty to represent transformed his writings into descriptions of the East for France. The aristocrat's conservative sympathies, fanned by his aversion to the revolutionary mayhem that France had suffered, were tested by his travel and work experiences in the eastern Mediterranean and by his

frequent encounters with noncompatriots. His archive may be a prime example of what Mary Louise Pratt, a prominent critic of travel fiction, has called "writing in . . . 'contact zones,'" which she defines as "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination."[14] But Marcellus also contributed to the philhellenic idealization of ancient Greece. Travel (writing) back into time mediated cultural *affinities*, however perceived, invented, or constructed those may have been.[15]

Marcellus earned fulsome praise for his long life of devotion to his travels and, even more so, to the Classics. Alphonse de Lamartine wrote a eulogy upon his passing, which reads in his seventy-eighth "*entretien*" or "treatise": "France just lost not an orator, not a poet, not a professional writer or scientist, but more than an orator, more than a poet, more than a writer, more than an erudite; she has just lost a man of taste! . . . The last of the classics is dead!"[16]

## STEERING INTO THE THICK OF ORIENTALISM AND (PHIL)HELLENISM

This book is a story, then, about two dramatized tales that recall important events of 1820, written by a man with a taste for the Classics. Marcellus's accounts prompt us to look at Orientalism and (phil)hellenism critically, to distinguish their cultural nuances, and to treat them as more productive and interrelated frameworks. My analysis of Marcellus's stories and the social dynamics of their writing, spectacle, ideology, and power brings differentiation and heterogeneity—or much needed corrections—to the tendency to homogenize the Oriental lands into an inert mass.[17] It redresses the common failure to distinguish country folk from city dwellers, ethnicities from nationalities, or empires from aspiring nation-states, and it does so from the rich vantage point of Marcellus's travel writing. The first two chapters of this book take the form of essays on the French diplomat's stories of the "purchase" of the Venus and of the staged reading of Aeschylus's *Persians*, respectively. The third chapter and the epilogue range more freely over broader thematic issues and lingering questions related to the statue and the stage. In Marcellus's narrations, we find a chance to examine a work of art, a text, and a circle of influential people all captured in an archive of Orientalist and philhellenic writings of more than 150 years ago. The events described let us take the pulse of the feverish months that preceded the proclamation of the Greek Revolution on—nominally—March 25, 1821 (of a war that lasted through the end of the decade).[18] The French classicist's stories mark both singular moments and trends in the discourse of Orientalism and philhellenism, and they remind

the student of history and culture to be wary of imperialist agendas—both then and now. The case of Marcellus, therefore, compels us to scrutinize our methodological approaches to Orientalism and philhellenism and to their role in nineteenth-century intellectual history.

Orientalist, imperialist, and colonialist fictions demand sustained critical attention, and so do philhellenic narratives. My study of the two narrations of Marcellus that played a role in the metanarrative of Greekness introduces new sources into the discussion of Orientalism, with important implications for understanding western Hellenism, proclaimed philhellenism, and classicizing travel writing—modes in which Orientalism was often conducted. A concentration on new sources, too, helps to render the field of Orientalism and its representations more dynamic, and it may shed light on the current West-East dialogue—or lack thereof.[19] The "obscure" Marcellus is an ideal object of study for those in the Humanities and Social Sciences who have long searched for modes in which to address the post-9/11 conflict and media coverage: in response, they carefully historicize the long-standing interactions between West and East. Today's strained relationships between the West and the civilizations of Islam demonstrate the need to better comprehend the ties that have historically bound these two worlds. Marcellus's records are among those that have previously gone unnoticed, but that respond to a call for scrutiny that many historicist scholars and cultural critics, too, have clearly delineated. The lesser-known archive that I have selected may therefore enrich the often dogmatic course of reading the Orient of Orientalism, or the Hellas of philhellenism. In light of this ambitious agenda, Marcellus's archive displays an uncanny timeliness and relevance, and it may just offer a piece of a long-neglected puzzle that is, however, still missing many more pieces.

Stathis Gourgouris has led the way in theorizing Orientalism's relation to Greece in his 1996 pioneering study, *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization, and the Institution of Modern Greece*, which covers historical and theoretical intersections of philhellenism and Orientalism. Philhellenism was the more politically minded expression of broader Hellenism: philhellenism aimed specifically at the liberation of the ethnic Greek territories from the Ottoman Turkish yoke, whereas Hellenism denotes the contemporary cultural and intellectual fascination with Greek antiquity. Gourgouris has drawn attention also to "the conspicuous absence of any such connection between Philhellenism and Orientalism in Neohellenic scholarship" and to the political significance of this silence.[20] Penelope Papailias concurs: "it is not surprising that Philhellenism, with its gushing praises for the Greeks, was taken literally and has proven difficult to

recognize as a kind of Orientalism (or Balkanism)."[21] Scholars have still to explore, however, how Orientalism worked in practice in the days of revolutionary Greece—or what would become Greece after the liberation of a relatively small part of the land inhabited by the "unredeemed" ethnic Greek populations.[22] A decentered perusal of the connections between philhellenism and Orientalism has thus far fallen through the cracks of academic interest. Vangelis Calotychos, for one, has argued that much work remains to be done on the different types of philhellenist discourse, and that it must be written from the perspective of different kinds of travelers, from different home countries, and from different walks of life.[23] Marcellus's narratives shed light on areas of West-East conflict but, more specifically, they advance our understanding of the Orientalist-philhellenic representation of Greece in the nineteenth century. Studying his archive allows us to nuance Said's conception of Orientalism and to extend Gourgouris's work on philhellenism. Our analysis also helps to situate French imperialism through art treasure collecting, travel writing and the culture of travel in Greece, and the Classics—a triad of interconnected preoccupations. The practice of collecting Greek antiquities enhanced the prestige of the traveling collector or antiquarian and of his political patrons back home. All three activities were part of Marcellus's background by the time he settled down to write in early retirement. Therefore, let me raise next a few programmatic lines of argumentation that home in on the life and work of Marcellus.

## MARCELLUS, THE OFF-THE-BEATEN-TRACK DIPLOMAT, CLASSICIST, AND TRAVELER

Marcellus embodied the diplomat who was physically and mentally involved in making empire. His service to the restored French monarchy shaped his outlook on the eastern Mediterranean. He "rescued" the famous Venus statue of Melos as part of France's "civilizing mission," on behalf of an enlightened western Europe.[24] The most productive professional years of Marcellus overlapped with France's era of "*la mission civilisatrice*," in Said's characterization. "What was to become known as 'la mission civilisatrice' began in the nineteenth century as [France's] political second-best to Britain's presence," Said declared.[25] France placed stakes in exceptionalism even after Napoleon's demise and claimed that it (still) constituted the pinnacle of "civilization." This trope forged Marcellus's report on his purchase of the Venus, but it also recalls British justifications for acquiring antiquities.[26] Scholars such as Zachary Lockman have warned of the pervasive use of the charged notion of "civilization" as a category constitutive of the Orientalist tradition: the term bespeaks a

static or monolithic conception of culture, and was and is typically used by the competitive "superior" culture to characterize the "inferior" one.[27] Said called this competitive dynamic central to Orientalism and tried to subvert it.[28]

Marcellus, "the last of the classics," was a different classicist at home and abroad. Writing on his desk in later life, he presumed that he had helped to carry Greece through the minefields of tradition versus modernity, at the crucial time of Greece's transition from (Ottoman) empire to nation-state. Years earlier and out in the field, however, he had equated Greece with territorial space and material culture, which was ripe for conquest—if not through power, then through knowledge. His narrations, therefore, reveal what we have *not* been studying within the areas of modern Greek (micro)history and culture as well as Classics. His stories force the broader questions of the ownership, affirmation, or defense of western culture through nineteenth-century classicizing. His records illuminate the imperialist context of classical scholarship, or the contribution of Classics to imperialism, as French global ambitions spurred the diplomat-scholar's exploits. By unmasking some of the nineteenth-century politics of Classics, my study hopes to advance also our understanding of a formative part of the history of our discipline.

But Marcellus is perhaps best remembered as one of the great early nineteenth-century travelers. During his lifetime, travel writing, whether or not based on firsthand experience, established itself as a key Romantic genre against the backdrop of western imperialist exploration and expansion. The Frenchman preceded a wave of travelers and authors (Lamartine, Flaubert, and Nerval among them) that sustained itself until the genre started to show signs of repetition and exhaustion.[29] Marcellus could be dubbed "Chateaubriand's shadow" for writing, like some others, after the model of Chateaubriand.[30] But his stories are more vivid and more genuine than those of the prolific Chateaubriand, whom he took as his narrative ideal. Chateaubriand became a militant liberal philhellene only after 1824, and his encounters in the eastern lands may have been more imagined than real.[31] No need exists to draw more critical attention to "the master," who is the object of study of the Société Chateaubriand, a scholarly society dedicated to him and his work.[32] Minor travel accounts, on the other hand, have been marginalized, despite their varied contributions, and perhaps even more so travelogues that are a mix of memoir, fiction, classicizing commentary, and political statement. My choice of Marcellus, therefore, counters the pressure of canonization within a genre as flexible as travel writing, which was, nonetheless, a key dialectic apparatus fueling Orientalism and philhellenism. The more popular

narrative prose and lyric poetry that couched themselves in Orientalism have received plenty of scholarly interest. Marcellus has not, because he does not fit the mold in which the homogenizing discourse on Orientalist production has forged some of the poets and tellers of tales contemporary to him. A historicist study of a lesser-known author may, therefore, release new insights in the contradictory realm of Greece before nationhood, or the relevance of diplomatic reportage and documentary recording that interfaced with literary fiction. It may help to modify the canon of nineteenth-century travel writing, arguing convincingly for the richness and diversity of its archive, and may thus stimulate the reader to seek out other long-forgotten authors and texts. The rediscovered records of French Orientalism can become helpful metadiscourses not only on the old canon, but also on entrenched analytical and hermeneutic methods, which no longer suffice to unlock the expanding, interdisciplinary area of inquiry that travel writing has become. But I have now tasked Marcellus with an extraordinarily hefty agenda, the components of which I will pursue throughout this book. Allow me, however, to delve into the travel adventures first, which, I hope, will engage the attention of scholars in a wide range of disciplines.

## The "Rescue" of the Venus from Melos

> What the European took from the classical Oriental past was a vision (and thousands of facts and artifacts) which only he could employ to the best advantage; to the modern Oriental he gave facilitation and amelioration—and, too, the benefit of his judgment as to what was best for the modern Orient.
>
> —Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*

The first chapter of this book highlights the Orientalist backdrop to the collecting of ancient Greek art. It focuses on Marcellus's acquisition of the Venus de Milo to variegate the traditionally text-based critique or "literariness" of Orientalism.[33] Therefore, texts and philological activities, which were the driving impulses behind the debates on Orientalism and philhellenism, will make room in this chapter for an analysis concerned with some of the art-historical and—if I may—art-political data concerning the French acquisition of the Venus. Marcellus reconstructed the historical and political circumstances under which he obtained the Venus statue shortly after it had been unearthed. His purchase of the sculpture was all about acquiring archaeological treasure for France; his report discloses the deliberate representations and impressions deposited—again—in texts meant for western consumption.

Marcellus credited Chateaubriand with recommending that he publish the account of the sculpture's "discovery."[34] Then, the Venus became his muse, urging him on to write about his exploits on Melos with an inspiration that reached well beyond the Platonic or the cerebral. Marcellus handled his treasure in a very possessive and jealous way: his discourse was one about owning a statue as a woman. He composed his story and its vivid images for the implied reader who was French and male. The narrative of female objectification, literalized in female captivity, both expressed and goaded the male imperialist gaze. The category of the "male gaze" may fruitfully be applied to Marcellus's writing and also to his behavior. The male gaze is not only a masculine or masculinist construct but also the literal look of a male clientele directed by verbal and visual cues.[35] The sensual and occasionally sexual language of Marcellus construed the Venus as an object of desire and of virulent male ownership. However, these narrow psychological parameters need to be expanded: the concept of looking needs to be related to broader forms of collective, French imperialist consciousness, which mobilized the gaze for geopolitical aims. Marcellus's deed to possess(ing) the Venus tallies with the Lacanian perspective that a fantasy or ideal fiction, however far removed from reality, could affect political practice and thinking, especially in its depiction of the imputed rival or adversary.

The Orient of Orientalism was undoubtedly gendered feminine. These gender dimensions, however, were left largely unexplored by Said in his *Orientalism*, as many scholars, sensitive to a patriarchal and masculinist discourse, have detected and some have tried to remedy.[36] My analysis of Marcellus's first story tackles this shortcoming from an oblique angle, to add a much-needed gendered perspective to the study of Orientalist collecting of ancient art. The Venus may be of marble, but she was far removed from being gender-dispossessed. Silenced though the Venus might have been as the victim of colonization through collecting, she was more than a stone sculpture for Marcellus and for some of his contemporaries. She was more than a merely rhetorical feminine emblem as well. Because the Venus was a collector's object, the act of collecting per se was heavily gendered to the disadvantageous, draining loss of the East. The proportions and ramifications of such a "culture drain" were to manifest themselves more clearly in subsequent decades. The act of collecting was also persistently associated with thoughts and practices that had to establish political, emotional, and sexual primacy and inalienable property rights. The obsession with a lifeless female object that might become interchangeable with the living female body accentuates the ineluctable, masculinist nature of the process of

Orientalist objectification. At the expense of the Venus, the very power to objectify was eroticized and sexualized.

My analysis of the Venus story must rehistoricize and repoliticize the exploitative, Orientalist treasure hunt for ancient art, and must sever it from Romanticist justifications and Idealist constructions. Marcellus, who negotiated the purchase of the Venus and pulled all the diplomatic strings, made off with *the* find of the century. Collections of ancient art had started to play important roles in negotiating identities and in shaping and materializing West-East relations: countries such as France and Britain voiced imperialist ambitions over art, and they defined themselves by virtue of what they were collecting and of what they managed to keep or "safeguard." A key theme in Marcellus's story about the Venus is, indeed, that of the statue's "safe" escape from unjust imprisonment. This rhetorical pretense bears the weight of the Frenchman's motivation for acquiring the prized sculpture in the most questionable manner: a masterpiece made its certain escape from blind and lustful, Oriental tyranny. The theme of escape to safety is what gives the story of the staged reading of the *Persians* its impetus as well: the message of long-overdue Greek liberation from tyranny and injustice. But the parallel rhetoric of a rescue stumbled over a major hurdle: the obstructive "despot" trying to keep the Venus in Greek possession was, in fact, Greek. For Marcellus, the danger encumbering the ancient treasures of the Aegean world was that of "rapacious" and "tyrannical" Greeks.

If any safe escape was much desired, it was France's escape from the post-1815 malaise: the humiliating disintegration of the Napoleonic Empire marked a decisive turning point in the French national psyche. Marcellus dramatized the interaction between West and East against the backdrop of changing times and shifting eastern borders. He traveled from the deflated Napoleonic Empire to the waning Ottoman Empire, or from the remnants of one superpower to the fragmenting state of another. For staunch monarchists such as Marcellus, however, French prestige was in the upswing and not France, but the Orient was a land of ruins. He approvingly quoted Vicomte Louis de Bonald, a family friend, for whom the Orient teemed with ruins of ancient monuments mingled with ruins of people and institutions. Marcellus had de Bonald deliver one of the most Orientalist verdicts on the East: "that Orient, a land so rich naturally, but so poor in morality . . . where everything is ruins: ruins of men, of women, of religion, of government, of monuments of the ancient arts. . . ."[37] Such are the poignant moments at which, as Said would have it, the writer's "individuality perforce encounters, and indeed merges with, the voice of Empire, which is itself a system of rules, codes, and concrete epistemological habits."[38]

The imperialist activity that sought its rationale in, and bolstered, the Orientalist discourse made its most conspicuous appearance in the expropriation of ancient artifacts and in the attendant illusion of owning prestigious objects—and, synecdochically, the civilization that produced them. It was the kind of Orientalist discourse that projected the very anxieties that held the western land of origin in their grip: the French acquisition of the Venus both expressed and concealed the yearnings of defeated and prostrated France to regain international political, military, and cultural status, after many of its scientific projects and grand narratives of progress had collapsed. Few stories other than the Venus story can better illustrate the imperialist power asymmetries that ruled the interaction of the French and the Greeks, or of the dominant and the subaltern culture, both insecure about national selfhood. Marcellus's actions introduced the global dynamics of collecting antiquities to the small and remote community of Melos; the same dynamics held vast eastern territories trapped in the exploitative dualism of West versus East that ignored local circumstances. The Frenchman's keen intent to remove the Venus gave him reason and purpose for exotic-style travel. The modes of collecting artifacts and travel writing cross-fertilized each other—as they did in the many cases of gentlemen scholars and archaeologists traveling the Greek, Ottoman, Egyptian, and other eastern lands.[39] Several Oriental territories were seen as rich mines that would yield ample ancient treasure: Greece, Persia, Egypt, China, and India. By collapsing Persia and the Ottoman Empire into one, Orientalism was able to further simplify its sharply binary outlook. Seldom, however, has the record of the cross-fertilization of travel and treasure hunting been so surreptitiously Orientalist as in Marcellus's narrative of the purchase of the Venus. Therefore, the Venus story lends itself also to the work of comparative and postcolonial historians who interrogate the imperialist ethics of travel for treasure, once the race for Greek antiquities was on.

Chapter 1 is by no means the whole story on the Venus de Milo, and it will reveal gaps in the records—which is not to cast aspersions on the scholarship of those who have only cursorily studied the sculpture. This chapter begins to remedy, however, the lacunae in the reception history of this important ancient artifact. It takes students back to the era long before the Venus became a global modernist to postmodern icon to a discovery and acquisition history little known to most admirers of the sculpture today in the Louvre. Like the study of travel writing, reception studies, too, are ideally positioned to efface the boundaries that have long fenced off traditional philology from the rest of the Humanities and from the Social Sciences. This first chapter, then, aims to impart also some

methodological suggestions for similar intensified explorations of Orientalist art collecting. This subject, though often shunned, remains to be studied in all its particularities, in an honest attempt to historicize ancient art. The writing of genuine reception histories of artwork, equal in scope to those of literary works or other cultural products, is a self-evident task that, nonetheless, art history and archaeology have often sidelined.[40] Marcellus's time coincided with the early, unscrupulous phases of archaeology or, in contemporary terminology, antiquarianism—or, in reality, the era of hauling off ancient works of art and entire monuments. The classicist's acts of looking and appropriating typify a range of hegemonic sociocultural and performative practices, which deserve further study.[41]

## HISTORY'S HANDYMAN AT THE STAGED READING OF AESCHYLUS'S *PERSIANS*, CONSTANTINOPLE, 1820

The second chapter of this book analyzes Marcellus's account of the 1820 reading of Aeschylus's *Persians*. It is a story of Greek reaffirmation and political reflection on behalf of the West. The diplomat-classicist projected all that Greece was destined to be for western Europe, and he made the new, revolutionary Greece part of the vision of France, in particular. A wide-arching articulation of parallels between ancient and modern Greece underlies his account, which was likely inspired by Chateaubriand. Marcellus played up the modern Greek recognition of the Persian War victories as defining narratives of western civilization. The role that Aeschylus's *Persians* may have played in this recognition will force a few additional questions, which I will address in my third chapter and epilogue. The 1820 staged reading of the *Persians* was expressly patriotic, but this fictive Greek replaying of the Persian Wars still calls for an analytical treatment of a web of political and cultural structures interwoven with literary and theatrical conventions. Purists may quibble about just how much of a performance or platform of revolution the 1820 reading really was. The importance of this reading, however, lies not only in 1821, but in subsequent decades as well: Marcellus's interpretation of the *Persians* historicized the author, the select participants, and also the later recipients in fascinating ways, which few readings allow us to trace. With the author and his public, we discover a tragedy that became a rehearsal for revolution and a play of celebration. The modern Greek participants thought of themselves as fighters against despotism and tyrannical savagery, but also as defenders of the rule of law and of freedom—as third-millennial readers would rather have them.

The 1820 staged reading spawned a gamut of personal responses to a master narrative from the Greek past, which, as nationalist or patriotic

performance acts, confounded the distinction between history and dramatic poetry (that is, tragedy), so familiar from Aristotle's *Poetics* (1451b2–3). By breaking down and then proudly reassembling dramatic actions from the past, the 1820 reading merged tragedy as nontragedy into history, to affect the Greek present in a more poetic or speculative manner than factual or pragmatic history might have done. Aristotle's original distinction between poetry and history may thereby gain a new vitality, even as his theory of mimesis falls altogether short of dealing with Aeschylean theater. On the eve of the Greek War of Independence, however, these critical concerns were the least of the Greeks' worries, even though they may have been important to the West's Enlightenment philosophers and philhellene historians. The latter rather turned to Herodotus for their study of the Persian Wars, and some probably looked with puzzlement upon the 1820 reading of Aeschylus's *Persians* in the account left by Marcellus.[42]

Chateaubriand made his turn toward a pro-Greek policy most manifest in his famous *Note sur la Grèce* (*Note on Greece*, 1825). With newfound outspokenness, he posed the questions that kept nagging at the French and western European conscience:

> Are the Greeks rebels and revolutionaries? No.
>
> Are they a people with which one can negotiate? Yes.
>
> Do they have the social conditions required by the political right, to be recognized by the other nations? Yes.
>
> . . . one will recognize that the men who inhabit Greece are worthy of stepping upon that illustrious soil. The Kanareses and the Miaouleses [plurals of the names of heroes of the Greek War of Independence] would have been recognized as true Greeks at . . . Salamis.[43]

Marcellus's story of the 1820 reading is an elaborate response to Chateaubriand's programmatic questions. It offers up detailed evidence of the master's manifesto by exploring the tradition of the Persian Wars and the analogy with Salamis. It was incumbent upon Marcellus-the-royalist to share to some degree in the liberal enthusiasm for the Greek Revolution, if he wanted a steady readership back home. Some would call it ironic, others would call it fascinating that a protégé of the Bourbons was enlisted (by Chateaubriand) for the greatest liberal cause of his time: rescuing the autonomy of the Greek nation. Marcellus was most active as a philhellenic traveler, diplomat, and writer in the formative era of 1815 through 1848, or from Metternich's age of reactionary politics through the year 1848, in which a series of revolutionary movements reverberated throughout Europe. These were the decades during which imperialist and nationalist forces surged, and West and East became reified structures

through a discourse that centered on the eastern Mediterranean. Therefore, my study of 1820s Greece aims to expand the ideological premises of what might otherwise appear to be the time and place of an insular Balkan nationalism. Marcellus held on to the philhellenic memory tightly enough to commit his story of the 1820 reading of the *Persians* to publication in 1859 and again in 1861. Both of the 1820 adventures are indicative of just how far the Frenchman's mental as well as physical journeys extended into the experience of emerging modern Greece. Thus Marcellus's life and work open a new and unexpected window on a rich slab of the cultural history of Greek nationalism and its reception.[44]

Marcellus worked hard at making the Greeks not quite westerners, but at least the "better" easterners. He himself tried to be the "better" westerner (that is, socially better, not necessarily morally better) by making the big Oriental trip and composing a narrative about it afterward. Leboucher explains, "The final aim—beyond the fascination—of the nineteenth-century voyage to the Orient, the aim that all its travelers share, is its 'value for social initiation, for affirming a cultural order that is Occidental.'"[45] From one narration to the next, Marcellus reimagined political relations but also the map of the Orientalist geography and of France's cultural hegemony over the eastern Mediterranean. The diplomat-classicist embodied important phenomena of transculturation, some of which were conducive to creating a theater or metatheater of imperialist politics. He aided in the ideological and imaginary construction of other cultures, and he was personally involved in intercultural power negotiations. Marcellus, handyman of history and diplomacy, managed to set up a scene of writing—or an area in which contemporary and subsequent readers of travelogues and students of the Classics might cross paths.

Marcellus's narratives enhance and transform our understanding of travel writing, philhellenism, Classics, and their intertwined conventions of the time. These compelling conventions focus our attention in Chapter 3, which deals with the then-common agenda of philhellenic travelers, classicists, and Orientalists alike: turning the modern Greeks into the classical heroes of the Persian Wars. Here Marcellus's stories prove particularly relevant to a dialogue among academics internationally, who are producing a body of exciting new knowledge about British and French philhellenic literature and also about the revolutionary drama that thrived in the diaspora Greek communities and later in the West.[46] For modern Greece, I posit a cultural continuity that was centered on the Persian Wars and that became recognizably Neohellenic from the late eighteenth century or the immediate prerevolutionary era onward. During those decades, the Enlightenment-driven fashions of classicizing and

reinvented classical theater began to excite Greek intellectual communities that were shaping an identity of the West, of the glorious past, and of the benefits that both were thought to confer. The contested argument for a centuries-long continuity is only vicariously relevant insofar as it promoted the conscious revival of classical dramaturgy, not its perpetuation or organic survival. Revivals of ancient tragedies (often in modern adaptations) first emerged in the late eighteenth-century educated circles of the Greek diaspora, whose members, unlike the Greeks in Ottoman-occupied native lands, shared in western European Enlightenment thinking. The impact of classicizing theater is attributable mainly to contemporary European rather than to surviving ancient Greek influences.[47] Thus, if the issue of any continuity needs to be raised to address "authenticity," then my investment lies in reconstructing a chapter of the theater history that exemplifies Greece's nationalist skill in "the invention of tradition" (Hobsbawm's terms).[48]

* * *

The post-9/11 conflict and media coverage have caused a surge in scholarly interest in West-East relations and in ongoing, at times polemical, attempts to identify the East while reaffirming what supposedly constitutes the West. What reaches us most often are, of course, the images and accounts that are made in the West and for western eyes. But what happens when the modern visual and hype culture travels back in time to observe the West-East tension in a country situated on the fault line of the conflict zone? What happens when we take this dramatizing culture a step back in history? In Marcellus, we find an observer "embedded" in an ambiguous terrain, which, from a geopolitical and cultural perspective, has repeatedly been caught in the middle: Greece. Greece, one of the most contested physical and discursive domains, has been both the source and the repository of challenges to our—western—perceptions on Occident and Orient, but also on the Near East and the Balkans, on Europe, and "everything else east and south." It pays to study texts about Greece then and, in particular, about Greece when it was caught between empire and nation. It proves useful to revisit the Greek revolutionary age through detailed snapshots of concrete experiences and encounters in advance of the dramatic "theater of war" (or, rather, theater of multiple wars of the 1820s). Marcellus's stories of the West interfacing with the East started to redraw the lines that separated the Occident from a moveable Orient, with Greece positioned on the edge. His tales were products and producers of Orientalism, but an Orientalism that often operated under the sheen of philhellenism. As case studies, they allow us to place a lens

on figurations of the Orient but also of Greece, to rethink the position of Greek culture, ancient and modern, in the Ottoman Empire, and to begin to deconstruct imperialist and nationalist cultures of the nineteenth century. The rhetorical, dramatizing, and discursive modes in which the French classicist replicated patterns of western cultural dominance deserve extensive criticism. These modes focus our analysis, which is informed by scholarly advances in the theories of Orientalism, colonialism, and postcolonialism, in which Greece occupies a more complicated position than has previously been acknowledged.

This book is therefore a story of cultural encounters between the West and the East, between Christianity and Islam, at a crucial historical moment of intersection. Anyone interested in critical cultural history may find in the close readings and analyses of the subsequent chapters, in addition to a few good stories, material that speaks to questions of identity, cultural construction and transmission, the Greek Enlightenment, art collecting and travel leading to imperial encounters, and the proprietorship of the legacy of ancient Greek culture. Marcellus's tales, however, ask us to ponder not just the Greek case, but also the critical cultural dimensions of western imperial and colonial practices at large—as well as the role that the field of Classics (first and foremost, the study of the text and the material treasure) has played in the genealogy of some of those practices. Marcellus, who was not afraid of Nonnus of Panopolis, was, after all, a vocal exponent of Classics. His activities and motivations as a classicist should give us pause, because they illustrate the intimate connections between French imperialism and the discipline and practice of Classics in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 1

# The Venus de Milo

## The Abduction from the Imbroglio and Tales of Turkish Nights

### Introduction: Marcellus the Orientalist Who Makes the Difference?

When, how, and why did Marcellus obtain the Venus de Milo? What took priority in his subsequent experience of remembering, and writing about, his act of acquisition? Surely it is problematic that Marcellus, whose narratives follow a regimen of Orientalist representation, saw himself as a philhellene and regarded his act of collecting ancient art as a philhellenic contribution? I use the Frenchman's account as a case study that has a prismatic quality to it, and will ground it in the local context of real places and people of the eastern Mediterranean. Marcellus's remembrances of how he purchased the Venus, or the "facts" and tales about his fabled "trophy," are preserved in Chapter 8 of his 1839 travelogue, *Souvenirs de l'Orient*.[1] This autobiographical account, however, "has long been shunned as a tainted source" on the subject of the Venus, in the words of art historians Caroline Arscott and Katie Scott.[2] My aim is to revisit Marcellus's story, not to rehabilitate it, but to unlock it with the implements of the Orientalist toolkit with which it was originally made. The Frenchman elevated an archaeological find by subjecting it to an Orientalist imaging process, and he thereby captured cultural encounters that tell multiple tales. His account of the statue's acquisition illustrates economic hierarchies and conflicting interests, exchanges of monies, gifts, and favors, and the dynamics of reward and punishment (through the Greek subjects' relationship to the violent exercise of power by other

Greeks as well as by Ottomans). Anecdotes about embroiled fighting and arduous conquest shed light also on the recipients' (re)telling and (re) constructing of their story. Therefore, the first few sections of this chapter focus on the interplay among the social and political actors—and their background—in the standoff surrounding the Venus. We may safely put forth that the Venus de Milo was in for a tortuous, but not unromantic, history of discovery, displacement, and (re)fragmentation.

My broader aim is to deconstruct some of the formulaic representations of the Orientalist tradition and to encourage a deeper understanding of the diversity, both synchronically and diachronically, of its productions and receptions. Marcellus and other authorities on the discovery and purchase of the Venus strike home that Orientalism did not constitute a unified or cohesive discourse that could override local or individual dissimilarities. Said charted exciting new intellectual terrain but he did so in broad strokes. Again, I accept Said's work as a welcome foundation, but steer away from a totalizing metareading of the numerous readings conducted by proponents of Orientalism, precisely because they are so heterogeneous and are particularly complex when Greece is involved.[3] The second half of this chapter provides a basic introduction to French travel writing, or to the context in which Marcellus collected and structured his own ruminations on the Greeks and on his wanderings in the Orient. It also frames a discussion of the sensual to erotic meaning that the Venus had for Marcellus. The French diplomat's Romanticist description of the spectacular purchase, or "escape," comes replete with all the trappings of the Orientalist juxtaposition between the brave foreign adventurer, who "rescues" the desired maiden, and the menacing Turk bent on locking her away in a harem. I argue that Marcellus invented an Orientalist tale in which he himself assumed the role of the courageous male protagonist who "saved" the desirable Venus. This tale derived its drama from its similarities with the popular contemporary abduction stories, which told of beautiful western women saved from sexual violation in the Turkish or Arab harem. The harem women's enslavement to the eastern tyrant's pleasure was a key marker of Oriental tyranny and depravity. Such highly persuasive narrative techniques and widespread Orientalist conventions reinforced the adversarial outlook on West-East interactions, which necessarily became dynamics of power assertion and of psychological and sexual appropriation. Marcellus deployed those levels of signification shrewdly, and he catered to the common bias against any Muslim who was seen to obstruct European "rational" design and progress. Reading the story of the acquisition of the Venus from the perspective of an Orientalist abduction tale will lead to a revisionist view on the practice of

collecting antiquities. It will also differentiate the recurring Orientalist portrayal of a lack of local interest in, or resistance against, westerners' rush to haul off antiquities from the East.

## The Venus of Discord—The Venus of Discourse

> Offers went up from hour to hour, tricks and threats entered the game . . . Fortunately, a violent wind prevented the seducer (*ravisseur*) for several days from leaving with his prey [the Venus de Milo].
>
> —Letter by Voutier to Marcellus, March 3, 1860

On April 8, 1820, a Greek farmer working his land on the island of Melos came upon two large pieces of carved marble. When they were later put together, these pieces made up the female statue that became one of the most celebrated icons of western culture: the Venus de Milo. Little did he know, this man Giorgos—for that is how all subsequent records have kept referring to this humble facilitator of progress in archaeology and art history. Progress? Not so fast! For years and decades, the armless sculpture was at the center of controversy about its date, artist, attributes, and meaning. In which artistic school or milieu was the Venus created? Did she stand alone or was she part of an ensemble of statues and, if so, how did she interface with any of the surrounding sculptures? How were her arms engaged? How did she come to lose her arms? The story of a fight on the shore of Melos that damaged the Venus, as she was about to be carried off by the "wrong" (the Greek-Ottoman) party and taken to Constantinople, has been discredited.[4] The fight for the prize of the Venus, even if it did not occur, has value primarily as a proxy opposition, as an antithesis made fierce and physical: it stands in for the many clashes of claims, values, and desires that the sculpture unleashed in its earliest modern history. Arscott and Scott introduce this history:

> In general, this leitmotif of conflict reminds us that the figure of Venus came to stand for an eroticised beauty that was bound up with violence. . . . More particularly, the distribution of the means and use of force in the text in a pattern that contrasted the French (heavily armed but choosing rather to persuade by force of reason) with the Turks and Greeks (poorly equipped but willing in their ignorance and greed to seize the statue by force, though damage was certain) crudely and predictably put into play a set of reinforcing oppositions between West and East, Christian and Muslim, reason and passion, civilisation and barbarism.[5]

The over-life-sized marble Venus has cast her spell on art-historical disputes that continue on, even though recent scholars have confirmed a

Hellenistic sculptor and date, between 150 and 50 BCE. They agree that the statue was likely erected in a niche in the civic gymnasium of Melos, a minor Hellenistic city-state.[6] In its original conception, the statue would have been flanked by the two herms that were uncovered along with the main marble pieces and a hand holding an apple. The apple was named a symbol of Melos, based on the folk-etymological connection between the ancient and modern Greek word for "apple," "*melon*," and the island's name. But this symbol also reminded the viewer of the apple of discord, token of the victory of Aphrodite-Venus in the judgment of Paris, which, as Greek myth has it, launched the Trojan War.[7] An object of discord is what the Venus herself would soon become. Most controversial was the find of a statue base. An inscription preserved on the base delivered the name of its maker and thus a key to its date. However, this base has long been deliberately "misplaced," allegedly to allow the earliest generation of scholars and curators to assign a strictly classical date, not an unacceptable, "decadent" Hellenistic provenance, and to attribute the Venus to a famous and not to an obscure sculptor. The name of the artist, now thought to be "Alexandros [or Agesandros], son of Menides, from Antioch on the river Maeander," was for a long time suppressed, even though he was owed recognition for leaving an unquestionable masterpiece.[8] Mary Beard and John Henderson sum up: "The usual struggle to assign the statue its rightful place in the hierarchy of classical art ensued, with all the usual suspects put forward as its creator (Pheidias, Praxiteles, Skopas)."[9] The fantasy of an authentic work from the classical period has now lost part of its allure. Scholars such as Rachel Kousser have recently made the Venus emblematic of the persistence of classical artistic conventions in the visual arts of the Hellenistic period. The sculpture likely adorned the gymnasium of Melos as a retrospective example of the "Hellenistic emulation of classical art."[10]

## MARCELLUS GETS THE GIRL

Poor Giorgos was soon caught in the middle of ugly and occasionally violent dealings among the local notables, French naval and diplomatic officers, the powerful Greek representative of the Ottomans who occupied the Aegean islands, and an Orthodox monk with a shady past. These contenders and confusions aside, there was also Marcellus, the young French aristocrat with classicist sensibilities, who arrived on Melos almost by accident, but whose "diplomacy" and borrowed money gained the Venus against all odds. Marcellus docked in the harbor of Melos on May 23, 1820, or about one and a half months after Giorgos's discovery of the chunks of marble. He had learned of the discovery as he was about to set

out on an island voyage *cum* diplomatic mission, to which his supervisor let him add a stop at Melos.[11]

Marcellus presented himself as the western man of action, when he recalled how he brought France's dream solution to the bad stalemate surrounding the Venus. One of his derogatory statements lumped Greeks and Turks together in a patently Orientalist verdict: "*Comme les Grecs ont emprunté des Turcs l'axiome pratique que toute affaire pour être bonne doit traĭner en longueur, rien ne fut terminé."* (Nothing had been completed, because the Greeks have borrowed from the Turks the practical axiom that for a matter to be good, it must be drawn out at length) (31).

Marcellus did not commit to very many statements of blatant denigration, as some of his precursors had done, as if to justify colonial intervention by disdainfully stressing the "inferior" nature of their subjects. The above labeling of the Greeks as disorganized or slovenly was the typical comment on the modern Greeks' degradation that had become commonplace by his time; however, it did not exclude praise of the Greeks within the same text.[12] At the outset of the story, however, the statement sets a belittling tone and remains indicative of the author's crude critical approach to nearly all of the parties and competitors involved. Marcellus, the man of modern and western rationality, as he pictured himself, had prepared his visit to Melos well, whereas his rivals merely waited for good fortune to do the job. He had requested letters of recommendation in advance, to be able to show them to the island notables (32–33). These notables, elders, or primates (Greek: "*proestoi*," literally "the leading men" or "chiefs") acted as the intermediary archons who arbitrated the material interests of the Greek peasants in the later phases of Ottoman rule.[13]

In late May of 1820, Marcellus succeeded in collecting the trophy of the century, with the assistance of Louis Brest, the French consular agent stationed on Melos. Brest had been the first to negotiate a French purchase of the Venus, but he himself could not afford to buy her. This forgotten figure is a potent reminder of the fact that French colonization and imperialism were, in the unglamorous post-Napoleonic downturn, working the channels of diplomacy and administration. France assumed the more aggressive colonial mantle, however, as soon as antiquities were discovered in the eastern territories it oversaw. Brest did what he could, but it was the impetuous Marcellus who forced a breakthrough. In a royalist and "patriotic" gesture, which he reiterated for the readers of his *Souvenirs*, he handed the Venus over to his superior, the far less diplomatically gifted Marquis de Rivière, who held the post of French ambassador to Constantinople.[14] The royalist ambassador then gave the statue to the

king of France, Louis XVIII, who, in turn, donated it to the Louvre, where it remains today.

Marcellus embodied the oxymoronic "intimate estrangement" that Said has defined as the hallmark of westerners' relationship to the Orient.[15] Once on Melos, Marcellus was French and foreign enough to deliver his Orientalist judgments and to be able to offer up higher sums of money; he was also on terms that were intimate or local enough to gain privileged access, whether to the Ottoman administration or to the Greek islanders of Melos. He positioned himself as an envoy or intermediary, literally and metaphorically, between Occident and Orient. In later life, however, he took every opportunity to stress that, through his exertions, the prized Venus now belongs to France.

## THE POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC CONTEXT: BRUISED FRANCE, SAD RELIC

When Marcellus first laid eyes on the Venus and looked for a name to describe her, he decided on "Venus Victrix": "She surpassed all of her rivals" and emerged "victorious" in the well-known Greek myth of the judgment of Paris.[16] Here, the triumphant Frenchman reiterated that he had outdone all of his male rivals in what he defined as a "*conquête toute nationale*," a "wholly national conquest" (51). Marcellus had conquered the Victorious Venus, which bode well for a better and stronger France: the year 1821, when she arrived at the Louvre, was also the year in which Napoleon died and a dark chapter of French history could finally be closed. The promise of better new beginnings was not an unrealistic one after the exile and death of France's most notorious revolutionary turned self-proclaimed emperor. If France would not be making spectacular military or colonial conquests again soon, at least it had won a "cultural" victory in the acquisition of the Venus—a conquest won by the manly Marcellus over a feminized and sexualized Orient. By the same token, the will to conquer, to make a virulent conquest, deflates the perception of the opponent, rendering him physically and morally weak. The ownership of works of art for everyone to see stands, of course, for so much more than economic or financial capital. The Venus embodied the cultural and largely symbolic capital of a France that had grown newly confident after the first few years of the Restoration. It was as if the restoration of eye-catching ancient sculptures to the Louvre gave material expression to the restoration of the Bourbon throne and to the new conservatism that had ensued since 1815. On the subject of the charged, totemic value of Greek antiquity, I ally my work with that of theorists such as Pierre Bourdieu, whose anthropological conceptualization of

the symbolic weight of "cultural capital" informs my brief analysis of nineteenth-century French cultural politics. In its application to ancient artwork and monuments, this theory guides also my concise discussion below of some Greek reactions of the revolutionary age. It is to the contingencies of political and diplomatic power that we must now turn before we pick up the story again: this context of imperialism situates the various agents mentioned above, who played a role in the French operations of subjecting the East's territorial realities to the home country's demarcations of power.

An examination of the immediate reception of the Venus de Milo may shed light on the fraught dynamics of French politics and culture of the first third of the nineteenth century and, in particular, on France's mission of self-promotion when the Ottoman Empire started to show signs of decline. The setbacks that France had suffered in the Napoleonic era had eroded the nation's colonizing supremacy. The country's strained behavior under international pressure affected its diplomatic emissaries and translated into records such as those of Marcellus: he felt the need to act forcefully on behalf of a bruised France and to document such performances. The diplomat internalized the urgent problem of French self-determination against that of an ambitious Britain that was growing stronger, more confident, and also more ostentatious. Therefore, Marcellus's repeated expressions of owning the Venus are not about an aesthetic sensibility; rather, they signal his participation in a propagandistic discourse, a prominent discourse in France that enveloped the Oriental lands, including Greece. Thus a diplomat's basic report from the field easily transformed into the record of a spectacular treasure hunt that could replay itself in vividly written articles in the popular press or in some of the travel books and memoirs eagerly consumed at the time. Publishing was an intrinsic part of Marcellus's domestic performance, and it entailed the formal juxtaposing of his own and France's material interests against local Greek concerns. The French diplomat's records became heavily mediated representations, or twofold performances, so to speak, for a political and diplomatic corps whose tentacles spread far and wide, but also for a general reading public that craved Orientalist tales. Therefore, Marcellus's stories do not in any way constitute neutral evidence, and they need to be interrogated with great circumspection, if not suspicion.

Western Europeans were convinced that the once great Ottoman Empire was growing weaker, more dissolute, and exhausted. Ever since the 1760s and through 1775, the Ottomans had started to appear less menacing to the Christian West.[17] The Great Powers later called the declining Ottoman Empire the "sick man of Europe," by a label that voiced and

"justified" their ambitions to carve up vast territories in the Middle East and North Africa.[18] Said based his analysis of Orientalist representation on the landmark event of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt (1798), which was followed by French military campaigns in other Arab countries, including Algeria (1830) and Syria (1860). Napoleon saw himself as the harbinger of science and civilization, which he would impart to the Orient with the assistance of his "Legion of Culture," or his train of scientists and art connoisseurs.[19] These throngs of scholars or *savants* designed some of the long-lasting institutional, epistemic, and representational structures of Orientalism. This Orientalism is what Said has defined as "modern Orientalism" (as opposed to earlier, premodern forms of Orientalism), or Orientalism spanning from the last third of the eighteenth century up to around 1870.[20] Said therefore discussed Napoleon's campaigns and their aftermath as main foci, since they captured not only the pragmatic but also the political, intellectual, and—significantly—textual dominion of the West over the Orient. In his view, this modern Orientalism was part of the legacy of the Enlightenment.[21] Napoleon had emerged from the Terror of 1793 to 1794 on a track to reinvent autocracy and he exploited his initial victories as a springboard to power. Within a span of three years, however, the French had lost Egypt. For Said and many others, these key events at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century marked the beginning of a new era, that of European colonialism. Orientalist attitudes gained in strength as France and also Britain spread into the Orient despite occasional military setbacks.

France's sense of power through diplomatic and economic oversight may have been ostentatious, but it was not robust, in what Orientalist literature has portrayed as the introvert and timeless eastern space. Marcellus's actions on Melos revealed how much of a geopolitical significance was attached to the acquisition and collecting of ancient and, in particular, classical works of art. His purchase was just one case, and a not so subtle one, of enacting the delicate status quo between the Ottoman Empire and his country, its longtime ally. By 1820, the Ottoman Empire and France had more than one century of diplomatic relations behind them, and those exchanges had spawned a western record in image and in print of histories, plays, poetry, and travel writing.[22] The unusually rich French record of the sustained relationship presented the French as committed to their civilizing mission, which they invoked to justify and naturalize colonial possession. Marcellus's behavior expressed, too, that the French did not expect to have to yield to Orientals when it came to collecting antiquities. Despite the rapid decline of the Napoleonic Empire, the French were still busily mapping an imperialist geography

that revolved around expansion and exploitation. This attitude was easily projected onto the Venus of Melos: she had been discovered in Greek soil that resorted under French diplomatic supervision, and she was perceived to be in danger of vanishing into a mysterious Oriental space. The island site of Melos was, from a French utilitarian viewpoint, merely another site of transition from the West to the East. From an antiquarian perspective, however, it was the potential bearer of Greek antiquities. As long as diplomatic relations with the Porte were not hampered, Greek soil was there for the French and others to be mined for its ancient treasure. In this imperialist view, distant eastern regions were, per definition, subservient to French interests, and France could, in colonial fashion, extract raw material riches from the local soil—hopefully while, according to the Orientalist cliché, the already "sick man of Europe" kept being embroiled in corruption and excess. Any practical or more personal encounter, such as the competition for the Venus, instantly exposed cultural ramifications as well as psychological fears and prejudices about the Orient. Thus the attitude about collecting antiquities bared unabashed hegemonic tendencies. Said reflected on the status of "facts and artifacts" within the context of the dilemma of the modern versus the ancient Oriental land, both subjected to the West's discourse of control and self-aggrandization.[23] His observations apply to subordinate Greece as well. Some of the same motivations and thought processes have affected the subsequent western treatment of treasures carried off from the East.

Around 1820, the rivalry for antiquities between France and Britain, or between the Louvre (opened in 1793) and the British Museum (1753), was especially fierce.[24] The Venus de Milo, France's newest acquisition, arrived in February of 1821: at that time, the statue simply had to be representative of the grand narrative of western art. The Venus had to stand tall against the Elgin Marbles, which the British Museum had recently exhibited and whose provenance from the Parthenon itself warranted the purest of classical pedigrees.[25] In 1816, the British government purchased the Elgin Marbles and put them on public display. Thus the Marbles embodied the pride of the British "second empire," after its 1815 resounding victory over Napoleonic France at Waterloo. Importantly, the authentic ancient origin of the Venus was certain and thus comparable to that of the Elgin Marbles. The Venus's title soon proclaimed her genuine provenance, the island of Melos. This recorded excavation context, however crudely documented, let the Venus's first contenders and later scholars safely assume that at least the statue was authentically Greek. Since 1815, France had been under the obligation to return many of the art treasures that Napoleon had expropriated on his military campaigns.

The Apollo Belvedere and the Venus de Medici were among the pieces of booty that were subject to forced restitution.[26] They had been singled out for eulogy by Winckelmann in his 1764 *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (*History of the Art of Antiquity*).[27] The repatriation to Italy of the two celebrated works of art was the kind of national loss, Marcellus polemically contended, that the Bourbons would never have tolerated (50). The French royalist collector called the repatriation of artwork to nations that had lodged successful claims "*une sorte de spoliation rétroactive*," or "a kind of retroactive pillaging" (50). Any nation's claim at the expense of France's museums necessarily had to be an act of "spoliation."

The Venus de Milo could not have arrived at a better time in the cold political reality of international humiliation for the Louvre, which had become a site of French national and cultural anxiety. By putting the statue on display in the Louvre, the French could finally square off with the British, or at least stop falling behind them. Therefore, they took great pains to uphold the strictly classical authority of the sculpture and to assign it a more prestigious date and maker. Styled an icon of Classicism, the Venus was to bolster French prestige in the ongoing western European competition for antiquities—a prestige that came at the inevitable expense of the Greeks and the Turks. Or, as Nigel Leask has observed, in the late eighteenth through mid-nineteenth century, the ruin-strewn antique lands were steadily subjected to a "power struggle" between post-revolutionary France and Britain "for ideological control of the meanings of antiquity."[28]

## French First, Philhellenic When Convenient

> The Greeks have entertained a great deal of indignation at the rape, which they affect to call robbery; but the civilized world may thank the French captain who, coming to get it [the Venus statue], and finding it already half-embarked on board a Turkish vessel, destined for Constantinople, made the most legitimate use that was ever made of *force majeure*, and took it away from the Turk to transfer it to the hold of his own ship. Otherwise, no one knows what vile uses it might have gone to, or what oblivion and destruction.
>
> —William J. Stillman, "The So-Called Venus of Melos"[29]

Marcellus's gift of the Venus was a move to show royal French prestige on the rise after the devastation wrought by Napoleon. The timing of his donation, however, coincided with the onset of the Greek War of Independence. But the Venus was not meant for backward Greece, in the view of the French and of Marcellus: only civilized France was worthy of this

treasure (and vice versa). Marcellus dramatized the praxis of archaeology and paid lip service to its "scientific" methods. He was, however, merely the high bidder on a sculpture that presented a buying opportunity that was not to be missed. The 1839 publication date of the *Souvenirs* also signals that, in Marcellus's then longer view on successful Greek revolutionary history, he still did not comprehend the importance of the new nation keeping its own cultural artifacts. The Venus embodied the Frenchman's dream and, by "rescuing" her, he felt that he could justifiably glory in the certainty that he had helped to rescue civilization. When the statue took pride of place in the Louvre, he had made his contribution to mankind, that is, to the largely male viewing audiences of western Europe. Thus the classical body of the Venus became a national symbol, not for Greece, but for France—and for a confident, royalist France. Marcellus got what he wanted out of the deal: recognition among the French diplomatic and cultural elite (even though he kept craving more and, by 1851, boastfully called the statue "the honor of the French museums, the Venus truly *victorious*").[30] He also obtained a subsequent post in London that let him work close to his idol, Chateaubriand. As Alexandra Bounia refers to the context of art collecting, "the quality of the person who acquires the objects is affirmed by his capacity to appropriate an object of quality."[31] The extraordinary nature of the find makes the finder extraordinary.

Olga Augustinos remarks on the purchase of the Venus de Milo: "Marcellus felt that he had performed a patriotic act, making his country and his compatriots all the richer for its acquisition."[32] Antonios Meliarakes, however, used the modern Greek word "*arpage*," "seizure," "rape," or "abduction," in his article's title to denounce the French action.[33] Kyriakos Simopoulos called Marcellus's take on the purchase "the official French point of view."[34] The diplomat's Oriental imaginings were also France's, as when he fantasized about the Venus: "I sometimes took my instinct for a premonition of her future celebrity, and I congratulated myself for having added to the riches and the pleasures of my compatriots" (41–42). But Dumont d'Urville, a French naval officer who became a noteworthy career explorer, had his slice of the story as well: he first alerted Marcellus to the big find by physically bringing the news and a sketch of the unearthed marble pieces to Constantinople.[35] Marcellus doled out some credit to Dumont d'Urville, who duly returned the favor: he identified the diplomat as "that friend of the arts [who] managed in the end to preserve for France that precious remnant of antiquity."[36] His choice of words, "*conserver à la France*," made it sound, however, as if the Venus had been found in French soil and needed to be safeguarded within France—with all the overtones of guarding or defending western civilization.

With such support from his French interlocutors, Marcellus considered himself and France to be better disposed than the Greeks or Ottomans to preserve the Venus, because they were sufficiently enlightened and morally worthy. This bias, as Said has explained, was a chauvinist prejudice, formative of the Orientalist attitude; it was to be found in Elgin as well. Thus the near-contemporary collecting acts of Elgin and Marcellus let broad western audiences share in a degree of cultural arrogance that was fueled by the Orientalist discourse. The British Museum and the Louvre, respectively, upheld their classical treasure as one of the components of the mix of material culture and ethical values associated with Greek antiquity that constituted the essence of "superior" western civilization. In Marcellus's time, the West versus East dichotomy had become an influential mode in which to divide up the world. For our collector, this mode justified the division of spoils as well: the Venus was a find fit for a French king, who was then eulogized for sharing the masterpiece with the French public (51–52).

## GREECE AGAINST SYMBOLIC COLONIZATION, YET REAL EXPLOITATION

Greece was perceived as a moveable entity, open to multiple acts of charged signification, in both of the encounters of spring 1820: Greece was Oriental in its "greediness" for treasure, but western enough to assert its ancient literary legacy in Aeschylus's *Persians* and the attendant claim to liberty. But despite Marcellus's enthusiasm for an autonomous modern Greece (be that the hoped-for reemergence of the idealized classical Greece), he was not about to concede the Venus and to have her boost the independent nation's self-confidence. By whisking off the marbles, the Frenchman decontextualized the Venus from its geographic and cultural realities and made her subservient to French colonial designs. As an artifact, the Venus indeed left Melos in pieces, and these pieces were assembled to create a human figure only when she was "safely" on board of Marcellus's ship—a French warship, no less.

The Venus was conscripted in the early nineteenth-century mission to resurrect, not modern Greece, but France's foundations in ancient Greece. Was Greece not ready to appreciate and to properly house the Venus? By which standards must one weigh the western cultural priorities and the historical maturity of the age? Greece was rapidly transforming and had an excellent counselor in Adamantios Koraes (1748–1833) on the topic of preserving antiquities. Koraes, one of the many correspondents of Thomas Jefferson, had made his permanent home in Paris, where he shared in French Enlightenment theory and in radical and secular

thought.[37] As early as 1807, Koraes had outlined plans for the foundation of a comprehensive Hellenic Museum, which was to house Greek manuscripts, but also ancient Greek coins, vases, columns, inscriptions, and other material remnants. The museum staff would focus on safekeeping and cataloguing, and the bulk of the enterprise would be financed by voluntary contributions.[38] Koraes was confident that many well-to-do Greeks would step forward to make donations to "such an illustrious undertaking for the fatherland," and he singled out the island of Chios as an ideal location for the museum.[39] Similarly, Koraes had made recommendations for the founding of a Hellenic Library of editions of seminal classical texts, with which to instruct the younger Greek generations. The concern for the younger Greeks' education was a recurrent theme also in the prefaces of the earliest Neohellenic encyclopedias, which were compiled after the model of the French Enlightenment encyclopedias.[40] All of these initiatives exemplified the deliberate creation of new cultural and social beings in young (male) Greeks, who would cultivate patriotism. They became identified with the nationalist-didactic ideology of Koraes as the revolutionary Greek expatriate who inspired many others. Especially the Hellenic Library functioned as a secular vehicle for transmitting western cultural ideals, which inculcated in the Greek reading public an awareness of its most valued possessions: remnants from antiquity, texts and artifacts alike.[41] The organization of knowledge about (and power over) the ancients had begun to overlap with the (proposed) creation of museums, printed collections, libraries, the rudimentary stage, and the educational infrastructure of the modern Greek nation at large. Many of these structures, though modeled on foreign prototypes, had to counter the depredations inflicted by the British, the French, the Dutch, and others.

Koraes's integrated plan for a Hellenic Museum, which predated the discovery of the Venus by more than a dozen years, proves that the Greeks had been made aware of their material heritage, which, for him, was part of their national and nationalizing heritage. Gregory Jusdanis concurs: "As the earliest people of the Ottoman Empire to seek political sovereignty, they [the Greek nationalists] were the first to see the significance of both the existing monuments and future archaeological discoveries as banners of national identity."[42] A Hellenic Museum was needed for Greece to have a future worthy of its past and to legitimize historical and territorial claims. It would let the Greeks participate in the international Enlightenment dialogue on education, freedom, and civic emancipation. The envisioned museum would form a valid counterpart, too, to the great, competing museums of western Europe, themselves fairly recent

foundations. The National Archaeological Museum of Athens, however, did not open until 1874 (the first formal proposals had been made in 1828–1829).[43] Meanwhile, in 1813, the Philomousos Hetaireia, or the Society of Friends of the Muses, was founded in Athens as one of a number of cultural societies and reading clubs of the early nineteenth century.[44] The society, which counted many members of the Athenian elite and several British philhellenes and travelers, aimed to study and protect Greek antiquities, and served other edificatory and cultural objectives as well, drawing on European paradigms of classical education. Its archaeological agenda firmly posited Greek ownership of the art and monuments of the Greek lands while they were still occupied.[45] For Koraes and the members of the Philomousos Society, the Greeks were capable of providing adequate stewardship of their heritage, which was increasingly perceived—and claimed—as not merely Greek but altogether western. Their convictions counter what some travelers and scholars have denounced as the skin-deep care that the Greeks took of their material patrimony. Older sources have credited the local population's protection of antiquities merely to its superstitious interest in magic, or to its concern with appeasing evil spirits; they have failed to credit the Greeks more generously with an understanding of the need to safeguard their patrimony and to prevent it from being expropriated.[46]

Effie Athanassopoulou quotes the telling reprimand of the mid-1820s that Alexandros Maurogordatos (Maurokordatos) issued against a Dutch colonel by the name of Rottiers, who bought and exported antiquities—again—from Melos. For her, Maurogordatos articulated a new Greek vision of classical art: it was no longer a "commodity" but had come to represent "symbolic capital," which could further the Greek nationalist cause.[47] Athanassopoulou sees the revolutionary war as the main catalyst in this development.[48] Marcellus's earlier exploits on the same island, however, may well have left long-lasting indignation. Maurogordatos persuasively stated the ideological objectives of a war that was also about Greek ownership of the ancient art from native soil: "If the antiquities, present in the classical land of Greece are highly esteemed by all the nations, the nation that now sheds rivers of blood daily to regain them through war, and to excavate them from the bowels of the earth, where they narrowly escaped the abuse of the most onerous barbarism, has undoubtedly sacred and indisputable rights. Everyone must accept and respect these rights; but the learnt and the philhellene should consider even the smallest harm done to them as sacrilegious."[49] Maurogordatos then asked the following rhetorical question of the colonel, whom he previously characterized as "a wise philhellene": "Would [such a man] dare to deprive them [the

Greeks] of these means of civilization, which in any case belong to them rightfully, when he is indeed obliged to multiply these means where they do not exist? And yet, your comportment on Melos, Mr. Colonel, does not correspond to those questions, as it should."[50]

The 1820 reading of the *Persians* stood for the emerging nation's rediscovered unity and destined victory; the sale of the Venus to the French meant discord, defeat, and loss. Reading the ancient texts proved to be the safer way for the Greek nationalists and revolutionaries to cultivate their political intent and to keep it relatively hidden—and for the West to endorse the Greek patriotic cause. Philological, historical, and nationalist interests could easily be shared among Greeks, philhellenes, and expatriates. Through the mediating role of Koraes and a few others, philology and text-based history had long served Greek nationalist politics by generating sympathy and support for the revolutionaries, both domestically and abroad. Koraes was perturbed about some manuscripts that the British traveler, Edward Clarke, had taken from the Greeks on Patmos.[51] In the meantime, however, Elgin was stripping the Parthenon of its sculptures. In 1807, Koraes could not yet foresee just to what extent archaeological pursuits would prompt strife. The quest for material remnants, which he pursued for a Hellenic Museum, did not proffer anything comparable to textual bliss: treasure hunters, archaeologists, and a growing number of art collectors were mainly driven by the desire to own the unearthed riches. Such ownership, however, was inevitably indivisible or exclusionary. Thus, the field of Greek archaeology, rather than philology, reflected territorial and geopolitical as well as cultural anxieties. It laid bare—and continues to do so—some of the rawer nerves of the modern Greek nationalist identity, but also of the face of its neighbors and "protectors."

## Evil Greek Rivals: Nikolaos Mourouzes and Monk Verges

Marcellus claimed to have applied proper diplomatic skills to win the Venus over his Greek competitors. His kind of diplomacy, however, was backed up by the Estafette, the French warship on which he arrived on Melos (33, 40). Marcellus saw himself as a master of negotiating, which led him to view the famous Melian dialogue of Thucydides (5.84–116) as antiquity's model of the "diplomatic art" (29 note a). Ironically, the context of the exchange of speeches in Thucydides exposes the overbearing attitude of the Athenians, who assert the right to their empire on account of their victory over the Persian invaders (5.89). Marcellus's own "diplomatic success" on Melos had found its classical pedigree in the long

negotiations that took place on the same island in 416 BCE. His story became a tall tale of how he had managed Greece and the Greeks. Thus Marcellus's record of his encounter with the notables of Melos, which preceded the closing of the deal and the final handover of money and goods, concludes with the following threat, which the self-styled "reasonable" diplomat expressly defines as a nonthreat: "I made the remark to them that, even though I had come to their island in a warship and with good rights to uphold, far from blurting out a threat, I had made use only of the weapons of reason" (40).

To be able to buy the Venus, however, Marcellus had to outmaneuver Nikolaos Mourouzes, his high-placed Greek neighbor in the Constantinopolitan district where he lived. Nikolaos and his brother Konstantinos were only a few years older than Marcellus, who was keen to count them among his select friends in the city. Nikolaos Mourouzes was an avid collector of antiquities. In his capacity of the Porte's dragoman of the fleet, he was the de facto administrator or governor of Melos and other Aegean islands, whose inhabitants were overwhelmingly Greek. Thus he was among the first to learn of any major discoveries, as was the case when Giorgos found the Venus.

Nikolaos Mourouzes was reputed to exact heavy taxes from the Aegean islanders, who lived in "perpetual fear" of him (39). Threat, fear, and flattery ruled the relationship between the dragoman of the fleet and the islanders, despite the Greek origins they had in common.[52] Marcellus bluntly called Mourouzes a "tyrant": he applied the Orientalist model of a master versus slave relationship—or, even worse, of the oppressed turned oppressor. He did so indirectly, however, by citing the testimony of a guide on Paros, who branded Mourouzes, "a Greek like us," as an extorter and vilified him as "more of a tyrant than the Turks."[53] Marcellus deployed the widespread *topos* of the Turk as the quintessential tyrant to measure a Greek's allegedly evil and greedy nature, but he shrewdly attributed the words to a third party. However, in the context of vying for the Venus, he himself stated no less when he reviled Mourouzes as the "tyrant of the Aegean islands" (44). Objectively spoken, Mourouzes sought to acquire the Venus, and he had instructed a Greek monk by the name of Oikonomos Verges to broker the purchase.[54] Verges had been active in negotiations on Melos well before Marcellus arrived in late May of 1820. Therefore, Mourouzes must have seen Marcellus's act of outbidding Verges as the willful undercutting of a verbal agreement with Giorgos, which Verges had, however, not yet been able to finalize (33–34).

Marcellus's portrait of Mourouzes lends itself to a brief comparison with the vignette written by the British traveler John Fuller, author of the

1828 *Narrative of a Tour through Some Parts of the Turkish Empire*. Fuller, who was able to observe Mourouzes, stressed how the Greek dragoman of the fleet, obsequious to his Ottoman overlords, in turn expected obsequious behavior from his retinue of "hungry" Greeks.[55] Fuller described Mourouzes's visit to Naxos around October 27, 1820, and he stressed the young Greek's hubris before his premature death at the hands of the Ottomans, about half a year later:

> the Greek prince Nicola Morousi . . . was now at Naxia. . . . the unfortunate inhabitants had as little forbearance to expect from their own countrymen as from the Turks. Morousi on this occasion assumed as much consequence of manner and pomp of appearance as if he had been the Captain Pasha himself [the Ottoman admiral of the navy]. He wore a splendid Galiongí dress, and was surrounded by seventy or eighty hungry Greeks, who behaved to him with the greatest obsequiousness, and indemnified themselves by a corresponding insolence to the islanders. He was a young man, of about twenty-five, spoke French very well, and was exceedingly polite though fully imbued with national vanity. His career was short, as he was one of the earliest victims of the revolution, and was put to death at Constantinople a few months after I saw him, with circumstances of singular cruelty.[56]

Such offensive acts and attitudes were common among high-profile representatives of the Ottoman administration—at least as adduced by western and especially British narrators. Fuller and Marcellus also revealed that they held the Greeks to a particularly high standard, set by philhellenism and measured against the ambiguous touchstone of the Greeks' behavior toward other ethnic Greeks living under Ottoman occupation. The Ottomans executed Mourouzes on May 6, 1821, judging that he had failed to preserve the status quo on the Aegean islands.[57] When the Greek revolt broke out, the Porte retaliated against the "traitors" among the Greek aristocrats who served in prized administrative positions.[58] Up until 1821, the Greek Phanariot families (or the Phanariots, named after the Phanari, the Greek district of Constantinople) had created lineages of prestigious and lucrative appointments.[59] Occupying a position of trust at the Porte seemed to run in the "blue-blooded" Mourouzes family as well.[60] Its members had to compete for the prize of privilege with the many scions of Constantinople's educated and Occidentalized Greek elite, whom Orientalist travel writers often depicted as opportunists seeking financial and social advantage at the expense of the ideal of Greek freedom. Specific targets of intense western distrust were the dragomans, who assumed many more duties than simply "interpreting": they affected the Porte's foreign policy decisions and near-monopolized negotiations with Britain

and France.[61] Thus the dragomans' unique position elicited allegations ranging from ideological shiftiness to decadent moral relativism.

Marcellus's connections with the Mourouzes brothers, both of them dragomans, prompted variegated responses. His story of the 1820 reading of Aeschylus's *Persians* (dated back to a mere few days or weeks before his departure for Melos) did not reveal a single hint of the common Orientalist bias against the dragomans. Marcellus made no mention, either, of Mourouzes's personal acerbities or of his retaliation against the Melians (see below). Rather, that story pictured Phanariot dragomans who embodied idealism and, in particular, the dream of Greek autonomy. With any suggestion to the contrary, Marcellus would have eroded the sympathy of his philhellenic reading public and would have challenged the pro-Greek argument that he was then committed to making. On the occasion of the reading, too, the Mourouzes brothers, who necessarily had to keep their nationalist agitation a secret, were not seen to practice ideological dexterity but, instead, they earned the westerner's full praise as soon-to-be martyrs for the Greek patriotic cause.

Marcellus's instant allegations about the monk Verges were those of financial "irregularities" and "embezzlement" (33–34). He insinuated that the monk had engaged in shady financial transactions, and that he was dodging formal charges that had been pressed against him in Constantinople. Wily Verges had sought and received some support from Nikolaos Mourouzes, whose favor he continued to court. A big present of the size of the Venus would certainly help. Thus Verges spent several weeks in April and May of 1820 on Melos in negotiations on behalf of Mourouzes. Marcellus sensationally wrote up how Verges, based on a verbal agreement, managed to have the marbles loaded onto a ship for transportation to Constantinople (33). But Verges had failed to pay up: he had merely promised to settle the bill with Giorgos upon his return (34). Given the allegations of embezzlement in which the monk was then entangled—as the Frenchman had been quick to note—a verbal promise from the mendacious Verges was not supposed to mean much. The reader of Marcellus's carefully planted hints was expected to draw the same negative conclusions. Many scholars have taken Marcellus's leads at face value, to describe Verges as an Oriental swindler and errand boy for an irascible Mourouzes, who blew hot air well beyond any limit "justified" by his high rank.[62] Nonetheless, given the geopolitical dynamics and fierce competition in art collecting, a high degree of Orientalist debasing likely entered into Marcellus's black-and-white portrayal of the characters or, rather, character types involved.

Marcellus further exploited the common western bias of the Greeks' lack of interest in their treasures, even though Mourouzes's proactive

efforts showed otherwise: he reported that Verges did not take any precautions to prevent damage to the pieces of marble when transporting them across the beach of Melos and loading them onto a Greek ship for the long voyage to Constantinople (34). This Greek ship was, however, an Ottoman multiethnic enterprise: it sailed under the Ottoman flag, its captain was Albanian, but it was overseen by Mourouzes, dragoman to the Ottoman admiral of the navy.[63] Marcellus also presented it as if the Greek notables of Melos had long accepted that the Venus would leave their island. The only uncertain factor was which party would take her. Marcellus later learned that, within days of his departure with the Venus on board, a Dutch and a British ship docked at Melos to obtain the statue (42). His assumption was that all parties would have offered money and that the finder, Giorgos, hoped to pocket an amount that reflected the sculpture's "market price value." Marcellus then qualified the Ottoman attitude toward human figures in art as an "aversion," an attitude with which he cunningly faulted Mourouzes as well: "Next, I reminded them [the Greek notables of Melos] of the uselessness of a present of that kind, of the little value it carried in Constantinople, of the Turks' aversion for human representations and, above all, for mutilated idols (*idoles mutilées*)"(38).

However, Verges wanted to bestow the gift of the Venus on the Greek Mourouzes, who would not have had any Islam-inspired "aversion" for representations of human figures. Marcellus also knew Mourouzes to be sophisticated enough to appreciate pagan Greek sculpture. Mourouzes would not have profaned or vandalized a broken, half-nude female figure. He may even have intended to display the sculpture for select audiences, as he made literary and other edificatory resources available to Greek students. The Mourouzes family, in particular, could pride itself in many years of educational sponsorship. The Mourouzes brothers were reputedly interested in music, literature, and the arts, as well as in collecting Greek books (in particular editions and translations of ancient Greek texts).[64] Marcellus presented his interference as the only proper course of action, and he lumped Mourouzes in with the Turks, on whom, he implied, the Venus was wasted. He aligned himself with the Orientalist authors who expressly denounced the Turks as fanatically intolerant enemies of culture and science, or of civilization itself, intent on destroying the precious heritage of the classical past. Marcellus set his Orientalist story, infused with dramatic suspense, stock-in-trade characters, and elements of mise-en-scène, against the backdrop of the foreign theater of state of the Ottoman Empire, not of Greece. His oppressive, western-style patriarchy made him justify his "rescue" of the Venus as a noble countermove against the

fanaticism of Islam and against nefarious ignorance, superstition, and theocracy, which, in his eyes, had infected many Greeks as well. Here, the inconsistencies of his contrived logic may have stopped Marcellus from belaboring the topic of opposing religions, or of religions at war. On other occasions, however, he did champion the old French Catholic order at the expense of Islam.[65]

## A MEDITERRANEAN-STYLE BARGAIN: A GOOD DEAL OR A STEAL?

Marcellus first set foot on Melos after Brest, the consular agent, had expressed French interest in purchasing the Venus, but had been unsuccessful in brokering a deal. More importantly, Marcellus arrived after Verges had then been able to fix the statue's sale price and to arrange for its transport. Against all odds, the Frenchman prevailed on the notables of Melos to break their agreement with Verges and to turn the marble pieces over to him. Precisely when the purchase by the Greek for the Greek seemed a done deal, Marcellus managed to buy the Venus for 834 piastres.[66] He presented Giorgos as a poor farmer who could easily be bought off, first with "*bakchichs*" or "tips," then with a nominal sum of money, a token amount or ransom, as it were, meant to keep him forever at bay.[67] He also described the transaction as most generous, because he gave Giorgos double the amount that he would have received from Verges, if the latter had ever paid up (40). In Marcellus's eyes, Giorgos was the mere keeper of the Venus until a more appropriate owner came along—in the representative of the kingdom of France. The Frenchman would then take the Venus to her rightful, public place in the appreciative West. The sum of money, by no means an exorbitant amount, was merely the sum that exchanged hands. The real object of the transaction, however, was a priceless ancient artifact, soon to be seen boosting France's national prestige. Through Marcellus, France had contracted the purchase of cultural capital. Also, the protracted deal brokering was less about settling on a price than about displaying the Frenchman's mastery of the negotiation process. Michael Herzfeld has noted the strong Orientalist nature of the (descriptions of the) *pazari*, or the bargaining practice that is about the power and strategy of negotiation, not about nickels and dimes, so to speak.[68] The *pazari* here fits the larger framework of the eastern market scene, site of many tropes of Orientalist texts: from the buyer's perspective, it constitutes a masculine domain.

Marcellus vilified Verges's legitimate achievement as an act of "seizing" or "grabbing" the Venus (34). He called the monk a "usurper" in his 1854 recapitulation and expansion of his earlier story, to which he gave

the telling title of "*Un dernier mot sur la Vénus*" (A Last Word on the Venus).[69] This later essay first appeared in the journal *La Revue contemporaine* (*The Contemporary Review*) of April 30, 1854.[70] Its title hinted that a lot more had been said and written about the Venus since its discovery and since the 1839 publication date of Marcellus's *Souvenirs*.[71] Mourouzes had first accused Marcellus of an act of "*rapt*," or of "abducting" or "kidnapping" the Venus—like a latter-day Paris deluding the locals and carrying off the beautiful Helen of Sparta (for Venus) as his own.[72] The Frenchman pointedly countered by insisting on an "*enlèvement*," or a "taking along" of the Venus (or the willing Helen), destined for greater glory with Paris at her feet.[73] Marcellus did identify with the mythical Paris, as in his reference to "that other Helen that I have taken from Greece."[74] He posited a proprietorship that was all the more desirable precisely because it was contested (with all the dramatic conflict that a love triangle creates): "I imagined that Paris, carrying off the most beautiful of the Greek women, would have been less happy and less proud than I was about my conquest so disputed."[75]

When the diplomat in later life reflected on his adventurous pursuit of the Venus, he tried to dislodge the allegations that he himself had "seized" or "grabbed" the statue. Such charges were long held against him, because he had intercepted a preexisting sales agreement between two Greek parties that had placed their full trust in a verbal deal. William Stillman recalled the Greek position in the 1880s, for an English-language reading public: "The Greeks have entertained a great deal of indignation at the rape, which they affect to call robbery."[76] The French naval officer Olivier Voutier branded Verges with the sexual stigma of a "*ravisseur*," or "seducer," in his letter to Marcellus of March 3, 1860.[77] He deployed the common French characterization of the seducer Paris, but his word choice hardly disguises that it was Marcellus who stood accused of "abducting" the Venus/ Helen from Greece. Voutier's strained-polite correspondence with Marcellus followed four decades after the discovery was first made: it is comprised of Voutier's 1860 opening letter to Marcellus, in which the author recognized the diplomat's "intervention," but claimed that he himself took important steps that led to the French purchase of the Venus.[78] The then elderly Marcellus gave a nudge of goodwill to Voutier, as in his response letter of May 10, 1860, in which he called the sculpture's acquisition "our common conquest"—in the typical Orientalist term of western dominion over the East.[79] Unlike the other claimants to the discovery, Voutier was present when Giorgos unearthed the statue's upper and lower body, and he made a drawing of the separate parts on the spot (see Figure 1.1). This was likely the drawing that caught Marcellus's

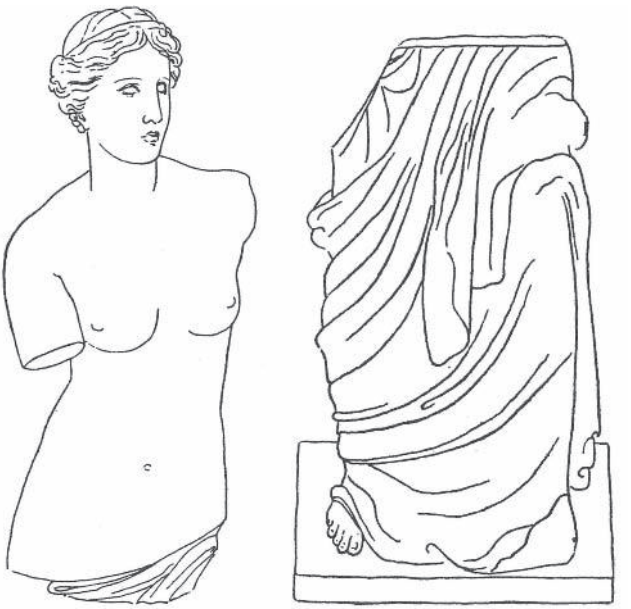

Figure 1.1. Drawing made by Olivier Voutier at the time of the discovery of the separate parts of the Venus de Milo (April 1820)

attention in Constantinople, but which he later credited to the explorer Dumont d'Urville, who was, by 1839, the more prestigious party to be given a share in the fabled discovery.[80]

Marcellus referred to the Venus as a Helen willing and eager to follow her Paris, but he had discovered one more line of defense to subvert the allegation of "abduction": to present himself as the heroic western savior of the Venus against the backdrop of the classic Orientalist abduction story. This genre featured the "justified" act of abduction, with the hero rescuing the imprisoned beauty and leading her back to safety. Readers' fascination with such abduction tales had been growing since the last decades of the eighteenth century. The Frenchman transformed the banal hostility of power negotiations and personal rivalries into an exotic adventure, or an exciting plot for an Orientalist play. Because Marcellus's use of this trope is extensive, I will return to it below.

## Retaliation Galore

An ugly fallout from the embroiled purchase of the Venus was only to be expected. Mourouzes was furious with Marcellus. He inflicted a heavy—physical and monetary—punishment on the Melians, even though Marcellus had left them with a personal letter meant to placate him and to protect them from his vengefulness.[81] Did the Frenchman see it coming? Or was it another Orientalist trope to present the Greek's angry outburst as a predictable reaction? Mourouzes reportedly whipped the notables of Melos with his own hands, after he had made them kneel down in front of a public gathering of island delegates (43–44). Marcellus committed the story of Mourouzes's retaliation to writing, even though he had it merely from hearsay. He pictured an irate male Oriental who—again reportedly—stated that he would rather see the prized Venus lost, or thrown in the sea, than to concede her to his rival: "He [Brest] informed me that the dragoman of the fleet . . . had . . . said . . . that, to give him true pleasure, one should have thrown the statue to the bottom of the sea rather than to yield her to my bidding" (43–44).

In the competition for the Venus, Marcellus attributed inhumane barbarism more generously to the Greek Mourouzes than he did to some Turks. His blind judgment of his friend reveals just how malleable the Orientalist accusation of barbarism really is, and how it tells the reader more about the attitude of the mastermind-author than about that of the alleged perpetrator. Some of Marcellus's interlocutors adopted his ill-willed prejudice: in his 1874 account, Voutier, who claimed that—the then deceased—Marcellus much embellished his story in his *Souvenirs*, still repeated the hearsay report of Mourouzes's acts of terror.[82] Angry but powerful Greeks allegedly threatened with the revenge of their Ottoman protectors, as Voutier confirmed in a telling reference to Verges, Mourouzes's go-between: "He [Verges] sought to pressure the owner [Giorgos] and threatened him with the anger of the Kaptan Pasha if he were to deal with us [the Frenchmen on Melos]."[83] The Kaptan Pasha, the chief admiral of the Ottoman navy and supervisor of Mourouzes, gave the latter recourse to a more menacing authority. Mourouzes's justified resentment is painted with the thick brush of the "Muslim rage," in a stock-in-trade depiction of outbursts of destructive anger and savage retaliation.[84] In Orientalist conceptions of the "sick man of Europe," the threatened or slanted, but bloodthirsty Turk reacts like a wounded or cornered animal: he might suddenly lash out and kill before going into death agony himself.

The "despotic" acts of Mourouzes caused a diplomatic row in Constantinople, when Marcellus reported them to his superior, the French ambassador, and when the latter informed the Porte. Soon, the French embassy

received the Porte's endorsement of its purchase of the Venus. The humiliated Mourouzes, however, never reconciled with Marcellus before he lost his life. Marcellus took a few moments in his *Souvenirs* to reminisce about a lost relationship with a good neighbor and peer (45–46). Of course, his own act of undercutting a Greek friend over a Greek statue was nothing to be proud of. He realized that he owed Mourouzes a frank, face-to-face explanation, but then he pondered, "I could not explain for myself the unsteady nature (*inconstance*) of his friendship, and I left Constantinople without resolving that riddle. . . . Unhappy prince! In Paris, I soon learned of his death" (46). In the most self-centered fashion, Marcellus blamed Mourouzes's behavior on the—stereotypically—inconsistent and enigmatic nature of Oriental relations. The trope let him "rationalize" his friend's about-face and whitewash his own actions—and, for many, this explanation sufficed.[85] The reported episode of hate-filled reaction or revenge may not have been Mourouzes's finest hour but, more significantly, it reveals a set of West to East antagonisms that could not be reconciled satisfactorily. True reconciliation between the Frenchman and the Oriental seemed impossible, even if there had been a future to their friendship.

The imbroglio on Melos and the diplomatic fallout proved to be particularly ill-timed: rebellion was brewing among the Greeks, and Greek friction with the Porte was intensifying. The Ottomans promised the French that they would hold Mourouzes, their "imprudent envoy," accountable for his retaliation against the innocent Melians (44). They killed him within a year. Marcellus was right to attribute Mourouzes's demise to his nationalist fervor; he also blamed his friend's lack of caution ever since, at the onset of the Greek revolt, the Ottomans had executed his brother Konstantinos (46). The two brothers and dragomans were among those Phanariot grandees who, in the first days and weeks after the proclamation of the Revolution, paid with their lives for failing to keep the political status quo.[86]

Marcellus swiftly moved on and invoked the best of all "diplomatic" outcomes: the Ottomans stipulated that, thereafter, "the French, old allies of the Sublime Porte, were to be given full preference over other acquisitioners when it came to purchasing stones or ancient medals [coins]" (45). Such a statement nails the imperialist impetus behind Marcellus's Orientalism: to refurbish a humiliated France with symbolic capital drawn from ancient Greece—and not just drawn or borrowed, but physically taken from the Greek soil. The search for endorsement of the French agenda lends truth to Said's characterization of Orientalism as an "exercise of cultural strength."[87] Any material support of France's cultural superiority strengthened, in turn, its imperialist and colonial rule, even if that

rule did not literally apply to Greece and the Ottoman Empire. For Said, the absence of a sustained French imperial power engendered a sense of loss that could transform into other fantasies of dominion.[88] Collecting antiquities, then, was a most visible and "justifiable" act of compensating for that loss. Surely, it came with its own varieties of fantasizing dominion (see below).

## THE CONTEXT OF FRENCH TRAVEL WRITING

### MARCELLUS COLLECTING MODELS AND CONTACTS

We can fruitfully expand our analysis of the literary and historical record of Marcellus's travels, discoveries, and encounters by situating him in the context of western travel writing, which imperiously produced the East for its readership. In the 1820s, France became a breeding ground of literati and artists who mined the vein of Romantic Orientalist exoticism.[89] The Romantic movement at large positioned itself against the rationalism of the Enlightenment. Marcellus developed a discourse that still combined diplomatic reporting with travel writing, which was notoriously open to Orientalist ideas. Also, the contemporary French intelligentsia was homing in on the increasingly vocal philhellenic debate and Marcellus joined in, with all the ambiguities and contradictions resulting from such a fusion. These historical and geopolitical contingencies muddle the question of whether French travel writing was about fact or fiction. This issue underlies also the concise survey below of the main French travelers and predecessors to Marcellus. This all too brief overview does not aspire to deliver a definitive, let alone an exhaustive analysis of the subject of French travel writing; it aims merely at introducing some of the models that the blend of movements and genres provided to Marcellus who, nonetheless, took a singular turn within the literary tide of inventing and "collecting" the Orient.

Marcellus traveled within a consular and administrative network, whose resources he exploited. His practice of travel writing still drew on a distinct model of specialized recording that originated in the French Enlightenment culture: the eighteenth-century model of the *voyage philosophique*, or the "philosophical voyage," described by the scientifically minded traveler-observer, himself called the *voyageur-philosophe* (literally, "the traveler-philosopher," but it might be preferable to maintain the specific French Enlightenment meaning of *philosophe*).[90] It was mainly through contacts with contemporary travel literati, however, that Marcellus was able to make the transition from the more rigid paradigms handed down by the earlier itinerant researchers to the models of the

Romantic-Orientalizing authors. His account of the adventurous acquisition of the Venus pivoted on a more personal axis and assumed subjective and even polemic overtones. Thus Marcellus's work started to look to the future of Orientalist travelogues and exotic tales and plays, which were fashionable during the mid through later nineteenth century.

The difference becomes apparent when one compares Marcellus's Romanticist subjectivism with the proclaimed scientific ambition of Dumont d'Urville, whose work suited the model of the *voyage philosophique*. The title of the explorer's record on the unearthing of the Venus de Milo reads, "Second Report of the Hydrographic Campaign of the King's Lighter, the Chevrette, in the Levant and the Black Sea during the Year 1820, by M. d'Urville, Naval Ensign."[91] Despite the record's occasional narrative impulse, its formal title attests to French governmental sponsorship and concomitant expectations. Christopher Armstrong confirms that such scientific projects fell under the (known and documented) auspices and authority of the French government, which took care of their practical coordination as well. Many of the early research and exploration projects served to illustrate the metaphor of scientific progress, one of the pronounced ideals of the Enlightenment in its drive to accumulate systematic, encyclopedic knowledge.[92] Napoleon had been the first to institutionalize grand-scale state sponsorship of such ambitious missions, and he himself had put it into effect on his military *cum* scientific expedition to Egypt, leading to the multivolume publication project of the *Description de l' Ėgypte* (*Description of Egypt*, 1809–1828).[93] France's aim was to systematically investigate natural phenomena, write up natural histories, and to map and remap the world. Such imperialist French aspirations included the unearthing, recording, and reconstructing of the art and architecture of the ancient past.

A study of the reception history of fabulous tales and exotic accounts confirms that Orientalist narration in English and other European languages was largely mediated through pioneering French models.[94] A tremendously popular French translation of the *Arabian Nights*, or the *Thousand and One Nights*, by Antoine Galland, had jumpstarted the turkomania of the early part of the eighteenth century and had placed it on a firm footing in France.[95] This "classic" collection of Oriental tales became the most influential work of Middle Eastern literature in nineteenth-century Europe and continued to forge fantaisiste images of the East. It saw the publication of three major English translations from Arabic sources in the course of the same century.[96] The British public and readers throughout Europe devoured the Oriental romances and stories, or the "Turkish Tales," of Lord Byron (1788–1824).[97] Byron became the

best-known representative of the Romantic travel movement that held sway in the early decades of the nineteenth century and that took a growing interest in the Orient. His long narrative poem or travelogue in verse, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812–1818), did much to romanticize the Greek lands. Byron soon made it his hallmark to rhapsodize the East in many literary treatments. Numerous authors and imitators pulled all the strings on the evocative registers that had to conjure up the Orient as an illusionistic backdrop to their own exotic stories and plays.

Byron's death in 1824 caused a stir in western Europe, and he promptly became a Romantic cult figure and a secular martyr for Greek independence.[98] He had come to embody political as well as literary rebellion, with each element seen as a by-product of the other. In truth, Byron may have served the Greek patriotic cause better dead than alive, since the inspiration he exerted after his death had a greater impact than any of his military exploits. With and after Byron, the more militant Romantics endorsed the Greek Revolution—albeit that this groundswell was largely a text-based preoccupation. Thus, a literary and artistic "revolution" was quick to cloak itself in the ideological garb of the burgeoning movement for the liberation of Greece. Chateaubriand and Marcellus, who had both acquainted themselves with the British intellectual scene of London, must have observed the uncontested vacuum, ideological and literary, that Byron left behind. After 1824, Chateaubriand, whose politics had always been outspoken to controversial, became a vocal liberal philhellene. He proved that any brand of revolutionary politics could include, through Hellenism, scenes of impressive antiquity and authority, and could foster an ongoing process of cultural and literary production. Philhellenism was vested in Greece's origin for its contemporary political currency and symbolic capital.[99] Even though Marcellus was a longtime French royalist, he followed his idol in his own—more liberal than radical—commitment to the Greek War of Independence. He espoused without inhibitions, however, the fashion of the picturesque travel accounts that the prolific master had helped to popularize.

## Armchair and Actual Travelers: Fictitious Trips, Total Recall

Early French travelers to the East (nearly all of them men) explored places that were, like Greece, deemed to be dangerous but also exotic. Among those who became very popular was the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier (1752–1817), a French marquis who, in 1782, issued the first installments of his *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* (*Picturesque Voyage in Greece*).[100] But the blockbuster of all French travel literature was the historical novel, *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce* (soon translated in English as *Travels*

*of Anacharsis the Younger in Greece*). This eight-volume travel book was written by the Abbé Barthélemy (1716–1795), who "had contemplated Greece from no closer than Rome."[101] Barthélemy's novel of peregrinations, which blurred the distinction between travel writing and literary fiction, was first published in 1788, only to be republished many times throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth century as a "manifesto of late Enlightenment's humanism."[102] The novel's Scythian hero is one of the Hellenized descendants of the legendary Anacharsis mentioned by Herodotus (*Histories* 4.46, 76–77). A perceptive ephebe-philosopher, Anacharsis the Younger journeys through Greece in the fourth century BCE; he sets many a Romanticized scene for his wanderings into classical and postclassical Greek culture, which Barthélemy duly chronicles. In his meetings with the who's who of the times, he converses on a vast array of subjects, from Athenian democracy to Panhellenic institutions to Greek theater and details of daily life. Anacharsis's travelogue of his journey functions as a foil for Barthélemy, the armchair traveler, to display his vast antiquarian knowledge about the—enlightened—Greek lands, as the copious erudite footnotes that refer to ancient sources indicate.[103] The fictional Anacharsis may have served as an exemplum for the young observer-*philosophe* Marcellus, who resorted to ancient Greek as well as Oriental patterns to structure—and annotate—his ruminations on the Greeks and their neighbors. Like many of their contemporaries, both Barthélemy and Marcellus could turn to the multivolume history of the ancient world written by the French historian Charles Rollin. This "comprehensive" history was first published between 1730 and 1738 as the *Histoire ancienne des Egyptiens, des Carthaginois, des Assyriens, des Babyloniens, des Mèdes et des Perses, des Macédoniens, des Grecs*.[104]

The travelogue as didactic entertainment combines the practice of collecting experiences with the gathering of references to authoritative sources and to ancient texts, in particular. Citationality makes its first appearance when quotations from the ancient texts appear in footnotes beneath the core narrative—only to extend to the practice of citing the citations of predecessors in the broad genre of travel writing. This conceptualization of travel writing-meets-fiction-meets-philology, to which Barthélemy and many of his successors adhered, resurrected the classical text as the symbolic as well as visual subtext to the retronarrative. Antiquity became the permanent, the omnipresent footnote, whether written or unwritten. Thus even contemporary texts preserved the visual appearance of a worshipful dependence on the unperturbed ancients, their memorable statements relegated to ever-present footnotes. As Robert Eisner has argued, the first modern travelers documented their accounts,

real and fictitious alike, with antiquarian references because, for them, the classical sites existed primarily as texts. The traveler wanted to read his Homer, Herodotus, Aeschylus, or Pausanias on site, to feel "historically situated."[105] "I smile today as I remember . . . that happiness that comes with a citation applied to the places themselves," Marcellus mused in the opening chapter of his *Souvenirs*.[106] He confidently announced in the preface, "after three thousand years, Homer has been proven faithful in all of his accounts."[107] Topographically spoken, Barthélemy did perhaps most to make Greece look like a less dangerous place in the vast unknown that was the Orient. He also established the quasi-obligatory itinerary for any "serious" traveler, which was comprised of a string of preselected *topoi*.[108] Eisner concludes about his travel novel, which boosted philhellenic sentiment prior to Byron's publications, "The book sent many a spirit and not a few bodies . . . on a trip to Greece, and it promoted the cause of Greek liberty."[109] Travel had been generating literature; now literature, in turn, spawned more travel.

Barthélemy's monumental bildungsroman became the source of much historical information for Chateaubriand in his Romanticist-Orientalist writings about his journeys to eastern and Muslim lands. Some critics even suggest that Chateaubriand plagiarized the work of Barthélemy.[110] The question of the originality of Chateaubriand's travelogue of Greece has become the central theme of a 2006 monograph by Michel de Jaeghere, whose title is telling: *Le menteur magnifique: Chateaubriand en Grèce* (*The Magnificent Liar: Chateaubriand in Greece*). According to de Jaeghere, not antiquarian curiosity, but the prospect of some romantic encounter set the route—and the pace—of Chateaubriand's rushed but presumably adventurous trajectory through an ideal Greece.[111] The travel incentive of the pursuit of a rendezvous, not with ancient history or archaeology, but with a local beauty or "*beau*," strikes the reader as Byronic. It was, however, a more common literary pattern, or "othering" device, to which Marcellus, too, resorted to motivate his voyage to Melos (see below). At best, Chateaubriand might be called an exponent of the many levels of intertextual or citational engagement with prior travel writings, which came to characterize the genre of travel literature or, rather, literary travels.

Chateaubriand left a particularly picturesque travel book in his *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* (*Itinerary from Paris to Jerusalem*, 1811), the story of a trip he made in 1806, which gained tremendous popularity in France. But adding local color was a common literary gimmick, and did not necessarily indicate that the traveler took a more profound interest in the places he visited. Like other self-styled "experienced" travelers,

Chateaubriand spent very few days in Athens. His search for vestiges of the modern Greeks' descent from the ancients and for illustrations of antiquity in general was a quest to fix points of gravity, rather than to find material relics. Chateaubriand held up his Homer as his best guide to the ancient *topoi* of the modern land. He "read" Greece with the *Odyssey* in hand and, because he saw the land through Homer's eyes, he recognized and rediscovered rather than discovered it. All the while, Chateaubriand saw himself busily perfecting the mission of "*l'humanisme en voyage*," "humanism on a journey."[112] Gourgouris dubbed Chateaubriand's exoticized travel "a profound exercise of egocentrism."[113] For Said, Chateaubriand was a prototype of the Orientalist travel writer who created his own personal aesthetic while describing a "pilgrimage" to eastern sites—in what Said defined as the French (as opposed to the British) national version of the pilgrimage model.[114]

Marcellus, too, collected analogies and *topoi*, and he carried a cross-referenced Homer on his pilgrimages to the ancient sites, along with his copies of Chateaubriand, Barthélemy, Herodotus, and Pausanias.[115] In Athens, the Frenchman declined the services of a local guide and, relying on his Barthélemy, got lost in "the marshes that the *Anacharsis the Younger* did not mention."[116] The love for Homer that the "pilgrim" Marcellus fostered was generously acknowledged by Voutier, who flattered the recipient of his 1860 letter with the following compliment: "Homer certainly owes you his patronage for your love of Greek and for the fervent devotion with which you made your pilgrimages to his school on poor Chios."[117] Voutier alluded to the Turkish massacre of the Greek population of Chios in April of 1822, but he also played on Marcellus's infatuation with "Scio" (Chios), because of the island's connection to Homer.[118] Like many other early travelers, Marcellus went searching for the school of Homer on Chios, where he had reputedly been born and where he spent the latter part of his life teaching. Visitors were shown Homer's seat and those of his disciples, which were hewn out of the rocks. Marcellus, too, carried his *Odyssey* in hand, that "delight and travel guide in Greece."[119] He raved,

> I wanted, before all else, to see the school of Homer, and mark the beginning of my journey with an homage to the great poet whose songs had to embellish it, and sometimes even direct it. That passion for Homer, with which my first studies had left me, increased during my stay in the Orient: it grew from my observations on the primitive customs, which I approximated to the customs of our own days, from the living applications of the text, from my numerous commentaries, and from the thousands of delights that I owed to the reading of Homer, my favorite pastime. In the end, that passion—one should perhaps say that frenzy—had become for me some sort of a cult.[120]

## Framing the Tall Tale: Orientalist Double-Take

Marcellus sailed off with the Venus, which was homologous to an act driven by the Orientalist and imperialist attitude. Our approach to unravel his act under the lens of his "diplomatic" negotiating and travel writing has been a first interpretive path to pursue. A succinct analysis of how Marcellus-the-classicist established ownership through the practices of citationality will be a next avenue of inquiry, with emphasis on the Venus's sensuality and on the stakes placed on the expert's appraisal (Fauvel). After a few brief sections that demonstrate how the author anchored the Venus story by classicizing it, we need to study the range of melodramatic elements that he deployed to exoticize his tale. The latter strategy begs for a different kind of scholarly attention, which Marcellus's account of the purchase of the Venus has not received thus far. The Frenchman's narration did not stop with him departing from Melos. He went on to tout his conquest from/of the East by using the Orientalist trope of the abduction plot. Marcellus forged a realm of female subjection and of fierce male competitors. The more he tried to convince his readers of the absolute necessity of him preserving the statue, the more he dramatized the quasi-historical plot to deliver the suspenseful and the adversarial. He was tapping into a context of Orientalist imaging that was particularly vibrant in France and also in Britain. We will examine which elements procured such an Orientalizing—and essentializing—presentation of the newest Venus myth. When the Venus was found in 1820, she came to the modern era wholly undocumented. She presented an (art-historical) *tabula rasa*, and could be given not only a name, an owner, and a history but also a plot of admirers and rivals, of trials and tribulations, of a rebirth and a "happy end." It was precisely that total lack of ancient written sources, or the statue's puzzling prehistory, that allowed Marcellus to Orientalize at will—and, paradoxically, to classicize freely as well. Experienced in writing, the author realized the possibilities of attaching a strong classical, narrative, and dramatic component to the masterpiece, "the lost object that was not known to be lost until recovered."[121] Marcellus turned the Venus from object into story, or into dramatic action, and had a material find embody an extraordinarily complex nexus of power relations.

## INSCRIBING NAMES—INSCRIPTING OWNERSHIP: "THE JUDGEMENT OF FLESH AND OF STONE ARE . . . MADE ONE"[122]

> Athena and Juno themselves say today: "O Venus, from now on we will not contest the prize of beauty with you any longer." (27)

Classicists cite ancient sources to prove a point. With the Venus at stake, every one of Marcellus's classical references reified western appropriation. The more intricate the allusion, the more solid the author's mastery of the text showed, and hence the mastery of the object to the text—a process that was made easier if the object had not been cited or documented before. The practice of citationality was akin to the strategy that bestowed on the traveler symbolic ownership of the ancient site or *topos* that he was able to grasp through classical citation. Marcellus embellished the opening of his Chapter 8 with the above epigraph, which translates the last two lines of an ecphrastic epigram by Antipater of Sidon. His citation links the Venus de Milo back to the mythical episode of strife that resulted from the judgment of Paris. The epigram's punch line, however, must present that strife as resolved, with the losing parties voluntarily conceding victory. Marcellus suppressed the first two distichs of the epigram as well as its source, but it can be identified as *A.P.* 16.178. In the sixteenth book of the *Anthologia Graeca*, this epigram is part of a series of ecphrastic epigrams on Apelles' celebrated but lost painting of Aphrodite *Anadyomene*, or Aphrodite "rising" from the waves near Cyprus (*A.P.* 16.178–82). This series follows other ecphrastic epigrams on statues of Aphrodite, such as the ones on Praxiteles' famous Aphrodite of Cnidus (starting with *A.P.* 16.159), and on other three-dimensional works of art. Without the first four lines, the epigram quoted by Marcellus does not raise the difficulty any more of comparing a two-dimensional painting with the free-standing sculpture of the Venus de Milo.

A discriminating collector of epithets and attributes, Marcellus skillfully selects the myths and depictions of Aphrodite/ Venus from which he derives the connotations of triumph, dominion, or primacy. He plays on the art-historical type of the "Venus Victrix," and lingers over the name of Venus *Anadyomene*. He explains, "I had just pulled her, in a way, from the sea" (40). Thereby Marcellus redeploys the verb "*arracher*" with which he described the monk Verges's attempt to "grab" the Venus (34). There is, however, a vast difference between carrying off the Venus from Melos island and pulling her from the sea. Marcellus may also imply that he pulled the statue out of the metaphorical wasteland of the "wrong" kind of ownership and lack of appreciation. This may serve as a response to

Mourouzes's quasi-curse, when he wished for the Venus to disappear in the sea rather than to fall in the hands of his French rival (44).

The idea of collecting and owning the Venus is fixed in Marcellus's mind as a cliché while he makes his first efforts, uncertain of the results. After the initial abortive attempt to convince the notables of Melos, he has an ominous dream vision of Venus, who appears to him in all her sensual carnality, as Lucretius describes her in the opening of his *De Rerum Natura*. Marcellus tells the story of his "muse" while paraphrasing *DRN* 1.15b–16, an otherwise problematic passage (*ita capta lepore / te sequitur cupide quo quamque inducere pergis*, ed. Bailey):

> Vénus m'était apparue en songe, telle que la représente Lucrèce, belle plus que les plus belles: *quand tous les êtres animés, épris de ses charmes, la suivent avidement, partout où sa beauté les attire*. (37)
>
> [Venus appeared to me in a dream, in the way Lucretius represents her, more beautiful than the most beautiful women: "when all the living beings, captivated by her charms, avidly follow her wherever her beauty draws them."]

Once the Venus emerges from the web of mythical, painterly, and literary allusions that Marcellus has woven, the gendering processes at work in his classicizing and Orientalizing metaphors invite a closer look. The Frenchman's story illustrates and diversifies the Orientalist discourse that objectified the eastern culture at large through objectifying the eastern woman, even if—paradoxically—immaterial.

## Love at First Sight—Primacy

Marcellus's first good look at the Venus is predictably overwhelming. He starts reciting lines of Homer to her in homage (40). He also likens himself to the mythical Anchises, who is completely overtaken by the goddess's alluring appearance, as in "Homer's" *Hymn to Venus* 84: "I admired with the eyes of Anchises those shapely forms and that tall posture" (40–41). In the Homeric *Hymn*, however, Venus is more than sexually appealing: she is sexually active. Thus, for the cognoscenti of ancient Greek literature, the hints of sensuality and sexuality intensify by the page. Marcellus recounts how he reveled in the Venus's beauty for the first time, and how he later often returned to her for long moments of adoration:

> *Je ne pouvais me lasser de contempler cette beauté surhumaine, cette majesté douce, cette taille vraiment divine. . . . Là, chaque fois que j'allais rendre*

> *hommage à ma Vénus, et qu'on entr'ouvrait en ma faveur les voiles grossiers qui la cachaient à tous les yeux, je sentais mon admiration s'accroître.* (41)
>
> [I could not grow weary of contemplating that superhuman beauty, that soft majesty, that waistline truly divine. . . . There, each time when I went to pay homage to my Venus, and when they opened up for me the rough sails that hid her from all eyes, I sensed my admiration grow.]

Marcellus, like an admiring lover, enjoys private viewings of "his" Venus, belowdecks on the Estafette and with the help of its crew. He makes a faint and rather unconvincing attempt to liken the strong emotional bond between finder and find, between (patronizing) collector and object collected, to that of a father to his daughter: "my feelings and my paternal weakness for my idol."[123] Marcellus's use of the first-person possessive adjective becomes a recurring and telling feature of his description.

Thus far, much of the suspense of Marcellus catching his first glimpse of the Venus, and of his possessive gaze afterward, has been mediated through literary references to classical texts. The invocations of the classical high-literary tradition accompany the find that illuminates that tradition. Venus is effectively "recognized" as well, because she (though not the Venus de Milo specifically) preexisted in texts that have long been transmitted and studied. Marcellus construes a story of recognition that invites the West's recognition of the ancient Greek legacy. The Frenchman subjects his Venus to an identification procedure through the lens of classical literature. He is, however, processing information and excitement through Orientalist models and tropes as well. As Oriental exoticism has it, Marcellus lays eyes on his Venus only after acquiring her: the enigmatic attraction she exerts as a hard-to-get object of desire makes for a more dramatic tale, as does the anticipated performance of the "recognition scene."

Marcellus takes care to cover up "his" Venus with a thick web of allusion, narrative, and drama. He frames the circumstances that justify his own sensual gaze but repel that of others. He mentions that the Venus is covered with "*voiles*," rough "sails," or with "*toile*," protective "canvas" (41). The French word "*voiles*," however, is also the word for "veils." Marcellus's play on meanings and his shift of as little as a letter make for a subtle Orientalizing touch. As a veiled woman in an Oriental culture, the Venus should remain concealed from "all eyes" (41). The Frenchman will let only the "right" kind of viewers lift the veil on his Venus, as one would allow western cognoscenti to lift the veil on exotic harem life—an analogy that I will revisit below. "Others," who would only gape at the half-naked female figure, would make for inappropriate viewers. Marcellus

deploys his subtle reference to the Oriental taboo on the improper gaze to define the only acceptable way of looking at the Venus, that of the receptive philhellene man of letters and connoisseur-collector, who knows how to appreciate the nude sculptures of pagan art. Marcellus continues to proclaim ownership and primacy in contexts suggestive of sensuality and sexuality. This subtext underlies his later-in-life reflections on the Venus as well: he lyrically calls her "my *goddess*";[124] he describes his feelings as "my *paganism* in ancient sculpture, and my *idolatry*, which perpetuates itself . . . for a marble statue that I was the first to admire."[125]

### Sensuality and the Sculptural Simile—Maritza

Marcellus ties his "abduction" of the Venus to the sudden revelation that he was pursuing a romantic liaison on Melos. His desire to travel to Melos was sparked, he tells the reader in near-Byronic style, by not one, but two images of beautiful women. He saw not only a drawing of the Venus but also a portrait of Maritza (Maritsa), a seventeen-year-old girl that was considered the beauty of Melos.[126] Marcellus had been shown a portrait of Maritza made by the German painter Ender: it had left him intrigued enough to head for Melos on the earliest possible occasion.[127] The report of the discovery of the Venus procured that occasion sooner than he himself had expected. The interwoven nature of these two personal quests of Marcellus is striking. The sustained parallelism between them supports a reading of his Venus story that is informed by the interpretive categories of desire, sensuality, and sexuality. Even though Marcellus himself does not belabor the parallels, he has construed Chapter 8 of his *Souvenirs* on the plotlines of the homologous tales, motivations, and desires. The chapter's full title, too, announced each one of the two analogous components, albeit that the Venus story is considerably longer: "*Milo—Statue de Vénus acquise et apportée à la France. Maritsa. 1820*" (Milo—Venus Statue Acquired and Taken along to France. Maritsa. 1820).[128]

When Marcellus first introduces Maritza's name, he raises the Orientalist idea of Turkish competition for the island beauty. He hints at the dreaded kidnapping of the young woman by the Turks, who might whisk her off to a far-flung Ottoman harem. Maritza's father had made Ender promise to show his daughter's portrait only to "Europeans," because "he feared the Turks and the seraglio."[129] Recently, Maritza had been betrothed to a Greek sailor from a nearby island. Like the Venus, who was promised to a Greek when Marcellus first set foot on Melos, this beauty seems beyond reach for the energetic young suitor. The two female characters lend structure to Marcellus's dramatic composition, but they also round it out when they become mirror images or complements to one another.

Like the Venus, Maritza, who at first exists only as a depiction, becomes "reality" for Marcellus. He can enter into conversations with Maritza but the rapprochement leads nowhere, because she is engaged. For Marcellus, the Venus turns from stone to reality, whereas Maritza turns from reality to living marble to cold as stone. The marble, ideal woman that Marcellus "gets" is juxtaposed with the real woman, whom he does not get. This paradoxical inversion of sensual circumstances and possibilities strengthens the chapter's unity and the Orientalist plot.

Gregory Curtis situates the exotically textured encounter between Marcellus and Maritza in a context of condoned prostitution, which young but poor island women practiced with the assistance of their families.[130] Marcellus draws similar inferences but delivers no certainty: his impending visit has been announced to Maritza, who makes her first appearance "*dans une toilette négligée à demi*," "only half done up," as if dressed in the—imagined—teasing outfit of the Oriental harem woman.[131] When taken literally, however, Marcellus's words recall the *half*-naked pose of the Venus de Milo. The Venus's state of being—seemingly inadvertently—half-undressed accentuates the carnality of her image. Maritza is surrounded by "her numerous sisters," but Marcellus judges that she surpasses them in beauty—as Aphrodite outdid her divine rivals before Paris. Maritza knowingly takes on the pose in which Ender had painted her and that the Frenchman recognizes. All the while, she is leaning against a bedpost. The connoisseur, who recognized the type and pose of the "Victrix" in his Venus, pays homage to this victorious beauty as well. Maritza then takes the initiative to come and sit next to Marcellus and to engage him with questions. She also talks to him about bathing in the local hot springs and going out dancing on Sundays. But Marcellus reflects on these conversation topics, and on Maritza's subtle reference to her forthcoming marriage, by comparing her to Homer's Nausicaa (*Odyssey* 6). He wonders whether his quest to meet Maritza is not a "*caprice*."[132] In a similar fashion, he questioned the wisdom of stubbornly pursuing the purchase of the Venus, but he felt driven by "those ardent desires of a young heart" or by "who-knows-what instinct" (34). However, he applied these words with erotic connotations, or his characterization of his "excess zeal," to a statue of stone (35). Marcellus played up the paradox when he recalled the disheartening prospect of the Venus leaving at the very moment of his docking in Melos harbor: "I even . . . suffered the pain of seeing, loaded on a ship, . . . all those marbles, the objects of my most vivid desires" (33). Romanticist, irrational passion had to motivate the Frenchman's persistence in the face of the adversity and stalemate that he encountered on Melos.

After the Estafette's departure from Melos, its crewmen kept teasing Marcellus about his courtship of Maritza, and they played a practical joke on him. They told him—and also curious Greek hosts and acquaintances in the harbor of Rhodes—that it was really Maritza who was hidden belowdecks and not the Venus, whom they had left behind on the island.[133] Clearly, the crew understood something about the interchangeability of the two women and about the young lover's infatuation with both. The Venus captured the essence of the erotic desire that the suitor projected onto Maritza. With the acquisition of the sculpture, reality accommodated some of his dreams and fantasies. The Venus became Marcellus's Maritza, or perhaps his Galatea, along the lines of Ovid's famous myth of Galatea and Pygmalion (*Metamorphoses* 10.238–97). The Frenchman committed to a high degree of narrativizing on the model of the Pygmalion plot.[134] He even reduced the role of the Venus to nonagency, except for her radiating beauty and sensuality. This was precisely what little agency was still allowed to Oriental women, in the tawdry western stereotype of the harem woman.[135] The lack of initiative expected from women in the East was made material in the stone statue. Moreover, this lack placed all opportunities for interpretive engagement with Marcellus and, through him, with the educated reader or viewer. Thus it did not take much to make the Venus into an icon of silent feminine beauty.[136] But it was not a big leap, either, to perceive the iconically beautiful, white-skinned woman, Maritza, as a statue—and thus to objectify or commodify her, if only by using her as a literary device.

The emphasis on female dress—or states of undress—and on white skin was an exoticizing motif in Orientalist descriptions of eastern beauties. As well-observed details with associations of erotic potential, these motifs struck home the forbidden, inscrutable, but also appealing aspects of the Orient to French audiences. "Displays" of eastern women in a near-ecphrastic mode typically devoted attention to details of clothes and physical traits, to be observed by exclusively male casts of characters. Under the eroticizing lens of the male travel writers, these features represented the—objectified—eastern culture as a whole. If a quasi-colonized people became the object of the western gaze, then the Venus and Maritza, as "local" women and as portraits, underwent multiple objectifications. The display of the female figures for the male and "superior" poseur-reader or (metaphorical) viewer was the crucible in which Marcellus's literary description matched the qualities of the intriguing drawing or portrait. Literature rivaled painting.[137] The objectified female figure became inspiration and also artifact to both.

In her 1998 study of nineteenth-century British actresses and the "Pygmalion motif," Gail Marshall has cogently argued that the aesthetic of Victorian theater (late 1830s–1900s) was keen to liken beautiful women to statues, with a preference for actresses portraying dead, dying, or otherwise silenced women. The state of death met the "idealised state of marble" in the classical sculptural style that seemed to defy time and that expressed the "delicate negotiation of desire and decorum."[138] Marshall terms the practice of eulogizing desirable women by means of reference to ancient-style statuary the "'Galatea-aesthetic,'" the "sculptural metaphor," or the aesthetic of "'the ideal statuesque.'"[139] She notes that the sought-after equation drew inspiration from the celebrity status of the Venus de Milo, among others.[140] In the first decades after its discovery, the Venus statue gained widespread acclaim for its fragmentary condition: the armless torso heightened the admiration of the idealizing Romantic period for (aestheticized) nostalgic fragments and time-worn ruins.[141] By the time that the Victorian theater thrived, however, the Venus had become synonymous with sculptural and feminine beauty, and her fame had spread well beyond France.[142] Marshall collected the traces of the "'Galatea-aesthetic'" in reviewing practices, records of audience reactions, and fictional representations of those actresses who were compared to ancient sculptures, and she found ample documentation similar in nature to what Marcellus produced on the paradoxical "consanguinity" of desired woman and statue, both embodying the sculptural ideal, the marmo-real.[143]

## Marble Beauty by Moonlight

> Of all that Athens had to offer to my curiosity, Mr. Fauvel was *the object* that I desired most ardently to get to know. In my thinking, the old antiquarian held his place in the midst of the great monuments of another era, and he identified in some way with the edifices that he was about to explain to me. I imagined him seated at the door of that vast museum, in the form of Jupiter the Guardian.
>
> —Comte de Marcellus, *Souvenirs de l'Orient*[144]

The moment that perhaps best captured the intense sensuality and the *Arabian Nights* atmosphere associated with the Venus was set in the harbor of Piraeus. This moment, which Marcellus described on several occasions, literalized the act of appropriation in the sustained and possessive act of viewing.[145] The diplomat's ship, the Estafette, docked in Piraeus one balmy moonlit night in September of 1820. Louis-François-Sébastien Fauvel (1753–1838), the aging French consul stationed in

Athens, came to see the Venus, of which he had already seen a drawing. He was a prominent art connoisseur, who played an important role as an expert guide also in the travel writings of Chateaubriand. Marcellus referred to him as "that Nestor of the antiquarians" and an "indefatigable explorer" (42–43), and he eagerly awaited Fauvel's appraisal of the sculpture. The Venus was hoisted onto the ship's bridge to be contemplated by moonlight and later by torchlight. To impress on the reader the importance of the private viewing, Marcellus started off with a nostalgic description of the deserted, but once-glorious Piraeus harbor by night. This blurb on the landscape then morphed into his physical and sensual description of the Venus, when the moonlight rising from behind Hymettus glimmered on the marble. Silence, emotion, only to be broken by salvos of applause for "*les lignes harmonieuses, les contours et les beautés*" of the Venus, or her "harmonious lines, her contours, and her beauties."[146] Idealized statue and romanticized harbor-scape merged: "*là, . . . Vénus au sein des flots et des airs faisait briller encore à nos regards charmés sa plus noble image*" (there, . . . Venus, lolling on the flow of the waves and the air, made her most noble image shine long for our enchanted gaze).[147] In true Romanticist fashion, Marcellus transformed the Venus's body into the ideal natural landscape, through the sequence of words he applied to this body-as-landscape. He devoted much—delaying—attention to the splendor of the scene and, next, to the weight of personal judgments. The commodified western gaze, however, still came with a whiff of Oriental sensual mystery and mystification.

Marcellus's account of how the white marble heroine was subjected to Fauvel's "slow contemplation" was a description by and for the cognoscenti, whose gaze could only be that of the proper beholder.[148] He shared what he himself had been waiting for months to hear from the right person: in awe, Fauvel called the Venus de Milo priceless and ranked her among the ancient statues "of the first order" (43). He confirmed that she was indeed a Venus, and he merely hesitated whether to attribute her to "the school of Phidias or the chisel of Praxiteles."[149] In Fauvel's appraisal, she surpassed even the Venus de Medici, which was, for the collector, the best possible praise (43). The Venus de Milo might even symbolically replace the Venus de Medici or the Apollo Belvedere, the recent loss of which to Italy had diminished French prestige (51). Fauvel now made the dream of a humbled French chauvinist come true: to Marcellus's relief and lifelong delight, he had nothing but praise for the collector of such a Venus, who gloried in the "congratulations of the expert Fauvel" (43). Thus Marcellus made Fauvel's enthusiastic approbation of the sculpture pertain also to his own person, because he had recognized an exceptional

statue when he saw one. He then shrewdly juxtaposed these words of recognition with the immediately following account, that of the retaliation that Mourouzes had exacted from the notables of Melos (43–44). Thus the smart, distinguishing western collector stood in stark contrast with the "barbarian eastern brute."

## ABDUCTION FROM THE HAREM—DESPOTISM

Step by step, Marcellus had his readership conceive of the marble sculpture no longer as an archaeological find, but as the lead female character in his story. He cast his own act of appropriating the Venus after the model of a trendy literary fantasy, that of the kidnapping or rescue of the endangered western woman who has been locked up in the eastern harem, to be subjected there to the sensual and sexual caprices of heartless Muslim despots. The recurring emphasis on eastern despotism and unbridled sensuality was a structural feature of the Orientalist discourse of the abduction plot. This discourse, riven with the narrative conventions of the genre, confounded political despotism with sexual tyranny. But what made such an Oriental abduction story? Which models did Marcellus have?

One of the most famous dramatic rescue stories was Mozart's late eighteenth-century opera, *The Abduction from the Seraglio* (*Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, 1781–1782), which sharpened the key themes that became popular ingredients of subsequent Orientalist abduction tales.[150] What were those ingredients? Western nobleman meets nice Christian western girl; western girl is kidnapped (usually by Turkish pirates) and carried off to the sultan's harem, to become his sexual slave and never to be seen again; western nobleman rescues his beloved. The dreaded forced marriage of the beautiful western woman to the barbarian polygamist is the "hot" plotline of many an Orientalist tale or play. The abduction plot may reveal some uncanny similarities with that of the ancient and pagan novel, but it generally highlights a Christian faith and loyalty that triumph over loss and terror. Mozart's opera deploys this blueprint, but varies on the happy ending to the episode of captivity in the harem. Through a ruse, the Spanish nobleman Belmonte attempts to rescue his fiancée, the Christian Konstanze, who has been abducted by pirates and sold into slavery to the Pasha Selim. Belmonte is determined to save Konstanze from an unwanted, eastern marriage, but his plan for a great escape misfires. He and his sidekick are imprisoned and brought before the sultan. When all seems lost, the Pasha Selim "unexpectedly" shows his noble side and sets the whole western company free.[151]

The German-speaking countries produced more than a dozen harem-abduction operas during the last half of the eighteenth century: not all of them were of high caliber and some were cliché-ridden, like other popular Orientalizing genres.[152] The tall tales of abduction or escape from the Muslim East left, however, ample room for creative narrative arabesque. Marcellus was more familiar with Orientalizing French classical drama, Voltaire's *Zaïre*, and also with Byron's many Oriental tales and verse narratives than with Mozart's opera.[153] Byron, who embodied the very encounter of travel culture and Romantic drama, left popular exotic stories such as *The Giaour*, *The Corsair*, and *The Siege of Corinth*.[154] But he, too, invented new twists, as in his *Bride of Abydos* (1813), in which an eastern woman attempts to escape from a forced—Ottoman—union with the help of her Ottoman brother/ lover. Byron's Juan, protagonist of the eponymous *Don Juan* (begun in 1818), depicts a young Spanish hero who is smuggled into the seraglio as a slave to the sultana. This scenario is Byron's opportunity to deliver a titillating vision of the harem's inviolable, "sacred" space.[155]

The eastern harem stands out as an obligatory topical and structural setting of the bulk of the Orientalist abduction tales. The harem is the frightening but also fascinating institution that typifies Oriental societies in all their perceived barbaric and alluring aspects. The harem is thus an impenetrable, intimate place of concealment, but also of voyeuristic sexual pleasure. These ambiguities intrigued nearly all western travelers and Orientalist observers and authors.[156] As Reina Lewis incisively remarks, "For men, the harem woman trapped in a cruel polygamous sexual prison was a titillating but pitiful emblem of the aberrant sexuality and despotic power that characterised all that was wrong with the non-Christian Orient."[157] According to Lewis, too, the western curiosity about the harem was first satisfied, but also fanned, by the famous *Embassy Letters* that Lady Mary Wortley Montagu penned in 1717 (published posthumously in 1763), during the term of her husband's ambassadorship to the Porte in Constantinople.[158] Lady Montagu had, as a woman, been able to access the hermetically sealed interior of the harem.[159] Around the 1850s, then, several publications by female authors in the genre of the "harem literature" appeared in Britain.[160]

But how could this literary background function as a model for the story of the acquisition of the Venus? Marcellus tells of a woman's abduction from the (prospect of the) Oriental harem, and he creatively deploys harem imagery and other harem-centered gender coding. In the fantasy world of Marcellus's Orientalist romance, a counterabduction is the only right answer to a preexisting sales agreement contracted by eastern captors. Verges's (alleged) act of "grabbing" the statue is how a pirate might

carry off the desirable woman (34). Given what awaits her there, justification for a counterabduction is hardly needed. The western nobleman Marcellus, the young impetuous lover, must try to free her and take her back with him, irrational or infeasible though his bold venture may seem (34–35). In the social and hierarchical imagination of Orientalism, western aristocrats lead the way and blaze the trail to the far-flung eastern prison. Marcellus adheres to these terms of the Orientalist hegemonic social relationships, which structure his own hero story of the Venus's escape. He puts the rescuer firmly in place along with the rescue, with the spotlight on the action, the conquest, and only later on the ancient art. Unconcerned with modern Greece, Marcellus stages his counterabduction as his attack on the Ottoman despotic domination of classical Greece. He equates potential modern Greek-Ottoman ownership of the Venus with the Ottoman violation of women and of ancient Greek lands. Marcellus can then uphold his courageous pursuit as his concerted effort to preserve the ancient Greeks and their art in a pristinely untouched and idealized past. In her 1998 study of nineteenth-century French theater, Angela Pao has argued that the chauvinism of militarily curtailed France was transferred to the stage by means of a particular Orientalist trope: the portrayal of a woman captured and endangered by the eastern enemy. She has coined the phrase of the "female-in-peril" trope. For the metareaders of the imperialist Marcellus, this female in peril was the classical Greek culture as well as the Venus.

From the above described perspective, Marcellus expresses not the jealous or petty animosity of the male contender, but the hegemonic righteousness of the French collector who feels entitled to the ancient Greek treasure. He incorporates the two Greek protagonists, Verges onstage and Mourouzes offstage, into the hierarchical chain of command that leads all the way up to their Ottoman patrons. Verges's background and motivation are rendered questionable from the outset. For the author, Verges fulfills the lowly but obstructive role that Orientalist tales typically assign to lustful harem intriguers or to cruel eunuchs, stock characters who are tasked with guarding the women of the Ottoman or Arab harem.[161] It suits Marcellus's Orientalist account to portray Mourouzes, too, as belonging to the pack of stereotypically rapacious Turkish kidnappers of the Venus. Of course, Marcellus does not actually depict a woman kept in a harem. He does cater, however, to his readers' assumptions about this reputed space of sexual depravity and random partner choices, as he prioritizes the male visual pleasure at watching the Venus, the iconic sensual beauty of the Orient. He insinuates that if he were to let Verges carry off the Venus to Constantinople, she would vanish into the realm of

indiscriminate power exerted by Mourouzes. Marcellus is happy to play up the contrast between his own, generous donation for the good of art and education in France, and the intentions of his Greek rival who, he imputes, would keep the masterpiece to himself. Thus Mourouzes's art collection is conceptualized as if it were the secluded harem, in which the Venus would be subject to his every whim and would remain off limits to any western connoisseur. There, the Venus and other masterpieces might waste away and might even suffer destruction, because they would be at the utter disposal of eastern tyrants, whose show of force and opulence they would serve. The imprisonment of the Venus by the Greeks or the Ottomans of Constantinople would equal enslavement, in the Orientalist vocabulary, including enslavement to the eastern sensual gaze or to base spectator pleasure.

Marcellus codified the body of the Venus along the lines of the Orientalist discourse, which he applied to Maritza as well. Thus he realized not only the Ottoman East but also modern Greece as a politically and morally degenerated space, which he presented as passive and eroticized. Modern Greece, too, was subjected to the Occident's construction of imperialist identities and superior "values." Western male entrance was literalized with the actual invasion or penetration of French diplomatic agents, naval officers, and (war)ships into feminized eastern territory. Marcellus downplayed the crucial distinction between his story's Greek and Ottoman characters, or precisely that distinction with which he and others were soon motivating the Greek insurgency against their overlords. Chronologically spoken, while the Frenchman was scheming to "liberate" the Venus, some Greeks were planning to liberate Ottoman-occupied ethnic Greek territories. The reader of the tales was encouraged to proceed in locked step with the narrator-collector and to accept his plotting act (in the multiple meanings of the words). Thus the genre of the travelogue and Oriental adventure story opened up levels of complicity with the reader-viewer, and it invited the desired response—a response of French-style desire.

Marcellus literalized his exploration of the Oriental territories when he described the Venus's extensive "tour" of the eastern Mediterranean, which gained her an admirer in every port. This tour began when the Venus left Melos and ended five months later, when the French embassy shipped her off to the safe sanctum of the Louvre. Visits by cognoscenti became a regular occurrence on the many stops that the Estafette made at harbors in Greece and the Levant, which were actually stops on the diplomat's prearranged itinerary. The numerous ports also represent the many points of potential but superficial contact between West and East,

or the fluid geographies that characterize Orientalist writing in general. Marcellus's mission was clearly determined: to visit the Capitulations (*Échelles*) of the Levant and the Catholic institutions of Palestine.[162] The reader, however, is left with little sense of the mission's importance. The Venus and her "tour" stole the show of the Orientalist narrative. As Marcellus expected, the cognoscenti or "appreciative viewers" who surfaced in eastern ports were "Europeans" (42). Thus the far-from-stationary Venus acquired her own virtual travelogue within the travelogue and her own European audience. This travel record realized itself as a narrative and also as a plot, for many more reasons than the obvious one that says that the description of movement through space and time creates the plot of a journey. The passing of time and the traveled distance became part of Marcellus's mapping of the eastern Mediterranean, with the Venus as his guiding beacon to set West and East apart even further. In this literal as well as symbolic manner, the Classics and the imperialist "owners" of the Classics helped to demarcate the contours and the peripheries of the West.

Real presence is intrinsic to any act of travel and to any act of contemplating art. Better than reading a description was actually seeing the Venus on her tour. Marcellus made the display acts into a series of staged set pieces, which belie the seemingly spontaneous or intuitive bent of his travel and travel writing. The Venus's triumphant tour gives new meaning to what Said has defined as the vast area of the "imaginative geography" of the Orient, in which a diplomatic mission, a triumphal procession, and a real geography merged.[163] Marcellus collected ports, admirers, and exotic vignettes for his "imaginative geography," and he was thereby imaging his discovery and travel record for the French reading public back home with a growing appetite for the Oriental. He paraded the Venus as his own and his culture's firm connection to the West and, against this backdrop, he paraded the Otherness of the Oriental regions that he visited. This sustained but meandering regimen of travel may also have been therapeutic for Marcellus, who could use the time for contemplation because his acquisition of the Venus had burdened him with the psychological baggage of conflict and broken relations. The immediate practical effect of this five-month-long sea voyage, however, was that it loosened the ties between the Venus and the soil from where she came. Thus both the statue and Marcellus's story shared in elaborate, circuitous acts of displacement, typical of the Orientalist representational mode.

## The Pygmalion from Piémont

Proprietorship of the Venus became an attractive but also an alarming predicament. Among the reminiscences that Marcellus published in 1854 is the story of a peculiar incident that occurred after the Estafette had docked in the harbor of Alexandria in Egypt.[164] A stranger came on board and introduced himself. His name started with a "V," but Marcellus refused to give his reader anything more than the first initial. Thus he instantly created some suspense about the bizarre and embarrassing nature of the rest of his account. He himself was, after all, a bit scandalized by the encounter. What actually happened then? Let us unwrap the story and use it to show how it sustained Marcellus's sensualist language and presentation.

The strange visitor begs to see the marbles and Marcellus obliges. The stranger then, "at the sight of Venus, becomes ecstatic. . . . 'Fortunate Paris!,' he exclaims, 'you do not watch over your Helen well enough!'"[165] Marcellus is rather pleased with this first reaction. The visitor's exclamation has something of the contrived rhetorical style that characterizes the punch lines of ecphrastic epigrams—much like the one that he himself quoted in the epigraph to Chapter 8 of his *Souvenirs*.[166] Subtle but significant is, however, that Marcellus has dropped the definite article to refer to Venus, as if she were a real woman. He also switches to the present tense of the verbs. Then the stranger's real request follows, quite unannounced: "Let me sleep there, on a mattress, near her. I am content with very little. I swear to you that I will guard her well all the way to Rhodes, which is where I need to go."[167] Obviously, the man is not just after a free boat ride. He now uses the personal pronoun that, again, refers to Venus as a woman, not as a statue. Marcellus catches on but remains calm: "I tell him with a smile that, on a French warship, the cannons and my vigilance suffice for Venus."[168] Elsewhere, he explained that his "vigilance" entailed sleeping belowdecks for four months, with only a partition separating him from his Venus.[169] Marcellus puts the stranger in his place with a Freudian answer. His response again reveals male rivalry for the beautiful woman—and a sense of western masculinist superiority. The story ends when the lustful stranger vanishes, only to make a prized book of Marcellus disappear as well.

The wording in which Marcellus recorded a statement by Guérin, another potential stalker of the Venus, is telling: "She [the Venus] has a more supernatural and inspired beauty. See here the most beautiful woman in the world, with her majestic waistline and her divine charms. Believe me, such a discovery is a new daybreak for ancient and modern art. I spend entire hours penetrating (*pénétrer*) that admirable type of

beauty, but the kind of beauty that Praxiteles and Phidias dreamed of. I catch myself having my eyes fixated on her in profound ecstasy (*extase*). Ah! If only I were a *Winckelmann*!" (49).

These anecdotes, which simultaneously invite and repel erotic impulses, are encased in narratives of uninhibited sensuality and jealous proprietorship. The theme of "statue-violation" (to resort to a term used by Marshall) was notoriously discussed by (Pseudo-)Lucian and also by Pliny the Elder.[170] The label of "Pygmalionism," too, may capture the male infatuation with the statue of a woman that must procure erotic pleasure.[171] What is unexpected, however, is that the pushy admirers are Frenchmen. The stranger, "V.," is even a nobleman, whose name Marcellus finally divulges in the last footnote.[172] Comte Vidua is a French aristocrat from Piémont. His character, in particular, destabilizes the carefully construed dividing lines between Occidental and Oriental behaviors. He jeopardizes the antithetical structure that is an intrinsic part of the Orientalist process of othering the "inferior" East. The anecdote places sensuality as sexual lasciviousness with a French nobleman, not with an easterner, but quickly notes that Marcellus's own French guardianship is still the best protection. To some extent, it makes a caricature of the act of othering as inferiorizing.

The above account draws its drama and potency from the eclectic use of various Orientalist tropes, symbols, objectifications, and sheer conceits, which were staples shared among scholars, artists, and writers in general.[173] Marcellus was well aware that the anecdote concerning the aristocrat from Piémont did not normally enter the published record or the scholarly text, no matter how open it might have been to the Oriental. He still offered up, however, precisely the kind of additional dimensions and discussion points that few other sources provide. The sensuality of the Venus could not always be contained within the safe parameters of "authentic" reporting or academic publishing. Marcellus had an axe to grind with *Le Correspondant* on the very subject of censorship. The journal likely refused to publish the anecdote and other remembrances triggered by the Venus. Its editors seem to have taken issue with Marcellus's "lyricism" and were "scandalized" by some of his submissions.[174] The moral of the story? Not every harbor encounter was a risk-free one, and neither was every written or literary engagement with the Venus—itself a (sublimized) act of Pygmalionism.

## THE RECEPTION OF "MA PUPILLE"

Marcellus's sense of absolute proprietorship continued to define his relationship to the Venus long after she had been donated to the Louvre. He disapproved of the kind of display area in which the museum curators had left her, and he wished that he could take charge again over her destiny:

"I dream sometimes that she who was my foster child (*ma pupille*) is not yet entirely released from my guardianship, and that, as I had exhumed her from the excavations on Melos, I would be able to seize her from that obscurity where she lives, under the cold and somber vaults of the Louvre" (50). The repeated first-person possessive and strong emotional connection to a statue that "lives" and perhaps even suffers cold is striking. The fastidious Marcellus, the rescuer twice around, wants to see his Venus displayed under a bright and "elegant cupola," "some sort of triumphal porch" (51). He claims primacy to the act itself of excavating on Melos, in which he had no share at all. The collector, who boasts to have unearthed the Venus, dictates that she needs exhuming from a "second entombment."[175] It hurts him to see the "mistreatment" of the sculpture that marks his own royalist loyalties and France's cultural standing. Precisely because the Louvre displays France's royalist and imperial capital, it must give visitors the best possible chance to witness an icon of such might. Of course, it hurt Marcellus, too, that his own role in the acquisition of the Venus had been relegated to a footnote in history, as in the (published) public lecture given by prominent art historian Quatremère-de-Quincy on April 21, 1821.[176]

The subsequent reception history of the Venus, however, shows that the statue shook off its Orientalist accretions and grew into a truly modern visual symbol. As Elizabeth Prettejohn has argued, the sculpture brimmed with meanings for nineteenth-century viewers, and it became an ideal specimen on which to center an exclusively modern reception history.[177] Some admirers penned down their interpretations in narratives, letters, and the like. They created an abundance of literary sources on the Venus that contrasts sharply with the sheer absence of documentary evidence from antiquity. Prettejohn analyzes a sequence of modern receptions and fictional-creative responses to the Venus de Milo. She describes how the armless silhouette came to symbolize the fragmented human condition of the present and of postmodernism—which explains why there was a distinct advantage to leaving the sculpture unrestored.[178] The Venus has thereby proved to be malleable to the designs of art historians, curators, and viewing audiences. Prettejohn's sequence of examples kicks off with the statue's display in the Louvre and its rapid upmarch to celebrity status. That starting point was, however, the very endpoint of a prior journey that codified variants and variables of the reception experience of 1820. Here, I have expanded the reception study of the Venus by turning back in time to the Orientalist writings of Marcellus: these writings demonstrate just how complex a horizon of reception was imbedded in one man's reporting on how he acquired and handed over—but never let go

of—the Venus. Thus Marcellus's story presents an alternative and subjective, but no less interesting view of the Venus's earliest modern historical moment and of the sociopolitical forces affecting it. The visual icon, like a written text, has been engaged in an intense process of becoming as well as of being.

It should be noted, too, that Marcellus's fascination with the marmoreal quality of the Venus, as with Maritza's white complexion, tinged the Orientalist male-female encounter with dimensions of race. It is a most interesting coincidence of history that, only about five years before the Venus arrived in Paris, another Venus was the talk of the town: the so-called Hottentot Venus, or Saartjie Baartman, a native woman from southern Africa who was brought to London and Paris on a—forced—public display tour of her "race" in all its presumed peculiarities (with emphasis on her genitalia).[179] A comparison of the French reception of the Hottentot Venus in 1815 and of the Venus de Milo, who arrived in Paris in February 1821, would make for a fascinating study but, for now, space constraints compel me to bracket this line of inquiry. A cursory look at the contemporary sources, however, suggests that the contrast between the two female representatives of "race" as civilization was exploited to shore up the superior, imperialist identity of the West. The historicist student of Marcellus's writings is left with questions of a more abstract nature as well. A key issue for further investigation would be to ask how his accounts shaped the intricate mental habits that governed the post-1821 French reception, not only of the Venus de Milo, but of ancient Greek art at large. To what extent did new relationships develop between the reader, the viewer, and the actual work of art? Did the gaze of the infatuated western audiences that, in subsequent decades, filed past the Venus statue act as that of a meta-Pygmalion? Contemporaries and later readers of Marcellus would have agreed that he at least captured that era when the Venus de Milo was not an untouchable museum piece, but a true event.

## Conclusion: Collecting the Orient

Greek ideality met Oriental exoticism in Marcellus's tale of how he acquired the Venus, who herself brought classical and modern together in surprising ways. The French diplomat instilled a sense of his traditional grounding in the Classics with the high-cultural allusions to ancient sources, which extended intellectual primacy. But he also departed from this academic background to tie his adventure fiction to the then-fashionable Oriental tales. Exoticism, ownership, sensuality, and despotism, all key topics of nineteenth-century Orientalist literature, proved to

be germane parts and catalyst plotlines of Marcellus's story. His tale had all the ingredients to become an Orientalist playlet capable of winning over the French reading public: a plot with a happy ending, a treasure hunt, a beautiful woman, rivals, romance, violence, last-minute reversals, good guys, bad Greeks, and evil Turks. France's showcase, the Louvre, mapped the "superpower's" imperialist territories and affirmed its cultural genealogies. Similarly, Marcellus wrote and published about the Venus to circulate France's cultural capital through the creation of readerships that cut across disciplines, genres, and social and intellectual classes. He dramatized his story to instruct and direct the gaze of the reader and viewer—as the museum guide would do. The result left a taste of just how central "authoritative" narrative could become to the process of interpreting works of art. By subjecting his accounts to an intensified interpretation, we have shed more and different light on the nineteenth-century reception of the Venus and also on the practice of collecting ancient art, classical references, travel adventures, and a classicist's elusive recognition. Marcellus utilized all the available tools to codify the new Venus myth, but also the myth of France's renewal. His story matters because it qualifies and complexifies today's critical concern with western Europe's representational and practical dominion over various eastern Others, from Turks to Greeks to pieces of marble.

Marcellus took charge of the archaeological record, and he also established near-indivisible ownership of the Venus by appropriating her through mainly classical or French literary models. The instant subordinate condition of the statue and of all locals or easterners involved revealed strong imperialist and colonialist motives. The Frenchman's acts form the kaleidoscopic microcosm of what was happening on the grand geopolitical and ideological scale of the first decades of the nineteenth century. But despite the obfuscations of national pride and royalist propaganda, Marcellus delivered a remarkably good story. A genuine archaeological record, however, could have lent more chronological depth as well as material presence. Historical depth was lessened by the author's penchant for modern exotic flavors and for burgeoning Romanticism. Because historicizing through exoticizing was hardly feasible, he slanted the truth to stage himself as the single savior in the rescue of the Venus. Such a plot still left room for old-fashioned heroes, and it offered Marcellus a temporary refuge from the more stringent demands of modernity. Also, the author's strategies operated on the categories of gender, be it in oblique ways, which let us reinsert gender into the discussion of Orientalism. The total recipe worked well for Chateaubriand, with whom our Frenchman sought to achieve full synergy. Marcellus shaped his story along plotlines

that westerners recognized and motives that he knew they valued. His tale became a Romanticist-Orientalizing blend with a dose of classicizing for good measure. He created the past through creating the exotic, to which the past then acted as a permanent footnote.

The language and attitudes of archaeology and art collecting, as discourses in their own right, both extended and deflected the Orientalism of French philological studies and literary writings. Said, who relied heavily on a survey of scholarly and literary texts, had omitted discussion of those who invested in archaeologically driven imperialism or collectors' colonialism, so to speak. He had singled out the theater of diplomatic writing, however, as a domain particularly prone to Orientalist imperialism. Marcellus combined the diplomatic reportage with travel memories and nationalist and royalist reflections and, significantly, he left a twofold approach, one of texts, the other of the discovery and collecting of ancient artifacts. The diplomat's work, power, and knowledge were of the type that was capable of colonizing Greece and the East. In the story of the Venus, Marcellus produced and reproduced colonial power relations and an imperialist discourse, if not in the literal sense, then at least in its cultural definition. In the process, he revealed many of his own assumptions, anxieties, and fantasies of a world as he understood it. The Venus de Milo became the point of gravity on which bruised France, battered revolutionaries (Voutier), and shaken royalists (Marcellus) constructed various facets of their identities, including political, cultural, moral, literary, and sensual facets.

Marcellus's account could have contributed more to the political and cultural discourse that enveloped Greece and that, after 1821, became truly international. Here, he could have been ahead of the international media attention devoted to the stirrings of the emerging modern nation—stirrings that had determined the conceptual borders of Greece, which it seemed to have before it even came into existence. Those aspirations, however, were fulfilled by Marcellus's story of the 1820 reading of Aeschylus's *Persians*, the countertale to which we must turn next. In the story of the Venus, Marcellus still dodged the hard questions about the true nature and responsibility of philhellenism. His forceful acquisition of the Venus metaphorically consolidated his own Orientalism, which led to his constant resignification of Greece and the Greeks. The modern Greeks were subjected to Marcellus's merciless deployment of the definitive tropes of Orientalism. The Frenchman othered or alterized the Turks, but also any Greek who played an "obstructive" role in his Venus venture. Because so much of Marcellus's remembering and recording related to Greece, his accounts had wider implications: they westernized ancient Greece while they Orientalized the modern *topos*.

Chapter 2

# Rehearsing Revolution

## Aeschylus's *Persians* on the Eve of the Greek War of Independence

### Memory as Prophecy: Aeschylus's Theater of History and Patriotism

> "We must do something more than read the *Persae*, we must act it. . . . I have lived to find even Aeschylus insipid. I pant for action."
>
> —Nicaeus, prince of Athens, addressing Iskander in Benjamin Disraeli's philhellenic novel, *The Rise of Iskander*[1]

In Constantinople of 1820 Greek rebellion against the Ottomans was in the air. Five prominent Greeks gathered there and chose Aeschylus's *Persians* for the centerpiece of their secretive meeting. This intimate circle fully expected the tragedy to yield the promise of victory after sacrifice, by equating the conditions of 1820 with those of the Greeks' dire predicament prior to the triumph of Salamis. Aeschylus's *Persians* framed the select company's conception of the destiny of a nation soon to be reborn. Marcellus unearthed the vestiges of an elite Greek dialogue on patriotism through Aeschylus's *Persians*, which took place about eleven months before the outbreak of the Greek Revolution in March of 1821 and the making of the "real" actors of Greek history. He described as in slow motion a staged reading that constituted a primer for Greek nationalist self-formation and a beacon guiding collective and imminent action.

Was Aeschylus's *Persians* the charter myth of Greek revolutionary patriotism? To modern sensibilities, this may be an unlikely proposition. However, this agenda defined the modern Greek interpretation of Aeschylus's tragedy until well into the twentieth century. The Greeks sought and

found their heroic and "patriotic" forebears in the ancient Greeks, whom the play does not even bring on as stage characters: they placed naval and other military triumphs over the Turks on a par with the Greek victory over the Persians in the sea battle of Salamis in 480 BCE. Aeschylus's *Persians*, a prize-winning tragedy, was staged at the Great Dionysia of 472 BCE. This oldest extant and "historical" play became the direct link with military and other "national" glories of the classical period. At the start of its new lease on life in the emerging nation-state of Greece, this tragedy was not the disquieting play that modern scholars have uncovered, but *the* exemplum of a soothing genre of patriotic (self-)assurance and moral confirmation. Aeschylus had told the story from an oblique—and more sensitive—angle (as if) from the perspective of the vanquished. He had restricted his cast to Persian characters only, and he had set his play in the Persian capital of Sousa before and after word of the Persian defeat at Salamis arrived. But none of those factors tempered Greek patriotic enthusiasm. The modern Greek public "saw" a composite of the classical tragedy, the real-life military feats, and perhaps also the heroic images from the Persian Wars depicted by Herodotus in his *Histories*. The new version of the play transformed Aeschylus's *Persians* from a tragedy into a hymn to Greece and its ideals, and it mediated images of Greek ancestry, tradition, and authenticity. Memory and patriotism functioned as operative components of story interwoven with history.

Marcellus described the 1820 reading of Aeschylus's *Persians* in Constantinople in a unique memoir, first published in 1859 and a second time in 1861.[2] This memoir reveals important strands of modern Greek patriotism and (emerging) performance; it also presents the *Persians* as performative because the presumed patriotic model engendered demands of performativity. For the Frenchman, the play and its readers fulfilled Greece's nationalist mission, which overlapped with the performing of its cultural mission. Though it was technically only a staged reading of the *Persians* that took place in Constantinople in 1820, the initiative was one of and for performance, theatrical and political alike: the live reading took place before a purposefully gathered Greek audience, for which the play articulated and sanctioned a common ideological agenda, while patriotic military ambitions remained subject to Ottoman retaliation. Marcellus posited Greek history, performance, and patriotism as *topoi* of unity among the Greeks and as meeting points for Greeks and westerners. His account was imbued with animosity against the Turks, on behalf of his—idealized—Greek hosts. The Frenchman related a Greek ethos of patriotic example and tradition that called for loyalty, commitment, rational restraint, and personal sacrifice. To philhellenes, he presented the

theater of history that he witnessed as both effective and inspiring, while the struggle to "redeem" more Greek territories continued through the decades after 1821. Marcellus presented 1821 as the rebirth of tragedy, Greek nationhood, and Greek classical conscience. The perspective and contribution of the foreigner, as observer and narrator, conveyed a sense of the Greeks' western identity, which responded to Chateaubriand's propositions in his *Note sur la Grèce*: "Are the Greeks rebels and revolutionaries? No. Are they a people with which one can negotiate? Yes."[3] As if in answer to Chateaubriand, Marcellus situated the 1820 staged reading of Aeschylus's *Persians* in the enduring myth of the historical survival of classical Greece.

Marcellus established an instructive analogy between the ancient and the modern Greeks grounded in Aeschylus's tragedy. The reading's message was cast in weighty pedagogic and moral-didactic terms, which all the participants readily accepted and that his reading audience was expected to accept as well. Before Marcellus, Chateaubriand had experimented with detailed and sustained analogical thinking in his peculiar early treatise, *Essai sur les révolutions* (*Essay on the Revolutions*, 1797; critical edition 1826). Here he equated the recent French Revolution with select episodes from Greek antiquity, and he demonstrated how the former could build—and bill—itself on its "proven" and revivified classical legacy. Chateaubriand's thinking in parallels rigidly structured this markedly post-1789 treatise, which literalized the concept of "revolution" in the sense of the "return" to the past.[4] The author pointed up connections between, for instance, "*La Marseillaise*" and the poetry by which Tyrtaeus exhorted the ancient Spartans to war.[5] Thus Chateaubriand let the French share in a "pedigreed" core of cultural ethnocentrism and military chauvinism. The French revolutionary wars became, for him, the perfect rerun of the Persian Wars, and victorious Athens morphed into the synecdochical *topos* of a Greece that was crystallized in the classical age.[6] After the French Revolution, Aeschylus's *Persians*, with its perceived dramatic identification of the villain in Xerxes, was a play waiting to be enlisted in the cause of modern Greek nationalism: it called for patriotic action before action itself took over.

Marcellus's narration, despite being indebted to Chateaubriand, remains a richly textured and studiously crafted foreign eyewitness account, memoir, memorial, and testimony to Greek and western views of the East. The Frenchman conveyed a strong sense of the prismatic quality of the 1820 reading and of the intensity of the historic moment to which he attended. He further showed how nascent Greek nationalism adopted antiquity in the name of the struggle for freedom and how

antiquity itself, therefore, needed to be infused with Greek protonationalism. This nationalism *avant la lettre* was imported into the glory days of the fifth century BCE under the flag of the patriotic sentiment that was thought to reverberate in Aeschylus's *Persians*.

## MISE-EN-SCÈNE: OUT IN THE OPENNESS OF SECRECY

> Preserve peace, avoid creating even the slightest difficulties for the Turkish government, do nothing that would create the impression that the Greeks are recognized, and scrupulously defend the international right of France as an ally of the Sublime Porte.
> —Instructions given to the new French ambassador to the Porte in 1824[7]

Marcellus's own diplomatic position was precarious before and immediately after the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, with vocal French and western European philhellenism becoming a factor of increasing international pressure. Marcellus had to be careful not to rock the boat and not to act prematurely. He had to respect the official line of French foreign politics, at least on all public and formal occasions: France could not (yet) be seen to waver in its support of the Ottoman Empire, which was confronting the "Greek rebels."[8] The threat of political instability in the region was unacceptably dangerous to the French, who hesitated to challenge the Porte on the Greek patriotic cause. Marcellus's decision to join illicit meetings with the Greek revolutionary intelligentsia, as on the occasion of the 1820 reading, diverted from the cautious French policy. French Orientalist sources in general relished in depicting a volatile, treacherous East to which France might still bring stability.[9]

Marcellus described a staged reading densely packed with detail and meaning, not only for the participants, but also for later Greek political and theatrical developments. His philhellene sympathies secured him access to a select circle's gathering in the early spring of 1820, in the private mansion of the prestigious Manos family, located on the Bosporus. The exact location of the secret meeting was Büyük Dere, part of Constantinople's Therapeia district. The precise nature of the event? A reading behind closed doors of Aeschylus's *Persians*, by a young Greek student who declaimed in ancient Greek and some modern Greek. Marcellus was not very explicit on the subject of the language of the reading. According to Demetrios Manos, however, who extended the invitation to the group, the goal was "to judge . . . whether, under the influence of our modern tongue, the ancient language has preserved its perfection and its melody" (302).[10] Needless to say, the classicist in Marcellus wanted to be part of the party. He was, however, well aware that this linguistic "experiment,"

of a reading of ancient Greek verse in modern Greek pronunciation, had political implications as well.

The student-performer attended the Orthodox School of Kydonia. He hailed from the city of Kydonia situated on the coast opposite Lesbos. Kydonia or Kydonies was the Greek name, which literally meant "quince tree(s) [town]," of the city that became better known as Ayvalık. The student, who remained otherwise anonymous, performed under the direction of his master, the Orthodox cleric-teacher, theologian, and champion of the Greek Revolution, Konstantinos Oikonomos (1780–1857).[11] Oikonomos may have proposed the reading to Manos, who agreed to or decided on a date that most likely fell between April 10 and May 14, 1820.[12] The host then gave the start signal by dismissing the servants. These servants are a hazy entity: they might act as mediators or traitors among Greeks and Turks, or they may be the theatrical surrogates for noncontact, because they are sent away and are immediately erased from the script. Their dismissal, however, mainly serves the dramatic purpose of defining the participants as a self-selective audience. With the emphasis on Kydonia and on a Greek district of Constantinople, Marcellus construed locales that were explicitly Greek, or not entirely Asian: he presented Manos's house as a safe enclave, or as a haven in a sea of eastern barbarism. The Westernness of Greece is thus physically rooted in its historical places and agents, and it is performed through the choice of the oldest Greek tragedy.

Marcellus witnessed a group of elite male Greeks "spontaneously" rediscover Aeschylus's paradigmatic classical text, its patriotic capacities, and its performative impetus: he chose to remember the event in this way because he did not want to credit any foreign inspiration or instigation. Marcellus did not fathom, however, that the Greek intellectuals invited him to their unique event precisely because they strove to mobilize a foreign as well as an internal public. He portrayed this Greek intelligentsia as united in its objectives with the actual Greek fighters and waxed in true Romanticist mode: "Here were some Hellenes (*Hellènes*) proud of their ancient glory, who waited impatiently for the signal of independence. They sharpened their weapons as they reread their own annals (*annales*), and they admired the valor of their ancestors, as if the triumph of Salamis had foretold (*présagé*) them already of the liberating exploits of Kanares" (302).

The name of "Hellenes" captures what a translation of "Greeks" would lose: the prestige derived from ancestral roots in classical Hellas. Marcellus bestowed the name as a badge of identity and pride. Nationalist pride, too, inspired the reference to Admiral Konstantinos Kanares of Psara, who was one of the heroes of the dashing naval exploits of the War of Independence.[13]

Kanares destroyed the Ottoman fleet off Chios in July of 1822. Marcellus in 1859 can reflect back on the 1820 reading and see the glory of Salamis "foretell" the naval successes of July 1822, but not the Turkish massacre of the population of Chios in April of 1822. Victory and disaster remained associated with Chios, but the Frenchman remembered selectively. Here, however, Marcellus might imply that devastation on land inspired Greek courage at sea, as at Thermopylae and in the city of Athens in 480 BCE. If the Spartan defeat at Thermopylae and the destruction of the Acropolis could inspire bravery and sacrifice and could spur the dramatic reversal at sea off Salamis, then Marcellus might claim in hindsight that Greek history has repeated itself: loss of the past has engendered victory in the future.

Marcellus let fictionalization and historicization go hand in hand in his memoir. He made it impossible to distinguish strict reality from the wish for an idealized present of reawakened Greek patriotism. He celebrated Aeschylus's *Persians* as the earliest beginning *and* the epitome of Greek patriotism on the classical dramatic stage and mused,

> [Aeschylus] let the first and the noblest tone of the patriotic muse be heard on the stage that he had recently set up. He celebrated . . . the contemporary victories in which he himself had been an actor and a witness. And, two thousand years later, that sublime inspiration must make the heart of his descendants beat [faster] and must rekindle bravery in them, in those who remain forever enlightened by the same tongue with its sonorous words, forever oppressed by the same Asiatic race (*race asiatique*), and always waiting for another Alexander to take revenge on their behalf (*attendant toujours un autre Alexandre pour les venger*)! (331)

Marcellus collapsed historical time and mixed diverse episodes of Greek military achievement when he invoked not a new Themistocles or Miltiades, but Alexander the Great, the Macedonian "avenger" and conqueror of the East. Like many before and after him, Marcellus affirmed Alexander's Greekness because he fought the cause of aggressive Greek revenge. Like a divine Greek Nemesis, Alexander had inflicted punishment on the racially "inferior" Persians.[14] Marcellus made the hazardous connection between linguistic continuity and racial lineage or consanguinity, which, as a nationalist construct, continued to inferiorize the Asiatic enemy. By implication, then, it was time for another, more aggressive military and political initiative, which would make Greece the first Balkan country to break away from the East; if successful, Greece would become the first modern state to be established on former Ottoman territory.

## The Protagonists: Tragic Heroes

Oikonomos introduced his well-prepared disciple to the five established Greek intellectuals, who knew and trusted each other, and also to our Marcellus, who lived to tell the story. The Frenchman cast a very homogeneous company of Greek friends and plausible heroes, who, for him, embodied classical nobility and racial purity. They functioned as the harbingers of a new "heroic" Greek age. Marcellus divulged few personal details about the characters, and constructed them less as personalities and more as Greek national subjects who died as martyrs for the patriotic cause. The Ottomans inflicted a gruesome death on the host and his friends: "Barely a few months after that intimate and almost furtive meeting, the two Mourouzes princes [Konstantinos and Nikolaos Mourouzes] were to perish by the Muslim sword, in the dark of the seraglio, and the archbishop of Ephesus [Dionysios Kalliarches] was to succumb under the noose . . . Our host died in exile in a foreign land; and the pupil of Kydonia . . . disappeared in the war in the Morea" (331).

Because Marcellus gave his character development short shrift, it is useful to further acquaint ourselves with these players and their relations to the Ottoman Empire and to the West. The host Demetrios Manos was a former high-ranking official (grand *postelnik*) in the administration of Wallachia, one of the prosperous trans-Danubian principalities, where sizeable expatriate Greek communities lived. The Porte had delegated the rule over these principalities and other (Greek) territories to educated and prominent Phanariot Greeks. Manos had served as an aide also to the father of the Mourouzes brothers, Alexandros Mourouzes, upon whom the Ottomans had bestowed several terms as *hospodar*, or the position of the sultan's viceroy, of either Moldavia or Wallachia.[15] The "blue-blooded" Mourouzes sons were well-reputed patrons of the arts and literature, and tried to further the education of the younger Greek generations.[16] Oikonomos acted as a tutor to the children of Konstantinos Mourouzes, and corresponded with his daughter, Zoe, on the subject of her readings of the ancient historians.[17] The well-to-do Mourouzes family promoted theater as well: leading family members sponsored amateur productions by Phanariot aristocrats and by theater circles in Bucharest.[18] The sponsored productions included patriotic student performances, which soon received fulsome praise for delivering the perfect training in the Greek language and in the Hellenic intellectual and ideological identity.[19] A prominent theme of the patriotic dramas was the courageous resistance against oppression and subjugation, which required religious-style martyrdom, to benefit future Greek generations.[20] As Chapter 3 will argue at greater length, it was within the purview of the revolution and

of antityrannical action that the Greeks rediscovered Aeschylus's *Persians* and the broader history of the Persian Wars, with a predilection for Salamis and Themistocles.

Marcellus observed how knowledgeable the Mourouzes brothers were and how they each brought a political perspective to the reading, which they infused with names and references to the Porte's power structure and to its maritime supremacy (307, 317). Konstantinos equated a number of contemporary Ottoman satellites with their ancient counterparts mentioned by Aeschylus, and he ended with a call for another Alexander as avenger (307). Nikolaos spoke mainly in his capacity of dragoman of the fleet, the key position to which the Ottomans had appointed him only about one year earlier: he personally identified with Aeschylus for knowing "all the secrets of the nautical profession" (317).[21] Both of the brothers knew Aeschylus's *Persians* well. Both, too, placed themselves on the side of the Greek defensive war; they were far from seeing themselves as executors of the Ottoman hegemony, which they then still were.

Konstantinos Mourouzes rose to the rank of the Porte's grand dragoman (chief interpreter) in January of 1821, but he was put to death by the sultan shortly after the proclamation of the Greek revolt. The execution of his brother Nikolaos followed on May 6, 1821.[22] Marcellus turned the death of Konstantinos into a type of dungeon scene, an intra-Oriental scene of the backstage parts of the sultanate. For him, the best of the West had been physically imprisoned by the East, in a manner similar to the constraints that he saw the Turks place on ancient Greek theater and culture. He painted a highly Orientalist vignette of the brave, defiant Greek provoking the sultan, as he quoted the ominous last words of Konstantinos: "Bloodthirsty sultan, unjust sultan, wretched tyrant, the last hour of your reign has sounded. God is preparing to avenge my nation."[23]

Revolutionary Greeks painted the eastern enemy's retaliation with the verve of typical accusations of savage barbarism and of sinister moral and cultural backwardness. For them, despotism was by definition external, Oriental, and politically and racially inferior. For Marcellus, the sultan's actions resembled those of an immoderate Xerxes, wielding power over his subjects' life and death, but ultimately provoking his own demise. Aeschylus calls Xerxes responsible for the devastating loss of his fleet at Salamis. The ghost of Darius appears to condemn Xerxes' hubris—much like, for Marcellus and Konstantinos, the Christian God would judge and avenge the sultan's unbridled injustice. Thus the Ottomans were seen to maintain an apparatus of terror and death: as the quintessential Oriental enemy of the Greeks, they were deindividualized and their nonwestern views were not given any positive outlet. The violent and

excessive instincts of the Turks were to send shivers of revulsion over Marcellus's reading audience, the fellow Christians. On the few occasions that the—stereotypically passive—Turks were seen to assert their agency, they delivered death and destruction. It sufficed that this Oriental scene fitted the specter of Islam-driven barbarism. The author's vignette of Turkish cruelty was, however, an act of reframing knowledge that he himself could not have had firsthand or could not verify with any certainty. Marcellus introduced the dominant topic of the religious polarization through Konstantinos's answer, which tied the act of Turkish aggression to Muslim fanaticism. The prevalence of the religious dichotomy that pitted Islam against Christianity rendered the Turkish act more "intelligible" to the broader Christian audience, because the bias against Muslims survived with remarkable longevity.[24] For those Europeans who saw Islam as threatening western civilization and religion, Mohammed was the new Xerxes. Marcellus vaunted his philhellenism by demonizing the Turks. With such ferocious and godless enemies to face, the Christian Greek revolutionaries must firmly belong to the camp of the West—and the West should not fail them.

In his second publication of 1861, Marcellus advertised his memoir as a "*scène orientale*." With the new full (chapter) title of "Les *Perses* d'Eschyle à Constantinople: Scène orientale" (Aeschylus's *Persians* in Constantinople: Oriental Scene), he invited instant curiosity and again played to Orientalist stereotypes of the time. Ironically, Marcellus produced an "Oriental scene" from which Turkish characters were technically absent, because he kept it confined to one closed room in a private Greek mansion. But his stage was still in need of villains to set apart the obligatory heroes and martyrs. Even dispossessed of words, the Turks were—paradoxically—present to act out Orientalism. Marcellus cast the Turks offstage or in the wings, so to speak, and projected cruelty and treachery onto them. He also deprived them of some of the rudiments of culture. As a near-faceless collectivity, the Turks served the purpose of making victimhood part of the revolutionary Greek identity, by delivering occasions for sacrifice and martyrdom. By the time of the executions of spring 1821, Marcellus had left Constantinople and was no longer close to the dénouement. His account, nonetheless, foregrounded the clash between the good of Hellenism and the evil of the forces opposed to it. It was a moralizing parable for western European reading pleasure and Orientalist voyeurism.

But what happened to Oikonomos, the likely organizer of the event? In the mayhem of April 1821, Oikonomos and some of the widows and children of the Mourouzes family managed to escape to Odessa, on the north shore of the Black Sea.[25] Odessa was the thriving center of a Greek

community, which was not subject to Ottoman rule but was heavily exposed to Russian pressures. Odessa's secret political scene and vibrant theater life deeply affected Greek prerevolutionary stagings, as Chapter 3 will discuss.[26] The move to Odessa made Oikonomos a "Russophile," or an ally belonging to the "Russian party," or to a segment of Greece's policy makers with anti-French inclinations. Other parties were the "English party" and the "French party," and they, too, were rallying platforms for Greek coteries to shape foreign policy and also domestic politics in the early years of the Greek monarchy, itself a Bavarian import.[27] Oikonomos died in 1857, but in the maelstrom of shifting international alliances up until his death, his French connections of 1820 might have been harmful to him and were better kept secret.[28] Oikonomos also had to tone down his prior commitment to a more liberal and western-style educational program. As had happened before the onset of the Greek Revolution, the reactionary Orthodox Church authorities condemned such an educational program as secularist and agitational. The nationalist ideal was frowned upon by the church establishment, which tried to keep the peace with the Ottoman administration.[29] For many good reasons, discretion about the encounter of 1820 was Oikonomos's path forward. Marcellus, who outlived Oikonomos by a few years, likely did not seek further contact, either. The 1839 *Souvenirs* provided ample opportunity for the Frenchman to include the topic of the reading, especially in the context of his reference to the School of Kydonia.[30] Marcellus, however, did not mention the reading performed by one of the school's star students and merely repeated the by then known facts about the institution. Also, he stated his intention to avoid "any political subject" in his *Souvenirs*, and to honor the ethic of the diplomatic profession that rested on him during his mission and travels overseas of some twenty years earlier.[31] Again, in 1839, Oikonomos was still alive and could potentially be compromised by any published record detailing his revolutionary activities. Marcellus responded with a sense of personal obligation toward his Greek friends, who suffered so much and gave their lives without any certainty as to the outcome of their struggle: "I believe that I have remained loyal to them, because forty years have passed and all have vanished before I dared to break the silence" (303). He continues, "After so many friends have been lost, I alone am still alive to rekindle their memory and to honor them" (331).

In his early career, Oikonomos took an active interest in the writings of the expatriate Koraes, and he helped to disseminate his thinking. Koraes's reputation grew for being the ideologue of Greek independence who was also a prolific (self-made) classical scholar, national educationalist,

and founder of a nationalist philology.[32] A distinct performative quality defined the work of philhellenes, Greek expatriates, and internal educators such as Oikonomos, who enjoyed recognition for their endorsement of Greek nationalism in a measure equivalent to their own output. Oikonomos was aware that he was working under the gaze of westerners and expatriate intellectuals, who watched the local progress closely.[33] Likely, he was testing, too, whether the performance he was supervising would appeal to an educated foreigner and whether it could enlist him for the Greek patriotic cause. The influence that Koraes held over Oikonomos may also have affected the latter's positive view and instant trust of a Frenchman. Koraes called the French "wise, benign, benevolent, and amiable like the [ancient] Athenians."[34] He had resolved the partial dilemma between modern French "scientific" thinking, which he fervently admired, and the ancient Greeks' intellectual and ethical authority by claiming that the educated French almost equaled the ancestral Athenians in wisdom and morality, once the Enlightenment had enriched their culture. By imitating the French, the modern Greeks would grow closer to their classical forebears.

Up until 1821, Oikonomos followed the model of Koraes as an expressly secular "evangelist," and both of them invoked the ire of Orthodox traditionalists for promoting instruction in "suspicious" subjects, such as western liberal philosophy and the positive sciences. Such problems plagued the instructors at various Greek educational institutions of the revolutionary period.[35] Oikonomos, however, was more vulnerable for teaching theology and also Greek at the Philological Gymnasium of Smyrna, which he managed and directed for several years from 1813 on. With Koraes, Oikonomos believed in Greek culture's civilizing power and in its potential to unite the Greeks in revolt against the Ottomans: he keenly realized the need to write and publish educational and patriotic materials to further the nationalist struggle. Thus, in 1817, Oikonomos published his encyclopedic work *Grammatika*, intended for use in Greek schools.

Prior to publishing his standard work and while he still had a sense of humor, Oikonomos had anonymously issued his translation of Molière's *L'Avare* (*The Miser*) in "spoken" Greek (Vienna, 1816): with the comedy's action now set in Smyrna, his rendition was enough of a free adaptation to earn its own title, *Ho Exentavelones*, *The Penny-Pincher*.[36] The comedy's sharp critique of obscurantism and anti-intellectualism, which the title character embodied, made it an instant success.[37] Many western and Greek literati saw in the French playwright a more decorous counterpart to, for instance, the classical Greek Aristophanes.[38] Oikonomos's

interest in theater and dramaturgy was perhaps greater than that of Koraes, another admirer of Molière, despite the bias of the church establishment, which feared that "transgressive" plays would invoke the anger of the Ottoman censors.[39] Oikonomos's early and free-ranging translation of a classic of French comedy, geared toward actual use at the Gymnasium of Smyrna, demonstrates how he was, in those formative years, capable of working creatively within the parameters of French Enlightenment philosophy, progressive educational practice, burgeoning Greek nationalism and revolutionary impetus, and (the typically conservative tilt of) a cleric's mission.[40] For our reading, that meant that the younger Oikonomos still espoused the interlocking ideals of liberal education, revolutionary theater, and occasional translation from ancient Greek, all of which would later be questioned by reactionary forces (including himself). While Koraes advocated a program for a "compromise language" (which formed the basis of the later Kathareuousa, a "purist," Atticizing Greek that integrated many vernacular roots), Oikonomos, on the other hand, wanted his students to learn how to communicate in ancient Greek. He later hardened his position on the use of translations and, by the late 1830s, fiercely argued against translation of the classical Greek texts and of the Gospels.[41]

In 1819, Oikonomos encountered a particularly violent wave of opposition by Greek detractors and reactionary opponents in the church. The acerbities forced the closure of the Gymnasium of Smyrna. Chased out of the city, Oikonomos solicited support in the circles of Greek dignitaries in Constantinople.[42] There, some of the Mourouzes family members who lived in the Therapeia district offered protection.[43] During his months in exile from the Gymnasium of Smyrna, Oikonomos also established closer working relations with the School of Kydonia, which was managed by Theophilos Kaïres, another follower of Koraes. The three leading Greek schools of the eastern Aegean, the schools of Chios, Smyrna, and Kydonia, could rightfully be called "schools of Koraes."[44] Among only a handful of contemporary Greek educational institutions, these schools trained an all-male student population for the Orthodox priesthood and for the upper administrative ranks. Centrally located in between Constantinople and Smyrna, Kydonia housed a substantial Greek population of approximately twenty thousand, and it functioned as a center of educational and cultural life in the early decades of the nineteenth century.[45] The new School of Kydonia had been erected in 1803, when its predecessor, founded in 1798, had become too small. As Marcellus revealed, until shortly before its destruction by the Turks in June of 1821, the School of Kydonia maintained close contacts with the cosmopolitan city of Smyrna

and the Orthodox religious seat of Ephesus. Key to these contacts were Oikonomos and Dionysios Kalliarches, the metropolitan (archbishop) of Ephesus and the school's progressive spiritual overseer, who was also present at the reading.

## Acting the Scene: Loss before Victory, Secret Reading before Public Performance

The loss of the Greek student-performer saddened Marcellus. In his memoir he cut from that unforgettable evening to anticipate the fate that the young man met only a few months later, when he died fighting the Turks in the Peloponnese (302). The student had pledged his life to his fatherland and set an exemplum of fearless love of freedom. The reader of Aeschylus had ceased to be a performer and became a lead player in the historical destiny of the Greeks, which he and the others had found expressed in the *Persians*. The classical tragedy functioned as a passageway for those eager to become worthy citizens of the preordained free Greek nation. It inspired its public, too, to grow beyond the mere act of witnessing such self-sacrificing love of the fatherland. The student took the lead in acting his newfound patriotic identity into existence, and he embodied the new nation of Greece that would perform itself into being.[46] Marcellus composed a substitute narrative epitaph, as it were, to commemorate the untimely death of his "miniature Aeschylus," who emulated the great poet's defining quality of courage in arms and in art. He eulogized the brave and talented Greek who embodied both the old and the new Greece in parallel universes. The younger Greece was different or "other" (*autre*) only in time, though not in nature or character: "the animated, ardent, and harmonious voice of the pupil of Kydonia, who was soon to join in the bloody combats of the Peloponnese and to die arms in hand, while fighting against other Persians (*autres Perses*) for the independence of an other Greece (*une autre Grèce*)" (302).

Marcellus deeply admired the student's resolve, but his feelings were inseparable from a high degree of opprobrium of the Persians/Turks, who killed off such a valiant and gifted young man. There was, however, a sacred calmness to be derived from the certainty that, as in the past, Greek patriotism would stop the aggressor and would secure Greek autonomy anew. The devotion of the student was the devotion of a soldier to his country and of a possible future cleric to his faith. Greece lost an inspiring teacher in the young man as well. On him rested the expectation that he would spread the enthusiasm for classical literature, which fanned Greek nationalism. An exchange recorded by the Reverend William Jowett with his hosts at the School of Kydonia proves this point: "I asked how many

Masters they had furnished for Greece? They enumerated about twelve schools in various towns and islands which had sprung from them."[47] Education and, in particular, the spread of education were markers of the emerging nation's progress—and were watched by outside observers.[48]

Oikonomos and Marcellus presented the Turkish enemy as aware, too, of the lineage, pride, and prestige of the Greeks, their education, and their drama: because they threatened with censorship rules and sanctions, the eastern opponents clearly "recognized" the "immortal spirit" of their subjects and their theatrical culture and, in particular, the powerful hold of Aeschylus's *Persians*. Marcellus cited a telling statement of Oikonomos: "Nevertheless, banning it [the *Persians*] from our public theater at the time of its rebirth would not remove it [the *Persians*] from the students' memory. And if the young Greek to whom you are about to listen seems to be reading the poem's lines, know well in advance that he can close the book and recite them in their entirety" (303).

Just as the student's furtive reading was a performance waiting to go public, a surrogate for the real communal event, so, too, was the victory (indirectly) depicted in Aeschylus's *Persians* waiting to happen all over again. While the realization of the play's regular dramatic form and full content remained pending, this Greek intellectual circle settled for the format of a reading. Marcellus consistently referred to the private reading as "*une lecture*," as in the title of his article, "*Une lecture d'Eschyle à Constantinople en 1820*" (A Reading of Aeschylus in Constantinople in 1820), which he published in an 1859 issue of the French periodical *Le Correspondant*. A model of freedom, this staged reading was still unfree to tell its own history. Because the reading enacted the perceived patriotic mission of Aeschylus's tragedy and revived its historical momentum, the student-performer and "cast" could not possibly stage it as an open and uncensored performance act, but they had to keep it hidden behind closed doors. The diminished role of those who were present, however, did not turn them into passive listeners, as Marcellus was quick to point out in a deliberate choice of words: he called the select few "*assistants ou acteurs*"—literally, "assistants or actors" (302). They were receptive spect-actors, as history would soon prove. The author was, of course, well-served by the committed meaning of the French "*assister*," which implies more than merely "attending" a performance. The student's "*lecture*" was a performance in embryonic form and a broadcast of the "proper," ancestral Greek language. Marcellus's publication, then, was a first-time display, elaboration, and commemoration of a performance that did not have access to a regular public, an uncensored stage, or a free theater building. For such a closet performance, no

effective place of actualization and remembrance existed other than in the Frenchman's published memoir.

The student's act stated the political value of growing Greek educational achievement. It reflected the linguistic, pedagogical, and ideological agenda of many members of the Greek intelligentsia living and working in Constantinople, who interacted with the Greek schools of Asia Minor. The intricacies of this agenda may have been lost on Marcellus, who rendered the student's reading in French only. He did sense, however, that the event supported a broader Greek quest for effective classical precedent and historical reward. Dionysios Kalliarches, the spiritual overseer of the School of Kydonia, must have listened with special attention. In 1809, he had complained that some of his students failed to appreciate the ancient Greek language instruction that his institution proudly offered to them. "We have been informed," Kalliarches wrote dourly, "that there are some students here who maintain that the teaching of writing and, in particular, the instruction in orthography are of no benefit: in their obvious foolishness, they rant without knowing what they are talking about."[49] Oikonomos and his student proved that, a decade later, the opposite held true. "Know well in advance that he can close the book and recite them [the lines of the poem] in their entirety," the master bragged about his protégé's fluency in declaiming ancient Greek. "The book"! What book? That remains a difficult question, which the chapter section to follow will try to answer, as it continues to contextualize the 1820 reading and its players.

Youth, dedication, and education played exceptionally formative roles in the Greek Revolution. The young age and outspoken loyalty of the student protagonist furnished visible proof that Oikonomos's ideal of a reinvigorated Greek education and nationalist training was ambitious but attainable. The unpretentious student from Kydonia was an exemplum for the younger Mourouzes family members, whom the master had been tutoring. Moreover, he was live advertisement for Oikonomos's pedagogical theory and practice precisely at the time when they were under attack by the church authorities. Marcellus referred to the model student as an "*écolier*" or "*élève*" (pupil), which implies that he was only a high school student. Other foreigners writing about the School of Kydonia, however, employed terms that denoted the prestige accorded to this flourishing institution, and not necessarily the higher educational level or the older age of some students. The Reverend William Jowett, a British missionary with the Church Missionary Society, visited the School of Kydonia in May of 1818. He marveled at this "college" that housed about one hundred foreign "scholars" in addition to another one hundred local students.

All of them, he noted, received instruction from a mere four "masters," at least one of whom had studied in Paris. The more senior students, however, also taught the younger ones.[50] The college library counted about seven hundred or eight hundred volumes; among those was its pride, a "complete set of the Greek classics."[51]

Reciting ancient texts behind closed doors was nothing new to the students and teachers at the School of Kydonia. It reflected methods of teaching the classics *cum* patriotism that, with varying degrees of discretion, were practiced in other Greek communities as well.[52] In 1817, Ambroise Firmin-Didot (1790–1876), the Greek scholar, editor, printer-publisher, and active philhellene, visited the School of Kydonia equipped with a letter of introduction from Koraes, who had acted as his tutor in Paris. Firmin-Didot was duly impressed that the school was privately funded and did not have to charge tuition. He stayed in residence for nearly two months and visited classes. He marveled at the students' self-imposed discipline, fiery devotion, and absolute respect for their masters. He observed, however, that this training in self-discipline and fervor was as much training in bypassing the Ottoman authorities: reportedly, the Ottomans easily took offense and would welcome any pretext to close down a school that educated promising youth in the Greek language, culture, and nationalist ethos. Firmin-Didot also noted that the students eagerly read some of the ancient poets and that they organized declamations of Euripides' *Hecuba*. His memoir lends credence to Marcellus's later report that Oikonomos planned to stage the *Hecuba* to instill patriotism in his students.

Firmin-Didot further recorded an interesting "law" and described the secretive meetings of a kind of "dead poets' society," which, he contended, he helped to found in March of 1817. All student members of this secret society—which, nonetheless, invited the spectator's gaze—had to underwrite a resolution that committed them to conversing in ancient Greek, called the "paternal tongue" (*patroia phone*), the "Hellenic language," or the "language of Demosthenes and Plato."[53] Nearly twenty students signed the "law" under oath. Their swearing to secrecy was functional, but it also gave the resolution special urgency. The students attached to their own Christian baptismal names and signatures the (pagan) names of ancient worthies and role models, mainly of historical heroes of the battlefield (Themistocles and Miltiades among them). Modern characters acted to imitate or at least to partake in the heroism of the ancient archetypes. The trend toward name identification increases the likelihood that the anonymous student of Marcellus's memoir thought of himself as an Aeschylus.[54] The society's "law" itself was composed in ancient Greek and

referred to the school as Kydonia's *Hellenomouseion* (shrine to, or abode of, the Greek Muses), after the Mouseion of Hellenistic Alexandria.[55] It stipulated a penalty for violators or for those who fell short of the ideal of practicing ancient Greek: "Whoever fails to do this, is, as a punishment, to recite a page of Homer before us."[56] Firmin-Didot probably took too much credit for inspiring the students' resolution. François Pouqueville (1770–1838) made the same claim, that is, that he was the one to institute the practice of speaking ancient Greek among students of the School of Kydonia.[57] The desire among educated Greeks to communicate in ancient Greek, however, was older and more widespread. That language could become a strategy to master one's environment and to secure liberty was an ideal deeply rooted in the Enlightenment.

Marcellus conveyed an overriding sense of privilege for being part of the club on the night of the reading. He drew as little attention as possible to what went missing from his own memoir: the ancient Greek text. He knew his Aeschylus but needed some assistance with the modern Greek pronunciation that the student applied to the ancient Greek (319). Also, he still experienced some difficulties with the strong stress accent of the modern Greek pronunciation.[58] He paid, however, little attention to form and style beyond identifying the language. Host Manos translated some words and passages into French for Marcellus, who, most obliged, abandoned his struggle to catch the finer points of the spoken classical tongue (319–20).[59] Oikonomos led his unanimous "converts" in his own growing belief that the language of antiquity would be able to resurrect the political and cultural glories of ancient Greece. Using a modern Greek translation of Aeschylus's *Persians* was therefore out of the question. Besides, the group had to shield itself from eavesdroppers. The reading thus provides an early snapshot of the more conservative linguistic program that Oikonomos was advocating by the late 1830s.

## Acting and Redacting

Oikonomos had adopted a five-act script in verse of Aeschylus's *Persians* for his student to rehearse under his supervision. But which version or text edition did he employ? Which versions could he have used or consulted? Or did he himself adapt and abridge the original play? Such a historicization of the genesis of the text underlying Marcellus's French translation is key to the interpretation of the 1820 reading. For this reading to happen, all parties presupposed western philological scholarship, or a process of textual transmission and critical (or semicritical) editing of Aeschylus. These were the channels through which western European scholars had disseminated knowledge and appreciation of classical literature and

civilization in general. Marcellus positioned himself in dialogue with the distinguished European neohumanist tradition, which continued the work of the original humanist scholars, or the first of many generations of modern classicists devoted to the textual study of ancient literature since the late fifteenth-century influx of Byzantine manuscripts. The long-powerful neohumanist approach expressed the elite intelligentsia's wish to return *ad fontes* in a concerted effort to explore and revive a common western European philological and cultural legacy. Understandably, the post-Byzantine Greeks who remained under Ottoman occupation had not been able to make many contributions to this academic process.[60] This general predicament presses the question of how western knowledge of the ancients was assimilated and transferred to areas on the geopolitical and epistemological brink between West and East, or to Kydonia and Constantinople of the 1820s.

A few facts are known that steer our quest for the text of the 1820 reading. The Aldine Press in Venice published the *editio princeps* (first printed edition) of Aeschylus in 1518. In 1555, the publication in Basel of an important Latin translation followed: *Aeschyli poetae vetustissimi tragoediae* (*Tragedies of the Oldest Poet Aeschylus*) by Jean Saint-Ravy. The Renaissance West rediscovered the dramatist primarily through this influential translation.[61] Scholarship on Aeschylus then developed rather slowly in the later sixteenth and seventeenth century. In the second half of the seventeenth century, however, Aeschylus became more available also in modern languages and, a century later, important text editions and French translations were in full circulation.[62] The posthumously published Italian adaptation of Aeschylus's *Persians* by the popular Vittorio Alfieri shaped Marcellus's record of the 1820 reading to a surprisingly large extent. Alfieri had translated Aeschylus's *Persians* (1797; 1804 edition) and Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, two plays of interest to Oikonomos.[63] A careful comparison of Marcellus's French translation of the reading's script in ancient Greek reveals that he translated Alfieri's adaptation of Aeschylus's *Persians*.[64] The similarities are compelling: Alfieri's *Persians* and Marcellus's translation are divided in five acts of an identical structure; the latter only shortened a few occasional passages and he made one important addition, to *Persians* 402–5, which he also identified as an insertion. This conclusion comes with serious implications about Marcellus's inscribing of the western neoclassical play onto the East—without any hint to warn the casual reader of his story. Nineteenth-century classicizing pressures affected both the Venus statue and the reading of Aeschylus: much as the sculpture had to be strictly classical, so too did the reading of the *Persians* have to reflect an authentically Greek revival of the classical tragedy.

We cannot, however, speculate that the elite Greeks, too, used Alfieri's adaptation of Aeschylus's *Persians*, and that their reading would therefore have replicated western dramaturgical prototypes. Those assertions remain empty without evidence given by Oikonomos (if anyone) to clinch the truth of the Greek text he used. Could Alfieri's Italian adaptation not have been subjected to a restoration process of the classical Greek language? This hypothesis is not impossible but remains unlikely. It was common practice, too, to *not* differentiate between the originals and adaptations when referring to plays in performance. In other words, Alfieri's *Persians* could still be referred to as "Aeschylus's *Persians*."[65] Most probably, Oikonomos furnished a script in ancient Greek for the 1820 reading, since he had been rehearsing it with his student, and forty years later Marcellus, who did not have the reading's script, reconstructed a five-act text based on Alfieri's adaptation. In any case, we can no longer dismiss out of hand the overwhelming evidence of the similarities between Alfieri's adaptation and Marcellus's French translation.

It is quite likely that any of the western academic centers or presses had delivered a copy of Aeschylus's *Persians* in ancient Greek to Oikonomos or to the School of Kydonia. Had a text edition been sent there by Koraes, as part of one of his many shipments of books from France?[66] Koraes covered various ancient literary genres and periods in his Hellenic Library, but he omitted Aeschylus's *Persians*. He did, however, include Herodotus's account of the battles of Thermopylae and Salamis on the reading list that he recommended for the new nation.[67] Most likely, Oikonomos's source or he himself had arranged the ancient Greek script for the reading into five manageable (that is, performable) stage acts, conforming to European aesthetic norms of late Baroque and neoclassical theater.[68] Either one had cut most of the lyrical choral passages, but had left the chorus of elders with ample lines to contribute to an overall more dialogic version. It was the kind of script that a cast of several students could feasibly have rehearsed and performed in a classroom setting. Of course, with only one voice performing on the 1820 occasion, the omission of the choral parts was a welcome practical solution as well. Thus Oikonomos may have created or adopted the far less common adaptation of an ancient Greek text in ancient Greek. If that was indeed the case, then the adaptation still captured what Oikonomos stood for at this stage of his life: he embraced western theater and pedagogy, though not to the extent of granting translation of the classical dramatists into modern Greek. Marcellus could easily have resolved the enigma of the text by delivering a few additional lines of comment, but he chose not to. Instead, he preferred to translate into French and to contextualize the student's reading. The translation act

of Marcellus confounded the degree of redacting that Oikonomos or his source applied to Aeschylus's tragedy. Therefore, the reader can no longer sort out the nuances of either step in the adaptation process.

It remains odd that Marcellus, a classicist but also a collector of songs, performances, and language phenomena, left out the ancient Greek text altogether. He also avoided the question of whether the Greek company readily understood the very rich classical Greek of Aeschylus in the modern pronunciation, or how much training its members had had to alleviate that challenge. The Frenchman delivered altogether very few cues on the strictly philological concerns with the text of the 1820 reading and its history of transmission. We need to look elsewhere, however, to find the traces of Marcellus's text-critical concern with the *Persians* of Aeschylus. Shortly after he first published his narrative and French translation of the *Persians*' five-act script (*Le Correspondant*, 1859), he followed up with a brief article in the *Revue archéologique* of January 1860, under the title of "Sur les *Perses* d'Eschyle" (On the *Persians* of Aeschylus).[69] Here he proposed certain emendations or new readings of the ancient Greek text and their rationale. He claimed to have based himself on an edition of Aeschylus that was published in Leipzig in 1850, which he held in high esteem. A bibliographical search reveals that Marcellus must have used a copy of the 1850 Teubner edition of Aeschylus, edited by Richard Porson and Wilhelm Dindorf.

Marcellus exploited the lack of data on the text of the 1820 reading to strengthen the event's engagement with modern Greek history. He was masterful at directing his audience's attention elsewhere: he manipulated the elusive common ground of Greek theater, its history, and the nation's history. The Frenchman's apparent willingness to settle into the role of half-comprehending foreigner and outsider held some advantages, nonetheless. Instead of sharing philological minutiae about language, accent, or pronunciation, he concentrated on aspects of the performance itself: the student's reading strategies, the evocative setting, the select audience members and their reactions, the nuances of his own admiration for their patriotism in action, and the memory of their mutual recognition of Greek revolutionary sympathies. Marcellus showed appreciation also for a performance that did not copy the neoclassical shows produced back in France, at well-equipped commercial and professional venues.

## Teaching and Interpreting "a Martial Dithyramb"

> And so the soldiers of Marathon and the sailors of Salamis became the schoolmasters of Hellas—the one teaching and habituating the Hellenes not to fear the barbarians at sea, and the others not to fear them by land.
>
> —Plato, *Menexenus*[70]

The five acts of the 1820 performance were followed, or occasionally interrupted, by sessions of commentary delivered by Oikonomos, who also responded to a few brief contributions from the others. Commenting is, of course, a strategy that guides, controls, and protects interpretation. Similarly, Oikonomos's likely redaction of the classical text and also Marcellus's translation of the adaptation exerted levels of control over the interpretation of the original. Oikonomos briefly presented Aeschylus's *Persians* in his encyclopedic work *Grammatika* of 1817, but he did not incorporate any long excerpt or full version of it. He merely contended that the ancient Athenians were particularly fond of this tragedy, because it best presented "Greek freedom" and the "humiliation of the barbarians."[71] On the occasion of the 1820 reading, too, Oikonomos posited a patriotic and didactic meaning for Aeschylus's *Persians*. Marcellus dutifully quoted the master's interpretation in an extensive passage in direct speech (303–4), thus making it doubly authoritative. His recording of the speech of the other participants was an authenticating device, a way to reallocate the claim to the person who first made it. This device became distorted, however, when the claim makers were no longer alive. The *Persians* of Aeschylus, Oikonomos lectured, offers us "*un dithyrambe guerrier en l'honneur de nos ancêtres, bien plutôt qu'une tragédie proprement dite*," "a martial dithyramb in honor of our ancestors rather than a tragedy in the strict sense" (303). He realized that any martial exultation was expressed not *by*, but *about* the Greeks (since, technically, Aeschylus's play does not bring any Greek characters on stage), and also that he had begun to diverge from the tragedy's original conception. With the young Greek reader speaking both for and about the Greeks (and in direct speech), various levels of immediacy—and distortion—came into play. The most immediate exchange of all, however, occurred when the student ruptured the dramatic illusion and the tragedy's unique conventions to deliver a modern Greek battle cry in the vernacular, to substitute for the ancient Greek paean relayed by the Persian messenger (see Chapter 3).

Oikonomos acted as the de facto gatekeeper of the interpretation of Aeschylus's *Persians*. The result was a nationalist interpretation of the tragedy, which was sanctified by the authority of the cleric-teacher. He adapted the ethos of Aeschylus's *Persians* to the standards of the Greek

Orthodox faith. He predicted that, just as the Olympian gods had punished Persian hubris in due course, so would divine Christian retribution subdue the Muslim threat. He transformed the pagan Nemesis and machinery of justice, which, in the ancients' belief, always overtook the immoderate, into the Christian divine approbation and condemnation (307). In his modern reincarnation, the fifth-century BCE warrior and freedom fighter still functioned as the hand of a divine force and authority; he was a facilitator of scripted destiny and an auxiliary to fated Greek continuity. According to the Greeks, the eastern opponent should know better, because the tragedy's message and the divine will were both given, as were nature's sympathy and the primacy bestowed by tradition. For them, it was a foregone conclusion that the Greeks would emerge victorious again. The Catholic Marcellus respected Oikonomos as a representative of the Greek Orthodox religion and as a pillar of the local educational system, but he stopped short of attributing divine inspiration to the priest's noble mission. The ideal of educating the nation was best embodied by Koraes, or the educator-as-nation, but he strove toward a secularized version of the Neohellenic Enlightenment.[72] By comparison, Oikonomos still represented authoritative religious didacticism—or stagecraft as priestcraft.

More than Aeschylus's original ever would, Oikonomos's *Persians* dictated the terms in which individual and collective moral action had to be construed. Nonetheless, Marcellus presented the magisterial style of Oikonomos, even though it demanded imitation and emulation, as the benign tutelage of an idealist priest. He was well aware that eastern societies were often perceived to be priest-ridden, and he made some adjustments so as not to taint his circle of Greek Christian friends with a similar Orientalist prejudice. Marcellus emphasized to what extent Oikonomos made good use of the practical benefits of his clerical position, such as exposure and respect, to advance secular, even pagan learning. The master had trained his student and directed the interpretive interludes. His function at the guided reading was not only didactic but also hierophantic: he merged into one the roles of teacher, stage director, commentator, and spiritual leader or "father" (the words for "priest" and "father" are cognates in modern Greek). Oikonomos acted as the master of this initiation "ceremony" (not just a metaphor) of language and of interpretation, and the others deferred to him. The rituals of the priest's religion served not as much the church's, but the nation's holy mission. Marcellus hardly mentioned Byzantium or Orthodoxy but, instead, strengthened the analogy between ancient and modern. Of course, the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, that "great event of rupture," which entailed secularization

and modernity, was still to come.[73] What remained historically was the hegemonic interpretation of an essentially patriarchal theater, based on an ancient Greek "patriotic" text, used and abused to place an Orientalist lens on the present. Orientalism has also been said to suppress local voices.[74] The Turks remained near absent, but also the Greek interlocutors were suppressed as real, fully developed speakers, or as possibly recanting survivors. Oikonomos manipulated the editing, teaching, and interpreting of Aeschylus's *Persians*. Likewise, Marcellus's reading of the Oriental scene became an act of speaking for "his" Orient.

The combination of educational, ideological, and performative duties was a common load in later nineteenth-century Greek cultural life, in which guided student and amateur performances of ancient tragedies outnumbered commercial or professional revival productions. The rebirth of classical drama, whether in schools or in certain restricted public settings, was a weighty aspiration of Oikonomos: he disclosed that he had been planning to mount Sophocles' *Philoctetes* or Euripides' *Hecuba*, to build up patriotism among the students at the School of Kydonia. But, he pondered out loud (in the direct speech cited by Marcellus), neither one of those dramas, which the Ottoman authorities might actually allow, satisfied his own patriotic agenda. Oikonomos regarded those plays as too tame: they recalled mere mythical events "of little risk" of the distant Trojan War (303). The Ottoman censors, who watched the school's activities closely, would, on the other hand, never permit a full-blown production of Aeschylus's *Persians* "with all its allusions to our recent history" (303).

Oikonomos did not shy away from interjecting defamatory ethnic stereotypes about Xerxes and the enemy troops that were, in every sense, dangerous "allusions to recent history." In the Orientalist vein, he aggrandized Greek love of freedom and citizen patriotism by the sheer contrast of Greek self-discipline with Persian excess and intemperance. He contended, "Xerxes presents us with the image of the presumptuous trumped in his designs; but he weeps and does not act like a monarch. . . . everything bows to the valor of the Greeks that is being celebrated by the enthusiasm of the warrior and the patriotism of the citizen (*patriotisme du citoyen*)" (330). A touch of *Schadenfreude* or glee was not out of order even for the priest Oikonomos, especially not at the thought of the weeping Asian despot and of the celebration earned by the valiant Greeks. Thus, the master surmised about the tenet of the *Persians*: "Theater was thus at the same time a vivid pleasure and a profitable lesson" (307).

At the close of the first act, Oikonomos compared Aeschylus's play to Homer's *Iliad*. He thus bestowed an epic dimension on the impending freedom struggle as on the battle of Salamis, which he placed on a

par with the Trojan War (306–7).[75] Salamis, which the ancients had frequently employed as a tool for political and cultural self-representation, once again gained a normative symbolic meaning.[76] Also, at the dawn of modern Greek theater, Aeschylus's tragedy became part of the national epic: the patriotic drama that was Aeschylus's *Persians*—or the classicizing adaptation of the classic—proved to be the contemporary guise of epic poetry. In the national epic, or the heroic master narrative of Greek history that was revived in 1821 and that endured through the Second World War, Trojans, Persians, and modern Turks became equally fierce and "inferior" eastern enemies.[77] Again, only time separated these self-reincarnating adversaries; their perceived despotic nature and godless hubris continued to link them together. The modern Greek grammar of the national struggle was here inflicted upon Aeschylus's *Persians* through the analogy with epic and also with patriotic drama. Even lamentation succumbed to the all-absorbing idiom of the Greek national epic. Because the reading version preserved the mourning over the loss of Persian youth at the end of the original tragedy, the reading's finale became painfully metatheatrical as well: the student lamented the loss of his own young life. Not so, however, for Oikonomos, who declared, "That grief of the vanquished, inconsolable and prolonged, is another eulogy for the winners" (527).

Oikonomos interrupted his student's reading of the second act to place in relief the chorus-leader's responses to the inquiries of Queen Atossa about Athens (Aeschylus, *Persians* 230–45). Special emphasis fell on the answer to the question under whose "despotic" rule the Greeks remained: "Of no mortal man are they called the slaves or subordinates" (*Persians* 242).[78] Marcellus translated, "*Ils ne sont esclaves d'aucun homme, et n'obéissent à personne*." Oikonomos commented, "This dialogue is not only a magnificent homage to the independence of Athens but also an apt preparation for the disasters to follow" (310). The Greeks of 1820 considered themselves to be "enslaved" for being subjugated by the Ottomans, the perceived executors of a hieratic autocracy that necessarily imposed slavery. Freedom, however, meant more than for the Greeks to rid themselves of the Ottoman tyranny. It also entailed that they rid themselves of western stigma (that is, of their subject status versus the West, not just in the East). Hall perceptively notes that one can hardly overemphasize "the intimacy of the connection in the ancient mind between ethnic difference and suitability for slavery."[79] Even though she is referring to the ancient Greeks, her statement may cover also the stigma that the modern Greeks perceived for being Ottoman subjects. The conditions of the select entourage of 1820 hardly

resembled those of slavery, but the power of the rhetorical statement about slavery still resonated with this audience and with the western reader. For the Greek revolutionaries, freedom from bondage held the promise of moving into the western European circles, who had usurped the right to define who the ethnic and inferior Other was.

Oikonomos's mention of "the valor of the Greeks that is being celebrated by the enthusiasm of the warrior" likely referred to another famous passage from Aeschylus's tragedy: *Persians* 402–5, or the Greeks' paean, which they chanted while fatally attacking the Persian fleet. This battle cry was reported by the Persian messenger to the Persian court (overlooking the classical dramatic convention that all the Persian characters be played by Greek actors). Chapter 3 will revisit this "purple passage" and the Greek student's use of it, precisely because it became the object of an (East to West) exchange of (phil)hellenic fervor. For now, it must be noted, however, that those few lines mark the crucial tilt to the victory dimension of the 1820 *Persians*: this shift happens when a Greek messenger, aka the student who clearly identifies as Greek, reports on the Greek triumph at Salamis to a Greek audience. Therefore, the self-congratulatory dimension of this reading of the *Persians* forces real issues: it arises from the tone of voice, the imperative of identification, and the interpretation that draws not necessarily on additions to or omissions from the text but, beyond the actual script, on the receiving context of unanimous Greek readers.

Marcellus selectively recalled and reconstrued the comments at the reading. He called the tune: he (re)collected the language, imagery, and analogues that other philhellenes—and Orientalists—would comprehend and appreciate and that evinced the magnitude of the Greek Revolution. He celebrated the epic proportions of those Greeks who, by 1820, boasted a "tradition" of defeating the eastern foe, even if that tradition diffused part of history and transformed it into myth. Hayden White claims that nationalist movements are often plotted as epics.[80] Here, the scene of Greek heroes secretly plotting (for) the nation's epic could hardly be more apt. Ironically, this very scene was to convince westerners that elite Greeks were no (longer) Orientals.

## Into the Stage Director's Mind: Setting the Background Scene

Marcellus was the only one to publish the story of the reading of Aeschylus's *Persians*, and he brooded over it laboriously. Therefore, his narration is both gateway and gatekeeper to the truth of what happened on that evening in 1820—if anything really happened. Do we take the reality

of the event seriously? Is it a fictitious account meant to explain what happened, within a year, to the protagonists and to the nation of Greece? Marcellus characterized the scene of the reading as "intimate and almost furtive" (331). However, literary and theatrical evenings, discreetly hosted in private homes, were no exception among the Phanariots of Constantinople.[81] The questions raised by the Frenchman's story are indicative of the challenges that beset attempts at a cultural understanding of travels to the Orient—and of time warps back into the Greek past. They intimate also that travel is a metaphorical sociocultural practice. If we credit Marcellus's account of the staged reading not with authenticity or faithfulness to memory, but with its own rhetorical and discursive cohesion, then we must continue to probe into his concerted efforts to set the scene. The strong visual components of the story beg for comparison with several texts and contexts, each one of which may have helped to shape its form and content. Among the possible sources of inspiration are the Platonic dialogue, Plutarch's account of an imminent rebellion in Thebes, Barthélemy's *Anacharsis*, and the Greek secret school. Marcellus's record is one of imitation, borrowing, and assimilation, meant to pit the 1820 reading of the *Persians* as an event between Greece's past and future. He was out to confirm that, through the performance, the classical Greek "patriotic" spirit of freedom lived on in the modern Greeks, and to provide literary evidence to that effect. His objective was to experience and document, not revival, but survival. Connecting written memoir with the memory of performance, his account enacted both the traditional textual-philological approach of classicists and his own interest in oral performance. Marcellus did not question, however, the relation of personal and collective freedom to changing times or new historical conditions, or even to postrevolutionary Greece.

Marcellus chose methods to introduce the details of the reading that recall the strategic and distancing ways in which Plato opened some of his dialogues (or dialogues within dialogues, such as the *Phaedo*). Like Plato, he added vivid touches to his account that show it off as a "thick description," but that are not necessarily true. Another ancient model might have been Plutarch's *On Socrates' Divine Sign*, a Platonic-style dialogue inquiring after the spirit or sign (*daimonion*) that warned Socrates against wrongdoing. Importantly, Plutarch set this historicizing dialogue against the backdrop of a (young ambassador's) report of a rebellion in Thebes, for which he cast a furtive, aristocratic assembly in a private Athenian house as an audience. The coup that had resulted from a conspiracy forged behind the closed doors of a Theban residence liberated the city from a Spartan garrison in 379 BCE. Key ingredients of Plutarch's

suspenseful dialogue are fear of exposure, predictive dreams and signs, and divine promises of victory.[82]

Marcellus's story of the reading was construed as a trail of discovery, signposted with the markers of the ancient but also of the modern, eastern context of Greece. The perceptive "explorer" Anacharsis of Barthélemy had witnessed—or so he claimed—Alexander's conquest of Persia, which changed the fate and the face of Greece.[83] This "experience," too, may well have influenced Marcellus's eyewitness record: the reading of 1820 told of another revolution that would change the destiny of modern Greece at the expense of the modern Persians. Barthélemy's "classic" may well have forged (perhaps in the double meaning of the word) the narrative framework and discourse in which the latter-day *voyageur-philosophe* chose to cast his tale.

Marcellus's depiction of dedicated and pious learning recalls also the idealized picture of the *krypho scholeio*. The "secret school" was run as a basic night school by Greek Orthodox clerics who instructed young children in the Greek language, Orthodox religion, and other subjects forbidden to the Ottoman-occupied Greeks.[84] Correspondingly, children's textbooks have credited the clergy with preserving Greek faith and culture under the occupation, and the Greek Church has built much of its prestige on its proclaimed role of champion of the embattled Greeks in the prerevolutionary age. The secret school has served, to this day, as a synecdoche for the emerging Greek educational and patriotic movement. The 1820 gathering resembled a secret school setting in some important respects: it shared the emblematic features of instruction conducted at night and behind closed doors; the "lesson" was led by a cleric with the enlightened mission to preserve Greek culture; a good dose of myth making surrounding the session resulted in a semispiritualized experience of the fatherland. The broader Greek population related well to the myth of the secret school, which inspired a form of communal resistance activity.[85] A Frenchman cognizant of the Enlightenment ideal of harnessing drama for moral and political reform had no trouble accepting that revolutionary performance went hand in hand with "revolutionary" pedagogy. For the Greeks and for Marcellus, education based on shared nationalist knowledge and zeal, whether in performance or in publication, fostered patriotism, and it assumed secret, mystical, or transforming powers.

The secret school setting to which Marcellus was invited symbolized also the secret that was the resilient and still-spiritual Greece, which was emerging as a nation from four centuries of Turkish occupation: free Greek citizens, "innately" eager to reinvigorate learning and civilization, would surprise the Turks, who stood to lose much for prohibiting

learning and for being—in Greek eyes—"unlearned" and "uncivilised."[86] The secret school analogy confirmed unequivocal stereotypes and prejudices about the Turkish enemies, who were seen to live in faithless time and in an undifferentiated cultural domain. Thus the analogy turned the four centuries of *Tourkokratia* into an amorphous block of time, whose main characteristic was its reversing effect (by the standards of modernity, a "backwardness" that held the Greeks, too, back in time). In this dominant Greek portrayal, the Turks lived without a literary or spiritual tradition to enlighten them, or to credit them in advance with values that remained to be put into practice. Assumed Turkish suspicion and "innate" sullenness were deemed to be both the cause and the result of an Oriental behavior that ran counter to widely held didactic and ethical principles. Being opposed to Greek schooling was only one aspect of such supposed shortsighted comportment. Oriental despotism was widely believed to stunt the development of learning in general. Therefore, historical resistance to the despotic impulse to curb the progress of reason was, at the same time, the resilient affirmation of the continuous Greek commitment to culture. This thinking, too, added to the prominence of the modern Greek reception of the Persian Wars. The illicit gathering at Manos's house exemplified the will of the educated few to discover Greek patriotism in and through ancient Greek texts and to strengthen the exploration of the Persian War theme undertaken by both the Enlightenment and Romanticism.

White may illuminate Marcellus's narrative techniques as well, especially when he assesses the nature of real events that any narration may offer up as the "proper content of historical discourse": "The reality of these events does not consist in the fact that they occurred but that, first of all, they were remembered and, second, that they are capable of finding a place in a chronologically ordered sequence."[87] With meticulous exertion, Marcellus conjured up times, circumstances, participants, and comments, even direct quotations. Thus he mythified the scene of the reading in the very process of releasing information. He created an illusion of authenticity and credibility for memories that were nearly forty years old. Maria Koundoura has defined the "shift into the verisimilar" as one of the operative principles of Orientalism, which enabled it not only to tell but also to theorize its "truths" and to accept veracity as the mere "measure . . . of its representations."[88] Marcellus relied on his positionality as an eyewitness and on current representational strategies to construct and authenticate "truth," or his own realist fiction. His methods likely met with the approval of his contemporaries: western European scholars and philhellenes recognized and appreciated these modes of narration

about Greek and eastern encounters. With the dreamlike or visionary quality that Marcellus deliberately created, his writings exhibited some of the characteristics of—then—flourishing Romanticism. Readers could call this story, which the Frenchman dubbed an "Oriental scene," another sample of a Romantic-era drama, with innocent, quasi-captive Greek heroes falling victim to the evil forces of the seraglio.

It served Greek education to be "dramatic," and Marcellus lived up to the expectations of the Greeks and the philhellenes back home. Said's characterization that "consciousness is dramatic" aptly describes the context of the 1820 reading. Said continues: "learning can be arranged on a stage set, as it were, where its totality can be readily surveyed," which captures the essence of Marcellus's mise-en-scène.[89] There is, as such, a paradox between drama, the performance on the easily surveyed "stage set," and secrecy. Therefore, the secrecy adopted at the reading was a stark reminder that ancient drama itself could no longer be safely and publicly at home among the Greeks. Rather, it had been displaced and driven into the realm of clandestine activity. The restrictions of closed doors and sequestered acts represented the physical, political, and cultural isolation of the Greeks. Nonetheless, they had a galvanizing impact on the participants, whose "innate" attachment to classical antiquity manifested itself better under adverse circumstances. Also, the broader French audience reading about these Greeks, or "watching" this scene, might be impressed less by the glory of the Greek past than by the modern Greeks' loyalty to that glory. Marcellus kept up loyalties on his side, respecting the secrecy of the 1820 event for many years. His more general concern, however, was with what has been called the "spectator text," or his "eyewitness" presentation of the encounter.

## A Story to Tell, a Feat of Memory to Publish Twice

Marcellus prefaced history through his deliberate practices of interpretation and publication, which constitute additional modes of "stage setting." He inscribed an ideal of unity that accorded him, an outsider, the historical chance to become an insider and friend and to advance from a position of observation to involvement. His memoir offered a guide to its author's historical placement and ideological positioning, but also to the exemplary program attributed to Aeschylus and his descendants. Marcellus published his account for the first time in the October 1859 issue of *Le Correspondant*. He characterized this periodical as "strictly literary and political," but it delivered to its reading public, besides many topics of more general interest, a greater familiarity with Greece and the rest of the eastern Mediterranean.[90] The scope of *Le Correspondant* lent itself

to Orientalist expansion: it proffered an established channel to publish semischolarly "correspondence" or coverage of journeys or missions to far-flung lands. Therefore, the journal drew attention to itself for enacting the practice of personalized reporting from a physical distance, as the diplomat or traveler-observer would do. Marcellus took advantage of this dramatizing illusion, even though, by 1859, he was writing from his desk in France. *Le Correspondant* served him well as a theater for the drama of the Greek War of Independence and for continued, unabashed Orientalist narration.

Marcellus published his memoir of 1820 within two years of Oikonomos's death, but nearly forty years after the event had occurred. In 1859, the time for publication was ripe also because of the surging interest in the Orient after the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London, when fanciful Oriental displays became all the rage. Along with a new ethnographic interest, older Romantic vocabulary and attention to rich exoticism and eastern sensuality continued to define the Orientalist discourse. Marcellus had many chances to renegotiate and also to commodify his intimate memories during the decades of keeping them in abeyance. He could remember memories within himself and allow his impressions to become malleable, distorted, or time warped. However, he insisted on the clarity of his recollection despite the vagaries of time—which should place the reader on the alert. Marcellus left Oikonomos with the opportunity to write about the meeting or to encourage his son to record it, in any form percolated through their own memory. Both failed to do so. Oikonomos's son produced a twice-removed summary description, which he derived from Marcellus's memoir.[91] This deprives the reader of an independent report with which to contest or corroborate the Frenchman's story.

Marcellus cared enough about the event and his own legacy to publish his memoir twice, first as a journal article, then as a chapter in his travel book titled *Les Grecs anciens et les Grecs modernes* (The Ancient Greeks and the Modern Greeks). The second publication, identical to the first, followed after an interval of only two years (1861); it reveals to what extent the author was fascinated with his own incandescent dramatization of the 1820 encounter. If publishing his narrative had been merely about reconstructing his extraordinary experience from memory, a second publication would not have been necessary. Marcellus, however, subscribed to the idea that theater had schooled the ancients and would school the moderns as well. The next best thing to the actor or interpreter delivering the lines of the master teacher Aeschylus was, in the Frenchman's view, his double record of it. His was not an act of disinterested authorship. His decision to republish meant that, for him, the drama was well worth

putting on again. With the second publication, Marcellus authorized and reauthorized his take of the "Oriental scene" that he had witnessed. By 1861, the Frenchman seemed more interested in encoding and memorializing not just the lived experience, but also his interpretation of the experience. After taking forty years to shape his memory, he wanted to make this memory immutable. But the seamless composition of his stacked records did not entirely conceal the history of their making, nor did it hide the author's satisfaction with the end products. Finally, Marcellus's relation to his cast of characters was hardly as simple as he presented or remembered it, as we know well from his story about the purchase of the Venus.

For Marcellus, the actors in the "epic of 1821" had earned a glory akin to that of the fighters of the Persian Wars. He owed them proper commemoration in writing and published the memoir of a personal experience that he had willed to—protracted—oblivion. The author presented himself as key to the undying memory of those he praised, thereby aggrandizing his own power to immortalize. He had done the same to preserve the best possible memory of Chateaubriand, with a major publication in the year 1859.[92] Marcellus's story was a dramatic restaging of the 1820 event and its historicity, but his purposeful remembering also had components of questionable factual reliability. His narrative pretended to be composed in the process, as a mnemonic experience, and to capture the fleeting moment of actual, embodied performance. His historicizing memory process entailed also some mindful forgetting, especially on the subject of Nikolaos Mourouzes. Nikolaos's premature death, however, did much to preserve his memory as a martyr untainted. The fabulous five participants in the 1820 encounter prefigured the community that they wished to create, and any negativity was banned from the observer's active memory.[93]

Marcellus's shift from Greek to French was practical, but it also indicated that the interpretation was now his to steer. Aware of the liabilities inherent in memory and of the dangers of forgetting, the Frenchman ensured that his Greek friends' sacrifice would not be obliterated and was not in vain, even though they had died without the sure knowledge that the Greek nation would go on to exist. He presented their sacrifice as all the more noble precisely because they had died without this knowledge. Their death had delivered ultimate proof that each one of the circle had been more than a passive recipient of Aeschylus's play and its message. The participants' abject fate, however, was not the direct result of information about the meeting that had been leaked. Rather, they were among the high-profile victims whom the Ottomans executed at the onset of the

Greek War of Independence, in reprisal for them not keeping the status quo. Marcellus, however, deliberately erased the distinction between the two levels of commitment, and he created a near-causal relationship between participation in that remarkable reading and a martyr-style death at the enemy's hands. By conjuring up a highly meaningful death for noble ideals, Marcellus demonstrated how his Greek friends lived up to the ethos that the reading of Aeschylus had inspired. They joined the ranks of an expanding circle of sublimated martyrs to Greek freedom. The theme of martyrdom permeated early forms of modern Greek drama of the revolutionary age. The martyr was also etymologically a "witness"—here to the parallel creation of a new order and a new theater. But Chapter 3 will return to this observation.

Marcellus had seen the strategies for devising a cult and theater of martyrdom at work in postrevolutionary France. He knew well that actors on the conventional stage do not normally suffer the consequences of the deeds that they portray and that the public is reassured in this awareness. But his actors of 1820 did suffer the consequences of dramatic illusion that foreshadowed reality. The modern and accepted notion of actor-audience complicity had to be taken painfully literally. The participants ran real risks; total cooperation and absolute discretion were prerequisites to the meeting. Marcellus's readers could not but empathize with the Greeks and become accomplices in the "conspiracy." Later readers, too, were drawn into the performance of readership and spectatorship, to witness the witnesses, and to bear testimony to the event. Marcellus affected contemporary and subsequent readers and directed their factual and emotional memory, in the hope of finding them equally convinced and convincing. The need for (the recording of) testimony, memory, and recognition permeated his thinking about theater and nationalism. Also, he did not want the forces of denial, trivialization, or wrongful appropriation to detract from the 1820 reading. In the Greek language, the word for a "reading" or "*anagnose*" (*anagnosis*) makes literal the process of "recognizing" and therefore remembering what the letters stand for. Recognizing and remembering make up reading and commemorating.

Marcellus transformed the reading into an emblematic prelude to the war of 1821, and he handed down the decanted memory of a heroic Greek national character. His memoir never alluded to or defined antipatriotic thinking or activity. His friends won immortality in the philhellene annals. For Marcellus, they sought and found in a sacrificial death the right balance between Greek reputation and reality, theory and action, and patriotic emotion and disciplined reason. They laid out how they remembered time-hallowed Greek tradition and how they liked to

be remembered as pillars of that tradition. Even if their own actions were doomed to fail, they remained true to the memory of past glories and prerogatives, and they raised expectations for the future. Their death in the present was not a reversal of fortune for the Greeks. Rather, it was a transitory phase but also a restorative act: the Greek Revolution restored the successes of old to the new nation and future generations, and it sublimated the death of these and other martyrs. In philhellene and later Greek depictions, the 1821 reconquest became a worthy pendant to the heroic feats of antiquity, because the Greeks had once again humbled a rich and powerful eastern enemy (see Figure 2.1).

Marcellus's memoir performed history and commemoration, and it committed personal to collective memory. History and performance served memorial uses; collective memory assumed a performative role. Marcellus stressed that his friends had met a unifying fate in a noble death for Greece, as they had been in perfect agreement on the reading's meaning and message. They anticipated what meanings the lecture would evince and what kind of uniform action it would inspire. In the terms and categories of Stanley Fish, this closely knit circle was an example of an ideal "interpretive community" because it shared strategies to read, receive, and perform for real the ancient text of Aeschylus.[94] The model

Figure 2.1. An ancient Greek warrior predicts naval victory to his modern counterpart. Lithograph by Salucci.

community functioned also as a mnemonic community: it partook in "dreaming the nation" and in imagining its promised, free land of the future.[95] Marcellus anticipated by a few decades the thinking of Ernest Renan (1823–92) on the cohesive role that shared memories of important sacrifices and experiences of battles play in the process of nation-building. Aeschylus's play and the Persian Wars became timeless and irresistible metaphors for Greek victories. Literary memory became prophecy, and prophecy became history, as Marcellus confirmed in his own words: "*cette prophétie à longue portée*" (this long-range prophecy) (317) or his use of the keyword "*présagé*" (foretold) (302, quoted p. 71 in this volume). Aeschylus incarnated the Romantic notion of the poet's prophetic voice. His tragedy acted as an anchor of Greek ideological certainty that obliterated lack of confidence. It was a revelation of an idealized model of Greekness, or a more highbrow prophecy for emerging Greece. The tragedy as prophecy was a literary and "dramatic," proto-Christian equivalent to the many religiously inspired predictions of Greek regeneration that pervaded popular culture.[96] Margaret Alexiou noted rightly that such "popular mythology" helped to forge Greek national consciousness and, occasionally, foreign policy.[97] To see the literary and the popular, as well as the political and the quasi-religious, so intertwined invites a permeable and reflexive understanding of Greek nationalism and patriotism. Also, it prompts a better definition of "memory as prophecy" (with which this chapter opened), given how this memory of the prophecies of the past stresses the—paradoxical—open-endedness of past history, affecting the present and the future with its prophetic qualities.

## Reassessment at Sixty/1860s

Marcellus published his writings belatedly and repeatedly, and he posed as the master builder of a philhellenic memory. These practices raise a few further questions. To what extent was the diplomat-classicist implicated in the retrospective justification of French involvement in the Orient when it still included Greece? Was he still motivated by the French "rational" perception of Greece's position in the 1860s, which brought renewed urgency to the West-East divide? From 1854 to 1857, the British and the French, as allies to the Ottomans, occupied the harbor of Piraeus to enforce Greece's neutrality during the Crimean War, a war waged between the Russian and the Ottoman Empires. Through the 1860s, Greece saw this paralyzing blockade as an act of interference in its internal affairs, and Greek indignation and resentment against the "Protecting Powers" had flared up. Was Marcellus using his story as a seductive cover for shrewd political speculation? Was he trying to

influence French policies and to solicit support on behalf of the Greeks? By the 1860s, it was easy for Marcellus, the former reluctant revolutionary, to place himself in the genealogy of philhellenism. The Frenchman's story had already been validated by multiple Greek victories. Would he still have written his account if the Greek War of Independence had been lost? The mindset that confounded Greece's autonomy from the Ottomans with its colonial-style dependency on the West was at work before Marcellus's eyes and influenced his writings. At least the argument that tyranny of the eastern type had no place in the land that once housed the cradle of democracy was, by the 1860s, generic enough for broad external consumption.

Marcellus, too, had occasionally given up hope on the Greek Revolution. In a letter dated July 20, 1823, and addressed to Chateaubriand, he called the Greek revolt "*éteinte*," or "extinguished." He connected the Greek rebellion with the ones in Italy, Portugal, and Spain, all of which had, in his view, "waned" in the span of the two previous years (1822–23).[98] The calamitous tidings, however, that kept arriving from the Greek fronts were muted by burgeoning Romanticism and nostalgia. In contrast, Marcellus boldly called himself a "*prophète politique*," a "political prophet," on the subject of Greece's liberation, in the programmatic preface to his 1851 collection of modern Greek folk songs.[99] At first sight, the belatedly published records of the reading imply that the successful outcome of the Greek Revolution brought late justice to the Greeks killed, and that the Ottomans got their due punishment in the loss of Greece and other territories.

Marcellus's accounts reveal that a psychologizing process was at work along with the historical progression, which resulted in striking changes in the political register. The author exorcised his disbelief of the mid-1820s with subsequent publications that rehabilitated the Greek revolt and Greek unity, in particular. His Greek friends became the historical warrants of the nation's strong will and revolutionary ethos. The group's performance of unifying patriotism through classical drama compensated for the lack of a detailed revolutionary agenda and of a blueprint for a free society, once liberation had been achieved. Marcellus's retrospective on the reading staged a new audition for Aeschylus's play, for continued philhellenism, and for an interest in Greece beyond the nominal liberation date. Elements of idolization and special pleading for the Greek case manifested themselves. The "humane" and civilized West was asked to continue to support civilized Greece after bringing it back to the fold. But modern Greece was not classical civilization reincarnate. The ideal of political freedom was discredited by the reality of the numerous problems that beset the liberated Greek state. In the 1860s, the country was ruled

by an unsteady western monarchy and was afflicted by internal discord and foreign interference. French interest in Greece may have been waning when Marcellus brought some of his own—dynastic—patriotism to the Greek predicament. Even as the Frenchman conformed with the doxology of de facto victorious and "reborn" Greece, he enlisted history and patriotism in the cause of trying to make a people into what it once was—if only forty years earlier.

Marcellus's writings may have prompted a kind of self-reflexive reassessment as well. Relating to Greece's fragile liberty and nascent modernity must have helped the Frenchman and his readers to come to grips also with the decaying of order in France itself, the creation of the first and second Napoleonic Empire, and the failure of overreaching military campaigns. Marcellus saw the Greek Revolution as a more pristine and "purer" model that was also spiritually richer than the deteriorating French Revolution and Second Republic. Thus the glorified Greek revolt placed the spotlight on the failure of the French Revolution. Marcellus inscribed Greece with a different vision of revolution. He appropriated the new nation to appease his frustrated hopes about French political developments. He looked back at the radical break that was the French Revolution through 1820, and he faced the challenge of trying to reestablish some sort of continuity, which he discovered in Greek rather than in French history and actuality. Thus Marcellus took the position not so much of a historian, but of a teacher of memory, who was also teaching to imitate and emulate.[100] However, this admirer of Greek liberty and its patina of reverenced antiquity still embodied monarchy manqué.[101] Colluding in the rhetoric of French royalism, he welcomed the atavistic pull of Aeschylus's tragedy as a stay against the speed with which French revolutionary pathos was degenerating into autocratic rule. The ancient play functioned as a vehicle for rendering the Greek culture of revolt—a revolt via culture, too—commensurate and therefore acceptable to the modern French public. When Marcellus finally published his account, it was time to "unearth" the best of the Greeks, much like the Venus needed to be unearthed for France, "from beneath the surface of Turkish corruption."[102]

Marcellus's narrative, however, set modern Greece of the 1860s at a slight distance. His story placed Aeschylus's *Persians* above the hard work of creating the new state. This discourse let him and his fellow classicists and philhellenes position themselves above the political fray, even as they helped to fashion imperialist expectations about Greece and its neighbors. This abstract philhellenism of the nineteenth century established a genealogy that overlapped with the genealogy of the field of Classics, which

was imbued with Orientalism; it thrived on the structures procured by both. This philhellenism was, indeed, a vicarious classicism, and was quite unwilling to translate Greece's alterity into anything other than either classical or Oriental notions. Thus the Frenchman delivered a far from practical answer to Chateaubriand's question of whether the Greeks were capable of establishing modern political and social institutions, and whether they were ready to become members of a club of rational and secularized nation-states. Classicist and philhellenes who concluded that the ancient legacy sufficed to generate Greece's advanced political and social status, or the very cornerstone of a liberated, western government, were in effect confirming their field's (genealogical) complicity in the ongoing imperialist and colonial project. The questions—and answers—themselves were highly Orientalist in nature. Marcellus responded as a classicist and on behalf of the history of Classics. He was, however, especially aware of the geopolitical stakes.

## Conclusion

Marcellus presented a nationalism that emerged in a high-placed and interconnected group, which incorporated family circles (such as the Mourouzes family). Language and theater functioned as vehicles of group identification among the Greek grandees of his story. The diplomat offered his readers confirmation of the western norms by focusing on the classical legacy from which they saw the educated Greeks, too, deduce their ethos. The Greek elite wisely singled out the genre of grand tragedy as the chosen medium to relate to the West and to its own position. Some of its leading members transformed Aeschylus's *Persians* into a literal and metaphorical scenario on the path to full nationhood. Fated national emancipation defined, through the classics, the Greeks' modern ontological existence; Greek liberty posited its inevitability in the present. This elite was thus internalizing (phil)hellenism and performing (phil)hellenism upon itself.[103] Or, as Michael Herzfeld phrases it, "The 'liberation' of Greece from the Turkish 'yoke' was effected in such a way as to leave the newly constituted country heavily dependent on its ability to present as indigenous an ancient culture that most of its inhabitants experienced as foreign and preternaturally strange, while an entrenched and Western-oriented elite continued the work of cultural refashioning from within as the best means of maintaining its own, foreign-supported authority."[104]

As a privileged guest at the 1820 reading, Marcellus had entered into a set of unspoken obligations. He was reminded—and encouraged to remind others—that the West owed Greece a tremendous debt, precisely because classical Greek culture had so profoundly shaped western

civilization. Marcellus repaid his debt of guest-friendship and fulfilled his debt to remember: he turned the literary reminder or monument that was Aeschylean tragedy into a living memorial. The heroic circumstances of his friends' death bestowed on them the quality of venerable remnants of the ancient past. Like ruins, texts and the characters that inhabited them spoke to those who interrogated them and, from a Romanticist point of view, delivered their potential as yet unfulfilled. Marcellus made his—presumed—philhellene reader see with the patriotic gaze with which the listeners had admired the student of Kydonia. His testimony was an eyewitness account, an act of bearing witness, and also a call for more witnesses. His publications bridged the gap between prerevolutionary and postrevolutionary generations and between insiders and outsiders, or Greeks and philhellenes. Marcellus co-opted his Greek contacts into his own western gaze but, through authoritative publication, he also caused the western, Orientalizing gaze to impact on newly emerging Greece. Orientalism was mastered not only by the French but also by the Greeks, which added complexity and multiplicity to the eastern Mediterranean environment. The author's royalist sympathies did not prejudice him against a reading of Aeschylus's *Persians*, the ancient play that Shelley and his circle and also exponents of the French Revolution had redefined as rebellious and oppositional.[105] His Greek friends, however, were the more enthusiastic children or students of the French Revolution, which had adopted theater as its art of choice and had made of nationalism the peg on which to hang individual patriotism. Marcellus cast the company of like-minded Greek witnesses as a small community of harbingers of the progress designated by the Enlightenment and Neohellenism: they acted and rebelled amid the perceived stasis of the Orient. The Frenchman and the select circle cultivated liberty and liberation through the corrective of the performance in ancient Greek. No confrontational dialogue or debate on the interpretation of Aeschylus's *Persians* occurred. The cleric-teacher Oikonomos did not have to contend with any opposition from the hand-picked audience, but dangerous Ottoman foes were waiting backstage.

The mise-en-scène of the 1820 reading foretold how the growing nationalist culture would parade its own politics of spectacle throughout the history of Greek theater qua patriotic performance. Moreover, the views of women, ordinary Greeks, or other, more popular freedom fighters (such as the klephts, loosely organized as irregular troops) were absent. Marcellus's memoirs therefore raise some puzzling questions. Did he know about any antipatriotic Greek activity or treason and chose to remain silent? Can classical plays that resort to conventional forms hope to foster "grassroots" revolutionary thinking? Could the Greek

upper-class ideologues with their western education and cosmopolitan contacts become genuine rebels? Could these grandees, who were enjoying power and prosperity at the mercy of the Ottomans, join a popular insurrection of sweat and blood? According to Marcellus, the group's initiative may have *seemed* like a confined effort of elite males showing off their patriotic fervor and taking for granted that the same zeal would drive the rest of the Greek population, but its members were closely involved with history raging outside. The reading bespoke classicism but managed to disguise its rather presumptuous character and to present itself as universally Greek: nonetheless, a small entourage was still making—Orientalist—assumptions for all Greek social ranks and classes and was discounting the vast differences that existed among them. With the knowledge of hindsight, Marcellus mythicized and broadened the Greek nationalism that he saw at work, as if, already in the spring of 1820, he had witnessed a widespread and unified insurgency. He articulated some of the dynamics between the student-reader and the spectators, but he did not pay enough attention to the interchange (or lack thereof) between the homogeneous milieu of cognoscenti and the—absent—audience, which was the very real, diverse public of Greece.

Marcellus's philhellenic reveries and his Platonic-style framing of the event set the reading apart as a potent metaphor for the recovery of ancient tragedy and classical history and for the discovery of modern Greek revolutionary theater. Dramatic imagery and mystique had to compensate for the physical vulnerability of the Frenchman's narrative. Therefore, the author complicated the story with different levels of transmission that also covered different levels of performance "reality," a process that further destabilized his narratorial position. Aeschylus's *Persians* was chosen by a reemerging culture to perform itself and to project strength. The tragedy was the Greeks' performative benchmark of literary and cultural elevation as well as of the military advance. The participants in the reading viewed their own act as performative, and so did Marcellus. He set the scene of the reading, of his own writing, and even of the delay stalling his writing. The Frenchman's autobiographical record of the 1820 reading may well be the consummate performance act: he staged the Orientalist gaze of both the Greek spectators and the external witness—through his own act of looking in on the historical moment and remembering later. He also reperformed his past relationships with the key players in a more serene setting, which altered or erased the residue of relations that quickly soured after May of 1820. His commemoration of the reading, which was an act of staging national history in the making, was itself an act of reperforming personal histories. The event itself, its players, and the narrator's

memoir could only acquire historicity after Oikonomos's death, through a double return to history and memory. The twice-published memoir reflects, not just a geographical journey, but also an internal voyage, or the author's travels back into the layers of his own selective memory. Marcellus restaged the ephemeral moment of the reading and granted it the status of an embodied and lasting performance. He also staged himself before an audience of readers that was better informed about the ancient than about the modern Greeks: he could convince the French public of the depth of his philhellenism, as long as this sentiment showed strong on paper, scored high on philological interest, and was seasoned with the flavor of the day, Orientalism.

Marcellus's personal experience of history and performance had matured into an openness to the performance of history and memory making, which he shared in his late-in-life publications. What he saw in the 1820 reading of the *Persians* was the theater of Greek history, the theater that was Greek history. In his self-presentation as the enlightened French male, he dutifully assumed both the act of commemoration and the task of celebrating those (per)formative traits that he deemed characteristic of the Greek nation and its ancestral inhabitants. Thus he encouraged his readers to become performers in the enterprise of honoring the Greek revolutionaries and of comprehending Hellenism. Marcellus's records made Aeschylus's *Persians* available for a western public as the object of a nostalgic memory that was semireligious, unrealistically democratic, and patriotic in the philhellenic description. The Frenchman posited the transforming quality of freedom and grounded it in the Greek self-governance of the classical age. As narrator of history in the making and as history maker, he defined a patriotism of political liberty, which he portrayed in tandem with cultural and civic virtue—a love of country that was also a love of language, ethnicity, and the ultimate freedom fight.

Marcellus idealized the inspiring Greek subjects who were his professed friends, and he painted a nascent Greece that conceived of—and taught—its present as the living image of its past. The Persian Wars may have fashioned classical Greek conceptions of selfhood and Otherness; the earliest modern Greek receptions of these wars and their reflections in literature missed important opportunities to achieve collective self-knowledge. Because many regions of an envisaged greater Greece remained "unredeemed," Aeschylus's *Persians* could continue to serve purposes of spiritual and real-life mobilization.[106] Aeschylus's drama, formerly an underground vehicle, then appeared in the open as a celebration of nationalist patriotism. For several decades, many would not have contested the Orientalist summary statement made by Sophokles

Oikonomos, son of Konstantinos Oikonomos: "All of Xerxes' humiliations amount to more praise of the glory of [his] opponents, and of the Athenians in particular, who thought they had well deserved to hear their enemies' weaknesses amplified."[107]

The connection with Alfieri's *Persians* reminds us that Aeschylus's tragedy has been seminal to geographically different cultures of Enlightenment-inspired historical and didactic theater, which performed the divide between West and East but have not yet been explored in any close or coherent framework. Marcellus placed the story of the 1820 reading, a record of "privileged" knowledge that he fashioned on the canvas of the Italian adaptation, in the light of the traditional intellectual gravity point that was western Europe. His was, however, a West looking in on the East, not to discover there the original text, but the exotic flavor of "authentic" use of the text. The West had long been gathering ancient texts but, more recently, it had started to collect experiential illustrations of the venerated texts, such as statues and travel experiences. Marcellus adopted the literary and ideological practice of Chateaubriand and especially of classicists to conceptualize modern Greece by way of a pattern of ancient sources and analogies. A collection of such analogies could readily become the structuring principle of a classicizing report or a travel chronicle, or the methodological key to the more Romanticist variant of the Orientalist knowledge project undertaken in Greece. To his credit, however, Marcellus homed in on current events and foregrounded the parallels between the Persian Wars and the Greek War of Independence over the more "obvious" ones between classical Greece and France. He helped to advance a normative and highly selective vision of the classical past to serve as a model for the present. Writings about the Persian Wars were evidently afflicted by varying degrees of self-conscious retrospection. Nonetheless, nineteenth-century intellectuals thought that political problems could legitimately be resolved through an infusion of ancient inspiration and sound morality, or by falling back upon the glory days of classical Greece.

We learn much about the position of modern Greece from Marcellus's title of 1861, "Oriental Scene," which bespeaks the objectifying perspective of Orientalism, forty years after the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence: the author did not fully differentiate modern Greece of the 1820s from the rest of the Orient. Despite the elaborate analogy based on Aeschylus's *Persians*, modern Greece was still pronounced different also from ancient Greece. The classical age, in particular, was given the "honor" of *not* belonging to the Orient; that is, it alone firmly belonged to the West. In this fluid geography, western Enlightenment deployed the

Persian Wars as a—temporal—demarcation line. The West that leaned on ancient Greece for its own self-worth could not possibly admit that its roots were partly Oriental and therefore "inferior," according to the classifications of its own making. Marcellus's western reading public commonly incorporated modern Greece into the mysterious and exotic Orient of the nineteenth century, and mapped it culturally as it mapped Asia Minor or the Levant. The Muslim Ottomans of Constantinople were seen to constitute the Oriental Other of France. The educated and Christian Greeks, however, who inhabited the same city but who were reclaiming their classical patrimony, were the first candidates to gain western acceptance—as soon as their Revolution would reify the landmark Persian Wars. Such distinctions confirm and nuance what Said has posited: Orientalism has more to do with attitudes of the Occident than of the actual Orient.

Marcellus's one-man alliance with the Greek coteries of 1820 makes an excellent vantage point from which to examine the mid-nineteenth-century French construction of nation and empire. Not Oikonomos, but a patronizing Marcellus conducted the scenario at all times. He dramatized the Greeks' performance of patriotism and inquired into their commitment to western-style liberty. He thereby Orientalized—that is, he passed western judgment on—the Greek society as potentially "belated" or "behind" on its course to modernity. The diplomat liberally attributed strength and potential to Greece's internal resources, both to its grand literature and to its elite, be they the studied, recorded, redacted, and therefore marginalized subjects of the French ethnocentric enterprise. The West of the Enlightenment thought of the ancient Greeks as animated by freedom. In contrast, the modern Greeks were the restless, perhaps even rash freedom seekers who, in the Frenchman's opinion, needed ample guidance and practical aid to place their new nation on solid foundations. For all its symbolic, teleological baggage, Aeschylus's *Persians* was Greece's winning ticket in a hazardous gamble that promised to make the Greek future as much of a success story as the Greek past had been. But, as our previous chapter has shown, no material trophies were to be left in case the modern Greeks wanted to celebrate their good fortune.

Chapter 3

# Remaking Persian War Heroes

### "Actors of the achievements of others, as in the theater" (Plutarch, *Moralia* 345e)

> One wanted Greeks, one wanted Miltiades, Leonidas, . . . and their entire brigade; one wanted them to be alive, and there was no way that Europe would pass up on that. It was therefore agreed that one had to find Greeks, save Greeks, free Greeks, because the Greeks were the most tenderly heroic and the most elegantly patriotic people that one could dream up. But did Greeks exist? Certainly.
>
> —René Canat, *L'Hellénisme des Romantiques: La Grèce retrouvée*

Thus René Canat writing with a flourish, as he explains how the nineteenth-century philhellenic fervor drove the artificial creation of a new classical Greece, a Greece that would uphold its Persian War triumphs, battle sites, and heroes. If Barthélemy had reinvented (the topography of) ancient Greece, Marcellus was willing and eager to help populate it. In his story of the reading of Aeschylus's *Persians*, the diplomat unveiled some of those Greeks, "tenderly heroic" and "elegantly patriotic," who, in the distant past, had defeated the Persian invader and now prepared to fight his perceived reincarnation, the Turkish host.

This third chapter, then, explores the pervasiveness of the theme and *topoi* of the Persian Wars in the philhellenic literary and travel record, in Greek prerevolutionary theater, and in the Greeks' exchanges with those genres. I argue that philhellenism, travel writing, and contemporary Greek theater practice made the Greek versus Ottoman conflict center on the Persian Wars; thus they exacerbated the West versus East divide in ways that have not yet been fully explored. A brief analysis of the highlights of those genres corroborates the argument that the confrontation of Greece, on behalf of the West, with the East became the measure of contemporary

history. Also, the field of Classics proved to be a contributing vein to each one of those formative genres. Marcellus's writings accommodated all of these modes, which found their affiliation with the Classics in their published form. Also, they fostered a theatrical conception of modern Greek history that only thinly disguised the Orientalist mantle of philhellenism. His stories will, therefore, still serve as a way to select and focus the otherwise vast mass of philhellenic writing, in particular.

The organization of knowledge about the ancients, and especially the forceful promotion of the classical age, led to the creation of the various demarcated sites and national infrastructures intended to advance this knowledge (museums, text editions, historical novels, schools, etc.). One of the overlooked domains in which such knowledge was disseminated—and dramatized—was prerevolutionary Greek theater. If the understanding of definitions of liberty, of the nation, and of ownership of the past differed across the West/East divide, so too did the understanding of how to spread knowledge about the classical period and about the Persian Wars, in particular. Works of art were considered to be indivisible and were held to high standards of authenticity, but works for the modern Greek stage freely collected original and borrowed scenarios alike that justified anti-Persian and therefore anti-Ottoman hostility. This animosity, which built on the western Enlightenment's rediscovery of the Persian War theme, proved to be a recipe for success: it fashioned the Greek reading of Aeschylus's *Persians* and several other, more accessible theatrical reenactments and adaptations that most often featured Themistocles, Xerxes, and Salamis. In the second half of this chapter, I will devote special attention to this larger area of prerevolutionary Greek dramaturgy, its principles, and its tremendous power, which are largely unknown in English-language scholarship. Examining the cultural production of Greek theater of the prerevolutionary years proves a worthwhile endeavor: this area captures early nineteenth-century cultural history and, through Greece's "theater of war," opens new windows on the West-East conflict. By situating some of the Greek performances of the 1810s and the 1820s in their historical—and geographical—context, we will be able to better comprehend the heady nationalist work that the (re)implanted theater culture performed. Marcellus witnessed how theater and politics combined to preserve and fashion the collective memory of Greek wars and their agents. For the Greeks and for their western observers and sympathizers, the victories of the Greek War of Independence soon proved the scenario of the Persian Wars true all over again. With considerable endorsement from abroad, Marathon, Thermopylae, and Salamis helped to shape the military as well as the literary and theatrical history of the new nation.

## *Topoi* of Philhellenism: Aeschylus's *Persians* and the Battle Sites of the Persian Wars

I hear! I hear!
The crash as of an empire falling.
—Percy Bysshe Shelley, *Hellas*

When the Greeks were preparing their struggle for independence, they inspired western philhellenes, such as Byron (1788–1824) and Shelley (1792–1822), to purposefully apply Greek patriotism to their readings of Persian War episodes and of Aeschylus's tragedy, in particular. Much can be said about philhellenism, but our interest lies in its belaboring of the discourse on the Persian Wars, which a few of the most famous examples, such as Shelley's lines above, may illustrate. A valid set of further questions to ponder here may be: how did philhellenic (travel) literature and philhellenic or patriotic drama function as sites for vicarious experience? How could patriotic performance stand as a mode for liberation and as a means to harden political positions?

"We must do something more than read the *Persae*, we must act it"! With these words, Disraeli left a hefty agenda for Hellenism and philhellenism that drew on Aeschylus's *Persians*.[1] Around 1820, the radical Shelley and other avowed philhellenes read the tragedy as a paraenetic model for the Greeks' or the West's liberation struggle against the Ottomans. According to Hall, Shelley's lyrical drama *Hellas* thus sealed the fate of the classical play as a seminal text in the ideological war that the West has been waging against Islam: "Islam becomes the open enemy of western *liberty*."[2] She continues: "The notion that the greatest threat to cosmic Liberty is the Islamic faith, a notion which is still causing such problems today, was grafted onto the founding myth of western democracy by [Shelley's] *Hellas*."[3] Embodying Romantic Hellenism, Shelley embraced the originary, near-transcendental concept of Greek freedom, which, for him, had inspired the world and should be returning to its land of origin. He deployed Aeschylus's tragedy as a proving ground for the triumph of Romanticist liberalism. Shelley replaced the Persian queen Atossa with the Ottoman sultan Mahmud II, in whose palace the action of *Hellas* is set. Constantinople, the sultan's seat, is therefore the scene of political strife; it is sliding down on a course of decline (see epigraph above). This certain demise should encourage the British to withdraw their political support from the Ottomans and to extend it more liberally to the Greeks. Thus Shelley imparted his views on British foreign policy—an imperial policy—and on western political morality. He also envisioned that the Greeks of the 1820s could still recapture Constantinople. He generously

granted the contemporary Greeks the coveted pedigree from the illustrious victors over the Persians.[4] But while Shelley was rounding off his *Hellas* and its important preface (first edition 1821) in Italy, far removed from the actual Greek sites, Marcellus had the special opportunity to attend a prerevolutionary Greek reading of Aeschylus's *Persians*.

Most likely, Marcellus's experience did not influence Shelley's work, because of its late publication date of 1859. Before that date, the French author appears to have respected the strict conditions of secrecy under which the 1820 reading took place.[5] The reverse, however, may have been true: Shelley may have had some influence on Marcellus, despite the distinct differences in genre and motivation. The relationship of event to text and to interpretation varied significantly between the British republican and the French royalist. Although Marcellus was associated with the conservatism of the Restoration, he did share, however, Shelley's esteem for the ancient Greeks as those few who had practiced genuine freedom under the rule of law.[6] For belonging to the canon of British literary Hellenism, Shelley inspired a whole Victorian tradition of "patriotic Salamis texts," in which prominent literary figures debated and further co-opted Aeschylus's *Persians*.[7] A firm believer in the "great drama of the revival of liberty," Shelley staged the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence on the model of Aeschylus's *Persians*.[8] Marcellus, on the other hand, staged Aeschylus's *Persians* against the backdrop of the war, and his theater merged with the anticipated military domain. War is intimated and expected in the French narration but barely seen. Both Shelley and Marcellus presented the revolution's outcome as still hanging in the balance but, for both, liberty had already been unleashed and had become the driving and invincible force. Because of the much later publication date of the Frenchman's story, however, the end of the struggle had long been in (hind)sight. For both also, philhellenism was not simply a matter of literary technique or of narrative framing, but of truly dramatic action. Shelley still resorted to characters that were foreign, because Aeschylus's Persians had morphed into the Ottomans. Marcellus's story, however, was populated by noble Greeks. This shift bestowed confidence in the grand analogy or self-fulfilling prophecy that the ancient Greek struggle for liberty could repeat itself in the modern Greek struggle for liberation.[9] However, while Shelley has earned plentiful attention and has even been given credit for starting off western Hellenomania, the narration of Marcellus has excited little interest thus far. Yet Shelley's engagement with Greece remained far more abstract (he never visited), while that of the French diplomat was based on firsthand experience.

Byron was the most widely celebrated among the many philhellenes who sang the praises of the Persian War leaders and equated the modern Turks with the ancient Persian aggressors. His poem, "The Isles of Greece," rallied perhaps even more support for the Greek cause than Shelley's *Hellas*.[10] This poem, dubbed the "hymn to Greece," is actually a song from Byron's *Don Juan* (begun in 1818), in which a Greek bard laments the hapless condition of his country. He does so with some irony, the ambiguity of which has often been overlooked (as has the staged context of a drinking song). The Greek refers to Marathon and "sea-born Salamis" and ruminates:

> The mountains look on Marathon—
> And Marathon looks on the sea;
> And musing there an hour alone,
> I dream'd that Greece might still be free;
> For standing on the Persian's grave,
> I could not deem myself a slave.[11]

Marcellus wrote in an age that liberally used Byron's poems, his adventurous Oriental romances, and the Byron myth altogether, which turned the poet into a theatrical as well as a literary phenomenon and transformed him into "the first celebrity writer."[12] Byron's celebrity meant that, for the larger western public, the Greek War of Independence came with theatricality, exotic spectacle, and Romanticist exhilaration. Especially after Byron's death "for the Greek cause," sympathy for the Greeks and a sense of duty and debt for the common bonds of antiquity and Christianity flared up in the West. The conquests of the embattled modern Greeks and their western champions and "leaders" simply had to take on the qualities of the most important and the most exciting rerun of the decisive battles of the Persian Wars.

If there was one historical sequence that the modern Greeks had to regenerate, it had to be the glory of the Persian Wars. The dates (490 through 479 BCE), however, mattered less than the actual sites of the battles: Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Plataea (with Salamis, the triumph at sea, being the hardest one to confine to a particular "place").[13] The names of those "sacred" *topoi* or battle sites of the Persian Wars resonated through early literary philhellenism, backed by close readings of Herodotus's vignettes of Greek heroism. They became part of the obligatory itinerary or of the landscape of the traveler (not as much of the landscape of modern Greece), as they conjured up glories of the past previously read about.[14] As *topoi*, in the double meaning of the word, these names situated or anchored memories, but they also resounded in the

unmitigated rhetoric of modern Greek patriotism and nationalism. References in homage of the leading classical heroes, too, became more common. Their names permeated also the more popular strata and unlocked a more dynamic, performative relationship with the historical, literary, and mythical past.

Many of Marcellus's predecessors saw Thermopylae as the most important shrine to western liberty. Together with its Spartan champion of freedom, the *topos* transformed the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century into the "Age of Leonidas"—in a phrase coined by Ian Macgregor Morris.[15] Even though Thermopylae meant defeat, it was remembered as the defeat of the heroic Spartans who had defended their own and other Greek city-states in a virtuous, martyr-style struggle for liberty. It helped that the loss of the three hundred Spartans could be blamed on—external—treason, but not on military inferiority. Thermopylae was revived not so much as a pagan feat of individual heroism but, rather, as the courageous personal sacrifice of proto-Christian martyrs: the martyr's physical body had died, but his "panhellenic" patriotic fervor remained immortal. Moreover, the martyr's sense of sacrifice forged bonds of continuity and commonality between the dead and the living and placed performative demands on the latter. Possible self-annihilation became a means to a better collective future, and this type of selfless patriotism became a condition for successful tyrannicide. Thus Thermopylae became the exemplar for the modern Greeks' moral and civic regeneration through the spirit of sacrifice.[16]

Many Greeks attached the ideals of Greek virtue, patriotism, and sacrifice, captured in the *topos* of Thermopylae, to the "absolute truth" and strict morality upheld by the eastern Orthodox Church.[17] The years of divinely ordained suffering of the Greeks would be miraculously and triumphantly concluded because, as at Thermopylae, there was victory in defeat. Thus Thermopylae became a potent myth of subservience to high religious values as well. Similarly, Marcellus's account of the 1820 reading was permeated by a Christian-inspired mystique of martyrdom—a mystique whose ideological value was assumed to be immutable. It was the sacrifice of venerated Greek martyrs, whose ranks had been augmented with new additions through time, that promised to transform the individual's death into the resurrection of the Greek Christian nation. The Greeks fighting on behalf of the West would constitute a firm defense against the spread of Islam in the Balkans and in the eastern Mediterranean.[18] But while the defeat of Thermopylae could serve as a source of inspiration, it was the decisive victory of Salamis that the Greeks had to emulate. Salamis told of Greek courage rewarded, and also of the cultural

and civic breakthrough that followed in the fifth century BCE. Salamis was also the ideal, uncontested battle to rekindle unity and collectivity, whereas Thermopylae would always remain tainted by the legend of one man's betrayal of his fellow Greeks. Thus most philhellenes, soon encouraged by the earliest Greek naval victories over the Turks, upheld the analogy with Salamis, which also brought Athens and the figure of Themistocles into focus.[19]

The philhellenes saw in Salamis not so much the defense of Greek political autonomy, but rather the ultimate struggle for the values of liberty and democracy. These were precisely the values that, in this process of rediscovery, proved foundational to the West and fundamental to the radicalism of philhellenic literature and art. David Roessel adds a longer historical perspective when he states, with respect to Anglo-Saxon poetry, "Since 1770 the literati . . . had been watching for any evidence of the survival and revival of the ancient Hellenes. When the Greek War of Independence began in 1821, the pump of poetic inspiration had been primed for five decades. The subsequent flood of philhellenic verse was only to be expected."[20] Therefore, there is some truth to the otherwise tendentious claim that this long drawn-out revival of interest, which culminated in Byron's life and work, alerted also the Greeks to the value of their own past. Western Europe positioned itself as the offspring of classical Greece. Modern Greece, however, seemed to have a hard act to follow in presenting itself as the progeny of the ancient forebears.

Marcellus, too, mythified Salamis and invoked it as a *locus classicus* of the "salvation" of western civilization. When he finally set foot on Salamis, he, like most travelers, fell back not on Aeschylus's *Persians*, but on Herodotus's *Histories*.[21] For the Frenchman, the political and ideological significance of Salamis had long been a sure fact, and the meaning of Lepanto had dwindled by comparison: "that maritime battle, the most illustrious one to be remembered in the world's annals, more felicitous for liberty . . . than Lepanto."[22] The 1571 battle of Lepanto drew a lasting ideological dividing line between a Christian West (later the secularized West) and an undifferentiated eastern Muslim world: it signaled that any future West-East conflict would be perceived as an episode in the grand struggle between western Christendom and an aggressive Islam.[23]

In general, Marcellus reiterated the canon of places where western liberty was supposedly born. Chateaubriand had invoked Leonidas on the ruins of Sparta.[24] Chateaubriand had also searched for the tomb of Themistocles and, on his visit to Salamis, had pondered, "In all probability, I was at that moment the only man in Greece to recall that great man."[25] In a similar fashion, Marcellus visited Salamis and deduced moral lessons from the

"trademark" Greek landscape of heroism.[26] On Salamis, he held a roll call, again based on Herodotus, of the greatest Greek warriors who had set foot there before him. He invoked Aeschylus, "as brave a soldier as he was a great poet."[27] Aeschylus was historically positioned at the juncture of drama and "patriotic" Greek history: already in antiquity, the tragedian was singled out for his courage in fighting the Persians on the battlefield. His epitaph famously stressed his military valor (*Life of Aeschylus* 2.24–25). A survivor of Marathon who probably fought also at Salamis, Aeschylus might have prided himself more in his military and patriotic loyalties than in his playwriting.[28] On Salamis, Marcellus found the supremacy of the western worldview confirmed in the ancient sources and heroes. The sight of the renowned place itself required a performance act, a rendering into action of the history and future potential of the *topos*. For Marcellus, travel and performance were parallel projects, especially when he was collecting memories and visiting places in the footsteps of Chateaubriand. Because place-bound memorialization of Salamis could not possibly equal the memorialization that Thermopylae and Marathon underwent in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the former process necessarily became more text specific. Marcellus helped to turn Salamis into a text and reduced its site-bound nature, by rediscovering Aeschylus's *Persians*. Thus Salamis could more easily replay itself in the modern Greek world, from Constantinople to Chios to other islands of the Aegean to, finally, the combined British, Russian, and French naval victory at Navarino (1827), which proved decisive for Greece's autonomy (see Figure 3.1).

The philhellenes who embraced the history and the glory of the Persian Wars, presented the Greek War of Independence, once it had erupted, as another Salamis. They were, in fact, echoing the tenets of late eighteenth-century Classics and political theory. For a fulsome idealization of Salamis, we may turn to Condorcet (1743–94), the French philosopher, mathematician, and champion of liberal causes who left the seminal legacy of shaping the ideology of western progress.[29] If Condorcet "created Athens as a distant historical model," writers such as Chateaubriand and Marcellus must be credited with bringing that model to the forefront of France's—mental and physical—peregrinations.[30] For anyone who would have perceived historical originality and analogy to be mutually exclusive, ancient Greece was the solution: "History is progress, but Greece anticipates later developments," in Pierre Vidal-Naquet's characterization of the ideology espoused by Condorcet.[31] Within this framework, the battle of Salamis—and, indirectly, Aeschylus's *Persians*—held a singularly important position. Benjamin Isaac claims that it was the idealization that Condorcet bestowed on the battle of Salamis that most impacted western


Figure 3.1. Themistocles (?) calls the modern Greek fighter to the naval battle of Navarino. Lithograph of Flandrin, printed by H. Brunet and Company.

thinking about Greek freedom as foundational to "superior" western civilization, democracy, and constitutionalism.[32] Condorcet qualified the battle of Salamis as "one of those events, so rare in history, in which the fate of a single day decides the destiny of the human race for centuries to come."[33] Thus Condorcet captured the spirit of an age that, under the influence of the Enlightenment, was rediscovering the Persian Wars that had cleared the path to the classical period of Athenian civilization.[34]

In Greece, Panagiotes Soutsos wrote a postrevolutionary "lyric" drama that sustained and strengthened the parallelisms between the Persian War heroes and the most prominent leaders of the Greek War of Independence. The passage below is part of an address to the Greek war hero Georgios Karaïskakes in the eponymous drama. The pagan "name dropping" is done by a high-ranking priest:

> "Now the Persian War has returned to us
> and Hellas resumed the struggle against Xerxes.
> If Aristeides was the pride of antiquity,
> then the modern era boasts its Ypselantes.
> Themistocles was victorious sailing around the islands,

and today Miaoules is winning in the Aegean.
You, if you conquer the enemies here fighting at close quarters,
You, Karaïskakes, we will call Miltiades."[35]

## THE PASSAGE TO PATRIOTISM: AESCHYLUS, *PERSIANS* 402–5

The focus of the western, pro-Greek sources on the Persian Wars reminds us that philhellenism operated as a practical redux of the modern Greek historical predicament. While fruitful as a theoretical concept, philhellenism worked as a narrowing filter, also within revolutionary Greece. As a notion disassociated from Orientalism, it is therefore inadequate for a critical reading of the writings of some of those who, like Marcellus, laid claim to the title of philhellene. The concept of philhellenism is particularly lacking in usefulness when students of eighteenth and nineteenth-century sources find themselves before the challenge to ground their analysis in the dynamics of the cultural hierarchies and exchanges of the time. Aeschylus's *Persians* 402–5 is a passage that was the immediate object of such exchanges: it also modifies and subverts the axiom of the West unilaterally inspiring the Greeks.

The climax of the 1820 reading in Marcellus's story followed toward the end of the second act: with heightened emotion, the student of Kydonia delivered a modern version of the Greeks' famous paean, with which they went on the decisive attack against the Persian fleet (313). This battle cry of the original tragedy is incorporated into the Persian messenger's speech, and it gains potency from being delivered by the crushed enemy. Marcellus referred to the student's version of the paean as "the war hymn that the Orient kept repeating and that lord Byron had translated" (313). Unlike the West, however, the East repeated this popular "hymn," not after Byron, but after Regas Velestinles (or Regas Pheraios, 1757–98), its likely author. Significantly, Regas's paean reflected the broader scope of the various military engagements of the Persian Wars and commemorated also the heroic Spartan sacrifice at Thermopylae.

Regas modernized the Greek ideal of patriotism, which he aligned with its western Enlightenment definition. He was a businessman of the diaspora and an early but inspiring champion of Greek independence. Fascinated by the ideology of the French Revolution, he espoused a radical-liberal nationalism. By 1793, he had become an ardent exponent of a Francophile Republicanism.[36] Regas urged the Greeks to fight their war with literary and cultural awareness as well as with arms. To advance the Greek people's regeneration, he published patriotic tales, poems, lectures, and detailed maps (including a map of an imaginary republic, 1797), and he

drafted a constitution from a supranationalist, Balkan-Christian perspective (modeled on the French Constitution of 1793).[37] Regas also wrote the famous patriotic *Thourios* of 1797, a poetic call to arms addressed not only to the Greeks but also to other ethnic groups oppressed by the Ottomans.[38] He further produced a translation (and a mural map) of Barthélemy's novel *Anacharsis*, which championed (republican-style) liberty and predated the French Revolution by a mere few months.[39] The Ottomans executed Regas in 1798 and had "forbidden" or banned his writings (*proscrites*, 313).[40]

Regas's battle cry was enthusiastically received by philhellenes and by the Greek inhabitants of the Ottoman-occupied territories. Rooted in classical language and imagery, the modern paean revived Aeschylus's lines for prerevolutionary Greece against the more recent backdrop of the French "*Marseillaise*," hence its name of the "Greek Marseillaise."[41] The original "*Marseillaise*" was composed by Claude-Joseph Rouget de Lisle, and was a product and voice of the French Revolution ("*Allons enfants de la Patrie / Le jour de gloire est arrivé*," 1792).[42] The various levels of cultural exchange here were important to Marcellus, who, in his collection of Greek folk songs, showed how much he liked to trace the lineage of modern to ancient Greek songs. Below follow the "victory-bringing" classical Greek lines (Aeschylus, *Persians* 402–5):

ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων, ἴτε
ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ', ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ
παῖδας γυναῖκας θεῶν τε πατρώιων ἕδη
θήκας τε προγόνων· νῦν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγών

[On, sons of the Greeks,
free your fatherland, free
your children, your wives, the temples of your fathers' gods,
and the tombs of your ancestors. Now the struggle is for all.][43]

The essence of Aeschylus's paean lies in protecting family and cult and in keeping the country, the land of the fathers, free by taking up arms in defense, and not in a war of ambition. The classical battle cry makes the defense of Greek territory a legitimate ground for "just war," which has been key to the understanding of patriotism to the present day.[44] The just defenders of hearth and home, of the ancestral soil that had produced and raised them, deserved victory. Such a motivation in its modern version aided in the territorial reconfiguration of Greece. Because the Greek military action was a reaction to defend Greek territory, Aeschylus's lines also conveyed that war could have been avoided, if only the enemy had

chosen to do so. Thus the celebrated passage held the seeds to develop a public discourse on patriotic revenge, but also one on war and peace. Barry Strauss waxes about the ancient Greek paean: "Aeschylus describes the paean as a 'holy cry uttered in a loud voice, . . . a shout offered in sacrifice, emboldening to friends, and dissolving fear of the foe.' When an army marched into battle or a navy left the harbor to wage war at sea, the men sang the paean. It was a combination of prayer, cheer, and rebel yell. . . . Aeschylus is blunt about its [the paean's] alleged [terrifying] effect on the Persian audience aboard ship."[45]

Regas's opening lines read,

Δεῦτε παῖδες τῶν Ἑλλήνων
Ὁ καιρὸς τῆς δόξης ἦλθεν
Ἂς φανῶμεν ἄξιοι ἐκείνων
ποῦ μᾶς δῶσαν τὴν ἀρχήν.[46]

The ancient legitimation of the defensive war was still valid for the Constantinopolitan circle of 1820. Revolution was presented as a matter in which all Greeks held a personal stake: it identified the civilian population with its champions and defenders, and it projected victory as hard-won but truly deserved. With this background knowledge, the Frenchman and his Greek friends were left *in medias res* on the subject of Regas's paean, of which the student declaimed about half. Then the latter poignantly concluded, "*C'est ainsi que nous récitons les* Perses *à Cydonie*" (This is how we recite the *Persians* at Kydonia) (314). The young reader stamped Regas's war song, or the modern patriotic standard, with the classical seal of Aeschylus—and Aeschylus's play with the militancy of Regas's call to arms. The pedigreed lines had a hypnotic effect on his listeners, who responded to the lofty calls of Regas and Aeschylus, the masters envisioned as leaders marshaling their forces, with "gestures of sympathy, . . . cast glances, . . . and contained sighs" (314). It was the kind of passage to elicit strong audience reactions, such as those documented by other descriptions of prerevolutionary patriotic drama, as the next chapter section will discuss. A prominent theme of the high-voltage heroic dramas was tyrannicide. Aeschylus's *Persians* was rediscovered as a call for antityrannical action. The lines that most dramatically captured manifest Greek destiny through immediate antityrannical resistance were those of Aeschylus's modernized paean. The battle cry not only excited the emotions but also evoked an ideal communal moment. Marcellus accorded a similar purpose to Regas's war song and to the student's act: to resurrect an eternal, "noble" Greek character and the patriotic impetus for the Greek liberation movement. Regas and the young hero bestowed

a diachronic patriotism, rooted in canonical literature and morality, onto a new and forbidden war. Acting and performing under penetrating western European eyes, the Greeks were eager to portray virile Greek warriors of classical stock.

The performance within the performance of the student's own making lifted Aeschylus's play off the page, so to speak, and made the listeners temporarily forget the printed text. The subsequent readers were given a unique chance to inhabit the time of performance. The young man's invention reinstated the nature of theater as performance and recaptured the lyrical dimension of the original drama. His intervention invites reflection on theater and its value as a revolutionary platform, and not only because the charged delivery of the paean substituted for open dissent. The student was literally and metaphorically rehearsing revolution and, despite the known adverse circumstances, he projected a mandate of optimism. Also, his own "instruction" took the form of teaching to imitate, or became performative and normative. Thus Aeschylus's paean, now anchored in the realities of the impending revolutionary war, was seen to reach its full historical potential within the framework of Greek nationalism. Marcellus left no doubt in the minds of his readers that the student's performance sharpened his revolutionary thinking, which he acted out first before an inner circle of the converted and then—likely—by trying to convince external audiences. The young man summoned forth more dramatic actions and performative results in this, the most affective articulation of his personal commitment. Marcellus marveled at the student's effortless mingling of texts and tenors from different ages, to express the Greek quest for freedom and to spread knowledge and courage. He wondered at the young disciple's revolutionary zest, which motivated him to disrupt the order of the canonical text and the rules of strict chronology. The talented student had thus far displayed great discipline and had not missed a beat in his declamation—as a good contemporary student was supposed to do in the presence of his instructor and elite older spectators, who would have frowned on any alteration of the text. At this turning point, however, the model student unveiled his own political personality and military stance: he was a rebel for the right cause—a young Regas. It took the cause of Greek patriotism to have a diligent student make such a bold intervention and to add the few bellicose stanzas composed by Regas (in the French translation by Marcellus):

> *Vous qui fûtes les valeureux cadavres des Hellènes, âmes éparses, revenez aujourd'hui à la vie. Rassemblez-vous tous à la voix du clairon. Marchez vers les sept collines; et une fois pour toujours soyez vainqueurs.*

*Prenons les armes, montrons-nous les vrais enfants des Grecs; et que le sang de l'ennemi coule par torrents sous nos pieds!*

*Sparte, Sparte, pourquoi dors-tu d'un profond et léthargique sommeil? Réveille-toi, appelle Athènes ton éternelle et antique compagne. Souvenez-vous de Léonidas, le héros immortel, le redouté, le terrible, le glorieux guerrier.*

*Prenons les armes, montrons-nous les vrais enfants des Grecs; et que le sang de l'ennemi coule par torrents sous nos pieds.* (313–14)

Byron's rendition of Regas's paean provides clear evidence of a (phil) hellenic exchange in the direction from East to West. The rendition figures among Byron's poems of 1811 and became known under the prosaic title of "Translation of the Famous Greek War Song." He translated freely (starting with the opening lines quoted on p. 120):

1.
Sons of the Greeks, arise!
The glorious hour's gone forth,
And, worthy of such ties,
Display who gave us birth.
CHORUS
Sons of Greeks! let us go
In arms against the foe,
Till their hated blood shall flow
In a river past our feet.
2.
. . .
Brave shades of chiefs and sages,
Behold the coming strife!
Hellenes of past ages,
Oh, start again to life!
At the sound of my trumpet, breaking
Your sleep, oh, join with me!
And the seven-hill'd city seeking,
Fight, conquer, till we're free.
3.
Sparta, Sparta, why in slumbers
Lethargic dost thou lie?
Awake, and join thy numbers
With Athens, old ally!
Leonidas recalling,
That chief of ancient song,
Who sav'd ye once from falling,
The terrible! the strong!
. . .[47]

Regas mustered the then "dormant" Spartans—or the modern Peloponnesians—to waken and to initiate revolt, following the exemplum of Leonidas. He also alluded to the differences that set Athens and Sparta against each other on many historical occasions. He ended his own paean with a repeated invocation to all the Greeks to prove themselves "real children," or true descendants, of the ancients. The clarity of Regas's style was supposed to stand for monumentality, masculinity, and sincerity, and to communicate resolution and certainty. His choice of words let the classical and the modern Greek language meet in a potent linguistic blend: it proved that the opening line of the ancient Greek battle cry had withstood the test of time and the many linguistic changes that the Greek language underwent. For Regas, the paean addressed contemporary concerns with an immediacy that did not require much updating, because the message behind the durable lines was necessarily durably true. He used this totemic passage from the *Persians* as a political platform from which to proclaim "his" ascending Greece as the progenitor of moral virtue, military genius, and male bravery. Replaying the *Persians* as a function of modern Greek history lent a new performative dimension to the paean, glorifying revolutionary violence as a purifying and empowering force.

Marcellus equated the performance of the reading with revolutionary action, and he marked the paean, in Regas's version, as the battle cry that triggered such action. The patriotic zest bottled up in the paean struck at the core of the fighter spirit in modern Hellenism. The latter had great revolutionary potential because it unabashedly deduced from classical Greece the archetype of an autochthonous, resilient, freethinking, and freedom-loving democracy. Thus the model battle cry stayed within the Greek topographic tradition and cultural pecking order. Moreover, it proved that it could outshine later and lesser eras to reconnect with the eighteenth and nineteenth-century political discourse on the meaning of Salamis. The battle cry also sealed the trope of the Enlightenment's hatred of tyranny. Subsequent accretions made the paean appear as a synecdoche for Aeschylus's play and its assigned patriotic mission, or for the Persian War victories at large: lifted out of the tragedy, the paean became filled with all of the action that the play—and Persian War history—projects onto the Greeks. Aeschylus's tragedy was recast as a literary, theatrical, and ideological battle cry: the values that it was thought to promulgate were condensed in slogans that posited normative military action. The play was often reduced to the trademark paean that had rendered it famous and popular.[48] Like many other models and mottoes of patriotism, however, Aeschylus's tragedy did not lay out a plan for a concrete policy after

victory had been secured. The modern Greeks were galvanized more by a dream of liberation, not by a program of government. Therefore, their patriotism encapsulated an idealist, dreamlike notion of the Greek fatherland, in which the nation-state would function as a spiritual and unifying force that would drive its citizens to achieve their identity and destiny.

Marcellus was only one of many philhellenic travelers who heard, or claimed to have heard, Greek revolutionary songs.[49] He listened to an old man singing Regas's paean on the island of Chalke, near Rhodes. On that occasion, he briefly reflected on the secrecy in which the same song had to be kept in Constantinople: "One would not dare let that cry for liberty resonate in Constantinople. But those words, which the enslaved banks of the Bosporus would never repeat, could be repeated without danger by the echoes of Chalke."[50] Also, Marcellus might have been influenced by an episode relayed by Claude Charles Fauriel (1772–1844), another French author and Romantic folklorist interested in the transmission of Greece's oral poetry parallel to its learned or ancient tradition. Fauriel had published a popular two-volume collection of modern Greek songs in 1824 to 1825. Marcellus even complained that Fauriel "ha[d] not left anything to be said after him."[51] Fauriel narrated the story of an 1817 encounter with a young baker's apprentice in Epirus, who was moved to the core upon hearing Regas's martial poetry read aloud: he knew it well but could not read it for himself, which did not temper his patriotic enthusiasm for Regas and for the impending struggle.[52] This trope of a performance within a performance was a compelling device also to demonstrate popular support for the Greek Revolution, with emphasis on youth's devotion and on Regas's agency in fomenting the national awakening.

Both anecdotes put stark social divisions in relief: the discrepancy between the illiterate young man and the student who could recite long passages from—his arduously trained—memory. Marcellus did little to sketch a "bottom-up" social history of Greek revolutionary sentiment: his actors firmly belonged to the elite. The immediate reception of the 1820 play reading beyond the in-house setting evades measure. This lacuna again raises the difficult issue of Greek unity in revolutionary thinking and practice. Aeschylus's paean and its original context present the Greeks as an orderly military force with only one purpose in mind: not to be enslaved by non-Greeks. Thus the paean intimates that the ancient as well as the modern discourse on liberty centered on national purpose engendered by national origins. Marcellus knew full well that the Greek soil was not strewn with unanimous Greek revolutionaries from all social classes and backgrounds. Yet he postulated local unity to legitimize Greece's reclaiming of the unified nation that, prior in history, it never was. He

diminished some of the implications of the Greek elite's Orientalist treatment not only of the Turks but also of the nondescript, unwashed Greek masses, so to speak. Therefore, he only seemingly constructed a modern Greek people. The reader has to turn to Marcellus's other writings to see him discover a real Greek people, and in particular to the stories that were inspired by his travels away from Constantinople.

Committed fans of Marcellus not only vicariously fight the Turks, but they also visit many of the places and peoples that supplied vivid images and shaped France's reading of the East. Marcellus upheld his paternalistic interpretation of the 1820 event for philhellenic consumers, and he claimed intimate knowledge of some of the preparations of the Greek revolt and also singular access to some of the key players. He painted an atmosphere of secrecy and mystique with the Orientalist brush. For all the exoticism of the scene, however, he left his readers with the sense that the Greek revolutionaries merely wanted what the French already knew and had. For Marcellus, the heroic-patriotic drama of Aeschylus's *Persians* in 1820 was revival tragedy, but it was also what philhellenes would value as a counterpart to, or an elaborate version of, Byron's "Famous Greek War Song." Homing in on the paean, the reading represented a revivified historical reenactment, more prophetic, admonitory, or celebratory than tragic. The *Persians* as patriotic drama and motto was a means to a political end, and it also affirmed the founding of a revival culture. The tragedy as an abridged and commodified history lesson of the 1860s attested to the didacticism, the moral impulses, and the historicizing pressures that continued to impact on philhellenism, Hellenism, and the western classicists' zeal to resuscitate the ancient Greeks in modern Greece.

## The "More Dangerous" Plays of Early Modern Greek Dramaturgy–Lifeline Odessa

The interest that the philhellenes and the Greek intellectuals took in the Persian Wars was reflected in Greek theater life of the prerevolutionary and early revolutionary period.[53] Much of this theater activity was influenced by or was conversant with the West, to then pursue its own objective of promoting antityrannical action. Aeschylus's *Persians* had been cited on several occasions prior to 1820 as the harbinger of the proud struggle for Greek freedom from the eastern despotism of modern times. Oikonomos had singled out the "historical" tragedy for striking a "closer" chord, that is, for relating to the "less distant" Persian Wars (when compared to the Trojan War). The three plays that interested Oikonomos and his students, Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, Euripides' *Hecuba*, and Aeschylus's *Persians*, had actually been staged a few years

earlier (1817–18) by the Greek community of Odessa.[54] The local Philike Hetaireia (Society of Friends), a secret organization founded in 1814, was preparing the Greek insurrection and counted among its members students, teachers, and professionals as well as representatives of the mercantile bourgeoisie.[55] Some sources list Nikolaos Mourouzes among the society's members.[56] The choices, dates, and circles of Odessa are more fundamental to the reception history of Aeschylus's *Persians* than they may appear at first sight. Let me explain. As I outline some of the highlights of early modern Greek dramaturgy, I will acknowledge the influence of the French and Italian Enlightenment through neoclassical adaptations, which the Greek diaspora communities staged in the original western European languages or in modern Greek translations. Instead of a detailed discussion of theatrical performances, I will offer only a few examples that do, however, help us to keep focused on our central theme of the Persian Wars and on the growing prerevolutionary opposition against perceived eastern tyranny.[57]

The one neoclassical adaptation that surpassed many others in popularity in modern Greek circles, and especially in Odessa, was the Italian opera *Temistocle* of Pietro Metastasio (1698–1782), the beloved western "court poet" with his keen sense for theater.[58] Metastasio belabored the taste that seventeenth and eighteenth-century western European opera cultivated, with its penchant for celebratory or at least morally uplifting endings. Such operas responded to—and flattered—the interests of the contemporary court culture with its emphasis on foundation, on nobility of birth and character, and on a finale of harmony.[59] Metastasio's opera *Themistocles* was based on a libretto in three acts and premiered in Vienna in 1736.[60] It draws on Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, which extends beyond the hero's glory days as the mastermind of Salamis to (checkered) parts of his subsequent career, or to the so-called Themistocles Romance.[61] Metastasio's opera saw no less than four different translations into modern Greek and was performed to great acclaim in Odessa in 1814, or at the time that the Society of Friends was founded, and again in subsequent years.[62] Its popularity kindled a contagious kind of attention, which seems to have affected other dramatic versions related to the Persian Wars. Oikonomos had learned of the nationalist euphoria with which the patriotic Greeks of Odessa had received the *Themistocles*. He likely capitalized on this renewed interest in Persian War topics to introduce some of his students to the text that was "more Greek" and that transported the reader and viewer back to the very days of Salamis: Aeschylus's *Persians*. But, to strengthen the above working hypothesis, let me unpack all of the connections in greater detail.

## "FREEDOM-LOVING" HEROES AND "CLASSIC" TYRANNICIDES

In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, neoclassical adaptations of ancient tragic and biographical stories were traditionally far more popular than the original classical tragedies or sources that had inspired them. Prosperous Greek communities, such as the one in Odessa, were no exception in adopting western European literary and theatrical fashions. It helped when the heroes of those imported neoclassical adaptations were historical Greek figures, and preferably "freedom-loving" heroes such as Themistocles, Pericles, and Demosthenes, the "classic" tyrannicides, or epic-mythical characters such as Achilles.[63] These adaptations kept the focus on the ancient heroes and on the models of strength and virtue that the modern generations could derive from them, rather than on the more pragmatic solutions and lessons of history.

Examples abound: Odessa's society frequently staged one of the earliest Greek neoclassical tragedies, the *Achilles* (1805), written by Athanasios Christopoulos. Not coincidentally, Christopoulos, later dubbed "the new Anacreon," was a close connection of the Mourouzes family and a favorite of Alexandros Mourouzes at his court in Jassy, the capital of the Danubian principality of Moldavia.[64] He acted as a tutor to Konstantinos Mourouzes, one of the brothers attending the 1820 reading. The *Achilles* solidified the tight links among epic poetry, tragic performance, and the (mythical or mythified) "biographical" or heroic lens. The tragedy upheld the Trojan War as an archetype of the Greeks' victorious military campaigns against their eastern enemies. It became a staple of both pre- and postindependence repertoires, which included rudimentary school productions.[65] Georgios Lassanes, an important member of the society, authored a classicizing modern Greek tragedy, *Harmodius and Aristogeiton*, which was staged in Odessa in 1819.[66] His choice bespeaks the freedom-loving to antityrannical program to which Greek prerevolutionary theater committed itself: the moral exemplar of patriotic or nationalist tragedy, sublimated by western-style classicism, would enable the Greeks to claim a place in "civilized" Europe—no matter how unhistorical the tyrannicides' action really was.[67] With the prerevolutionary five-act play *Timoleon* (Vienna, 1818), the Greek dramatist Ioannes Zampelios embraced French revolutionary thinking and paid homage to his Italian master, Alfieri, who had taken also this plot from Plutarch's *Lives*.[68] The *Timoleon* voiced some of the sharpest Orientalist verdicts on the eastern enemy, Persian and modern Turk alike.[69]

Zampelios, in particular, embodied the transition from western-inspired, prerevolutionary, and antityrannical drama to the postrevolutionary and Orientalist affirmation of the paraenetic model of the

Persian Wars and of the prophetic playwright, Aeschylus.[70] For all his infatuation with Alfieri's work, Zampelios in his later life articulated the need for a new historical, patriotic, and even epic type of Greek dramaturgy whose classical foundations, he contended, had been laid by Aeschylus, the playwright who "sang" of the Persian Wars.[71] In an introductory note to his 1843 *Markos Bossaris* (after the beloved Greek war hero also known as Markos Botsares or Botsaris), Zampelios sketched the immediate Greek reception of the Persian Wars as one that benefited from the most fortunate circumstances for history and theater: "A Herodotus recorded the battle against the Persians, an Aeschylus sang of it."[72] As Zampelios called for a new Aeschylus, he also shed light on the postrevolutionary interpretation of the *Persians*: "We saw those two great men [Herodotus and Aeschylus] inspire the souls of their contemporaries with the love of and the strife for glory, and we saw them become the fathers of the brilliance of the subsequent generations. In our days, of us, the new Greeks, the Revolution took place and the rebirth of Hellas that had been enslaved for centuries . . . [but] a new Herodotus to record it has not yet been born, and neither has a new Aeschylus to sing of it."[73]

The western theater's fascination with confrontations with historical and mythical tyrants had begun prior to the French Revolution. Most popular were the antityrannical Enlightenment dramas of Voltaire (such as *Brutus*, 1730; *The Death of Caesar*, 1743; *Orestes*, 1750) and Alfieri (*Timoleon*, 1782; *Orestes*, 1783).[74] Neoclassical aesthetics, however, did not easily abandon the endorsement of the monarch as the enlightened despot, and they steered the finale of many plays toward (melodramatic) reconciliation, according to the "code of *sensibilité*."[75] They also emphasized the moralizing messages of self-effacing heroism and unconditional love of both freedom and an idolized past. Voltaire's highly influential *Brutus* is a good example. The hero, Lucius Junius Brutus, a founding father of the Roman Republic, drives out the tyrannical Tarquins and gains fame for his republican virtue. That portrayal was, however, more a matter of the play's reception than of the playwright's intention. Voltaire attacked tyranny but he defended monarchy and enlightened despotism, not democracy. Nonetheless, this early *Brutus* became a "standard revival piece" at the height of the French Revolution: the play's late popularity helped to establish Voltaire's reputation as a champion for liberty who exerted a great influence abroad as well.[76] The aristocratic *ancien régime* connotations of the French and Italian neoclassical tradition were generally abandoned in Greek contexts, with the warm Greek reception of Voltaire providing an

excellent touchstone.[77] Therefore, Hall and Macintosh underestimate, perhaps, the formative impact of this foreign, continental legacy on modern Greece, when they call it the elitist and reactionary antipode of radical British theater. They see the 1820s British theater embrace a rediscovered Greek world: "It was as if the possibility of a free, autonomous Greece in the political sphere finally liberated the imaginations of the men of the theatre, allowing them to weld the ancient plays to the archaeological realities of the Mediterranean. And it is in this context that the experiments in the 1820s with ancient Greek theatre need to be read."[78] The Greek dilettantes of the theater, however, kept their eyes on France and Italy rather than on Britain.

## Persian War Heroes: Themistocles and Leonidas

The popularity of Metastasio's *Themistocles* in Odessa helped to establish a prerevolutionary receptive tradition for the Persian Wars. Favorite Persian War heroes became more prominent and affected theater practice in other Greek communities from about 1815 onward. The dramatic scope of older and new plays ranged from courageous Greek self-assertion in the face of the—unenlightened—despot to patriotism that sanctioned tyrannicide. Marcellus himself—always the one to stumble on unusual performances—found evidence of a play called *Leonidas at Thermopylae*, a Romanticist, antityrannical drama in five acts and in prose. He discovered it in an unexpected place: in Argos in the Peloponnese, in the midst of a rural community that was, according to him, racially more Slavic ("Albanian") than Greek. In the late summer of 1820, he heard some pupils in a local school declaim three scenes from this play, and he noted the anonymous author's use of Herodotus's *Histories* 7. He also confirmed that the 1816 publication of this heroic drama (in Vienna) had been paid for by a captain from nearby Hydra, an island that would play an important role in the Greek Revolution.[79]

Marcellus then quoted the three scenes in his own, French translation of the modern Greek, from a copy that the teacher had given to him upon his request.[80] The first passage quoted, or the third scene of the second act, features two Spartan envoys, Spertias (Sperchias) and Boules, who approach Xerxes to offer themselves up as live reparation for Darius's envoys, whom the Spartans had killed a few years earlier. The proud Spartan men immediately state that they object to subjugation, and they take every opportunity to speak in honorable, patriotic, and also panhellenic terms. The scene is based on Herodotus's *Histories* 7.133–37, but the source text does not highlight panhellenism. Instead, Herodotus

stresses the young Spartans' intent to dispel the bad omens that Spartan missions had been receiving ever since their city humiliated and sacrilegiously killed the foreign ambassadors. Also, Herodotus's Xerxes treats the offer of indemnity as a strictly Spartan matter, but shows his magnanimity. The first scene of the fourth act of the *Leonidas at Thermopylae* depicts an encounter between a Persian spy and a young Spartan, who enlightens his interlocutor on the subject of Spartan integrity and determination to fight until death. This determination is signaled by the care that the Spartan warriors take of their hair—a scene that leaves the spy very puzzled. Again, the source is Herodotus's *Histories* (7.208–9). In the last scene, Leonidas expires, but not without proclaiming, "I die for the independence of Greece . . . Let my death serve the glory of all the Greeks." The remaining Spartans then throw themselves upon the Persians while shouting, "Let us die for the freedom of Greece!"[81] The episode is ever so briefly told by Herodotus (*Histories* 7.224). The Greek martyrs' patriotic and panhellenic last words are again those of the anonymous author of the 1816 script (as per Marcellus).

The reaction of Marcellus after such climactic scenes was surprising: for a moment he doubted whether these children from Argos, whose Albanian origins he noted before, actually understood what they were enacting. Then he concluded that they probably did comprehend "those courageous words."[82] However, he himself "refrained from any question or comment on their political meaning," because he had long decided to leave politics out of his *Souvenirs*, the travel book that covers the long voyage he undertook in his diplomatic capacity.[83] Marcellus's description of his experience in Argos leads to a few more thematic and practical conclusions that bear on the script of the reading of the *Persians*: Greek authors did not shy away from giving the rediscovered ancient sources on the Persian Wars a full nationalist makeover. The adaptation process that rearranged Aeschylus's tragedy into a five-act patriotic script, at the expense of a few choral passages, seemed minor by comparison. Marcellus tried hard to obtain the texts of the performances he heard, and he would have asked for a copy of the five-act *Persians*, if that had been feasible. The Frenchman was also acutely aware of different versions of the Persian War episodes, and he would not have confused Aeschylus's *Persians* with the versions that were popular in 1820: the *Leonidas at Thermopylae* and also the Greek translations of Metastasio's *Themistocles*.

## Metastasio's *Themistocles*: Italian Model, Modern Greek Reception

. . . To stay true to myself
and not commit a crime, I see no other path
than the path of the tomb, and that I choose.
. . . You, Lisimaco [Lysimachus], my friend,
reassure our fatherland of my loyalty, and plead for grace
for my ashes.
. . . Yes, my king, may your scorn
and my life end at the same point.
Children, friend, Sire, *popolo*, farewell!
—Metastasio's Themistocles speaking before drinking a cup of poison[84]

Metastasio's *Themistocles* fits the rather paradoxical neoclassical matrix of reconciliation after confrontation with the tyrant and seems, at first sight, to lack revolutionary impetus. What carries the Italian libretto, however, are Themistocles' courageous and "enlightened speeches of self-abnegation in the face of public duty," and also his ultimate, public withholding of the oath of fealty to the despot.[85] Martha Feldman also notes Metastasio's ability to "cut across particular occasions, local conditions, and national frontiers," to "[s]hap[e] mass audiences and sentiments across linguistic boundaries and [to] mak[e] ideology heartfelt."[86] When Metastasio's Xerxes asks Themistocles what he loves so much in Athens, the exemplary hero responds with stirring words reminiscent of Aeschylus's paean (*Persians* 402–5, see above):

Everything, Sire:
the ashes of my ancestors,
the sacred laws, the tutelary gods,
the language, the customs;
the sweat that it cost me;
the splendor that I drew from her;
the air, the tree trunks, the earth, the walls, the stones.[87]

But how did this Italian model become such a catalyst to Greek nationalist sentiment? Metastasio's protagonist diverts from the hero of his historical source, Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*: the Italian Themistocles is the eighteenth-century operatic hero who threatens suicide when Xerxes demands that he lead a military expedition against the Greeks;[88] Xerxes, as the enlightened despot, intervenes to prevent such a tragedy. Full of admiration for so much Greek integrity and patriotism, he nobly proposes terms of eternal peace with the Greeks—thus providing for the desired melodramatic happy end. Plutarch alludes to this respectful,

magnanimous behavior, but his Xerxes bestows his kindnesses on Themistocles' surviving family and friends, after the hero has—possibly—poisoned himself so as not to taint his record of excellence with the Greeks.[89] The magnanimity of the Xerxes of Metastasio, Plutarch, and Herodotus (*Histories* 7.136) is akin to the noble generosity of Mozart's Pasha Selim, who set the nobleman Belmonte, his fiancée, and their western entourage free in *The Abduction from the Seraglio* (1781–82).[90] Given that Metastasio's *Themistocles* premiered in Vienna in 1736, it is not too far-fetched to posit its influence on Mozart's opera and thus on the popular abduction plays. As a precursor to the abduction dramas, Metastasio's *Themistocles* might have helped to conceptualize the liberation of any Greek or of modern Greece from the eastern clutches as a long-overdue escape to safety and civility—even if the path there led through death. The Greek readers of Aeschylus's *Persians* did not make a safe escape from barbarism. For Marcellus, however, it was as victims of Turkish cruelty and as martyrs to western liberty that they played a more important role: their execution aptly confirmed Orientalist stereotypes and philhellenic fears—itself quite a forced and antihellenic consolation that served the West much better than it served the Greeks.

Metastasio's opera suited Greek nationalist purposes but only in a drastic modern Greek overhaul. Then the Greek adaptations upstaged the Italian "original." Demetres Spathes, the theater historian, credits a Greek translator by the name of Georgios Rousiades with transforming Metastasio's near-innocuous opera into *the* Greek script of prerevolutionary nationalist sentiment. Rousiades likely did so after a few other Greek translators had begun to refashion Metastasio's *Themistocles* after heroic and patriotic models.[91] In his verse translation titled *Themistocles in Persia*, Rousiades created a protagonist acutely aware of his "debt and duty to the fatherland" in the light of his past glory days: suicide remains for this hero the most honorable path to preserve his integrity in the face of continued eastern aggression against his compatriots.[92] With Themistocles drinking the poison on stage, suicide becomes not only redemption but self-sacrifice in the growing polarization between Greeks and Persians—or Turks. In his careful analysis, Spathes admits to one weakness in the argument for Rousiades's initiative to adopt many ideologically motivated changes: the 1838 publication date of Rousiades's *Themistocles* may make the decisive alterations the result of hindsight knowledge about the outcome of the Greek nationalist movement. Rousiades's adaptation was used as a script for numerous prerevolutionary stagings of the *Themistocles*, but his ideological positioning of the hero may have intensified only after the first successes of the Greek rebels had become manifest.[93] Spathes's study of as

many as four early modern Greek translations and adaptations of Metastasio's popular play invite us to agree with him on a deliberate process and project of "(re-)Hellenizing" Themistocles, which started with the earliest Greek translation of 1785 and culminated in Rousiades's liberal Greek adaptation.[94] The date of 1785 is an early date for a foreign adaptation to make a sweeping theatrical debut in prerevolutionary Greek cultural life.[95] Spathes explains the appeal of Metastasio's *Themistocles* by characterizing it as the heroic drama that was, early on, perceived to be "*hellenikotero*," or "more Hellenic/Greek," than any other of his works or of the contemporary European repertoire.[96] He concludes that western philhellenic sentiment found Themistocles and that the figure of the hero fostered this sentiment. Themistocles suited the ideological and didactic demands of Neohellenic Enlightenment and of growing Greek nationalism.[97] His checkered career but noble death seemed to offer to any Greek who had accepted or served the Ottoman administration or who had become de facto Turk, a chance to "convert" back to Greek patriotism. The success of Metastasio's play inspired other Greek translations and adaptations of foreign works, as well as some Neohellenic classicizing dramas. Themistocles was actively—and creatively—revived by Greek literati well before they turned their attention to other episodes of the Persian Wars.

We have now covered various formative components of Greek prerevolutionary theater: the influence of foreign neoclassical adaptations, and especially of Metastasio's reworking of Plutarch's *Lives*; the prominence of Themistocles, replete with the nationalist makeover of his character, and the growing importance of the Persian Wars in general as a scenario that promised the successful outcome of modern Greek naval or other military engagements with the Ottoman Turks. Our argument is still in need, however, of connections to both protagonists and places of the 1810s and 1820s that brought those components to fruition in the actual Greek call to revolt. The next few paragraphs aim to provide those connections through what will prove to be the right people in the right places.

## A Penchant for Plutarch

> All [western philhellenes] came expecting to find the Peloponnesus filled with Plutarch's men, and all returned thinking the inhabitants of Newgate [prison] more moral.
>
> —Colonel Napier, contemporary to Byron[98]

Plutarch played a prominent intellectual role in the didactic, philosophical, and historiographical program of the French Enlightenment and the French Revolution.[99] Did his popularity affect the Greek intelligentsia

at all? Oikonomos followed the example of Koraes, who recommended reading Plutarch and had included the *Parallel Lives* among the text editions of his Hellenic Library.[100] As Marcellus himself observed, Plutarch was on the curriculum of the second year of language and literature study at the Academy of Chios; Aeschylus, however, was not.[101] The prerevolutionary intelligentsia made the protagonists of ancient Greek history and also the ancient Greek historiographers undergo a process of reappraisal: from Herodotus to Polybius and Plutarch, they, too, were measured on the scale of their perceived patriotic and protonationalist merit. Before Koraes even mentioned Herodotus, he made it quite clear that the reading list he recommended for the new nation should be concentrating on "that part of the Greek glory, that is, the Greek war against the Persians."[102] Only then did he refer to Herodotus's *Histories* 7–8 as a means to that greater end: the sections he suggested (*Histories* 7.201 through 8.100) cover the battles of Thermopylae and Salamis.

An otherwise silenced member of the Mourouzes family may shed light on Plutarch's broader influence on Greek revolutionary thinking and on the recommendations made by Oikonomos. Zoe Mourouze, daughter of Konstantinos Mourouzes, who was executed in 1821, wrote a letter dated December 29, 1822, to Oikonomos; he had acted as a tutor to her and her siblings and continued to be a mentor to the displaced members of the Mourouzes family. This letter by a bright young woman in her mid to late teens captures, after some obligatory flatteries, the pulse of the rehabilitation that the Greek historiographers were undergoing.[103] Zoe alludes to the touchstone of the perceived patriotism of the ancient historians, that is, to their usefulness to Greek nationalism in the aftermath of 1821. While her brothers bicker, she takes charge of her reading assignments and settles on Polybius and Plutarch's *Lives*, in particular. The reading list that she has drafted for herself, but on which she invites Oikonomos's input in her letter, is a conscious response to the intellectual drive to reshape and revivify the heroes of ancient Greek history:

> I have . . . a very good French teacher, who instructs me in history. He considered it legitimate to start from the Romans, and I find immense pleasure in that reading. I compare their heroes with our ancestors, and I delight in every opportunity to hand the preeminence to our brilliant Greeks: I discover great accomplishments in their [the Romans'] history, men who were truly illustrious and full of zeal for the fatherland, but I have not yet been able to discover in them patriotism, that sweet sentiment when combined with philanthropy and virtue. I considered that this study would be incomparably more beneficial to me if I were to read in conjunction Polybius and the *Parallel Lives* of Plutarch.[104]

## Themistocles Unbound

The *Themistocles* adapted from Metastasio was very well received, particularly in Odessa from 1814 on, or from the founding date of the secret revolutionary Society of Friends.[105] The connection between the two events was not a coincidence. Theater historian Thodoros Chatzepantazes singles out the date of 1814 and also the heroic character of Themistocles and the glory days of Salamis as the beginnings of a new phase in the theatrical life of the Greek-speaking communities located outside of the Ottoman Empire: a phase characterized by the "nearly systematic" organization of public stagings and recitations, which engendered great nationalist zest.[106] In Odessa, hub of nationalist and anti-Ottoman fermentation, the society strove to rehabilitate the Greek language and culture. By 1817, voices were going up for stagings of the ancient tragedians in Odessa, to stem the tide of the foreign adaptations.[107] While preparing for military action, the society sought liberty and self-determination by sponsoring those emancipatory plays that presumably resonated with patriotic Greek pride and the concomitant antityrannical mandate.[108] The secret group's reliance on amateur and student performers and, subsequently, on student fighters prefigured Oikonomos's circle and its disciple. The prerevolutionary intelligentsia realized the nationalist potential of instructing Greek youth in the values of heroism, cultural dignity, and political autonomy via the patriotic stages of amateur and semiprofessional theaters, of schools, and even of private homes.[109] Walter Puchner mentions what he calls the first Greek school production, which he dates back to 1803: at the Greek Gymnasium of Jassy, Theodoros Alkaios produced "plays or scenes with ancient Greek topics."[110] The production played in a close circle, and enjoyed the support of the ruler's family—a pattern of sponsorship that, *mutatis mutandis*, applied to the 1820 reading as well.

The *Themistocles*, or the most convincing blend of history, biography, myth, and regeneration for the fatherland, was still very popular in Odessa in 1817, when Oikonomos heard about the rage from his colleague, Konstantinos Koumas. Koumas was the then director of the Gymnasium of Smyrna and answered to Oikonomos's long-standing interest in the cultural life of Odessa. Oikonomos chose Odessa as his first escape route out of the murderous turmoil of Constantinople in the spring of 1821. In December of 1817, Koumas published an open letter in the leading Greek periodical *Hermes ho Logios* (*The Learned Hermes*), which he wrote from Odessa to Oikonomos, who was at the time still working in Smyrna. The letter, titled "My Dear Friend Konstantinos Oikonomos," observes that the Greeks of Odessa may well be very familiar with European languages, but

> they always wish to hear on stage our paternal language as well. Thus, three years ago, they began to perform from time to time translations from the Italian into our spoken language. . . . I saw twice the *Themistocles*, a play by Metastasio, translated from the Italian into our language of today by theater-loving compatriots of ours, and twice did my heart undergo multiple emotions, which sent copious tears flowing down my eyes. The actors were all young male amateurs of the theater. Their Greek costumes could certainly not have been more splendid, not even on the stages of Europe's capital cities. The acting of all [players], generally spoken, appeared to be not that of amateurs, but of [real] artists. But Themistocles and Xerxes exceeded all expectations, both of us, the [Greek] compatriots, and of all of those from other ethnic groups, which crowded the theater with their presence. The applause was constant. But when Xerxes cried out to Themistocles: "Long live you, the pride of the centuries!," then the applause and the most powerful "Bravo! Bravo!" reverberated from all sides in an indescribable manner. . . .
>
> It would be desirable, my dear friend, if the other Greeks were to emulate the deeds of the Greeks of Odessa . . . Wish that Odessa would move them to rival such an example![111]

The magnanimous Xerxes of Koumas's description was the character designed by Metastasio. But Themistocles could not possibly be the fugitive, traitor, or Persian ally, and still earn such thundering Greek applause. Likely, the adaptation devoted some attention to the days when Themistocles masterminded the triumph at Salamis. By 1817, the Odessan theater had fashioned a Persian War hero who deeply moved Greek audiences and who invited emulation. Noteworthy, too, is that the actors and spectators, including Koumas, eagerly communicated their excitement about the patriotism that propelled the Odessan cultural life to Greek-speaking communities elsewhere. This excitement is metaphorically expressed by the delight that the performers took in donning "splendid," ancient-style Greek costumes. The design and the effect of the eye-catching costumes were, nonetheless, measured by the "quality" standards of the playhouses of [western] Europe.[112] Also noteworthy is that the Greek euphoria might have infected other ethnic communities of Odessa, breeding ground of revolutionary ferment. Odessa's spotlight on the hero of the Persian War victory at Salamis focused the antityrannical mission on the impending naval and other hostile encounters with the Ottomans. Odessa also fostered the Greek inclination to turn popular heroic dramas into antityrannical rallies, with strong nationalist, communal, and almost celebratory overtones for widely receptive audiences. The recipients of the public's enraptured applause were no longer the actors themselves, but the historical figures, or rather the historical promise that they embodied. Koumas's

letter captured for Oikonomos (and for the Greek reading public of the *Hermes*) the precise moment when patriotic display became display of nationalism, and when antityrannical sentiment became anti-Turkish animosity. It also placed Oikonomos right in the eye of the storm.

## ANOTHER ALEXANDER, ANOTHER THEATER SCENE

The military leadership of the Odessan Society of Friends soon enlisted the potent myth of the *Themistocles* to drive a broad patriotic conversion and civic conscription for the impending struggle. On February 24, 1821, the society's leader, Alexandros Ypselantes (Hypselantes), issued a famous call to revolt in Jassy in Moldavia, which he invaded in the earliest phase of his rebellion (February–March 1821). His "manifesto" proves an important point: an urgent call to arms for the sake of liberty, it invokes Themistocles and the stock tyrannicides, or the staples of the theatrical adaptations that had roused the Odessans in the years and months prior to February 1821. Ypselantes's proclamation also demonstrates how the references to the classic tyrant slayers functioned as modes of disguise for denouncing the modern Ottoman despots. The call was answered by, notably, many students from the Greek diaspora communities who joined the revolt, only to be crushed by the Turks within a few months. The sortie of Ypselantes and his motley army barely had a chance. The loss of these self-sacrificing modern Spartans or this "Sacred Battalion," as modern Greek history chose to remember it, was the tragedy also of the nation's young intellectual life being stunted by premature death.[113] Thus Ypselantes's proclamation links Odessa firmly to student performance on stage and on the battlefield, much in the way Oikonomos had his student perform Aeschylus's *Persians* as another call to arms, or as revolutionary theater (in multiple meanings of the words). Ypselantes declared,

> The Fatherland (*he Patris*) is calling us!
>
> Europe, fixing its eyes upon us, wonders at our inertia (*akinesia*). . . . Europe will admire our valour (*andragathia*). . . .
>
> In Rome, [Brutus,] a friend of Caesar, shaking the bloody mantle of the tyrant, raised up the people. What will you do, O Greeks, to whom the Motherland, naked, shows its wounds and, with broken voice, calls on the help of its children? . . .
>
> The heroic struggles of our forefathers are witnesses ([*m*]*artyres*). . . .
>
> The Motherland will reward her obedient and genuine children with the prizes of Glory and Honour. Those who disobey and turn a deaf ear to this present appeal will be declared bastards . . . , their names, as traitors, anathematised and cursed by later generations. . . .

> Let us then once again . . . invite Liberty (*Eleutheria*) to the classical land of Greece! Let us do battle between Marathon and Thermoplyae [*sic*]! Let us fight on the tombs of our fathers, who, so as to leave us free, fought and died there! The blood of the Tyrants is acceptable . . . to the shades of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who destroyed the yoke of Peisistratus, to that of Timoleon, who restored freedom to Corinth and Syracuse, certainly to those of Miltiades and Themistocles, of Leonidas and the Three Hundred, who cut down the innumerable armies of the barbarous Persians, whose most barbarious and inhuman descendants we today . . . are about to annihilate completely.[114]

Ypselantes opened his proclamation with the motto, "Fight for Faith and Fatherland," and he invoked the shades of Brutus, the Marathon fighters, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, Timoleon, Miltiades, Themistocles, and Leonidas. His call to revolt espoused the legacy of the Persian Wars and also the more biographical interest in the characters that, by early 1821, sealed the dramatic trope of tyrannicide. In prior years, the patriotic Greek audiences of Odessa and Jassy, where the call was issued, had seen, read, or certainly heard about the *Harmodius and Aristogeiton* of Lassanes, the *Timoleon* of Zampelios, and the *Themistocles* of Metastasio or Rousiades. The anonymous heroic drama *Leonidas at Thermopylae*, published in 1816, had been staged in Odessa in the following year.[115] It might seem odd, though, for Ypselantes to try to foment revolutionary fervor by alluding first to Roman history, with the reference to Brutus's killing of Caesar. However, Voltaire's plays *Brutus* and *The Death of Caesar* were precisely the plays that were the talk of Odessa in the months preceding the proclamation.[116] Also the Greek community of Bucharest, not too far from Jassy, had seen stage adaptations (through the prominent role of Konstantinos Kyriakos Aristias, actor, translator, and stage manager) of Voltaire's *Death of Caesar* in 1819 and of his *Brutus* in 1820.[117] Because neoclassical adaptations were all the rage and overshadowed stage productions of ancient drama in the prerevolutionary Greek communities, it was hardly surprising that Ypselantes invoked the common experience of a recent and popular set of adaptations first, even at the expense of Greek history and Greek pride. The classic tyrant slayers were recirculated in the rhetoric of the contemporary Greek stage and revolutionary dream. They returned, too, not as upstart rebels or unlawful agitators, but with an impressive ancestry that glorified their audiences as well: that of political revolutionaries, victorious liberators, and guiltless tyrannicides. Thus the image of the paradigmatic revolutionary was largely shaped by the French and Italian (and some Greek) neoclassical and Enlightenment theater, which itself was the expression of a broader movement that drove the

search for Greek lineage and living continuity. The exemplary Greek revolutionary was the embodiment also of historical parallelisms, which were, rather than potentially reactionary, progressive and forward-looking. Those parallels made for a stirring form of memory theater—both the restored memory of the normative past and the recent memories of a shared reception of the most stimulating plays of Greek patriotic drama.

Relying on the shared theatrical experiences of the Greek audiences of Odessa and Jassy, Ypselantes put all the variants of the trope of tyrannicide on display. His first name, Alexander, too, held the promise of revenge against the eastern oppressors. Marcellus had characterized his Greek friends as "always waiting for another Alexander to take revenge on their behalf" (331). Through the mediation of Alexandros Maurogordatos, Ypselantes's cousin and tutor to Mary Shelley, news about the call to arms likely reached the Shelleys in Italy. Shelley, who was revising his *Hellas*, incorporated current exploits of the Greek War of Independence. For the western world, not Ypselantes's call to revolt but Shelley's *Hellas* reiterated the polarization between Greek liberty and Muslim oppression as an urgent—and Orientalist—problem. Moreover, Shelley, with an eye for the grand drama that was playing out in the Greek lands and especially on the Greek seas of the early 1820s, reintroduced Aeschylus's *Persians* as a source of affirmation. Ypselantes's proclamation delivered a sense of being "on view" for the West. He spoke to the young male generation in performative language about performing patriotism, which meant enacting the antityrannical feats that it performed and applauded on stage. Adding to the theatrical metaphor—and pressure—was Ypselantes's cue that best combined performance and performativity: "Europe, fixing its eyes upon us, wonders at our inertia. . . . Europe will admire our valour." Western Europe acted as an audience to this eastern theater, and was ready to pass judgment. Ypselantes perceived himself, too, as a character acting under watchful European eyes. His exhortation teemed with historical allusions that had to spur the Greeks on to further acts of bravery and that aligned their victories with the triumphs of the Persian Wars. But Ypselantes's classical references were meant to appeal also to the West and thus to exorcise its anxieties about a nascent Balkan revolution. These references were, in essence, neoclassical imports, that is, they had largely been generated by the West. For western observers, Ypselantes confirmed the desired image of Greece as a land still populated with ancient heroes and in which the famous battle cries still reverberated. That was an idealized image, however, which signified ownership of territory as well as of patrimony in western nationalist terms. Marcellus made the fixated gaze of the European literal, as a spectator at the reading of

Aeschylus's *Persians*. The ideals that the 1820 reading had to convey in detail to the attentive and sympathetic foreigner were condensed in Ypselantes's proclamation of about one year later. The reading of Aeschylus's *Persians* that offered an education in Greek patriotism, Hellenism, and philhellenism, taught a neoclassical dramatic ethos as well: it raised the expectation that its performers become further (phil)hellenized through a western-oriented ideology.

## WILL ACT FOR CHANGE—IN ODESSA

The 1820 reading of Aeschylus's *Persians*, though performed in classical Greek, was in touch with contemporary fashions in Odessa. The turn away from the predilection for Themistocles' later life to the heyday of Salamis was a smaller ideological step to take than the return to ancient Greek, which posed its own dramaturgical challenges. Oikonomos had already learned with just how much enthusiasm his compatriots in Odessa had received the *Themistocles*, as per Koumas's public letter in the periodical *Hermes*. The *Hermes* was a good indicator of other trends in Odessa as well: in the midst of the *Themistocles* frenzy, voices went up in this medium that called on the Greeks of Odessa to rediscover the actual ancient tragedians. An anonymous member of Koraes's milieu railed about the attitude of some Odessans in his *Hermes* article, titled "Diatribe of a Greek, Friend of His People, on the Situation of the Greeks Living in Odessa around the Year 1816." The anonymous author may have been Ioannes Makres.[118] He gave himself the Enlightenment-inspired epithet of "*philogenos*," "patriotic" Greek, or "friend of his people." He chastised "conservatives" who opposed the theatrical initiative of the drama-loving younger generation, while he himself demanded more stage productions. He insisted that, after some neoclassical and antityrannical adaptations, the Odessan audiences be offered a chance to see, "as if risen from death, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes," and also to hear "[their] ancestral language."[119] The author's call for "native" plays, in ancient Greek, should not fool us: he still relied on channels of text transmission that were thoroughly western. A script was needed for Aeschylus to make a stage debut in Odessa and, if the author of the "Diatribe" had his way, it would be the classical text in a western-style edition. His complaints appear to have been addressed. Aeschylus's *Persians*, Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, and Euripides' *Hecuba* were staged in Odessa in 1817 and 1818. Significantly, these were precisely the three tragedies that Oikonomos shortly thereafter weighed as options for him and his students to perform. Oikonomos might well have been the cultural lifeline between Odessa and the schools of Smyrna and Kydonia. Again, his contacts in Odessa were substantial

enough for him to flee to this "theater-friendly" location shortly after the revolution broke out.

For Odessa and also for Oikonomos, prerevolutionary theater was not merely a text-based, intellectual debate but, significantly, a discourse of performance on stage and later on the battlefield. Greek educators such as Koraes and Oikonomos saw in Odessa's flourishing status an affirmation of the fertile connection between theater, education, freedom, and civic virtue. Odessa provided a cultural model that the prerevolutionary Greek intelligentsia (including the outspoken Koumas) could only have hoped to expand to other Greek territories. As long as such an expansion was practically impossible, they could try to recreate Odessa's vibrant theatrical scene in small school and other edificatory environments, which, however, tended to be more traditional. Rather than being the odd production out, the 1820 reading of Aeschylus's *Persians* brings together the various contemporary trends, locales, sponsors, and the choice protagonists and their "Oriental" exploits. Thus Aeschylus's *Persians* was presented in the Constantinopolitan reading of 1820 against the backdrop of the communal experience of the patriotic to antityrannical accretions of neoclassical and ancient plays alike.

## Contagious Scripts

But how about a touchstone against which to measure the validity of our preliminary conclusions? Are there any other classical tragedies whose modern Greek interpretations also pursued the path of Orientalism, at the expense of the original's intention (however difficult to deduce)? The students at the School of Kydonia may well have delivered the answer. They grew all excited about acting out "nationalist" classical plays, but saw reciting Homer as more of a "punishment" (reserved for their peers who failed to practice ancient Greek, as they had sworn to do under oath).[120] The students welcomed the opportunities in theatrical works to transform themselves into patriotic amateur actors and to dress the parts. Notice the shift from an emphasis on recitation to performance, "great spectacle," and "actors" in Firmin-Didot's recollection: "Different conversations, the reading of the ancient poets or the recitation of Euripides' *Hecuba*, which we presented with great spectacle in the cellars of the College, occupied all our evenings. The doors were then carefully closed, for fear lest one could see from outside the arms which the actors carried. This excuse alone would have sufficed to close the *gymnasion*, as it had the previous year, when the Turks, seeing a French music master beating time to the pupils, claimed that in this way they were being instructed in the military art."[121]

Frustratingly, Firmin-Didot left little information on how the students of Kydonia interpreted Euripides' *Hecuba*.[122] But because the occasion for the students to dress up as victorious Greek warriors ("the arms which the actors carried") was apparently one of the play's main attractions, I suspect that their interpretation may have emphasized Greek male conquest and revenge, not the suffering of the vanquished Trojan or eastern "enemy" women. An alternative identification of these women with the oppressed Greeks would have jeopardized the Greeks' desire to cast off Orientalist biases of effeminacy and weakness. Equating the Trojan women with the Ottoman opponents, on the other hand, allowed the Greek students to indulge in similar Orientalist prejudices about the enemy. The patriotic and masculinist mission, captured in the weaponry that the Greek "heroes" liked to sport in front of rallying Greek peers, outweighed any emotions of empathy and broader literary or theater-historical reservations. Neither Firmin-Didot nor Marcellus elaborated on the theme of masculinity, but the former did convey the young men's zeal when they rediscovered Greek male values in the past and found another prefiguration of Greek military victory in the Trojan War. Throughout the various prerevolutionary stagings and throughout this *Hecuba*, too, the relationship between performativity and gender construction (to transpose Judith Butler's terms) was singularly male. The explicit demands on the players posited gender as performative: for men and men of action, that is, at the expense of the women of the male foes. Even if we underwrite Harold Bloom's observation that all interpretation is "necessary misprision," this must strike us as an extreme degree of misprision or dislocating of the play's meaning. In evaluating the patriotic reading of Aeschylus's *Persians*, Marcellus, too, endorsed the projected masculine ideals, and he paid little attention to alternative moral messages or warning signs. The prerevolutionary Greek circles had drawn from their memory of previous receptions of neoclassical adaptations, and they applied this memory to ancient tragedies as well: this memory was the experience of the bulk of those works as heroic, nationalist dramas. The residue of such memories may necessitate that the reader qualify the *Hecuba* production as part of a patriotic repertoire by young, masculinist players and for approving, in-house spectators. All may have been emboldened by their geographical proximity to Troy, the setting of Euripides' poignant play—in an odd and aggressive twist on what Lawrence Durrell has called "spirit of place."

The modern Greek reception history of the *Persians*, the *Hecuba*, and other plays should never dismiss or exclude students and amateurs, primarily because they have refused to exclude themselves. At Kydonia, the students identified with the "historical" ancient Greeks on a popular,

visceral, and nationalist level. Puchner notes that a school production of Euripides' *Hecuba* took place in 1819, at the Gymnasium of Saint Savvas in Bucharest. He offers this production as another example of the sponsorship that the rulers of the Danubian principalities bestowed on patriotic student theater, and also of the connections that its sponsors and teachers maintained with the Society of Friends in Odessa.[123] To think of Euripides' *Hecuba* as Greek-patriotic is one thing, to count it among the antityrannical dramas is yet another—and quite shocking to modern cultural sensibilities. This is, however, one of the risks associated with excavating a play's performance history. Because the clash between the Greeks and the Trojans is the pivotal axis of dramatic conflict in the *Hecuba*, this tragedy, like the *Persians*, held the promise of the victorious outcome of the Greeks' anticipated antityrannical action against their eastern oppressors. Never mind that conquered women, rather than aggressive Trojans/Turks, take on the lion's share of the play. The Greeks recognized "the cry of anger of the oppressed" not in the *Hecuba*, but in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, which again prefigured Greek victory over the eastern foe.[124] Playing the *Themistocles*, Aeschylus's *Persians*, or Sophocles' *Philoctetes* filled the prerevolutionary Greeks with the euphoric feeling of reenacting destined, triumphal episodes of Greek history. The same excitement likely contaminated the interpretation of Euripides' *Hecuba*. The linkage between ancient and modern Greek military exploits construed the type of continuity that the younger Greek generations liked to act out in the dramatic, performative medium.[125]

## Conclusion

More than any other passage of Aeschylus's *Persians*, the modernized paean captured the dialectical and edificatory relationship between antiquity and modernity, and also the force of the moral imperative of patriotism. For the Greeks of the revolutionary period, Aeschylus hailed an action and an ethos that were condensed in *Persians* 402–5. The play's "motto" was derived from those lines, which entailed an untrue reduction of the famously grand tragedy. Marcellus's story of the nightly act of reading the *Persians*, with the invited few only, made the modern paean resound as if it were the battle cry for the impending freedom fight. Moreover, the paean captured the most palatable and irresistible version of patriotic devotion: in the western view, it adumbrated the guiding principles of freedom, justice, progress, unity, and also—by somewhat strained extension—of democracy. Needless to say, the lines and the tragedy in its entirety do not support all of those contemporary projections. Yet advocates of this ideal slogan for philhellenism all too readily credited Greece with inventing democracy, and they

did so based on sound bites from the ancient texts. Marcellus's focus on the play's purple passage and on its modern Greek reincarnation skirted the vexed issue of what the complex tragedy had relayed in antiquity. The original play, for one, had made the paean reflect the recent past of Greece. In 1820, on the other hand, the battle cry prefigured the struggles ahead. It no longer preceded what was—to put it somewhat disrespectfully—the ancient Greeks' last-ditch attempt to stop the Persian invasion of 480 BCE. In 1820, the lines heralded an aggressive sortie onto the teleological trajectory toward Greek selfhood. The reading of the *Persians* held and then finally released the pent-up battle cry, and the battle cry itself became the epitome of the full play's (modern) Orientalist meanings and motivations. Articulating its appointment with western destiny, this paean to liberty was a byword for the tragedy's classical heyday and for the "manifest" return of those glory days: it continued to evoke a strong emotional and intellectual connection to the making of the new nation.

Aeschylus's paean expanded the durable, performative scope of the ancient play and of the 1820 reading. The battle cry has continued to work the interstices of modern Greek theater, political and social history, and cultural memory, mostly to evoke unquenched love for the endangered ideals of fatherland, freedom, and faith. This development laid bare, however, how rhetoric enacted Greek patriotism, enmity, victory, and even lineage in simplified definitions, which were often hard to distinguish from western and, in particular, French revolutionary jingoism. Regarded as a play-slogan, Aeschylus's paean became the powerful producer, but also the new product of its own performative and Orientalist strength. The battle cry engendered a performative construction of Greek national identity in response to a broader glorification of the patriotic. It delivered language that became performance and action all in one. This language demanded a counteract on the part of the audience to the performance, challenging its members to effect change and to produce behaviors that would directly impact on political operations. Thus the Orientalist paean of 1820 was about moving toward performance and performativity, or about transitioning from memory to praxis.

The Greek intelligentsia, backed by the approval of travelers and diplomats such as Marcellus, marshaled vital resources in its struggle against external and internal enemies, and it exploited the western European penchant for ancient tragedy. The semisacred combination of classical theater and patriotism—the product of an unrealistic idealism projected onto Greece's cultural resources—built a rich reserve of international goodwill for the revolutionaries. The foundation makers of western modernity were discovering their legitimacy in the desire for autonomy that drove the

modern Greeks. Aeschylus's oldest tragedy became a channel of nineteenth-century liberal values, which western Europeans had found exemplified in the classical Greek civilization but which could be diminished by any adverse modern Greek context. The concealed place of the reading witnessed a revelatory, nation-changing act. As the repository of a (re)invented cultural memory, the reading was made to reach back into the fifth century BCE and to become a building block of modern Greek patriotism. History, even unrequited history, was enlisted in the cause of contemporary Greek nationalism. By crediting a handful of elite Greeks with key Enlightenment values, Marcellus "rescued" the modern Greeks from the intense Orientalist stigma that enveloped their immediate neighbors.

The popularity of the paean, the *Themistocles* plays, the *Persians*, and the *Hecuba*, albeit in different degrees, leads us to important conclusions: there is no denying that the polarity between West and East was imbedded in the earliest phases of modern Greek dramaturgy, as was the identification with the history of the victor, or with history as victory. This polarization steered modern Greek history as well, because of the active role that revolutionary theater played in that history. It inflected also the history writing of modern Greece from its earliest and most modest beginnings—in large part through the theatrical conception that philhellenes brought to modern Greek history. Along similar lines, the Persian War conflict had engendered and indelibly marked the beginnings of ancient Greek historiography, but also of western history writing altogether. In other words, the West-East dichotomy and the wave of support with which philhellenes and Greeks received it in historical, literary, theatrical, and other media, rapidly became a *raison d'être* for modern Greece. In its extreme, antagonistic, and ethnocentric form, it was the hegemonic dialectic of Orientalism and its symptomatic binary oppositions that colored the modern Greek reception of Aeschylus's *Persians* for many decades. It was an article of faith among Aeschylus's pre- and postrevolutionary Greek and philhellene readers that the *Persians* carried transhistorical Greek patriotism and masculine valor in the struggle against the—eternally reappearing—eastern opponent. The 1821 War of Independence was elevated to the plane of the Persian War victories even from before the freedom struggle proved victorious and Greece was "reborn." Orientalism was an intrinsic part of the ideological and militant side of Greek nationalism. Orientalism was integral also to the process of the Greeks becoming more western and better connected with "their" classics. The ethnic stereotypes of Orientalism continued to be pervasive long after the framework of western imperialism, which had spawned such perceived ethnicities, had started to crumble.

The 1820s neoclassical makeover and Orientalist manipulation of Aeschylus's *Persians* was sanctified by the enthusiasm among western philhellenes for the classical texts and for the heroes of the Persian War battlefields. It was this neoclassical aesthetic that amplified the Greek patriots' frequent invocations of history, heroism, and liberty (however abstract) and that permeated also Marcellus's story of the 1820 reading. The drive toward antityrannical interpretations was so strong that it soon met its backlash. In the decades after 1821, liberated Greece erected physical theater buildings, but it did not extend or honor the early patriotic struggle of the Greek performance culture: theater practitioners and patriotic plays could not always be sure to find the hard-won freedom of speech.[126] Rather, neoclassical adaptations and melodramas enjoyed official Greek approval and occasional financial sponsorship, often to the detriment of "authentic" revivals of ancient plays and native modern Greek stagings, whose patriotism was then deemed exaggerated or offensive by the foreign (Bavarian) royal house and the Greek aristocracy. Nineteenth-century student and amateur revivals of the classics and modern Greek dramas in the patriotic mode continued, nonetheless, to advertise their political, didactic, and moral identity, which was a rich mixture of myth, history, heroic paradigm, martyr-style death or sacrifice, analogical linking of actuality to the venerated past, and—yes—also art.[127]

It fitted the Orientalist perception well that the borderline between Greece and the Ottoman Empire could be understood as a source of drama, as a territory that housed the theater of war. Moreover, the ancient Greek cultural legacy made this domain the progenitor of drama that impacted politics and created its own social space. The Orient was a locale also of self-dramatization, or a place to be subjected to an elaborate mise-en-scène. Western spectatorship on this drama was expected to make revolution and reform happen, rather than vice versa. Aeschylus's *Persians* could remain the founding narrative of the Greek nation as long as it continued to perceive the eastern foe as its worst enemy. In the conception of Regas, Greek nationalism was an ideal that could still make ample space for new critical—and literal—territories. But the subsequent choice of Aeschylus's *Persians* as a charter myth for the Greek Revolution had started to close off some of those options. In its modern readings, the tragedy played a critical role in the formation of Greek national consciousness in the very face of—and onstage against—the East. As vehicles of modern Orientalism, the play and its reception meant to sustain also western domination over Greek territories, which they helped to define against the unspecified landmass that was Asia. Marcellus's archive invites a further interrogation of Aeschylus's *Persians* in its modern Orientalist light, which our final chapter will attempt.

Chapter 4

# Epilogue

Marcellus's writings certainly satisfy any scholar who approaches nineteenth-century France, Greece, or the Ottoman Empire with broad cultural interests. His records may be situated in the large area of academic common ground of travel writing, Orientalism, and philhellenism, where students of the nineteenth century have reconfigured fields of inquiry that still face formidable archival, empirical, and theoretical challenges. His stories open up additional epistemic opportunities to discuss authorial intention, fictionalization, gendering, and performativity. These big and smaller issues raise scores of questions, hence the nature of this last chapter, which is part epilogue, part conclusion: it revisits and adds to the critiques of Orientalism, philhellenism, and Classics; it outlines the reception of Aeschylus's *Persians* in light of premodern and modern Orientalism; and it places a theatrical lens on Greece's moveable position in the Orient.

This study has brought together case studies that deserved careful analysis, precisely because they were framed by the cultural space and time that was the turbulent Greek revolutionary period. Within the vast array of travel narratives, whose potential for relaying and transforming anxieties about the East is necessarily limited, I had to be fairly eclectic in proposing sources and methodological paths of inquiry. The stories I selected, however, metaphorically stand for what was happening to Greece at the time of the revolution and of the country's accession to global history. I have used the two stories also to demonstrate just how different we, as classicists or as denizens of the twenty-first century, have considered our purview to be from the Orientalist attitude. We continue to describe the Orientalist attitude as the amorphous antics of past centuries rather than to confront its surreptitious, insidious legacy, which still forges our discipline and our contemporary world. One narration could be called a story that concerns the reception of ancient art, the other a story from the modern tradition of classical theater. These themes represented two of the most manifest ways in which the West insisted on contemplating—and objectifying—Greece.

## ORIENTALIST AND PHILHELLENIST SIGNPOSTS

The records of Marcellus can be read as cultural artifacts that were rooted in the period that Said identified as formative of Orientalism. The diplomat's finds and findings invite us to think differently and more expansively about the Orientalist attitude, in the formulation and reproduction of which he participated. They add subtlety to the diffuse map of France's ambassadorial and commercial pursuits in the eastern Mediterranean. They also help us to reconceptualize Greece's position in the Orient (of the Orientalist representation). Thus Marcellus's stories matter in many ways but, if I may argue, they matter especially for students of Orientalism and its critiques, philhellenism and its "patriotic" drama, and the history of Greek theater. I have acknowledged Said's work, *Orientalism* of 1978, as a useful tool for analysis in previous chapters. I am swift to caution, however, against the liberal use of imperialist and postcolonial theories, especially when they are projected onto countries and territories that were never colonized in any real way. I allow, however, for the category of colonization in a symbolic or metaphorical manner, because this distinction bears special relevance for Greece. More than three decades have passed since 1978, and the epistemological hegemony of the West should long have been shaken by more studies that draw on different intellectual and geographical perspectives. Instead of the originally Greek idea of "the West" losing much of its legitimacy, it has become more entrenched in current contexts, despite some classicists' timely intervention in the West-East debate and in new modes of cross-cultural representation.

Many scholars have taken stock and have questioned the contradictions and, in particular, the nonhistorical essentialism of Said's version of Orientalism.[1] Critics such as Hall, Lisa Lowe, and Saree Makdisi have scrutinized Said's ostensible, one and totalizing contrast of West versus East, and they have proffered important revisions to an equally important original premise.[2] This essentialism has been retraced to find its early expression in the very rudimentary, hostile blocks of ancient Greece versus Achaemenid Persia and of the hasty identification of the ancient Persians with the Turks or even with the contemporary Iraqis and Iranians. Within this indiscriminate mental, political, and military framework, the Greek struggle for liberation, which broke out precisely two and a half centuries after the battle of Lepanto (1571), was presented as a war of western civilization against eastern barbarism. The historical trajectory of such provocative identifications has been outlined in the very timely volume, *Cultural Responses to the Persian Wars: Antiquity to the Third Millennium*, edited by Emma Bridges, Edith Hall, and P. J. Rhodes (2007). Presuming continuity, however, lands us on treacherous territory. So, too,

does the argument that charges Aeschylus's *Persians*, the "historical" tragedy that dealt with a subject from living memory, with a decisive role in creating this "surplus" of representation: it encompasses interpretations, adaptations, and reenactments that have ranged from "historical" to histrionic—in the multiple meanings of the words. I address these problems and pitfalls in more detail below.

The engagement with Orientalism and with Said's seminal œuvre remains a work in progress. My aim, then, has been to respond with two case studies relevant to Classics (broadly defined to include the later tradition) to the general queries posed by scholars such as Valerie Kennedy (2000) and Zachary Lockman (2004), who treat the problems of Orientalist definition and its qualifications. Our case studies have unmasked the ambivalent and conflictual tendencies in the mindset of the western philhellene classicist of the nineteenth century. Only by addressing some of the blind spots in our own disciplinary field of vision may we make a modest start in the study of Orientalism and its iterations in classical scholarship of the past two hundred years. I turned to the record of travel writing and diplomatic reportage that explored Greece as a bedrock-like, conceptual meeting ground, to undertake the anatomy of the historical culture of West-East relations that was rooted in the country's material and conceptual richness. This book's analysis of Marcellus's two stories reflects separate but related strands of inquiry into travel writing and diplomacy, and also into philhellenism and Orientalism—and the essentialism and contradictions of the latter pair. One solution to broker the discrepancies was, indeed, to join two experiences written up by one and the same author. Marcellus, our French diplomat, had a zeal for travel and a passion for Greek antiquity; he was an Orientalist and a Hellenist at the same time. The contrastive pair of his stories opened new windows on the West-East conflict, because it offered up a unique, other-lingual, and other-cultural outlook, which was firmly grounded in material as well as textual sources. These two narrations are even richer for thematizing travel while remaining nontypical products of the genre of travel writing. Marcellus's travel accounts situated themselves in Greece—in a real or in a mere notional country. The freewheeling textual and intellectual practice that characterizes these accounts has lent itself to further inquiry into the terms of nationalism, imperialism, exploration, and exploitation. The Frenchman's two stories have shed light also on agendas of the home country, cross-cultural reading communities, and aspects of transnational cultural studies—such as the politics of framing travel writing.

Our contribution then to the recent proliferation of studies on more diverse travel writing lies in a detailed examination of narratives of travel

through ancient and modern Greek time and also through eastern Mediterranean space. The nonconformist adventures of an otherwise conforming French diplomat inspired writings that pose a number of issues and nuances, which needed to be named and theorized also in the light of the alliance between Orientalism and Classics. Around 1820, the perspectives of travelers and diplomats moving between the West, Greece, and the Ottoman Empire destabilized the narrowly focused activities of armchair classical scholars and archaeologists. Therefore, an interrogation of their records must challenge our own perceptions on the history of our discipline and questions of current global significance, the formation of new historical accounts and political master narratives, and the entrenching of nationalist and patriotic identities in times of West-East convulsions. With the recurring emphasis on Orientalism, nationalism, and patriotism, this study has entered into broad subjects on which many others have contributed and will contribute their views; therefore, it could only achieve a concerted foray, with attention to detail, into these larger debates; it could not attempt exhaustive coverage of their many facets. These topics do deserve a microhistorical study that lays bare some of the sensitive cultural nerves that run through the modern history of Greece and Turkey, while it encourages the reader to rethink the domains of history, politics, philology, and archaeology. These themes carry critical importance also for the formative intellectual history of classical scholarship, historiography, and archaeology from the late eighteenth century onward. They touch on the role that Hellenism and Classics played in the shaping of modernity, which—arguably—caused the gap between West and East to widen. In turn, they reveal how the questions we ask or do not ask of (our study of) the ancient past originate in modern cultural and political contexts.

I joined the side of Said's critics to study the permeable realm of philhellenism and Orientalism. These critics acknowledge the explanatory relevance of Said's interpretive model, but ascertain that his central tenets, especially with regard to Greek antiquity, should be subjected to further ideological scrutiny and theoretical fine-tuning. Said suggested that Orientalism embodies a "*textual* attitude" to the eastern culture.[3] This notion aptly describes an Orientalizing attitude to Greece as well: before Greece became a nation, it was a land of literary *topoi*, waiting to be matched with actual places by the earliest travelers, who arrived with Homer, Herodotus, and other ancient texts in hand. Travel writing inflected restrictive or normative conceptions of Greece, including Orientalist notions. Philology, which was the early travelers' method for "reading" Greece, has therefore been dubbed "philologism," or the kind of

authoritative philology that enjoyed long-lasting critical favor under the auspices of institutionalized Orientalism. Herzfeld speaks of "the brutal tyranny of philologism in Greece."[4] Lockman perhaps best sums up Said's definition of "modern Orientalism" (or the Orientalism that, in Said's view, started anew in the late eighteenth century), which invoked the textual, philological approach and (re)presentation:[5] "For Said Orientalism thus denoted all the texts, institutions, images, imaginings and attitudes through which Europeans (and later Americans) had created and perpetuated a certain image or 'representation' of 'the Orient,' a representation that had little to do with what the parts of the world so depicted were actually like."[6]

Gourgouris has called philhellenism "an Orientalism in the most profound sense," because, like Orientalism, modern philhellenism was about representing or "othering" a culture, the Greek culture, by projecting one's own images onto it.[7] Even though territories such as Greece and the Balkans were never colonized by European powers in the literal sense, many scholars have fruitfully argued for a metaphoric or allegorical kind of colonization.[8] Gourgouris has defined the colonial imagination that, in the more concrete form of philhellenism, pertained to Greece as the "colonization of the ideal," which was necessarily "*autoscopic*."[9] He intends this phrase to denote a relationship between subject and object that applied, not to the Ottoman rule over Greece, but to the West's investment in Greek antiquity.[10] Those focusing exclusively on classical Greece have claimed that, prior to philhellenism, there was no Greece with a viable status of being or potentially becoming anew.[11] Phiroze Vasunia confirms that eighteenth and nineteenth-century philhellenes joined in the Orientalist project to further detach ancient Greek culture from its eastern Mediterranean and Asiatic contexts, driven by their desire to preserve the "uncorrupted" purity of the West's ancient Greek roots.[12] Such claims demanded that I deconstruct the two stories by Marcellus, to show that philhellenic and Orientalist production were neither linear nor simple. Especially the classically trained traveler who pursued a resurrection of all the vestiges of Greek antiquity that he could find often expressed unease with modern Greek culture.[13] His solution was to lump in modern Greece with the vast eastern and other-cultural domain that was typically the playground of the strict Orientalist. Gourgouris calls this the "anti-Hellenic" solution of the western philhellene.[14] He distinguishes between the "explicit" philhellenism that was enthralled with ancient "ruins and legends" and the philhellenism that sought a "contemporary resurrection of ancient traces."[15]

It is this line of thought that allows Gourgouris to equate philhellenism with Orientalism and, therefore, with antihellenic tendencies. In

my view, his distinction can productively be expanded by the more clear-cut difference between the ancient vestiges that were rooted in Greek soil and those that were not, or between archaeology and philology. Both artifacts and texts excited the traveling philhellene, but sculpture could be unearthed and exported from Greece, whereas most texts did no longer have to be uncovered. The "discovery" of the classical texts was long known to be a shining achievement of the western Renaissance. The bulk of the texts was in "safe" western possession in their material form as Byzantine manuscripts. The classical literary corpus was no longer contested (material) property, unlike the many artifacts that were shipped off under politically contentious circumstances. Texts were perceived to be portable to and from any location and were thus disassociated from the Greek lands. Printed editions had made them into reproducible repositories of western knowledge (be it knowledge inevitably reduced or distorted by its compression). In the best case scenario, texts could be restored or, ironically, "imported" to the Greek lands, not as manuscripts, but as manuals for sharing knowledge. The discrepancy between Marcellus's treatment of treasure versus text also touches on the transdisciplinary question of the objectivity of "scientific" archaeology versus the (stated) subjectivity of philology. The Frenchman's account lets the reader gauge how and where the prestige-driven Orientalist mode of archaeology (or, rather, counter-archaeology) met the record of the text-based interpretation, which made the representational *tour de force* of the Venus story serve as a rationale agreeable to the West.

Part of the above perception, however, is firmly grounded in a western imperialist view of the discipline of Classics. It is certainly not the whole story. Yet, we may find ourselves reading it without immediately contesting the ideological values that it conveys and reaffirms. The circles of prerevolutionary Greek intellectuals we encountered saw the need, too, for a suitable site and spiritual homeland to house the preserved corpus of ancient literature. It was therefore a most urgent matter that the liberated Greek state, rather than the western European nations of the Enlightenment, provide the long-awaited *topos* for classical language and literature. The competing European sites had taken a head start in presenting themselves as potentially more convenient homelands, with a better cultural and sociopolitical infrastructure to receive the displaced ancient Greek civilization.[16] It was a historical irony, perhaps, that the French Enlightenment laid bare the pressing need for the Neohellenic intelligentsia to define the proper relationship between the new nation and western Europe but also between the modern Greeks and their western-invented classical progenitors. The Enlightenment

indirectly cultivated the insistence on the ethnic and cultural lineage of the Neohellenes from classical Greece.

When we ponder the many dimensions of the West-East conflict today, we consider the weight of economic and military resources—the means and, at times, the ends of possible confrontations. But we tend to underplay the political ammunition that cultural resources may procure. This book has taken us into the contested territory of cultural resources and has applied Bourdieu's terms of "cultural capital" both to ancient art and artifacts and to the reception of classical drama. Perhaps more than countless others in the eastern Mediterranean, the Greeks were affected by events and movements that ruled the world stage. Philhellenism was one of those movements, which the Greeks internalized rather than controlled as they, too, tried to exploit western-defined cultural capital. After Winckelmann, the time was ripe for the Greek elite to mine ancient sculpture for its cultural capital. Greek tragedy, too, which the Enlightenment had rediscovered as must-have (that is, must-know) cultural property, started to command growing prestige in the fledgling Greek state. This development soon spawned fantasies among Neohellenists (such as Koraes) of western-style cultural autarky—a contradiction in terms. It remains important that we study both treasures and texts, telling indicators of Greece's cultural "productivity," from the above perspective, since scholars have not usually turned to those subjects to situate the West-East polarization in a modern historical and political context.

The protracted didacticism of Marcellus foregrounded the links with the classical past. The Frenchman's reading audience was invited to discover Greece as an oasis of "authenticity" in the midst of a barren Oriental desert. Therefore, any cultural preserves had to be traced back to antiquity, according to the "archaeological" paradigm of Greek culture that dominated the nineteenth century, when the foundations of Greek archaeology and historiography were being laid. Greek intellectuals familiar with philhellenic literature often translated this paradigm's tenets back into "indigenous" conceptualizations for younger generations of Greeks and Europeans to rediscover—again—as "authentically" Greek. Marcellus was an exponent of such complex dialogic relationships. His case exposed the historical and archaeological inscriptions of philhellenic memory while sustaining Orientalist attitudes. His writing stressed the emergence of a "native," self-generated Hellenism among a small sample of the Constantinopolitan Greeks, or of an autochthony and dramatic agency that chimed well with the history behind Aeschylus's *Persians*. Calotychos aptly describes the degrees of metaphorical colonization and self-colonization at work in the 1820s Greek intellectual milieus: "The

Greeks themselves . . . are relearning and (re)adapting their *own* civilization's ideals, after a perceived rupture or break in their tradition."[17] Marcellus's Greek friends adopted, through Aeschylus's *Persians*, not only a political pose, but also a style of profound intellectual, ideological, and strategic mastery of their cultural and other—exploitable—resources, which would allow them to overcome Oriental oppression. These Greeks used the play, not to resist western colonialist interests, but to appropriate what those colonialist interests had on offer for them—to "colonize the ideal" for themselves.[18]

Was Marcellus not exaggerating Greek autochthonism and its momentous effects? His presence at the reading alone raises the question of just how genuine any revival of a classical tragedy might have been under the watchful eyes of a foreigner, whom the well-connected Greek company tried hard to impress. Marcellus produced and also imported cultural images of Greece and the Greeks, at a time when examples of "authentic" survivals and renewals could still be manipulated by the persistent drive of inventing tradition (that is, tradition that invents, in a slight twist on the formulation of Eric Hobsbawm). The Frenchman's desire to boost Greek authenticity might explain also his silence on the subject of the textual sources behind the 1820 reading and its links to other prerevolutionary performances. Marcellus's act of isolating "his" Greek theatrical evening was another Orientalizing deed. The suppressed links would have revealed many western connections. The emphasis on the classical past, on the other hand, satisfied philhellenic sentiment, but it also rearticulated philhellenism against itself. Refusing to appear vulnerable to the challenge that was its underside, Marcellus's philhellenism was a retooled Orientalism.

## Heterogeneity: One Person, Two Faces, Multiple Receptions

Heterogeneity is another aspect that many critics have found lacking in Said's work. Kennedy makes no understatement: "Said's failure to acknowledge the heterogeneity of Orientalism may be one reason why his analysis of it becomes embroiled in contradictory definitions and redefinitions."[19] Lowe argues that Orientalism does not consist of a single, totalizing matrix, but that it is profoundly heterogeneous, uneven, and unstable.[20] She tackles this shortcoming of Said by teasing out the heterogeneity of the Orientalist discourse in a study of three different authors (with emphasis on Lady Montagu). But the differently conceived narrations of as many as three writers over a wide span of time will almost necessarily confirm the heterogeneous, culturally specific, yet

widely intelligible faces of Orientalist representation. A reevaluation, on the other hand, that probes individualized forms of Orientalisms may show them to be heterogeneous inclinations that could combine in one person. Orientalizing was not a one man's enterprise, either. A discussion about heterogeneity versus uniform process may want to include Marcellus's record of his mutually implicated and incommensurate attitudes toward two events that took place within mere weeks of each other. April or early May of 1820 brought the reading of Aeschylus's *Persians*, the play with the longest memory, but also a theater of memory. By late May of 1820, the Venus de Milo was the authentically Greek sculpture with the shortest modern memory. Marcellus's stories of both events condense the memories and aspirations of several decades of Greece's revolutionary history, and also the ambiguities and contradictions of contemporary French imperialist politics. Admittedly, it was not always clear where description of past experience turned into contemporary discourse. The two accounts by Marcellus can well be read separately, but they gain unique significance as a dyad, or as mutually illuminating stories. Our analysis of his archive has reiterated the need for a detailed historical contextualization of the other-cultural societies that it puts on stage, as well as the broader need for caution in studies concerned with questions of reception.

The high degree of the discursive complexity generated by one individual found its concrete expression also in the "multilingual" Greek language experiences that the French accounts relay. The tale of the purchase of the Venus was written in French interspersed with the occasional Greek and Turkish names and technical or administrative terms. The story of the reading, however, is three to four languages removed from what happened on the (real or imagined) stage: the French record translates and paraphrases ancient Greek presented in the modern Greek pronunciation, with one key intermezzo in a high register of the modern Greek vernacular. Also, the French narration is in the odd position of being an "original" record of the secret Greek reading of the classical play. But, back home, Marcellus likely used Alfieri's readily available adaptation to—paradoxically—help trigger his memory of the "Oriental scene." He looked for the best canvas, on which he then projected philologism, philhellenism, and Orientalism. He found the safer mode in which to destabilize histories and memories of transmission—and he would not let his use of Alfieri's source text ruin an otherwise good story.

Marcellus's accounts displayed an Orientalism that was far from logical or syncretic. We discovered in one person not a consistent, organic approach to the sociocultural reading of the East but, rather, an ambivalent or "double vision."[21] The two competing visions of Marcellus can

best be detected in his double portrayal of Nikolaos Mourouzes. Mourouzes was both Oriental and not, Orientalist and not, a western revolutionary fighting the Ottoman foe and an eastern tyrant "worse" than the foe. His gravest offense, it seems, was that he coveted the female nude on which Marcellus had laid eyes. The negative view of Mourouzes was part of the complex of ideas that emboldened the Frenchman in his aggressively imperialist designs. Mourouzes was subjected to the lavish admiration and also to the blunt denigration of the author and, by extension, of the western reading public. Marcellus construed his friend as a paradox of simultaneous inclusion and exclusion, as both the exception and the rule. He hardly invoked any mitigating circumstances upon the young man's untimely death. Nonetheless, his brief mention of the execution may be a rare sign of him comprehending the problematic interdependence of his passion for ancient Greece, his ideology of philhellenism, and the French monarchism on which he was bred. The words of Gourgouris, though not intended to cover Marcellus, aptly describe a nostalgia riven with discrepancies: "The author of memoirs attempts to gain the historian's legitimacy by placing under scrutiny, in the act of confession, his own presence as the subject of history; the writing of history in this sense is always the writing of the suspended present of the confessional act."[22]

What did Marcellus's claim to philhellenism really mean when he started to apply Orientalist stereotypes to those Greeks who trumped his designs on things Greek? Pratt's concept of the "travelee" (that is, the one "traveled over" or the "be-traveled" local), even though it implies a static notion, may shed light on the position of Mourouzes: he is one of those cases of travelees on which the western perception readily shifted, as it did on the traveled territory of Greece.[23] The western outlook reveals much about itself when it produces such shifts. Changes in perception and reception, intersecting discourses, and contradictory complexities, which pivot on ancient and modern Greece, dislodge Said's simplistic binary oppositions. The case of Mourouzes is emblematic of the rhetorical nuances and semiotic transformations that Marcellus's treatment of the modern Greeks enacted: when modern Greeks no longer bespeak their lofty classical pedigree, the only parallel on which the analogy-seeking western writer can fall back is the equation with the "barbarian" despot, the stock type reified in popular travel books and abduction dramas. The tyrant stereotype that found its Greek incarnation in Mourouzes marks the indiscriminate lure and power of the Orientalist discourse. The more forceful, symbolic tyranny, however, which pressed its object into full receptivity, was that exerted by the western author: he insisted on presenting his public with the perfect historical analogy, with a good story, or a melodrama,

and he therefore sacrificed the up-and-coming modern Greek, or the borderline westerner.

The bulk of Marcellus's writings reproduced, in various forms, the Orientalist's fixed and essentialist notions on gender. The Frenchman played (up) a masculine role throughout his narratives: he controlled his stories and aligned them with male-focused and ethnocentric structures of knowledge and reason. However, his tale of the purchase of the Venus (not a gender-dispossessed sculpture) brought out gender differentials in an oblique manner, even as it perpetuated the dominant conceptions of masculine behavior. The standoff of rivals competing to possess the Venus boosted Marcellus's fantasy of male power—or the patriarchal and imperialist rationale for western ownership of ancient art. Knowledge, power, and gender worked together to the detriment of modern Greece. Despotism and sensuality were perceived to be endemic in the Greek rival as in the rest of the Orient.

The Venus statue in its diverse art-historical and geopolitical aspects may help to nuance or alter the reputation of the Orientalist discourse, namely that it was a textual preoccupation prone to ignore more material components.[24] The Venus dominated the new, intensified contact area where ancient material artifacts, language, and drama met. Marcellus unwittingly defined and documented the sociopolitical and psychological common ground among classical art, literature, and contemporary theater. The West's collective search for classical Greece engendered a Greece that fit its own image. That image was embodied in the ideal human figure. Therefore, when such an ideal figure was found "neglected" and "displaced," it had to be brought "home" to the West. The Venus stood for the consummate marvel that was the artistic and cultural legacy of classical Greece but, until she reached France, she served as a vehicle for the material and materialized expression of Orientalism. This made of the Venus not only a collector's object but also a collection per se. She was the composite result of Orientalist referents and plotlines, while she heralded the movement to collect treasures from Greece with which to replace the Louvre's lost masterpieces.

## The Orient in Theater, the Orient as Theater

My analysis of Marcellus's acts of writing up the Orient of Orientalism has benefited much from the conceptual vantage point of theater—or performance, if that term can still be a useful discursive shorthand. I have placed his narratives under the lens of Said's metaphor of Oriental theater, or his view that the Orient has been pared down to a theater set up for western eyes. The two stories illustrate the performative tension between

West and East and also Greece's position within the confrontational showdown. Given that Said drew so heavily on Foucault's analysis for his ideas about power and knowledge, the theater metaphor raises questions about protagonists, paths of transmission, and mise-en-scène. As a stage, the Orient produced an illusion of power realities that were produced by the West, in our case by the French diplomat who styled himself in the role of the theater director. Marcellus's work invigorated the metaphor of theater and projected a cognitive mastery over the Oriental stage. As I mentioned before, Said was particularly sensitive to modes of representation—itself a theatrical notion.[25] Theatrical metaphors abound in his work. The East, Said contended, is a great theater for Occidental viewing pleasure. He explained, "The Orient is the stage on which the whole East is confined. . . . The Orient then seems to be . . . a theatrical stage affixed to Europe."[26] Far from being innocuous, the metaphor of Oriental theater is fraught with consequences. Characterizing Aeschylus's *Persians*, Said remarked, "Aeschylus's orchestra . . . contains the Asiatic world as the playwright conceives it."[27]

Marcellus's writings were of a performative nature: he not merely expounded but enacted his ideas, and he made Greek history read not just as story, but as play. In the Orientalist discourse of this play, the expulsion of the Ottomans was construed as a theatrical *deus ex machina* that would rapidly advance the Greeks to liberty and modernity. The diplomat's "rescue" of the Venus was an abduction (melo)drama set against the background of an eastern theater. He spectacularized the transaction on Melos and transformed it into a grand drama of power and influence. Our Frenchman—never the bland civil servant—grafted also his reading of Aeschylus's *Persians* onto the model of a "prophetic" siege-and-conquest scenario. He saw conquest or reconquest of territory as a theatrical spectacle. In his description of the reading, Marcellus portrayed a—pedigreed—civilization in distress, much like he found an ancient masterpiece "in distress." He presented himself as the hero rushing to the rescue of both. Memory and history moved from the interior, secret stage (the indoors *chez* Manos) to the insular context of Melos to the openness of publication and display before the French public. Philhellenists internationally had a field day. The tight links of Marcellus's accounts to fashionable patterns subverted their historical stability and reliability but, paradoxically, also lent them narrative authority. The highly personalized outlook of the author invited the reader's emotional engagement with his stories, which explains why they gained hegemonic status, to the detriment of other records (if any). As Lowe phrased it, the foreigner's propensities lend themselves to

"consideration of the unevenness of knowledge formations" in the context of Orientalist production.[28]

Said also referred to the elusive "depths of this Oriental stage."[29] Marcellus's description of the reading and its symbolic meaning on the eve of the Greek War of Independence suggests parallels between theater and revolution, while steering clear of clichés. Despite its hidden nature, the reading was described in performance-related remarks, but it also put an ideology on display. This ideology was essentialized in the Greek motivation to resist the Oriental foe, or in the time-hallowed, suspense-creating device of victims taking on villains. The ancient Greek tragedy became a play within the play that was the modern historical drama. This reading, filtered back through a stage representation and its record, complexifies the questions of agency and subjectivity. Marcellus self-righteously assigned himself the task of collecting its fragmented memories. With the authoritative stance of the stage director and redactor, he exercised full command over the adjacent territories of representation, collection, and recollection. The sole external witness became the historical authority. The author theatricalized not only the event of the reading but also its time and space, and later his act of remembering. Marcellus restricted the War of Independence to a time frame or dramatic frame that preceded the actual onset of the struggle. Aeschylus's *Persians* furnished a self-validating scenario that the Greek revolutionaries might "produce" any time; they would become the historical actors who created a role, time, and space for their national history—a real-life drama—to start unfolding. The ancient script forged the extraordinary decade of the 1820s into Greece's new "classical" past, victoriously but always precipitously perched between West and East. Performance functioned not simply as a metaphor for action, but as action itself. Theater was necessarily a theater of involvement in the midst of a freedom struggle. Marcellus's theater of revolution was, however, also a theater-testament (deducing the theatrical dimension inherent in testimony), or a theater of witness that testified on behalf of the Greek heroes.[30] These characters, who could no longer craft their own narratives, became figures of memory, consigned to history but embalmed in a good dose of nostalgia.

I am well aware, of course, that the notion of performance has become overcharged as a concept with which to analyze culture and society. In its far from rigorous applications, the term has been overburdened, too, with scholarly ambitions to signal interdisciplinarity and multiculturalism. One crucial benefit, however, of preoccupying ourselves with performance is that it encourages inquiry into areas that have been ignored by conventional discussions. Performance does, after all, invite a cultural-studies

type of analysis that is sensitive to the different axes along which conflict, power, and power abuse have been construed. Performance studies must, therefore, aim to strike the right balance between positing models and modes for cultural critiques and limiting oneself to the narrow study of stagecraft and production data. We recognize the value of performance studies, but we have also led the terms of performance and performativity back to some of their earliest, genuine manifestations in the history of, and demands on, modern Greek theater. Elin Diamond, who laments that "performance discourse" has dominated scholarly debate "almost to the point of stupefaction," concurs that there is ample room left for "explor[ing] performances as cultural practices that conservatively reinscribe or passionately reinvent the ideas, symbols, and gestures that shape social life. Such reinscriptions or reinventions are, inevitably, negotiations with regimes of power."[31]

## A Claim to Philhellenism That Was Another Performance

Our analysis put Marcellus's philhellenism to the test in two areas: the first pertained to his antiquarian practice in Greece, the second to his scholarly and more theoretical attitude toward modern Greece. We discovered episodes in which modern Greek history became an Oriental affair, and we deconstructed the particular circumstances in which the Orientalist discourse affected two of the best known objects of study in classical scholarship: a textual source in Aeschylus's *Persians* and a material find in the Venus de Milo. The process of recuperating a clandestine performance was a process shared with the Greeks, but the subsequent recuperation of the Venus, the collecting of trophies and tropes, was not. The exotic theater of the former event turned into the toxic drama of the latter, with tyranny and sensuality constituting the Orient's chief exports. Marcellus described the reading of the *Persians* as another specimen of previously buried "finds": he himself needed to bring it to the surface, in a "scientific" manner, after many years of respecting the conditions of its rare and fragile nature. Significantly, he had the elite Greek participants in the reading turn for approval and appreciation to him, a Frenchman, who did not even hold the highest position in the French embassy at Constantinople. The Frenchman and the Greeks gathered in a hidden location, a place of Otherness, which he, as the only western viewer-voyeur, was allowed to observe. The resulting "theater" was that of Greek Otherness, which Marcellus domiciled through classicizing, for the ultimate purpose of western self-discovery. Classicizing this theater made performance legible for the modern Greeks and, even more so, made the modern Greeks

legible for westerners. Modern Greek theater was seen to reinvent itself through the memory of the classics. Revived ancient drama delivered a first satisfactory answer to the question of what the "right" Greeks, acting under the "right," western guidance, would select as an emblematic cultural product and investment for their future. Paternalism was rife in Marcellus's Orientalist philhellenism. The imposing discourse was one of hegemonic western patriarchy and of schoolmaster-style didacticism. Marcellus's main goal was to reestablish not Greece, but France among the dominant powers.

The 1820 reading of Aeschylus's *Persians* was, at first sight, the perfect expression of a Neohellenic, didactic theater initiative. It forced a causal connection that interested Marcellus and his reading public: the link between education and freedom. The strong undercurrent, then, of Enlightenment philosophy transitioning into Romanticist ideology became apparent in our author's expanded emphasis on ancient art, beyond education and freedom. After Winckelmann and his scholarly reveries, Romanticism embraced classical art, especially sculpture, and assigned to it a key role in the earlier causal linkage: education and freedom were bound to inspire masterpieces of art, as in the heyday of classical Athens. The story of the reading, then, was one of a committed struggle to reestablish and maintain Greek liberty through an education in Greek patriotism. To that purpose, it called for more modern Greeks to become (re)educated in the classical legacy, which was the legacy on which western European eyes were fixated. Marcellus mused teleologically when he envisioned the free and educated Greek nation-state: he left his readers with the implicit promise that "his" exemplary Greeks would find immediate successors, who, in Shelley's words, would "continue to produce fresh generations to accomplish that destiny which tyrants foresee and dread."[32]

Our analysis of Marcellus's story of the purchase of the Venus presses a related question: how wide a margin did the supposedly well-meaning foreign philhellenes grant to the Greeks to cultivate freedom and self-education that included art appreciation? Art possession and aesthetic education on the basis of ancient artifacts could have been instrumental in crystallizing Greece's newfound identity. Also, collecting prestigious artwork could instill a Greek cultural cohesion. But Marcellus could only see that process happen in France. Western Europeans did not face up to the logical consequences and moral obligations that ensued from their strife to own authentic ancient art. The Frenchman whisked off the Venus sculpture that was manifestly autochthonous for being recovered from Greek soil. For him, Greek artifacts belonged in places like the Louvre, where they, the

products of brutal uprootings, had to illustrate–paradoxically—the West's physical rootedness in the classical legacy. Melos was the stage on which Marcellus thought that he had earned his laurels, only to be crowned again where it mattered most: by the expert Fauvel in Athens and by the king and the public in Paris. Again, Said's characterization applies: "To save an event from oblivion is in the Orientalist's mind the equivalent of turning the Orient into a theater for his representations of the Orient."[33] Marcellus effectively built a western audience receptive to his Orientalism, or "an audience [that] [wa]s historically and culturally responsible for (and responsive to) dramas technically put together by the dramatist."[34] On a more overt Orientalist plane, the Frenchman judged and dismissed his Greek friends who, as aesthetically and politically minded mediators, might have been able to foster the conditions for local art appreciation and to welcome ancient pagan artwork to its rightful place. Marcellus set a stage of reading classical texts and of collecting ancient artifacts, and that stage was occupied by real, historical people. But the concerns projected onto this stage proved to be largely his and those of France. Orientalism and philhellenism catalyzed each other to produce a French-centered western consciousness.

## ANCIENT ORIENTALISM AND AESCHYLUS'S *PERSIANS*

What then did Said state about Aeschylus's *Persians* that pushed the play to the forefront of the Orientalist debate? Very little. Emphasizing that Orientalism is all about representation, Said referred to the tragedy: "As early as Aeschylus's play *The Persians* the Orient is transformed from a very far distant and often threatening Otherness into figures that are relatively familiar (in Aeschylus's case, grieving Asiatic women)."[35] Aeschylus's *Persians* may qualify as a wellspring of the "intimate estrangement" with which the West has grasped or tried to grasp at the essence of the East.[36] Said did not delve into a profound interrogation of the tragedy, but he implied that it dismisses or depreciates Asia.[37] Perhaps Said's most enduring qualification of Aeschylus's *Persians* remains the following: "What matters here is that Asia speaks through and by virtue of the European imagination, which is depicted as victorious over Asia, that hostile 'other' world beyond the seas. To Asia are given the feelings of emptiness, loss, and disaster that seem thereafter to reward Oriental challenges to the West; and also, the lament that in some glorious past Asia fared better, was itself victorious over Europe."[38] Scholars tend to overlook, however, that Said tied his first mention of the *Persians* and its "dramatic immediacy" to the warning that Aeschylus presented his public with "a highly artificial enactment of what a non-Oriental has made into a symbol for

the whole Orient."[39] Therefore, we must distinguish a stage portrayal or Herodotus's dramatized representation of the Persian aggressor from what the real-life Athenian would have been thinking—if only we had better ways to reconstruct those elusive modes of contemporary reception.[40]

Said's statements have become polemical among classicists. He cited Aeschylus's *Persians* as the oldest extant example of the Orientalist attitude.[41] He further explained that the in-depth study of the classical texts and their subsequent application to the contemporary East acted as catalysts in the process that germinated modern Orientalism.[42] A legacy of the Enlightenment, Orientalism organized "knowledge" about the East and placed the theory and practice behind the Orientalist attitude on a more "scientific" footing. The claim to extensive and organized knowledge about the East kept pace with a claim to growing, institutionalized knowledge about classical antiquity, and also with the ownership claim to antiquity's material culture. This mindset, infused with the vigor of the philological and representational approach, helps to explain why a good dose of traditional didacticism pervaded the diplomat's or traveler's tales, which display anywhere from a smattering to more earnest "proof" of the scholarly examination of Oriental languages, religions, and civilizations. Such Orientalizing cemented ethnocentric stereotypes about the cultural Other in the colonial age.

Said introduced Aeschylus's *Persians* in this expansive "history" of Orientalism, from its "empirical" stage to its scientific and officially sanctioned forms. Consequently, some critics have seen the roots of an imperialist tradition of demonizing the eastern neighbors in this and other ancient Greek texts, which, they claim, portrayed the Persians negatively in that first, monumentalized clash between West and East, the Persian Wars. Recently, the generative force of fifth-century BCE texts and especially of Herodotus's *Histories* has again been located at the roots of Orientalism.[43] Moreover, through the Persian Wars which these texts make their central theme and *raison d'être*, Orientalism has been (re)connected with the origins of historiography itself—in the definition of history writing that derived from, but that also perpetuated the West-East standoff.[44] Alexandra Lianeri has recently explored the path of a postmodern, deconstructionist reading of the making of western historiography, which, in her view, coincided with the making of the meaning of the Persian Wars. Such an influential but also nefarious operation of producing meaning was realized in the eight-volume work, *A History of Greece*, written over a span of ten years (1846–56) by George Grote.[45] We must refrain, however, from applying a similar logic to Aeschylus's *Persians*: in my view, the realization of the play's meaning in antiquity did *not* overlap

with the process of making western Orientalism. To put it polemically, however, if Said had looked for a record to corroborate his assertion that Aeschylus's *Persians* was a precursor to *modern* Orientalism, he might have found his best proof yet in Marcellus's description/ *representation* of the 1820 reading, because it discloses the bonds of complicity that tied Classics and philhellenism to Orientalism. Hall sums up: "Aeschylus' *Persians* has played an indisputable role in the perpetuation of the ideological conflict between East and West that has recently re-erupted with such terrible violence. It has historically helped to reinforce the adoption by the Christian mindset of a primary Other in the shape of Islam. The third-millennial vilification of the Arab world has a long history which cannot be dissociated from the rediscovery of *ancient* Greek xenophobia and prejudices against non-Greeks in the East."[46] Again, we cannot lose sight of the distinction between what Aeschylus might have intended and what the receptive tradition has made of his tragedy. Related questions cannot necessarily be resolved tidily, and we will return to some of them below.

It is a historical irony that, in the midst of the era of modern Orientalism, Aeschylus's alleged Orientalism was reinvented in the very tragedy that Said placed at the root of the problematic attitude. The Greeks who, in 1820, participated in the play reading of the *Persians* (re)performed the East and Orientalized the Persian Other. The reading was a programmatic representation and enactment of overt Orientalism keeping pace with philhellenism. Overt Orientalizing was not the whole story, and neither was the widespread western promulgation of philhellenism. Aeschylus's *Persians* was the authoritative text, which Marcellus unlocked with philological and logocentric tools, to produce and sustain certain ideas about the cultural Other, which included the Greeks as well as the Turks. Through the voice of the French *auteur*, the authorizing text of Aeschylus's "historical" tragedy engaged in Eurocentric notions of knowledge and perceptions that effectively spoke for the modern Greeks. The foreign diplomat authenticated knowledge of and about the reading, but also about the Greeks present at the event. The attendees' subsequent death stands as a transparent gloss for their nonparticipation in the hegemonic discourse of "knowledge-is-power." Their silence bestowed on the unique French record the drama and also the enhanced authority of a survivor's testimony.

The revival of Aeschylus's *Persians* was a self-assuring portent, whose significance was clear: it posited not only "knowledge" about but also the defeat of the eastern enemy and the very reality of Greek victory—a repeat performance of the Persian War victory that was still credited with "saving" the West. As Marcellus laid out, the new nation's anticipated

trajectory would proceed along the lines of ancient history turned drama, or of the Greek past and future meeting each other in the victorious revolutionary present. Aeschylus's *Persians* construed the cultural and moral ethos of emerging modern Greece. The 1820 reading appeared complete, also in its firm designations of Greek martyrs and Ottoman villains. Western philhellenes and Greeks enacting (phil)hellenism were busily readying and reading the Greek *topos*, to reconstitute a Greek cultural space that was separate from the Ottoman territories—and occupiers. Aeschylus was up against the vocal demands of a patriotic revolution, and he did not disappoint. His *Persians*, which through its dramatic pretense positioned itself among the vanquished, was reperformed to promulgate the triumphant look of the Greek winners and of many generations of descendants of the winners. Thus the "philhellenic" tragedy, the (out)look of drama, and its performativity furnished an empowering vision for a bright Greek future. The play reading captured multiple new ways of looking, or multiple cultures of the gaze: the philhellenes' look at ancient and modern Greek culture, the Orientalist gaze through which the West perceived the East, the Greeks' negative view of their Turkish enemies, and modern Greek theater's perspective on its progress and potential.

## Revisiting the Barbarian

The crucial question in the long-standing academic debate on the role that Aeschylus's *Persians* played in "inventing the barbarian" begins with the play's contested interpretation.[47] The question, fatigued and partly misconstrued, may be less urgent, because the receptive tradition may have come down differently on the tragedy than the playwright himself might have. Also, Aeschylus's intentions and what the viewers saw may have been two very different things, already at the time of the historical performance, with the destruction wreaked by the Persians on the Acropolis still visible to anyone seated in the theater of Dionysus. The confusion between author and audience, or intention and effect or reception, is indeed a common phenomenon. Readings of Aeschylus's *Persians*, nonetheless, cover the whole spectrum, from moderate to extremist positions, which start from ambivalences that were already present in the ancient text and context. Here I can only attempt to illustrate some of those positions, while admitting that Marcellus's unique specimen of reception lacks the many facets of Aeschylus's complexity and of his humane treatment of the Persians responding to their misfortune.

The interpretive crux has often been reduced to the question of whether the dramatist shows the defeated enemy the better side of collective Greek empathy or the darker side of glee—to put it in the starkest terms, which

are not, however, mutually exclusive. The theme of sympathy for the enemy in Aeschylus may well have been overworked. Even more difficult to acknowledge: the (forgotten) modern Greek reception history of the *Persians* through the mid-1960s has borne out a message that ranges from Greek self-discovery to self-assertion to national, anniversary-style celebration.[48] Therefore, my analysis of the 1820 reading presses questions for audiences of nearly two hundred years later: have we, children of the 1960s and of the post-9/11 political correctness in academia, come close to ignoring a receptive tradition that turned Aeschylus's *Persians* into a potential victory play? Have we lost the understanding that the Greeks as children of their hard-won independence are entitled to their own tradition, which imparts a patriotic, self-empowering interpretation of the tragedy? Indeed, for many modern Greek generations, Aeschylus's *Persians* has established not merely an aetiology, but also a hopeful prospect for local revolutionary and resistance practice. The didactic capacities of the Persian Wars have functioned as Orientalizing metaphors for any Greek achievements from 1821 on. For the generation of the revolution, however, the ethnicity of the Turks was far from fictitious. Let me hasten to add that, for many Turks, the ethnicity of the Greeks, too, was far from fictitious. Both parties might agree, however, that these implications were not untrue for what they stated, but for what they left out: the possible tyrannical behavior of "the barbarian within."[49]

But I owe it to my reader to let some voices represent the terms of the current debate on the interpretation of Aeschylus's *Persians*. Richard Kuhns and John Snyder furnish examples of the opposite ends of that debate—all the more telling because their studies were published in the same year (1991). Kuhns brings out the dramatist's focus on defeat and grief over the disappearance of an empire's young men.[50] He joins those who have engaged in the search for empathy in the tragedy, which then becomes a sympathetic portrayal of a vanquished external enemy, struck by loss on a massive scale. Unprecedented loss could befall the Greeks as well, which is why they—and others—had to be warned against hubris. Other scholars have identified this concern as a reading produced by sensibilities of the last decades of the twentieth century. They regard the tragedy as self-asserting or Greek-patriotic, or even triumphalist in tone. Snyder produces perhaps the most Orientalist interpretation: "It [Aeschylus's *Persians*] is . . . the deliberate, public, open-air celebration of winning in a violent martial contest between the will of an Eros-driven Eastern potentate full to bursting with globality and the will of what has become through violent conflict a distinctive Western collectivity of independent localities."[51]

Thomas Harrison recapitulated the terms of the debate on the eve of the new millennium in his book, *The Emptiness of Asia*: *Aeschylus*' Persians *and the History of the Fifth Century* (2000). He sees the *Persians* as rather unsympathetic to the eastern victims and calls the quest for empathy an anachronism, or "the product of wishful thinking, a projection of modern values onto the Greeks."[52] He observes that Aeschylus hinted to his public that the destruction of the Persians might delight the Greeks (*Persians* 1034; cf. 843–44).[53] He implies that it has become a—dubious—article of faith among certain scholars that gloating would have been completely absent from the dramatist's portrayal of his fellow warriors. Harrison concludes that the import of the tragedy even in its original context was self-congratulatory.[54]

Again, it is not the best of questions to ask of Aeschylus's *Persians* whether it has a self-congratulatory side to it or not. The answer impacts, however, on the play's central position in the discourse on the West's self-identification in the face of the East. In a 2007 study, Christopher Pelling claims that the tragedy commits to an elaborate process of exoticizing and feminizing the Persians, and also that Aeschylus does little to downplay the glory of Salamis: the Greek victory delivers to the Greek spectators an identity in which they can delight.[55] Pelling reiterates some of Harrison's inferences when he admits that "heroic triumphalism," or "self-congratulatory triumphalism," or "the feel-good" were likely within the range of the reactions with which the Athenian public received the play.[56] Eric Csapo seizes on the broader problem when he states that, for a decade and a half (prior to 2000), the study of Greek classical theater has been overly preoccupied with "tragedy's role in Athenian self-definition."[57] He calls it a "major weakness" of poststructuralism and New Historicism, in particular, to tend to "reduce the discursive strategies of the dramatic texts to a rather crude 'us and them' binarism, and to assume a single, monolithic, and homogeneous Athenian ideology."[58]

Hall has been a significant voice in the debate and also has the courage to qualify and revise her own views. She claims that Aeschylus's tragedy "combines a deeply anti-Persian tenor, emerging above all in the vain and incompetent figure of Xerxes, with a striking acknowledgement that Persian casualties must have caused terrible misery, especially to Persian widows and parents."[59] She characterizes her 1989 study, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy*, as a Cold War treatment in need of updates and modifications. In 1989, Hall still accorded a pivotal place to Aeschylus's *Persians* in fashioning classical Greek conceptions of selfhood and Otherness.[60] Hall also confirms that the ancients had discovered the patriotic tenor of this tragedy.[61] A much-quoted passage

showing the play's pro-Athenian sentiment is Aeschylus's patriotic reply in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes (1026–27 and 1030–31)—which is, it must be remembered, not only a histrionic but also a comic source: "Thereafter I produced my *Persians*, which taught them [the Athenians] to yearn always to defeat the enemy, and thus I adorned an excellent achievement [the Greek victory at Salamis]. . . . That's the sort of thing that poets should practice. Just consider how beneficial the noble poets have been from the earliest times."[62]

Hall contextualizes older interpretations and post-9/11 developments with regard to Aeschylus's *Persians*, Orientalism, and the Classics, in a 2006 article titled "Recasting the Barbarian." In a 2007 essay, she sums up in a programmatic statement, which captures the evolution in her own work as well: "It [Aeschylus's *Persians*] has helped both to create the dangerous ideology of Orientalism, but also, most recently, to find a new role in which it speaks less for the western aggressor than for a more humane and pacific world order."[63] Several contemporary theater practitioners have deployed the canvas of Aeschylus's play to problematize cultural differences, the politics of Otherness, and imperialist and racist prejudices and their relations to antiquity. Hall has been one of the scholars to draw the academic and larger public's attention to revisionist versions of ancient drama and thus to remove the conservative stigma attached to its historical tradition. Her edited volume of 2004, *Dionysus since 69: Greek Tragedy at the Dawn of the Third Millennium* (coedited with Fiona Macintosh and Amanda Wrigley) has broken new ground. Since the 1960s, the committed return to classical drama has begun to alter the western, "high-cultural" perspective on the potency of the dualism between Occident and Orient.[64]

## Classics and Orientalism

The ramifications of Said's work for classical scholarship and Hellenism, in particular, have not been properly valued. The "evasion" of modern European colonialism that the study of Greek antiquity has perpetrated is far from irrelevant, Vasunia claims; it is "both the symptom and cause of a problem."[65] He observes,

> There is no developed history of classical scholarship that takes into account the intersection of the discipline with European colonialism and imperialism from the 1700s to the 1900s. For reasons that are of considerable interest, scholars seem to be unable or uninterested in exploring the collusion between Classics and empire, despite the indisputable evidence for such collusion. If Said's powerful demonstration of the relationship

> between Orientalist discourse and European colonial power seems not to have inspired similar work about the field of classics, within and without the discipline, then we are obliged to interrogate this resistance to the politics of Classical scholarship, and in particular to the coincidence between Classics and Empire.[66]

Some recent studies attest to the growing will to examine colonial and postcolonial attitudes.[67] A history of "the collusion between Classics and empire," however, remains to be written. This study of Marcellus's stories makes a modest contribution toward such a history, which may be fruitfully expanded through research in many more classicists' archives. Our Frenchman's Orientalist philhellenism was a direct expression of his classicist training and preoccupation; he is a prime example of an exponent of classical scholarship who practiced his knowledge of Greek antiquity from an imperialist purview, complete with the partiality and particularity endemic in that global enterprise. His traveling with ancient sources in hand captured a French habit that proved to be hard to shake: it was an act of demarcating French imperial dominion with a mindset informed by the Classics. Also, any western classicist could travel vicariously through Marcellus's writings and be reassured that his Orientalist eye would pick up on ancient Greek remnants. Reading as a form of travel may be a trite metaphor but the practice was, nonetheless, crucial to the fields of Classics and antiquarianism in the nineteenth century. Thus Marcellus embodies the very rootedness—but also the versatility—of the study and appropriation of Greek antiquity in the French imperialist past. His writings shed singular light on his activities and motivations as a classicist, or on his inferences of Classics succumbing to imperialist pressures. They illustrate—unwanted to unknown—aspects of the history of classical scholarship and its imperialist genealogy and ambitions, and they should give us much pause.

Marcellus's stories let us document, interrogate, and deconstruct the imperialist dominance that underpinned France's interaction with classical and modern Greece and that produced, in particular, the meaning and context of a masterpiece of ancient Greek art and also the receptive moment of Aeschylus's *Persians*. The Frenchman delivered not only some of the expected practices but also the very records and justifications—at times, his presumption that he did not even need to state a rationale. He applied an imperialism of action and imagination: he carried off "his" Venus, but he also usurped the right to speak for and in the name of all Orientals, including the Greeks. He relegated the modern Hellenes to a semitheatrical existence, and he placed Greece under the pressure to perform itself. Such an act is, of course, an ideal device to focus all attention

on the performer and to divert attention away from the imperious stage director. Marcellus's imperialism was part and parcel of what the discipline of Classics has been doing to things Greek, ancient and modern alike. His stories provide a salutary reminder that the work of the classicist, paradoxically for being committed to the study of the past, is never done. Involving ourselves in the study of the past requires that we continue to lay bare the field's modern imperialist and colonialist ventures. Even after the shockwaves sent through the discipline by Said and Martin Bernal, who claimed that the ancient Greek culture stemmed from Egypt, our field still has plenty of soul-searching to do.[68] Refusing to do so would only confirm the status of Classics as an implicated witness or accomplice.

## MALLEABLE MODERN GREECE

*"[J]e voyageais pour voir les peuples, et surtout les Grecs qui étaient morts"*
"I traveled to see the peoples and especially the Greeks who were dead."
—Chateaubriand's laconic answer to the question
of what brought him to the Peloponnese

Vasunia has suggested that it might be appropriate to assign an "in-between position" to Egypt.[69] That label might apply to modern Greece as well: Greece was the internal other "historically, geographically, discursively," or the familiar stranger, which was also strangely familiar through its investment in the legacy of ancient Greece.[70] When configuring Greece from the perspective of the East looking at the West, the result was surprising: Makdisi has pointedly stated that, in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, Greece was merely an outlying province in a far-flung Asian Empire. Greece was held to the norm of a higher Europeanness, but it was also measured against the malleable standard of a lesser Orientalist character—and that despite the Christian religion that set the Greeks apart from the Muslims.[71]

Of course, debate continues to rage on the question of where the "Orient" begins and where it ends, and answers have differed at various historical moments and have depended much on who articulated the answer.[72] Given the remarkable durability of Orientalism, the messy and timeless—or time-diffuse—contours of the Orient and its multiplicity of positions open up a most interesting subject for further study, to which, however, I can here refer only in passing. But within this debate, Greece held the pride of a central place in—paradoxically—whichever margin, located as it was on the perceived periphery of the Occident, the Orient, and the Balkans. The land of the Greeks both confirmed and destabilized the Orientalist discourse. Even before it came into existence as a modern

nation, "Greece" did not operate within the dominant western classification system of contrasts between Occident and Orient. Greece held a qualitatively different relationship to European imperialist and colonial designs. The Greek land seemed to straddle two worlds, geographically as well as conceptually: it was situated on the crossroads between the West and the East, sometimes part of either one of them, sometimes idiosyncratically standing alone. The sheer vagueness of Greece's affiliation and status—and status through location and affiliation—was worsened by a decade of uncertainty: would this hybrid country exist as a nation or not? Would other modern nations recognize it as a constituent part of the western club? But Greece as a nominal entity straddled also two time periods of immediate "presence": modern Greece and ancient Greece, with primary focus on the classical age. Classical Greece became the object of the West's laborious processes of self-formation and self-representation. The West needed ancient Greece as the presumed wellspring of European intellectual and secular ancestry.[73] Therefore, westerners simply could not consider ancient Greece to be Oriental, or "inferior." Thus ancient Greece continued to share in the West's motivation to disconnect Greece from the East. Ancient Greece was transformed into a profoundly textual and—increasingly—archaeological *topos*, albeit less of a literal *topos* and rather more a *topos* of sensibilities frozen in time.

Modern Greece, however, posed the problem of its remorseless reality: its similarities to the rest of the Balkans seemed to invite the Oriental label. But classical scholars and travelers often found it easier to simply ignore the modern Greeks and to keep focused on the "true" or ancient Greeks, the bearers of the "higher" civilization. Gourgouris aptly states, "The living moderns . . . are thus rendered the actual dead, while the ancient ancestors are reanimated and reemerge."[74] Classicists made Greece's geographical location subservient to their temporal classifications, or to the crude breakdown of ancient versus modern Greece. Many classically trained travelers and observers approached Greece with a time map in mind, to smooth the transition from—paradoxically—the premodern present to the "modern" past. The "closeness" of classical Greece accorded a uniquely positive value to the ancient forebears, and it widened the gap of the perceived cultural remoteness of modern Greece. The split conception of the same land left little room for anything to be perched between ancient and modern Greece, despite the many centuries that separated the two cultures. The Byzantine millennium existed in the acknowledged presence of Christianity, but the subsequent centuries of Ottoman occupation confirmed Greece's Oriental position. Modern Greece was subjected to the Eurocentric enterprise of the Orientalist production of a

subordinate East. Ancient Greece, on the other hand, was protected from the impact of that geography of the imperialist imagination, as long as it readily gave up its riches. The occasional modern Greek was likely to throw roadblocks in the path of the exponents of the colonialist exploitation project. Such was the mindset of the early nineteenth-century classicist and collector of antiquities. It spawned the negative language, too, in which Marcellus painted his Greek rival Mourouzes. The Frenchman was duly surprised when the powerful Greek unexpectedly talked back and returned the gaze of dominion.

Even though Marcellus relegated the Greeks and their land to a theatrical existence, Greece's negotiable inclusion in the West made that his Orient was ultimately not an unchanging place: it was subject to the passage of the most recent historical time and extant in the revolutionary present. True to its own best definition and etymology, "revolution" was what stirred up the Orient's stereotypical immutability. Revolution was also what vouched for Greece's position in the camp of the West, however tentatively in 1820. The Greek Revolution was the extraordinary one that called the oldest Greek tragedy to the service of the most modern political movement, in a western theater of nationalist acts in their most vital, experiential, and performative constructs. Marcellus might have been influenced by Condorcet, who advanced the idea of revolution's generative and demarcating force. Condorcet integrated revolution in his ideology of western progress, which also drew the enlightened French intelligentsia to the "theater" of ancient Greece: "It is to that same revolution [that is, the "fall of kings, at the dawn of Greek history"] that the human race owes its enlightenment and will owe its liberty. It has had a far greater influence upon the destiny of the present nations of Europe than events which are much closer to us, in which our own ancestors were actors and for which their country was the theatre: in a sense it constitutes the first page of our history."[75] *Mutatis mutandis*, the modern Greek Revolution held the promise of liberty, constituted a metaphorical (and often also a literal) theater, and turned a new leaf in early nineteenth-century history. True to the ideal of revolution, modern Greece would take the right historical turn, leaving the rest of the Orient to be just that: the nonrevolving, unresolved, unchanging, and unenlightened Orient.

As a performance, then, Aeschylus's *Persians* supported the functional and the ideological requirements of the *telos* that was, in 1820, the autonomy of the Greek nation. The critical timing of the reading as a Greek prerevolutionary act showed Marcellus adhering to the western notion of time as the bearer of change and progress. The ideal of unceasing progress, then, became another standard by which to measure and depreciate

the "stagnant" or "waning" Ottoman Empire. The exciting maelstrom of a revolution, however, would unshackle ancient Greece before modern Greece. Modern Greece was left suspended in a diffuse time frame and remained subjected to western attempts to domicile its lands and their resources.

In the description of the reading, Marcellus domesticated exoticism in the persons of the Greeks present. He was right not to disdain the ephemeral nature of a performance event—or its *post mortem*—for its virtual disparity from the life-changing events taking place outside. Modern Greek drama was here seen to reconnect with its zero point and to establish itself as a site for anchoring age-old memory and "pedigreed" patriotism. It also became a literal and metaphorical stage of the history of the revolutionary period. Modern Greek theater often housed fraught encounters between tradition and modernity. It stood in for Greek history and resurrected its heroes. This theater represented the birth of the new nation, as the history of the nation became theater—or patriotic drama based on the oldest Greek tragedy. Thus the theatrical act acquired the force of a reality and exerted its peculiar historicity. Also, the changing historical reality was simultaneously opened up to the world of performance. Fluid and malleable as modern Greek history then still was, it was capable of some potent myth making. The idea of a national Greek theater found its origins in the revolutionary period, which determined the patriotic ethos of this theater and established sociopolitical roles for subsequent generations of Greek playwrights, producers, actors, and critics. The Revolution of 1821 stood at the beginning of a politically defined theater art that remained closely tied to the historical and intellectual developments of contemporary Greece. We may therefore posit a Greek "theater revolution": the mighty engine of drama propelled the revolution outwardly while making theater history on the inside. The Greek theater revolution underscores that theater identity and modern Greek identity were matters of performing, becoming, and eventually being.

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# Notes

## Introduction

1. I use the name Marcellus as shorthand for "de Marcellus," or for the author's full name, Marie-Louis-Jean-André-Charles Demartin du Tyrac. First he acquired the title of "*vicomte*," and later he became Comte de Marcellus.
2. Marcellus, *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 100.
3. Augustinos 1994, 231–32. Athanassoglou-Kallmyer sketches the French political climate under the Bourbon Restoration (1815–1830) and the ideological and artistic developments that ensued (1989, 9–10). Nicolaïdis (1992) covers the earlier period of the French Revolution and its representation of the modern Greeks.
4. Leboucher 2006, 10.
5. Marchand 2001, 465.
6. Marcellus's erudite and very religious father mastered several ancient and modern languages. He composed poetry and translated Vergil's *Bucolics* into French verse. Leboucher 2006, 9; Anne de Marcellus 2006, 13, 15.
7. Marcellus, *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 103, 377; 1851b, 1:iii, 400. Dumaine 1928, 5, 10–11, 12, 17; Leboucher 2006, 9, 11.
8. Anne de Marcellus 2006, 14.
9. Ibid., 14–15. For a more comprehensive biographical sketch of Marcellus, see Dumaine 1928, 1–64.
10. Leboucher 2006, 9–10. Leboucher recently issued an annotated edition of the *Souvenirs*, which may spark further scholarly interest in Marcellus's writings.
11. Marcellus, *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 18.
12. Marcellus, the self-made folklorist, insisted that his passion for the classical texts had led him to discover modern Greek folk songs. See his programmatic preface to his collection titled *Chants du peuple en Grèce* 1851a, 1:ii.
13. De Sédouy 2006.
14. Pratt 2008, 7. On page 8, Pratt provides another, longer definition of the "contact zones" in which the colonial meanings (and the origins in linguistics) become more obvious.
15. See Campbell 2002 for a theoretical framework to travel writing, a genre that has gained an important place among academic fields owing to its cross-disciplinary nature. The discipline of cultural studies, in particular, has displayed a growing interest in travel writing and identity formation. Indicative of this recent interest are Bendixen and Hamera (2009), Giakovake (2006), Kuehn and Smethurst (2009), and Wills (2007). For a sense of the immense variety covered by the genre of travel literature, see the encyclopedia compiled

by Speake (2003). For an incisive assessment of recent scholarship on Greek, Roman, and Late Antique travel writing, see Elsner (2009).

16. Lamartine 1862, 334. Lamartine wrote his eulogy in 1862, for a friend whose date of death, in 1861, is not entirely certain. While some documents show 1861, older records and library catalogues give 1865 for the year of Marcellus's death.
17. Said's seminal and wide-ranging work *Orientalism* was first published in 1978. It has been tremendously influential in shaping colonial discourse analysis and, in the 1980s, postcolonial theory or postcolonial studies. Said's original work (and its historical importance in literary and cultural studies) has spawned many revisions, initiated both by Said himself and by others who set themselves the task of refining the basic principles of what became known as the "Orientalist discourse." The phrase "Orientalist attitude," too, was coined by Said to define Orientalism as a frame of mind, as a mode of thought, or as an essentializing style of representation that does not realistically describe actual eastern territories. Said's *Culture and Imperialism* of 1993 reflects some of the first major revisions to the original theory.
18. A substantial amount of modern scholarship deals with the developments of 1821, and diverse findings contribute to our understanding of the political, military, and social history of the period. On some of the literary, intellectual, educational, and psychological dimensions of the Greek revolutionary age, see the recent studies by Güthenke (2008) and Kostantaras (2006).
19. Today's welter of geopolitical problems confirms the durability of crude Orientalist dichotomies: moments of crisis tend to rekindle the type of cultural polarization that, critics have argued, was the defining quality of the Orientalist tradition. Current geopolitics has generated what one might call a "neo-Orientalist" perspective (in the words of Lewis 2004, 1). The concept of Orientalism has now been revived to describe contemporary power structures and forms of global order—or chaos. The study of this concept must, however, invest in a more solid historical and cultural grounding, which is precisely what it has frequently failed to do.
20. Gourgouris 1996, 139.
21. Papailias 2005, 28. Koundoura confirms, "Philhellenism draws upon orientalism to produce its discursive order and because of the perceived impossibility of this match—how can one love Greece and the Orient at once?—it is full of contradictions" (2004, 250). In her 1997 book, *Imagining the Balkans*, Todorova has identified the discourse of "Balkanism," or the kind of ambiguous Orientalism that has impacted the Balkan regions (1997, 3). These regions were not subjected to the type of colonial occupation or western dominance that the Orient experienced but, both in the West and locally, they were still characterized as marginal, alien bodies within the European continent (1997, 16–20).
22. Thus, after the War of Independence, the "Great Idea" developed as the irredentist ideology that aimed to expand Greek national frontiers and to "repatriate" the "unredeemed" (formerly Byzantine) territories where large ethnic Greek populations still lived under Ottoman rule. Leontis explains that the word *irredentism* derives from the Italian *irredenta*, which incorporates the theological

metaphor of an "unredeemed" nation (1995, 84n42). She defines irredentism as the state policy of expanding borders to redeem the nation's settlement areas in which ethnic compatriots dwell under foreign control.

23. Calotychos 2003, 238.
24. On the relations between eighteenth-century Enlightenment philosophy, Orientalist discourse, and contemporary literary and fictional outlets, including travel writing, see one of the older but pioneering studies: Grosrichard's *Structure du sérail: La fiction du despotisme asiatique dans l'Occident classique* (1979, 1998), which traced the French construct of the Oriental despot back to the *ancien régime* and the Enlightenment conception of monarchical power; Rodinson, *La fascination de l'Islam* (1980, 1987).
25. Said 1979, 169. Said pointed to France and Britain as the "two greatest empires," or the main locations in which the dominant imperialist discourse of European Orientalism emerged (1979, 41). French and British Orientalism and also cross-cultural comparisons have been covered more extensively in recent years. On French and English Orientalist poetry, see, for instance, Haddad (2002) and Makdisi (1998). French Orientalism (which includes work by Flaubert and Hugo, perhaps the movement's best known writers) has been explored by, among others, Dobie (2001), Longino (2002), Lowe (1991, especially her third chapter on Flaubert), and Pao (1998). The French taste for the Oriental had been growing since 1800 and some of Napoleon's favorite scholars had played an important role in popularizing that taste. Eisner 1991, 96–98. Lowe warns, "Notions such as 'French culture,' 'the British Empire,' and 'European nations' are replete with ambiguity, conflicts, and nonequivalences" (1991, 7). Problematic is also Said's extrapolation on the basis of the French and British models to pertain to broader western attitudes. Todorova 1997, 8. As such, the conceptions of the "West" and of "western Orientalism" as French Orientalism are in danger of becoming as monolithic as the notion of the Orient in general. Napoleon I Bonaparte styled himself after the Roman emperors but also after Alexander the Great. Telling about his megalomaniac identifications is that he and his coteries approached the East with knowledge and purpose derived from the classical texts. Vasunia 2001, 17. Napoleon's conquest of Egypt (1798) replicated mainly the Roman model of imperialism (complete with propaganda, the expropriation of cultural artifacts, etc.), which raised great pride in France at a time when Germany, in a movement of cultural resistance to the "New Rome" of France, was rediscovering Greek antiquity. See further Huet (1999); Marchand (1996, 2001, 2009a, 2009b); and Nicolaïdis (1992). According to Marchand, the Germans were the most important Orientalist philologists for the duration of a century starting about 1830 (2001, 465, 466). See Osterhammel (1998), for a survey of eighteenth-century European intellectual engagement with the Orient. Because the German states represented less of an imperial or colonial force, however, they were practically omitted by Said. Marchand has also insightfully covered the German relation to Hellenism in the form of active neohumanist classical scholarship, which reigned from the late eighteenth century on and carried West-East distinctions in its trail (1996).

These developments and the brave New Rome of France may serve as reminders that western European Orientalism was far from homogeneous.

26. On British colonial justifications for conquest and collecting, see especially Challis (2008) and Jasanoff (2005). On the long French history of archaeology and antiquarianism in the Orient, see the older volumes of Omont (1902).
27. Lockman 2004, 75–76, 133.
28. Said 1979, 196–97.
29. Leboucher 2006, 9–10. See Weber (2002) for a chronological and annotated list of the works of the bulk of the nineteenth-century travelers.
30. Marcellus called himself Chateaubriand's "diplomatic shadow" (1859a, viii). He was aware, however, of being stigmatized as an epigone of Chateaubriand, and he wrote in the preface to the 1839 edition of his *Souvenirs*: "certain persons who have been initiated in the reading of some excerpts about my journey, have found that I tried too hard to imitate Mr. Chateaubriand . . . If I were to have succeeded in that, I would take that happy reprimand seriously, and I would not wish for any other praise" (ed. Leboucher 2006, 19).

    Leboucher briefly compares the travel narratives of Marcellus and his idol, based on journeys undertaken about a decade apart, and he remarks: "Marcellus writes in a lighter vein, with less emphasis; for him, everything is poetry, amazement, literary reminiscence" (2006, 7).
31. Several sources may shed light on the early nineteenth-century Romanticist-Orientalist literary leadership of Chateaubriand, who hearkened back to classicism, and also on his—shifting—political affiliations: Athanassoglou-Kallmyer 1989, 10, 25, 35, 100, 101; Avlami 2001, 14–98; Clément 2006, 41, 44–49; Vidal-Naquet 1995, 100–104, 170–76. On Chateaubriand's perception of the ancient ruins, see also the relevant chapter in the older study of Mortier (1974, 170–92).
32. See the following three studies of 2006, indicative of renewed interest in Chateaubriand: the edited volume by Berchet (2006), Guyot and Le Huenen (2006), and de Jaeghere (2006).
33. Koundoura 2004, 252.
34. Marcellus 1851b, 1:410.
35. The concept of the male gaze is now a commonplace of feminist performance theory: it refers to the theatrical vision—also applicable here—constructed in terms of male desire, pleasure, and power, which reinforces cultural assumptions about women, men, and male-dominated society. Dolan holds that men fetishize women as objects to be looked at, thereby decreasing the threat of women's absence as sexual partners. Dolan 1988, 1993.
36. Hall 2006, 212–20; Kennedy 2000, 19, 38, 40, 41, 46; Lockman 2004, 208.
37. De Bonald is quoted by Marcellus, preface to the 1854 edition of *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 23. In the preface to the 1839 edition, Marcellus himself delivered perhaps his most negative verdict on the immutability of the Orient, to which he also referred as if it were a (passively) unified land or country: "if there is a land resistant to the action of the centuries, obstinately closed to the infiltration of the new ideas and civilization, preserving

its ancient physiognomy and its near-immutable character in the midst of the European vicissitudes, that land is the Orient" (ed. Leboucher 2006, 17). See further Said 1979, 49–55.

38. Said 1979, 196.
39. Ibid., 196.
40. The critical terminology of reception needs reviewing and/or revisiting, especially where works of art and theater plays are concerned. Beard and Henderson offer a study that devotes some attention to the reception of ancient art (2001, 120–23, for the short section on the Venus de Milo). See recently Kousser (2008, especially 28–34 on the Venus). On the distinction between "reception history" and "reception theory," see recently Katie Fleming 2006, 128. Reception theory was promulgated by Jauss and the Konstanz School, which from the late 1960s on has offered an alternative approach to positivistic modes of mainly literary exegesis. The standard works on the theory are those of Jauss (1982a, 1982b, 1989) and the older study on reader-response criticism by Iser (1978). Studies that break away from the theory's text-based framework, however, to engage the reception of—again—theater beyond singular plays, remain rare. Bennett (1990), Hall (2004b), and Van Steen (2000) have made attempts to remedy that situation. Others have taken issue, too, with the names and connotations of reception and reception studies, and they prefer to use instead the term "sociology" of, for instance, theater, performance, or translation. Goldhill, for one, who agrees that readings will never be innocent, calls "reception" "too blunt, too *passive* a term" for some of the dynamics that pervade the tradition of Greek history and culture, those of "resistance and appropriation, recognition and self-aggrandisement" (2002, 297). For recent studies on reception (theory) and Classics, see the volume of essays, *Classics and the Uses of Reception*, edited by Martindale and Thomas (2006), and also Malamud (2009), or the first volumes in the classical Receptions Series published by Blackwell. See also Kallendorf (2007); Hardwick and Stray (2008). Lorna Hardwick and Jim Porter are currently coediting the series named "Classical Presences" for Oxford University Press. For accessible introductions to reception theory, see Holub 1984, 1992.
41. Some of these performative practices may be defined as dramatic variants of the speech-act theorized by the British philosopher Austin, author of *How to Do Things with Words* (1962).
42. On French Romantic historiography at the time of the Greek Revolution, see Glencross 1997.
43. Chateaubriand 1825, 32, 34.
44. See, recently, Beaton and Ricks 2009. Nationalism and patriotism continue to be problematic concepts. Nationalism, which has severed itself today from patriotism, seeks out and invests in a people's common ethnic features. Leontis has pointed out that historical identification with a continuous territory is a core doctrine of nationalist ideologies (1995, 7). This identification held special meaning for the ethnic Greeks. Patriotism, on the other hand, is often represented as the citizen's love of the (existing) homeland and its institutions, or as the value of loyalty whose moral significance is given in advance. The current

aftermath of 9/11 has deeply problematized the very definition and the historical and political underpinnings of patriotism. It may therefore suffice to stress that twenty-first-century classifications do not correspond to the intertwined notions of patriotism and nationalism from around 1820, which attempted to cover political entities ranging from nation-states to multiethnic empires. We may, however, derive benefit from looking at issues of patriotism and morality from a different perspective, from that of the Greek society in which these issues have been hotly contested for many decades. The negotiations between patriotism and modern Greek revival theater are especially complex. Just as classical theater was and is often applauded for being classical rather than for delivering good performances, so is patriotism often applauded for its nominal nation-preserving impetus. For discussions of the multiple historical meanings and resonances of *patrida*, modern Greek for "fatherland," see Peckham 2001, 1–2, 59, 62–63, 84–85, 146; 2004, 55. Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (rev. ed. 2006) remains an important text (despite plenty of critique) that crosses over from the formal analysis of nationalism to the study of the cultural as well as the political impact of the state-building project. Anderson recognizes the negotiations between textual and extra-textual realities, or between the "imagined" and the "real," in complex ways.

45. Leboucher 2006, 8–9 (quoting Berchet 1985, 12).
46. Among those diaspora Greek communities were: Venice, Trieste, Leipzig, Vienna, the Ionian islands, Constantinople (especially the thriving Phanari district on the Golden Horn), Bucharest, Jassy (Iasi), and Odessa. See Beaton (1994, 2, 23–30) for a detailed description of the cultural life and of the most important literary representatives of the expatriate Greek communities. Beaton pays regrettably little attention to Greek drama, however, in this study of modern Greek literature. For his argument based on the lack of quality in pre-1940s theater, see Beaton 1994, 5–6.
47. See also Van Steen 2000, 11. As Leontis has warned, it remains a challenge for the Neohellenist to describe the interaction between western Hellenism and Neohellenism without reducing this to a simple pattern of dominance and resistance, on the one hand, or of genesis and imitation, on the other (1995, 12).
48. For a diverging perspective on the old continuity question, see Alexiou 2002, 8–16. The vexed topic of continuity from ancient through modern Greece—and of the political exploitation to which the continuity argument has lent itself—is, of course, supported by the evidence of the Greek language. But the medieval and Byzantine tradition of Aeschylus's *Persians* and of the Persian Wars in general is nearly impossible to document beyond the history of the textual transmission and the fierce anti-Muslim ideology espoused by the—no less fierce and cruel—western crusaders. Hall's chapter in the 2007 volume, *Cultural Responses to the Persian Wars: Antiquity to the Third Millennium*, incorporates a diachronic study of the uses and abuses of the tragedy (the chapter's header keeps to the title of "Aeschylus' *Persians* and Images of Islam," 167–99). This chapter and the entire volume offer the long-awaited expansion of Hall's interesting pages on the *Persians*' reception history included in her earlier

edition of the text (1996, 1–3). The authors and editors of *Cultural Responses* revisit a wide gamut of classical sources, and they rank the chapters treating landmark texts through the ages in a roughly chronological order; they imply a continuity of the receptive tradition of Aeschylus's *Persians* and of the Persian Wars. See Hall 2007, 174–78, on the history of Aeschylus's *Persians* from Byzantium to the Renaissance. Personally, I hesitate to endorse more than a loosely constructed, continuous development for the post-Renaissance appropriations of the tragedy.

## CHAPTER 1

1. Marcellus's Chapter 8 covers the pages 1:231–67 in the two-volume first edition of the *Souvenirs* of 1839. I will continue to refer to the chapter in the edition by de Lorris 1994, 27–52. De Lorris has included nearly all of Chapter 8 of Marcellus's *Souvenirs* (based on the second corrected edition of 1854, according to de Lorris 1994b, 115n9). Those pages of Chapter 8, however, that de Lorris did not adopt, prove to be important too. See below, note 128. De Lorris (1994) also presents nearly all of the contenders' accounts and archival sources related to the sculpture's excavation and its turbulent aftermath. Most of these were written after the Venus had become one of the idols of the Louvre. The collection by de Lorris largely replaces the one made by Aicard 120 years earlier (1874).
2. Arscott and Scott 2000, 3.
3. Kennedy 2000, 44; Lockman 2004, 184, 195.
4. On this fight on the beach of Melos, in which the Venus supposedly lost her left arm, see Aicard 1874, 22; Bracken 1975, 165–67; Curtis 2003b, 115; de Lorris 1994b, 114–15n8; Fuller 1980, 76, 77, 88, 125; Meliarakes 1907, 347–51; Simopoulos 1975, 3.2:542, 544, 547–49; 2003, 315.
5. Arscott and Scott 2000, 3–4.
6. Kousser 2005, 227.
7. Ibid., 227, 229.
8. An 1821 sketch of the base survives, and is reproduced by Kousser 2005, 232 fig. 5. For the reconstructed reading of the inscription, see Kousser 2005, 231. See also Marcellus 1851b, 1:414. The story of the statue base conveniently "lost" by the Louvre's curators tallies with the conspiracy model in Curtis's article "Base Deception" (2003a). Curtis (2003b) tells the bigger story of the discovery, purchase, and transfer of the Venus with great verve. See also Bracken 1975, 159–71, or her Chapter 8; Simopoulos 1975, 3.2:538–50. For a recent novelistic treatment in modern Greek, see Theodoropoulos (2007).
9. Beard and Henderson 2001, 120. On the rushed attribution to Scopas, see Marcellus 1851b, 1:412–14. On the attribution to Praxiteles, see Arscott and Scott 2000, 3, 5, 174n15; Fuller 1980, 78–79, 80–81, 88.
10. Kousser 2005, 227. Kousser, who confirms the Hellenistic date and setting, offers up a concise overview of nearly two centuries of records and scholarship on the Venus de Milo. The related bibliography is rich in both older and recent studies, which have brought the Venus back in the academic spotlight. Among the older studies are: Furtwängler 1964 [1895], 365–401;

Quatremère-de-Quincy (1821); Ravaisson (1871); or the study of the Venus in light of Kleinian psychoanalytical theory by Fuller (1980, 71–129, or his Chapter 2). I will, however, concentrate on more current accounts, such as Prettejohn's innovative study of the statue's reception (2006). See also Hales (2002), on the reception of female nude sculptures in the Hellenistic era and in nineteenth-century Europe. Kousser further confirms the likely date on which the statue's (armless) upper and lower body were unearthed as well as the claim of the French naval officer Voutier that he was present to encourage Giorgos to continue digging, while he drew the separate parts "*in situ*" (see Figure 1.1; as per Voutier's own account from 1874, written long after Marcellus's death and titled "*Découverte et acquisition de la Vénus de Milo*," ed. de Lorris 1994, 95–111). Kousser 2005, 230.

11. Marcellus, *Souvenirs*, ed. de Lorris 1994, 31–33. Hereafter, short references to Marcellus's *Souvenirs* in the edition of de Lorris appear in parenthesis in the body of the text, or under the abbreviation "SdL" in notes that contain additional information.
12. Saïd 2005, 276; also Nicolaïdis 1992, 55–63.
13. Calotychos 2003, 61.
14. Marcellus, SdL 1994, 28, 42, 51–52; 1851b, 1:407. On de Rivière, see Bacqué-Grammont, Kuneralp, and Hitzel 1991, 52–53.
15. Said 1979, 248.
16. Marcellus, SdL 1994, 40; 1851b, 1:406. The accuracy of the identification of the Venus de Milo as "*victrix*" is not borne out with certainty, albeit aligned with the art-historical typology of statues of Aphrodite/ Venus.
17. Hall sees a historical turning point in the Russian-Ottoman war of 1768–74, by the end of which the Russians appeared as a worse threat than the Ottomans (2006, 222).
18. Clément 2006, 41; de Sédouy 2006, 27; Pagden 2008, 420.
19. On the cultural policies and institutions of the Napoleonic era, see the volume edited by Bonnet (2004).
20. Said 1979, 118.
21. Ibid., 79–88, 118, 120.
22. French and Ottoman encounters had a long history of mutual curiosity and circumspection. Mansel discusses sixteenth-century French contacts with the Ottoman Empire (2005), and his study attests to renewed interest in the subject. A grand Ottoman mission to France in 1720–21 was followed by the crucial posting of the French ambassador, the Marquis de Villeneuve, in Constantinople for more than a dozen years (1728–1741). Göçek's book (1987) contextualizes the former delegation, while Vandal's study (1887) covers the latter. Key proponents of the East-West exchange prove to have been the Ottoman Sultan Ahmed III and the French King Louis XV. See further Aksan (2004) and Aksan and Goffman (2007); Armstrong (2005); Bacqué-Grammont, Kuneralp, and Hitzel (1991); and Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister (2002, 2006). As the result of these diplomatic and mercantile contacts, turkomania or *turquerie* became fashionable in France by the mid-eighteenth century. Göçek 1987, 136; Wilson 1985, 82–83. Landweber has made the topic of *turquerie* the subject of her current and forthcoming

writings. See, for instance, her intriguing account of the shifting allegiances of the French Comte de Bonneval against the backdrop of her inquiry into the making of eighteenth-century French political and cultural identity (2008).

MacLean has done much to reinterpret (seventeenth-century) British stage representations of the "Turks" in relation to British travelers' experiences in the Ottoman Empire (2005, 2007). The latter study illustrates MacLean's useful concept of "imperial envy," to qualify the British ambivalent attitudes toward the Ottoman Empire (2007, 245). MacLean adopts the revisionist insights of Matar to help tear down the rigid model of Saidian binary dualism. Matar's book of 2005, for instance, focuses on British captivity writings as a defining mode of performing the East in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century. The theme of escape from captivity fashioned Marcellus's writings as well.

23. Said 1979, 79; lines quoted in my introduction, p. 8.
24. On the historical, political, and ideological underpinnings of the Louvre's foundation and its earliest decades, see McClellan (1994). On the foundation date of the British Museum, see Loukaki 2008, 30.
25. Beard and Henderson 2001, 120–22; Kousser 2005, 229; Schnapp 1996, 261–63, 266 (with a reproduction of the Ottoman sultan's edict authorizing the export of the Venus de Milo, 263). In 1801, Elgin had received a signed *firman* from the Ottoman sultan that authorized him to take down marbles from the Parthenon. Within a year and for the next decade, regular shipments of Greek marbles, most of them organized by Elgin's wife, arrived in Britain. For a colorful account of the acquisition of the Elgin Marbles and, in particular, of Mary Elgin's overlooked role in perpetrating the act of collecting to the detriment of then occupied Athens, see Nagel 2004, 134–35.
26. Beard and Henderson 2001, 116–17. For a very recent discussion on the repatriation of "art as plunder," see Miles 2008, 285–348 and 349–60, or her Chapter 5 and epilogue.
27. Winckelmann's foundational work is now easily accessible in a new edition and translation by Potts and Mallgrave (2006). Winckelmann's eulogies on the Apollo Belvedere and the Venus de Medici can be found on pages 333–34 and 203, respectively.
28. Leask 2002, 2–3.
29. Stillman 1888, 84. Originally published in the November 1881 issue of the American *Century* magazine (*The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 23, no. 1 (1881): 94–109).
30. Marcellus 1851a, 1:xv.
31. Bounia 2004, 6–7.
32. Augustinos 1994, 233.
33. Meliarakes 1907, 340.
34. Simopoulos 1975, 3.2:542; also 2003, 314–15.
35. See de Lorris 1994, 17–25, for Dumont d'Urville's "scientific" account, one of the few recorded within mere weeks or months of the excavation of the Venus.
36. Dumont d'Urville in de Lorris 1994, 23.

37. Koraes often elaborated on the nurturing cultural climate established by the French Enlightenment, which revolutionized a traditionally Christian morality and introduced western European modernity (one nation, one state—and a secular state at that). See, for instance, Koraes's *Autobiography* 1964, 1.1:6. In his view, the French Enlightenment had the most to impart to the Neohellenic quest for liberal nationhood and cultural self-realization, so he held up French philosophical, scientific, literary, and ethical accomplishments as models to admire and emulate. Koraes functioned as an intellectual mentor to modern Greece for insisting on the importance of an educational infrastructure to the nation-building enterprise. See Kitromilides (forthcoming). On other critical strands of Greek thinking and their relationships to the Enlightenment, see Kitromilides 1992.
38. Koraes 1984, 1:257–59. Koraes's recommendation for the Hellenic Museum is part of his introduction (*Prolegomena*) to his 1807 text edition of Isocrates.
39. Koraes 1984, 1:259.
40. On the general cultural climate and ideology of the Neohellenic Enlightenment, see Demaras 1993 and Tampake 2004.
41. Koraes made a lifetime commitment to studying and editing ancient Greek texts, and he did so largely in the western European scholarly tradition (complete with prefaces, annotations, text-critical remarks, etc.). Gourgouris characterizes his important commentaries on the ancient authors as "disguised observations on the present condition of the Greek language and suggestions as to its most efficient deployment for the building of a truly Neohellenic culture" (1996, 90–91). Koraes's Library stands as the most illustrious example of patronized publishing activity sponsored by the Greek mercantile bourgeoisie. Evrigenis (forthcoming). See Clogg 1996a, 73–82, on the Greek consumption and production of books during the prerevolutionary decades, and also on the practice of subscription publishing.
42. Jusdanis 2004, 40; also Skopetea 1988, 171–72, 197–98.
43. Voudoure 2003, 15, 43, 45–46. Voudoure observes that the museum building (designed by Ernst Ziller) took until 1889 to complete and that the transfer of major objects from other Athenian and provincial collections lasted through 1893. See further Loukaki 2008, 135–65, or her Chapter 5.
44. Athanassopoulou 2002, 286–91; Voudoure 2003, 10–11.
45. Athanassopoulou notes the absence of prominent French antiquarians and travelers from the society's membership lists. She explains the "French hostility towards the Society's efforts" as the result of the fierce competition between the French and the British to gain political influence and to gather up antiquities throughout the early decades of the nineteenth century (2002, 287).
46. See further Hamilakis 2003, 62–65; 2007, Chapters 2 and 3, for a rich presentation of antiquity and archaeology in the Greek national imagination; Leask 2002, 146–47; Voudoure 2003, 7–17.
47. Athanassopoulou using Bourdieu's terms 2002, 290. On Maurogordatos, friend of the Shelleys and their interlocutor on the subject of the Greek Revolution, see also Chapters 2 and 3 of this volume.

48. Athanassopoulou 2002, 291, 298–99; also Loukaki 2008, 139; Simopoulos 2003, 316–17, 319; Voudoure 2003, 12.
49. Quoted and translated by Athanassopoulou 2002, 291–92. Maurogordatos issued his original letter in French from Nauplion, on September 21, 1825.
50. Maurogordatos is quoted in the *Genike Ephemeris tes Hellados* no. 19 (December 9, 1825), 75; translation mine.
51. Koraes 1984, 1:259n1. See also Simopoulos 2003, 287–88; Voudoure 2003, 9.
52. Sphyroeras 1965, 170–73. Sphyroeras published a letter that Mourouzes issued upon accepting his function in January of 1819 (1965, 36–37). In this rhetorical letter, Mourouzes declared his goodwill toward the islanders, who were always afraid of being taxed exorbitantly, and he also stated that he expected no less from them. The islanders tended to respond with exaggerated humility and flattery, as in the letter issued by the inhabitants of Patmos and sent to Mourouzes on April 22, 1819, which starts with: "We humbly kneel before your shining greatness" (published by Sphyroeras 1965, 38). The picture that Sphyroeras painted about the activities and the interventions of the dragomans of the fleet is more positive than some facts lead us to conclude. Marinescu 1987, 85, 87.
53. Marcellus, *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 337.
54. The identification of Oikonomos Verges, to be distinguished from Konstantinos Oikonomos, the Neohellenist educator (see Chapters 2 and 3), was made by Simopoulos 1975, 3.2:540n2, 546–47, 548.
55. Baron John Cam Hobhouse Broughton (usually referred to as Hobhouse, 1786–1869), the British travel companion of Byron, also singled out the Greek dragomans for their humiliating servility and hypocrisy. Broughton 1813, 513–17. Part of Hobhouse's derogatory characterization pertains to the "pomp"-loving wives and daughters of the Phanariot Greek aristocrats (1813, 517).
56. Fuller 1829, 523.
57. Sphyroeras 1965, 173.
58. Clogg 1992, 21, 23, 24–25; 1996b, 23; Gallant 2001, 20.
59. Göçek 1987, 125.
60. Marinescu 1987, 19–20. On the Mourouzes family at large, see Marinescu 1987, and in particular 85–87, on Nikolaos, and 77–81, on his brother Konstantinos. See also Sturdza 1983, 353–61. According to Sturdza, the Mourouzes family actively traced its descent back to the Byzantine aristocracy, as a substantial number of elite Greeks of the Phanari used to do (1983, 353). Marinescu 1987, 18–19, 43–62. Philliou (2004) delivers many useful insights into the political networking among leading Phanariot families from the late eighteenth century through the first decades of the nineteenth century.
61. Berridge 2003. Many of the eastern-bred dragomans were ethnic Greeks and Phanariots. On the various categories of dragomans and on their ability to work both with and against Ottoman authority, see Philliou 2001, 105–6. On the role of the Greek dragomans and on the western perception of their status, see Kostova 2007, 180–82. Kostova explains that the dragoman originally functioned as an interpreter but hence also as a political advisor or

overseer. Given his privileged access to knowledge, he could become an ambiguous mediator or a spy as well.

62. See, for instance, Aicard 1874, 19–22; Bracken 1975, 164, 167–68; Dumaine 1928, 17; Simopoulos 1975, 3.2:541–42, 549–50. Curtis goes furthest with repeated derogatory references to Oikonomos Verges as the "evil priest Oconomos" [*sic*] 2003b, 115. Curtis 2003b, 21–22, 29–30, 34–35, 110.
63. Marcellus, SdL 1994, 36–37, 40. Curtis makes too much of the fact that Verges was assisted by Turkish marines to retrieve the statue, and he overlooks the Greek origins of both parties to the sales agreement. This leads him to unfair judgments about other scholars' conclusions (2003b, 115–16).
64. See also Chapter 2 of this book. See the standard study by Camariano-Cioran (1974), on the intellectual and educational life of the trans-Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, over which the brothers' father, Alexander Mourouzes, had ruled intermittently as the sultan's viceroy (*hospodar* of either one of the principalities). See further Marinescu 1987, 43–62.
65. See Chapter 2, p. 74–75, and Chapter 3, p. 114–15.
66. Kousser 2005, 232.
67. Voutier in de Lorris 1994, 102.
68. Herzfeld 1995, 220.
69. This is one of the archival sources included in the collection compiled by de Lorris 1994, 53–84 (quotation, 58).
70. De Lorris 1994b, 116n15.
71. Controversies surrounding the Venus had played themselves out in the (popularizing) journal and periodical press, not only in *La Revue contemporaine*, but also in *Le Correspondant*, in which Marcellus later published his account of the 1820 reading of Aeschylus's *Persians*. The theme of public controversy is reiterated by Marcellus in "Un dernier mot," in de Lorris 1994, 76 (hereafter DmdL).
72. Marcellus, DmdL 1994, 57.
73. Ibid., 57.
74. Marcellus 1851b, 1:396.
75. Marcellus, *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 135.
76. Stillman 1888, 84; see also the opening quotation above, p. 26.
77. Voutier in de Lorris 1994, 90. See also the opening quotation above, p. 19.
78. Voutier in de Lorris 1994, 85–91.
79. Marcellus's letter in de Lorris 1994, 93.
80. See note 10 in this chapter. De Lorris 1994a, 9–14. See Voutier in de Lorris 1994, 102–3, on the enthusiasm that his drawing raised. For traces of the deliberate promotion of Dumont d'Urville at Voutier's expense, see Marcellus, SdL 1994, 31–32. In 1821, Voutier, who was pro-Napoleonic, anti-royalist, and hence disenchanted with the Restoration, left the French navy to join the Greek Revolution, in which he became a colonel and a local hero. Brewer 2001, 170. In December of 1823, Voutier published his *Mémoires du Colonel Voutier sur la guerre actuelle des Grecs*, in which he focused on the ongoing Greek revolutionary war and its various regional and topical engagements. At that time, he made no mention of his connections to Marcellus or to the Venus. Leboucher 2006,

130n1 confirms the inferences drawn by de Lorris 1994a, 12–14 that, for all the above reasons, Voutier became, over the years, less desirable for Marcellus to recall as an associate in the acquisition of the Venus. For an impassionate defense of Voutier's role, see Alaux 1939.

81. Marcellus, SdL 1994, 39, 43–45; DmdL 1994, 57; 1851b, 1:407. On Mourouzes's vengeful anger, see further Bracken 1975, 167–68; Simopoulos 1975, 3.2:541–42, 549–50.
82. Voutier in de Lorris 1994, 98, 103, 104, 110–11.
83. Ibid., 103.
84. Lockman 2004, 251.
85. See, for instance, Voutier in de Lorris 1994, 98, 103, 104.
86. Meliarakes made a disturbing connection, which is, however, invalid: he implied that the personal and diplomatic standoff between the French and the Greek parties vying for the Venus, followed by the Ottomans' public embarrassment, led to the execution of Nikolaos Mourouzes (1907, 354).
87. Said 1979, 40.
88. Ibid., 169–70.
89. Lockman 2004, 68–69.
90. Armstrong 2005, 235, 236, 253, 254.
91. Dumont d'Urville in de Lorris 1994, 17. See also above, note 35 in this chapter.
92. Armstrong 2005, 241.
93. Dobie 2001, 122–23; Said 1979, 83–84, 86–87.
94. See further Ballaster's edition (2005) and his *Fabulous Orients* (2005a). On the French primacy in some of the Orientalizing genres, see Ballaster 2005b, 7.
95. See note 22 in this chapter.
96. Haddad 2002, 3–4; Lewis 2004, 147; Lockman 2004, 70.
97. Eisner 1991, 106.
98. Ibid., 117.
99. Calotychos 2003, 237; Gourgouris 1996, 143.
100. Nicolaïdis 1992, 281–82.
101. Eisner 1991, 82.
102. Tolias 2005, 73; also Clément 2006, 31, 38.
103. Kindstrand 1981, 85–93; Ungefehr-Kortus 1996, 240–56.
104. On the vast influence of Rollin's history, its compilations, and translations, see further Winterer 2007, 26–29.
105. Eisner 1991, 67.
106. Marcellus, *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 33.
107. Marcellus, preface to the 1839 edition of *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 18.
108. Canat 1951, 116–17; Vidal-Naquet 1995, 9–11, 90. For a powerfully argued study of the symbolic and metonymic "topographies" of the Greek lands, see Leontis 1995.
109. Eisner 1991, 82; also Colbert 2005, 133.
110. Calotychos 2003, 37; Eisner 1991, 96; but cf. Vidal-Naquet 1995, 101, 129n108. Berchet interprets Chateaubriand's creative and personalized travelogue as "*une individuation du voyageur*," "an individuation of the traveler" (2006, 13).

111. Cf. Dobie 2001, 124.
112. Canat 1951, 41; also Clément 2006, 31.
113. Gourgouris 1996, 129; also Berchet 2006, 15–16.
114. Said 1979, 166–70; also Dobie 2001, 126.
115. Canat 1951, 41, 116–17n5; Leboucher 2006, 8, 395–96.
116. Marcellus, *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 352.
117. Voutier in de Lorris 1994, 91.
118. See Chapter 6 of Marcellus's *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 97–110.
119. Marcellus, *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 100.
120. Ibid., 99. See further Constantine 1984, 215–18, on the idolatrous fascination with which western travelers toured Homer's school and tomb (the latter presumably on Ios). On Marcellus's encounter with the Chiot women who knew only of Omer Pasha, who would never have chosen a seat on the naked rocks, see the opening page of my introduction.
121. Arscott and Scott 2000, 16.
122. Ibid., 4.
123. Marcellus, SdL 1994, 28; 1851b, 1:406, 412–13. See further Arscott and Scott 2000, 4, 173n12.
124. Marcellus, DmdL 1994, 65; also 1851b, 1:396, 405.
125. Marcellus, DmdL 1994, 54.
126. Marcellus, *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 131–33.
127. It is nearly impossible to verify the otherwise likely attribution of Maritza's portrait to Johann Ender (1793–1854), whom Marcellus calls German but who was actually Austrian by birth. Ender specialized in portrait painting and did travel to Greece. Curtis makes the attribution without reservations (2003b, 24–25).
128. Marcellus devotes about a dozen pages to his account on the Venus, but his tale of his negotiations with and about Maritza follows, after a brief transition, in just two pages (when counted in the same 2006 edition). For the former, see Marcellus, SdL 1994, 27–52, or ed. Leboucher 2006, 119–30. For the latter, see *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 131–33. De Lorris did not include the latter part of Marcellus's Chapter 8 in the standard collection of sources, which is unfortunate given that Marcellus's Venus story can be interpreted in fresh ways—and from a Lacanian perspective—in light of the rest of his chapter.
129. Marcellus, *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 131; echoed in 132.
130. Curtis 2003b, 31–33.
131. Marcellus, *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 132.
132. Ibid., 131.
133. Marcellus 1851b, 1:400–405.
134. On the wave of French interest in Pygmalion that preceded Marcellus, see Carr 1960. Carr locates this interest in the realm of French musical drama and comic theater of the eighteenth century, in particular (1960, 241–42).
135. Lewis 2004, 5.
136. Leoussi 1998, 59.
137. Lewis 2004, 9, 142, 143, 146–47.
138. Marshall 1998, 3, 56.

139. Ibid., ix, 3, 4, 5, 39.
140. Ibid., 8–9, 51, 52, 105, 159.
141. Beard and Henderson 2001, 122.
142. Prettejohn observes how the reception history of the Venus de Milo proceeded in tandem with modernity's reproductive techniques (casts, emerging photography, mechanical reproduction in bronze), which made her accessible to broad and more socially diverse audiences (2006, 235). The armless silhouette then became the statue's distinctive and truly modern hallmark. See also p. 63 of this book.
143. Marshall 1998, 31.
144. The reader is left with the impression that Marcellus obsessed about seeing Fauvel, to earn the affirmation of the expert but also that of Chateaubriand, and of all those travel writers for whom Fauvel had become a "must-see" in Athens. Marcellus, *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 353, and his Chapters 22 and 24. Clément 2006, 32.
145. For the various accounts, see Marcellus, SdL 1994, 42–43; *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 403; DmdL 1994, 63–65.
146. Marcellus, DmdL 1994, 64.
147. Ibid., 64.
148. Ibid., 64. For Chateaubriand's raving appraisal of the Venus, see Marcellus 1851b, 1:410–11.
149. Marcellus, DmdL 1994, 64.
150. Cf. Said 1979, 118; Hall 2006, 222–23.
151. Wilson 1985, 86–88.
152. Ibid., 79, 80, 83, 88–90. Wilson sees the Russian-Ottoman war of 1768–74 as the main impetus to the late eighteenth-century boom of abduction operas (1985, 81–82). However, the memory of the battle of Vienna in 1683, in which the Ottomans besieged Vienna a second time (after a first siege in 1529), also had a long-lasting impact and struck closer to home. After more than a century and a half of real conflict between the German-speaking world and the Ottomans, the period in which the danger relented may have spawned the series of abduction operas that take a virtually lighter, though no less Orientalist approach.
153. See Longino (2002) on Orientalist trends in French classical drama and on their shaping of a French colonial identity. Voltaire's *Zaïre*, a variant of the traditional abduction tale, is set in a seraglio of Arab Jerusalem at the time of the Crusades. The play dates from 1732 but was rediscovered through a successful new run in 1810. Pao states that Voltaire's play thus became one of the most acclaimed works of French classical tragedy (1998, 48). For a more detailed analysis of the play, see Pao 1998, 47–51, 53–55. Grosrichard demonstrates how influential French thinkers such as Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau characterized Islam as an authoritarian religion and as a platform for political despotism (1979).
154. Cochran 2006; Goldsworthy 1998, 20–21; Roessel 2002, 52–56.
155. Ballaster 2005a, 367, 368–72; Makdisi 1998, 131–32.
156. Lewis 2004, 4, 9, 12–13; see also Ziter 2003, 66–67, 72–74. Dobie speaks of the tradition of the *Orient galant*, "the fascination with women, polygamy,

and the harem that . . . dominated eighteenth-century exoticism" (2001, 123). Dobie refines and revises Said's claim that, after 1800, the majority of western travelers to the East went on an erotic quest, in pursuit of "sexual experiences unavailable in the West" (2001, 123). She contends that, in France, eroticized narratives became prevalent only in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Without mentioning Marcellus, she has thus provided the later temporal framework to help contextualize his narration.

157. Lewis 2004, 13.
158. Ibid., 13.
159. On Montagu within the context of British and French Orientalisms, see Koundoura 2004 and Lowe 1991.
160. Lewis 2004, 13. See also the volumes of reprints with new introductions in the series "Orientalism, Occidentalism, and Women's Writing," which are part of the Gorgias Press series "Cultures in Dialogue," edited by Heffernan and Lewis.
161. Wilson 1985, 85.
162. Anne de Marcellus 2006, 14. Marcellus himself referred to his professional mission in the preface to the 1854 edition of his *Souvenirs* (ed. Leboucher 2006, 22).
163. Said 1979, 55.
164. Marcellus, DmdL 1994, 81–84.
165. Ibid., 81.
166. See also p. 22, 37, and 48 of this book for Marcellus's own allusions to Paris and Helen. No epigram in the *Greek Anthology*, however, applies this particular punch line to a Venus or Helen.
167. Quoted by Marcellus, DmdL 1994, 81–82.
168. Marcellus, DmdL 1994, 82.
169. Marcellus 1851b, 1:406.
170. Marshall 1998, 189n8. Marshall refers to Lucian's *Essays in Portraiture* (4) and to the *Amores* (or *Erotes*, 15–16) of Pseudo-Lucian. See also Arscott and Scott 2000, 5; Beard and Henderson 2001, 128–32, with further references to anecdotes in Pliny (*Natural History* 36.22).
171. Marshall 1998, 31, 41.
172. Marcellus, DmdL 1994, 84.
173. Said 1979, 25.
174. Marcellus, DmdL 1994, 80–81.
175. Arscott and Scott 2000, 9.
176. Quatremère-de-Quincy 1821, 9n1.
177. Prettejohn 2006, 230, 232, 238, 240.
178. Ibid., 235–36, 246.
179. See further Gould 1985 and Holmes 2007.

## CHAPTER 2

1. Iskander, the hero of Disraeli's novel of 1834 (1934, 217, 218), is a Christian of Greek descent. He has been trained, however, and is now compelled to act as a commander of the Turks. With the help of his friend Nicaeus, he decides to rise

against the Ottoman overlords. For more on Disraeli and his contested philhellenism, see Goldsworthy 1998, 25; Roessel 2002, 117–19, 135–36, 142. Roessel and others have identified Iskander as the fifteenth-century Skanderbeg (or Skenderbeg), an Albanian chieftain and national hero who dealt serious blows to the Turkish forces and mobilized further resistance as they threatened eastern and Balkan Europe. Barbour 2003, 25; Kola 2003, 5. A popular early sixteenth-century biography presented Skanderbeg as an ethnic Balkan Christian (for some, a Greek) who waged a religious as well as a liberation struggle against the Ottomans. Roessel concludes that Disraeli's novel "is simply the Greek War of Independence transported backward in time" (2002, 119). For extensive studies of the figure of Skanderbeg in European and Balkan dramaturgy, see Puchner 1994, 40–102; 2006, 1:163–90.

2. Minimal references to this record appear in Clogg 1996b, 23–24; Eliade 1991, 114; Simopoulos 1975, 3.2:420–21; Stamatopoulou-Vasilakou 1994, 1:121–22; 2006, 24–25, 42; Tampake 1995, 256; but see recently Puchner 2006, 169–70n34; Van Steen 2007a.
3. Chateaubriand 1825, 32, 34. See the full quotation in my introduction, p. 13.
4. Clément 2006, 32–33; Hartog 2000, 7, 8.
5. Chateaubriand 1978, 112–18.
6. See Avlami 2001, 14–98, on Chateaubriand's later denunciation of his *Essai*. See also Saïd (2005), on the excessive search for remainders of ancient Greece in modern times.
7. These instructions are quoted and translated by Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (1989, 9, with reference to her French source for this quotation, see Dimopoulos (1962, 90), who fails, however, to list a reference to his own French source.
8. De Sédouy 2006, 24–25.
9. Pao recounts an instance of perceived conflictual interests that stems from the world of French theater: in 1822, when the French government was not yet ready to support the Greek Revolution, which was, however, generating much public sympathy, the management at the Panorama-Dramatique proposed to stage a pro-Greek melodrama titled *Ali, Pacha de Janina*. The censors were left baffled. However, instead of taking responsibility for the play's production even in a bowdlerized form, they referred the matter to the higher French authorities, "'to decide if such a subject . . . can, without any political disadvantages, be transferred to the theater'" (1998, 117).
10. References to Marcellus's publication of 1859b appear in parenthesis from here on.
11. For more information on Oikonomos, see subsequent sections of Chapter 2 in this volume and also Chatzepantazes 2006, 22, 80; Demaras 1982, 47–48; 1993, 376–77. In his extensive correspondence (ed. Lappas and Stamoule 1989–2002), Oikonomos discussed many contemporary issues though, to my knowledge, not his personal involvement in the 1820 reading. This has been confirmed to me by Kostas Lappas (e-mail communication, February 5, 2008).
12. Let me attempt a brief outline of the rationale behind the proposed date of the reading, which is not incidental to my argument: Marcellus's departure for

Melos on May 15, 1820 provides a plausible *terminus ante quem* for the date of the reading in which he inscribed himself. His subsequent tour of the eastern Mediterranean, followed by his departure from Constantinople, left him without a chance to reconcile with Nikolaos Mourouzes, with whom he had had a fallout over the Venus. A *terminus post quem* is harder to determine. However, the collected letters of Oikonomos include a brief dispatch dated April 5, 1820 and sent from Smyrna (letter 240, ed. Lappas and Stamoule 2002, 2:126). Oikonomos had been awaiting the latest correspondence from Constantinople in Smyrna, from where he likely traveled north shortly thereafter. Thus the reading may have taken place between the dates of approximately April 10 and May 14, 1820. Because Marcellus's purchase of the Venus had driven a rift between him and Mourouzes, the memoir of the literary evening devoted to Aeschylus's *Persians*, which stressed the serenity and unanimity among those present, partly whitewashed the contested commercial dealings and alleviated the breach of trust in a valuable friendship. Did Marcellus, forty years after the fact, studiously piece together the memoir of the reading to fulfill a debt to remember Mourouzes in a positive light? Driven by some remorse about the rapid and irreversible deterioration of seamless companionship, Marcellus may have staged himself as the perfect foreign philhellene among the perfect Greek hosts. Memory with an agenda? The nuances of Marcellus's motivations or over-justifications, however, can no longer be recovered easily.

13. See also the reference to Kanares by Chateaubriand 1825, 34, which I quoted in my introduction, p. 13.

14. As Demetriou has observed (2001), Alexander the Great began to be represented as a national hero and symbol of Greek unity after the French Revolution and in the nineteenth-century Greek historiography that was preoccupied with nation-building (especially the *History of the Hellenic Nation*, or the seminal work of Paparregopoulos, who regarded Alexander even as a proto-Christian national ancestor). Alexander the Great, however, may not have been the only Alexander to come to mind in the 1820s. Alexandros Maurogordatos, the friend of the Shelleys, played an important intellectual role among the Greek revolutionaries. His cousin, Alexandros Ypselantes, issued an actual call to revolt in the weeks prior to the nominal outbreak of the Greek War of Independence. On this well-crafted call to revolt, punctuated by antityrannical imagery and Persian War stereotypes, see below, Chapter 3, p. 137–40. There was also a formidable Alexander of the international scene: Napoleon, who styled himself after Alexander the Great. Gallo 2004, 326, 328. Greek thinkers with strong sympathies for the French Revolution, such as Koraes, had hoped that Napoleon might become the liberator of Greece. Clément 2006, 37–38; Evrigenis forthcoming; Nicolaïdis 1992. But such hopes were dashed after Napoleon's fall from glory in 1815. Besides, they would not have been shared by the royalist Marcellus. The French revolutionaries and Napoleon, in particular, had been heavily co-opted into the narratives of the Persian Wars, even before Napoleon's final defeat in the battle of Waterloo. From the victorious British perspective, Waterloo equaled a Marathon, but from the French perspective, a

Thermopylae: correspondingly, Napoleon and his troops stood for the overreaching Persian aggressors defeated on land, or for a new Leonidas and his self-sacrificing Spartans. The latter identification soon gained more ground. A painting titled "Leonidas at Thermopylae" by David, which the artist had begun well in advance of the 1815 demise, became fully associated with Napoleon. Athanassoglou-Kallmyer 1989, 54–57; Bridges, Hall, and Rhodes 2007, 16–17; Hall 2004a, 174; Rood 2007, 267–68, with emphasis also on Byron's role. For Napoleon as a Xerxes at Salamis, once Nelson defeated his fleet in the battle of the Nile (1798), see Hall 2007, 185; Hall and Macintosh 2005, 266. Marcellus, ever the diplomat, refrained from making allusions to those various, ideologically charged identifications.

15. Marinescu 1987, 43–62.
16. See also Chapter 1, p. 35.
17. See below, Chapter 3, p. 134, for the letter that Zoe Mourouze wrote from Odessa on December 29, 1822 and addressed to Oikonomos (ed. Lappas and Stamoule 2002, 2:260–61, 454–55).
18. Stamatopoulou-Vasilakou 2006, 23–25, 39. On Greek theater activity in Bucharest, see also Spathes 1986a, 47–48, 61–67; also Chatzepantazes 2002, 1.1:173–91, or his Chapter 9; Puchner 2004.
19. See Chapter 3 for the approving letter of Koumas, p. 135–36.
20. Puchner 1993, 69–70, 73; 1997, 409–10, 412–13; Siatopoulos ca. 1972, 106–8.
21. See further Sphyroeras 1965, 170–73.
22. See Chapter 1, p. 33.
23. Marcellus reported the episode in his collection of modern Greek folk songs (1851a, 1:173).
24. On the theme of "religion at war," see Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, who identifies this theme as one that held special appeal for conservative supporters of the Bourbon Restoration (1989, 19–21). Anti-Turkish hostility, constructed on anti-Islamicism and abhorrence for eastern despotism, permeated the writings of Chateaubriand. Berchet 2006, 16–18; Clément 2006, 31, 33, 41; Veinstein 2006.
25. Lappas 1987, 128–32, 148–49; Marinescu 1987, 93–95.
26. For a concise statement on the importance of theater life in Odessa, see Spathes 1986a, 60–61; also Chatzepantazes 2002, 1.1:173–91; Grammatas 2002, 1:100–101. On Odessa's significance as a link between Russia and the Greek cultural revival and Revolution, see Prousis 1994, 11–18. On the vibrant Greek merchant activity in Odessa, see Augetides 1998.
27. Clogg 1992, 51; Gallant 2001, 32–33.
28. I am grateful to Maria Stassinopoulou for pointing out some of Oikonomos's later-in-life connections (personal communication, November 23, 2006). Oikonomos would have been aware that any of his letters or dispatches that might have contained political—strategic or military—information could be used against him.
29. Clogg 1976, xix, with reference to and quotations from contemporary western sources.

30. Marcellus, *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 70.
31. Marcellus, preface to the 1839 edition of *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 18.
32. See Chapter 1, p. 28–29; also Lappas 2007.
33. Evrigenis forthcoming; Van Steen 2000, 18, 233n5.
34. Koraes made this extraordinary statement in his *Autobiography* (1964), 1.1:6. Van Steen 2000, 20.
35. For a recent and succinct account of the crises that the Greek schools of the eastern Aegean endured, see Lappas 2007, 21–23, 25–26; also Eliou 1988, 46–48.
36. The title of this adaptation of *L'Avare* defies translation. The work may best be accessed in the edition with introduction of Skalioras 1970.
37. Spathes 2007, 27–38, for a recent study of Oikonomos's critique of the anti-Enlightenment climate of contemporary Smyrna. Spathes suggests that this critique was inspired by Koraes (2007, 28–29).
38. Van Steen 2000, 20, 47. See also the studies by Tampake, in particular 1988, 1993.
39. Chasape-Christodoulou 2002, 1:268; Chatzepantazes 2006, 22; Siatopoulos ca. 1972, 147–51, 184; Van Steen 2000, 33. On Koraes's views of theater, see Tampake 1998; Van Steen 2000, 18, 20–21.

    Turkish audiences were entertained by shadow theater and other popular spectacles. When it came to western-style theater, however, Molière was again the foreign playwright who was most frequently translated and staged by the Ottomans. See De Bruijn 1993, 186–87, one of the few sources in English on the subject of Ottoman and Turkish dramaturgy. Ironically, this meant that Oikonomos's dabbling in western comedy was likely to be received more warmly by the Ottomans than by the upper echelons of his own church. Neophytos Vamvas (1770–1855), a close disciple of Koraes and director of the Academy of Chios, confided in Marcellus on the subject of alleged Ottoman interference at the Academy. His statement qualifies the anti-Ottoman bias: "Be it out of indifference or be it out of principle, the Sublime Porte does not show itself opposed to the literary regeneration of Greece. The more real enemies of that fortunate restoration . . . are in our [own] bosom; and if our efforts succeed in subduing the prejudices or the indifference of that powerful clergy that is today the first body of the Greek nation, then there will be little left to do against the Turks."

    Vamvas is quoted by Marcellus in *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 102–3. Lappas 2007, 22–23; Stamatopoulou-Vasilakou 2006, 40. The more prestigious Academy of Chios was funded by rich merchants and counted around 1820 more than five hundred students. The Turkish massacre ravaged the school and the island in April of 1822.
40. Lappas 1987, 137–41, 146.
41. Before 1821, however, Oikonomos, still under the influence of Koraes, had attempted some translations of ancient texts himself. De Herdt 2003, 1:77–79, 84–97; Demaras 1982, 47–48; 1993, 377; Stamatopoulou-Vasilakou 2006, 42n32.

    Beaton has pointed out that Koraes himself never used the term *Kathareuousa*, although the "correction" of the Greek language proposed by him was

later invoked and often abused in the name of Kathareuousa (1994, 302). For an analysis of Koraes's linguistic program and of the complex Language Question (*Glossiko Zetema*), see Beaton 1994, 296–368, with an introduction to the relevant bibliography on p. 370; Horrocks 1997, 344–48; Mackridge 1998. On the Language Question in the context of reviving ancient Greek literature, see De Herdt 2003. The Language Question, or the decades-long struggle to determine a national language, was perhaps the most poignant expression of the uncertainty about Greek identity. The nineteenth-century Greek intelligentsia advanced the artificially reconstructed register of the Kathareuousa over the vernacular (even though there were many shades to the Demotike, including literary and other written forms), in order to address the ideological needs of the nation-building project, with its many stakes vested in historical continuity and lineage. In the largely uncharted domain of state-subsidized revival tragedy of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, this question boiled down to the director's—or the institution's—choice between delivering the text in the original ancient Greek or using a translation in Kathareuousa, by then the official idiom of the state, the bureaucracy, and formal education. Both the choices of ancient Greek and Kathareuousa, however, were far from presenting viable theatrical options. The riots with which the 1903 *Oresteia* production was received, or the clashes between conservative students and the police out to protect enthusiastic spectators, have gone down in history as a narrowly national issue, as nationalist rows symptomatic of the linguistic fanaticism that fueled the Greek Language Question. Oikonomos's later-in-life opposition to translations also of the Gospels points to a striking development: the two main objects of contestation between progressive, demoticizing translation and linguistic dogma, the Christian scriptures and pagan classical tragedy, were conjoined as victims beset by a common enemy. An academic shift to the study of broader issues of Greek national identity, of which performance, translation, and language remain constitutive elements, has been long overdue. See, however, Mackridge 2009.

42. Clogg 1972, 640n27, 660–61, cited from the 1819 missionary report of Reverend Charles Williamson; Demaras 1993, 376; Eliou 1986, 1988.
43. Lappas 1987, 128, 134–36, 146.
44. Lappas 2007, 21.
45. Clogg 1972, 635–36; also Augustinos 1994, 248–49; Tatakes 1951, 138–40.
46. See Puchner 2004, 205–8, on the important crossover between the patriotic theater activity of the prerevolutionary Greek playwrights, stage directors, and amateur performers and their involvement and self-sacrifice on the battlefield. See also Chatzepantazes 2002, 1.1:179.
47. Jowett's journal entries on his visit to the School of Kydonia are included in Clogg's collection of documents that illustrate the growing movement for Greek liberation between 1770 and 1821. Clogg 1976, 77–80 (quotation, 80); Tatakes 1951, 140. Jowett's original journal entries differ from the account that he edited and published in his *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean from 1815 to 1820* (London, 1822, 53, 60–64, 70–76).

48. Greece's national history of progress has therefore overstressed the history of expanding education, at the expense of consistently assessing the quality of that education. Liakos 2002, 36. From the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century, instruction in Greek history in primary and secondary schools, preferably highly structured, was marked and marred by its relentless emphasis on the "patriotic" national past. On the problems posed by an educational culture of excessive classicizing—and nationalizing, see also Gazi 2000, 114–15.
49. Kalliarches is quoted by Demaras 1982, 228.
50. On this informal version of the practice known as the "Lancastrian" system, see Angelomatis-Tsougarakis 1990, 127–28; Augustinos 1994, 249; Simopoulos 1975, 3.2:534–35. The system was applied also on Chios, as Marcellus testified (*Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 102).
51. Jowett is quoted by Clogg 1976, 77. Clogg uses Jowett's records to discuss "higher education" in the Greek world and he refers to the School of Kydonia as the "Academy of Ayvalık" (1976, 77). See also Tatakes 1951, 138.
52. See, among several other sources, the concise statements of Spathes 1986a, 48–49; Stamatopoulou-Vasilakou 2006, 43.
53. Firmin-Didot 1826, 385, 386. Clogg incorporates also Firmin-Didot's record of the student resolution in his collection of documents that attest to the growing movement for Greek independence. My quotations from Firmin-Didot, here and in further notes in this chapter, are cited in Clogg's translation (1976, 81). Firmin-Didot's original record appeared in French, in his *Notes d'un voyage fait dans le Levant en 1816 et 1817* (Paris, 1826, 381–89).
54. For more background information on the symbolic practice of modern Greek identification by name with ancient Greek heroes, see Chatzepantazes 2002, 1.1:179–81 and note 13; 2006, 42–44. In 1819, the Greek Patriarchate publicly denounced the spreading Greek practice of adopting ancient names. This explains our sources' emphasis on secrecy and on the fear of reprisals, which could be exacted by the Orthodox Church authorities as well as by the Ottomans. Eliou 1988, 46–48. Also, some of the (amateur) theater practitioners of Odessa and Bucharest adopted artistic pseudonyms that had an ancient Greek ring to them (e.g., Alkaios, Aristias). On the French revolutionaries' earlier propensity toward identification with Roman Republican heroes and later with Greek patriotic champions and military leaders, see Mossé 1989, 155–56.
55. Tatakes 1951, 138.
56. Firmin-Didot, cited in Clogg's translation (1976), 81. See also Augustinos 1994, 249–50; Chasape-Christodoulou 2002, 1:268–69.
57. Pouqueville 1821, 5:138.
58. Marcellus, *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 376.
59. French was indeed the western foreign language that most of the Constantinopolitan Greek aristocracy mastered. Stamatopoulou-Vasilakou 2006, 24.
60. The Ottoman hegemony deprived the Greek intelligentsia of access to the manuscripts of ancient authors: eastern scholars had carried off many manuscripts from the disintegrating Byzantine Empire during the crisis resulting from the 1453 fall of Constantinople.

61. Garland 2004, 192, 202; Hall 2007, 175.
62. Grell 1995, 1:102 and note 187; Hall 2006, 221–22; 2007, 179.
63. Alfieri 1953, 246–47; Bowring 1970, xvi; Wartelle 1978, 34–35.
64. The volume of Alfieri's posthumously published plays credits the text edition of Aeschylus by the philosophical writer de Pauw, published in The Hague in 1745, as its source (Alfieri 1804, 8). Moss later dismissed this text edition, which was *not* an adaptation, as an edition that did not "equal the expectations of the learned" (1825, 1:9).
65. Sideres 1976, 38, referring to the temporal framework of the mid-nineteenth century.
66. Koraes regularly shipped off books (mainly editions of the classics) from Paris to the School of Kydonia and to the other Greek schools of the eastern Aegean. Lappas 2007, 24. Marcellus noticed the generous donations that Koraes had made to the library of the Academy of Chios, when he visited there. He also noted the didactic emphasis on relating modern to ancient Greek (*Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 101).
67. On Koraes's reading list for the younger Greek generations, published in his *Prolegomena to the Ancient Greek Authors* (1984, 1:170–73), see also Chapter 3, p. 134.
68. An 1831 Greek translation of Euripides' *Hecuba* advertises its division in acts as "the new European way." Stamatopoulou-Vasilakou 2006, 43–44. On the formal aspects of the modern Greek neoclassical adaptations after western models, see Chatzepantazes 2006, 74–78.
69. Wartelle, who drew up a historical and critical bibliography of Aeschylus, characterized Marcellus's 1859b publication as an "article accompanied by a translation of the *Persians*" (1978, 109).
70. On the parodic quality that some scholars have read in Plato's appraisal of the Persian Wars, see Marincola 2007, 111; Pownall 2004, 38–64; also Rowe 2007.
71. Oikonomos 1817, 375.
72. Gourgouris explains, "What makes the Hellenic mode of life absolutely different from the Asiatic mode . . . is that the former disengages knowledge from hieratic monopoly—it literally implicates knowledge in the institution of liberty, of secular and political action" (1996, 255).
73. Ibid., 257.
74. Lockman 2004, 198.
75. Oikonomos may not have realized just how much he was conversant with Enlightenment political theory on the subject of the import of the battle of Salamis. See below, Chapter 3, p. 116–17.
76. The ancient Greeks and especially Herodotus had drawn similar parallels between the Trojan and the Persian Wars in a—politically motivated—effort to create, as it were, a new heroic age. For Herodotus, the relevance of the Trojan War remained unchallenged and served to elevate the Greek coalition against the Persians (*Histories* 1.3–5). Herodotus 9.27 recorded the Athenians' list of their time-hallowed exploits: by invoking the Trojan War among other feats, the Athenians managed to secure shared command of the Greek troops (along

with the Spartans) before waging the battle of Plataea. The Plataea elegy, or fragment 11 W$^2$ (*POxy* 3965), of Simonides likens those leaders, mainly Spartans, who fought and fell at Plataea with Homeric heroes (especially Achilles). This poem, written in language reminiscent of epic poetry and characterized by its "relatively panhellenic spirit," was probably composed in the period immediately after the battle of 479 BCE, and it was likely familiar to Herodotus as well. Boedeker 2001a, 121; 2001b, 154 (quotation), 161–62. On the "new Simonides," who, as an early ancient source played a major role in linking the Trojan and the Persian Wars, see Kowerski (2005) and also the essays collected by Boedeker and Sider (2001), especially Stehle (2001). For a critical edition of the text of the fragments, translation, and commentary, see Rutherford 2001 and Sider 2001. When Isocrates in his *Panegyricus* (158–59) advocated a panhellenic policy to oppose the barbarians, he did so by recalling the Trojan War. Allusions to the Trojan War remain generally absent from the funeral orations that catalogue and specify Athenian feats. Loraux 1986, 69–72, part of a seminal study that provides insight into processes of mythification relating to the Persian Wars. See recently Marincola (2007), with emphasis on the "patriotic" and idealizing, panhellenic themes sounded by fourth-century BCE historians and orators. On Plato's skeptical or dissident stance in that process of myth making, see Rowe 2007. This classical, "high-cultural" reception, however, hardly figured into the reinvention of Athens at work in the 1820s.

Haubold attempts to tease out how the Persians responded to the Persian Wars, with Xerxes championing the East's revenge for the fall of Troy (2007, 47–63). On the medieval and Byzantine perception that the Trojans had made a comeback in the Turks, see Spencer 1954, 8–12. Spencer points out that medieval sentiment generally favored the Trojans at the expense of the Greeks—a testimony to the literary and ideological strength of (the reception of) Vergil's *Aeneid* (and of the etymological gimmick that associated Vergil's "*Teucri*" for the Trojans with "Turc(h)i" for the Turks). Spencer 1954, 9. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 was thus easily "justified" as the historical retribution exacted by the Trojans/Persians/Turks from the Greeks. Hall 2006, 221; 2007, 177. For examples of the Orientalist equation of Turks/Persians/Trojans that stem from the Greek theater practice prior to the 1820 reading, see Chatzepantazes 2006, 33n27, 39n38 (e.g., the 1813 Greek tragedy *Aspasia*, written by Iakovakes Rizos Neroulos, and the 1818 *Timoleon* and other tragedies by Ioannes Zampelios, on which see also below, Chapter 3, p. 127–28, 138).

77. The Greek nationalist call for youth's struggle to recreate the "national epic" has had long-lasting and at times destructive effects, especially in the era of state anticommunism. For ultra-nationalist uses of Aeschylus's *Persians*, see Van Steen 2007b.
78. On this charged answer to Queen Atossa, who is represented as "rather ignorant of things Greek," see Broadhead's commentary on Aeschylus's *Persians* 1960, 92; also Euben 1986, 364; Green 1996, 3; Rosenbloom 2006, 60.
79. Hall 2006, 201.
80. White 1981.

81. Stamatopoulou-Vasilakou 2006, 23–24, 41.
82. Brenk 2007; Lamberton 2001, 179–87, 205.
83. Calotychos 2003, 41; Gourgouris 1996, 129–30.
84. On the process of national myth making that enveloped the secret school and on the school's symbolic importance, see Angelou 1997; Mandrikas 1992. Critical observations in English are to be found in Doumanis 1997, 88–89. The myth of the secret school has been adopted in popular memory and children's song.
85. Doumanis 1997, 88–89.
86. The terms are those that Doumanis ascribes to the Greek Orientalist perspective 1997, 88.
87. White 1981, 19.
88. Koundoura 2004, 250; also Said 1979, 21.
89. Said 1979, 126.
90. Marcellus 1860, 285.
91. Sophokles Oikonomos, son of Konstantinos and editor of some of his father's philological treatises, consulted the French narrative of Marcellus to compose his own summary statement about the gathering of 1820. He relayed this secondhand information, which he paraphrased from the French into Kathareuousa Greek, in the *Prolegomena* to an edition of 1871. His synopsis in a long footnote conveyed the message of deserved praise for the Greek winners at Salamis, "soul-warming" Athenian patriotism, and hope for an avenger to appear in the person of another Alexander the Great (1871, 34–36). He seasoned all of the above with a pinch of Greek glee (as in the passage quoted below, p. 107). An uncritical paraphrase of the paraphrase was made by Photiades (1961). To my knowledge, these two sources are the only ones that allow some assessment of how Greek intellectuals received Marcellus's publications in the 1860s and afterward. Both sources, however, confirm a foreign, pro-Hellenic import, based on the authority of Marcellus's accounts, rather than an independent stance. No Ottoman reactions to the publications are known to me.
92. Marcellus 1859a, xix.
93. Marcellus's title *Souvenirs* naturally draws attention to the function of memory in his work. For a recent critique of memory and identity studies in light of the Balkans, see Todorova 2004, 1–2, who weighs the enormous output. On the intricacies of defining modern Greek identity, see Herzfeld 1982; Jusdanis 1991; Kitromilides 1995; Lambropoulos 1988, 2001; Leontis 1995; and Tziovas 1986, 1989. The relations among memory, identity, and theater are especially complex. Carlson 2001, 2–3; Papailias 2005, 5, 231n4.
94. Fish 1980, subtitle (quotation), 320–21, 349.
95. On mnemonic communities, see Zerubavel 2003, 8, and his Chapter 5.
96. Among the widespread oracles foretelling Greek liberation were those of Leo the Wise, the legends of the predicted return of Constantine XI Palaiologos, the last emperor of Byzantium or the "king turned into marble" (Greek: *marmaromenos vasilias*), and the prophecies—wrongly—attributed to the thirteenth-century Agathangelos. On these prophecies and messianic beliefs, see Clogg 1992, 17–19, 20; 1996a, 82–84.

97. Alexiou 2002, 157.
98. Marcellus 1853, 360.
99. Marcellus 1851a, 1:xiv.
100. Marcellus's publications of 1859b and 1861 seem to have inspired a local French rediscovery of the *Persians* for patriotic purposes. His translation/adaptation of the tragedy (published separately ca. 1865) was adopted by students of the Seminary of Agen for a recitation held on November 23, 1865. Wartelle 1978, 123. Hall and Macintosh claim that the "students of Rhetoric at an Orléans seminary" staged a performance of the *Persians* (in an anonymous translation) to honor the memory of Joan of Arc on May 7, 1862 (2005, 266n6). Oikonomos's student left the kind of strong and youthful paradigm that may have called for identification with Joan of Arc.
101. In one of the (unpublished) letters that Marcellus drafted as he was sending out copies of his newly published *Souvenirs* (1839) to friends and acquaintances, he called himself "*un royaliste, moins que jamais honteux d'être*," "a royalist, less than ever ashamed to be one." He then corrected his draft and changed the wording to: "*un royaliste endurci*," "a hardened royalist." Marcellus wrote this draft letter in Paris, on April 21, 1839, and addressed it to Mr. Nettement de la Mode. See also Marcellus 1851b, 1:ii.
102. Saïd 2005, 291.
103. Macgregor Morris 2000, 226–28. Roessel identifies this dynamic as one of the driving forces of early philhellenism (2002, 40).
104. Herzfeld 2002, 13.
105. Hall 2004a, 174.
106. New military and political challenges of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century made heroic readings of the *Persians*, complete with layers of patriotized emotions and accretions of nationalist chauvinism, reverberate in Greek school readings, translations, and stage interpretations of the play. Eliade summarizes the production data on three late nineteenth-century student and amateur productions of Aeschylus's *Persians* (1991, 115).
107. Sophokles Oikonomos 1871, 1:36.

## CHAPTER 3

1. Disraeli 1934 [1834], 217.
2. Hall 2006, 223; italics as in original.
3. Ibid., 223; also Hall 2007, 169, 182, 183.
4. On the influence of Aeschylus's *Persians* on Shelley's *Hellas*, see Erkelenz (1997) and, taking a different view, Ferris 2000, 108–33. See also Constantinidis 2001, 37, 39–41; Goldsworthy 1998, 21–22, 26; Hall 2007, 181–84; Hall and Macintosh 2005, 266–67; and Webb 1993, 148, 149, 175–76. Shelley himself described his drama as "a sort of imitation of the *Persae* of Æschylus" (quoted by Hall 2007, 181).
5. It remains impossible to confirm whether the Greek members of the 1820 circle took those conditions of secrecy equally seriously. One possible link may have

been Alexandros Maurogordatos, friend to the Shelleys in Pisa, who kept close contacts with the Greek revolutionaries and with his cousin, Alexandros Ypselantes, in particular. Shelley dedicated his *Hellas* to Maurogordatos, who, at the time, functioned as a political leader among Greek expatriates in Europe. Colbert 2005, 224–28; also below, p. 139. Cf. Hall 2007, 181.

6. Leboucher 2006, 10.
7. Hall 2007, 184.
8. Shelley, preface to *Hellas*, ed. Reiman and Fraistat 2002, 432.
9. "The War of Independence meant that ancient Greek 'liberty' and modern Greek 'liberation' had become inseparable in the popular imagination." Hall and Macintosh 2005, 272.
10. Byron's shaping of philhellenic literature is a key theme pursued by Roessel in a fascinating book-length study (2002). See also Goldsworthy 1998, 14–21.
11. Byron, *Don Juan* 3.86.3, ed. McGann 1986, 5:189. See Roessel 2002, 51–52; Rood 2007, 291–92; Webb 1993, 176.
12. Ziter 2003, 65. Goldsworthy remarks that the popular groundswell that received Byron's verses with such enthusiasm effectively reduced his work to "a few famous stanzas" that "can appear jingoistic" (1998, 17).
13. See Macgregor Morris (2007), on the Enlightenment search for the battlefields of Thermopylae and Marathon. If the eighteenth century was dominated by the quest for Thermopylae, the nineteenth century refocused especially Britain's attention on Marathon. See Bridges, Hall, and Rhodes 2007, 15–17; Rood 2007.
14. Eisner 1991, 67, 68; Roessel 2002, 27. Byron helped to create the travel culture of visiting ancient war sites, and he himself became the object of a modern travel culture that extended to various battle sites of the Greek War of Independence.
15. Macgregor Morris 2007, 235; and forthcoming. See also Athanassoglou-Kallmyer 1989, 38–65.
16. For further philhellenic references to the Persian Wars that originated in Britain and the United States, see Roessel 2002, 37–38, 72, 73, 85, 147; and various chapters in the volume edited by Bridges, Hall, and Rhodes (2007). On older (pre-Byronic) English literary impressions of Greece and the Greeks, see Spencer (1954). For the resonance of the Greek War of Independence and of the Persian Wars in France, see Athanassoglou-Kallmyer 1989; Kastrite 2006, 86, 88. For examples of modern Greek references, see Demaras 1982, 178.
17. Van Steen 2000, 45.
18. Athanassoglou-Kallmyer points to the strong support that the notion of modern Greek Christian martyrs received in 1820s France, especially among representatives of the restored political and Catholic order of the *ancien régime*, to which Marcellus belonged: "In the early 1820s in France, religious sentiment thrived under the auspices of the restored monarchy and the "Christian argument" in favor of the Greek patriots fell on exceptionally fertile ground. The Greeks were lamented as modern martyrs of the Christian faith; they were glorified as the soldiers of the cross, ready to die in its defense" (1989, 15).

19. The importance of Salamis as *the* Athenian-led victory, however, has historically been overplayed. For a reappraisal of the Spartan contribution at Thermopylae, see Cartledge 2004, 166, 171–78; 2006.
20. Roessel 2002, 40.
21. Marcellus, *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 374–76, 388–89. Barthélemy's historical novel *Anacharsis* was influenced by Herodotus as well. Among the later admirers of Herodotus were Volney (1757–1820), a key critic of Oriental despotism, and Flaubert (1821–80). Eisner 1991, 27, 82, 128; Vidal-Naquet 1995, 96.
22. Marcellus, *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 388.
23. On the crucial significance of the battle of Lepanto in shaping West-East perceptions and, in particular, Shelley's philhellenic work, see Hall 2006, 221–22; 2007, 169, 177–78; Hall and Macintosh 2005, 265. The sources on a theatrical celebration based on Aeschylus's *Persians* that took place on the island of Zakynthos after the battle victory have recently been collected and discussed by Mauromoustakos (2007), partly revising the work of Protopapa-Boumpoulidou (1958).
24. Chateaubriand 2005, 130, 136–37; also Clément 2006, 41.
25. Chateaubriand 2005, 162–63.
26. Berchet discusses Chateaubriand's habit of "moralizing" landscapes by invoking "waves of citations," resulting in the "literary landscape" (2006, 15). See also Gregori 2006.
27. Marcellus, *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 389.
28. Strauss 2004, 5, 141–42.
29. Vidal-Naquet 1995, 95–96.
30. Ibid., 95.
31. Ibid., 96.
32. Isaac 2004, 259.
33. Condorcet 1829, 381, from a posthumous publication, the *Fragments de l'histoire de la quatrième époque* (1795). Many of Condorcet's ideas were summarized in the *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* (1795), which is more easily accessible, also in English translation (1955, repr. 1979). See Garlan 2000, 67; Vidal-Naquet 1995, 96, 127n76 and 82.
34. On the part that the battle of Salamis has played in the making of political theory, see Euben 1986; Isaac 2004, 257–60. The battle of Salamis was turned into the dramatic scene of the earliest, archetypal "clash of civilizations." Strauss sheds new light on the old clash in a distinctly post-9/11 reappraisal of the battle, in his book titled *The Battle of Salamis: The Naval Encounter That Saved Greece—and Western Civilization* (2004). However, Strauss also authored an article that pares Salamis down to more realistic proportions, titled "The Resilient West: Salamis without Themistocles, Classical Greece without Salamis, and the West without Classical Greece." This article is part of a volume of "what-if?" histories, edited by Tetlock, Lebow, and Parker (2006). For another "what-if?" reading on the fate of "The West" that hung in the balance at Salamis, see Hanson (2006) in the same volume. Isaac claims that the notion of a "total war" first appeared in the Athenian orator Isocrates (436–338 BCE), only to establish a long and infamous history afterward (2004, 285–88, 297–98).

Cf. Marincola 2007, 107–8; Rhodes, who calls part of Isocrates' arguments "recycled" (2007, 40). Isaac's summary of Isocrates' ideology reads, in no unclear terms: "It is clear, then, that in Isocrates we find the bipolar world view, opposing Asia to Europe, with its contrast between a masculine and free Greece opposed to a weak and slavish Persia fully developed. The views which various modern authors attribute to Herodotus's history are in fact encountered only in Isocrates' political rhetoric and, to some extent, in earlier Attic vase painting" (2004, 288).

The idea of a cosmic struggle between western and eastern civilizations is at the basis of one of the most controversial books on the debate: *The Clash of Civilizations* by Huntington, who cites Herodotus when he first introduces ancient Greece (1997, 42). Also, the antithesis between the picture of Greek columns and that of Moorish arches on the 1997 paperback cover speaks volumes. The passage to which Huntington refers in Herodotus (*Histories* 8.144) reads, with the Athenians declaring to the Spartan envoys:

> No doubt it was natural that the Lacedaemonians should dread the possibility of our making terms with Persia; none the less it shows a poor estimate of the spirit of Athens. There is not so much gold in the world nor land so fair that we would take it for pay to join the common enemy and bring Greece into subjection. There are many compelling reasons against our doing so, even if we wished: the first and greatest is the burning of the temples and images of our gods—now ashes and rubble. It is our bounden duty to avenge this desecration with all our might—not to clasp the hand that wrought it. Again, there is the Greek nation—the community of blood and language, temples and ritual, and our common customs; if Athens were to betray all this, it would not be well done. We would have you know, therefore, if you did not know it already, that so long as a single Athenian remains alive we will make no peace with Xerxes.

Trans. de Sélincourt 2003, 552–53; for easier access, I have used a revised Penguin translation, instead of the 1972 Penguin translation quoted by Huntington. For more context to the above passage, see Cartledge 2006, 249–50; Zacharia 2008. Aeschylus's *Persians* 402–5, or the famous paean, touches poetically on many of the same "compelling reasons" for the Greeks to launch into the fray at Salamis (see below, p. 119–20).

35. Soutsos 1842, 114. See also Chatzepantazes 2006, 56–57, 270–71.
36. Calotychos 2003, 26.
37. Ibid., 28, 29.
38. Regas 2002, vol. 5, for some of the works mentioned above (see also the ed. by Karamperopoulos, 2002); also Woodhouse 1995, 58–59, 61–62, 64, 66–67, 76–79, 153.
39. Calotychos 2003, 26, 28, 41–42; Tolias 2005, 73–79.
40. On the ban against Regas's songs, see Polites 1990, 68.
41. Woodhouse 1995, 66–67, 153; also Droulia 2001; Hall and Macintosh 2005, 264. On Regas's translation activities and techniques in general, see Tampake

2004, 167–79. See Dascalakis 1937, 43–52 and Polites 1872, 1090, for more comprehensive, albeit dated, studies of "*La Marseillaise*" as a contemporary model and literal source of inspiration for the "Greek Marseillaise" and other war songs.

42. On the history of the original French "*Marseillaise*," see Luxardo 1989.
43. Some classical scholars draw on the much-quoted passage from Herodotus, *Histories* 8.144, to read these lines in a "panhellenic" light (see above, note 34). In *Histories* 5.62, Herodotus conveyed a sense of the loaded meaning of the ideal of "freedom." In *Histories* 5.78, he credited the force of freedom that had long motivated the Athenians in war (cf. 7.135.3). Hall 1996, 138–39; Rosenbloom 2006, 60, 68–70.
44. Vincent places the origins of the concept of "just war" in the twelfth century, and he acknowledges the pervasive influence of religious language (2002, 126). He explains how religious memorials, thanksgivings, and formal recognition of the war dead still testify to this concept's impact on state theory (2002, 127).
45. Strauss 2004, 160.
46. Regas is quoted by Dascalakis 1937, 44. Byron's translation follows on p. 122.
47. Byron 1980, 1:331–32. I am grateful to Peter Cochran, who confirmed to me that Byron's "Translation" was composed separately from his *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* Cantos 1 and 2, but that is was, nonetheless, included with the text of the poem from its first edition onward (e-mail communication, July 27, 2008). According to Dascalakis 1937, 45, Hobhouse, Byron's travel companion, may have been the first to record four stanzas and the refrain of the Greek Marseillaise (even though the original poem was probably longer) and to attribute it to Regas. For Hobhouse's record, see Broughton 1813, 586–88. Polites 1990, 67; Droulia 2001, 259; Van Steen 2007b, 120–23.
48. Regas's prerevolutionary legacy made that the paean, valued in lieu of the tragedy, often emerged from a current crisis to call for resurgent patriotism. Images and slogans derived from it became functions of the performative. The paean constituted a performative statement that went well beyond the script, setting, or act of any play. Thus, Aeschylus's *Persians* and its motto were subjected repeatedly to political demands of the present (through the dictatorship years of 1967–74). Van Steen 2007b.
49. Eliou 1988, 36–37. For another contemporary source, see Voutier 1823, 29–30. On Voutier's affiliation with Marcellus, see Chapter 1.
50. Marcellus, *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 75; also Polites 1990, 68.
51. Marcellus 1851a, 1:vii.
52. Fauriel 1825, 2:18–19; also Droulia 2001, 265; Glencross 1997; Polites 1990, 67. Saïd outlines the consequences of the new Romantic search for the simplicity of the Greek people and their natural, primeval environment, be it strewn with remnants of antiquity. Modern Greece—long the full spectrum of western history—now became a world "cut off from history, . . . where time st[ood] still." Greece became a land that remained uncorrupted by fast-moving urban civilization; its people had not yet traded their pure ancient manners for modern sophistication (2005, 289). But when Greece became yet another country

to harbor the primitive and the "noble savage," its particular appeal or uniqueness was diminished: it became more vulnerable also to full-blown Orientalist stereotyping (2005, 289–90). See also Eisner 1991, 98.

53. On Greek theater in the context of the Enlightenment, see Constantinidis 2001, especially Chapters 1 through 3; Spathes 1986a; Tampake 1988, 1993, 1998, and especially 2007, with emphasis on Enlightenment theater as the "'common school of man'" (2007, 291). The new millennium has brought a steady stream of research volumes on the subject of modern Greek theater, which had long been treated in a stepmotherly fashion. None of these studies, however, devotes any detailed attention to the theater in the wings, the secret or ignored drama, on which we focus. The recent flurry of Greek-language books on local theater of the past few centuries bespeaks a renewed interest in historical and myth-based drama. Among these comprehensive studies that take modern Greek drama and its reception of the classics seriously, are, in chronological order since 2000: Kontogiorge 2000; Glytzoures 2001; Chasape-Christodoulou 2002; Grammatas 2002; Chatzepantazes 2002, 2006 among other works featuring Greek theater history; Mauromoustakos 2005; and, of course, the many studies by Puchner, always provided with ample bibliographical references. My debt to Puchner's work is pervasive. Institutionally spoken, this spike in research activity by mainly younger scholars is the direct result of the foundation of departments of Theater Studies (*Theatrologia*) at Greek universities in the 1980s and 1990s. As soon as this research will exert its effect on English-language scholarship—a process that has just begun and which I aim to facilitate—it may well mark the long-overdue reversal of the supremacy of Eurocentric theory and criticism over Greek thought. Van Steen 2000, 193, 231–32n9. Hall and Macintosh point up some of the missing links: "We are painfully aware that much more could have been said on the relationship between the theatre history we have begun to excavate and the modern history of Greece and its people" (2005, xi, xiii). According to Puchner, systematic research on the underexplored dramaturgy of the mainland Greek cities and on the diaspora communities will undoubtedly modify and enrich the map of Greek and Balkan theatrical activity of the eighteenth and nineteenth century (1995, 12–13). Stamatopoulou-Vasilakou (1994–96), which treats nineteenth-century Constantinopolitan theater, is a model study with non-Athenocentric focus. Written in English on (aspects of) modern Greek theater are Myrsiades and Myrsiades 1999; Van Steen 2000; Constantinidis 2001; and the contributions by a majority of Greek scholars collected in the fall 2007 special issue of the *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*. A voluminous book such as that of Vasileiou (2004) comes equipped with a CD-ROM, which still requires knowledge of modern Greek. No doubt, it remains a challenge to work on modern Greek performance theory and practice, because a modern sample of such a study presumes rich sources, including videotapes or DVDs of past productions. To obtain a substantial or representative range of Greek sources, the researcher still has to excavate the archives of the modern Greek performance practice.

54. See Spathes 1986a, 54–55, and 1986b, on the 1818 *Philoctetes* production that was staged at the Greek theater of Odessa in a prose adaptation (in three acts) by Nikolaos Pikkolos. Characteristically, Pikkolos eliminated the Sophoclean choral parts. See also Chasape-Christodoulou 2002, 1:271, 335–36, 341, who notes the incorporation of Euripides' *Hecuba* in some of the early nineteenth-century Greek encyclopedic works and prior school curricula (2002, 1:259–61). Euripides' *Hecuba* was, most likely, the best known tragedy throughout Byzantine times: well-suited for school readings and rhetorical teachings, the play took first place in the triad of Euripides, who had long surpassed Aeschylus and even Sophocles in popularity. The Renaissance's avid readers of Senecan tragedy recognized familiar features in Euripides' *Hecuba* and continued the age-long interest. Heath calls the *Hecuba* a "paradigmatic tragedy" for the critics of the sixteenth century and refers to some early sixteenth-century performances, but he notes the play's subsequent decline from that prominent status (1987, 40). If the *Hecuba* was indeed the first and most frequently translated Greek tragedy, then western interest in the play sharply decreased in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Heath 1987, 40, 41, 43–44, 48, 55; also Garland 2004, 59, 79, 96–97.
55. Clogg 1986, 47–52; 1992, 33–35, with a reproduction of a secret commendation letter of a new member to the society, 34; Gallant 2001, 14–16.
56. Sphyroeras 1965, 172.
57. Chasape-Christodoulou 2002, 1:273, 281, 282–83, 288–89, 322–23, 342, 344, 366, 373; 2:1123, 1149, 1151; Chatzepantazes 2002, 1.1:181–84, with emphasis on Alfieri's pervasive influence on the Neohellenist playwright Ioannes Zampelios; Stamatopoulou-Vasilakou 1994, 1:110–12; Van Steen 2000, 44–50. For further background, see the studies by Siaphlekes 1984, 1988.
58. For a brief biographical account of Metastasio, see Feldman 2007, 230–33, who also devotes attention to the impact of ancient myth and history (in particular, Plutarch's biographies of exemplary historical prototypes) on the librettist's work. On Metastasio's popularity, which contributed to the revival of Greek theater, see recently, in English, Tampake 2007, 286, 288, 290–91. Tampake reiterates that Metastasio's heroic dramas were to be found in Greek intellectual circles "precisely at the point were reading and stage performance meet" (2007, 290).
59. Kimbell refers to Metastasio as "that great arbiter of eighteenth-century taste," in a study of some of the formative seventeenth and eighteenth-century operatic adaptations of the Persian Wars (2007, 201). On Metastasio's phenomenal and worldwide success, see Feldman 2007, 231–33, 240–41.
60. For an insightful discussion of Metastasio's *Themistocles*, see Feldman 2007, 234–42.
61. Marr 1998, 147. Marr refers to Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles* 26–29, or the four chapters which he defines as "a unified, largely self-contained, narrative, telling the dramatic story of the salvation of Themistocles, an exile and a hunted man in Asia, thanks to the unexpected goodwill of the Persian King" (1998, 147). Strohm 1998, 552–53, 558, 559. Strohm emphasizes that the tradition of the opera pair, which had Metastasio couple his *Temistocle* to his *Attilio Regolo*

(Attilius Regulus) was, as a structural and dramatic principle, modeled after Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* (even though Plutarch had juxtaposed Themistocles to the Roman general Camillus). He also stresses just how important classical biographic literature was to the western Baroque theater (1998, 552). The French translation of Plutarch's *Lives* by André Dacier saw multiple editions throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, and it became the catalyst to the widespread popularity of the *Lives* among mainly French and Italian literati and artists. Before Dacier's rendering, the French translation by Jacques Amyot of 1559 saw many editions and inspired most of Shakespeare's Roman plays, albeit in an indirect manner (via the 1579 English translation of Amyot made by Sir Thomas North). Jenkyns 2007, 271. On Plutarch's reception in the modern West, see Goldhill 2002, 246–93; Lamberton 2001, 188–95. Lamberton captures Plutarch's potential as a source of inspiration for Baroque and Shakespearean theater when he states: "Plutarch is pervasively rhetorical, and to be rhetorical is to be theatrical" (2001, 192). Plutarch also influenced Boccaccio's *On the Fates of Illustrious Men*, which includes a "biography" of Xerxes. This fourteenth-century collection was long the better known of Boccaccio's works and helped to condition the way in which Renaissance Italy approached the Ottoman Empire. Rosenbloom 2006, 156–57. Embedded in the humanist tradition, Plutarch inspired also the popular ancient history of Rollin (Demetriou 2001, 25–26; see also above, Chapter 1, p. 44. The thirteen-part translation of Plutarch's *Lives* into Russian (1814–21) by the Cephalonian aristocrat Spyridon Iu. Destunis attests to the Greeks' intense engagement with the revered author, whose *Lives* were subjected to increasingly militant and revolutionary interpretations. Prousis 1994, 15; also Kahn 1993, 757–58, 763. Several of Plutarch's *Lives* have been turned into plays. Harrison 2005, 54–55n7. Plutarch's influence on western European adaptations and subsequent modern Greek historical and patriotic drama remains unacknowledged, however, in important recent studies such as Chatzepantazes 2006, especially p. 22–23, 24. On Alfieri's lifelong preoccupation with Plutarch, see his autobiographical account (Alfieri 1953, 46, 84, 85, 88, 90, 173); Bowring 1970, xi–xii. See Alfieri 1953, 84, on his ecstatic reaction to reading some of the most "antityrannical" *Lives* of Plutarch. Alfieri, who, by his own account, "in reading Plutarch . . . began to be fired with the love of glory and virtue," called himself "a youthful Plutarch addict" (1953, 46 [first quotation], 88 [second quotation]). He felt morally superior to his older contemporary Metastasio for embodying the hatred of "despotic authority" which, for him, Plutarch continued to inspire but in which he saw Metastasio fall short (1953, 88). On Plutarch's growing role in the curriculum of the French Enlightenment, see Grell 1995, 1:103. On his shaping of the reception history of the Persian Wars, see Pelling 2007. On the formative role of Plutarch's *Lives* in Colonial America through the late nineteenth century, see Reinhold 1984, 250–64, or his Chapter 10; Winterer 2007, 73–75.

62. Spathes 1986a, 51, 107; also Chatzepantazes 2006, 24–25, 26, 30, 32–33.
63. For examples of plays featuring these heroes, see also below. Nikolaos Pikkolos was the author also of an indigenous neoclassical tragedy, *The Death of*

*Demosthenes*. Pikkolos's prose tragedy was probably the first modern Greek play to be translated into English, by the Constantinopolitan Gregorios Palaeologus (1824). His Demosthenes poisons himself to avoid death at the hands of the Macedonian enemy. In true Neohellenic spirit, however, his tragic suicide engenders the explicit hope that freedom will some day be restored to Greece. The orator's death displays not so much a pagan-style victory of individual heroism as a Christian martyr's sacrifice. Spathes 1986a, 24, 25, 35; also Chatzepantazes 2006, 34–35, 36.

64. Marinescu 1987, 79n308; also Spathes 1986a, 23–24, 47, 63. On the role of the courts of the Danubian principalities, see Spathes 1986a, 47–48, 61–62, with special focus on Rallou Karatza as a unique female Maecenas promoting theater.
65. The title "Achilles" proves to be the work's most commonly used but postrevolutionary title. Before 1821, the play appeared under various titles, including "The Death of Patroclus." Chatzepantazes 2006, 29–30; Puchner 1993, 68, 73n236; 2006, 157–62, 168–69.
66. Spathes 1986a, 24, 57; also Chatzepantazes 2006, 35, 256–57. For a more extensive study of Lassanes, see Puchner 2001, 220–89. For Puchner's recent edition of the three-act play, *Harmodius and Aristogeiton*, see Lassanes 2002, 135–93.
67. Harmodius and Aristogeiton were the celebrated but questionable Athenian tyrannicides. In 514 BCE, they had killed Hipparchus, brother of the Athenian tyrant Hippias (Herodotus, *Histories* 5.55–56; Thucydides 6.54–59; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 18). The pair had captured the public imagination and enjoyed a local cult as defenders of democratic liberty. Statues were erected for them in the Athenian Agora. On the tyrannicides, see Bassi 1998, 188–89. Never mind that the ancient story of Harmodius and Aristogeiton was more a tale of jealousy and rancor than an exemplum of heroism. Their reputation as the founding heroes of classical Athenian democracy lived on and was revived by early modern through revolutionary French authors and by the Greek insurgents. Rigolot 1999.
68. Zampelios 1860, 1:13–80. Timoleon was a fourth-century BCE Greek general who rid the city of Corinth of his tyrannical brother. As an exemplary tyrant slayer, he was then sent to Sicily to bring down the tyranny of Dionysius of Syracuse and the Carthaginians. This story is based on Plutarch's *Life of Timoleon*. Spathes 1986a, 24; also Chatzepantazes 2006, 35–40, 255–56.
69. For a characteristic quotation, see Chatzepantazes 2006, 33n27.
70. On the revolutionary playwright's role of blending past and present into directives for a Greek future, see further Chatzepantazes 2006, 43–45; Tampake 2007, 295.
71. Chatzepantazes 2006, 61.
72. Zampelios 1860, 1:297; the entire play covers the pages 1:291–368. See also Chatzepantazes 2006, 61–63, 271–72.
73. Zampelios 1860, 1:297.
74. On both Voltaire's and Alfieri's antityrannical plays in their—belated—modern Greek reception, see Chatzepantazes 2002, 1.1:174, 175, 177–79; 2006, 36, 39; Demaras 1993, 168; Siaphlekes 1988, 52, 55, 57–59; Spathes 1986a, 47.

75. Baxter 2006, 56, who elaborates on the discourse of *sensibilité* impacting portrayals of Brutus in the age of the French Revolution (53, 58).
76. Carlson 1998, 40; also Baxter 2006, 54–56, 58–61; Spathes 1986a, 64–65. Baxter pays special attention also to Voltaire's Marcus Junius Brutus, who assassinated Julius Caesar and who was depicted in *The Death of Caesar*. The latter play underwent a radical overhaul and thereby gained tremendous revolutionary resonance.
77. On those reactionary political and social connotations, see Hall and Macintosh 2005, 208. Good examples of this—at first sight—bifurcated worldview on tyrannicide and despotic male power can be found in the popular neoclassical *Orestes* plays of Voltaire and Alfieri. Both eliminated Orestes' premeditated act of matricide and toned down Clytemnestra's brazen cynicism, which, in their full, Aeschylean force, would have upset the idealizing humanist morality of the time and would have undermined the monarchical power structure. In Voltaire's *Orestes*, too, Clytemnestra genuinely loves Electra and her sister Iphianassa, and she is happy to learn that Orestes is still alive. Voltaire's Electra does not hate her mother. The Clytemnestra of Alfieri shows an excessive infatuation with Aegisthus, which is meant to absolve some of her culpability. She is accidentally killed by Orestes as she throws herself between her son and Aegisthus in order to protect the latter from her son's blow. Papandreou 1999; Sokel 1963, 22–26.
78. Hall and Macintosh 2005, 273. In the 1820s through the early 1830s, London playhouses offered many plays that were inspired by the Greek War of Independence and that appealed to the liberal feelings of the British people. Hall and Macintosh 2005, 267–68, 270–72; Mikoniatis 1979, 334–35; Puchner 2000, 147–51; 2007, 2:133–67.
79. Marcellus, *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 374–76; also Chasape-Christodoulou 2002, 1:288; Chatzepantazes 2006, 32–34, 254–55; Puchner 2000, 166; 2006, 169; Spathes 1986a, 24, 32–34, 51; 2007, 27. This early use of Herodotus provides counterevidence to Kyrtatas's claim that Herodotus was largely underutilized by the Neohellenists (2002, 20, 106). It is tempting to relate the 1816 *Leonidas at Thermopylae* to a 5,000 lines long but popular epic poem, titled *Leonidas* (1737) and authored by Richard Glover (1712–85) in Britain. Glover, too, had found his inspiration mainly in Herodotus. On Glover's influential poem, see Macgregor Morris 2000, 211–12; 2007, 232; and forthcoming.
80. Marcellus, *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 376.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid.
84. Metastasio 1953, 1:916–17; trans. Feldman 2007, 238–39.
85. Feldman 2007, 236.
86. Ibid., 241.
87. Metastasio 1953, 1:900; trans. Feldman 2007, 245.
88. Spathes claims that it had to be Xerxes and not his son Artaxerxes, because the rhythm of Metastasio's libretto could not absorb the latter, multisyllable name (1986a, 109). However, the confusion originated with Plutarch himself, who

pondered both possibilities (*Life of Themistocles* 27). The renewed historical encounter between Themistocles and Xerxes may make for the better dramatic solution, but historians have decided against its feasibility and have given the role of receiving Themistocles to Artaxerxes. See, for example, Frost 1980, 213–15; Keaveney 2003, 24–25, 102–4; Marr 1998, 149; Podlecki 1975, 41–43, 55, 109, 132, 197.

89. Plutarch, *Life of Themistocles* 31. On the circumstances of Themistocles' death and on the related sources, see further Keaveney 2003, 89–98, or his Chapter 5; Lenardon 1978, 194–200; Podlecki 1975, 43. Alternative ancient sources on Themistocles' later life and death include: Thucydides 1.135–38, Diodorus Siculus 11.54–59, and Cornelius Nepos's *Life of Themistocles*. None of these sources, however, shaped the later tradition as much as Plutarch's *Life* did. Mayer 1997.
90. See above, Chapter 1, p. 56.
91. Spathes 1986a, 109–10.
92. Ibid., 109; also Chatzepantazes 2006, 25–26.
93. Rousiades's adaptation was published in Vienna and was composed in a classicizing register of the Greek language. The language, however, may not have stopped his script from stirring up audiences at a production of the *Themistocles* in Bucharest, in March of 1819—if indeed the script used was his. See Spathes 1986a, 63, 65, 107, 110, 111.
94. Spathes comes to these conclusions based on his close examination of a manuscript devoted to Metastasio and held at the Benaki Museum in Athens (1986a, 106–11).
95. Spathes 1986a, 107.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid., 73, 107, 109.
98. Napier is quoted by Moore 1920, 607; also Bass 2008, 104.
99. Gallo 2004, 325; Gourgouris 1996, 97; Mossé 1989, 153–55. See also above, note 61.
100. Koraes 1984, 1:172. Koraes published Plutarch's *Lives* in six volumes between 1809 and 1814.
101. Marcellus, *Souvenirs*, ed. Leboucher 2006, 101.
102. Koraes 1984, 1:173.
103. Zoe's date of birth is uncertain, but possible dates range from 1803 to 1809. Marinescu 1987, 106.
104. Zoe's letter is published in the *Correspondence* of Oikonomos, ed. Lappas and Stamoule 2002, 2:260–61.
105. Spathes 1986a, 51, 107.
106. Chatzepantazes 2006, 26; also Spathes 1986a, 49–51.
107. See below p. 140 for the complaints and recommendations made by one author from (or writing in) Odessa.
108. Spathes 1986a, 50–51.
109. Puchner 1992, 293–96; 1993, 68–70, 73; 1997, 409–10, 412–13.
110. These scenes may have included an *Odysseus*. Puchner 1993, 68n208. On Alkaios and his role in the theater life of Bucharest and other Greek communities,

see Puchner 2004, 205–368, with ample references also to his contemporaries among Greek theater practitioners.

111. Koumas 1817, 606–7; also Spathes 1986a, 53–54, 61.
112. Chatzepantazes 2006, 27n15.
113. Clogg 1986, 52; Gallant 2001, 18–19.
114. Ypselantes is quoted in Clogg's translation 1976, 201–3; parentheses mine. The original Greek text circulated in the form of a printed statement. For a facsimile copy, a transcription, and some annotations, see Vranouses and Kamarianos 1964, 24–28.
115. Spathes 1986a, 51, 54, 55.
116. Ibid., 58, 59.
117. Ibid., 58, 62, 64.
118. Van Steen 2000, 236n5. The Greek scholar E. N. Phrankiskos, a Koraes expert and compiler of the index to the *Hermes*, suggested the name of Ioannes G. Makres, who was then active in Odessa, as the author of this "Diatribe" (interview by author, February 1994).
119. On the full context of this quotation, see Van Steen 2000, 45–46; also Spathes 1986a, 52–53.
120. Firmin-Didot, cited in Clogg's translation 1976, 81. See above, Chapter 2, p. 82–83.
121. Firmin-Didot, cited in Clogg's translation 1976, 81.
122. On Euripides' *Hecuba* and its postclassical reception, see also above note 54. Pouqueville, too, mentioned the students' interest in performing the *Hecuba* (1821, 5:136). Clogg states that the visits of Pouqueville and Firmin-Didot apparently overlapped (1972, 637). Pouqueville published with Firmin-Didot and did so approximately five years before the latter printed his own travel memoirs. Pouqueville may not have wanted to preempt the record of his own publisher, which is more detailed and strikes a more personal tone. Alternatively, Firmin-Didot may have embroidered liberally on Pouqueville's account, if indeed either one had firsthand knowledge of the School of Kydonia. See also Angelomatis-Tsougarakis 1990, 128.
123. Puchner 1993, 67; also Stamatopoulou-Vasilakou 2006, 39, 40.
124. Stamatopoulou-Vasilakou 2006, 43. On the prerevolutionary, patriotic reception of Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, see also Spathes 1986b. An Athenian production of the *Philoctetes*, staged by students and amateurs in 1887, still received strong patriotic, almost jingoistic expressions of audience approval. Sideres 1976, 77.
125. Again, the militant and nationalist readings of the Greek patriots may disappoint us in our modern sensibilities, because we are so convinced that the dramatists were far removed from patriotic proselytizing. However, Hall and Macintosh come to similar, unsettling conclusions while digging into the performance history of Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Trojan Women* under more modern historical and geographical circumstances. The interpretation of these two tragedies as antiwar plays or protest plays is only as old as Murray's reading, which he formalized in his 1913 seminal book, *Euripides and His Age*. Murray 1913, 86–87, 128–35, 138–39. Against the contemporary backdrop of the

brutal Boer War, Murray took a bold pro-Boer stance in a 1905 production of the *Trojan Women* staged in his translation at London's Royal Court Theatre. Hall and Macintosh 2005, 508–11; also Stray 2007. However, Murray's attack on the British Empire through his denunciation of the Athenian Empire did not deliver a sea change in the imperialist production of knowledge to which Classics had been contributing. Some historical changes prepared the 1905 reception and its aftermath, but no major reassessment of the prior tradition occurred. Therefore, the potential of the "reinvented" play to bring about an intellectual and academic shift remained limited.

126. On the first indoor playhouse of Athens, the Boukouras theater, and on nineteenth-century instances of banned patriotic plays, see Van Steen 2000, 47, 55. On political censorship of Greek theater in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, see Delveroude 1988, 299–300 and especially her note 27; also Chatzepantazes 2006, 64–67, 257. Moral censorship was yet a different story. Van Steen 2000, Chapter 3.
127. Van Steen 2000, 44–50. A typical example of sponsored nineteenth-century student and amateur productions was the school production of Sophocles' *Antigone*, which was staged in Athens in 1858. For many more examples, see Sideres 1976; also Constantinidis 1987.

## CHAPTER 4

1. Essentialism and reductionism took a step further when Said's own theory was in turn reduced to the much-quoted passage in which he defined Orientalism as a discourse that enabled one to "understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage—and even produce—the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period" (1979, 3).
2. Hall 2006, Lowe 1991, and Makdisi 1998, among other studies; also Todorova 1997, 8–9, 12.
3. Said 1979, 92; italics as in original.
4. Herzfeld 1995, 220.
5. Said 1979, 118.
6. Lockman 2004, 184.
7. Gourgouris 1996, 140.
8. Fleming provides a broader context to this extensive debate on Greece's function and location that complicate Said's argument (2000, 1220–21). See also Hamilakis 2007, 20–21, 26, 291–92. Berchet uses the term "*colonisation douce*," or "soft colonization" (1985, back cover). Koundoura reiterates: "nineteenth-century Greece, under the 'protection' of the European powers, is a colonized space" (2007, 27).
9. Gourgouris 1996, 140, italics as in original.
10. Ibid., 124, 140. Gourgouris has given an entire chapter of his seminal book, *Dream Nation*, the loaded title of "The Punishment of Philhellenism" (1996, 122–54): he qualifies the impact of philhellenism as disruptive and at times

destructive to the process of Greek nation-building or of shaping modern Greek self-identity. The effect of philhellenism is, most certainly, a topic that deserves further exploration in its own right. Gourgouris has restated his position on the extreme idealization of ancient Greek civilization at the expense of modern Greek culture, and thus on the debilitating experience of philhellenism (the "Misfortunes of Ancestry" 1996, 140), in a recent article that is part of a memorial issue for Said (2006). He sums up his thesis on this unique historical phenomenon, whose philological underpinnings suited western European self-fashioning very well: "European Philhellenism and the whole corpus of *Altertumswissenschaft* on which it was epistemically based were orientalist in essence. . . . philhellenism was fueled by an orientalist logic" (2006, 15, 16).

11. See Calotychos 2003, 32, 52, 241; Peckham 2004.
12. Vasunia 2003, 90.
13. Gourgouris 1996, 139.
14. Ibid., 139, 151.
15. Ibid., 139.
16. Leontis 1995, 7.
17. Calotychos 2003, 51; italics as in original.
18. The notion of "the colonization of the ideal" is, again, Gourgouris's (1996, 140).
19. Kennedy 2000, 29.
20. Lowe 1991, 4–5, 7.
21. I share this characterization with Davis, in her fascinating study of a sixteenth-century Muslim traveler between Africa and Europe (2006, 12–13).
22. Gourgouris 1996, 253–54.
23. Pratt 2008, 8.
24. Lockman 2004, 199.
25. Said 1979, 63.
26. Ibid.; also Said 1979, 71: "a theatrical stage whose audience, manager, and actors are *for* Europe" (italics as in original).
27. Said 1979, 57.
28. Lowe 1991, 5.
29. Said 1979, 63.
30. Papailias claims, "The performative dimension of historical discourse is particularly pronounced in witnessing" (2005, 23).
31. Diamond 1996, 2.
32. Shelley, preface to *Hellas*, ed. Reiman and Fraistat 2002, 432.
33. Said 1979, 86.
34. Ibid., 63.
35. Ibid., 21. Other remarks can be found in Said 1979, 3, 243, and also 56–57, where Said briefly mentioned also the *Iliad* and Euripides' *Bacchae*.
36. Said 1979, 248.
37. Ibid., 56–57.
38. Ibid., 56.
39. Ibid., 21.

40. Some contemporary vase paintings that depict Persians were histrionic representations, intended for their comic effect. See Castriota (1992) for a comprehensive study of images of the Persians and the Persian Wars in various art forms of the fifth century BCE.
41. For warnings against reductive readings of Aeschylus's *Persians* in light of Said's characterization, see Constantinidis 2001, 43; Ferris 2000, 228n16; Todorova 1997, 8–9. Cf. Hall 1989, 2004a, 177.
42. Said 1979, 79.
43. See Chapter 3, note 34, in this volume, for the role that Huntington and others have played in this process. Pagden's *Worlds at War* (2008) is the newest reincarnation of the argument of the inevitable historical incompatibility of the Orient and the West. Pagden's book pivots on the worldview he ascribes to Herodotus, already in his preface: "It was a Greek historian, Herodotus, . . . who first stopped to ask what it was that divided Europe from Asia and why two peoples who were, in many respects, quite similar should have conceived such enduring hatreds for each other. . . . [T]hey all [the eastern peoples, according to Herodotus] seemed to have something in common, something that set them apart from the peoples of Europe, of the West. . . . They were . . . fierce and savage, formidable opponents on the battlefield. . . . Yet . . . they were, above all else, slavish and servile. They lived in awe of their rulers, whom they looked upon not as mere men like themselves, but as gods. . . . [T]hey [the western peoples, according to Herodotus] loved freedom above life, and they lived under the rule of laws, not men, much less gods" (2008, xi–xii).

    For Pagden on Salamis as a watershed event, see Pagden 2008, 34–39.
44. Rhodes observes that the "dichotomy of Asia and Europe" was more fundamental to Herodotus than it probably was to the Persians. In the opening paragraphs of his *Histories* (1.1–5), Herodotus "conflates all the barbarians in opposition to the Greeks" (2007, 32 [both quotations]).
45. Lianeri 2007.
46. Hall 2006, 220.
47. The secondary literature on Aeschylus's *Persians* as a historical or a historicizing tragedy is vast. For interpretations of the play, see Conacher 1996, 3–32; Favorini 2008, 47–58; Hall 1989, 1996; Harrison 2000; Kantzios 2004; Meier 1993, 63–78; Rosenbloom 2006, with a concise overview of the secondary literature, especially in his Chapter 7, 139–46, 208–9.
48. See also Chapter 2, note 106, in this volume. Greek semischolarly and scholarly readings of the tragedy, too, have occasionally displayed a controlled degree of nationalism, or they have understood the play as affirming superior Greekness. Eliade 1991, 114. The sea change in the Greek stage tradition of Aeschylus's *Persians* came in 1965, with a strikingly self-reflexive production created by the avant-gardist Greek theater director Karolos Koun (1908–87). Van Steen 2007b, 120, 130–34, 137–38.
49. Hall 2007, 185.
50. On the emotions of loss and fear in Aeschylus's *Persians*, see especially Kantzios (2004).

51. Snyder 1991, 35.
52. Harrison 2000, 111.
53. Ibid., 21, 55. However, scholars have tagged the connections between some of the adduced lines and the rest of Aeschylus's play variously.
54. Harrison 2000, 21–22.
55. Pelling 2007, 148.
56. Ibid., 149.
57. Csapo 2000, 298.
58. Ibid.
59. Hall 2004a, 179.
60. Hall 2006, 189.
61. Ibid., 207–8.
62. Trans. Henderson 2002, 165.
63. Hall 2007, 170.
64. See Hall's section "Making *Persians* Topical Again" (2007, 185–86).
65. Vasunia 2003, 88, 95.
66. Ibid., 91–92; capitalization as in original.
67. Among the recent examples, which have, however, hardly exhausted this truly interdisciplinary field, are: Goff 2005; Goff and Simpson 2007; Graziosi and Greenwood 2007; Hardwick and Gillespie 2007; and Parker 2008.
68. Bernal's chapter in *Black Athena* on the philhellenes is somewhat dated, and it is too short to be considered a detailed engagement (1987, 1:289–92). So, too, are the—programmatic—comments by art historians Arscott and Scott: "In justification of a 'purchase' which verged on the plunderous, Marcellus mobilised what Martin Bernal has termed an 'ayrian' or Eurocentric view of Greek civilisation. . . . Marcellus was, from this perspective, only seizing that to which as a European he was particularly entitled. So-called Aryan historiography only gained currency in the nineteenth century but an Aryan attitude, that is a view of Greek antiquity as immediately accessible to and uniquely the heritage of the West, has a much longer history dating back to the Renaissance" (2000, 4).
69. Vasunia 2001, 19n31.
70. Ibid.
71. Makdisi 1998, 123; also Goldsworthy 1998, 15–16; Leask 2002, 51; Lianeri 2007, 340.
72. Fleming 2000, 1228.
73. Herzfeld 1995, 218, 219.
74. Gourgouris 2006, 16; also Berchet 2005, 31; Clément 2006, 33.
75. Condorcet 1829, 292. Condorcet's statement is quoted by Vidal-Naquet 1995, 96; trans. Lloyd. See also Garlan 2000, 57, 67, 69; Vidal-Naquet 1995, 127n76 and 81.

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