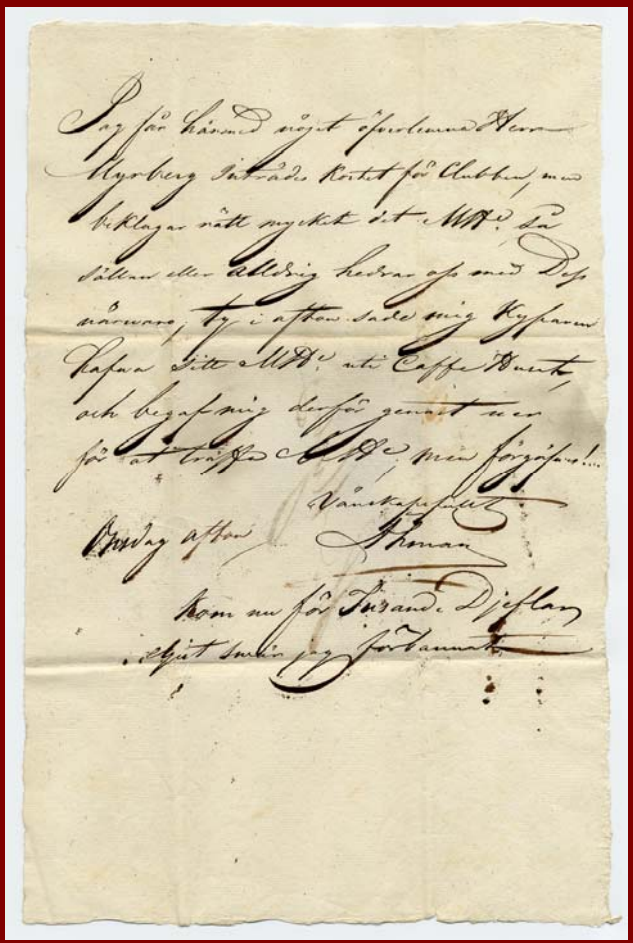
PAPERS AND MONOGRAPHS OF THE FINNISH INSTITUTE AT ATHENS VOL. X

Petra Pakkanen

AUGUST MYHRBERG AND NORTH-EUROPEAN PHILHELLENISM

Building the Myth of a Hero



August Myhrberg and North-European Philhellenism

PAPERS AND MONOGRAPHS OF THE FINNISH INSTITUTE AT ATHENS VOL. X

Petra Pakkanen

AUGUST MYHRBERG AND NORTH-EUROPEAN PHILHELLENISM

Building the Myth of a Hero

HELSINKI 2006

ISSN 1237-2684
ISBN 951-98806-5-8

Printed in Finland by Vammalan Kirjapaino Oy, Vammala 2006.

Cover: Letter to Myhrberg by Åhman, written in Bordeaux, 14 November 1823 (see p. 70).

Contents

To my parents

Acknowledgements

This study began some years ago in Athens when August Maximilian Myhrberg's relative Eero Sovelius-Sovio asked me to examine the historical archives from the time of the Greek War of Independence for possible information about the philhellene Myhrberg. I have now been able to return to the topic, and it has taken me on an enjoyable journey through some important aspects of the cultural and political history of the nineteenth century. Much of it has been made possible by the encouragement and support of Leena-Pietilä Castrén who organised the first funding to enable me to carry out the research. The process has been long and during it I have received a great deal of support and guidance from many individuals and various institutions.

I have received invaluable material enlightening Myhrberg's life from Eero Sovelius-Sovio. Paavo Pentikäinen helped me retrieve newspaper articles and kindly lent a hand in translating old texts. Their constant interest in my work has encouraged me greatly. Marja-Leena and Patrick Hublin provided me with valuable new additions to Myhrberg-narrative, Hilkka Axelsen in Kajaani helped in acquiring the material.

During research periods in different archives around Europe I have been in need of accommodation and many friends have been kind enough to cater not only to these needs but also to stimulate unforgettable discussions on history and life: thanks are due to Arto Penttinen, Rauno Vaara and Anna Lindblom, Arja Karivieri, Ann-Louise Schallin, Tiina Purola and Olli Salomies, Renne and Hanna Klinge, Manna and Sampo Vesterinen.

My warmest thanks go to the persons who have read the manuscript and from whom I have received important criticism: Jari Pakkanen, Berit Wells, Arto Penttinen, Susanna Pettersson, Jaakko Frösén, Matti Klinge, Leena Pietilä-Castrén, Maria Stassinopoulou, Björn Forsén, and Elaine Parsons. I am grateful for their guidance.

I have been privileged to enjoy the obliging and thoughtful service of many archives and libraries. I am especially indebted to the personnel of the British Library in London, Archives Départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle in Nancy, the Historical Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Athens, and the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm.

My warm thanks are also due to persons who have helped me in various ways with translations, provided historical information with their specific knowledge and been in my support during the research process. I wish to express my gratitude to Paavo and Ritva Pentikäinen, Jari Pakkanen, Henrik Gerdin, Johan Falk, Anthony Gorman, Erkki Sironen and Julia Burman, Jussi Korhonen, Jonas Eiring, Kari Kiira, Matti Pietikäinen, Esko Tikkala, Raili and Wolfgang Steiner, Agneta Rahikainen, Lalli Castrén, Martti Leiwo and Joakim Stavropoulos. Eva Malkki kindly translated some of the 19th-century Finnish into English with her exceptional knowledge of the tone of the language. Elaine Parsons has revised the language of the first manuscript and given her warm friendship which has provided me much joy all through the process. Jonathan Tomlinson then revised the final version of the manuscript. Encouragement from Colin Burns has been invaluable to

me. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Jari Pakkanen who kindly produced the layout of the book.

I have received financial aid for carrying out the research from the Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens and from the Niilo Helander Foundation in Finland.

London, December 2005

List of Illustrations

Preface

Philhellenism is a manifold phenomenon which is most often discussed in relation to the Greek War of Independence. During the 1820s this war captured the interest of people in all European countries and North America, and spread through many levels of political and cultural life. It gave to philhellenism, which had been an old and strong force in cultural life, a whole new practical dimension. Sympathisers with the Greeks in Europe and North America became active and gave humanitarian aid to the Greeks throughout the war, and young men from all corners of the old continent and North America set sail for Greece as volunteer soldiers. The motivation of philhellenism was, however, rooted deeply in western European life: Christian religion and classical education with an enthusiasm for ancient Greek and Roman literature and art were the main factors at the core of the philhellenic argument. These factors had for centuries influenced the way in which western Europeans conceived the culture of the Greeks and their country. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, the Greek war triggered a new enthusiasm about the Greeks and their culture in accordance with contemporary romanticism. This included bipolar mapping of the populistic cultural values in Europe: the Christian Greeks, the glorious and brave descendants of the wise ancient Greeks had to be defended against the barbarous Muslims of the wild and untamed east in the last crusade against Islam. Victory would result in the regeneration of Greece.

Philhellenism has been studied from various view points in many older and more recent scholarly works. This book aims to contribute new information to the knowledge of the different aspects of philhellenism by concentrating on northern Europe which has attracted little scholarly attention outside the Scandinavian discourse and languages. My focus is particularly on Finland simply because the central character of the book, August Maximilian Myhrberg (FIG. 1), a representative figure of the volunteer philhellenes from the north was born there. Philhellenism in Sweden is examined more in detail than the phenomenon in other Nordic countries Denmark and Norway because Finland had been part of Sweden for many centuries until 1809, and cultural ties between the two countries were still close after Finland became a part of Russia. Furthermore, Norway had been a part of Denmark until the second decade of the nineteenth century when it fell to Swedish rule and, therefore, philhellenism there had a similar outlook to that of Denmark and Sweden. Both Norwegian and Danish authors contributed, however, to the development of the narrative of Myhrberg with their early accounts about his life, and, thus, their writings reflect the philhellenic attitudes in their respective countries. Philhellenism in Russia is studied due to its close connections with the nature of the phenomenon in Finland which was a part of the Russian domain from 1809.

In the beginning of this book philhellenism as a phenomenon is examined in a general overview of the subject. The intention here is to provide the reader with background information and create a basis for the examination of a specific case of philhellenism in the north, in Russia, Sweden and Finland, and to describe the cultural and political context in which the actions of Myhrberg took place and the climate in which the heroic narrative of his life history started to take shape.

FIG. 1. August Maximilian Myhrberg, W. Palm, engraving, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Myhrberg was one of two philhellenes who were born in Finland. In official documents he is most often named as a Swede, but the legend of his life, especially in relation to philhellenism, was linked to Finnish national awakening particularly during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Myhrberg's life was harnessed for the use of Finland's own nation building in which there was a need for exemplary men who had fought for great ideas and in particular for freedom. In this process Myhrberg's life history was legendarised and a narrative of his adventures as a freedom fighter slowly developed. As a result there are two different Myhrbergs: historical and legendary. The information about the two in different sources cannot be reconciled, as factual information operates on an entirely different set of rules and mechanisms than the information we can extract from the legendary narrative. In this study the historical August Maximilian Myhrberg is followed on his path in Greece on the basis of the historical records in different archives. I have followed separately the legendary Myhrberg in order to gain an idea of how his biography developed, how it was used in a new historical context, and importantly, why. Even though I will spend some time trying to fill gaps in the historical record, i.e. reconstructing history, this endeavour will eventually be secondary to the intention of understanding the way the biography of Myhrberg was edited, discussed and used by contemporary and subsequent generations in the historical process. I have analysed the development of this narrative from a two-fold perspective: First, in order to achieve a more detailed interpretative tone than simply describing the stories, I have drawn from a folkloristic framework for analysing the tale-material of the narrative. The small elements of the tales, motifs and tale-types are identified in order to reveal the mechanism and system to which such tales belong within the large corpus of folk tales. The significance of the Myhrberg-narrative lies in its role as a historical agent in the purposes of Finnish nation building which clearly reinforced the narrative patterning of history. Secondly, the educational role of the Myhrberg-narrative was to cast Myhrberg as an exemplary figure and to establish his heroic status by references to moral and ethical standards rather than to historical processes. Heroicising biographies also shed light on the fashioning and codifying of heroic life more generally.

Myhrberg's heroic reputation was developed through the less formal practices of social, cultural and political life, story-telling, gossip, news reporting, and circulation of literature about his adventures in newspapers. Heroicising biographies of Myhrberg appear in more codified form in his obituaries, in the state funeral he received and later in speeches given in his honour. There is, therefore, a wealth of different types of primary sources which have been used in this study. Archival material deposited in the archives in Sweden, Finland, Greece and France mostly provides factual information on historical Myhrberg. A great number of newspaper articles from the Finnish and Swedish press from the 1820s to the present day mostly recount the endeavours of legendary Myhrberg. Most of them were written soon after his death and as such they contribute to the development of the narrative about him. There is a handful of relatively early first-hand accounts or memoirs of the philhellene by those who knew him. These texts are valuable as they inform us of the initial states of the development of the narrative which had

reached its fully developed state by the latter part of the nineteenth century when the first separate biographies about Myhrberg's life were written in Finland and Sweden. In addition to these there are adventure stories (particularly 'for boys'), some epic poetry and even a recent fictional novel. Among the authors of the different accounts about Myhrberg we shall encounter a gallery of the most prominent figureheads in the history of Finland, for example, the national philosopher J.V. Snellman, the poet J.L. Runeberg, the journalist and writer Z. Topelius and the poet and cultural figurehead F. Cygnaeus. In the texts of Cygnaeus, for example, Myhrberg seems to reflect the idea of a nation state: his image encapsulates idealised values connected to the nation building, but it also reveals changes in the emphasis of this programme over time. Cygnaeus, who was Myhrberg's friend from their student days together in Turku in the 1820s, probably wrote one of the early newspaper accounts about Myhrberg by the end of the 1820s, and thereafter another in 1848, on the day which has sometimes been labelled as the 'birthday of Finland', and a third in 1868 when the Diet already met on a regular basis (from 1863) and Finland had extended rights, even legislative ones as an autonomous part of Russia. Finally, Myhrberg's life, more or less legendarised and mythicised, was used continuously for public enlightenment where his activities and idealised persona were adopted as a model for a morally right, unselfish, and noble way of life.

In this book Myhrberg represents, therefore, two separate but interrelated fields of study. First, he was one among the colourful and diverse group of young men from all walks of life who volunteered to take part in the Greek War of Independence. I have tried to reconstruct his role in the military operations as far as possible. Secondly, Myhrberg's philhellenic career was used later for ideological purposes, and the narrative about his life reflects the political and cultural ideals of the time. Thus, the question is how history and legendary history can be used and more specifically how an individual biography can be important in the writing of larger histories such as those relating to the nation state. As philhellenism in general was effected by contemporary national romanticism and philhellenism itself further triggered by the wider questions of nation state and nationality in Europe, the philhellenic biography of Myhrberg contributes also to our understanding of philhellenism in nineteenth-century Europe.

Myhrberg's life has only been extensively scholarly studied by Patrick Bruun in two important articles written in the 1960s. The long articles written in Swedish (Bruun 1963 and 1966) have been of tremendous value in my study. My point of view and interpretative framework differ, however, from Bruun's work. I have discovered new archival material in France and Greece concerning Myhrberg which has shed new light on some of the previously less-known episodes of his philhellenic career.

This book is an experiment in trying to understand the mechanisms of change in historical writing through one exemplary individual and his life history. When I had almost finished the writing process, some friends from Finland came to visit us in England and brought with them that day's Finnish tabloid paper *Iltasanomat*. In the column by Bisquit one sentence read: "When legend becomes truth, print the legend. When the truth becomes legend, print the truth." (*IS*, 25 March 2004). Even though this is mostly a play of words the interplay and cau-

sality of legend and historical ‘truth’ are nevertheless also the central questions of this study.

* * *

Note on translations: In order to increase the readability and fluency of the text, I have translated the cited texts into English. In cases where an already existing translation is used it is named in the footnotes. Most of the documentary material about Myhrberg, especially his correspondence, is in French, but there are also documents in Swedish, and contributions to Myhrberg-narrative were written in all Scandinavian languages and in Finnish. Representative examples of these texts are given in the Appendices.

I. Context and Framework

1. Philhellenism in the North

Philhellenism can be defined as favourable disposition towards the Greeks.[1] It was (and is) a much wider phenomenon than the political philhellenism linked with the Greek War of Independence between 1821 and 1827 and the years which followed. Components of classicism, romanticism, religious enthusiasm, radicalism, nationalism, the striving for heroism all belong to it and, as such, philhellenism is not confined only to the early decades of the nineteenth century. Political philhellenism of the early nineteenth century was born in the climate of upheavals in post-Napoleonic Europe, and had a slightly different outlook in different countries of the continent, and again in the United States. By the time of the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, Europe was facing the reactionary atmosphere of the Holy Alliance aimed at suppressing revolutionary movements. International politics was the determining factor in attitudes towards the Greek cause on a national level, but at an individual level the spirit of an early nineteenth-century volunteer heading towards the war was coloured by the romantic, religious and heroic notions of the uprising. Many, for example, had received a classical education and were admirers of Napoleon, regardless of the nationality of the philhellene. The phenomenon reflects many aspects central to early nineteenth-century European culture and history and plays an important role in our understanding of the formation of the political map as well as national identities in Europe. As a movement, if it ever can be named as such, philhellenism was international: philhellenic committees and societies were established in almost every European country and in North America. Among volunteer philhellenes there were young men from central Europe, the Balkan countries, Scandinavia, Russia, North America, and even from Chile.[2]

The historical phenomenon of philhellenism as we define it today had two principal aspects, literary and practical. During the first decades of the nineteenth century in particular, the two were intertwined: influences gained from different literary sources had a strong impact on the philhellenes, and prompted practical action. The tradition of literary philhellenism provided an important ideological background, and it was reflected in the art and political life of Europe during the three first decades of the nineteenth century. Literary philhellenism has often had within it an element of admiration for the achievements of the Greeks of antiquity combined with a lack of sympathy towards modern or present day Greeks. The two

[1] Philhellenism as a phenomenon, 'fondness of the Hellenes', already existed in antiquity. The term *philhellen* was first used by Herodotos (2.178.1) for Amasis, the second last king of the Egyptians before the early 5th-century BC wars between Greece and Persia. After Alexander, the Macedonian kings are known to have respected the Greeks in their political and cultural agenda, even the epithet *philhellen* was used by them on the coins they minted. Cicero who cultivated Greek expressions and loan words in his texts called himself a *praeter ceteros philhellen* in his letter to Atticus whose name in itself reflects the appreciation of the Greek culture (*Att.* 1.15.1: "how unusually philhellenic we are and have the reputation of being"). For the use of the term from antiquity to the nineteenth century, see Mygdalis 1992, 63–64; also Almqvist 1943, 271–273.

[2] See e.g. Klein 2000, 53; for the reference to a Chilean philhellene, see Grimm 1965, 49.

levels of 'greekness' have often been emphasised: that of idealised ancient Greece and a significantly different Greece which reflects a Byzantine and Ottoman heritage and is in many ways in sharp contrast to the classicist understanding.[3] These levels have not always been easily reconciled, and this dilemma is echoed in numerous reflective accounts written by the philhellenes in which the possibility of philhellenism was questioned seriously. The practical outcome of philhellenism during the first decades of the nineteenth century was twofold: it is first perceived in the deeds of the sympathisers with the Greek struggle who contributed time and money for humanitarian aid to the Greeks and organised philhellenic societies in Europe, and secondly in the action of volunteers who travelled to Greece to fight in the war. In the following study our main interest is in the latter group, even though the activity of the volunteers was tied closely to the work of the sympathisers. I will first give a brief overview of the general context for philhellenism as a phenomenon and will subsequently examine its aspects in northern Europe, namely in Russia, Sweden and Finland.

The political map of Europe after the fall of the Napoleonic empire in the early nineteenth century was dominated by the agreement reached at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 in which the emperors of Russia and Austria and the king of Prussia signed the so-called Holy Alliance as the main contributors to the new ideology. Austrian minister of foreign affairs Metternich was the president of the congregation. The treaty was signed altogether by the eight 'powers' of Europe. It was basically a joint decision to conduct affairs of state according to the principles of Christian morality and to reassert the divine right of kings. Equally important in its interest was to maintain the status quo in Europe and provide a counter balance to the British and French powers. The Alliance was also a symbol which could be used against revolutionary movements in Europe, principally those in Spain and Italy (Naples, Piedmont) and slightly later in Greece in the early 1820s. This alliance demonstrated mutual defence and interference by a league of autocrats against liberalism. The spirit was more than conservative; in opposing all types of political changes it actually reversed previous and ongoing development.[4] Religious motivation of the Alliance was very strong: according to it the Protestant, Catholic and Orthodox monarchs publicly pledged to base their entire rule "upon the sublime truths which the holy religion of our saviour teaches."[5]

Religion was indeed also an important part of the justification of the philhellenes to volunteer in the war. They were on a sacred mission to save Christianity and fight against barbaric Moslems. They were the last crusaders.

[3] See e.g. Yalouri 2001, 9–13 on the basis of the theory by Herzfield 1987, 17–18, 41; see also Howarth 1976, 66–70.

[4] Davies 1996, 761–763. A different interpretation of the nature and purpose of the Alliance emphasising the role of Tsar Alexander I of Russia as an author of the treaty is given by Phillips 1914 (1920), esp. 141–142 who maintains that the Holy Alliance "was most certainly not a conspiracy against popular liberty… partly it was an attempt to setting up constitution based on "the rights of humanity"… It represented a revival by the emperor Alexander [I of Russia] of the idea of 'Universal Union' or 'Confederation of Europe', commitment of the sovereigns to the principle of an all-embracing international system… and his dream of perpetual piece."

[5] Phillips 1914 (1920), 301–302 (the text). The dedication is characteristically to "the Most Holy and Invisible Trinity." Billington 1966 (1970), 284 reminds us that even the name of the Alliance was taken from a prophetic passage in the Book of Daniel.

Taking action in the name of the Christian faith is almost invariably one of the explanations given for practical philhellenism in the texts of the philhellenes.[6] Also, the news which had started flowing to Europe about the Greek Revolution at the beginning of the Greek uprising was strongly coloured by the bipolar distinction between the struggling Greeks, Christian descendants of the glorious 'ancients', and barbarous Muslims, those dreadful oppressors of freedom and liberalism.[7] It came mostly through the Europeanised Greeks who had chosen to support the Greek cause and many of whom had returned to Greece. Academics and clergymen were especially active on a practical level at the beginning the crisis. Publishing leaflets and pamphlets which were less subject to state control became one of the main vehicles of philhellenic opinion.[8] The reaction of the public was influenced by these enthusiastic reports and appeals, and popular literature contributed to the excitement, resulting in young men offering themselves as volunteers. Public enthusiasm was, however, surprisingly far from the official state political stance in European countries in the early stages of the Greek war. Governments rejected the Greek cause and turned their backs on the 'rebels', and only later, around 1824-25, did they start showing an interest, due to political implications of the Greek issue. This is why, in the beginning, philhellenism was also a radical phenomenon. Besides the romantic and mystical elements, like Schillerism, the philhellenic verses of Shelley and Byron, as well as popular romantic poetry, it unquestionably also comprised certain political radicalism.

Classical Greece – which was used as a focal point of philhellenic 'propaganda' – was associated with freedom from oppression and, in particular, with republicanism. Against the background of political events in their respective countries, at least those philhellenes who had had a classical education wished to "hear again the harmonious speech of a new Demosthenes, of an Aeschines, or of an Isocrates."[9] On the other hand, classicist values could also be shared by the more conservative section of society and free philhellenism from becoming purely a radical movement. E. Hobsbawm also regards the role of the Greek Revolution as having been an inspiration to nationalists and liberals everywhere. The ideas it represented go back to middle-class nationalism and the French Revolution, and can be identified with the cause of the European left.[10] Before 1830, however,

[6] For the texts of the philhellenes, see e.g. Schrebian 1825, 1 (for Schrebian, see esp. Simopoulos 1999 vol. 2, 41–53; also Barth & Kehrig-Korn 1960, 224 and Krøyer 1870, 41–42); Harring 1828, 251–252 (for Harring, see below, p. 63, n. 39); Elster 1828, xi–xii; see also [Elster] 1837, 73–74, 76, 79 (for Elster see Simopoulos 1999 vol. 2, esp. 223–228); Lieber 1821 (a letter written to his parents in Marseille 10 December 1821, cited in Perry 1882, 3–32; for Lieber, later a renowned scholar, see e.g. Perry 1882 (for Greece, see 31–42); Freidel 1947 (for Greece, 29–33); Löschberg, 1994, 135–137; Simopoulos 1999 vol. 2, 22 and Lieber's own memoir from his Greek experience Lieber 1823).

[7] For typical 'philhellenic tone' describing Islam as contrasted to Christianity, see e.g. Blaquiere 1824, 1–2; Parry 1826, 1; Elster 1828, xi–xii; also [Elster], 1837, 73–74, 76, 79; Gordon 1832 vol. 1, 23, 27.

[8] Mazarakis Aenian 1975, 55–56. One hundred and twenty of these pamphlets on various aspects of philhellenism have been collected in the series of *Philhellenika 1821–1831* (vols. 1–11); for bibliography, see also Droulia 1974.

[9] Cited from a pamphlet by a German professor published by Karl Iken in *Hellenion*, Leipzig 1822 (translated in St. Clair 1972, 62). Iken was a literary-, not a practically-orientated philhellene; he published in 1825 a book entitled *Eine Sammlung von Brieffen eines geborenen Griechen über Staats wesen, Literatur und Dichtung des Neueren Greichenlands*, Leipzig 1825.

[10] Hobsbawm 1962 (2003), 173.

political opposition (and revolutionaries) regarded themselves principally as small élites of emancipated and progressive forces operating for the eventual benefit of a large number of often ignorant, misled common people. That is why, in examining the bigger picture, Hobsbawm reasons that, in this period, neither social nor even national distinction yet significantly divided the European opposition, which was still united by little more than their common detestation of the regimes of 1815, and by their opposition of absolute monarchy, church and aristocracy. Disintegration of that political front culminated finally only in the upheavals of 1848.[11]

Philhellenism was nevertheless partly a product of classicism, and many philhellenes took a sympathetic interest in the struggle for Greek independence largely because their education had stressed the cultural achievements of the classical Greeks.[12] The notion of a moral obligation of Europeans to restore the glory and liberty of ancient Greece as a repayment to the civilisation was born among the classically educated. An important element in philhellenism was a belief that modern Greeks were in fact almost the same people as the ancient Greeks had once been. Equating ancient and modern Greeks was a general view which the early philhellenes held almost exclusively.[13] The issue of the similarity of the ancient and modern Greeks became a matter of consideration during the course of the war when an antithesis of the picture of idealised ancient Greeks was spread by the disillusioned philhellenes who returned from the war. Connecting the modern Greeks with their classical ancestors is not, however, a straightforward issue – even though it seems to have motivated many of the philhellenes – and was essentially a figment of their imagination. Classical tradition and education had been brought back to Greece after a long absence and were implanted in Greece in the name of 'regeneration'. This re-establishment of their identity was carried out largely by Greeks who had emigrated and had been educated in Europe together with other western Europeans. They believed that the modern Greeks were the true descendants of the ancient Greeks and that the antagonism leading to the war against the Turks could somehow regenerate the modern Greeks and restore their former glory. It can be said that the modern Greek ideology of identity was not born in Greece but in western Europe, from where it was adopted by emigrants to

[11] *Ibid.* 143–144.

[12] For the effects of the classical tradition in general, see Highet 1949 (1967), and for philhellenic literature, Asse 1900, 89–120; Woodhouse 1992, 149–156 and Konstantinou 1995.

[13] See esp. Spencer 1954 (1974). For this attitude in the writings of the known philhellenes, see e.g. Gordon 1832 vol. 1, 32; Davesiès de Pontès 1864, 89, 101 who writes: "[modern Greeks] are the same people as those in the time of Themistocles; they have the same virtues, the same vices, the same temperament, modified, that is true, but not changed by the long Roman and Byzantine domination, neither by the centuries under the Musulman enslavement..." See also the text by lieutenant-colonel Leake 1826, 15. In his *History* 1877 vol. 6, p. 7 G. Finlay disagreed: "For the centuries the position of the Greek race was one of hopeless degradation. Its connection with the old pagan Hellenes was repudiated by themselves and forgotten by other nations… The modern identification of the Christian Greeks with the pagan Hellenes is the growth of the new series of ideas disseminated by the French Revolution." The same opinion is expressed by Cochrane's biographers Thomas & Fox Bourne 1869 vol.1, 287: "Modern Greeks had nothing but their residence and their language to justify them in maintaining the old title … They were hardly Greeks, if by that name is implied descent from the inhabitants of classic Greece."

Russia and elsewhere in Europe.[14] Unlike the Greeks living in Greece to whom greekness was principally religious and not nationally justified, the Greeks living in diaspora and educated in western Europe had also become familiar with the concept of a nation state together with the idea of an independent nation. They were well aware of the French Revolution, the American War of Independence, and most recently (or contemporaneously) the Spanish Revolution.[15] A mid-nineteenth-century Greek scholar Georgios Tertsetis defined the phenomenon as "the Greek spirit returning to its homeland after a sojourn abroad, or, to put it another way, a ship flying a foreign flag but carrying a cargo of Greek goods."[16]

There was sincere enthusiasm for the support of the Greeks, and motivation came from spheres which were regarded as noble, like classical tradition and religion, nationalism and patriotism. Volunteers were often rather innocent and full of idealistic beliefs, motivated by romantic views about the integrity of peoples, a classicist belief in the identity of the ancient and modern Greeks, and the concept of regeneration of ancient glory.[17] They were on a Christian crusade against the inferior Turks and Muslims, on their way to release the people and grant them freedom.[18] Ironically these ideas did not coincide with official political opinion. Establishing societies to recruit volunteers and send them to Greece was initially in private hands in every European country except Russia.[19] The will to free Greece has been seen as a political opinion against state monopoly: the work carried out by the Philhellenic societies was structured in a new way which was in opposition to the hierarchical model of the 'old society' and functioned as an historical starting point on which the liberal movement widened its social basis for the first time.[20]

---

[14] Almqvist 1943, 281, 287; St. Clair 1972, 19. For the idea of the 'rebirth' of Greece in Russia, see Prousis 1982, 242–245.

[15] Howarth 1976, 20–21.

[16] In Konomos 1984, 481; cited (with references) by Droulia 1992, 42. For the role of Greek emigrants abroad in the revolution, see *ibid.*, 43–45.

[17] A good example of the association of military enthusiasm with modern and ancient Greece is offered by Lucien Davesiès de Pontès 1864, 248: "No, Greece will not perish! Like a phoenix she will be reborn to her glories; she will see new life in the fire of war and sacrifices".

[18] St. Clair 1972, 126; Howarth 1976, 79–81.

[19] Philhellenic societies have been profoundly studied recently by N. Klein (2000); see also Barth & Kehrig-Korn 1960; Konstantinou 1989. The upsurge and social significance of the German societies have been studied by Hauser 1990; see also Heyer 1994, 67–76. The most important central societies were initially in Switzerland and south Germany. A basis for the foundation for multinational German–Swiss–French co-operation was laid in 1821 in Stuttgart and Zurich, and in 1822 a conference was organised in Stuttgart and a central organisation of the societies in southern Germany and Switzerland was planned (see Hauser 1990, 52–55, 82–85, 96; Klein 2000, 31–32). In Britain, the *London Committee for the Relief of the Distressed Greeks* was followed by the important *London – Greek Committee* which was established in March 1823 (for the Committee, see Woodhouse 1969, 55–56, 71–93 (for the full list of members in the Appendix II, pp. 182–184); *idem.* 1989, 89–91; Dakin 1955, 42–44; St. Clair 1972, 140–149; Howarth 1976, 119–131; Klein, 57–66; Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 76–86 describes the founding of the Committee with the extracts of its *First and Second Circulars* based on the meeting in the Crown and Anchor Tavern on the Strand). In the United States *The New York Greek Committee* was the largest, and in France the *Paris Société de la Morale Chrétienne* (see esp. Dimakis 1966, 27–48 and Klein 2000, 48, 77, 81–83) was succeeded by the central *Comité Philhellenique de Paris* which was founded in 1825 and became the centre of renewed philhellenic activity in Europe (see its regular publications *Documents relatifs à l'état présent de la Grèce. Publiés d'après les communications du Comité Philhellénique de Paris*, 10 vols., Paris 1826–1829).

[20] Hauser 1990, 237–240.

The two levels of philhellenism, literal and practical, affected each other: volunteers joined the 'philhellenic army' and amateur poets used their pens as weapons, emerging with dramatic phrases and even with frenzy.

More than a thousand volunteer philhellenes took part in the Greek War of Independence, and less than a thousand of them are known or mentioned in the historical records or in the memoirs written by the philhellenes (FIG. 2). [21] Some sixty of them later gave accounts of their experiences. Germans, French, Italians and British formed the main body of the philhellenes even though they came from all over Europe and from the United States.[22] Scandinavian philhellenes are often noted in studies on the subject, and there certainly was a considerable number of Danes, especially during the first part of the war. The Swedes are most often mentioned only in passing, simply due to their small number, around ten altogether

[21] The first register of philhellenes who took part in the War of Independence and who contributed to the building of the Greek state after it, between the years 1820 and 1860, was completed in 1884 by a Swiss Henri Fornèzy and published in *Hebdomados* no. 1 1884 with a title 'XÈ$qriqifьr$xŽr$ jmpippûrsr' (*To mnemeion ton philhellenon*), 1ff. listing 423 names divided into three categories: Philhellenic volunteer soldiers (381), philhellenes who did not take part in the war but contributed to the cause (121), and philhellenes who remained in Greece pursuing philhellenic activities after the war (16). It was expanded from the list compiled by the French philhellene I. Touret for the monument of a wooden memorial plaque for the Catholic church in Nauplion carved in 1841 and containing 276 names of philhellenes who died in the war. The list includes many errors and misspellings in the names, plenty of omissions, but it is still a valuable source for the philhellenes even though it reflects the fact that already in a short period of just over ten years the memory of the philhellenes had started to wane. The *Mnemeion* is shown in FIG. 2 and the text is given also by Pappas in *MA* no. 16, 1930 and discussed by Roussos-Milidounis 1988. W. Barth & M. Kehrig-Korn's study (1960) is a list of the known philhellenes with information on their lives and actions in Greece; it is also not a complete list. For the list of the numbers of known philhellenes and their nationalities, see St. Clair 1972, 356 listing a total of 940 philhellenes; Klein 2000, 53 summarises that between 1821 and 1823 six hundred men set off to fight, and altogether over one thousand philhellenes took part in the war in Greece; E.G. Protopsaltis, in his 'Preface' to Kampouroglou's edition of the Fornèzy's list (1957) estimates that the number of philhellenes was ca. 1200. See also Grimm 1993, 97–111.

[22] Volunteer philhellenes who fought in the war or at least intended to do so can be roughly divided into two groups. The first wave of philhellenes belongs to the years 1821–1823 before and after the massacre of Chios. E.g. St. Clair divides philhellenism into three waves: the early wave from 1821 to 1822, the middle wave from 1823 to mid 1825, and the late wave from late 1825. Sometimes division is made on a geographical basis of the main focus of philhellenic activy in different countries during different periods, the 'early period' being 'German', the middle 'British' and the last 'French'.

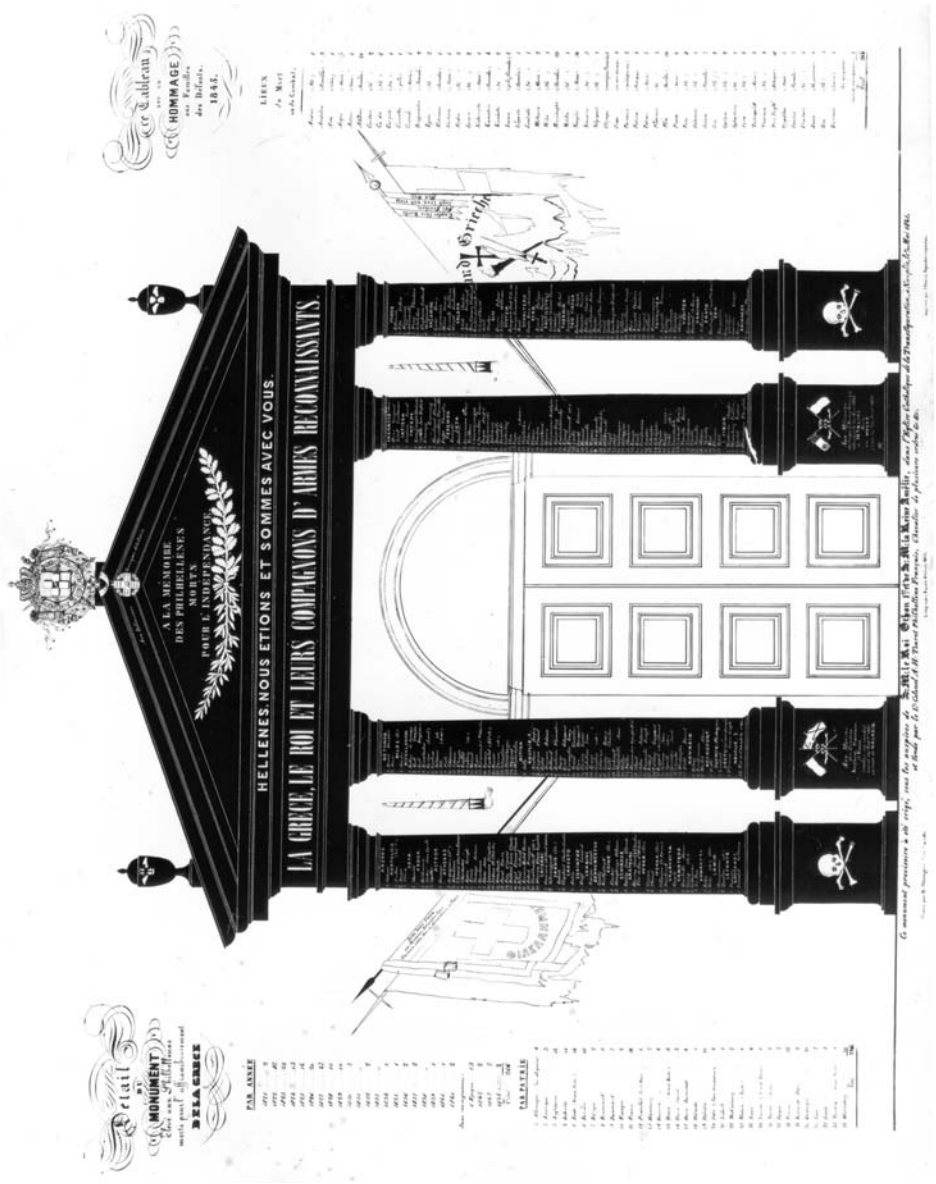


FIG. 2. Monument of the philhellenes, lithography 1845, Benaki Museum, Athens.

(the two known Finns counted among them).[23] Norwegian volunteers are not known, but it is possible that, like Finns, they could have been counted with the Swedes or, more likely, the Danes, since Norway's 400-year union with Denmark had been severed only in 1814 by the treaty of Kiel. Our knowledge of the Russian volunteers is relatively scanty: twelve are known by name and only one of them is better known.[24] Generally the group of volunteers was very diverse in nature: they came from all walks of life, and, they could all justify their choice for departing for Greece with honourable ideas. "They were certainly a motley crowd", notes Douglas Dakin[25] echoing the words of an American philhellene Samuel G. Howe who wrote:

> "What a queer set. What an assemblage of romantic, adventurous, restless, crack-brained young men from the four corners of the world. How much courage and talent to be found among them; but how much more of pompous vanity, of weak intellect, of mean selfishness, of utter depravity…"[26]

Despite the political and cultural differences, and despite the nature of the 'philhellenic army', the Greek question in Europe was regarded as one of honour, religion and justice. In June 1821, *Drapeau Blanc*, an ultra-royalist French newspaper, despite its generally hostile attitude towards the idea of all revolutions, devised a definition which describes uniformly the European conception of philhellenism: "Philhellenic attitude is possessed by a man of honour."[27] It is worth remembering that the sentiment of romantic nationalism was gathering ground throughout Europe. The Greek struggle functioned as a symbol for nationalistic tendencies in many European countries, and that is one reason why the case of Greece was mythicised. Greece and its war was particularly easy ground for implying romantic ideas, not least because of its well-known history in antiquity. In some cases, especially in countries which could associate themselves with Greece and its struggle, philhellenes who fought in Greece became later heroicised: they had offered themselves for the sake of freedom. This was the case with August Maximilian Myhrberg, the main subject of this study. Thus, practical philhellenism seems to have been heavily reliant on its idealistic and nationalistic-romantic ideas, and much less dependent on the official political climate of the European states. With a little exaggeration it could be said that philhellenes shared

[23] St. Clair's list (p. 356) includes five Swedish philhellenes (no Finns) of whom three died. Marling 1989, 3–9, basing on Barth & Kehrig-Korn (1960) identified nine Swedes and four uncertain cases; see also Knös 1949; Wikén 1941, 347–352; *idem* 1958, 82–84 (on five Swedish volunteers); Schöldström 1902, 172–192 studies 'the memory' of seven Swedish philhellenes in the chapter titled characteristically 'Under the cross against the half-moon' ('Under korset mot halfmånen'). Fornèzy 1884 lists also Otto Gustave Bittersen (perhaps Petersen or Pettersson), no. 39, p. 232 as a Swede who died of illness on Poros (mentioned also by Marling 1989, 9 as an 'uncertain' case together with de Stäel whom Fornèzy counts as a Dane and who died at Peta, no. 283).

[24] Loukatos 1989, 74–86. Loukatos lists altogether 21 Russian philhellenes 12 of whom were fighting in the war as volunteers (the rest were sympathisers who worked for the Greek cause in Russia). The best known philhellene was Nikolai A. Raijk; for Raijk, see below 143–144.

[25] Dakin 1955, 4.

[26] Howe 1830 (1906), 333; cf. e.g. Müller 1872, 7 (Swiss philhellene).

[27] *Drapeau Blanc*, 18 July 1821 (cited in Dimopoulos 1962, 64). The ideology of this paper in France was closely attached to the ideals of social Christian justice of the rich and middle classes.

the same motives for their attitudes regardless of the official politics of their nation states, and formed a diverse group of people brought together by their beliefs in the importance of supporting the Greek struggle, no matter how loose or questionable their source of information had been, such as a piece of a romantic poem or an advertisement in a newspaper. Nils Aschling, a Swedish philhellene reminds us: "We forgot in Greece all national hatred and lived there like friends who had the same point of view: to be useful, that was what we wished."[28] Most often, practical philhellenism could be motivated by noble reasons, like striving for the freedom of all peoples, but in practice individual reasons for joining the cause varied from sincere and sublime to sinister and exploitative.

The march to join the Greek war started in Europe early in the 1820s. Philhellenism had become an issue playing a role in the politics of Europe, and its impact was ever increasing on the individuals who sympathised with the Greeks. Within this general European framework, the outlook of philhellenism in northern Europe was more complex. The main reason is that Russian philhellenism had its particular features. Before turning to that matter, we might briefly examine the role and significance of the volunteer philhellenes in the Greek war.

It would be possible to regard the role of the volunteer philhellenes as decisive, sublime, honourable, even necessary for the final outcome of the war. Even if their role was in many cases honourable and idealistic, justified by sublime motives, their contribution helped in the liberation of Greece only a little, if at all. George Finlay, who had himself taken part in the struggle as a philhellene from 1823 and made Greece his homeland after the war, becoming a historian of Greece, wrote in his *History of the Greek Revolution* in 1861:

> "It was by those who called themselves Philhellenes in England and America that Greece was most injured. .... The interference of foreigners in the affairs of Greece was generally unfortunate, often injudicious, and sometimes dishonest. Few of the officers who entered the Greek service did anything worthy of their previous reputation. The careers of Norman, Fabvier, Church and Cochrane, were marked by great disasters. Frank Hastings was perhaps the only foreigner in whose character and deeds there were the elements of true glory."[29]

It is not hard to imagine how badly the western mentality and a certain arrogance of many philhellenic officers led to the failure of many expeditions. N. Klein summarises the situation: "Volunteers were rather a burden than help for Greece because the Greek way of war is by no means comparable to the methods of European warfare and to the tactics volunteers were familiar with."[30] The Greek struggle for independence was a particularly cruel war; today it would best be described as guerrilla warfare in which Napoleonic tactics of opposing fronts, *élan*, were irrelevant. This clash between the traditions is clearly explained by John L. Comstock. In 1829 he described the method of a Greek soldier:

> "Before the introduction of regular troops into the Morea, a battle must have presented a novel spectacle, where not a soul of either army was distinctly visible. Thus, screened behind a stone, they lie in wait to catch the first moment when an enemy shall expose himself, or

[28] Aschling 1824, 73. For Aschling, see below 26–29.
[29] Finlay 1861 vol. 2, 154.
[30] Klein 2000, 54.

> placing their schalpae, or skull-cap, on an adjoining rock to decoy the Turk, take an advantageous aim at him whilst he is wasting his powder on the empty head-dress of his enemy…"[31]

The clash in attitudes and traditions of warfare is further clarified, for example, in a rather arrogant description of the Greek military discipline by C. Swan, a British traveller who observed the progress of the war in 1824:

> "The Greeks will now understand the value of *tactics*; and discarding their usual desultory mode of warfare, follow that system which the military system of Europe has sanctioned. They have discovered the superiority of the Arabs in this point, and their heads are now full of the improvement. They admit the value of what they formerly despised, and are anxious to acquire the knowledge of an art, which at length they find serviceable. But the worst is that their pride hinders them from receiving an obligation. They feel themselves the descendants of heroes, and they look down with contempt upon all the rest of the world. They hardly believe any other nation can be Christians; and they speak haughtily and scornfully even of the very assistance which their necessities oblige them to accept. They fight (sometimes!) with the most determined valour, but they have no notion of order. They follow their captain (and he is their captain who pays them, but no longer he pays them) like a pack of dogs; and prefer bush fighting to all other. If a stone presents itself they skulk behind it and fire from thence at their enemies…"[32]

Unfortunately many philhellenic officers, such as Fabvier, Church and Cochrane, whom we will meet later in this study, possessed personalities which could easily be characterised with the same attributes as the earlier eighteenth-century travellers, who can be described as arrogant, self-satisfied and smug, especially towards the modern Greeks.[33] Added to the disappointment of a dream unfulfilled was the misfortune and bitterness felt by many philhellenes. Their experience of Greece did not correspond to the picture of the classical Greeks which they had learned about in their western education. We can read in most of the accounts written by the philhellenes who had survived harsh fighting, diseases, plagues, hunger and misery, how they returned home disillusioned. They had lost their belief in the possibilities of the Greeks as soldiers and as humans. Their philhellenic myth was crushed and they had become mishellenes.[34] But still, their

---

[31] Comstock 1829, 366–367. The difference in military tactics was noticed and elaborated on by Gravière 1876, 63–64, 83 who recognised it as the main reason for so many failures in the war.
[32] Swan 1826, 22–23.
[33] Esp. Woodhouse 1969, 38–39.
[34] Some philhellenes whose idealism had been crushed tried to convince people – whose general opinion was overwhelmingly favourable to the Greeks – that the common notion of Greece was wrong and those young men considering to join the philhellenic army should be warned about their delusion. Previous ignorance was often the cause for bitterness. A good example is offered by a French philhellene "G… L…" who wanted to stay anonymous published in Marseille on his return a short booklet *Un coup d'oeil sur la Morée, ou le Philhellène converti* as a warning: "Such bandits, hardly with human faces, such emaciated beggars have replaced the Hellenes and Leonidas. Never have people lost so totally their greatness, monuments, arts, sciences – all has become buried in the night of a grave… Indifference that the Greeks show to the French, their liberators, announce that their hearts are closed to all human sentiments…It is time to put an end to an illusion, it is time that a person with philhellenic attitude towards humanity realises that the Greeks do deserve as little admiration as pity from the other people" (*Coup d'oeil* 1826, preface, 24, 34–36). L. von Bollmann, a Prussian artillery officer who had been an eye-witness to the massacre of Tripolitsa, stopped in Marseilles on his return home to publish a book as a warning to "the youth of Europe" and created a real antithesis to

sheer presence in Greece was meaningful, it showed to the Greeks that nations in Europe cared about their struggle and gave them moral support to persist with their national identity as a part of Europe.[35] Finally, foreign interference proved to be the turning point of the war, at the battle of Navarino. This event was, however, also highly politically-motivated state intervention. In the spring of 1827, under serious military threat, utterly exhausted and desperate, the Greeks had turned to the great powers of Europe for help in easing their plight.[36] The assistance of the European powers alone could prevent submission to the Sultan. France, Britain and Russia were now ready to take a more interventionist role due to political and commercial reasons: not only were their trading interests seriously affected but each was fearful about the other taking a firmer role to foster its own political advantage in the eastern Mediterranean.[37] As a result, as documented in the protocol of St. Petersburg, it was decided that Britain and Russia should undertake the role of mediator in the conflict, and, through the treaty of London in 1827, Britain became a party to the agreement.[38] This policy culminated in October in the battle of Navarino which was the last great battle in which sailing vessels were used. The combined British, Russian and French fleets, under the command of Sir Edward Codrington, the British naval commander-in-chief, destroyed the Turko-Egyptian fleet during four hours of fighting. With the intervention of the European powers, Greece finally gained its independence at least in some form.[39]

---

philhellenic idealism: "Lectures of the sublime history of their [the Greeks'] fathers was the talisman that charmed me to take an interest in these degenerate children… I explained myself: you are going to fight under the standards of Achilles alongside the heroes of the siege of Troy. The youth of Europe: The ancient Greeks no longer exist. Blind ignorance has succeeded Solon, Socrates and Demosthenes. Barbarism has replaced the wise laws of Athens" Bollmann 1822, preface (dedication). Another characteristic example is given by Franz Lieber who left Greece as a disappointed, starved, exhausted and penniless man. Shortly after his return he published a book with the hope of saving others from a similar experience. "The laziness, cowardice, and untruthfulness which we have witnessed and suffered here, could not be exceeded anywhere else"; Lieber 1823, 182–183. The same can be read in the text of Persat, [Persat] 1910, 97–98, a Bonapartist officer who fought in many revolutions for his belief in liberty, for example in Naples, Spain and South America (see introduction in [Persat] by Schlumberger): "Socrates, Solon, Themistocles and Aristides themselves would have laughed at and scorned them [the Greeks] despite their solemnity".

[35] These sentiments are expressed, for example, in the *Decree of the Administrative Commission Nominated at Epidaurus, Acknowledging the Services of Colonel Gordon* given on Aegina on the 25 February 1827: "Colonel Thomas Gordon animated by the noblest sentiments quitted his country and all the enjoyments of domestic life, separating from his relations and friends, and neglecting his personal interests, came to Greece at the very commencement of her sacred struggle, and took a part in the efforts which were being made to attain our liberty." (document 3 in Blaquiere 1828, 237–238).

[36] The proclamation of the national assembly was signed on 17 May 1827 at Damala in Troezen and states realistically e.g.: "But neither good laws, nor the form of Government, not the establishment of Courts of Justice, nor the organisation of the fleet and the army, nor the co-operation of the distinguished men (Capodistrias, Cochrane, and Church) are sufficient to deliver us from the impending danger" (cited in Blaquiere 1828, 307–309 extracted from the *Universal Gazette of Greece*, 19 May 1827).

[37] Clogg 1992 (2002), 39.

[38] For the treaty, see the document signed on 6 July 1827 by Dudley, Polignac and Lieven in London in Blaquiere 1828, 300–304; see also e.g. Dakin 1955, 161–163.

[39] For the battle of Navarino, see e.g. Dakin 1955, 169–172; Finlay 1861 vol. 2, 179–186. For a contemporary report see, *Précis de la bataille Navarin* 1829.

One element in philhellenism strikes us immediately as astonishing, and it has to do with the difference in the way of thinking between the two centuries that separate us from early nineteenth-century philhellenes: philhellenic volunteers, at least as they explained it, left their homes in order to fight for freedom. They did so by taking up arms and going to war. The Greek war was regarded as a just war for a noble cause, and military action was the solution. There were numerous philhellenes like, for example, the Swiss banker Jean Gabriel Eynard,[40] perhaps the best-known sympathiser philhellene who did not take the path to war but chose to help through humanitarian means, and their contribution was often of more help to the Greeks than that of the volunteer soldiers. Still, the choice of volunteers did not contradict the ideals of the time in any sense. Philhellenism was affected by contemporary national romanticism, and the movement further triggered the wider questions of nationality in Europe which was going through the process of a new kind of formulation of nation states. When reading texts written by the philhellenes, the concepts of patriotism, nationalism and military bravery are amongst the most sublime and honourable qualities in human existence. They were principles which were unquestioned in the western way of life. J.A. Froude wrote in 1850 that "*Courage* is, on all hands, considered as an essential of higher character ... it is perhaps the most important of all features in human character."[41] We will find a strong emphasis of bravery, courage, and national pride in the narrative about Myhrberg who was elevated to represent exemplary men in the eyes of his contemporaries and later generations.

2. Russia

At the time of the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, European interest in the ancient Greeks was at its height even though it had a long and strong reach back through earlier decades. In eighteenth-century Russia, under Catherine the Great, classicism had played an important role in culture. The search for links with the classical world had led a number of philosophically-inclined Russian aristocrats to indulge, for example, in the ideas of Stoic philosophy.[42] In the vein of European renewed fascination with the ancient world, in Russia, too, the period of Alexander I's rule witnessed a flowering in culture under a new kind of rule of law; the literature of the 1810s and 1820s is often referred to as the golden age of Russian

[40] Eynard was chosen to be the leader of the Swiss societies and he travelled across western Europe raising money for the cause. His humanitarian work in support of the volunteers together with his material aid (he collected altogether one and half million francs) made him a highly-praised model philanthropist. For Eynard, see Rothpletz 1900; Klein 2000, esp. 103–119, also 92–93, 95–100; also Barth & Kegrig-Korn 1960, 110 and St. Clair 1972, 334–335. For the documents of Eynard's activities, see e.g. *Documents Eynard* 1826 (in *Philhellenika* vol. 8, nos. 88 and 89).

[41] Froude 1867 (written in 1850), 245. Froude's essay in which courage is praised is titled 'Representative men'.

[42] For classicist influences in eighteenth-century Russia, the period of 'Russian Enlightenment' under Catherine the Great, see e.g. Billington 1966 (1970), 235–238 who reminds us that within the ruling aristocracy there was an inner conflict which first created the Russian intelligentsia and it was personal and moral in character thus creating a compulsion for passionate personal engagement in ethical questions, particularly Stoicism.

poetry. It was also a period of a reviving interest in the classical world, a period of neo-classicism.[43]

By 1821 the popular literature in Russia had provided a substantial amount of material on the Greeks, particularly their new understanding of how they interpreted the Enlightenment. Popular Enlightenment especially during Catherine the Great's reign had, nevertheless, been coloured with a conflict between theoretical enlightenment, drawn from western, mainly French ideas, and the practical despotism of an autocrat.[44] The new understanding of the Enlightenment in the early nineteenth century was encapsulated by terms such as 'Greek rebirth', 'revival' and 'renaissance'.[45] There had been a considerable Greek emigrant movement to Russia, and it played an important role in the process of national development. During the eighteenth century, the emergence of the prosperous merchant class, and the success of entrepreneurial sea-captains, created a background for the awakening of the Greek national consciousness both inside and outside the Ottoman domain. Many Russian mercantile ships were manned and captained by Greeks, and they had unrestricted commercial access to the Ottoman waters.[46] The Tsar recognised the importance of protecting the Sultan's Orthodox subjects as part of the vaguely-worded clause of the Russian right to appoint consuls in the Ottoman Near East.[47] These merchants were responsible for sustaining the material base for the intellectual revival of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries which, in turn, advocated the development of national consciousness and different components of the new Greek identity.[48]

As a response to the call of Greek societies in Europe, many Greeks who had emigrated returned to Greece to serve in its development and also established clubs and secret societies in Greece and abroad. The first of these was the *Philomuse Society* founded in Vienna in 1814. It was an educational and philanthropic organisation, a kind of a literary club which provided young men – many of whom later played a distinguished part in the Revolution – with funds to acquire a European education and later to return to Greece as teachers and professors. It also solicited financial patronage from European, Russian and Greek sources to establish Greek schools in Thessaly and Athens. [49] Tsar Alexander I also

---

[43] Hoskins 2001, 246–256; Prousis 1982, 242 and *idem* 1994, 84–88. Prousis calls the enthusiasm for Greek antiquity in Russian culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries 'Hellenism' and explains that some of the Russian periodicals and literary journals even had Greek-inspired names like *Muse*, *Minerva*, *Amphion* and contained a large and diverse body of material on ancient Greece: translations of ancient authors, scholarly articles on ancient Greek civilisation, reports on archaeological finds and ancient art were a regular feature in most journals.

[44] Billington 1966 (1970), 213–226.

[45] Prousis 1982, 242–243, 253–254 and *idem*, 1994, 57.

[46] Hauser 1990, 24–25, 49.

[47] Prousis 1994, 6, 11.

[48] Clogg 1992 (2002), 21–25. One of the early writers who noted the importance of the merchants for the promotion of education and awareness relating to thoughts of independence was William Leake 1826, 24–25, noting that: "For several years before the present insurrection broke out, there were between four and five hundred Greek ships employed in commerce in the Black Sea…"

[49] The year and place of the founding of the *Philomuse Society* varies according to the source; 1812 in Athens is often stated as its birthday and place. The society, however, certainly had very close ties with the Russian emigrants and prominent figures such as Capodistrias who as a foreign minister in Russia secured the tsarist backing for the society and helped to organise its Russian branch. For the first-hand

displayed a favourable attitude towards the charitable mission of the society, and he and the imperial family contributed considerable sums to its finances.[50] The society was at times confused with and even used as a cover for more revolutionary activities which were on the agenda of the *Philike Hetaireia*, the 'Friendly Society', founded in Odessa in 1814. It was in origin a political club which believed that Russian help was to be expected if Greece took up arms against the Turks. The hetairists accelerated the revolution in Greece, and the society was secret and exclusive in nature, insisting on elaborate initiation rituals imitating the Eleusinian mystery rites, and by 1818 they had succeeded in recruiting notable names such as Theodoros Kolokotronis, Petros Mavromihalis, Bishop Ignatios and Alexandros Mavrocordatos the Younger to their ranks. They propagated aggressive, armed action against the Turks in order to liberate the 'motherland' from the Ottoman yoke.[51] The *Philike Hetaireia* did not, however, gain the total confidence of the Greek nation, partly due to its exclusive nature, but also to its failure to bridge the regional, social and political differences of its diverse members.[52] In 1820, in order to acquire a more established position in the cause of the revolution, they called as their leader the Phanariot Alexander Ypsilantis who was serving as an aide de camp to Tsar Alexander I. One of the two joint foreign ministers (secretaries) in the Russian service, Ioannis Capodistrias,[53] being under precise instructions from the Tsar not to encourage the direct military involvement related to the Greek cause, had earlier declined the offer three times; he also opposed the *Hetaireia* on ideological and pragmatic grounds, believing that moral awakening and education, not armed revolt, constituted the safest means to enact social and national change.[54] Ypsilantis had been brought up in the Russian court, being the son of a Hospodar of Wallachia,[55] and rose to the rank of major-general.

---

account of the founding of the *Philomuse Society*, see Roksandra Sturdza-Edling's writing 1888, 137, 169–174. Sturdza-Edling was lady-in-waiting to Tsarina Elizaveta Alekseevna as well as a very close friend of Capodistrias'; she accompanied the imperial couple to the Congress of Vienna (which she describes in detail in her memoirs) and personally took the Greek case close to her heart through her financial and spiritual support. See Prousis 1982, 30–32; *idem*, 1994, 15–17; Koukkou 1964; Clogg 1994, 13 who gives its year of founding as 1813 in Athens.

[50] Prousis 1994, 16.

[51] For the Societies, see Finlay 1861 vol. 1, 118–127; Dakin 1955, 19; Svoronos 1972 (1994), 63; Woodhouse 1973, 170–172; Clogg 1992 (2002), 31–32, 34–35; for earlier, still valid, notions by A. Rabbe see the introduction to Raybaud 1824 vol. 1, 174–184.

[52] Prousis 1994, 17–19. He explains that diaspora and Ottoman Greek merchants made up 54 percent of the total membership of the society, but it drew members from a cross section of Greeks including military veterans who had fought in the Russian wars against the Ottoman Empire and teachers at Odessa's Commercial Gymnasium, prominent Phanariots (e.g. the Ypsilantises and Alexandros Mavrocordatos); only few established merchants joined because they were reluctant to join a conspiracy which might do harm to their businesses. For the list of the members of the *Philike Hetaireia*, their professions and places of origin, see Bogdanopoulos 1987, 358–387.

[53] For Capodistrias, see esp. Woodhouse 1973; also Prousis 1982, 15–16, 32–38.

[54] Capodistrias was from Corfu and had begun his career in the Russian-administered Ionian Republic (1800–1807) and after the Ionian islands were placed under French control he emigrated and entered the Russian diplomatic corps. For Capodistrias and the *Philike Hetaireia*, see Woodhouse 1973, 170–174; Prousis 1994, 20–23. The Tsar's regime neither supported nor encouraged the military goals of the *Philike Hetaireia.* See Woodhouse 1973, 167–168; Prousis 1994, 16.

[55] Hospodar (governor) was one of the most important offices controlled by Phanariots during the 18th and 19th centuries. They were a type of prince of the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and

He was aristocratic and learned, and devoted his time at his headquarters in Kishinev to writing and distributing proclamations which idealised the ancient glory of the Greeks, considering it necessary that it should be restored. As a leader and soldier, however, he was an extremely flawed character, and almost tragically incompetent.[56] In 1821 he led the Greek uprising in Moldavia, an act which the Tsar condemned immediately, and which was defeated decisively by the Ottoman troops in June of that year. Ypsilantis fled to Transylvania, was arrested by the Habsburg authorities and imprisoned, remaining there until his death in 1828.[57] Aleksandr Pushkin, the national poet of Russia, was exiled to Kishinev when the war broke out, and was able to observe first-hand the uprising of 1821 in Moldavia, as he had direct contact with its leader Ypsilantis. He also followed the developments of the Greek war closely and supported the Greeks in his writings.[58] In his notes, on 2 April 1821, Pushkin tells us that he had spent an evening with five Greeks who had been very doubtful about the possibilities of the *Hetaireia*; only Pushkin himself had spoken like a Greek; he was convinced that Greece would see a happy day, and that Ypsilantis himself had shown great courage.[59] The role of both societies in the actual outcome of the Revolution can easily be overestimated.[60] As a phenomenon tied to classicist idealism, which played a part in the formation of the new national identity, their role reflects the basic components of philhellenism, and the ill-fated Ypsilantis-led revolt in Moldavia granted him a romanticised status; his actions nevertheless triggered the future revolts in Greece and ignited the Greek War of Independence.

RUSSIAN LITERARY PHILHELLENISM

Influenced by Pushkin's and Byron's work, philhellenism in Russia, too, acquired romantic overtones.[61] Lord Byron, especially after the publication of his *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* in 1812, had become one of the most famous men of his age; all his actions, deeds, and manners were noted and followed eagerly. Anecdotes

---

Moldavia, ruling as viceroys of the Ottoman Sultans. Many of them proved to be enlightened patrons of Greek culture and their courts became channels through which it was possible to penetrate into the Orthodox commonwealth under Ottoman rule. See e.g. Prousis 1982, 12–13 and *idem* 1994, 7–8; Clogg 1992 (2002), 21.

[56] Raybaud 1824 vol. 1, 189ff.; Bollmann 1823, 26; Finlay 1861 vol. 1, 135–139; [Persat] 1910, 80–81; Howarth 1976, 36–37. For the implications of the relations of Ypsilantis and Russia, see Despotopoulos 1966, 395–410 and Prousis 1982, 38–42; 58–60. For an example of Ypsilantis' proclamations, see e.g. the ones published as *Appel aux grecs* 1821: "Let us recollect, brave and generous Greeks, the liberty of the classic land of Greece, the battles of Marathon and Thermopylae, let us combat upon the tombs of our ancestors who, to leave us free, fought and died..." published in *The Examiner* (cited in St. Clair 1972, 23) and his own proclamation as a leader of the Greeks on 6 October cited in Raybaud 1824, 466–467; see also Almqvist 1943, 267–268.

[57] E.g. Prousis 1994, 22–27.

[58] Prousis 1994, 135. For Pushkin's biographical notes with comments on the Greek cause, see [Pushkin] Foticheva 1989, 33.

[59] [Pushkin] Foticheva 1989, 33.

[60] However, for the effects in the Balkans, see Oteta 1966, 379–394.

[61] For romanticism in philhellenism in general, see esp. Spencer 1954 (1974), also St. Clair 1972, 19; Klein 2000, 87–89; Goldhill 2002, 184–185.

about his life and poems inspired by Byron also filled the newspapers and literary reviews in Russia.[62] His irreverence towards established authority and his reckless sexual life aroused intense indignation and envy which contributed to the overwhelming public interest.[63] Russian Byronism conjured up images of rebellion, alienation and isolation, and Byron was distinctively celebrated as the freedom fighter and citizen of the glorious Hellas. This aspect overshadowed Byron as a romantic poet in Russia.[64] At the core of romantic philhellenism was the belief in the emancipation of peoples and the possibility of the peaceful coexistence of free nation-states.[65] In early nineteenth-century Europe, romanticism was linked to questions relating to the self-definition of nationhood, and in Russia in particular, German romantic idealism had a great impact on patriotic nationalism with its doctrine that every human being, country and institution had its own unique, inner purpose which eventually participates in the march towards light and freedom.[66] The last years of the war against Napoleon had also brought about a powerful idealistic and patriotic fervour, and the influence of classicism fuelled this atmosphere. That is why philhellenism triggered national romanticism and was used for nationalistic purposes. In Russia, this was clearly expressed in the revolt of the decembrists in 1825, when young liberal noblemen, many of whom had served on the battlefields of 1812 and were influenced by the ideas of *Volkgeist*, rose up against the government.[67] Byron was particularly important to the decembrists; for them he represented the ideal poet-warrior and poet-citizen who symbolised the fusion of poetry and politics.[68] It has been noted that of all the countries which came under the spell of Byron's influence and pageantry in the first half of the nineteenth century, none was more deeply entranced than Russia.[69] For example, the decembrist leader Kondrati F. Ryleev[70] published a poem 'On the Death of Byron' in which he regarded Byron's death as martyrdom for Greek

[62] Prousis 1994, 127. For the coverage of Byron in the Russian press, see Simmons 1935, 270–272; Diakonova & Vacuro 1981, 144–145.
[63] See e.g. Woodhouse 1969, 40–48, 60–65; St. Clair 1972 17; Howarth 1976, 71–74; Raizis 1994, 112, 115–119.
[64] Prousis 1994, 127.
[65] Dimopoulos 1962, 75.
[66] Berlin 1978, 118–119.
[67] Prousis 1994, 46; for the decembrists, see esp.106–108; Venturi 1952 (1966), 3–12; Billington 1966 (1970), esp. 265–269 and Figes 2002, esp. 72, 80–82, 88–90. As a concept decembrism is difficult to encapsulate since it encompasses a variety of political and literary trends. Decembrists were those (ca. 3000 men) who participated in the revolt in St. Petersburg in December 1825 and those who expressed revolutionary ideas against the regime in the vein of romantic idealism regarding liberty as a mode of life and art that dispensed with the stifling conventions of the society. Their ideas were conveyed by allusion and imagery drawn from antiquity and adapted to the contemporary situation; often decembrists were philhellenes *expressiis verbiis*. Billington 1966 (1970), 266 reminds us that although the decembrist movement is often regarded as the starting point of the Russian revolutionary tradition, it is perhaps more properly considered the end of aristocratic reformism.
[68] Simmons 1935, 272; Diakonova & Vacuro 1981, 145–146; Prousis 1994, 128.
[69] Simmons 1935, 269.
[70] See e.g. Hoskins 2001, 263. Ryleev was an exception in the ranks of these young 'revolutionary' men as he came from a somewhat lower social background than the decembrists in general, being a son of a bankrupt landowner, but he was later heroicised to some extent due to the fact that he was one of the five decembrists who were hanged for their part in the conspiracy.

independence with associations to aspirations for liberty.[71] In his philhellenic poems he used the philhellenic argument for political purposes. For Ryleev the struggle of the Greeks exemplified the ferment which troubled him and his contemporaries in liberal circles. He associated freedom and national feeling.[72] In 1821 he addressed general Ermolov in one of his philhellenic texts:

> […]Like young Phoenix,
> Greece will arise from the ashes,
> and taking after you, will attack with its valour of old! […]
> Already in the fatherland of Themistocles' descendants
> the banners of freedom are raised everywhere.
> The earth is soaked with the blood of heroes
> and saturated with enemy corpses!
> Slumbering thunderbolts have awakened,
> and brave warriors stream everywhere![73]

An example of the events which affected attitudes towards the Greek cause in Russia is the reaction to the massacre of the Greeks on the island of Chios in 1822. Thousands of Greeks were killed there, thousands were sold to slave markets in Turkey, towns were plundered and monasteries burnt down. This incident functioned as a symbol of the need to support the Greek cause and the country's struggle for liberation. Chios was a theme taken up in a number of pamphlets requesting help for the Greek cause and calling for action and, for example, a letter written by a Chiot refugee became a typical feature in many European papers. The sad incident triggered compassionate public support in Russia for the victims. The narrative poem 'Chiot Orphan' by Platon G. Obodovskii, a teacher and translator of Schiller and Shakespeare, was based on the fate of one specific suffering family for whom money was raised, but it was also a highly artistic piece of poetry which received laudatory press reviews.[74]

A strong religious argument was interwoven with nationalistic tones, and in Russia it was linked with Orthodox Christianity. Appeals were published there in newspapers and cultural journals. Vasilii Kapnist, also a decembrist and a poet of Greek origin, wrote one such appeal as an ode to the Greeks ('Appeal to aid Greece') in 1821 or 1822. He urged the Tsar to protect and defend fellow Christians in the following way:

> What thunderbolts resound
> at noon, together with wails and clamors?
> From where arise the columns of smoke

[71] Ryleev, 1824 in Fomicheva 1987, 73–75. Simmons 1935, 272 reminds us that when Ryleev was going to be hanged he even carried a volume of Byron's poetry with him to the scaffold.

[72] Walker 1969, 339–441. Ryleev grew bitter about the Tsar's decision not to help the Greeks by military means. His embittered comments on the policy towards Greece were carefully censored. Walker regards this as one of the examples of Ryleev's major weaknesses, i.e. his tendency to crudely oversimplify the good and the evil without being aware of the political complexity of the Greek issue, see *ibid.* 441, 446.

[73] Ryleev 1821 (1967), 151–155, cited and translated in Prousis 1994, 111. For Ryleev and the Greek war, see Walker 1969, 439–441, 446 and O'Mara 1989, 204–205.

[74] Obodovskii 1828. The 49-page poem was written in 1822 and in the publication it was followed by a description of the massacre of Chios on pp. 55–70. The poem is discussed by Prousis 1994, 124–126.

billowing to the clouds?
There the cries of dreaded battle are heard,
the wild voices of cruel murderers
and the languishing cry of the murdered victims;
The earth shook from blows,
fire flared, and the horizon in distance flushed.

It is Greece, powerless to bear any longer
her sorrowful oppression,
powerless in sorrowful captivity
to endure all the cruelty of misfortune,
against the spiteful tyrant,
gripping her with fierce brutality,
she unveiled the sword of defence,
united around the cross
and decided to emulate
the glorious path of her renowned ancestors. […][75]

RUSSIAN POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN PHILHELLENISM

These messages certainly reached the wider public. Religious sentiments were exploited successfully for the cause. This gave Russian philhellenism a special fervour. The outbreak of the Greek Revolution eventually caused a particular problem, especially for Russia, mainly due to its Orthodox sympathies. Partly due to these sympathies the Russians nominated a Greek from Corfu, Count Capo d'Istria (Capodistrias),[76] as the secretary of state of the Ionian Republic during the Russian protectorate over the islands. He had joined the Russian diplomatic service and entered the Tsar's service, becoming in 1815 his secretary of state for foreign affairs. He was a close friend of many Greek leaders, including Kolokotronis, and also many leading philhellenes. He had also earlier led attacks against Ali Pasha.[77] Russian policy in the Greek matter was hypocritical: already during the reign of Alexander I considerable humanitarian aid to the Greeks was government-initiated.[78] Formally, at the outset of the conflict, Russia did not support the separatist movement of the Greeks – she had signed a peace treaty with the Turks before the Napoleonic war in 1812. After 1815 Russia was tied to the Holy Alliance, and it was mainly in Russia that the religious nature of the Alliance was taken seriously.[79]

---

[75] V. Kapnist 1821 or 1822 in G.V. Ermakovoy-Betner 1973, 318; the ode is discussed and translated by Prousis 1994, 118–120.

[76] Capodistrias had been a member of the Russian delegation at the Congress of Vienna. He found it difficult to find a convenient path between the two interests, the one of the Holy Alliance and, thus, his loyalty to the Tsar, and the cause of the Greeks, his own compatriots: he resigned in 1823 choosing to live privately in Switzerland. He stood apart from the complex politics of the liberation struggle and, partly due to his diplomatic skills, was nominated in 1828 as the first president of Greece. See e.g. Woodhouse 1973, 109–126; Prousis 1982, 15–16, 35–38; Clogg 1992 (2002), 242–243.

[77] See e.g. Woodhouse 1973, 139–140; for Capodistrias' earlier endeavours against Ali Pasha, see *ibid.*, 36–42.

[78] See pp. 20–21.

[79] Billington 1966 (1970), 283–284.

Russian duplicity in the matter was mainly due to Orthodox sympathies for the Greeks. Tsar Alexander I had a dilemma which resulted in a certain dualism of his regime: he tried to pursue an enlightened reformist policy simultaneously with conservative militarism, and he was increasingly inclined to mystical religiousness, therefore favouring humanitarian treatment of his Orthodox subjects. His fear of revolution, however, proved stronger than his commitment to reform.[80] The solution was to direct support to the humanitarian aspect of the crisis and condemn the armed uprising on the state level. The numerous accounts of political writers such as Aleksander S. Stourdza,[81] a prominent state official and publicist who served in the ministry of foreign affairs and public education, are characteristic of Russian philhellenism which included a strong Orthodox religious justification and nationalistic element. In Russia Stourdza was the first to write a plan for a distinctively Orthodox battle against impiety, heresy and revolution.[82] He defended the interventionist policy for helping the Greeks and explained that the case of Greece is special because the Greeks are Orthodox brothers of the Russians, their uprising is not comparable to those of, for example, Piedmont and Naples for two main reasons: first, the Greek revolt was not rooted in the secular principles of the French Revolution and was basically religiously inspired; secondly, the Greeks had never taken an oath of fidelity to the Porte, and they paid tribute to the Muslims as a kind of ransom which nevertheless did not free them. Consequently, the Sultan was not their legitimate sovereign but an oppressor dominating others under three unchristian principles: serve, pay and obey.[83] Thus, in Russia the sympathisers of the Greek cause did not wish to see the Greek uprising as a revolt against legitimate monarchs, but as a justified struggle of Christians fighting against slavery and despotism imposed upon them by infidels.

As a consequence, from the beginning of the war the Russian government was involved officially in organising humanitarian relief assistance for Greek refugees. The government also planned to settle the refugees in the areas of the country where working population was required. For the Tsars, the relief aid to the Greeks was a means to uphold Russia's role as a protector of Orthodoxy. Relief initiatives were co-ordinated by the government together with the Russian church. By underscoring the traditional bonds between religion and Orthodox culture, the government lent further credence to the prevalent perception that the Greek cause was primarily a religious struggle rather than a movement for establishing a constitutional and independent nation-state. Prousis calls this 'philorthodox' support, an important aspect of the Russian philhellenic movement.[84] It could be characterised, however, rather as a religiously-motivated charitable mission for

[80] Woodhouse 1973, 170–174; Prousis 1994, 29. Alexander I had ministers of equal standing and opposite opinion, and he wanted to introduce social reforms and to maintain social order. He also experienced deepened religious piety and regarded the victory over Napoleon as a divinely ordained triumph, and this triggered his sympathies on a philanthropic, if not on the political level towards fellow Orthodox Christians, the Greeks.

[81] For Stourdza, see e.g. Prousis 1994, 9–11, 37.

[82] Billington 1966 (1970), 291.

[83] Stourdza 1823, 17–19. The book is a collection of Stourdza's essays in the form of letters to an opponent of Greek liberation.

[84] For this 'philorthodox' relief assistance, see esp. Prousis 1982, 117–120, 143–149.

helping co-religionists. Namely, during the final decade of Alexander's reign, this help also echoed the currents of pietism and Christian universalism which shaped the ethos of the era. It is, indeed, noteworthy that the religion which inspired Alexander was not in fact Orthodox Christianity. It was rather a kind of inner Christianity, a universal and interconfessional faith which would heal the Christian divisions and wounds left by revolutionary strife; through this brotherhood of biblical Christians he wished to peacefully reconcile the peoples of Europe.[85]

A society for helping Greek emigrants and refugees, *The Relief Assistance Committee of Odessa*, was established in Odessa in 1821, but the philhellenic activity in the earlier part of the war, until 1824, was mainly organised by the Holy Synod or channelled through the hands of the minister of education and spiritual affairs, Aleksander N. Golitsyn, a pietist and a descendant of one of the most learned and Francophile of the Russian noble families. He managed to acquire one and half million roubles between 1821 and 1822 for the Greek refugees, channelling the finances in most cases through the ministry of finance, and under the auspices of the newly-formed ministry of spiritual affairs and popular enlightenment.[86] This governmental action represents a rare example of a government working together with a philhellenic society for a common cause. Charity towards the poor and those in need was seen as an integral part of Russia's Byzantine heritage and moral Christian values. Golitsyn officially launched the subscription in August 1821:

> "…Many of our co-religionists, in order to escape death, have fled to the borders of Russia. … The refugees are received hospitably, thanks to the mercy of the Tsar and compassion of the local inhabitants. But the assistance rendered is insufficient to care for such a large number of families, increasing from day to day. In just one day in Odessa they numbered more than four thousand…. This calamitous lot of our brothers calls for help. Pious Christians, in faith and love, will certainly lend a helping hand and will not refuse to take part in the newly opened subscription for Greek and Moldavian refugees in Odessa and Bessarabia."[87]

In 1821, Tsar Alexander I donated one hundred thousand roubles to the scheme. Government agencies, army officers and soldiers, representatives of the clergy, merchants and townspeople, even peasants and serfs contributed to the relief aid with tremendous results.[88] These relief aid and humanitarian subscriptions also covered the Russian provinces, from the Crimea to the Grand Duchy of Finland. The results of the collection in Finland were reported in *Finlands Allmänna*

[85] Billington 1966 (1970), 282–285; Prousis 1982, 148; Hoskins 2001, 253. In fact Golitsyn had persuaded the Tsar to read the Bible for the first time and lent his own copy to Alexander who read it on the voyage through the newly conquered Finland in the summer of 1812. In Finland Alexander also attended services in Protestant churches; see Billington 1966 (1970), 282.

[86] Klein 2000, 28, 43–45; for the Russian society, see especially Prousis 1982; and *idem* 1994, esp. 55–83. For Golitsyn, see Billington 1966 (1970), 280–290; Hoskins 2001, 253–255. The ministry of spiritual affairs and popular enlightenment was an invention of Alexander I; it amalgamated the Holy Synod with the ministry of education becoming aptly dubbed the "ministry of religious-utopian propaganda" (Hoskins 2001, 253).

[87] Cited in Prousis 1994, 59.

[88] Prousis 1994, 64–67; Prousis has studied the detailed financial records of the *Odessa Relief Assistance Committee* and gives an example of one six-month period, the first half of 1824, when it distributed 81,760 roubles to widows, orphans and needy, patients at the Odessa hospital for medical care and for assistance to 214 Greeks who expressed an interest to return to Greece; within a year almost one million roubles from various sources had been collected (Prousis 1994, 61).

Tidning, in which the views of the Russian government were presented. The collection there had by February 1824 brought in a total of 21,666.28 roubles (*pankkoruplaa*) and some silver money.[89]

In Russia, the most active period of humanitarian aid for the Greeks is during the first phase of the war, principally before the removal of Golitsyn from office in 1824. This event marked the end of a phase of mystically-oriented spirituality in Russia headed by an organisation for 'spiritual mobilisation', the *Bible Society*. Golitsyn was its president and the Tsar and his two brothers its patrons.[90] Spiritually-oriented humanitarian work carried out in philanthropic societies was well in accordance with the principles of the new system of government-led spiritual instruction in Russia. One of the best-known of such societies was the nationwide *Lovers of Humanity* which was founded by Alexander for the "fulfilment of the divine commandments that the *Bible Society* teaches us."[91] The activities of the *Relief Assistance Committee of Odessa* continued, however, even after this phase, on basically the same grounds, but it primarily seemed to secure an alternative to military intervention in Greece.

It is also worth remembering that, in addition to religious sympathies and humanitarian concerns, economic interests played a part in the support for the Greeks in Russia. With the influx of refugees to Russia, it was recognised that they offered a potential source of productive labour. The government realised that this would facilitate the settlement and economic development of a new Russia and hasten the colonisation of the southern lands which had long been an objective of tsarist policy. In 1822 the Tsar requested the *Relief Assistance Committee of Odessa*[92] to find employment for the newcomers.[93] More general potential economic benefits which Russia would gain from Greek autonomy or, even better, from independence, were frequently mentioned in the Russian political and cultural journals.[94]

Alexander, and Nicholas after him, longed for social stability and were committed to the legitimacy of the Holy Alliance. Ironically, however, they still found it possible to support the Greek independence movement when necessary, Alexander mainly following his spiritual principles and Nicholas for political needs. This contradiction was justified by possible political gains to be achieved by diplomatically influencing the independent Greek state. Nicholas, however, condemned the uprising of the Greeks as rebellion in accordance with his more

---

[89] *FAT* 1824, no. 21. The collection was also reported on in another newspaper; see also Castrén 1951b, 5, 12. The documents reporting the collection results are kept in the Russian State Archives.

[90] Billington 1966 (1970), 282–284. It is noteworthy that the *Bible Society* came to Russia through Protestant Finland, which Alexander visited in the summer of 1812, bringing influences of Pietism and its English version, Methodism. Billington (p.282) informs us that Alexander even delayed his departure from St. Petersburg to Moscow to pursue Napoleon in late 1812, in order to meet the English leader of the society who had just arrived in Finland, by way of Turku, to help to set up a Russian branch. See also Phillips 1914 (1920), 55–56.

[91] Billington 1966 (1970), 284.

[92] For the *Committee*, see p. 21.

[93] For these activities of the *Odessa Committee* and the Tsar's despatch from June 1822, see Prousis 1982, 146–148.

[94] Prousis 1982, 239 and *idem* 1994, 45-53.

strict and harsher policies: "I abhor the Greeks although they are my co-religionists. They have behaved in a shocking, blameable, even criminal manner. I look at them as subjects in open revolt against their legitimate sovereign."[95] Finally, however, he contravened the principles of the Alliance by siding with Greece at the decisive moment of the war, in the battle of Navarino in 1827, a decision which was obviously made with full knowledge of the political realities.

Generally Russia differed in nature from the other European countries with regard to its support of the Greeks since, from the beginning of the 1820s, its humanitarian relief activity was government-supported. The Greek issue, however, also became associated not only with Russian strategic concerns but essentially with a desire for socio-political change in the country. This is well exemplified in the philhellenism of the decembrists. The Greek uprising was well-received by the country's most progressive elements, those who wished to attach themselves to liberalism in the tradition of the Enlightenment and French Revolution. These people, who most often came from the aristocracy, were well-educated officers of the elite; after 1815 they were dissatisfied with Alexander's reactionary measures and held aspirations for reform.[96] The grecophile sentiment was most at home among the (classically-)educated society and officialdom, public officials in the bureaucracy, army and government departments.[97] The relief initiatives, however, even though co-ordinated by the government and the church, received strong support from all sectors of Russian society, perhaps partly due to the strong associations of the cause with religion, but nevertheless indicating popular spontaneity rather than compulsion from local religious or secular authorities.

VOLUNTEERS

Our knowledge of the Russian volunteers who travelled to Greece to fight in the war is relatively sparse. Of the twelve known Russian Philhellenic volunteers[98] only one is relatively well documented and occasionally mentioned in the studies on philhellenic volunteers. He was Nikolai A. Rajk who had been a decembrist sympathiser, an artillery commander who participated in several Greek campaigns particularly during the latter part of the war.[99] We shall meet him later as his career is related to that of A.M. Myhrberg.

3. Sweden

[95] Cited in Lincoln 1978, 118. For Nicholas I's policy regarding the Greek War of Independence, see also Riasanovsky 1959, 238–239.
[96] Prousis 1982, 68–72, 117, 149, 234.
[97] *Ibid.*, 117 and *idem* 1994, 108-109.
[98] Loukatos 1989, 74–86. Loukatos lists altogether 21 Russian philhellenes, 12 of whom were fighting in the war as volunteers (the rest were sympathisers who worked for the Greek cause in Russia).
[99] For Rajk (or Raikov or Raiko) see Loukatos 1989, 81–83 also Fornèzy 1884 (1957), no. 97, p. 272; Barth & Kehrig-Korn 1960, 204–205.

Sweden had been willing to participate in major wars in Europe during its heyday, but having lost Finland to Russia in 1809 it had fewer cards to play. The Tsar of Russia had contrived to sign an alliance with the French field marshal Bernadotte of Sweden who had been elected crown prince in 1810 in the belief that he would enjoy Napoleon's favour. The first Bernadotte of Sweden, Charles XIV John, known as Carl XIV Johan, turned against his previous homeland entering the anti-French coalition during the early years of his reign. He sought political and economic support first from Russia and then from England. The treaty of 1812 marked a turning point, and Bernadotte joined Russia in order to acquire Norway from France's ally Denmark. At the Congress of Vienna, Sweden confirmed its possession of Norway and Russia of Finland, Lithuania and eastern Poland. Carl XIV Johan, even though officially attached to the Holy Alliance, still allowed privately-organised activities in support of the Greeks to exist and flourish, and even some royal persons were openly involved.[100] For Carl XIV Johan the reactionary and romantically-coloured ideology of the Holy Alliance was foreign; his ideology was formed in the atmosphere of the French Revolution. Politically he wished to stand close to Russia against Austria, but in order to gain commercial benefits he was at times even ready to support revolutions.[101] In the relatively moderate and, by European standards, free press, however, the Greek cause had already awoken an active interest by 1821, and during the course of the war the Greeks were greatly supported especially in *Allmänna Journalen* and *Stockholms Posten*. Many well-known writers and poets like Esaias Tegnér and Per Atterbom also showed their support for the Greeks.[102]

SYMPATHISERS

A Philhellenic society was established in Sweden as a sub-organisation of the French *Comité Philhellenique de Paris*,[103] and thus the activity followed the model of many other European countries. This society, *Grekvännernas sällskap* was founded in Stockholm in 1826 with P.A. Wallmark as its energetic secretary. It was active and non-political and raised quite large sums of money. From the outset it established separate funds for humanitarian aid for the Greek people and for the purchase of military equipment as well as supporting Charles Fabvier's troops.[104]

---

[100] See below pp. 24–25, 27.

[101] See e.g. Carlsson 1968a, 112–113 and *idem* 1968b, 154–155. Carl XIVJohan's ambivalent attitude towards revolutions is reflected also in the politically-significant incident, initially kept secret, of selling five warships to revolutionary Columbia and Mexico which were fighting to free themselves from Spain. The reasons were mainly commercial. The affair was severely condemned by Russia and other European powers and seriously affected Sweden's relations with Russia. For the affair, see Löwenhielm 1927, 26; Ståre 1945, 250–252; also Carlson 1968a, 113–114.

[102] Jägerskiöld 1987–1989, *s.v.* 'Myhrberg' (p. 100).

[103] For the *Comité* see esp. Klein 2000, 185–195 and Dimakis 1966, 27–48.

[104] The society was established 24 May 1826 in the Small Stockhall (Lilla Börssalen) in Stocholm with Carl Bonde as Chairman and 130 persons present. One of the topics was the fate of a few cannons which were planned to be sent to Greece. In 1826 they were acquired by the society, but it was not until 1835 that they reached Greece on a Swedish merchant ship and were used in building up the new Greek fleet; Wikén 1941, 347–351; *idem* 1958, 85, 90, also Jägerskiöld 1987–89, *s.v.* 'Myhrberg' (p.

The value of these funds together with donations of jewellery was soon more than 18,000 thalers.[105] In July 1826 the Finnish journalist Adolf Ivar Arwidsson reported in the Swedish newspaper *Kometen* that "The list has turned out to be a kind of statue of Pasquino in which everybody coming and going exchanges letters, tries the sharpness of his petty satire with more or less successful bitterness, or occupies himself with soft-hearted romantic feelings."[106] The trick of inducing people to donate money and sign the list, which emblazoned known names and handsome sums of money, certainly succeeded. In 1826 the princess of Sweden, Sophia Albertina, who was the sister of the late king, Carl XIII, became the main benefactor and donated a large sum of money which helped to swell the subscription list.[107] She had also become a leader of a small Greek society for women[108] which most probably organised meetings at the homes of the aristocracy and, like many other Greek societies, put on concerts and exhibitions.[109] This was quite extraordinary in a monarchy which in principle supported the policies of the Holy Alliance.

Exhibitions were organised for the support of the Greeks not only in well-known artistic centres but also in more remote places in Europe, like in Hälsingborg in southern Sweden.[110] Carl August Nicander wrote a poem 'Markos Botzaris or the Selleidian Eagle' (*Markos Bozzaris eller den sellaidiska örnen*) donating all the profits to the Stockholm philhellenic society, and Walmark composed a historical play 'Suliots' (*Sulioterna*) on the same theme; it was included in the programme of the Royal Theatre and was performed eight times during 1827–1829.[111] Sometimes a potential commercial gain was involved in the activities: an optimistic shipbuilder organised an exhibition of his ship models and promised in a leaflet that if his ship construction plans succeeded with the help of the philhellenic society in Stockholm he would donate half of the profit to help the Greeks.[112] The activities in Sweden seem to have been directed mainly at the members of higher social standing, for example, in May 1826 a boat excursion was

---

101).

[105] Klein 2000, 107–108; Castrén 1951b, 11; Almqvist 1943, 269. On the basis of the annual reports of the society from its active period between 1826 and 1827, the sum of gathered finances from different events and collections was 38,000 thalers; see Wikén 1941, 349–350.

[106] Arwidsson in *Kometen* 1826, no. 62. The statue of Pasquino was in Rome and, during the Renaissance in particular, it was a spot where often sharp satirical notes and critique of contemporary events and persons were left to be read publicly; see Castrén 1951b, 11.

[107] Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 301.

[108] Klein 2000, 99 with reference to the *Documents relatifs du Comité Philhellénique de Paris*, vol. 1, 62 (1826).

[109] The results of the funds raised by the concert (3,160 bank thalers) organised in the summer of 1826 by the Stockholm society, and information about the art exhibition were reported in *Kometen* 1826, no 52.

[110] Wikén 1941, 349. The most famous of this kind of exhibition "au profit des Grecs" was open to the public in Paris from May to November 1826 exhibiting more than a thousand pictures, some by well-known artists such as Delacroix and Ingres; for the exhibition see Athassouglou-Kallmyer 1989, 39–41.

[111] Wikén 1941, 349. Nicander (1799–1839) became a well-known (romantic) poet and translator in Sweden during his short life. The play probably drew its inspiration from de Pichald's (originally Pichat) play *Léonidas. Tragédie en cinq actes* performed in Paris in 1825. The play drew an analogy between Leonidas and Markos Botsaris. See also Asse 1900, 100–101.

[112] Wikén 1941, 349.

organised in the archipelago along the Stockholm coastline on the newly built vessel *Gefion*; half of the income from ticket sales was donated to the society. C.F. Dahlgren had written a poem for the Greeks for the occasion and it was sung altogether onboard.[113] Frederika Bremer, a well-known writer in Sweden who made her 'grand tour' to the 'Old World' between the years 1856 and 1859, mentions that "In Stockholm, under the sixtieth degree of north latitude, the hearts of the friends of Greece did not beat less fervently than in the cities of France and Italy, full of life and fire as they are, and so much nearer also to the scene of action. And whilst the Governments look on with cautious and suspicious gaze, and gave wise – or more properly speaking – unwise advice, the educated people of all nations united to assist the Greeks."[114]

In general, Sweden's position and commercial interests regarding the Greek cause reflected larger international trade interests of the time. Already in the 1720s the so-called Swedish East-India company had been established in order to control the commerce from the colonies of European countries to Sweden with an intention to break the British and Dutch monopoly in the field. Even though the company was initially closely tied to the British and Dutch organisations, by the beginning of the nineteenth century it had nevertheless become the largest corporate mercantile company in the country, carrying out, prior to 1813, 132 expeditions to the Far East, and influencing the culture and cuisine of Sweden. The company played an important role in the European economy in general. Its sister-organisation, the Levant Company was to be established in 1838 to hold a monopoly of commercial goods coming from the Levant and Morea.[115] Sweden had transported quite considerable commercial maritime freight in the Mediterranean, especially to the ports of Salonica, Smyrna and Constantinople. Piracy was a real problem, and many mercantile ships required escorts to secure their safety.[116] In the 1820s Sweden provided this service for merchant vessels and gained profits based on the value of the goods; for example, in 1821 one of the ships on such expedition carried 20 cannons for the Sultan of Morocco and thus also maintained political and diplomatic relations.[117] Sweden clearly wished to continue its role as a European power in the commercial domain, even after having lost territory and after its political power had diminished; securing and sharing mercantile connections, especially with Britain, was one of its primary interests during the early decades of the nineteenth century.

---

[113] Wikén 1941, 349.

[114] Bremer 1862, 151 translated as *Greece and the Greeks* 1863, 187. Bremer's long journey started from Switzerland as a mystically oriented religious search and ended up in Greece via Turkey and Palestine.

[115] For the East-India Company, see Heckscher 1949, 692–701.

[116] Wikén 1958, 90.

[117] The ship was named *Jamaras*. A similar expedition consisting of five ships under the command of rear admiral Nordenskiöld was sent to the Mediterranean in 1828. On route, the squadron embarked at the port of Tangier where the consul general informed him that peaceful relations between Morocco and Sweden were at their height; see Stare 1945, 246–247.

VOLUNTEERS

Our knowledge of Swedish volunteer philhellenes is quite extensive and at the same time somewhat unbalanced since it is based mainly on two or three better-known individuals at the expense of those others who have remained in their shadow. Examination of their careers is worthwhile as the study is meaningful for understanding the development of the narrative of A.M. Myhrberg. We shall take a look at the two of the best-known Swedish philhellenes, Nils Fredrik Aschling and Adolf von Sass, who belonged to the first wave of volunteers.[118]

Nils Aschling

Both Sass and Aschling had military backgrounds before becoming Philhellenic officers, Aschling being a major with considerable military experience, and von Sass a Lieutenant. They both came from relatively wealthy families. In 1822, returning from Greece after seven months during which he had partaken in the struggle over the Acropolis and was nominated to command Navarino but never took up the position, Aschling wrote a history of his own experience. He gives us a realistic, precise and somewhat dry account of the motives of the philhellenes who joined the struggle:

> "Some of these foreigners had as noble thoughts as such a sacred cause deserves. Some of them had taken up arms for the sake of religion and freedom, but others, on the contrary, did so in order to gain benefit for themselves, or in hope of plunder. They sought riches in a country which had been oppressed by the Turkish despots for four centuries. Some philhellenes went there with plans to organise; they had drawn these plans before they got to know the country and its inhabitants, and were disappointed and became angry when their impossible projects were little-appreciated. There was also an element who, behaving most improperly, gave the Greeks a somewhat unfavourable picture of the Franks (the general name given to all foreigners in the Levant), and thus caused great difficulties for their fellows. But I also have to acknowledge – and with pleasure I do so – that some of these men had the best will and most altruistic attitudes. There were officers, ideal not only due to their skills but also because of the experience they had gained in many noble battles, and, in addition, who were respectful also for their most impeccable behaviour. These philhellenes wished to offer their last drop of blood solely in order to be helpful."[119]

King Carl XIV Johan, however, had a very pragmatic attitude towards the separatists, or at least in some cases, like Aschling's, he seemed to have played a double game. It is said that he gave permission for Aschling to join the Napolitan revolutionaries in Italy and even equipped him with a sum of 1000 crowns to subsidise the travel costs.[120] Aschling's initial plan to join the revolution in Naples becomes slightly questionable, however, in light of the recollection of major-general Ulrik Rudebeck. He took part in the later war in Greece, on Crete in 1897,

---

[118] Most of the known Swedish volunteers fell into the first wave of volunteer activity. For example, of Schöldström's seven philhellenes, five were in Greece during early stages of the war (Aschling, Sass, Åkerhjelm, Eurenius and Westée; Crusenstolpe and Myhrberg belonged to the later stage).

[119] Aschling 1824, 71–72. His motto for the book, taken from Voltaire, is: "Jamais peut être on ne retrouvera une occasion si belle de renvoyer dans leurs antiques marais les déprédateurs du monde."

[120] Knös 1949, 323; Marling 1989, 3.

and had been 19 years old when Aschling departed on his philhellenic expedition. In his old age Rudebeck remembered how Aschling was hailed by young officer students (he himself was one of them), who carried him in a 'golden chair' to a jubilee hall where other officers had organised a farewell party with drinks to celebrate his noble choice to fight for the freedom of the Greeks.[121] Rudebeck's account also reveals the general positive attitude of the Swedish people, including the establishment, towards the Greek cause. Despite his personal positive stance towards the Greek war, diplomacy required that Carl XIV Johan express reproving opinions of the revolutionaries. This position is reflected in the letter written by the minister of foreign affairs, L. von Engeström, to the Swedish ambassador in Constantinople: "Messieurs Aschling and Åkerhielm have entered the Greek service despite reservations expressed by the King."[122] It has been suggested that Aschling's philhellenism developed as a result of the effect the talks of Ambassador G.K.F. Löwenhielm, then in residence in Paris,[123] had on him on his way to Italy. Löwenhielm was a sympathiser with philhellenism and it is said that he persuaded Aschling to go to Greece instead of Naples.[124] This detail seems to be a typical motif in the tales of Nordic philhellenes who wandered in Europe seeking freedom-fights for which to volunteer.[125] As Aschling explains in his book, retrospectively, his own role as a philhellene was something he wanted to regard as "my honour to be counted among those who strove for freedom and for such a just cause" because:

> "the people [of Greece] were almost forgotten; they had withdrawn into the shadowy prison of their slavery. It was necessary to fight for religion, for the existence of Greece, for the honour of its wives and daughters. It was necessary to help Greece to gain a place amongst civilised nations, to help it regain its dignity which has been disgraced by incredible Musulman tyranny."[126]

Aschling remained in Greece for only seven months. Similarly, the Greek experience of many other volunteer philhellenes of the first wave was short-lived.

---

[121] Schöldström 1902, 177–178 to whom the 94-year-old Rudebeck related his recollections.

[122] Knös 1949, 323. Aschling wrote a letter to the ambassador (minister) of Sweden in Constantinople (31 August 1822) telling him about the king's permission and the sum of money he had been given. Engeström's letter is cited in Knös 1949, 323; see also Marling 1989, 3, 5.

[123] Löwenhielm became ambassador in Constantinople in 1824. He had a military background and was an intelligent, cultured, and socially-active man who made his own opinions, favourable to the Greek cause, known in his reports to Sweden even though he was well aware of the official stance and request to stay impartial with regard to the relations between the two countries; see Knös 1949, 320–321; for Löwenhielm, see e.g. *Svensk biografiskt lexikon*, *s.v.* 'Gustav Löwenhielm'. Löwenhielm explains in his memoirs his opinions about the Greek question and his negative view of the Turks through the eyes of a diplomat who played an important role in the foreign affairs at the time (Löwenhielm had been, for example Sweden's representative in the Congress of Vienna in 1815): Löwenhielm 1927, 24–27. For Löwenhielm's paintings from Greece, see Wells 1998, 11, 36–45.

[124] Knös 1949, 322–334, 404–416, 533–539; Marling 1989, 5; Wells 1998, 12; see also Ambatsis 1989, 14–18. Simopoulos 1999 vol. 2, 344 believes that Aschling did fight in Naples before getting to Greece.

[125] The same is told about Myhrberg, see below p. 68–69. It is possible, of course, that Löwenhielm really supported these young men.

[126] Aschling 1824, 2.

Aschling witnessed in Athens the first capitulation of the Acropolis, and was about to be given a position of command in Navarino, but was never officially nominated, perhaps due to misunderstandings or suspicion within the Greek regime.[127] He ended up in Smyrna where he met another Swedish Philhellene, Fabian Gustaf Åkerhjelm, who was recovering in a French hospital from serious wounds he had received in the battle for the Acropolis in 1822.[128] Aschling asked the officials of the Swedish embassy in Constantinople for financial help at the beginning of August 1822. The secretary to the consul, N.G. Palin, who had officially condemned the Greek uprising, sent 500 piastres to Smyrna for him for the journey home.[129] It was shortly afterwards that Aschling returned home. He had lost his notes on the journey, but still compiled a book entitled *An Attempt at Recounting the History of the Greek Revolution according to Annotations Made at the Scene*.[130] Unlike many of its counterparts this book is not simply a bitter recounting of personal experiences, but also aims at laying out the historical background and developments of the war. Seeing Athens had been one of Aschling's liveliest dreams which had turned into a deeply painful experience:

> "In my imagination I had painted Athens as it was for many centuries, and I saw it free and independent, rich thanks to its world-wide trade, decorated with masterpieces of art, mighty for its citizens' patriotism. … But what a difference! I saw nothing but ruins and rundown houses. I tried to imagine Miltiades living in a slum, Themistocles without a fatherland, Aristides without property, Socrates emptying a waste bucket, and I could not help crying: 'People, you who are proud of yourselves, never let this kind of destiny take hold of you and destroy you!' "[131]

Aschling was disappointed in the lack of organisation and discipline of the Greeks, and the lack of military skills and selfishness of the captains, "who with some exceptions were no better than bandits" and did not let him function in a position in which his military experience would have been useful.

Adolf von Sass

A narrative of the adventures of Adolf von Sass is an example of romanticising a philhellenic life in the literary accounts of their endeavours in freedom-fighting. This seems to have happened particularly in northern Europe, where the acts of the few volunteers from the north were regarded as exotic, remarkable and extraordinary. Stories about them tended to undergo a process of legendarisation in which certain elements of heroic or romantic motifs were mythicised. This happened especially to biographical accounts of Myhrberg and Sass. Myhrberg was written about, however, to a much greater extent than his

[127] For this see esp. Simopoulos 1999 vol. 2, 346–348.
[128] Aschling 1824, 130–131. A. Müller 1872, 72 describes how he met Aschling who was visiting the recovering Åkerhjelm, a long-term patient at the hospital. Müller expresses his joy at meeting Aschling, who was his good friend, "ein Lieber mann". Müller had travelled together with Aschling and a Prussian artillery officer, Aneke, from Idra via Corinth to Athens and stayed with Consul Gropius in Athens for two days; Müller 1872, 42–43.
[129] Knös 1949, 535–539; Simopoulos 1999 vol. 2, 349.
[130] Aschling 1824. Aschling was robbed on his way home and lost his notes. He "attempted" to recover the information from the notes for his book, see pp. iii–iv about the theft.
[131] Aschling 1824, 125.

fellow philhellene von Sass. The biographies of the other Swedish volunteers did not undergo such a process. The reason might have been the sheer lack of available material in order for tales to develop. There was not perhaps anyone who was able to start the process of recording tales about the freedom-fighting of Aschling, Åkerhjelm or the other Swedish philhellenes. The legendarisation of the stories about Myhrberg's and Sass' Greek careers also exhausted the interest of the public, which gave its attention to these two characters, and most notably to Myhrberg. Schöldström writes, for example, that Åkerhjelm died at the age of 75 in Stockholm, totally forgotten, and wonders why not even a single mention of him was published in the press, whereas two years earlier the newspapers had been filled with descriptions of the heroic deeds of Myhrberg, following his death.[132]

Sass' story in Greece provided all the necessary elements for a romantic legend. Most notably his premature death, so close to that of Lord Byron, added to its appeal. In the philhellenic history of Sass there are details which make him a character of particular interest. Sass died in Missolonghi in February 1824 in circumstances which have been regarded as crucial for understanding the course of the last days of Byron. William Parry elaborates this incident in detail in two of his books on the last days of Lord Byron:[133]

> "On Thursday, February 19th, the men were again at work at the arsenal, but before their labours had proceeded very far, a quarrel ensued between one of the Suliotes[134] and lieutenant Sass of Lord Byron's brigade, and the very best, perhaps, of the foreign officers, which ended in his assassination. The whole business shows, unhappily, so well what was the state of Greece, as to the discipline of the soldiery, and the unfortunate effort of sending foreigners to rule and guide them as it were, that I shall give a detailed account of this melancholy affair, as far as it came to my knowledge. … He left a wife, then living in Malma, in Sweden; and Byron, with that attention to the feelings and wants of others which always distinguished him, thought immediately of contributing to her comfort in a pecuniary way. In the next communication made to the Greek Committee in London, he requested that a small sum might be sent her, on his account. …"[135]

Sass' grave monument in Missolonghi is illustrated in FIG. 3. Apart from the detailed description of the death of Sass, there is not much documentary material about his acts in Greece. A long letter attributed to him was first published in a Swedish newspaper *Argus den Tredje* in Stockholm on 13 July 1825 and thereafter mentioned in another paper *Helsingborgs Posten* on 19 July 1825. They give a lively account of the events from the course of Sass' endeavours in Greece. Given that it was from Sass' own pen, it is suggested that the letter was written probably to his brother sometime in September – November 1823, immediately before the expedition to Missolonghi set sail at the beginning of 1824.[136] It is worth noting

---

[132] Schöldström 1902, 184.

[133] Parry 1825 and 1826. In the 1825 version one whole chapter (Ch. 2) is dedicated to describing the 'Death of Lieutenant Sass' and its effect on Byron's fate.

[134] The Suliots were a fierce Albanian tribe, from remote mountains near Ioannina, fighting in Byron's brigade; they distinguished themselves in various battles under the leadership of Marcos Botzaris who also became a celebrated hero; see e.g. Howarth 1976, 91–92.

[135] Parry 1826, 49–50. The incident is also described by Italian philhellene Pietro Gamba 1825, 115–116. Fornèzy 1884 (listing von Sass as de Sassen, no. 261, p. 259 in 1975 edition) gives briefly the Suliot episode, but concludes that Sass died of illness in Missolonghi, 19 February 1824.

[136] The signature in the *HP* is "a Swede, Adolphe de Sass". The letter is cited in full with a commentary by Wikén 1989, 10–12, also in Knös 1949, 544–545. There is one later account of Sass'

that publishing this kind of autobiographical account and events from the philhellenes' achievements had become rather popular in Swedish newspapers. They often included fantastic and highly-imaginary details about their acts mixed with factual information. Already by 28 June 1824 *Göteborgs Aftonblad* had published a letter signed by "S", written to "friends in Sweden" with the title 'Accounts of our countryman from Morea', dated in Tripolizza 27 May 1824; this

philhellenic career in a Finnish paper in conjunction with a detailed explanation of Myhrberg's adventures: *HT* no. 92, 28 November 1829 mentions that Myhrberg's fellow in arms Sass had been murdered by a Suliote, and Krohn 1875, 14–15 describes the destiny of Sass in Missolonghi from the point of view of the story about Myhrberg, who is claimed to have been in the town when the event took place. Perhaps the most reliable reference to his deeds in Greece is a letter Sass wrote in Aarau in 1823 to his philhellene friend Albert Müller who published it in his *Erinnerungen* 1872, 80–81 then believing that Sass had been "on his way back home". For von Sass, see also Knös 1949, 543–546; Schöldström 1902, 188–192; Wikén 1958, 83; St. Clair 1972, 175, 179; Marling 1989, 6–7.

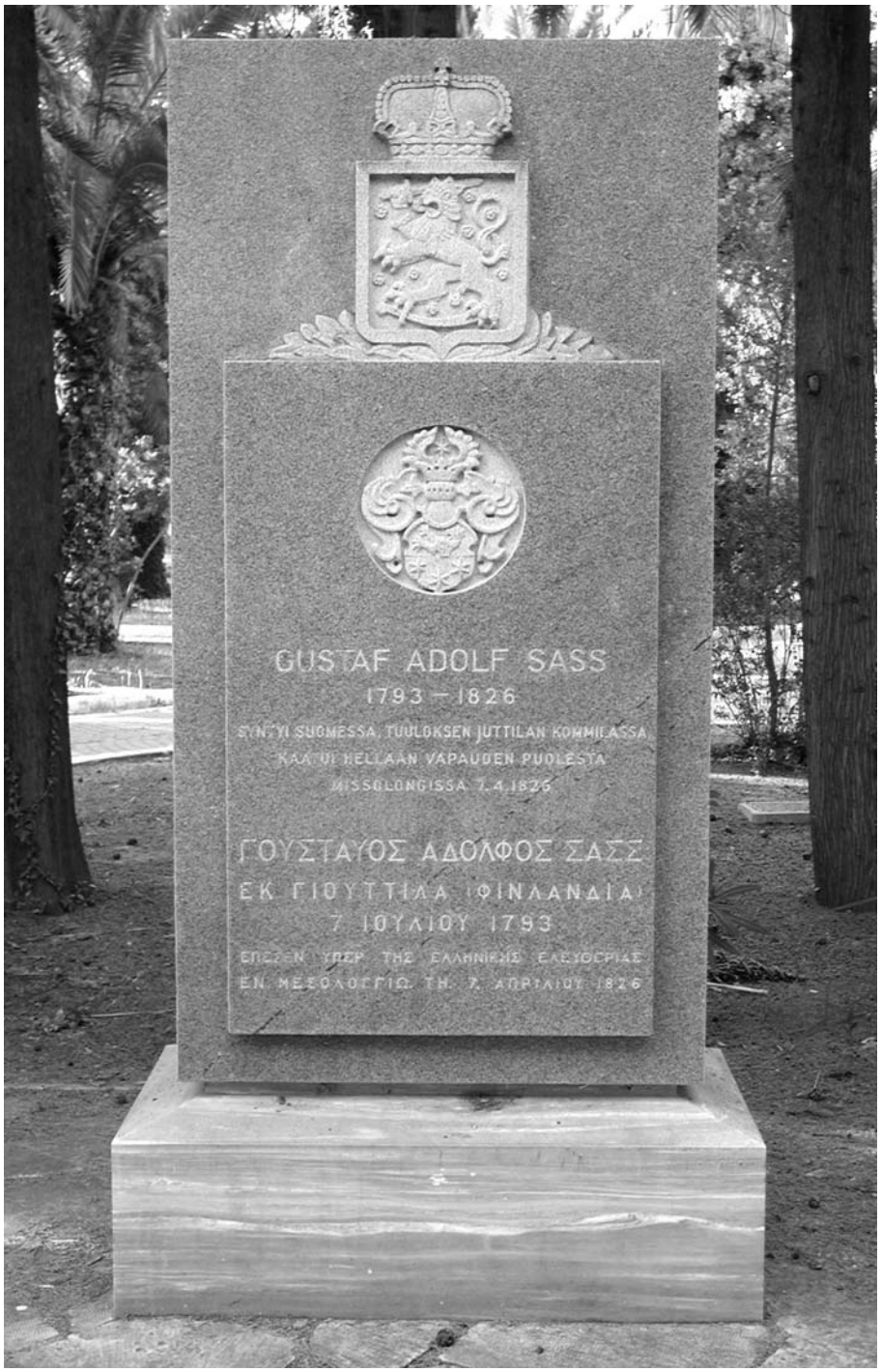


FIG. 3. Grave monument of Adolf von Sass in Missolonghi, photograph Esko Tikkala 2005.

letter was later thought to have been written by Sass or Myhrberg.[137] Attribution to Sass is, of course, incorrect since he had already died in the February before Byron, and this makes the remark that "Lord Byron's death was even more painful news because he had almost generally become a god-figure" an impossible equation. Therefore, in the following description of the adventures of Sass, elements of fantasy and fact are mixed in a similar way as in the narrative of the philhellene Myhrberg.

Sass' first stay in Greece was short, only three months, and falls into the period of the first wave of volunteer philhellenes. This handsome, polyglot[138] young man was technically-speaking a Finn, born in Finland to a noble family which had moved to Sweden when the son was still very young. Parry describes Sass as athletic and fearless, but sometimes not sufficiently temperate, a characteristic which finally led to his death: "He seems to have been one of those persons who are born out of reason, or have got, from some cause or other, so much awry, or misplaced among men, that though they possess the best intentions, nothing succeeds with them."[139] In June 1822 Sass had left his pregnant wife in Sweden and sailed to Greece from Marseille together with 29 other philhellenes to join the German legion on its expedition in Arcadia. He had with him nothing but the sword which was to become his misfortune and, like the rest of the philhellenes of the German legion, he suffered greatly from poverty and deprivation of food and equipment.[140] He was wounded and escaped to Smyrna, to a hospital run by the city's European merchant colony.[141] (Another wounded Swede, Åkerhjelm was

[137] Published by Wikén 1989, 13. The signature "S" could have referred to a person who submitted the text to the editor of the paper. Schöldström 1902, 189–190 interprets the letter as an abbreviation of the name Adolf Sass which he gives in full; Knös 1949, 543–545 also attributes it to Sass mainly because of its contents which correspond to some other details about his life. Wikén 1958, 81–92 attributes it to Myhrberg, and later in his commentary (1989) thinks that the author could have been J.G. Schwan, a son of a wholesaleman from Stockholm who was also a friend of Myhrberg. For discussion, see Bruun 1963, 226.

[138] Parry 1825, 52 notes: "He had a very prepossessing appearance, and seemed to be destined to win his way smoothly to the goal of happiness." At the end of his letter (n. 136) (alias) Sass writes: "The only one things I have won so far are wounds and the knowledge of a few languages, namely French, English, Italian, Greek and some Turkish." In an earlier letter dated in Tripolizza in May 1824 the writer in the name of Sass explains that "My English has never been of greater joy to me than during those few hours I was able to speak in that language in front of him [Lord Byron]" and explains that he had had an opportunity to visit the place where Leonidas died, exactly as he had promised to his friends. His interest was not, however, in antiquity; he explains that, rather, languages were close to his heart. Müller 1872, 79 mentions him having been "a handsome man" and relates that he was totally devoted to learning Greek when he had fallen in love with a Greek girl (see below).

[139] Parry 1825, 57, and in *idem* 1826, 50 Parry describes the irritation existing between the foreigners and the Greeks and how, on the day of his death, Sass "was not sufficiently temperate on the occasion, (and) instantly drew his sword, and struck the Greek…"

[140] Parry 1825, 57, 59.

[141] Parry 1825, 58. The French quarters in Smyrna where *l'Hôpital française* was situated are described e.g. by Müller 1872, 106–107. Müller (p. 42–43) also names the members of the expedition of the German legion with whom he became friends. Albert Müller was a Swiss watchmaker who changed to a military career and left for Greece with Normann's expedition in a party of thirty-five other philhellenes. "Even a Spanish woman, wife of an Italian joined us," reminiscences Müller. In this group there were eleven officers, one corporal, one forester, a marquis who was living on his interests, two sailors, a Greek wholesaler, the wife of an Italian officer, a pharmacist, a cavalryman (*Uhlane*), a physician and musician, two other physicians, a sergeant; they were from seven European countries

also being nursed there and, as we have seen, was visited by Aschling.) Sass begged for money from the Swedish-Norwegian ambassador in Constantinople for his journey home, from whom he also probably received assistance.[142] Before starting on his return journey, however, he fell in love with a delightful Greek girl called Marigo who used to sleep in front of Sass' room so that he could see her from his window. Marigo soon died, however, and our philhellene suffered the trauma of having to bury her.[143]

Next we meet Sass in Italy or – depending on the version of the story – on Crete, from where he was forced to sail back to Greece serving on a Greek ship which took hostages and let them go free following the payment of ransom money collected for the sake of the Greek war.[144] A Turkish naval officer, Ismail Gibraltar, who served in the joint Turkish-Egyptian fleet as a commander of the Egyptian navy fighting against the Greeks, captured the ship, ordering the one Italian and four Greek officers, together with Sass, to appear in front of him. When they were asked where they had come from Sass told him that his fellow officers were Italians and he was a Swede. "What! Are you Swedish?" replied the Turk in Swedish and, to everyone's surprise, proclaimed that the lives of the prisoners were now going to be spared. The reason was that Ismail had earlier spent one happy year in Sweden, serving the Egyptian Muhammed Ali and purchasing military supplies and a warship. As a handsome foreigner, Ismail had been very popular among the Swedish ladies and had led an active social life in Stockholm. For "old times sake" he granted amnesty to Sass and to the other foreign officers and sent them to Cairo (or Alexandria in some variants of the story). The pasha threw them into prison, "to a dark pit in which they spent three weeks considering death." Again, however, Sass' luck changed: Ismail had written to the pasha and asked him to free the foreigners, and an Englishman called William Jems had heard about Sass. This gentleman was prepared to pay in order that they could have their freedom. As a free man Sass now travelled to London and become involved in the philhellenic societies and the *London Greek Committee*[145] which at that time had

(Müller 1872, 5–6). Müller himself did not list any honourable reasons for his choice when enrolling in the philhellenic army; he must have seen the opportunity as an experience suitable for his situation.

[142] Sass addressed the letter to the ambassador on 17 September 1822 promising to pay interest on his word of honour. The ambassador passed on the demand to the consulate in October; see Knös 1949, 543.

[143] Müller 1872, 78–80. Müller was very taken by this tragic episode and explains it in length. He relates that Marigo spoke only Greek, and soon Sass was able to whisper sweetly into Marigo's ear: "Sas agapo"; he tried to teach her Swedish, but learning the language was difficult for her since "women in the Orient do not like mental exertion." Müller explains how Sass planned to take the girl to Sweden with him as his wife and adds that generally it was very easy for foreigners in Smyrna to seduce a Greek woman since they tended to wish for such arrangements, the advantages of which included protection against the Turks and the benefits of European consular services. We know, however, that Sass was married in Sweden, and this fact remains unmentioned by Müller who may not have been aware of it. The Marigo episode can probably be regarded as authentic.

[144] In his letter to Müller Sass simply writes: "I was taken prisoner on my way back from Greece and I had to serve in the Greek fleet, after which the Turks took me to Egypt. I am just happy still to be among the living." Thus, the journey to Italy (or Crete) must be a later fantastical addition, and together with the other colourful details of this episode, such as Ismail Gibraltar's role (see below), it is questionable.

[145] For the *Committee*, see below p. 177.

established ties with Byron. In Parry's version of the story, Sass embarked for Candia (Crete) after the German legion was dissolved, with a view to joining the patriots of the island. On the voyage he was captured by a Turkish vessel, and subjected to the grossest insults and most brutal cruelty.[146] It is not surprising that a particularly Nordic addition to the story about Ismail Gibraltar is missing in the narrative of Parry. In this version Sass was carried to Alexandria and thence up to Cairo where he was sold into slavery. An unnamed English gentleman released him and provided him with the means of returning to England. On his arrival, Parry records, Sass went to London where he offered himself at the service of the *London Greek Committee*.[147]

Sass again gave himself to the service of the philhellenes by joining William Parry's artillery troop. On his way to Greece, writing to his friend Albert Müller[148] in Aarau in Switzerland, Sass briefly explained his adventures, and finally landed in Missolonghi at the end of January 1823. The depressing tone of a letter attributed to him gives some hints about his general motives for joining the philhellenes. The writer informs us that he left for Greece in "a company of seventeen other adventurers (*lyckosökare*)" with a wish to find that for which he had for so long been yearning, namely happiness and calm. Regarding his second journey to Greece, he explains that he "just has to sail or die."[149] We have here an example of a restless soul, a philhellene who had to leave his home in order to look for his real self and for a different life. Sass does not talk about religious motives, nor about the classical Greeks, nor does he echo romantic idealism. He was merely unhappy. A letter attributed to von Sass explains that the moment he reached Arcadia he woke up and his dreams about happiness disappeared; everything had changed: he could only witness the remnants of the massacres, and the Greeks murdered women and children in a manner which was crueler than that of their enemy. He himself suffered from hunger and all kinds of want, and wished to die.[150] The tale about the adventures of Sass represents a legend built on the biography of a philhellene. We shall meet many folk tale motifs relating to it in the examination of the narrative of the life of Myhrberg later in this study.

4. Finland

The case of Finland is interesting, and attitudes towards the Greek War of Independence there provide a good example of the development of international politics in the north, and a perfect arena for following the atmosphere under which the press reported on news from abroad. Finland had been a part of Sweden until 1809. At the end of the eighteenth and early in the nineteenth century, during the

[146] Parry 1825, 59. Parry describes the cruelties: "It was one of the amusements of the Turkish soldiers to draw their sabres across Sass' neck, and to point their carbines at him. Half famished, beaten and in a state of torture, death would, probably, have been mercy. He nevertheless preserved his reason unpaired."
[147] Parry 1825, 59–60.
[148] For Müller, see n. 141 above.
[149] Adapting the Latin slogan 'Navigare necesse est, vivare non est.'
[150] A letter attributed to von Sass, see pp. 30, 31.

period of Napoleon's ascendancy, the king of Sweden, Gustaf IV Adolf, attempted to keep Sweden-Finland out of the wars which were raging across Europe. In 1805, however, Gustaf launched an ill-fated attack on the French from the Swedish-held territory in Pomerania and was saved only by the good offices of his Russian ally. He resisted French pressure, however, to join the continental system and ally his country with Napoleonic France.[151] Napoleon defeated Russia, and French supremacy in Europe was recognised in 1807. Soon afterwards, Tsar Alexander I declared war against Britain, whose fleet was in the Baltic. This incident resulted in the Swedish loss of Finland: the critical Sveaborg fortress outside Helsinki surrendered without a fight, and it was not long before Finland lay under Russian control. A peace treaty was signed in September 1809, and the Swedish rule of almost seven hundred years had ended. Russia granted Finland the status of an autonomous Grand Duchy within the tsarist empire, which lasted for over a century.[152]

REPORTING ON THE GREEK WAR IN THE FINNISH PRESS

In this political climate, reports on the Greek war reflected official Russian policy. Since the press still enjoyed relative freedom until further restricted by censorship in 1829 by Tsar Nicolai I,[153] the earlier reporting on the Greek war also reveals the particularly Finnish preoccupations. The first newspaper in Finland, H.G. Porthan's *Åbo Tidningar*, had been established in the capital, Turku, in 1771.[154] After Russia had become the new ruler in Finland, this paper became the official reporter of tsarist rule, and began to publish foreign news with the title *Åbo Allmänna Tidning*. It reflected Russian official policy, as it was censored by the Russian governmental representatives. Thus, Tsar Alexander I's epithets in the paper included, for example: 'Star of the North' (*Nordens stjerna*), 'Friend of peace' (*Fredens wän*), 'Saviour of Europe and humanity' (*Europas och mänslighetens räddning*), 'Beloved of the Russia and Guardian of Europe' (*Rysklands älskling och Europas wård*).[155] It is worth noting that Alexander I was genuinely liked in Finland and regarded as a ruler who granted the country its freedom and autonomy for the first time. He was genuinely presented in a very positive light even in writings criticising Russian policy in general.

---

[151] See e.g. Singleton 2002[2] (1989), 60.
[152] *Ibid.*, 60–63.
[153] Tommila 1988b, 100–103. The new censorship law passed related to Finland.
[154] It was originally called *Tidningar utgivne af en Sällskap i Åbo*, and belonged to the general wave of a notable increase in the number of newspapers in the Nordic countries. The 'Association in Turku' ('Sällskapet i Åbo') was the so-called *Aurora Sällskapet* (*Aurora Society*) which had been born in Stockholm in 1770 around H.G. Porthan, and advocated Finnish national consciousness in line with German national romanticism. *Åbo Tidningar* did not publish news from abroad at all, and neglected even important political events such as, for example, the war between Russia and Sweden in 1808. See Tommila 1988a, 45–50; 68–69.
[155] *ÅAT* no. 7, 4 January 1814; no. 52, 5 May 1814; no. 122, 15 October 1816 and no. 1, 2 January 1816. Alexander I visited Finland in 1819 and this event was reported in great detail in *ÅAT* in the same tone of praise for the Tsar. See also Tommila 1988b, 83 with notes p. 249.

Helsinki became the capital in 1812, and a new official paper, *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, began to be published there.[156] In 1820 the first newspaper written in Finnish, *Turun Wiikkosanomat* was founded in the old capital, Turku.[157] It was in these two papers that the news about the Greek war was followed enthusiastically, the former reflecting the official Russian point of view more clearly than the latter.[158] During the first two years of the revolution, reports were frequent in *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*: Greek proclamations to the European nations were printed, recruitment of volunteers and activities of the Greek societies were acknowledged.[159] There were also articles about modern Greeks in local papers, often synopses of travel books by earlier travellers in Greece published in Europe.[160]

In the official paper, *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, the number of reports about foreign news peaked during the early years of the 1820s, specifically due to the Greek war.[161] The first reports in 1821 stated quite surprisingly that Russia deeply favoured a Greek uprising; Ypsilantis' proclamations were mentioned with reference to the glorious past of Greece in antiquity, and also as being against the principles of the Holy Alliance. The Spanish Revolution was referred to as a model for the Greek uprising, and the possibility of Greek freedom was characterised as a rising phoenix, thus echoing symbolism used in the European philhellenic literature.[162] In order to please Russian censorship, one article proclaimed: "Come together, my friends [in support of the Greeks], a strong power will shelter our rights."[163] At an early stage of the Greek war, the official newspaper made it clear that Russia was not planning to declare war on Turkey. Anyone who believed that this was so had fallen victim to malicious rumours.[164] The paper also started reporting increasingly on the news from the Turkish side, and this policy continued during the following years. Typically, foreign news concerning Greece began with explanations of the war from the Turkish side, reported from Constantinople, and continued to cover the course of events with references to known figures present in

[156] Tommila 1988b, 83. It is worth noting that *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* was not the successor of *Åbo Almänna Tidning*, but a totally new newspaper. After the move, *Åbo Tidningar* started to be published in Turku as an unofficial paper.
[157] Tommila 1988b, 87.
[158] Castrén 1951b examines the reporting of the Finnish press on the Greek War of Independence; *eadem* 1951a, 42–46, 141, 202; also more recently Tommila 1988b, 89–90.
[159] *FAT* nos. 66, 7 June 1821; 71–79 (19 June – 7 July 1821) and no. 92 , 9 August 1821; see Castrén 1951b, 2.
[160] E.g. *ÅT* no. 27, 3 April 1822 and no. 33, 24 April 1822 ('Anteckningar om Grekland och Ny-Grekerna') published a synopsis of Dr Holland's book *Travels in the Ionian Islands, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia &c. during the Years 1812 and 1815*, London 1815. Topics such as the position of women, the language, the manners of discussion, and tribal customs were selected for the Finnish press.
[161] Apunen 1970, 49–51; Tommila 1988b, 111 esp. the table of the number of foreign news reports in official papers between 1810 and 1855.
[162] *FAT* no. 54, 8 May 1821. The article planned the possible creation of not only an independent Greece, but also of Macedonia, Serbia, Albania, Romania and Bulgaria, and published a long extract of Ypsilantis' proclamation written in Jassy.
[163] *FAT* no. 59, 17 May 1821; see also no. 60, 19 May 1821 and Castrén 1951b, 2.
[164] *FAT* no. 75, 28 June 1821.

Greece at the time of reporting, such as, for example, Lord Byron.[165] A characteristic example is a long report in *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* of 12 September 1826 (no. 106), in which the information is reported to have been drawn from the French papers *Étoile*, *Quotidienne*, *Journal des Débats* and from the Italian *Diario di Roma*. It states that the military situation of the Greeks had considerably worsened. Cochrane had arrived at Napoli di Romania, and members of the Greek provisional government, among them Mavrocordatos and Kolokotronis, had been taken as prisoners. Then the paper goes on to describe how forty Egyptian youths had been sent to Paris and financed by Mehmet Ali to be educated in languages and the arts and to gain knowledge in general justice, humanity and morals. "Mehmet Ali is an exceptionally good man," the text reads, and explains Ali's positive enterprises in building a sound education system in his country, and records his strengths in military skills. The moral message is made clear: how could it be justified that European wisdom be a property only of some, and excluded from others? The same newspaper continues its foreign section by reporting about the actions of the French philhellenic societies and refers to Chateaubriand's backing of social initiatives: "Europe is taking a new step in the art of nobility and humanity."[166]

The Finnish-language *Turun Wiikkosanomat* strongly sympathised with the Greeks, those successors of the noble ancient Greeks, and reflected the attitudes of the general public elsewhere in Europe. Ypsilantis' endeavours were also reported in the paper, sometimes with surprising details, such as, for example, in June 1821 when the paper reported that "the highest leader of the Greeks, called Ypsilantis, who is said to belong to the old Greek imperial Comnenos family and has lost one of his arms, is said to have been ordered to retire from the war by our merciful Emperor…"[167] Taking into account the Russian point of view, the paper reported at the beginning of the war that "our merciful Emperor is said to be in hope that the Grecian nation would see peaceful times without war."[168] This article (Appendix B1) is a very good illustration of the information available in Finland about the war

[165] E.g. *FAT* no. 48, 27 April 1824. The article reports that Lord Byron had arrived in Greece on Zante with his party, equipment and money. It is explained that the purpose of his presence in Greece is solely to keep friendly diplomatic relations between England and the Porte and their royal families, nothing more. Also *FAT* no. 69, 17 June 1824 has rather neutral reports about the military and political situation in Tripolizza, Navarino, Ioannina and the islands Idra, Spetsia and Ipsara with citations from the latest proclamations of the provisional government of the Greeks.

[166] This article was the first report on Myhrberg, whose latest activities are briefly (and rather neutrally) referred to; see below p. 42, n. 187.

[167] *TWs* no. 22, 2 June 1821. The whole passage reads: "Turkin maalla Euroopassa on sota ilmitulessa Turkkilaisten ja Greekkalaisten välillä, aina Wenäjän rajalta Keski-meren saariin saakka. Greekkalaisten ylin päämies on Fursti Ypsilanti nimeltä, jolta toinen käsi kuuluu ennen sodassa poisammutuksi, ja jota sanotaan olewan Comnenes nimisten wanhain Kreekan Keisarien sukua. Meidän Armollinen Keisarimme, jonka sota-palveluksesta Fursti Ypsilanti ennen on ollut, sanotaan waatineen häntä lähteämään pois sodasta." Ypsilantis had lost his arm earlier, in the battle of Dresden in 1813. Pushkin sketched a romanticised portrait of the one-armed Phanariot prince who now raised his sword against tyranny. Pushkin knew Ypsilantis personally since he was exiled in Kishinev and Odessa in 1821 where he had direct contact with the philhellene; see Prousis 1994, 139–141 and above p. 14.

[168] *TWs* no. 42, 20 October 1821.

during its first phase, and reveals the political stance of the Finns as well as of the Russians towards the matter:

> "The Grecian Senate has declared to all the European nations that the Grecian people have united themselves to one separate and free state. From France, Germany and England many officers have left for Greece to fight for the Grecians who have welcomed them with open arms. As they will teach the Grecians to fight in the same manner as the other Christians, it is believed that the Grecians will make good soldiers since they do not lack bravery. In the mainland the Grecians are told to have captured some castles and fortresses, but particularly at sea they have greatly resisted the Turks. In Germany a few Grecians have been imprisoned, since they had recruited soldiers there without permission. According to the ancient alliances, the State of England is said to be on friendly terms with Turkey and wishes that other nations would not assist the Grecians. In Russia the benevolent people have gathered grants for the Greek refugees. It is not certain yet if there will be a war between Russia and Turkey. On the island of Candia [Crete] the Turks have hanged the Greek archbishop, and many priests in front of many churches."[169]

As early as 1822, *Turun Wiikkosanomat* dared to note that the Turks regarded Greece as a conquered country, "but according to other sources which are to be regarded as more reliable, the Grecian nation is still so heroically fighting to defend its freedom."[170] Providing foreign news in a paper which did not have a permit for that kind of activity obviously did not please the Russian censors, since reporting foreign news in *Turun Wiikkosanomat* was banned in 1822.[171]

In the reports of the Finnish newspapers, the official stance was made clear: the Congress of Verona condemned unanimously the revolt of the Greeks. Tightened censorship had taken hold of Finnish newspapers in March 1823 when foreign reporting in all but the officially-controlled state paper became forbidden by law. The actions and the death of Byron in 1824 were still followed in the newspapers without bias.[172] Openly positive reporting of the Greek war became possible only after the treaty of London in July 1827, and the battle of Navarino when Russia had joined Britain and France in resolving the conflict, and had taken a stance against the Turks.[173]

It is worth noting that some characteristically Finnish attitudes towards the Greek cause made their way into print despite the long arms of the censor. In the cultural journal *Mnemosyne*, which in principle was not allowed to report foreign news, the Greek war was associated with the Finnish national awakening.[174] It

---

[169] The text in Finnish is given in Appendix B1.

[170] *TWs* no. 43, 2 November 1822: "Koko Turkin sotalautta sanotaan olevan surkeassa tilassa…Toisten tietojen mukaan, joita totisemmiksi uskotaan, sotii Greekan kansa vielä niin miehuisesti vapautensa puolesta."

[171] Tommila 1988b, 89–90. The section 'Foreign News' started appearing again after 10 months, but on a smaller scale and much less systematically.

[172] See e.g. *FAT* no. 50, 1 May 1824. In the article e.g. the activities of the Greek committees were reported, as was the fate of the philhellenes in Missolonghi. Byron's endeavours had already been reported in 1822, e.g. in *FAT* no 64, 1 June 1822, on his inheritance problems. As elsewhere in Europe, interest in Byron did not wane but lasted for quite a while after his death; see e.g. a long front-page article on Byron in *ÅT* no. 83, 25 October 1826; *ÅU* no. 51, 5 July 1826 on Byron's complex matrimonial affairs. Byron was of interest especially in Vyborg's German newspaper *Wiburgs Wochenblatt*, see e.g. *WWb* no. 15, 10 April 1824; no. 18, 1 May 1824 and no. 43, 23 October 1824.

[173] Castrén 1951b, 3–4.

[174] See Castrén 1951b, 6–7. Similar tones of national questions were clear also in *ÅMb*, no. 14, 7 April

published in 1821 a proclamation of Adolf Ivar Arwidsson on nationality and national spirit in Finland, and on the necessity of Finnish-language education. As a result, Arwidsson was expelled from his teaching post in the Academy of Turku, and his newspaper *Åbo Morgonblad* was suspended after having been published for only ten months.[175] Arwidsson's views were now echoed in *Mnemosyne*, in which the otherwise cautious editor, J.G. Linsén, published extracts from the writings of Adamantios Korais, a reformist of the Modern Greek language.[176] On the same occasion Linsén presented the Greek uprising in allegorical form to represent the possibilities of an awaited Finnish national awakening:

> "Would it be just empty dreaming to imagine the Greek world rising again from the waves of times… This dream wakes up so many appealing thoughts. Our time is rich in great hopes and charming perspectives in religious, political, and scientific life. Is it wrong to let oneself loose to draw from these dreams?"

The reasons for these hopes were those which had long been cherished:

> "Modern Greeks are not totally inferior compared to their forefathers, the spark of their spirit is still alive even though it is concealed in ashes, and the merciless Mohammedian religion has to be destroyed by force, the cross will rise unopposed…"[177]

This spirit was essential for the inspiration philhellenism provided in Finland. During the early years of the Russian period there existed a movement which drew its inspiration from romantic nationalism developed in Finland, gaining its inspiration from a wider national awakening, a response against the reactionary atmosphere in Europe.[178] The Greek war played a very important role in this process: it occupied Arwidsson's thoughts, like those of many others who ended up dealing with questions of nationality and its implications in Finland of the early 1820s. The war functioned as a model for the building up of the nation.[179] It is not surprising therefore, that Arwidsson dedicated his time to the theme in a more substantial way. In 1825, now living in Sweden, he proposed writing a history of Greece by compiling information from many contemporary works on the subject. Arwidsson ended up translating a British book instead of writing a new one, and his choice was E. Blaquiere's *The Greek Revolution; Its Origins and Progress*

1821. Note that, in accordance with the spirit of the time, the name of this cultural journal *Mnemosyne* was taken from Greek mythology, Mnemosyne being the goddess of memory and the mother of the Muses. *Mnemosyne* was published between 1819 and 1823. In Russia the literary and philosophical almanac with the same name was published between 1824 and 1825 and the concerns in its pages were equally metaphysical and political, in the spirit of Russian romanticism; see Prousis 1994, 112.

[175] Arwidsson lauched his views on nation in *Åbo Morgonblad* in articles titled 'Om nationalitet och national anda' (About nationality and national spirit), giving a new patriotic fervour to the national-romantic concept of nationality; for details, see below p. 162, n. 69.

[176] For Korais and his contributions to Greek independence, see Droulia 1992, 43–44; also Almqvist 1943, 291–293.

[177] Linsén's article was titled 'Modern Greeks' ('De nuvarande Grekerna') in *Mnemosyne*, no. 2 (1821), cited in Castrén 1951a, 43–44 and 1951b, 6–7. Linsén was a classicist and a professor of Latin literature at the Imperial Alexander University in Finland (later the University of Helsinki) from 1828, and a co-editor of *Mnemosyne.*

[178] Cf. Singleton 2002[2] (1989), 73.

[179] Castrén 1951a, 141, 202; Klinge 1978, 15–16.

together with Some Remarks on the Religion, National Character & c. in Greece, published in 1824.[180] The result is *Historia om Greklands närvarande Frihetskrig Jemte En framställning af Grekernas Religion, Seder och National-lynne*, which was published in the summer of 1826 and printed in C.M. Carlson's printing house. The names of neither publisher nor translator are given.[181] It will be seen later in this study that Arwidsson's sympathy towards the Greek cause reflected the twofold nature of the phenomenon in Finland: it was connected to the general European trends of support for the Greeks, and it also echoed a particular tendency in Finland to regard the Greek cause as analogous to the country's own process of nation building.

* * *

In this part of the study it has been our task to examine the wider context for the discussion of the central figure of this book, the philhellene Myhrberg, by looking at the nature of philhellenism in the north of Europe. It can be said that the phenomenon closely reflected the general European trends, with features distinctive to each country examined: in Russia philhellenism was flavoured by strong Orthodox sympathies for the Greeks both at individual and official levels. Swedish philhellenic activity was linked to the work of the *Comité Philhellenique de Paris* and reflected its model in various activities taken up in support of the Greeks. In Sweden, as in Russia, despite the country's ties with the Holy Alliance, philhellenism was positively received also at the highest level of the establishment. Finnish philhellenism took its own distinctive form within the wider Russian framework. There, the phenomenon provided ground for expressing awakening aspirations for political and cultural freedom, and the Greek war was therefore eagerly followed in the country's young press.

[180] See Castrén 1951b, 9–10 for a reference to Arwidsson's letters to Rancken (16 June 1825) on the project, and to C.O. Meurman (31 March 1826) on his choice, which he describes as the best of the works he has read on the subject as it is enlighting and informative.
[181] Castrén 1951b, 10.

5. Introducing August Maximilian Myhrberg

August Maximilian Myhrberg and Adolf von Sass, who are usually counted among the some ten Swedish volunteers, were actually half Finns; they both had Finnish mothers and Swedish fathers. Their adventures in Greece provided perfect material for tales and legends, but Myhrberg's life in particular was heroicised, and he became one of the most legendary figures in early modern Finnish history. Sass died young in Missolonghi: his life history provided promising material for heroic biography, but it ended too early to be used for socio-political purposes. It was the legend of Myhrberg's life that was to be used in the process of nation-building in Finland.

Myhrberg's fame has also proved strong up to our own times. The President of Finland, Martti Ahtisaari, devoted much of his speech to Myhrberg at a banquet in honour of Constantinos Stephanopoulos, President of the Hellenic Republic in October 1996. Ahtisaari said:

> "A Finnish name associated with Greece's War of Independence is that of August Maximilian Myhrberg, who was born in Raahe, Finland 1797. Fired with enthusiasm for freedom and national ideals, the young Myhrberg fought in the Spanish, Greek and Polish Wars of Independence, was wounded twice and attained the rank of Major in Greece. He spent seven years in your country and, by the end of his career there, he was commandant of the massive Palamidi fortress that guarded Greece's first capital Nauplia. Myhrberg was appointed to that important post by the first head of state of an independent Greece, Ioannis Capodistrias."[182]

In Myhrberg's home town of Raahe, the memory of the 'Boy from Raahe' is preserved enthusiastically: Myhrberg is the only Raahean honoured with a statue in a public place, a park is named after him, and the house where he was born is now a museum.[183]

SOURCES

Different types of sources for Myhrberg's biography exist: there are newspaper articles and biographies based on first-hand memories of the philhellene[184] together

[182] Speech by Martti Ahtisaari, President of the Republic of Finland at a banquet in honour of Mr Constantinos Stephanopoulos, President of the Hellenic Republic, Helsinki, 8 October 1996 (www.valtioneuvosto.fi/puheet).

[183] The Myhrberg statue was carved in bronze by Evert Porila in 1931 and unveiled on 6 October 1931. The park in the old town of Raahe was named after Myhrberg in 1986.

[184] The biographical accounts with first-hand memoirs about Myhrberg in chronological order: Collett 1834 (1926) (Collett's diary notes from the year 1834 record events relating to Myhrberg); A. Aminoff's 'Notes' (*Anteckningar*) from his youth until 1857 contains a section about Myhrberg, his personal friend. The 'Notes' are unpublished according to Aminoff's own wish, and housed in Rilax Manor, but the passages relating to Myhrberg are studied in Bruun 1963, and references given here are based on this study; F. Cygnaeus 1873 (1868), 26–35 (the talk given on 9 November 1868 was published in 1873. An extract of the original Swedish text is given in Appendix D2); *idem* 1867 (1848) in *Hbl* no. 89, 16 April 1867 (the text is a speech Cygnaeus gave on 13 May 1848. The text is given in Appendix B3); Åberg 1891; Dietrichson 1901 (the text was written in Rome in the winter of 1896–1897, based on memories from 1863); Ramsay 1905; Löwenhielm 1927.

with second-hand tales based on what had been heard about Myhrberg or what was known about his increasing fame after his death.[185] J. Krohn was the first to write a more extensive biography of Myhrberg in 1875. He published it as a series of stories in *Suomen Kuvalehti* and this created a renewed interest in Myhrberg's biography in the latter part of the 1870s. Krohn's story was soon also published elsewhere, for example, in other newspapers as long serials.[186] Even though Krohn wrote his biography less than ten years after Myhrberg's death, by 1875 it had already undergone a process of remarkable legendarisation in which Myhrberg's life was transformed into a heroic tale. This process started early, and it is possible to follow its development in the numerous newspaper articles about Myhrberg. Most of them are obituaries published in dozens of Swedish and Finnish papers soon after his death in 1867, but Myhrberg's movements and actions had been followed in the press earlier, especially during the 1850s and 1860s.[187] In addition, there are adventure stories written principally 'for boys' aimed at describing an idealised exemplary figure in an entertaining and educational manner (FIG. 4)[188] and some epic poetry written with Finnish national-romantic tone and pathos.[189]

Apart from surviving archival material,[190] which gives us a range of different information about Myhrberg other than the legendarising biographies, preserved material written by Myhrberg himself is very scanty. He left, however, four different testimonials about his life, and they provide us with an extremely

[185] Earlier biographies in chronological order: Wacklin 1844 (1974) (first published in Stockholm in three separate booklets in 1844–45, the edition used here is the sixth); *Svea* 1867; Krohn 1875 (1887) (first published as a series in *SK* nos. 50–53 in 1875 entitled 'Maksimilian Aukusti Myhrberg. Elämäkertomus') references to page numbers in the following are to the Swedish publication 1887 (extract of the original Finnish text is given in Appendix C1); Schöldstöm 1897; Rein 1909; Forsstrand 1916; Cederberg 1928 (extracts of the original text are given in Appendix C2).

[186] Krohn's story attracted much attention in the press; for example, it was republished as a serial in 12 issues of *ÅU*, nos. 28–87 between 4 February and 17 April 1875.

[187] The earliest article mentioning Myhrberg's actions in Greece is in *StDA*, 30 August 1826 (it was republished with some changes in *Kometen*), and with a slight variation two weeks later in *FAT* no. 106, 12 September 1826; the articles recounting his movements and actions in *HT* no. 92, 28 November 1829 (the text in the original Swedish is given in Appendix B2). *BT* no. 5, 20 January 1841; *HT* no. 83, 24 October 1840, no. 93, 30 November 1853; *FAT* no. 243, 20 October 1853 and no. 175, 3 May 1857 reported his journeys between Finland and Sweden. *Hb* no. 49, 28 February 1867 reported about Nordic festivities in Sweden acknowledging Myhrberg.

[188] Topelius, 'Gossen från Brahestad' 1878 (references here are to the third edition of *Läsning för barn* from the year 1878, Finnish translation of the text in Z. Topelius 1905); P. Nord 1918, *Major Myhrbergs berättelser*; Lydecken, *Murad Bey* 1935. The most recent, purely fictional interpretation of Myhrberg's adventures is a Finnish novel *Majuri Max* by J. Ruusuvuori from 1997.

[189] Topelius, 'Öfverste Fabviers Adjutant' 1876; Andersen, 'Kathinka' and 'Markos Botsaris' 1873; for J.L. Runeberg and Myhrberg's connection, see below pp. 158, 173, 178, 191–192. Andersen's poem 'Kathinka', and Myhrberg as its inspiration, were mentioned in *ÅU* no. 13, 17 January 1874.

[190] Myhrberg's surviving papers are deposited in two archival collections in Sweden, SRAM and SRAJ (Stockholm); a few letters written by Myhrberg are housed in the KB (KBb, Stockholm), and one document in SKA (Stockholm). Archival material directly related to Myhrberg and used in this study is deposited also in the following archives: HAMFA (Athens); BSA, Finlay (Athens); ADM-M (Nancy); OMA (Oulu), PRR (Raahe), VA (Helsinki).

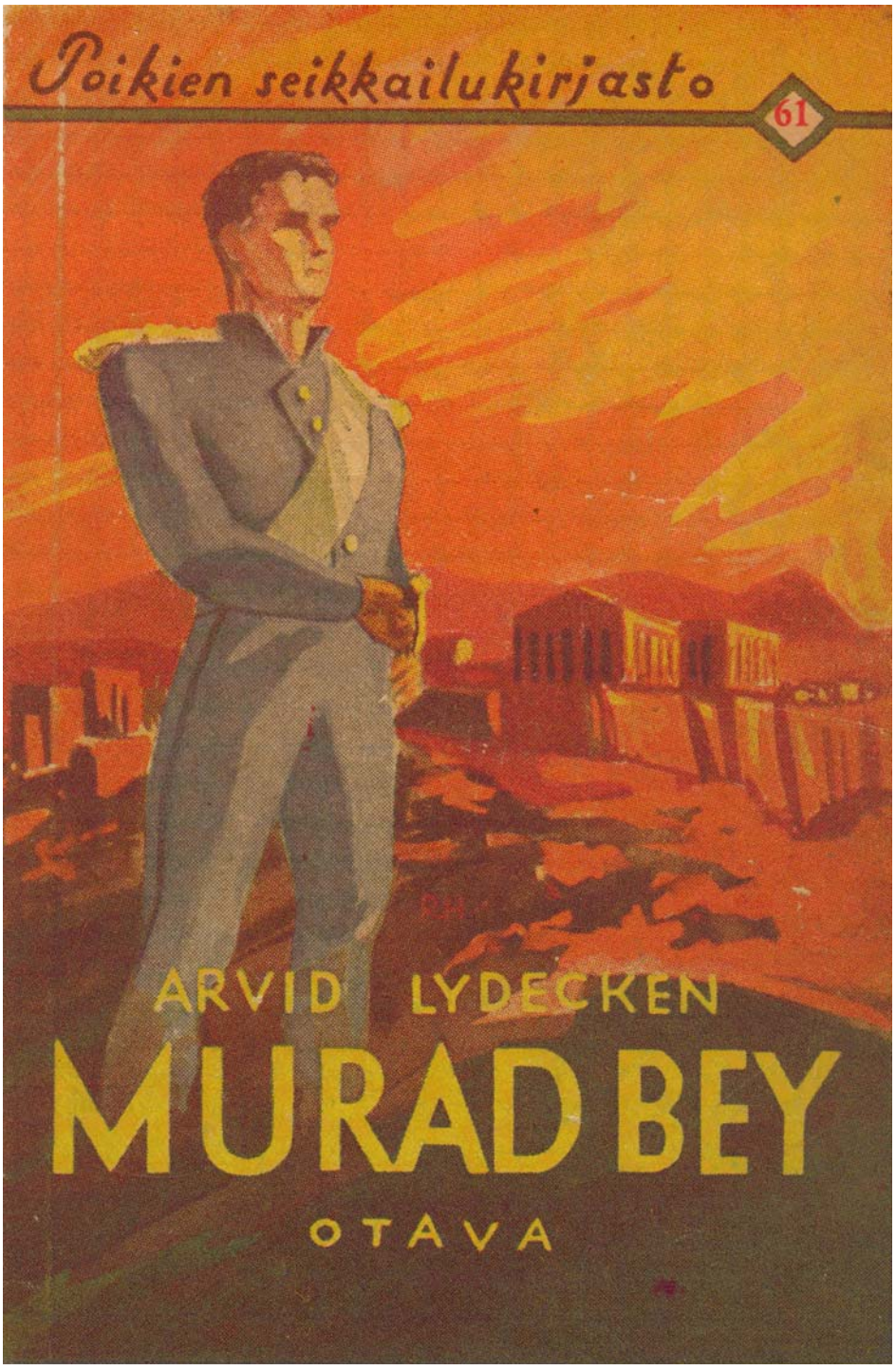


FIG. 4. Cover of A. Lydecken, *Murad Bey* 1935.

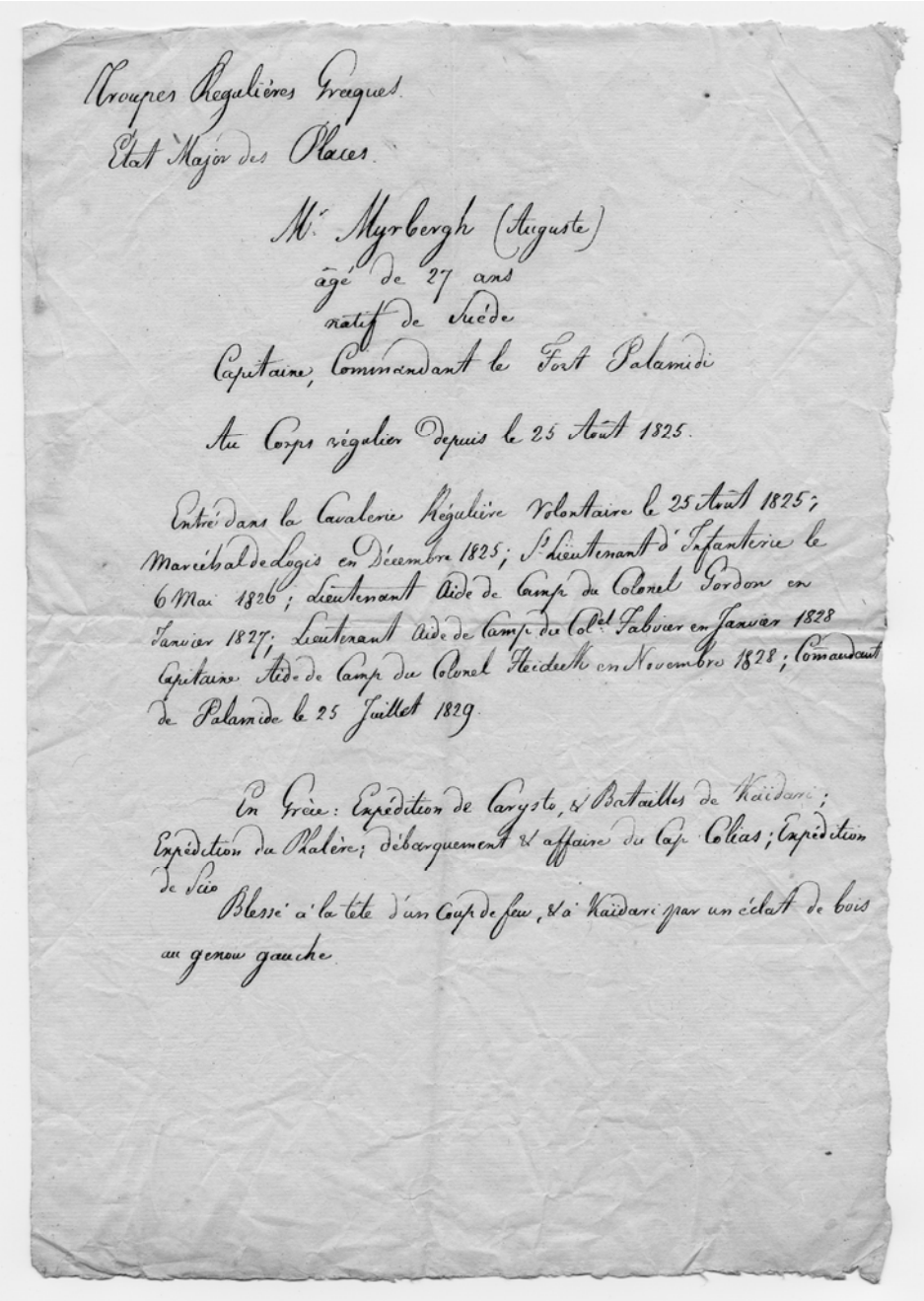
interesting basis for reconstructing his Greek career regardless of the fact that even within and between the testimonials there is plenty of conflicting and incompatible information. These testimonials are in two pairs: one has a concept the content of which differs only a little from the final version, and the other pair is also quite alike. The first testimonial (Ia, Appendix A1),[191] for which there is also an undated concept (Ib),[192] was written to the king of Sweden, Carl XIV Johan, on 7 April 1842. It is a relatively-long *curriculum vitae,* by Myhrberg, about his life, beginning with family details and describing in particular his activities in Greece, which he must have regarded as the most important period of his career to date. It was written to the king as an application for a governmental position or a request for official recognition:

> "… perhaps one would consider the recognition of a man who has had the honour to function in one of the most significant positions of the Greek government during that time, taking into account that 5 years earlier he had arrived in the same place without rank or experience, and without means. More than anything else these facts provide the only advantages that 6 years of privations, misery and unceasing efforts in the army required of him. On the basis of this, he would hope, after having returned to his own country, to deserve a modest title granted by the gracious benevolence of his Majesty."[193]

In September the same year, the king promoted Myhrberg to the rank of major,[194] and soon after he had received Myhrberg's 'job application,' offered him a position as an Inspector of the Crown's land properties in the northernmost province of the country.[195] The two other testimonials (IIa and IIb) almost exclusively concern Myhrberg's military career. Myhrberg composed the first in December 1848 (IIa), six years after the testimonial he wrote for the king.[196] Its pair (IIb, Appendix A2) is undated, but is obviously from around the same period as it is almost identical.[197] These testimonials can be compared with an 'official' Greek testimonial of Myhrberg's military career in Greece (FIG. 5) which was probably provided shortly before he left the country in 1831 or sent to him later together with, for example, the decoration of the Order of the Saviour and its certificates.[198]

Myhrberg's Greek career will be reconstructed, as far as possible, on the basis of the information found in the archival material. The various tales about his endeavours in Greece will be analysed in a freely-adopted folkloristic framework. It is worth noting here that there is a clear difference between the two types of sources which relate to Myhrberg. There are written archival records which are

[191] SRAJ, dated 7 April 1842.
[192] Published in Cederberg 1928, 324–327 (privately owned by Widerholm).
[193] Testimonial Ia (SRAJ).
[194] Promotion document in SRAJ, dated in Stockholm's Castle by Carl XIV Johan, 24 September 1842.
[195] Myhrberg's letter to P.A. Wallmark in which he declines the offer, KBb, 15 MÜ-NY (Brev till P.A. Wallmark), dated Stockholm 23 April 1842; for details see below p. 181.
[196] Published in Cederberg 1928, 320–323 (privately owned by Widerholm), dated 2 December 1848.
[197] SKA, published with photo in Bruun 1963, 154.
[198] SRAM. For the decoration, see below pp. 151–152.



Troupes Régulières Grecques.
Etat Major des Places.

M.r Myrbergh (Auguste)
âgé de 27 ans
natif de Suède
Capitaine, Commandant le Fort Palamide

Au Corps régulier depuis le 25 Août 1825.

Entré dans la Cavalerie Régulière Volontaire le 25 Août 1825; Maréchal de Logis en Décembre 1825; S.t Lieutenant d'Infanterie le 6 Mai 1826; Lieutenant Aide de Camp du Colonel Gordon en Janvier 1827; Lieutenant Aide de Camp du Col.el Fabvier en Janvier 1828 Capitaine Aide de Camp du Colonel Heideck en Novembre 1828; Comandant de Palamide le 25 Juillet 1829

En Grèce: Expédition de Carysto, & Batailles de Kaïdari; Expédition du Phalère; débarquement & affaire du Cap. Colias; Expédition de Scio

Blessé à la tête d'un Coup de feu, à Kaïdari par un éclat de bois au genou gauche.

FIG. 5. Greek testimonial on Myhrberg's philhellenic career in Greece, Swedish National Archives.

historical *documents* recording the historical facts as far as is possible, and narrative material or tales about Myhrberg's acts in Greece whether in newspaper articles, memoirs of his contemporaries or later writers, belonging to *tradition*. The two types of evidence are neither similar in origin nor equal in value. They cannot be combined, for to do so would create a false account. In all the literature on Myhrberg, the practice has been to accept tradition that can be accommodated as history, and the distinction between history and tradition has thereby become blurred to such an extent that its existence is barely or rarely recognised.[199] In order to avoid this problem, our task is twofold: to follow the historical records in the footsteps of the historical August Maximilian Myhrberg, and to follow the legendary Myhrberg in order to gain an idea how his biography developed, how it was used in a new historical context and, importantly, why this was so. Even though I will spend some time trying to fill some gaps in the historical record, 'reconstructing' history, this endeavour will eventually be secondary to the intention of understanding the way in which the biography of Myhrberg was edited, discussed and used by contemporaries and subsequent generations in the historical process. We shall find that tradition, far from being supplementary to history, is at best very loosely connected with it, and that our hero of history and the hero of tradition are two quite different individuals.[200] In order to achieve a more-detailed interpretative tone than simply describing the stories, I have drawn from the folkloristic framework for the analysis of the tale-material. This theoretical view-point requires clarification.

MYHRBERG-TALE AND -NARRATIVE

One of the most obvious elements in almost all the descriptions of Myhrberg and his career is the notion of a man who was very reluctant to talk about himself, and least of all about his adventures. "He was a man of action, not of word, and where he could have talked loud about himself he did not satisfy the wish of the curious listeners by lifting the veil which covered certain events and periods of his life."[201] This disposition is without exception regarded as a noble aspect in his character: a modest and unselfish man who nevertheless was a great hero. "His shy nature prevented him from listing his heroic deeds, not in the least boasting about them. If he amongst a few good friends sometimes related events from the course of his colourful life, he did it in such a reticent manner that you could think these events were just very natural occurrences and nothing special to add to his merits."[202]

---

[199] Cf. Raglan 1990, 165.
[200] *Ibid.*, 165–166.
[201] Schöldström 1897, 34. Also e.g. Ramsay 1905, 124–125; Topelius 1878, 136–138; [Topelius] 1922, 215; Åberg 1891, 247; Dietrichson 1901, 131; Cederberg 1928, 5; already in a newspaper article from 1829 in *HT* no. 92, 28 November 1829; in obituaries e.g. *HD* no. 82, 8 April 1867; *NIT*, 13 April 1867 (Blanche); *TS* no. 18, 7 May 1867; *ÅU* no. 42, 9 April 1867 and no. 49, 25 April 1867; *Folkwännen* no. 28, 12 July 1871; also in *RL*, 29 July 1899; Knös 1949, 547 and *RS*, 4 March 1965 (Hannila).
[202] *TS* no. 18, 7 May 1867: "…ei hänen kaino luonteensa sallinut mitään omain ansiotöiden luettelemista, saati sitten kerskaamista. Kun hän muutamain hywäin ystäwien keskellä joskus kertoi joitakuita tapauksia waihtelewasta elämästään, teki hän sitä niin kainosti, kuin olisivat ne olleet jotakin luonnollista, eiwätkä hänen ansiotansa."

Often, however, the description of a situation in which Myhrberg recounted his adventures is specified. He is presented as a man sitting amidst his audience, talking about Greece. We get the impression of a man who is at first very quiet and withdrawn, but awaits a suitable opportunity to recount tales about his eventful life. The well-known Swedish author, Fredrika Bremer, even mentions to her friend Doria d'Istria in a letter recommending Myhrberg, who was willing to meet Madame Doria in Rome, that "he is much admired as a story-telling talent, talent which he, however, uses quite rarely. He is a veteran, a character you do not meet any more in our days. He is good-hearted, his imagination flies freely sometimes… He will certainly be lots of fun for you."[203] Krohn, who wrote the first more-extensive biography of Myhrberg, mentions at the end of his story that he did not get Myhrberg to talk often; only if the memories had been awakened and renewed in the company of good, old friends, was Myhrberg able to forget that he had an audience and become engrossed in long stories which were told in a skilful, funny and lively manner.[204] Similarly, the journalist A. Schauman tells us that in his life he has not been more impressed by any other life history, with the exception of those told by the great orientalist and traveller G. A. Wallin, the Finnish national poet J.L. Runeberg, and Myhrberg.[205] A couple of years after Myhrberg left Greece (and Poland), he spent the summer of 1834 in Paris socialising frequently with the Norwegian Wergeland family, who were spending a few months in the city. In her diaries of the time, the 21-year-old Camilla, later Collett, records Myhrberg's extraordinary adventures, which she heard from him during his daily visits to the family. She relates, for instance: "If someone else as much a stranger to us as M. had told us that kind of a story we would not have believed it, but all this man said was coloured with such a sense of truth that the most adventurous seemed not as an adventure any longer."[206] When in Rome in 1863, Myhrberg recounted his stories to a young Norwegian, Lorenz Dietrichson, and impressed his listener to such an extent that the Norwegian could not go to bed without wondering for a long time of what he had heard from the old philhellene. Myhrberg had recounted his adventures to his new friends sitting in the warm light around a stove. Dietrichson tells: "I heard all of his stories from his own lips."[207] Similarly, in his memoirs Z. Topelius reminiscences about his first meeting with Myhrberg in Helsinki in 1852, at Professor I. Ilmoni's house:

> "Myhrberg was in Helsinki and among a few friends invited by Ilmoni, and I was the only young one in the party. For the whole evening we tried to get Myhrberg to tell us something about his adventures in the Greek War of Independence, since everybody knew that Myhrberg was not easily persuaded to talk about himself. Then Ilmoni started describing the siege of the Acropolis and was mistaken in many details concerning this famous event. Myhrberg corrected the errors, became active and was soon inside the events of the past with such

[203] A letter by F. Bremer to Doria d'Istria dated 24 November 1863 in SRAJ; for more details see below pp. 159–160.
[204] Krohn 1875, 54.
[205] Schauman 1922 vol. 1, 12.
[206] C. Collett 1834 (1926), 116. This passage about Myhrberg is from Collett's diary of August 1834. On another occasion (pp. 95–96) Camilla mentions that in the beginning they were suspicious about Myhrberg and thought that he was perhaps a spy as he talked about politics with such eagerness.
[207] Dietrichson 1901, 133.

> simplicity, and perspective which can only be offered by someone who had himself been there. Until the early morning hours we were listening with uttermost delight to these story tale-like events from past heroic battles, and never did the teller emphasise his own person; one could just guess the significant share he had had there."[208]

Another very important figure in Finnish history, the national poet J.L. Runeberg, reminisces about his visit to Boe in 1858 where he spent three interesting days with "the famous participant of the Greek War of Independence". He writes: "During that time Myhrberg told in many ways the wonderful saga of his life starting from his early childhood – possibly not without a silent wish to some day see it all written down by Runeberg."[209] These stories, as Runeberg's biographer Strömborg recounts, had a profound impact on Myhrberg's audience and were passed from one person to another, spreading knowledge of his extraordinary and rich life history.[210] The third great name in nineteenth-century Finnish history, J.V. Snellman, also heard Myhrberg's stories at his house in 1854. A. Schauman, who was present at the event with some other friends, was likewise impressed; he recounts how, during the evening, Myhrberg told the small gathering in a simple and skilled manner about what he had experienced during his colourful career in different countries.[211] Even Myhrberg's relative, Adolf H. Ramsay, who met him in a cafe in Paris 1863, reminiscences how, in a foreign land, they felt friendship, how Myhrberg let Ramsay call him uncle (*farbror*), and how this otherwise so quiet and introverted old man opened his heart and shared his destiny with his new young friend: Ramsay believed that this could not possibly have happened in a party of total outsiders.[212]

B. Knös gets to the heart of the matter when he writes: "…We have small anecdotes told by Myhrberg himself for his friends in Sweden. He did not write or publish anything, and all the details we know about his life in Greece emanate from what he, with his lively voice, told to his friends, who did not hesitate to note that they had been acquainted with this famous compatriot."[213] Thus, Knös, like Runeberg's biographer Strömborg, has identified the role of tradition, especially the oral tradition which is in the background in most of the flora of Myhrberg tales. That is why in accounts about his life, both in the first-hand memoirs and in second-hand accounts, expressions such as "Myhrberg told us this with his own words," "he is reported to have said," "*n* told the story following Myhrberg's own

---

[208] [Topelius] 1922, 215. The event most probably took place in 1852, see discussion below p. 156.
[209] [Runeberg] Strömborg 1931, 328.
[210] *Ibid.*
[211] Schauman 1922 vol. 2, 155. Schauman adds that despite the detailed description, Myhrberg did not once mention his heroism in the events.
[212] Ramsay 1905, 125–126. Note that Krohn 1875, 54 also informs us that Myhrberg was a quiet man during his later years except among the nicest of companions in social situations. A biographer who wrote the newspaper articles published after Myhrberg's death in *Abl*, 1 April 1867 followed by *Hbl* no. 83, 9 April 1867 and *ÅU* no. 42, 9 April 1867 likewise informs us that, in a small company, Myhrberg could be lively, and when discussion was flowing freely he sometimes recounted more interesting episodes from the course his amazing career of adventures on the fields of war.
[213] Knös 1949, 548. As an example of this kind of event see the reminiscence by Dietrichson 1901, 131 who writes that "…often in our nice little home he [Myhrberg] could explain that he felt at home and was able to loosen the strings of his tongue and tell us about his life…"

words"[214] are typical reinforcements of the authenticity of tradition. P. Nord's book for children, *Major Myhrberg's Stories* (1918), includes most of the separate tales in the Myhrberg-narrative, and in it old Myhrberg himself relates his adventures to his brother's children, Margareta, Beata and Gösta, in Stockholm one year before he died.[215] In this imaginary setting, Myhrberg really is a classic story-teller. It is worth noting that this study deals with written texts (even though there is certainly still an element of oral tradition about Myhrberg), which are not regarded as classical sources for folklore analysis. As some of the above citations show, the texts used are often based on oral accounts, the reliability of which in the narrative is enforced by typical confirmations about the direct link of the source with the hero himself. Even though our material is written literature, different forms of 'life-writing', there has been a rich interaction between text and oral tradition in the development of the narrative.[216] When literary and written products have been freely used, circulated and transmitted by word of mouth, we have folklore of literary origin; it is folklore by transmission but literature in origin.[217] V. Propp reminds us that "the genetic study of folklore is just one part of *historical* study, for folklore is not only a literature but also a historical phenomenon and the science of folklore not only a literary but also a historical discipline."[218] This justifies the adaptation of a folkloristic framework for the analysis of narrative material.

ANALYSING THE TALES

Folklorists have distinguished themselves in studying genres of tradition and narrative patterns, as well as classifying tale-types and motifs of folk narrative, since the brothers Grimm. They have discovered distinctive features of each genre, their relations within the respective forms of tradition, and the capacity as well as function of genres within the totality of oral tradition. Each genre is regarded as having its own features, vocabulary, disposition toward reality, and dominant symbolic meanings. Genres are classificatory categories. Folklorists have maintained that once these genres have been defined in terms of internal morphological characteristics, one will be better able to proceed to the problems relating to the function of folklore forms in particular cultures.[219] The overall aim in classifying tradition is based on the presumption that there is a certain ontology, a systematic character in tradition and folklore. Discovering that system in theoretical terms may reveal certain laws of social communication, which itself is based equally on social psychology and cultural typology.[220] The variety of different 'schools' in the study of nature and meaning of folklore genres is vast, but it is enough here to note that certain flexibility of forms has been observed and different genres, like myth, legend, story tale, memorate, for example, are subject

[214] Schöldström 1897, 8 (the narrator here is a poet, Fredrik Sander).
[215] Nord 1918, 2–4.
[216] Cf. Cubitt 2000, 6.
[217] Propp 1984, 9.
[218] *Ibid*.
[219] See e.g. Amos 1976, 37–40.
[220] For ontology and hierarchy of folklore genres, see Voigt 1973, 135–139.

to variation and change, at least on thematic and stylistic levels. Each society may fill them with its own appropriate cultural, historical and symbolic substance in the context of changing historical circumstances.[221]

The distinctive element in traditional narrative is the existence of certain tale-types and motifs. Tale-type is a distinct story-line, and as such each tale-type consists of a binding together or sequence of smaller units known as motifs. Thus, motifs are simple elements which serve as a basis for an expanded narrative. They can be defined as plot elements or objects that may recur pervasively in various folk tales. Tale-types, on the other hand, manifest themselves in multiple versions and variants.[222] Motifs, themes and plots may drift into a particular genre of narrative. It is easy to notice, even in a superficial reading of the material concerning Myhrberg's Greek career, that there is a variety of certain types of tales which are repeated in a limited number of variations. In some cases, as we shall see, it is possible to trace back the source of certain tales and compare them with the information drawn from the archival material. Similarly, it is sometimes possible to find an event which has given rise to a tale, even though details are attached to it to bring it into line with the more archetypal tale.[223] In some cases, however, this is impossible, and we are left with tales in which we can only distinguish certain basic characteristics and variation of motifs. It is worth remembering, however, that certain narratives are significant as creators of topical cultural history. The Myhrberg-narrative is an example of this type. The stories cannot be used as a source of contextual or biographical 'facts' for Myhrberg's life. Rather, their importance lies in their capacity to reveal attitudes and morals of the time when they were written. Behind these manifestations there is a larger structure and function of folktales, and Myhrberg's life history provided a possibility to repeat tales of certain genres for contemporary educational or moralistic purposes. Even recollections of comparatively obscure happenings in Myhrberg's life illustrate social history and show how actual events are reshaped in popular thought. These tales played an active role in creating history in their contemporary context.

Many of the Myhrberg tales fulfil the requirement and characteristics of certain traditional genres, especially of historical tales, seen, for example, in historical traditions and historical legends. Both of these genres deal typically with war and the heroes of war. In K.M. Briggs' collection of British folk tales, for example, legends of wars and warriors is the largest subdivision of the historical traditions, and legends of famous people allied to these memories of war.[224] Some of the tales in Myhrberg-narrative even remind us of fairy tales, even though their

[221] For a good overview of the study of the structure of and universals in folk narrative, see Voigt 1972 esp. 69–72.

[222] See e.g. S. Thompson's definition of 'motif' in *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend* 1984 (1949–1950), *s.v.* 'motif' and 'type' (pp. 753, 1137–1138). See also the discussion of the terms by A. Dundes 1987; xii–xiv. In his classic work on Russian folktales, Propp 1968, esp. 21–22 maintains that tales with identical functions can be considered as belonging to one type. On this basis, he adds, an index of types is based solely on exact structural features of the tales. This means that variations of detail remain subordinate to stable structures in Russian folktales, which were his material.

[223] Cf. Briggs 1970, Part B, vol. 2: *Folk-legends*, 3 (for classification).

[224] Briggs 1970, 3. Her classification includes e.g. a large category of legends of former wars.

classification as fairy tales is not unproblematic. As an example, we shall briefly look at one tale in the Myhrberg-narrative which reads as follows:

> A young Greek soldier of Fabvier's brigade had fallen desperately in love with a beautiful Greek girl, and the girl had warm feelings towards this man who now decided to take the girl to his home. But the girl's father was the worst and bitter enemy of the groom's father and naturally did not accept the love affair. The friends of the soldier conspired and came up with an idea to abduct the maiden. However, there was a problem: the girl's house was situated on the slope of a very high and steep rock. Somehow, against all odds, the girl inside her 'prison' was informed about the date when the soldiers were to capture her, and she herself was inventive enough to acquire a rope ladder. In the darkness of the night the soldiers, Myhrberg among them, gathered at the foot of the rock. The maiden sent the rope ladder down, but did not dare to step on it herself. Then, it is told, Myhrberg bravely caught the ladder and climbed up to maiden's chamber, and after a moment handed his beautiful load into the arms of the groom who was slightly embarrassed about his own inefficiency. Next morning when girl's father called out a pursuit party, the couple was already far away. The young soldier immediately joined Fabvier's expedition to Chios, and his brave young bride courageously followed him. One day, however, under fierce Turkish fire and bombardment, one of the bombs hit the house where the couple lived, turning it into rubble and killing the Greek maiden.[225]

This tale reminds us, of course, of the stories in which a princess or maiden, often with long hair used as a ladder, is imprisoned in a tower and escapes (or tries to escape) by using a rope ladder. The motifs of captivity in the tower, and the virgin imprisoned to prevent acquaintance with men (and marriage, and impregnation)[226] are obvious in this story. The brave woman in the battlefield in the latter part of the story reminds us of the episodes in the biography of the famous Bouboulina who died from a bullet shot by a Greek following a dispute which had resulted from the elopement of a girl of a certain Koutsis family with Bouboulina's son. Thus, here we have an example of a historical legend in the Myhrberg-narrative including typical motifs often recounted in fairy tales, but also intermingled with ambiguously-presented historical events in a new framework.

One characteristic of a tale is its stereotypical form. Historical legends deal with exceptional or distinguished persons, events and periods which have been important to people who keep up with and advance tradition. In the emergence and development of historical legends it is significant that they are meaningful to the culture and society in which they evolve, both in new variations and interpretations. Old motifs are often attached to new objects and historical situations and, as such, historical legends may also emerge in written form. Comparing them with other traditions may reveal their folk tale characteristics.[227] In historical legends the social status of people and their relations with each other

[225] Krohn 1875, 34–35; Cederberg 1928, 163–165. In Krohn's version the rope ladder is made of silk.
[226] Aarne & Thompson 1981, tale-type no. 310 (p. 101) 'The Maiden in the Tower' including motifs II. R41.2 (captivity in tower) and II. T381 (virgin imprisoned to prevent knowledge of men, marriage, impregnation; usually kept in tower). In S. Thompson *Motif-Index* (1932–1936 and 1956–1958) no. R10 concerns abduction of maiden/princess; R111 rescue of captive princess; R41 captivity in tower/castle/prison, and R211 escape from prison. Motif R10.1.1 (maiden abducted by soldiers) corresponds more specifically this tale.
[227] Lehtipuro 1982, 45.

play a central role. Different variants of the same tales naturally occur, but the central theme and the plot of a tale are preserved regardless of the variation.[228]

In this study, the value of historical legends as a source for history will be considered, and it is, indeed, a central question when Myhrberg-tales are analysed and interpreted. It is important to note that their value here is not as providers of factual information as such (even though in some cases they do hint at factual events or parts of events), but as evidence informing us about a cultural context in which the tales emerged, and about attitudes which prevailed in that context. In this regard a clear moralistic content aiming at education is often as valuable, for example, as verification of a certain date traceable in archival sources, because it makes Myhrberg-tales understandable within a framework of public enlightenment in 1870s Finland. This educational aspect also enables us to connect the hero and the Greek war with Finnish national awakening. The significance of the Myhrberg-narrative lies, on one hand, in its role as a historical agent in certain purposes which presupposed and reinforced narrative patterning of history. On the other hand, the educational role of the Myhrberg-narrative has been to cast him as an exemplary figure, and to establish his heroic status by references to moral and ethical standards rather than to historical processes.[229] In this regard, for example, Topelius' purpose in his tale of Myhrberg is very clear: "Oh Son of Finland, learn, as he did, to fight for justice in the world; and learn, as he did, to deny yourself."[230] Parallels to Myhrberg-tales are not difficult to find in fantastic and heroic travel stories. Even the late eighteenth-century stories about the marvellous adventures of Baron Münchausen, even though far more fantastic and curious in content than the Myhrberg stories, may be regarded as belonging loosely to the same family of lore. Münchausen's travel stories are also a collection of adventure tales from various sources, and their original edition, from the mid 1780s,[231] was chiefly composed of tales with which a certain Baron Münchausen used to amuse his guests. It is noteworthy, however, that Münchausen's adventures totally lack the moral message about the bravery of a man in connection with nationalistic tones so characteristic to Myhrberg tales. Münchausen's colourful adventures are more purely entertainment without the aspect of public enlightenment, a fact which is clearly stated in the title dedication of the early English editions: "Humbly dedicated and recommended to country gentlemen; and, if they please, to be repeated as their own, after a hunt, at horse races, in watering-places, and other such polite assemblies; round the bottle and fire-side."[232]

---

[228] Sokoleva 1976, 62; Lehtipuro 1982, 48–49.
[229] Cf. Cubitt 2000, 9.
[230] Topelius 1878, 138; Finnish translation 1905, 134. For more detailed discussion of this aspect, see below pp. 184–185, 187.
[231] The authorship of this work, as well as the question of which version was the original, have been subject of debate. A German, R.E. Raspe, who had fled from officers under an arrest warrant and had at last found shelter in England, was the first to collect the stories and present them as the adventures of Baron Münchausen. The German volume *Wunderbare Abentheuer und Reisen des Herrn von Münchhausen* was published in 1787, but a few years earlier Raspe had anonymously published the English version at Oxford; see e.g. Teignmouth Shore in the Introduction to *Adventures of Baron Münchausen* 1871.
[232] In *Baron Munchausen's Narrative of his Marvelous Travels* printed after the first edition of the book from 1786, Utrecht 1954.

In its strictest 'classical' definition, a religious legend always has Christian connotations since it teaches Christian ethics. Legends represent folk imagination which, as oral tradition, supplements canonised Christian dogma.[233] Types of religious legends, however, may also be found in narratives which are not closely tied to Christian tradition, and in these cases folklorists talk about secular legends, quasi-legends and historical legends. In the course of time the number of legends with a clear religious content has decreased, and it is not uncommon that new types of the genre have spread in written form.[234] Historical legends present a clear tendency to strive for accuracy and authenticity but, at an early stage of their development, recollections of actual events and persons have already become combined with the fantasy of the tales which have preceded them.[235] Briggs reminds us that the distinction between folk narrative and folk legend remains clear: folk narrative is fiction, told for edification, delight or amusement, while folk legend was once believed to be true. When people cease to believe in them, however, legends begin to be embellished with picturesque touches and new episodes.[236] Historical legends make use of a simple form of narration, and often also exhibit a fair amount of humour. An exact historical and geographical setting is necessary for a legend, unlike, for example, a fairy tale. Concretisation in historical legends is usually detailed as they present only an episode, not the whole sequence of events, and the exact location of the incident is told explicitly. This situation is not the case in story tales which are ahistorical and not restricted to one episode. Some of the Myhrberg tales are, indeed, very ambiguous regarding the location and time of the event which they describe. We are told only that an adventure took place in Greece, which itself was a remote and rather exotic place to the nineteenth-century Nordic people who heard or read the tales. Story tales require a degree of remoteness of location and, in the basic pattern of a fairy tale, a hero departs from home or his home country (the known world) on a journey during which he faces dangers, tests and has to struggle against different types of adversaries (test in liminality); he wins through, due to his wits and moral or physical superiority, and finally returns as a triumphant figure. This is, of course, also the very general framework of the Myhrberg-narrative. Motifs of character, especially in legends and fairy tales, are as stereotypical as the form of the tale: a central character, a hero, shows compassion without expecting a reward; he restores order in the sense of bringing or trying to bring justice and just solutions to problems. He represents the beliefs and the views of ordinary people rather than that of hegemony and authorities. He may also be a dreamer, or categorised as belonging to a disadvantaged group of people; he often has a faithful companion or friend who helps in his struggle. He escapes from the dangers of death or is rescued miraculously or through an extreme twist of fate.[237]

---

[233] For this genre, see esp. Järvinen 1982, 141–144.
[234] Sokoleva 1976, 60; Järvinen 1982, 143.
[235] Sokoleva 1976, 58.
[236] Briggs 1970 vol. 2, part B, 1.
[237] For a prototype example see e.g. Grimm's tale 'The Brave Little Tailor' ('Das tapfere Schneiderlein') in J. & W. Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, 1857, no. 20 (see Uther's edition from 1996) in which a little man succeeds against an oppressive force in defeating physically more mighty powers and a socially superior order.

In the following examination of the Myhrberg material we shall see that many of the tales about his life fall into the aforementioned categories of narrative, historical traditions and historical legends; some are anecdotes and some even exhibit elements typical of fairy tales. Making a distinction between the genres is important, since it will at best provide us with additional information on the meaning and function of these stories in the context in which they emerged. The task is broadly similar to that of a folklorist: with the aid of broad comparative material he or she discovers the conditions which exist behind the reinvention of the plot of a tale.[238] Identifying motifs makes tradition more understandable and meaningful in a larger pattern of narratives which present a heroic figure whose deeds and actions in life are meant to be regarded as exemplary. The context and mechanism for the formation of the narrative of an exemplary life will be scrutinised later, but its general framework of the cultural construction of heroic reputations deserves mentioning now before we get into the details of Myhrberg's adventures in Greece. Hero, in this connection, means a man whose existence is endowed by others, during his lifetime or later, with a high degree of fame and honour and a special allocation of imputed meaning and symbolic significance. This raises a hero above others in public esteem.[239] In most of the heroic legends, the extraordinary character of a hero was already observed in his childhood or youth as a sign of his future destiny. In the Myhrberg-narrative we also read of a boy who "swam like a fish, ran like a stallion, and climbed trees like a squirrel. In games he was king: none could hit a ball higher, no one's arrow met its target with more precision. His parents, sisters, friends – everyone loved him, for he was as able as he was vigorous, as humble as he was courageous."[240] The concept of reputation is central in this process, as narratives about men of reputation also reflect the values and ideologies of the societies in which they were produced. Cubitt reminds us that these biographical narratives do not echo the life as lived, but they tell us about the model for a life that is worth living, a life imaginatively reconstructed and rendered significant. The lives of the heroes become richly-inviting terrains for ideological projection, through which societies and groups define and articulate their values and assumptions, and through which individuals within those societies or groups establish their participation in larger social or cultural identities.[241] Following the development of the biography of Myhrberg, we shall see that it was used for the purpose of building the nation of Finland. His biography had a social dimension, and still has, for example, through his public statuary, and his name having been given to buildings and to a park in his home town. Obituaries about Myhrberg – which are plentiful – speeches and heroising biographies, shed light on the fashioning and codifying of his heroic life.[242] Myhrberg's heroic reputation was developed also through the less formal practices

[238] Propp 1984, 7.
[239] Cubitt 2000, 3.
[240] Topelius 1878, 133. An extraordinary event related from Myhrberg's chilhood is his adventure of trying to fly with the wings of a windmill; for details, see below p. 184.
[241] Cubitt 2000, 3.
[242] *Ibid.*, 5–6.

of social, cultural and political life, story-telling, gossip,[243] news reporting, and circulation of literature in newspapers about his adventures.

[243] Short articles in newspapers reporting e.g. Myhrberg's travels may be counted as contemporary gossip about a celebrity. In the Myhrberg-narrative we quite frequently find expressions such as "these kinds of tales strengthen the rumour according to which…" (e.g. Cederberg 1928, 203).

FIG. 6. Myhrberg's grave monument, Johannes church graveyard, Stockholm, photograph Johan Falk 2004.

II. Philhellene and Freedom Fighter

1. Early Impressions

August Maximilian Myhrberg was born on 24 July 1797 in Raahe, a town on the west coast of Finland, and named Matts August Myrberg. Significant problems with dates, and a discrepancy between the information Myhrberg gives of himself in his testimonials and that from the historical data, begin with the date of his birth, which is not the same as that given in the parish records.[1] In his testimonial Ia, Myhrberg informs us that he was born in Raahe, Finland, in 1800, and in the graveyard of the church of St. John in Stockholm, the date of birth carved on his grave monument is 31 December 1799[2] (FIG. 6). Both of these alternatives are more poetic and romantic dates of change than that of 1797 which is given in the Raahe parish record.[3] Myhrberg's father, formerly a soldier in the Swedish army, was sent to take up the post of toll-inspector in this coastal town, where he married a Finnish woman, Christina, from the Sovelius family. Seven children were born, Matts August being their fifth child. When he was two years old his family moved to Oulu in northern Finland due to his father's professional ambitions. The family was relatively wealthy and the importance of education was central to their life. Christina is said to have been the one who read ancient myths to her children, and awoke in them – and especially in Matts August – an interest in history.[4] After attending the local primary school he was sent to Uppsala in Sweden, first to a boarding school and thereafter, in June 1815, to enrol in the university. Myhrberg writes in both his testimonials, dated 1842 and 1848 (Ia and Ib), that he was twelve years old when he moved to Sweden. Thus, he probably spent some four to five years in a boarding school before moving on to the university. During the first decade of the nineteenth century, August Maximilian appears as the less-impressive Matts in the parish register; he must have changed his name to the much more gallant August Maximilian around the time when he moved to Sweden.[5]

---

[1] 24 July 1797 is the date given in the Raahe parish register, PRR, p. 44; the same date is also in Rein 1909, 343; Cederberg 1928, 23 and Nord (who specifies that the day was Myhrberg's mother's name-day); the writer of *HT* no. 92, 28 November 1829 also knew that he was born in 1797.

[2] The same in *Svea* 1868, 207; *Abl* no. 42, 1 April 1867 (followed by *ÅU* no. 42, 9 April 1867); *NIT*, 13 April 1867 (Blanche); *TS* no. 18, 7 May 1867; *HD* no. 92, 20 April 1867; Wacklin 1845 (1974), 320; *Folkwännen* no. 28, 12 July 1871. *Hbl* no. 83, 9 April 1867 gives the date of 24 July 1799, as does Krohn 1875, 3. *HD* no. 82, 8 April 1867 states that he was born in 1799; Greek Karvelas 1901, 296 explains in a similar tone that Myhrberg was born on the last day of the century in 1799 in Uleaborg (Oulu).

[3] F. Cygnaeus 1867 (1848) in *Hbl* no. 89, 16 April 1867 explains why the date of Myhrberg's birth has often been placed rather poetically towards the end of the century: "August Maximilian Myhrberg was born in Raahe at the end of the stormy century; he first saw daylight on 24 July, at the time of the year, I would believe, when it is possible to forget that night ever exists." See also Sovelius-Sovio 2001, 12.

[4] E.g. in Krohn 1875, 2–3; see Appendix C1.

[5] Cederberg 1928, 23. In the parish register (PRR) the Myhrberg family-name appears in the form Myrberg; the same as in the records of the Provincial Archives of Oulu (OMA): the sale of the Waara-Knuutila-estate on 2 September 1813 to Samuel Castell (Oulun tuomiokunnan tuomiokirja OMA, p. 225, 1813), and the inheritance records of Johan and Anders Sovelius in OMA, H:10 concerning the

Myhrberg studied in Uppsala for three years. During this period he made friends with the then radical Gustaf Schwan,[6] and the already known fennophiles, Carl Axel Gottlund,[7] Abraham Poppius,[8] and Adolf Ivar Arwidsson, who studied in Uppsala during the first decade of the nineteenth century.[9] In Uppsala, Myhrberg completed the so-called chancellery exam (*l'examan pour entrer à la Chancellerie du Roi*) in June 1817,[10] and moved to continue his academic education in Turku, Finland, to study law, according to his father's wish. Myhrberg does not mention his studies in Turku in his own testimonials, but rather that he completed his exam in Uppsala in 1816, and took another exam in 1819 for entering the "King's service" (*pour la Chancellerie de la Roi*)[11] or an exam for entry "to his royal majesty's office" (*Kongl. Majt*^{s} *Canzlie*).[12]

Turku had been the capital of Finland until 1812, and the main university remained there till 1828,[13] playing host to both the ideas of Finnish national awakening and the radicalism of its time. Myhrberg made lifelong friends with a handful of young men who later distinguished themselves as protagonists for promoting Finland's national cause, most notably Adolf Ivar Arwidsson, and later cultural and academic figureheads such as Fredrik Cygnaeus[14] and Johan Jakob Nervander.[15] Adolf Ramsay, who later married Myhrberg's sister Hedda, Nils H. Pinello, who later wrote a treatise about Myhrberg in *Åbo Underrättelser*, and Adolf Aminoff, later general of the infantry in the Russian army, were also his fellow students.[16] Arwidsson was one of the earliest protagonists of the national-

---

years 1852 and 1853. In the inheritance papers signed by August Maximilian (see below p. 156) he uses the form Myhrberg, and seems to be very systematic in this usage, and, except for the aforementioned exceptions, the name appears in this form in the documents. For that reason I have chosen to use it in this study.

[6] For Schwan, see below.

[7] Gottlund collected extensive amounts of Finnish folklore during the late 1810s and 1820s, putting forward the concept of 'epic of Finnish runes' in 1817 after his first tour of folklore collecting. Gottlund 'found' the 'Forest Finns' in Värmland where he collected old Finnish verses in 1821, and became known as the 'Apostle of the Forest Finns' (his letters from Värmland were published in the Finnish literary journal *Mnemosyne*, September 1821; republished by Palmqvist 1928). Gottlund studied first in Turku between 1814 and 1816, and thereafter in Uppsala. See Ekelund 1931 (1986), 5–7.

[8] Poppius was to become one of the most significant poets in Finland.

[9] For Arwidsson's Uppsala years, 1817–1818, see Castrén 1944, 183–197.

[10] The certificate is in SRAJ and shows that he received the grade *cum laude.* See also Jägerskiöld 1987–1989, *s.v.* 'Myhrberg'; Cederberg 1928, 50–51. Wacklin 1844 (1974), 321 states that he passed the exam in 1818 with distinction.

[11] Testimonials Ia and b.

[12] Testimonials IIa and b.

[13] The university's name was originally the Royal Academy of Turku. In 1809 it was renamed the Imperial Academy of Turku, and in 1828, when the university was transferred to Helsinki, it acquired the name Imperial Alexander University in Finland.

[14] The historian and cultural figurehead F. Cygnaeus later became professor at the university in Helsinki; for his days as a student in Turku and Helsinki, see esp. Nervander 1907, 48–98.

[15] J.J. Nervander was an important scholar in Finland in the first part of the nineteenth century. His expertise covered natural sciences, particularly physics, but also history and languages; he was also known as a poet. He died in 1848, Cygnaeus then wrote a text in which he reminisces about Nervander and Myhrberg.

[16] Cygnaeus' biography of Myhrberg (Cygnaeus 1873 (1868), esp. 27–28) was originally written as a speech given at the Ostrobotnian students association's annual jubilee, 9 November 1868, with

romantic movement in Finland. He laid great stress on the need for a uniform national language as the cement which would bring the nation together, and he campaigned for the use of Finnish in secondary and higher education. He started a new newspaper, circulated pamphlets, and preached the doctrine of Finnish nationalism. Eventually, however, the authorities turned against him, closing his newspaper and dismissing him from his teaching post at the Imperial Academy of Turku. He was forced to flee to Sweden in 1823.[17] Myhrberg's name appears in one of the student appeals from 1821 which was addressed to the Chancellor of the Grand Duke of Russia (*Högborne Storfurste, nådigste Herre!*) as an initiative for establishing a Chair of the Finnish language at the university.[18] The nationalistic content, and its connection with the language question apparent in this appeal are discussed in more detail below, when Myhrberg's nationality will be considered. As a student, Myhrberg was later described as a "fattish, almost two-metre-tall youth."[19] G. Heinricius describes student life in Turku in his memoirs, and saw Myhrberg as a figure who did not wish to become actively involved in arguments between the students and the Russian military representatives, who were officials positioned in the town. These incidents had become quite frequent by 1818, and from 1819 students expressed their opposition to power as well as having petty fights with merchants and their trainees.[20]

Myhrberg's father died in 1820, and his son left behind his academic studies to complete a general military service[21] in Sweden, at Marieberg's artillery school, in order to fulfil his wish of becoming a soldier. This dream could have resonated from Myhrberg's admiration of Napoleon,[22] and was perhaps triggered by the news

---

remembrances of and references to student life in Turku. It was published in the association's publication *Joukahainen* no. 7 which was dedicated to Cygnaeus; see Nervander 1907, 362. *Hbl* no. 89, 16 April 1867 published a eulogy of Myhrberg's noble and self-sacrificing character which was originally written as a commemoration of Nervander in 1848. In the article Cygnaeus looks back at their student life together.

[17] For Arwidsson, see esp. Castrén 1944 and *eadem* 1951a; in English, see e.g. Singleton 1989 (2002), 73–74. Arwidsson considers at length the reasons for his (probable) forthcoming 'exile' in his autobiography, recounting events until February 1823, published as [Arwidsson] 1909, esp. 46–57; see also p. 61–63 (editors notes on Arwidsson's move to Sweden).

[18] The appeal was signed by 222 students, a large majority, since the total student body during the academic year of 1821 was 351; Myhrberg was one of only two students from the Ostrobotnian association signing the appeal (the other was the son of the archbishop, J.F. af Tengström). The petition is published by Jörgensen 1925, 175–176; see also Klinge 1978, 73–74; Castrén 1951a, 168–173; Cederberg 1928, 69–70.

[19] *TS* no. 18, 7 May 1867. The height of Myhrberg given in the text is 13 *korttelia*, one *kortteli* corresponding to ca. 15 cm and, thus, giving Myhrberg's height as 195 cm.

[20] Heinricius 1911, 72–73. Essentially the same description is in Krohn 1875, 7–8; Cederberg 1928, 60–68 is expanded with added details.

[21] Myhrberg formulates this in his testimonial Ia and Ib: "à la mort du son Père il quitta la Suède an 1823 après avoir préalablément satisfait à la Loi de la Conscription." Cederberg 1928, 75 explains that his father's finances had deteriorated during his last years, and the family, six children and the widow were left in poverty. Myhrberg's statement in his testimonial supports this: "…mais que resté sans appui et sans resources à la mort du son Père…" See also *HT* no. 92, 28 November 1829.

[22] Myhrberg is said to have always carried with him a model of Napoleon's grave on St. Helena, or a little iron medallion depicting Napoleon; see Wacklin 1844 (1974), 324 (note); Krohn 1875, 30; Cederberg 1928, 177–178. About the admiration, see also Jägerskiöld 1987–89, *s.v.* 'Myhrberg'. In Nord's book (1918) this is one of the main themes on which the story is built; we are told, for example,

about the revolutions in South America, Spain, Italy and Greece. In one tale in the Myhrberg-narrative he is said to have stood by the river Aura in Turku and declared: "Law have I now given up, and within a few days I will travel to South America where I'll offer myself to Bolivar's service. Throughout the nights have I studied Spanish and nobody can now take the knowledge of that language away from me. Those few hours I have left here I will spend gladly with you, my pals! God knows if we'll ever meet again!"[23] In the testimonial of 1842, Myhrberg mentions that he left Sweden in 1823, as he was without resources after his father's death. Just when Myhrberg left for Greece is, however, historically, a problematic issue, but it is possible to trace the approximate date in the archival records. It also exemplifies the legendary aspects of his career as a freedom fighter. Most of the tales in the narrative relate that in 1822 Myhrberg took up his new career and first set off to take part in the Spanish Revolution. He is said to have travelled initially to Portugal on a Finnish ship, or on foot in the company of a Swedish vintner. He is also said to have quarrelled with the captain of the ship in Lisbon. "With common Swedish generosity and Finnish stubbornness he gave two blows for one."[24] He is reported to have been captured as a prisoner of war by the French army and then transported to Marseille. We are told that he was eventually released, with the help of the Swedish Consul.[25] There is nothing in the historical records, however, to verify that Myhrberg was in Spain. The note in *Helsingfors Tidningar*, one of the early and therefore more reliable accounts of his career, from 1829, seems relatively plausible. It states that in the spring of 1823 Myhrberg left Sweden for Spain, as he was willing to take part in the freedom fight, and aimed to achieve honour, but when he arrived in Lisbon he found that the war had almost ended and there was no undertaking available for him.[26] We have to take into account, how-

---

that when Napoleon was imprisoned on St. Helena, Myhrberg, then a boy, wished nothing so much as be able to free his hero from being violated by the Englismen (p. 13).

[23] *ÅU* no. 49, 25 April 1867 (Pinello); RL, 29 July 1899; Krohn 1875, 9; Cederberg 1928, 73 who specifies that Myhrberg studied the language with his friend Gustaf Idestam, under the tutelage of the only possible teacher in Finland at the time, A.G. Sjöström. Jägerskiöld 1987–1989, *s.v.* 'Myhrberg', also thinks that Myhrberg really tried to learn Spanish.

[24] *NIT*, 13 April 1867 (Blanche); *Folkwännen* no. 28, 12 July 1872; Forsstrand 1916, 34 ("according to one of his biographers").

[25] Cygnaeus 1873 (1868), 28; Krohn 1875, 10–11; Schöldström 1897, 5; Karvelas 1901, 297; Rein 1909, 344; Cederberg 1928, 81–83, 87; Forsstrand 1916, 34. Dietrichson 1901, 132 states that Myhrberg had fought in Riego's army as an officer, and *Svea* 1868, 208 specifies that Myhrberg's field experience in Spain was not long-lived. In newspaper articles, Myhrberg's adventures in Spain are also referred to in different variants: e.g. *TS*, no. 18, 7 May 1867 explains that Myhrberg travelled to Portugal because he was restless at home and loved freedom, and that "simultaneously there was war in Spain; it was just convenient for him;" also in *Abl*, 1 April 1867 followed by *Hbl* no. 83, 9 April 1868 and *ÅU*, no. 42, 9 April 1867; *NIT*, 13 April 1867 (Blanche); *HD*, no. 92 20 April 1867; *Folkwännen* no. 28, 12 July 1871 and *Rl*, 29 July 1899. *ÅU*, no. 49, 25 April 1867 (Pinello) explains rather mysteriously that since "[Myhrberg] never related any great deed from Spain – which was in accordance with his noble personality – it is possible to surmise that he had quite enough opportunity to smell the odour of gunpowder there." Wacklin 1844 (1974), 321 explains simply that Myhrberg travelled to Paris after having taken his artillery exam. Nord 1918, 16 states that Myhrberg sailed to the capital of Portugal from Gothenburg on a Finnish sailboat. Hannila in *RS*, 4 March 1965 tells us that he travelled from Stockholm to Spain (by land), and immediately after having crossed the border, he and a party of revolutionaries were ambushed and imprisoned.

[26] *HT*, no. 92, 28 November 1829.

ever, the one-line statement in his 'military' *curriculum vitae* (testimonials IIa and IIb), according to which he "began to serve as a soldier in the Spanish army in 1823." In the testimonial written to the king in 1842 (Ia), Myhrberg omits the Spanish episode altogether. This is interesting, and one wonders if he regarded his activities in Spain as unworthy of mention to the king, or if he intentionally wanted to omit them for political reasons, or, lastly, whether he had not stayed in Spain long enough to make it accountable in his career as a freedom fighter. Historical events have their say as well: the Spanish Revolution had broken out in 1820 under the leadership of Rafael del Riego y Núnez, and the liberal regime was inaugurated. The Congress of Verona, in 1822, commissioned France to restore absolutism in Spain, and this was finally accomplished in 1823 by Louis Antoine de Bourbon with an army known as the Hundred Thousand Sons of St. Louis. Thus, most of the revolutionary activities were certainly over in Spain by the time Myhrberg could even in principle have reached the country. What was it exactly, therefore, that turned his thoughts to Greece?

2. En Route to Greece: Spain and Marseille

Young men who decided to volunteer in the Greek war left their homes for various personal reasons, such as unemployment, quarrels within their families and clashes among friends, boredom and irresoluteness or restlessness, and dissatisfaction with their present situation in life. Philhellenism provided a sound idealistic reason for stepping into something new, for going away. This was clearly Myhrberg's position also. Volunteers were called to fight, in public notices and pamphlets all over Europe.[27] Arguments in them listed pompuosly the noble reasons, and certainly appealed to young, restless men:

> "…The fight for Religion, Life and Freedom calls us to arms! Humanity and duty challenge us to hurry to the aid of our brothers, the noble Greeks, to risk our blood, our lives for the Sacred Cause! The reign of the Moslems in Europe is nearing its end; Europe's most beautiful country must be freed, freed from the monsters! Let us throw our strength into the struggle!…"[28]

[27] The first of such pamphlets, *Griechenlands Wiedesgeburt*, was published in 1821 by Wilhelm Traugott Krug, a professor of philology at Leipzig in Saxony. It was followed by a couple others which echoed his pragmatic and action-orientated approach to the matter. Krug 1821a; also *idem* 1821b and 1822 (*Philhellenika*, vol. 4, nos. 42, 43 and 46). His practical approach is clear in his programme, e.g. in *Griechenlands Wiedesgeburt* (1821a) he writes: "Individuals with military experience could travel to Greece with the permission and tacit agreement of their governments and enrol to join those who at present fight in the war. Their contribution would be of considerable help because the Greeks lack experienced soldiers and officers. Similarly there is a need for effective firearms and machinery. In Germany there are many unemployed men with military experience who hope for employment and who have not so far succeeded in finding it in their country, and as a result feel dissatisfied with their destiny, and would go for trouble even with a risk of meeting serious opposition from their governments." A professor of theology, H.G. Tzschirner, also in Leipzig, issued his pamphlet under the title *Die Sache der Griechen, die Sache Europa's* which was soon published anonymously in an English translation; see German original in *Philhellenika* vol. 4, no. 41; English translation *The Cause of Greece, the Cause of Europe* was published in London in 1821 (*Philhellenika*, no. 61). See also Klein 2000, 24.

[28] This notice was distributed all over the city of Hamburg in 1821; published in Barth & Kehrig-Korn 1960, 95–96, n. 2; Simopoulos 1999 vol. 2, 423; Löschberg 1994, 125–134.

The choice of Danish student Heinrich Krøyer[29] to become a philhellene clearly represents the touching of the soul of a young man who wanted to *do* something with his life. He encapsulated the motives of many of his brothers in arms:

> "I was completely dissatisfied with my position in Copenhagen. I was a nobody and seemed likely to remain so. I did not have parents, was not educated and did not really have friends either … for which, I admit, I could only blame my own thoughtlessness. Added to this discontent at home was a strong desire to see the world. This inclination was partly instinctive like that of migrants but it had also been fed by reading travel books. Also a kind of warlike enthusiasm took hold of me and was daily fired by newspaper descriptions of the fighting between the Greeks and the Turks (unfortunately far too often incorrect). I had learned to admire the Greeks from my schooldays, and how could a man inclined to fight for freedom and justice find a better place than next to the oppressed Greeks? Against all this motivation there seemed to be a decisive barrier in the impossibility of finding the necessary money for the journey. But there I was seduced by the continual newspaper reports on Greek committees throughout Germany, Switzerland, and the south of France which not only supported philhellenes with travel money to Marseilles or Livorno, but also took them by sea to the Morea where they would at once be organised into regular corps according to the agreement between the committees and the Greek government, and looked after as regular soldiers."[30]

The motivation of professional soldiers, like Myhrberg, to join the philhellenes was slightly different from that of philhellenes who did not have a military background. It has been calculated that Napoleon had called to arms more than two-and-a-half million men, and an estimated 875,000 had served in 1812, which meant, for example, that there was one soldier for every 35 persons in France.[31] Many of those who served in the Napoleonic army were positioned outside France, and after the wars there were legions of demobilised soldiers, retired officers, lieutenants and captains who were now unemployed. They were professional soldiers who were in need of work, or who had become bored by peacetime service. Many of them must also have been restless personalities, since they were ready to join the army without prior knowledge of the life that awaited them. The latter phase of philhellenic volunteer activity could be characterised as more professional than the earlier wave (to 1823) had been; at least there was an attempt to make it so. Philhellenic volunteers were now mostly professional soldiers having had a relatively long experience of active service. Many were ex-Napoleonic officers who wished to rise to a higher rank in Greece, and some found promotion possible. Volunteer doctors gained material for writing treatises and doctoral dissertations in medicine.[32] The majority of the volunteers were French, but Swiss and German, Swedish, and even a Portuguese[33] joined the philhellenic army. A register of the philhellenes in colonel Fabvier's corps, the so-called 'Compagnie des Philhellènes', from 11 August 1826 to the middle of June 1827, lists 95 philhellenes and gives details in relation to their wounds and the number of casualties. More than half of the men are

[29] For Krøyer see Barth & Kehrig-Korn 1960, 157–159.
[30] Krøyer 1870, 3–4 (cited also in St. Clair 1972, 67).
[31] Lavisse 1911, 371–372.
[32] E.g. Éduard B.F. Berjourd's doctoral dissertation presented in 1829 was entitled *Histoire médicale du 35me régiment pendant la campagne de 1828 en Morée. Tribut académique présenté et publiquement soutenu à la faculté de Médecine de Montpellier, le 31 août 1829 par Éduard B.F. Berjourd, chirurgien Aide-Major, au 35me régiment pour obtenir le title de docteur en médecine*.
[33] This Portuguese philhellene was Almeida, see below pp. 79, 141–141.

French, followed by Italians, Germans and including natives of smaller countries such as Switzerland, Belgium, Romania, Sweden and Denmark.[34] Myhrberg appears here as "Lieutenant Mirberg, a Swede from Stockholm". American philhellenes are part of this phase, too. St. Clair notes their generally older age: they were "men on the verge of middle age, men already set in their ways and set in their beliefs, men who had no illusions about the nature of the war."[35]

The societies tried to co-operate in practical support for the volunteers on their way to Marseilles, which was the departure port for the journey to Greece.[36] On the way to Marseille the philhellenes met others who had taken the road towards the harbour city. The rich helped the poor, friends met and departed, they sang songs for the freedom of all peoples, drank together, gambled, and there were arguments between representatives of the different nationalities in relation to their political philosophy.[37] Volunteers had to wait in Marseille for the next ship to sail, sometimes for weeks. Danish student Johann H. Stabell mentions that at one point there were more than one hundred volunteers from different European countries.[38] A German banking house was established there to act as an agent to fund the ships and despatch volunteers, and housing was also organised. Philhellenes passed their time drinking at the *Café du Parc*, which had become a meeting place for the philhellenes, and was even renamed the *Café d'Hypsilanti* to better suit its new role.[39] Life for the waiting philhellenes in Marseille was "simple but by no means unpleasant" comments Krøyer, who met many new fellow philhellenes. He read Sallustius and Caesar in order to become better acquainted with Greece (sic!), especially when he was annoyed with his noisy drunken comrades.[40] A Swiss

[34] ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier 16J, no. 9 C1:14. The register is titled 'Compagnie de Philhellènes contrôle de Mm^{s} Philhellènes composant la compagnie sacrée depuis le 11 août 1826, jour de sa formation, jusqu´ au 19 juin 1827 avec les mutations serveuses pendant le temps' (below referred to as 'Contrôle de Philhellènes') and signed by colonel Fabvier and general Pisa in Methana. The nationalities are: 57 French, 16 Italians (from different states, Corsica and Sicily included), 8 Germans, 3 Swiss, 2 Spaniards, 2 Romanians, 2 Belgians, 2 Swedes, 1 Dane, 1 Hungarian, 1 Illyrian and 1 philhellene from Roumeli. The Swedish philhellenes were Lieutenant Mirberg, and Lieutenant Christenholpe who is remarked to have left the corps on 16 July 1827.

[35] St. Clair 1972, 248.

[36] Hauser 1990, 83–86, 97 describes the practical endeavours of the societies and suggests that the difficulties they faced were due to their unwillingness to fully dedicate themselves to providing military support.

[37] The road to Marseille is described e.g. by Krøyer 1870, 5–19; Harring 1828, 71–88; Stabell 1824, 1–10; [Elster] 1837, 87–91.

[38] Stabell 1824, 16. He lists the names of those who became his friends in Marseille: 32 by name, and "three Polish philhellenes", pp. 21–22.

[39] Stabell 1824, 16; Harring 1828, 78–81. Johann H. Stabell was a Danish student of medicine who made his way towards Marseille in 1821. In Rostock he met a fellow philhellene and medical student, Krøyer, with whom he shared the long journey, coming across other future philhellenes. After their experiences in Greece, Krøyer became a very well-established physician, while Stabell died in 1836. Harro Harring, a young Danish poet and painter from Schleswig, was an eccentric who set off for Greece with the intention of being a target for the Muslims' bullets; Harring 1828, 251–252. Harring's book is an enthusiastic outcry with poems and half-fantasy. See Krøyer 1870, 25; also Barth & Kehrig-Korn 1960, 132–133; St. Clair 1972, 374 (n. 8). Hobsbawm 1962 (2003), 161 regards Harring as a "fairly typical expatriate liberator of peoples" of the revolutionary era after 1815.

[40] Krøyer 1870, 19–20. The habit of rather excessive drinking seems to have continued in Greece too, and anywhere where the harsh conditions and general shortage of food and drink allowed, the possibility for toasting was taken: Prussian theology student Carl M. Schrebian 1825, 141–142 notes that

philhellene, Albert Müller, notes that humour was the soul of living together in Marseille: anyone who had a guitar in their hands was able to gather the company around them so that they could sing "Überall bin ich zu Hause," imitating the Latin *Ubi bene ibi patria*.[41] The Prussian Franzis Lieber, a scholar and, later in life, a renowned liberal professor in the United States,[42] clung proudly to his collection of Turner's songs, and the only guide to Greece for the party was the classic *Voyage du jeune Anacharis en Grèce*, which was a popular novel about the fictional journey of a young Scythian, called Anacharis, in Classical Greece, some years before the birth of Alexander the Great.[43] Many volunteers left the ranks. Krøyer explains that those who were not 'real philhellenes' had wandered to Marseille only in order to meet others and have some fun; some were adventurers who only sought shelter and company amongst the philhellenes; some of the French were looking for high military positions, the *Carbonari*[44] came there, for example, because they had become political refugees and had been forced to leave Spain.[45] It was possible for runaway students and the unemployed to start afresh, even to abandon their old identities and create new ones. Some were not what they claimed to be, presenting themselves with considerably higher military ranks than they had attained in reality. A lieutenant from a small German township (Schöll) became, for example, a Greek artillery commandant, corporals became majors.[46] Volunteer philhellenes truly came from all walks of life. Amenaeus E. Hahn, a Swiss officer who served in Fabvier's corps and whom we shall meet later, wrote in his *Memoiren* that among their troops were a Parisian dandy who had an incredibly big sword, a

"Most philhellenes were on the search for a good life without the necessity of working. They drank boundless amounts of wine from Cyprus, Samos and other Aegean islands. Every day you could see noisy parties of Europeans rushing from one vintner to the next, to request more wine." Stabell 1824, 53 tells us that in Navarino a Greek tea-room owner, having observed how much foreign officers were consuming and how often they got drunk, left his job and opened a wine retailers instead.

[41] Müller 1872, 8.

[42] For Lieber, see e.g. Perry 1882 (for Greece, see 31–42); Freidel 1947 (for Greece, 29–33); Löschberg, 1994, 135–137; Simopoulos 1999 vol. 2, 22.

[43] Lieber 1823, 1–2. Jean-Jacques Barthélemy published this encyclopaedic novel in 1788 after having worked on it for thirty years. It soon became immensely popular, and by 1799 had already reached its sixth edition. Barthélemy paints an idyllic picture of ancient Greece, and particularly of classical Athens. See e.g. Webb 1982, 188–189.

[44] *Carbonari*, 'coal-dealers' or 'good cousins', were members of the secret *Carbonaro* brotherhood which copied masonic models. This society took shape in southern Italy during the first decade of the nineteenth century, and was instrumental in organising revolutions in Italy in 1820 and 1848. Like its parallel organisations elsewhere in Europe (e.g. the *Philike Etaireia* or the decembrists) it was initiated by university students and intellectuals, radicals and left-wing politicians on the grounds of liberal ideals, but was also held together by the congenial task of assisting Greek freedom. See e.g. Hobsbawm 1962 (2003), 144–145.

[45] Krøyer 1870, 27.

[46] [Elster] 1837, 96–97; Krøyer 1870, 30; St. Clair 1972, 73–74. Wilhelm Bellier de Launay, a dismissed officer from Bavaria even confessed that his personal psychological breakdown contributed towards his decision to leave for Greece, and notes a somewhat questionable motivation among some of the philhellenes: they wished to achieve positions and gather wealth; these dreams had been crushed, and because the philhellenes neither became consuls nor filled their vessels with gold, in their memoirs they portrayed Greece in the worst manner possible; see Bellier de Launay 1823, 9–10, also 20–21. For Bellier de Launay, who was finally captured by the Turks in the siege of Missolonghi, and died there in April 1826, see Fornèzy 1884, no. 20 (p. 231 in Kampouroglou's 1975 edition) and Barth & Kegrig-Korn 1960, 73–75.

colossal curassier-officer, an old marquis in his glittering Albanian-style costume with which his fine wig did not match very well, a fine officer from Berlin, a German student in his worn trousers, a Hungarian hussar, a Roman gendarme, an American fellow, a Parisian amazon with a dagger matching his style, and Hahn himself, with his valuable Greek national costume.[47] Like many volunteers who had gathered in Marseille, Myhrberg also took part in the activities that philhellenes had invented for themselves whilst awaiting their departure for Greece. It was in Marseille that Myhrberg made up his mind and decided to become a philhellene. Before trying to discover when exactly this happened, it is necessary to examine the activities and character of the most important figure in almost all of his Greek adventures, colonel Fabvier.

In July 1825, colonel Charles Fabvier (FIG. 7) became a prominent figure in the philhellenic movement, following his appointment to train and command the new Greek regular forces and philhellenes, called the *Taktikon soma*. He had been a Napoleonic officer, and a very ambitious soldier with a life-long experience in the Bonapartist army.[48] Despite Napoleon having been long dead, Fabvier still enormously respected his former master. Fabvier was, however, also rather liberal in his political views, and certainly a very experienced soldier. Having failed in an attempt at Napoleonic restoration, he was obliged to go into exile, and thus became one of the leading figures of the growing band of revolutionaries, ex-Napoleonic officers, and political refugees. He became interested in the Greek question and, during the first half of the 1820s, he was affiliated with the *Philomuse Society* and the *Philike Hetaireia*.[49] As a loyal man, Fabvier started to arrange an opportunity for his former fellow comrades in Napoleonic arms to go to Greece, with the intention of establishing a large Greek regular army which, under his own command, would liberate the whole of Greece from Ottoman rule.[50] He was a man of grand ideas who had the notion of making a name for himself in Greece, and even of building up a Levantine Empire.[51] Fabvier liased with the philhellenic committees, since he had also promised to lend his hand to provide military assistance, instruct in defence skills, and establish a military education in Greece, as well as train the Greek army. Finally, the leaders of the *Comité de Paris* also gave him their support for the recruitment of volunteers, and for raising money for the cause. Being on the list of the French secret police, Fabvier had appeared in different corners of Europe

[47] [Hahn] 1870 vol. 1, 65. Hahn adds ironically that his fine costume protected him very well against the bitter cold in his Greenland hut (i.e. igloo).
[48] For Fabvier in Greece, see esp. Davesiès de Pontès 1864, 28ff.; Debidour 1904, 253–400; Sérieyx 1933, 185–211. The latter work is uncritical of Fabvier, e.g. p. 203 describing the disastrous campaign of the Acropolis in Athens 1827: "Voilà pourquoi nous honorons Fabvier; pourquoi nous lui sommes reconnaissants; porquoi nous en faisons un héros et pourquoi nous proclamons qu'il a sauvé la Grèce!"
[49] DAM-M, Dossiers Fabvier 16J, no. 9, D1a19: a certificate of Fabvier's membership of the *Philomuse Society*, dated in Athens 10 October 1825; in no. 10, a manuscript *La Révolution Hellénique et le Général Fabvier* by A.V. Fabvier specifies that Fabvier had become affiliated with the hetairists before 1820.
[50] Veremis 1997, 15.
[51] Dakin 1955, 4.

FIG. 7. Portrait of Charles Fabvier, National Historical Museum, Athens.

under various names.[52] He probably first arrived in Greece as de Borel in 1823, but the exact date is unknown. For about a year, in 1824 and 1825, he worked for the Greek cause in France, and finally landed on Greek soil for the second time, in the Peloponnese, in May 1825.[53] In 1825 we again find him in Greece, busy with the training of the new regular Greek army which he was to organise, educate and lead. His base was the newly-established Taktikoupolis near Methana on the northeast coast of the Argolid. Fabvier's own men, the irregular troops, were given the sign of a red cross to be worn on their western uniform, and were accordingly known as the *Stavrophores*.[54] Military training followed western European methods; for example, leaflets with illustrations and instructions in French and Greek were distributed to the soldiers to enable them to complete such simple tasks as saddling a horse.[55] By the end of the year, Fabvier had an army of about three-and-a-half thousand men, divided into infantry, cavalry and artillery. His address to the new corps read: "You have seen me as a Frenchman till today, but I am a Greek for the whole time that I shall be your leader. I shall be the first to serve your country with all my efforts, with my blood if so it be. In exchange, I expect your confidence and obedience."[56] Throughout his leadership he gave the so-called 'orders of the day,' which were words of encouragement to inspire his men, for example: "My children, remember that you will prove to Europe and to Greece that she will be free. You will also obtain the love of the country as repayment for your efforts…"[57] A cavalry of eighty men of the irregulars was to be commanded by Fabvier's old compatriot and fellow Bonapartist, Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely, who later (in 1859) became a marshal of France.[58]

Fabvier was also somewhat arrogant, but at the same time the indisputable charisma which he exuded was recognised by his men, who often admired their French leader.[59] He was an impulsive Bonapartist who nevertheless became the

---

[52] In ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier 16J, no. 8 there are police summons to appear in court sent to Fabvier with different allocations from 1820 to 1822, and passports of Fabvier's assumed identities, such as Indela Vitorias for visiting Spain in 1823.

[53] Debidour 1904, 253–254. A.V. Fabvier states in his manuscript (see n. 49 above) that Fabvier first disembarked in Greece at Navarino in 1823, and in the middle of 1824 returned to France. For his second and longer stay, he set sail first for Italy, and in May arrived in the Peloponnese. He sent a letter, 16 June 1825, to his friend Mr Lucopoulos, remarking that he had arrived about three weeks earlier, see *ibid*, 254.

[54] Davesiès de Pontès 1864, 26–27; [Hahn] 1870, 32–33 mentions that the uniforms of the officers were very fine and had to be purchased, together with their equipment, for three pounds. Note the prominent cross on the large hats of the members of the regular army depicted in the watercolours of George Emmanuel Opitz (1775–1841), FIGS. 14 and 15.

[55] Information leaflets about correct military conduct in the cavalry were printed both in Greek and French, see e.g. *Contributions d'un militaire* no. 1, an 8-page leaflet from the year 1825 (in *Philhellenika* vol. 10).

[56] Cited in Debidour 1904, 275 from *Papiers de Fabvier*.

[57] ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier no. 10; the example is dated 28 March 1828 in Methana.

[58] For de St. Jean d'Angely, see e.g. Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 249; Davesiès de Pontès 1864, 30–34.

[59] E.g. a letter addressed to the editor of the *CA* in Athens, 21 August 1827, explained that "It is very natural for the French philhellenes to praise colonel Fabvier, and dwell on the service he had rendered to Greece. […] It cannot for a moment be denied that neither his successes nor general reputation have rendered him popular among the Greeks", document 36 in Blaquiere 1828, 315–316. Davesiès de Pontès, a philhellene who was in Greece between 1828 and 1833, describes Fabvier's character: "Fabvier is one of those men in front of whom all the obstacles disappear. […] Fabvier is always the

most celebrated French officer in the Greek army.[60] In 1828, for example, when he left Greece and the *Taktikon*, he was hailed by the cavalry and the artillery in a letter proclaiming: "Long live our Father, Colonel Fabvier! Even far away he will always be present in our memories, his bravery, his good heart […] will be remembered. Live forever Colonel Fabvier!"[61] In Finnish biographies of Myhrberg, there are, on the other hand, stories about Fabvier's arrogance. One story highlights how, during the campaign on Euboea, even though the military situation was extremely difficult, Fabvier still remembered to take meticulous care of his appearance; he was, after all, a dandy besides being a soldier. One day, the story tells us, when Fabvier was shaving, a Turkish cannon ball hit his tent and killed a soldier who was present. Blood spouted everywhere, even onto Fabvier's face, and the annoyed colonel shouted: "Buggers! Now I have to wash my freshly shaven and cleaned face again!"[62] Davesiès de Pontès, a French maritime lieutenant describes two incidents in which Fabvier behaved in a way that raised eyebrows. One of them took place on Syros, where Fabvier encountered the anger of the furious islanders who threatened to tear him to pieces: they accused Fabvier of sacrificing the interests of Greece for the sake of those of France. This riot was inflamed, it was said, by the negotiators of Chios who had fled to Syros. With a single gesture, the colonel made these miserable men tremble: he half drew his sabre, and, in an instant, the whole crowd dispersed and ran. Then Fabvier patrolled through the whole town before fifty bayonets and did not encounter a soul on his journey. He ordered his chiefs to assemble and told them: "If I hear a shot being fired this night, there will be no Chiote alive tomorrow." The threat had its effect: order was restored.[63] This man was to become a central figure in Myhrberg's life in Greece.

Like many other philhellenes, Myhrberg ended up in Marseille where he enrolled in the philhellenic army. When did this happen and when did he travel to Greece? The Myhrberg-narrative includes a number of tales about the events at the beginning of his philhellenic career. Patrick Bruun was the first to question the authenticity of some of the details.[64] We are told in a few variants of the story that, having been freed from prison in Marseille, Myhrberg spent most of the winter of 1823–24 in Paris, where he gained the favour of ambassador Löwenhielm who, as we have seen, sympathised with the Greeks and helped the philhellenes. Thus, it is said, Myhrberg was introduced to a few leaders of the Greek committee and became tempted to change the course of his life.[65] Most of the stories recall an

---

same, preserving, in the middle of setbacks, the same high spirits as at the moment of the most brilliant success," Davesiès de Pontès 1864, 23, 26. [Hahn] 1870, 27 described him as "friendly, hearty and a true friend, a conciliator in his soul." Argenti 1933, xlviii may well be right when he states that Fabvier was unquestionably an ardent philhellene, a blunt straightforward soldier who hated the diplomatic feints and parries, an idealist whose one desire was to see the descendants of the ancient Greeks become members of a strong and united community. Argenti adds that he was an object of many jealousies, and possibly a scapegoat of the rival political parties in Greece.

[60] Veremis 1997, 15.

[61] ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier 16J, no. 9, dated in Napoli (Nauplion), May 1828.

[62] Krohn 1875, 22–23; Schöldström 1897, 12–13; Nord 1918, 39; Cederberg 1928, 123–124.

[63] Davesiès de Pontès 1864, 25–26.

[64] Bruun 1963, 155–156 and esp. *idem* 1966, 137–141.

[65] The earliest variant of this is *HT* 1829; repeated in Krohn 1875, 11–12; Dietrichson 1901, 132; Forsstrand 1916, 34–35 gives two variants, according to one of which Myhrberg enrolled in the

incident in an office of the philhellenic committee (in Marseille or in Paris, depending on the variant): Myhrberg, a handsome, restless and imposing youth with a serious look on his face, entered the bureau where colonel Charles Fabvier interviewed volunteer candidates. He was already tired of the flow of unemployed officers and asked Myhrberg in an annoyed tone: "What do you want?" "A musket, General!" "At last, a soldier!" was Fabvier's answer.[66] The message of the story in the narrative is clear: a humble, simple soldier, who would later grow majestically and gain glory, faces his superior in a modest manner. This underlines Myhrberg's ethically exemplary character and modesty. The *Comité Philhellenique de Paris* was established in 1825, later than Myhrberg could possibly have been in Paris. Like most other volunteers he must have enrolled for the philhellenic troops in the Marseille office of the *Société Philantropique en Faveur de Grecs*, which had functioned from the early 1820s. It is quite unlikely that Fabvier would himself have been sitting in a recruitment office in Marseille, interviewing candidates, since he was *persona non grata* in France, and watched by the secret police. Furthermore, Fabvier's interest was primarily to facilitate the possibility of his ex-officers taking up a new philhellenic career; ordinary soldiers he was to train in Greece, from the Greeks who were to form the main body of the Greek regular army (*Taktikon soma*). It is noteworthy that in the article about Myhrberg in *Helsingfors Tidningar* from 1829, the recruitment episode is not mentioned; instead, the writer tells us that in Marseille, Myhrberg "rushed to the local Greek emissaries in order to give his arms and wits to their service."[67] This also shows that the story about Myhrberg's first encounter with Fabvier in Marseille is obviously fictional.

In 1868, the writer (T-n) in the annual calendar *Svea* tells us that, after his adventures in Spain, Myhrberg met his old school friend Mr Schwan in Marseille in 1823.[68] It is possible that the two found each other in the city, as the last note in J. G. Schwan's travel diary for 2 September 1823 was written in Geneva and states that his next intention was to reach Marseille.[69] Myhrberg certainly met this fellow student from Uppsala in Paris in September 1824.[70] In any case, a large number of Myhrberg's papers in the archival record now in the State Archives in Stockholm were stored among the Schwan family papers in Stockholm until the autumn of 1964, when the documents were discovered in the attic of their house.[71] Myhrberg may have left his papers in Schwan's care years later, when he returned to Paris

---

philhellenic army in Marseille where he had been transported from Spain, and another telling us that he did so in Paris, signing up directly for Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely's cavalry. *Svea* 1868 explains that from Spain Myhrberg ended up in Marseille and spent the winter of 1823–1824 in Paris. Nord 1918, 23–26 explains that Myhrberg enrolled to volunteer in Marseille, thereafter he travelled to Paris where he met Löwenhielm, and then returned to Marseille. Löwenhielm's role in influencing Myhrberg's decision is acknowledged by Jägerskiöld 1987–1989, *s.v.* 'Myhrberg'.

[66] Krohn 1875, 11; Schöldström 1897, 5–6; Rein 1909, 345; Cederberg 1928, 110 dating the incident to the summer 1823. In newspaper articles *NIT*, 13 April 1867; *HD* no. 92, 20 April 1867; *Folkwännen* no. 28, 12 July 1871; *SDb*, 14 March 1970 (Rudberg).

[67] *HT*, no. 92, 28 November 1829. For the text in Swedish, see Appendix B2.

[68] *Svea* 1868, 208.

[69] Schwan's diary in SRA (E 9501) according to Wikén 1989, 13.

[70] *Ibid.* Note also that Åberg 1891, 248 tells that many years later Myhrberg brought his sabre and some other personal belongings from Schwan's mercantile office in Stockholm.

[71] Bruun 1966, 134–135.

from the field of war after his freedom-fighting career and again met his friend in the city. In this archival material we meet Myhrberg, for the first time on his European wanderings, in Bordeaux. Nils Pinello, in *Åbo Underrättelser*, is the only writer in the Myhrberg-narrative who mentions that Myhrberg stayed in Bordeaux for some time. Pinello tells us that it was there that he came across a Swedish wine merchant with whom he travelled to Spain.[72] Pinello is right about Myhrberg's stay in Bordeaux; he is also correct about the fact that Myhrberg certainly made friends in France. One of them was Åhman, about whom we know little more than his name. On 14 November 1823, he sends Myhrberg (*Monsieur Myhrberg de Helsingfors*) a membership card to the gentlemen's club *Cercle Allemand*, and writes:

> "I attach herewith an entry pass to the club for Mister Myrberg. However, I complain greatly that MM[e] [mademoiselle] so rarely, if ever, honours us with her company, even if this afternoon a waiter told me that he had seen MM[e] in front of his café, and so I rushed straight away down to meet her, but in vain! Your Friend Åhman
> Wednesday evening
> Come along for God's sake or I'll really swear with anger."[73]

The next message from Åhman to Myhrberg was in September 1824, and was written in Bordeaux. Myhrberg was staying at the Hôtel de Bordeaux, rue Richelieu no. 47.[74] Åhman wished Myhrberg all the best for his life in Paris, reminding him that "il n'y a qu'un Paris dans le monde" and sending him "at least 100 cigars for your needs; good, genuine Havanas." During the winter of 1824-1825 in Paris, Myhrberg, now residing at rue Furstemburg, no 8, Faubourg, St. Germain, received invitations to dinners, balls and meetings of an unofficial nature: Madame Mangol invited him to a great ball and dinner afterwards, Ruuth for a meeting, and the Swedish ambassador, Löwenhielm, to a Christmas dinner.[75] In the summer of 1825 we find Myhrberg in Marseille. Åhman had written to him in Paris on 9 June, informing him that Myhrberg's overcoat was still at "gumman Labarthe" in Bordeaux and should be sent to Marseille.[76] A month or so later, Myhrberg received a letter, dated 21 June 1825, from his sister Hedda and her husband Anders Ramsay, as a response to Myhrberg's previous letter which they had received four days earlier.[77] Our adventurer had asked his relatives for financial help, and now they notify him that a sum of 225 Swedish thalers had been sent to the Swedish embassy (*Legation*) in Paris. Hedda was very concerned, and somewhat horrified, about Myhrberg's plans to volunteer for the Greek war, news which he had obviously broken to his relatives in his recent letters. Hedda also complained that her brother had only "at the last minute" given them information about himself.

---

[72] *ÅU* no. 49, 25 April 1867. Pinello further specifies that Myhrberg decided to take a tour around the wine coutry in Southern France with this friend, who was an acting head of a large vintners, 'Petterson'. Cederberg 1928, 81 refers to this story with doubts about its authencity.
[73] SRAM. The letter is presented on the cover of this book.
[74] SRAM, dated 28 September 1824; Myhrberg's winter stay in Paris is also mentioned in *HT* no. 92, 28 November 1829.
[75] SRAM, documents between December 1824 and May 1825.
[76] SRAM, dated May 1825.
[77] SRAM.

> "A sick person rarely knows what is right – and you are one. … you just make us worry… You are *Silly*, and I am sorry for you if you do not accept [the money] you need for a year… If you just would have been happier and we had known about this we would feel so much better. Thinking of you just forces me, and us all, to endure such bitter moments. And that is just because of your suffering; I have dreamt about you many times, and always sadly. God let me know soon that you will not be so gloomy (?) and untrustworthy. Use the money, take it without hesitation and let us hear from you, however things are."

Here we read about a young man, at the time 28 years of age, who had perhaps left his country to embrace a wider world, embarking on a kind of *grand tour* which would provide him with the chance to become acquainted with society in such places as Paris and Bordeaux, removing himself from the small circles of the distant north. He spent his time with friends, in clubs, discussing matters most *legère* in nature, went to balls and attended dinners. He spent all his money, however, and had to humble himself and ask for pecuniary help from his family, and then he took the next step: he went even further, to Greece.

It is not productive to speculate endlessly about the motives behind Myhrberg's decision to join the Greek war, but it is still a topic which cannot be abandoned.[78] Myhrberg represents an example of those volunteer philhellenes who were earlier described as restless young men seeking for meaningful goals in their lives. It is not worthwhile, either, to totally reject the role of idealism in his decision, since it certainly played a part in his philhellenic enterprise. The meaning of idealism for individual philhellenes is, however, easily seen as much greater than it was in reality, because most of the accounts of the volunteers are retrospective and sometimes, as in the case of the Myhrberg-narrative, became used for the sake of other ideals. With hindsight, idealism works very well as a general explanation of the acts of young men, and its real meaning has to be sought in the interpretative context of the writing situation. This is the case with Myhrberg, too. We are told, for example, that Myhrberg did not take the path to war because of his desire for adventure or his willingness to win, nor in order to fulfil his military ambitions. His only inner drive was to strive for ideals, to fight for freedom, and to promote the cherished issue of nationality.[79] There is, however, one document among the archival material which reveals some traces of Myhrberg's thoughts. More than any other item, this text presents Myhrberg's personal voice, as in it he writes in a casual and utterly informal manner about himself. The text takes the form of hastily-written 'poems' (most of them are in meter), laid out on a large, thick piece of paper folded in four (FIG. 8).[80] The 'poems' are ultimately occasional in nature, no date is indicated, no signature added, but the handwriting is Myhrberg's.

[78] Sovelius-Sovio 2001, 16–18 considers the reasons for Myhrberg's career choice, suggesting that his honest wish to help oppressed nations was seasoned with a longing for adventure, restlessness, and the professional ambitions of a soldier. Lappalainen 1997 (*Kaleva*, 2 March 1997) questions the idealistic motives behind Myhrberg's decision, regarding him merely as an adventurer who became a professional soldier and revolutionary.

[79] *Svea* 1868, 206–207; *Hbl* no. 83, 9 April 1867 recounts that Myhrberg had as warm a feeling in his heart at the age of 24 as at the age of 68, with regard to freedom and nationality as well as for all those people who were oppressed; Krohn 1875, 11 mentions that Myhrberg's decision to volunteer in the Greek war satisfied his desire for adventure, but was triggered by his classical education and admiration of Leonidas, Themistocles and Cimon.

[80] SRAM.

Obviously these texts were not meant for the public eye (or for anybody's eye), rather, writing them must have offered Myhrberg a way of venting his personal and private feelings. As becomes clear from the contents, they were written with a glass or two of wine, as something akin to drinking songs. It is possible to guess at the occasion in which Myhrberg produced the texts. It could have been in Marseille waiting for the next boat to sail to Greece, or onboard, on the way to Greece, in the company of other philhellenes after a drinking party. Whatever the case, the Greek theme is clear:

> "We talk now about the Greeks, I toast for them
> Let the Turks be properly drowned
> in our drink."

and:

> "As I have just woken up from drunkenness
> I still cheaply ask if there is anything left in the jug."

One of the main themes in these songs is friendship. A poem entitled 'Motto' reads:

> "Happiness came along with a helpful hand
> Live, you friends who share all
> on the waves of the sea seeking for Stockholm's strand
> Live gladly till the edge of a grave."

Myhrberg seems to take the role of a character he calls 'secretary' (*Secreter* / *Sicter*) and a 'practicant' (*Auscultant*) who travelled from Turku:

> "But I am talking about the Secretary
> whose value will be judged by himself. "

and:

> "An Auscultant travelled from Turku
> French, and Latin, and German he knew
> But Baron Ramsai and Captain Bremer snapped
> "our Secretary", Professor read."

Myhrberg writes here with a somewhat scornful tone about his sister's husband "Baron" Ramsay who had helped him by giving him a sum of money, and also poured scorn on the character of the "Professor":

> "With a glass in hand I
> for Baron Ramsay[81] have a drink
> and the bowl I mixed will be
> emptied for his honour"

[81] Myhrberg displays inconsistency in the form of the name.

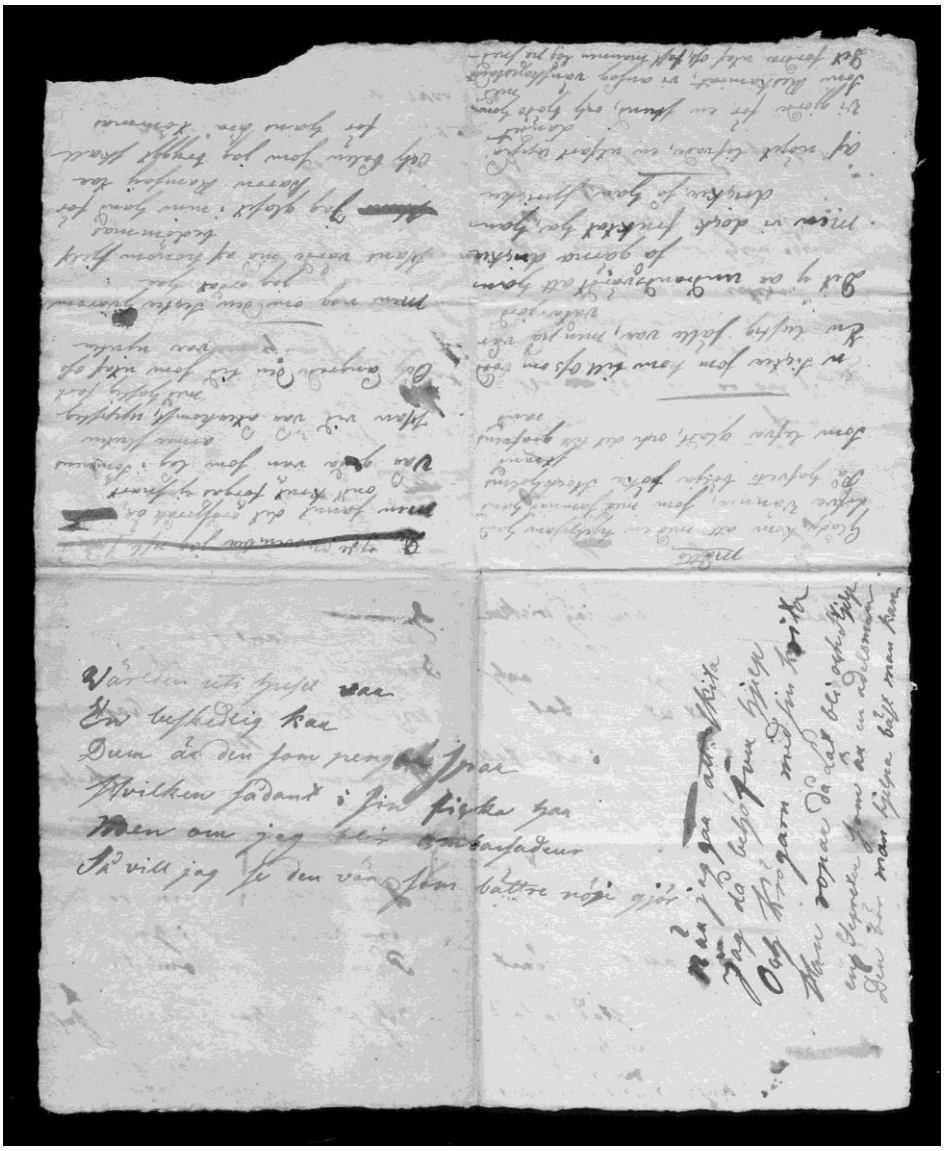


FIG. 8. Myhrberg's 'poems' written on folded paper, Swedish National Archives.

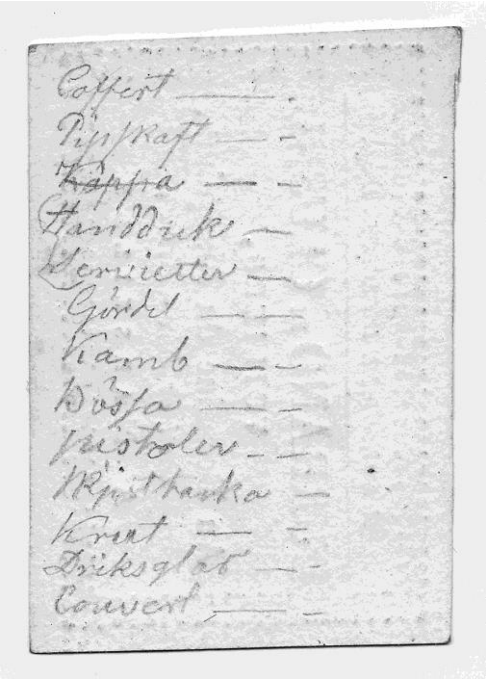


FIG. 9. Myhrberg's probable 'shopping list' of goods for the Greek War of Independence, Swedish National Archives.

Myhrberg is most probably referring to his decision to leave his studies when he writes:

> "Mister Professor would not mind
> if I gave you rightly deserved praise
> Let me now explain to you my change of mind
> you are learned and quick in mind, but
> sometimes you smile at me."

Finally he writes:

> "Stupid is the one who saves money
> who does have such a thing in his pocket
> However, if I ever become an Ambassador
> then shall I see who is the friend and gives more joy."

These texts are naïve in their self-conscious attempt at self-elevation, but they also give us a glimpse of the uncertainties in their writer, and regardless of their unfinished nature they shed light upon some aspects of Myhrberg's thoughts. We find a young man with ambitions and feelings of friendship, but also with a slight rebelliousness towards the establishment and system which he has left behind. All this is mixed with hints of worries about the uncertain future.

On 18 August 1825, Myhrberg's friend Pasch writes from Paris, to his "faithful friend", enquiring about his address in Marseille. Pasch wished to return Myhrberg's belongings, as they had long been in Pasch's possession. He explained that "having left Paris in haste, you did not give your forwarding address in Marseille." Since the letter forms part of the archival material, it gives us the earliest date *post quem* that Myhrberg could have left Marseille for Greece. A small visiting card of the sail-maker *Durrant et Clusel* in Marseille, belonging to the Myhrberg archives, must consequently be dated to around this time (FIG. 9); on its reverse Myhrberg has written in pencil a 'shopping list' of goods he obviously purchased or planned to purchase for his venture to the Greek war: trunk, pipestem, overcoat, handkerchiefs, serviettes, cummerbund, comb, rifle, pistols, gunpowder pouch, gunpowder, drinking glass, blanket. 'Overcoat' is crossed out, perhaps because he had already received or rescued it from 'gumman Labarthe' in Bordeaux.[82] The sailing from Marseille to Greece took from five to seven days, and, thus, it seems very plausible that the date in the official Greek testimonial[83] stating that Myhrberg "entered the Volunteer Regular Cavalry on 25 August 1825" may well be precise, or only slightly too early. This document is not dated, nor signed, but addressed to the regular troops, staff officer (État Major des Places), Mr Myrberg (Auguste), 27 years of age, native of Sweden. In Myhrberg's own statements, there is a clear tendency towards exaggeration and stylisation of facts. This may be unintentional, due to lapses in memory when he tried to reconstruct his philhellenic career later, in the 1840s, but in this case we should note that Myhrberg must have been willing to present himself as younger than he was in reality. Perhaps he felt old, older than he wanted to be, more tired than men at his

[82] SRAM. Discussed also by Bruun 1966, 139–141.
[83] SRAM.

age should have been. In the testimonial written to king Carl XIV Johan in 1842 (Ia), Myhrberg states that he "arrived in Greece at the beginning of the year 1824 and as a soldier entered the cavalry of French colonel, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely", and in the later, 'military' *curriculum vitae* from 1848 (IIa), he explains that he left the Greek army in 1824 and began to serve as *Cornett*[84] in de St. Jean d'Angely's cavalry in January 1825. This latter date is closer to the actual one when he could have started his service in Greece, though the month is clearly incorrect.

3. Arrival in Greece: Missolonghi or Nauplion?

The usual continuation of the Marseille episode in the Myhrberg-narrative is our philhellene's first involvement in the activities of the Greek war: "immediately after having arrived in the country it was possible for him to see the lack of discipline of the Greeks."[85] In order to underline his special importance, it was often mentioned that Myhrberg was not only one of the bravest, but also one of the first volunteer soldiers to have arrived in Greece.[86] In the legend, he usually disembarks on Greek soil in Missolonghi.[87] This is not, however, the case. Myhrberg explained in his testimonial to the king in 1842 that "he was honoured with one of the most significant positions of the Greek government, in the same place he had arrived 5 years earlier without rank or experience, and without means."[88] This place was Nauplion. In addition to this, we can also follow the Greek testimonial, which states that Myhrberg entered the cavalry of the regular troops on 25 August 1825, and deduce that his arrival must have taken place in Nauplion, where Fabvier had started organising his army two months earlier, in June. Furthermore, in April 1825 the Turks had besieged Missolonghi, and it is very hard to believe that any newcomer could have passed through the Turkish lines. During the siege, the military activity in Missolonghi was limited.[89] Some writers inform us that Myhrberg arrived in Greece together with general (sic!) Fabvier, with whom he soon became very close.[90] This cannot have been the case either, since Fabvier had landed on Greek soil in Nauplion in May of the same year.[91] Thomas Gordon's frequently-

[84] Swedish term corresponding to a type of non-commissioned officer.
[85] Krohn 1875, 14 in connection with a story of the death of Adolf von Sass (see above pp. 29–34).
[86] E.g. *TS* no. 18, 7 May 1867: "Ensimmäisiä wapatahtoisia soturia, joita silloin Greekkaan tulvaili, oli Myhrberg." The same is repeated in *RL*, 29 July 1899.
[87] *PIT* no. 51, 1 April 1867; Krohn 1875, 14–18; Schöldström 1897, 6; Dietrichson 1901, 132. Cederberg 1928, 10–107 and Knös 1949, 547 mention that this story might be untrue but they both still think it is worth believing "because it must have emanated from Myhrberg himself, and he was always sincere and also reserved" (Knös, p. 548). Knös and Nord 1918, 29-31 specify that Myhrberg arrived in Nauplion at the beginning of 1824, and from there found his way to Missolonghi. Contrary to this view, Karvelas 1901, 297, who is closer to the truth, tells us that Myhrberg came to Nauplion at the beginning of 1824 and enrolled in Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely's cavalry.
[88] SRAM.
[89] Bruun 1963, 156; *idem* 1966, 141–142.
[90] *Abl*, 1 April 1867 followed by *Hbl* no. 83, 9 April 1867 and *ÅU* no. 42, 9 April 1867; also by Jägerskiöld 1987–1989, *s.v.* 'Myhrberg'.
[91] ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier, no. 10, manuscript by A.V. Fabvier (see above, p. 65, n. 49).

cited synopsis of Myhrberg's career in his *History* tells us that "Myhrberg entered the regular cavalry as a simple trooper, at the period of its formation in 1825…"[92] We shall see that Gordon was an important figure in Myhrberg's life in Greece. He had advised the *London Greek Committee* about the importance of the arsenal for making munitions and preparing weapons.[93] Gordon arrived again in Greece in 1826, cruising on his private yacht, with the Union Jack fluttering. Having long been persuaded to take an active role in the war, he finally agreed to command the artillery. The Greeks commissioned him as a colonel in the Greek army after the actual war, in 1832.[94]

Regardless of these historical facts, the Myhrberg legend further tells us that he is known to have been in Missolonghi guarding Byron's front door when the revered lord died on 19 April 1824.[95] We have seen that, at the time Byron died, Myhrberg was still in Paris taking part in the city's active social life; his presence amongst Byron's brigade is therefore simply not possible. Bruun rightly notes that the reason for associating Myhrberg with Byron is most probably the need to draw a comparison between the two men, and thus build up Myhrberg's heroic proportions.[96] The origin of this story is somewhat problematic, but I think that the link to Adolf von Sass plays a role here. As noted before, one of the early newspaper accounts about Myhrberg was published in *Helsingfors Tidningar* in April 1829. It states that its writer, a friend of Myhrberg's from his youth, compiled the information from the foreign press and other reports, and explains that Myhrberg's brother in arms, Captain Sass had been murdered by a Suliot. This friend was probably one of Myhrberg's companions from his student days at the university in Turku. He specifies at the end of his article that "Myhrberg's own silence about his fate has not made it possible to give very detailed descriptions… [Information about Myhrberg] should not be without interest among his compatriots." It is possible that information for the article, rather neutral in nature, could have been handed down to the author by Myhrberg himself.[97] Later, in 1848, Fredrik Cygnaeus, a fellow student of Myhrberg's, and a good friend in later life, wrote about Myhrberg with a formulation similar to that in the text of *Helsingfors Tidningar* from 1829.[98] This formula does not appear in any other writings about Myhrberg.

---

[92] Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 471.

[93] For Gordon's earlier visit to Greece (Missolonghi), see e.g. Blaquiere 1824, 135–137; Dakin 1955, 26–30; also Howarth 1976, 132.

[94] *Oxford DNB, s.v.* 'Gordon, Thomas'.

[95] Krohn 1875, 14 perhaps intentionally gives 1825 as the year of Byron's death; also in Schöldström 1897, 6; Dietrichson 1901, 132; Rein 1909, 345; Nord 1918, 32-33; Cederberg 1928, 106. This story was first presented in *PIT* no. 51, 1 April 1867. Krohn and Dietrichson add that Myhrberg called Byron "a volcano burnt to ashes" without specifying in which context.

[96] Bruun 1963, 156.

[97] This has been noted by Schöldström 1902, 187 and Bruun 1963, 225 (n. 40).

[98] *HT* no. 89, 16 April 1829 ends: "[Information about Myhrberg] should not be without interest among his compatriots, who take part of the citizens' goal to spread consciousness in a respectful manner about a so little-known and so often misunderstood Finnish name, even in the distant east where the name 'Finland' is so little-known and often misunderstood." Cygnaeus' text, written in 1848 for the occasion of Nervander's death, and published in *Hbl* no. 89, 16 April 1867 reads: "his [Myhrberg's] name, like that of Nervander's, is among those few which function like a preface (*förord*) for the Finns, because he named Finland, that *terra incognita* as the place where he was born." See also below pp. 170–171 and Appendix B3.

Therefore Cygnaeus could well have been the writer of this early piece, and it could have started a series of later associations and blendings of motifs in the biographies of the two philhellenes, von Sass and Myhrberg. In *Åbo Underrättelser*, for example, Nils Pinello jumps directly from the Spanish episode to descriptions of how Myhrberg was taken prisoner a few times during his adventures; once he fell into the hands of a Turkish pasha, "a funny lad" (*en trevlig kurre*) who asked Myhrberg: "Where do you come from and what is your fatherland, my pitiful Christian dog?" "From Sweden", was the answer.[99] Nord places a similar episode in Spain, replacing the Turkish pasha with a bandit chief.[100] We know the rest from the legend about Sass.[101] Thus, placing Myhrberg guarding Byron's front door may have to do with the fact that Sass *was* a member of Byron's brigade, and since he *de facto* died in Missolonghi, his role was now free to be used in the Myhrberg-narrative. In this narrative the tale about Myhrberg and Byron often functions as an introduction to further descriptions of Myhrberg's manly deeds in Greece. It strengthens the notion of his heroic character by assimilating him with a truly famous figure. The rhetorical linking of old and new, and the habit of cross-referencing between the histories of heroic figures is a common feature in heroic narrative. It supplies standards against which to measure the heroic achievements of a central character.[102]

4. Euboea

The first of Fabvier's military expeditions, all of which ended in disaster, was to Euboea, starting on 24 February and lasting until 4 April 1826.[103] Fabvier chose the island as the first exercise for his two-and-a-half thousand newly-trained men because of its crucial position for Athens. Turkish troops also had an operational base there at an old fort. The western methods of the Napoleonic army, recently taught to regular soldiers, were now to be tested. The Turkish fortress at Charysto was approached, artillery started firing, but a cannon broke, and panic took hold among the Greeks. The Turkish cavalry attacked and, because Fabvier's army was

[99] *ÅU* no. 49, 25 April 1867 (Pinello), cf . Schöldström 1897, 5–6. Another example of the blending of motifs of the Myhrberg-narrative is an analoguous story about Myhrberg's first encounter with Fabvier explained above.

[100] In Nord (1918) this was Myhrberg's first adventure: he had arrived alone in Spain and met the suspicious bandit gang. The chief made an enquiry as to his name and the country from which he came. "Sweden," said Myhrberg. "Ah, midnight sun's beautiful land! The country of Carl XII!"

[101] See above p. 33.

[102] Cf. Cubitt 2000, 5. A motif corresponding to the contents of this tale is also found in folk tales in general, e.g. motif 'hero's identity established as he is at the point of execution' (N686) is included in Thompson's *Motif-Index* (1956-1958).

[103] For the expedition to Euboea, see Debidour 1933, 276–300; Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 289–294; Davesiès de Pontès 1864, 33–34; [Hahn] 1870 vol. 1, 43–44 (who specifies that there were 1,400 regulars and 800 irregular soldiers); Bruun 1963, 156–157; Simopoulos 1999 vol. 5, 254–257. A first-hand memoir from the expedition was written by Vicenzo Pisa 1841, 12–18. The diary of German philhellene Heidrich Treiber cited in Simopoulos 1999 vol. 5, 254–255 gives brief entries for daily advancement, for example: "24 February 1826: We leave Athens. Infantry 800 men, cavalry 120, artillery 160… very cold night etc."

lined according to European practice, the rear collapsed under the Turkish horsemen's attack from behind. A slaughter followed, and those of Fabvier's men who survived were brought back by Greek vessels which had come to save them. Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely returned to France and was succeeded by a Portuguese philhellene, Antonio Figuerra d'Almeida (FIG. 10).[104] Many Greeks disappeared back to their home villages and joined their old leaders, not recognising the importance of the regular troops.

Myhrberg was among the newly-trained men who were to take part in this expedition. Some of his frequently-recited heroic acts took place during this sad campaign. He seems to have gained his first promotion, however, before the campaign, as he had been promoted to a non-commissioned officer. This is reported in the Greek official testimonial, in which his title after the promotion in December 1825 was Sergeant (*Maréchal de Logis*). Myhrberg reports his first promotion in his testimonials in slightly different versions and gives varying titles in rank.[105] The Greek testimonial lists the Euboea expedition as the first of the five campaigns in which Myhrberg took part. In his own testimonials he recalls of Euboea:

> "Promoted straight away to the rank of officer as a result of an affair with Turkish cavalry on the island of Negroponte (Euboea) in March 1825; he soon afterwards left the island and joined the infantry. … The undersigned was wounded on the left temple in action in front of the Charysto fortress on Negroponte."[106]

Myhrberg has obviously mistaken the date of this Euboea expedition by one year, but what was the 'affair'?

Within three months after the expedition had ended in disaster, the first news about Myhrberg had reached Sweden and Finland. This was the first occasion that our philhellene is mentioned in the material which has been written about him. On 30 August 1826, *Stockholms Dagligt Allehanda* reports that the editor had received a letter from Marseille, dated 30 June, about "two of our compatriots," and cites a letter of 14 June written by a Swedish philhellene, Crusentolpe, on Poros. It recounts that Myhrberg, who had belonged to Fabvier's troops, had performed a heroic act, and at the fort of Charysto saved the life of his chief, and adds that everybody except Myhrberg and two others had escaped. The report is repeated in *Kometen* in a version which underlines that Myhrberg was not a Swede[107] but a Finn,[108] and specifies that the life he saved was that of Fabvier. A version of the

---

[104] Debidour 1933, 276 (n. 2). For Almeida, see below pp. 141–142.

[105] Ia and Ib: "1825 …promoted officer from the outset "; IIa: "1825 Promoted non-commissioned lieutenant to Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely's cavalry corps"; IIb: "1825 December promoted *Cornett* to Regnaud de St. Angely's cavalry corps." The last most closely matches that of the Greek official testimonial (FIG. 7).

[106] Ia and Ib: "Promu d'emblée Officier à la suite d'un affaire avec la Cavallerie Turque sur l'Isle de Négropont (Euboa) au moins de Mars 1825, il quitta beintot aprés cet armé et entra dans l'Infanterie"; IIa and IIb: 1826 Promoted lieutenant and transferred to the first battalion of the Greek regular infantry.

[107] *StDA*, 30 August 1826, a Swedish newspaper: "our compatriot" (vår landsman); the same in *FAT*, Finland's official Swedish-language newspaper which also published this report with slight changes. Myhrberg is here "Swedish" (*en Swensk*).

[108] *Kometen* no. 70, 2 September 1826 with a reference to *StDA* 30 August, i.e. three days before; discussed also in Bruun 1963, 183.

same story in *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* of 12 September 1826 reported that everybody but Fabvier and Myhrberg had fled. This may have given a rise to the flora of tales relating how Myhrberg is said to have saved Fabvier's life on Euboea. Krohn's version of such tales is typical:

> "The Turks besieged Fabvier from all sides and he seemed to be doomed to death or to be taken prisoner. Myhrberg noticed his hopeless situation, rushed to help him like lightning, raised his chief – who was a smallish man – up into his arms and carried him to safety on his back. (Another version relates that Myhrberg threw Fabvier over the enemy to his own men.) The Turkish pasha, taken by surprise by such heroism, offered to kill this exceptional man by himself, and ordered Myhrberg to be brought to him alive. But Myhrberg was like Sven Dufva in *Tales of the Ensign Stål* and slew everything around him with the incredible power of his free right hand so that no Turk was able to resist him in the slightest."[109]

Cederberg specifies that Myhrberg's heroism in this incident "was one of the most notorious during the entire war, and its reputation lasted long among both the Turks and the Greeks."[110] As early as 1829, the article discussed in *Helsingfors Tidningar* stated that Myhrberg, who partook in Fabvier's expeditions to Euboea and Chios, managed to save his leader's life on many occasions due to his personal bravery.[111] Sara Wacklin may have relied on this information when she wrote in 1844 that Myhrberg saved Fabvier's life three times.[112] Bruun has shown, however, that it is most likely that, if Myhrberg saved somebody's life, it was most probably not that of Fabvier, but rather that of de St. Jean d'Angely. This information is based on the memoirs of Adolf Aminoff who, in his 'Notes' about Myhrberg, likewise reports that Myhrberg himself had referred to this act of saving the life of the general, specifying that the person he saved was Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely.[113] It is, indeed, remarkable that Fabvier does not refer to this incident in any of his many letters to Myhrberg, nor in his letters of reference for him. Fabvier used to remember exceptional acts of bravery in recommendations for his men, and certainly would have noted in Myhrberg's references an incident in which his [Fabvier's] own life had been at risk.[114] In addition, a couple of letters from de St. Jean d'Angely to Myhrberg after the Euboea expedition reveal a close personal relationship between the two men. In one of them, written by Regnaud in Athens

[109] Krohn 1875, 20–21; repeated in Dietrichson 1901, 136 and Rein 1909, 345–346 who wonders if the person saved was Fabvier or St. Jean Angely. The writer of *Svea* 1868, 211 remarks rather neutrally that once Fabvier got into trouble with a Turk he was saved only through Myhrberg's brave act.

[110] Cederberg 1928, 121–122 specifies that, when Myhrberg was holding Fabvier on his left shoulder, he simultaneously fought with the blind rage of an irritated Finnish bear (for the text in Finnish, see Appendix C2). Nord 1918 explains that he "shot a couple Turks, slew one or two, with his left hand threw wounded Fabvier over his shoulder, and with a sabre in his right hand opened their way through the ring of death; similarly in *RS*, 4 March 1965 (Hannila).

[111] *HT* no. 92, 28 November 1829.

[112] Wacklin 1844 (1974), 321: "He lifted Fabvier with superhuman powers into his arms and, fighting with his sword, brought his chief out of the battle."

[113] Bruun 1963, 183–186, followed by Jägerskiöld 1987–1989, *s.v.* 'Myhrberg'.

[114] For Fabvier's references for Myhrberg, see below; drafts for reference letters for Myhrberg and other officers are in ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier 16J, no. 10, V.D.17.

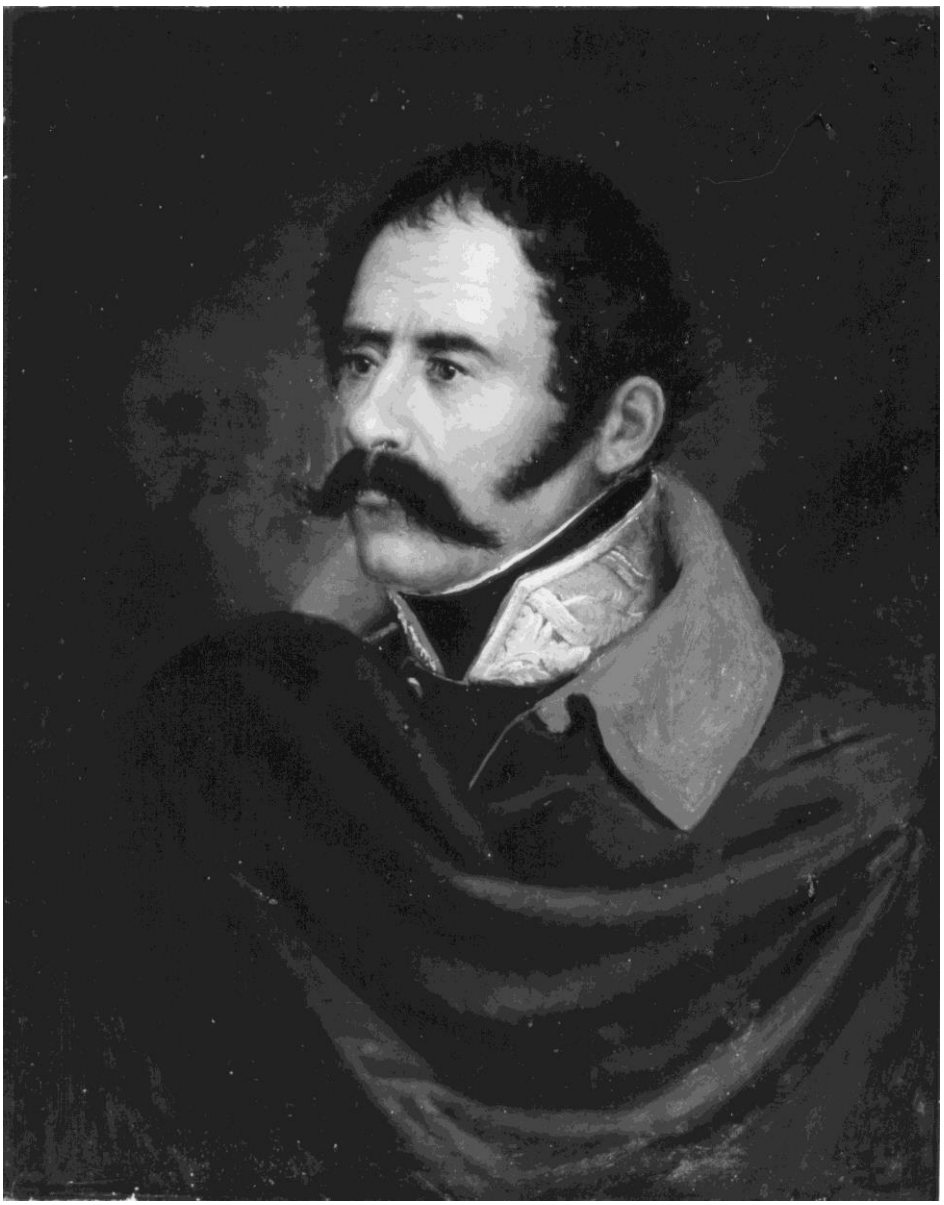


FIG. 10. Portrait of Antonios Figueira Almeida, National Historical Museum, Athens.

on 7 April, two months before he returned to France, the warmth of their friendship is clearly visible:

> "My dear Mireberg, I do not know if our fates and our ways are meant to meet again, but I need to express to you in writing my respect and friendship; I wish you to know that during those ten months we have served together in the same company, the only moment of unhappiness you have made me feel is when our ways separate from each other."[115]

In Gordon's concise description of Myhrberg's career in Greece in his *History*, the incident is referred to as: "He [Myhrberg] in Euboea distinguished himself in a skirmish with the Ottoman horse."[116] No details are given about Myhrberg saving someone's life, nor about a person being saved. The incident certainly was of importance, however, and the episode is an example of the tales in the Myhrberg-narrative, the origin of which could be traced. In this case, the earlier note about the report could have been modified by Arwidsson for his article in *Kometen*, and it later provided ground for a consequent variety of tales. Arwidsson was definitively the first person to specify that the man whose life Myhrberg had saved on Euboea was that of Fabvier himself.

Another interesting episode in Myhrberg's adventures in Greece, and the second in the chronological sequence, is also located on Euboea. Even more than the lifesaving story, it provides us with the opportunity to analyse and interpret Myhrberg-tales as historical legends in a folkloristic framework, as explained above. The version cited here is from Krohn,[117] closely followed by Cederberg,[118] but it appears in slightly different forms in most of the variants of the Myhrberg-narrative:

> "Myhrberg's closest superior was a certain Albanian Corporal, Dmitri Bozzaris, a deceitful and impudent man. It could have been that Bozzaris thought Myhrberg had got too much recognition for a simple soldier, or he was simply jealous of him for some other reason; in any case the man clearly hated Myhrberg and expressed it in many ways. Bozzaris gave the most unpopular tasks to Myhrberg, and positioned him in the most dangerous places. Myhrberg complied, trying to curb his anger. However, once it burst over the limits. Namely, one evening, a platoon to which Myhrberg belonged arrived in a small village ravaged by the Turks. There was almost nothing, no food, no shelter. But it was necessary to care for the horses after a long day's march; they had to be groomed, and for this task men gathered hay, with great effort, from the barren soil. Myhrberg always cared for his horse with special dedication, and had now succeeded in getting together a large amount of hay. But, just as he was grooming the horse, Bozzaris appeared and, with derisive laughter, seized the hay from Myhrberg's hands. Surprised, Myhrberg glanced at the man and, as he could see that there was no question of a mistake, he, without uttering a word, struck him well on the face. It was meant to be a powerful strike, and strong it was, since Bozzaris fell to the ground. Swearing terribly he arose and drew a dagger, but despite his rage – he was a coward – did not dare to attack Myhrberg, whom he knew was stronger than him. Instead, he uttered alarming threats and disappeared into the chief's tent. Myhrberg was well aware of the nature of his deed: it was a serious crime against military discipline, and he, as we know, was the first to condemn such acts. Even though he may have felt the temptation to mount his horse and escape, he still bravely stayed and waited for what was to come. The jailers soon came and brought him to the court-martial

[115] SRAM, addressed to Myhrberg in Athens; discussed also in Bruun 1966, 143–144.
[116] Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 472.
[117] Krohn 1875, 17–19.
[118] Cederberg 1928, 125–131.

> which had hastily been established. With a raised head he entered the hut and noticed that Fabvier, looking restless and worried, was acting as the head of the tribunal. The case was most difficult, and even though Fabvier greatly favoured Myhrberg he was obliged to distribute justice in an impartial manner. Bozzaris described passionately and falsely the criminal incident, and Myhrberg admitted it had been enacted, but described Bozzaris' continuous malicious behaviour towards him. General opinion defended Myhrberg, but despite it, the marshal laws had to be followed: Myhrberg was condemned to be shot to death. The exact time of execution, however, was not yet determined; it was postponed so that Myhrberg could have the opportunity to prove his manliness in the battle which was expected to take place soon. He was to be positioned in the front row so that enemy's bullet might carry out the task which his own fellow soldiers did not look forward to doing, since Myhrberg was their brave comrade who had not done more than given a good slap on Bozzaris, who deserved it."

The story continues, describing how Myhrberg was thrown into prison, a cell so small that he could neither stand nor lay down within it. During the following day's battle, Myhrberg proved his bravery, and was not killed, and despite the fact that he was condemned to die, his execution was never carried out. Bozzaris was ordered to serve in another company. Myhrberg's friends warned him about the possibility of Bozzaris' revenge: he could stab him in the back under cover of darkness, or shoot him from behind during a battle. On the eve of the battle of Negroponte, the two met once more:

> "Night was spent around the fire, since the troops were due to be up very early in the morning. It was dark and chilly, only an isolated star twinkled in the sky. Most men were asleep, but Myhrberg was not able to rest. This could well be the last night for him and many others. Suddenly Myhrberg noticed a faint shadow at his side and heard stealthy steps. He arose and drew his pistol. The man was Bozzaris, who approached calmly and had a strange look on his face. "Put it away," he said and pointed at the gun. "Don't be afraid of me, I won't hurt you now – and never again." Myhrberg stared at him with surprise. "I have never been afraid of you," he replied, "What do you have to say?" "I just want to inform you that I will soon die" said Bozzaris with a steady voice. "How can you know that?" asked Myhrberg who was still suspicious of the Albanian. "I have dreamt about my mother for three consecutive nights now, and it always means death. I know it for certain. Mother was clad in white and called me to follow her with a motion of her hand. That is why I want to make it up with you. Do you have a piece of bread to give to me?" Surprised, Myhrberg opened his bag and handed a slice of bread to Bozzaris. He knew now that the man was speaking honestly, because the Albanians asked for bread only from their guest friends, whom they never let down. "I trust you," he replied and gave him his hand."

The story continues with a description of how Myhrberg was now able to sleep in peace, and by the morning Bozzaris had vanished. The battle was fierce, and in the end the Greeks had to escape. They were successful in their operation, only very few Greeks fell, one of them being Bozzaris.

The different variants of the tale have a similar plot, the variations occuring only in the details: Bozzaris is named Ugolino Bozzaris[119] or just Dmitri (in the more Russian use);[120] Myhrberg was detained in a dungeon for six weeks;[121] as the only Swede among foreign nationalities, he made his own fire at a distance from

[119] Nord 1918, 44; Lydecken 1935, 21. These versions (Nord 1918, 44–50; Lydecken 1935, 21–24) are more rich in detail, as they are imaginary adventure stories (for boys).
[120] Dietrichson 1901, 134.
[121] Schöldström 1897, 7.

the others, who rested around one communal fire.[122] Needless to say, in reality the basis of these stories is very weak: the famous freedom-fighter family of Botsaris were Suliotes, and the most acclaimed of them was the *Kleft*, Markos Botsaris, who had already died at Karpenisi in 1823, and none of the famous Botsarises were named Dimitris.[123] In most variants of the tale the location is ambiguous even though its geography is described in considerable detail, but not attributed to any specific place. These stories operate on a certain level of ambiguity despite their tendency to recount the facts in a realistic manner, and the historical as well as geographical setting is often well described. The first part of the story until the battle in which Myhrberg survived resembles a historical legend. It operates with clear binary oppositions: modest and brave Myhrberg, usually quiet and well-behaved, is contrasted against a brutal and uncivilised, selfish and jealous non-commissioned officer who is of foreign origin. It is worth noting that Myhrberg was still merely a simple soldier, but the narrative often stresses that by his own merit he later rose to the rank of officer. In this type of folktale, a hero is often a simple person – peasant or soldier – who is contrasted against a representative of the ruling or feudal class, but he is nevertheless superior in all respects to those who command the common people (Myhrberg is stronger, more moral, intelligent and patient than Bozzaris).[124] The hero faces a great peril, the death penalty, but is finally freed. In this tale-type of being doomed to die, we encounter a fairly typical folktale motif of 'execution escaped by the use of special permissions granted to the condemned'. Subcategories of this motif in Thompson's index are those such as 'task assigned prisoner so that he may escape punishment' and 'respite from death granted until particular act is performed'.[125] Both of these correspond well with the motifs in our Myhrberg tale. When the structure of this tale is analysed, it is relatively easy to see a logical and rather stereotypical consequence of motifemes, a term first used by Alan Dundes. A motifeme is a simplified unit of a tale which may consist of different motifs (i.e. allomotifs).[126] There are five motifs leading to corresponding motifemes in this tale:

1) an impudent man is jealous of a good man = frustration (motifeme)
2) a bad man siezes a possession of a good man = an act of fuelling jealousy (motifeme)
3) a good man reacts violently = reaction (motifeme)
4) a good man is punished for his crime = consequence (motifeme)
5) both men are saved = solution (motifeme).

[122] *Ibid.*; Dietrichson 1901, 135.
[123] Markos Botsaris' son was Dimitrios, but he cannot be fitted into this framework. Dimitrios was born in 1814 and, after his father's death, was sent to the 'Hellenic Institute of Education' which was established by the king of Bavaria, Ludwig I, in Munich, for the orphaned children of Greek freedom fighters. Later, Dimitrios Botsaris served Otho as minister of military affairs.
[124] Sokoleva 1976, 63. Sokoleva has studied Russian historical tales and legends. One typical type of this category is a group of tales about a 'just ruler' in which a monarch, tsar, travels about the country incognito and meets different people.
[125] Thompson, *Motif-index* 1956–1958, J1181; H924 and H929; K55.
[126] For Dundes' structural analysis of folktales, see esp. Dundes 1962, 95–105; *idem* 1980, esp. 24–32; for the tradition of the study of narrative structures in folklore beginning with Vladimir Propp's work on the structure of Russian miracle stories, see esp. Voigt 1972, 57–70.

FIG. 11. Death of Markos Botsaris, lithography 1826, National Historical Museum, Athens.

The second part of the tale, in which Bozzaris and Myhrberg meet by the night fire, presents characteristics typical of a historical legend, or even a religious legend. Its imagery certainly brings to mind biblical recollections and Christian symbolism: bread is shared between two men, one of whom will die the next day ('last supper-motif'), the portent of death appears three times, and the tale echoes Christian morals, as a bad man regrets his previous acts and begs for forgiveness. In Nord's story, the battle takes place during the third day after the meeting of the two soldiers.[127] Bozzaris has now been transformed into a good man who bravely goes to meet his death on the battlefield, and his deeds are reconciled. Myhrberg's role is secondary here; his role is stable ("I have never been afraid of you") but has effected the transformation of Bozzaris. This reminds us, for example, of a type of Siberian folktale of a dreadful noblewoman, Ekaterina II, who is 'trained' by a simple soldier and consequently becomes good.[128] The purpose is clearly moralistic, and at the same time it strengthens the characterisation of the central hero, Myhrberg.

The name Bozzaris is evidently used to remind us of the famous Markos Botsaris who became a true hero in Europe, not least due to the dramatised imagery of him as the hero of 'new Thermopylae', the new Spartan, Leonidas. A large number of paintings, drawings and prints illustrating the fate of Botsaris became known in Europe, especially between 1824 and 1826 (FIG. 11). In many countries Botsaris was regarded as a figure symbolic of their own struggle against governmental absolutism.[129] Two moments in his heroicised life history seem to have particularly captured artists' imaginations: the wounding of Botsaris in the heat of the battle at Karpenisi in 1823, and his last moments, in the presence of his companions and of his brother Constantine.[130] Among others in Sweden, Carl August Nicander published a poem 'Markos Botzaris or the Seleucid eagle' ('Markos Botzaris eller den sellaidiska örnen') which described Botsaris' heroic death.[131] 'Markos Botsaris', a long epic poem from 1873 by the Dane Carl Andersen, is also built around the theme and imagery of the hero who fights for the fatherland and spends his last night by the fire, talking about his forthcoming death to his brother, and finally dies in battle the next day.[132] This imagery also forms the core of the Bozzaris episode in the Myhrberg-narrative. It is possible that the popular theme affected the creation and development of this Nordic version of the Botsaris-story, in which Myhrberg has become a hero-figure similar to Botsaris within the frame-

[127] Nord 1918, 49.
[128] Sokoleva 1976, 64.
[129] Heroic poetry about Botsaris was popular, see e.g. the Swiss, J. Oliver, *Marcos Botzaris au moment Aracynthe* 1826 (*Philhellenika* no. 86); the French, C. Paganel, *Le tombeau de Marcos Botzaris* 1826; the Italian, J. Guiria, *Marco Botzaris, o l'amour della Patria* 1842; the German, J. von Lassberg, *Markos Botsaris. Trauerspiel in fünf Akten* 1860; the Greek, I. Zampelios, *Markos Botsaris. Tragedie in Five Acts* (translated in prose) in the collection of translated modern Greek poems (1864); in Russia, a lyric (and romantic) poet, Vasilii I. Tumanskii, wrote dramatic sonnets to the Greeks, and one of his unpublished poems was written in honour of Botsaris; see Prousis 1994, 114, 122.
[130] Athanassouglou-Kalmyer 1989, 41.
[131] Wikén 1941, 349; see also above p. 25.
[132] Andersen 1873, esp. 124: "De stille Stjerner snart vil melde / den store Nat, som venter Dig; / Og lede os, som Dig skal faelde, / og skinne paa dit blege Lig! / Og da skal sporges gjennem Tiden: / Utallige som Orknens Sand / De var, men Graekerskaren liden / Dog knuste Dragens vaerste Tand."

work of the well-known narrative. Myhrberg met Andersen in Italy in 1864, and it is possible that, as with many others, Myhrberg recounted his experiences to the poet and inspired him to return to the old topic of the Greek war and its heroes.[133]

In the Myhrberg-narrative we also find a totally different version of this tale-type. It presents some features analogous to the Bozzaris episode, as the central theme is that Myhrberg is doomed to die and has an almost miraculous rescue or escape. In some versions, the motifs of this story are mixed with another tale of Myhrberg's exceptional luck and talents, which is one of the most popular and frequently-repeated elements in the narrative. The motif is an escape from the danger of death. This story describes the battle in the village of Chaidari between Athens and Eleusis, the first in the series of attempts to relieve Athens from the Turks, and will be examined next.[134] It is, however, worth noting here that even though the legendary Myhrberg who confronts Bozzaris is a different person from the one who appears in the archival material, it seems that the historical Myhrberg nevertheless accomplished his duties on Euboea and positively distinguished himself; as a result he was promoted to officer. Myhrberg's new title is already recognised in a couple of letters addressed to him after Fabvier had evacuated the troops from Euboea. The first of these (also the first letter surviving in the archives related to Myhrberg's Greek period) is written by de St. Jean d'Angely on Tinos on 28 March 1826, and addressed to "Monsieur Mireberg, Officier in the Corps of the Regular Greek Cavalry, Andros." Commandant Regnaud, as he signed the letter, asked Myhrberg to return 20 pieces of gold he had given to Myhrberg. St. Jean d'Angely then informs him of the next plans for the cavalry and adds that "it was wise of you to be among the first to leave Negroponte [Euboea]. The eight days we spent there after you had left were not most pleasant and have imprinted a tragic memory in the minds of the troops… P.S.: I tell only you, in confidence, that I have left the corps and Greece and also the colonel. If you would like to take a leave, or leave the service, I will authorise it…"[135] In the end Regnaud believed that it would be better if Myhrberg came personally to Tinos, and the next day sent an order to him authorising his arrival and giving him permission to leave his horse 'in the corps' so that he could later return to Porto Raphti.[136] This letter shows that shortly after his time on Euboea Myhrberg was actively on duty, and provides us with some details about and dates for his movements.

Already some five months after the expedition, Myhrberg's presence on the island was reported both in Swedish and Finnish newspapers, with a misleading addition about him having been the last to leave the island, with two others (or together with Fabvier). Legends are already starting to gather ground here.

---

[133] Invitation from Andersen to Myhrberg for a meeting in Naples on 5 March 1864 in SRAJ. In the Myhrberg-narrative we are told that Andersen and Myhrberg knew each other well, and during the winter of 1863 and 1864 in Rome Andersen gladly listened to the lively stories of our old philhellene, which provided his inspiration for writing the two poems 'Markos Botsaris' and 'Kathinka'; see Cederberg 1928, 213. *ÅU* no. 13, 17 January 1874 mentions that Myhrberg and his adventures in Poland were the inspiration for the recently-published poem 'Kathinka'.

[134] For details of the outline of this battle, see below pp. 88–89.

[135] SRAM; for the discussion, see also Bruun 1966, 142–143. Regnaud returned to France in August, and his successor was Almeida (Almeidas) from Portugal. For Almeida see e.g. Vayena 1955, 35–45 and below pp. 79, 141–142.

[136] SRAM, 29 March 1826, Tinos.

Myhrberg's promotion, however, makes it possible to say that his conduct was, in some regard, especially noteworthy. On 6 May 1826, Myhrberg's official Greek testimonial simply states that it was about two months after Euboea that he was promoted to lieutenant of infantry, and transferred from the cavalry to the new corps. This information coincides with the information he gives in two of his own testimonials.[137] Unfortunately, and typical of his inconsistencies, in the other two testimonials Myhrberg mentions the same event very differently, using different dates. In the testimonial to the king he specifies having been nominated "Captain Staff Officer" (*Capitaine d'Etat-major*) in April 1826, and in its counterpart he declares that the same happened in April 1827.[138] To confuse the situation even further, in the article written by Myhrberg's friend for *Helsingfors Tidningar* in 1829, it is stated that "Myhrberg's cunning and determination granted him the nomination of lieutenant in the philhellenic corps in 1828."[139] He is listed as lieutenant in the *Taktikon*'s register of the 'Compagnie sacrée des Philhellènes' in June 1827.[140] The Greek testimonial must be regarded as more reliable than the other documents mentioning Myhrberg's first promotion, particularly his own testimonials, and therefore it can be concluded that, soon after the campaign on Euboea, Myhrberg had become an officer, regardless of the fact that the nomination procedures seem to have been rather flexible and not properly established, as there was not yet a systematic and uniform practice for registering promotions.

The next signifcant episode in Myhrberg's Greek career was the battle of Chaidari, though the events are sometimes mixed with the Euboea episode in the narrative material utilising the same tale-types.

5. Attica and Athens

CHAIDARI

The military operations between 1826 and 1827 mainly concern the attempts designed to relieve Athens and the Acropolis.[141] The city was captured by the Turks, leaving only the fortress of the Acropolis – with all its symbolic importance, and analogies with the Persian invasion two thousand three hundred years before – the last surviving Greek fort (FIG. 12).

Fabvier's first attempt to relieve Athens began in the summer, on 21 June 1826. During this campaign, Fabvier, together with Karaiskakis, whose troops he met in Eleusis, occupied a farmhouse with a small tower in a village called Chaidari which lay between Athens and Eleusis. It was from here that they started

[137] IIa: "1826 promoted to lieutenant, and transferred from the 1st battalion to the Greek regular infantry"; IIb specifies that the nomination took place in May 1826.
[138] Testimonials Ia and Ib.
[139] *HT* no. 92, 28 November 1829.
[140] The register of the 95 philhellenes, signed by Fabvier and Pisa, 19 June 1827 in ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier 16J no. 9, c1:14.
[141] For the battles in Athens, see e.g. Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 375–400; Finlay 1861 vol. 2, 143–152; Davesiès de Pontès 1864, 37–50; Debidour 1933, 301–333; Dakin 1955, 144–158; St. Clair 1972, 317–330; Howarth 1976, 218–227.

marching towards Athens. The battle took place during the two days between 18 and 20 August. Fabvier pressed hard, but was obliged to retire into a large walled garden with 25 philhellenes. It was here that their only cannon broke, and the men had to leave the walled position. During the next night Fabvier ordered a party to re-enter the garden where the cloaks and knapsacks of the battalion were still deposited. Fighting hard from the confines of the walled garden in the village, and despite their best efforts, he and his men were totally defeated.[142]

In Myhrberg's official testimonial, this is the second in the list of battles in which he took part, and it is mentioned that he was wounded in "Kaïdari" by shrapnel from a shell in his left knee. Surprisingly he does not mention anything about Chaidari in his testimonial to the king in 1842, but in his 'military' testimonial of 1848 he states: "1826 wounded by a bomb in the left knee at Chaydary outside Athens."[143] In the *History*, Gordon mentions that Myhrberg had one of his legs shattered at Chaidari by the explosion of a shell.[144] Thus, Myhrberg was certainly one of Fabvier's philhellenes fighting in this operation, and was badly wounded. Surprisingly, this is not noted in the *Taktikon*'s register of the philhellenes in Fabvier's corps, in which the wounds (*mutations*) suffered in Chaidari are noted in the case of five men.[145] The narrative, on the other hand, has a lot to show us about the legendary Myhrberg in Chaidari.

The first tale is a good example of the legends that have their credibility strengthened by stressing their authencity as a tale told by Myhrberg himself: "[this] special episode from those times has he [Myhrberg] told himself."[146] The story relates, in slightly different variants, how Myhrberg, among the last six surviving Greeks,[147] had withdrawn to the walled garden.

> The Turks were steadily approaching. The situation was desperate. Then Myhrberg came up with an idea: the leafy trees in the garden provided the men with an ideal place of refuge and a hiding place. The men climbed up into the foliage shortly before the Musulmans crushed the gates and entered the garden. Filled with rage, they started decapitating wounded and dead Greeks, since it was their custom to gather heads and put them into their bags in order to get paid per head.[148] When night fell the Turks retired to sleep, and the Greeks (Myhrberg among them) descended from the trees and escaped.[149] The next day, fierce fighting continued, and Myhrberg was in the front line. Suddenly he felt a pain in his left leg, and his horse fell to the ground. Myhrberg was badly wounded, and there was no-one to lend a helping hand. Night was falling again; piles of dead bodies were lying everywhere around him. Then, suddenly, he

[142] For the battle of Chaidari, see Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 336–338; Finlay vol. 2, 1861, 116–117; Davesiès de Pontès 39–41.
[143] Testimonial IIa. The incident is not mentioned in IIb.
[144] Gordon 1832, 471.
[145] ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier no. 9, C 1:14 (see also above pp. 62–63 [n. 34]), signed 19 July 1827. The names of the wounded are: Wolgemuth, Müller, Schveigard, Puget and Pecorara. The last-mentioned died of his wounds on 20 August 1826 in Chaidari. It could be that Myhrberg's wounds were less severe than those suffered by the individuals listed.
[146] Åberg 1891, 248.
[147] The number is given by Cederberg 1928, 137.
[148] Krohn 1875, 25 specifies that the sum the Turks were paid per head was one piastre, ca. one (Finnish) penny (*penni*). In Nord 1918, 56 one piastre corresponds to 25 Finnish pennies.
[149] This part of the story is given by Krohn 1875, 24–25; Cederberg 1928, 136–138; Lydecken 1935, 49–51 following the former.

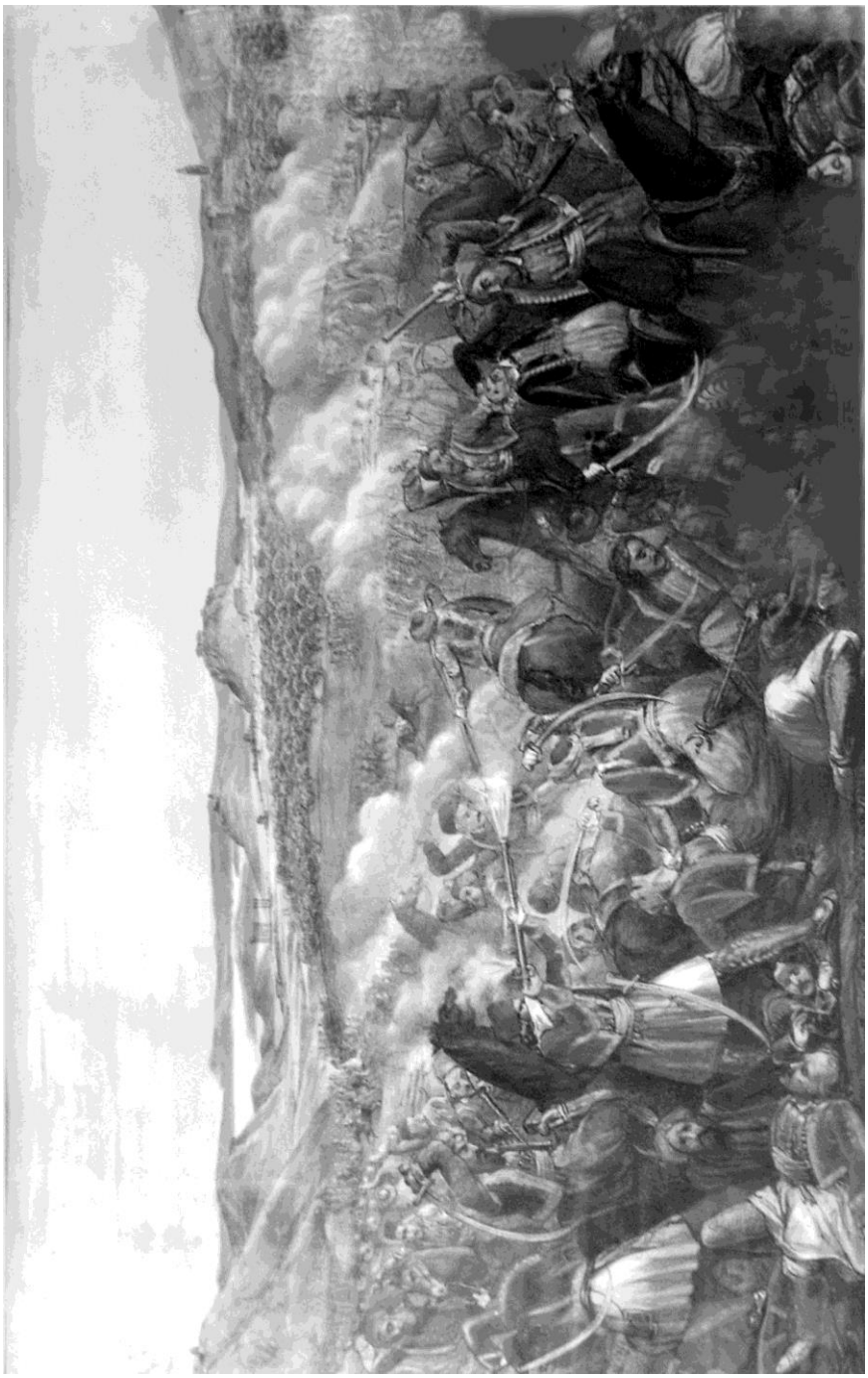


FIG. 12. Battle for relieving Athens 1827, watercolour, National Historical Museum, Athens.

> heard human voices: Christians or Turks? Myhrberg thought about the blunt knives with which the Turks used to cut the heads from the bodies and decided to act rapidly. He took his pistol, raised it to his temple (or mouth) and pulled the trigger. He heard a click, nothing else. The gunpowder was wet or had shuffled off. With shaky hands Myhrberg reloaded his gun, but when he was about to pull the trigger again he heard a sound: a galloping horse was approaching. Myhrberg raised his voice to beg for help when the rider, a Greek officer, was at his side. But the man was indifferent, threw a proud glance towards Myhrberg and galloped away. "Then I got angry", Myhrberg is reported to have said, raised his pistol and fired towards the rider. The bullet did its deadly work. Myhrberg fainted. Soon enough he woke up, feeling a warm touch on his face. It was the horse of the officer whom Myhrberg had shot, an intelligent animal who had come to rescue the hero. With great effort, Myhrberg mounted the horse who took him straight to the Greek camp on its own.[150]

In connection with this story, Krohn was the first to reveal and highlight that the Greeks were as barbarous in the war as the Turks. He explained that "just as the Turks, the Greeks did not care if a man was wounded or dead. To be taken prisoner by the Greeks was often worse than anything else, since the ears and noses of prisoners were usually cut off or mutilated, or victims were tortured to death. That is why the Europeans often offered to end the lives of their wounded brothers in arms themselves."[151] If we were to identify motifs in this narrative, we would find those concerning a clever man who plans an escape and carries it out with great effort, typical of the folktales about extraordinary or miraculous escape.[152] In folk tales, the motif of refuge in trees is also encountered.[153] Interesting also is the motif of a horse saving a man, and the explicit notion that this intelligent animal was better than its owner. Motifs concerning helpful animals are frequent in folk tales, and those about a helpful horse form a considerable part of them.[154] More specifically, we encounter tales in which a horse determines the road to be taken, and in which animals resuscitate humans and save their lives.[155] In order to reinforce the contrast between the ingratitude of the Greek and benevolence of the animal, Nord adds: "The animal was more warm-hearted than its master!" This shows how

---

[150] This story is given by Krohn 1875, 25–26; *NIT*, 13 April 1867 (Blanche); *Folkwännen* no. 28, July 1871 and Dietrichson 1901, 133–134 without any specification of place and time; Rein 1909, 346; also in Nord 1918, 55–60; Cederberg 1928, 139–142; Lydecken 1935, 53–57; *StDb*, 31 March 1897 repeated in Knös 1949, 548 (in this version Myhrberg tried to fire the bullet three times in vain, and on the fourth attempt killed the Greek officer unintentionally); *HD* no. 92, 20 April 1867; *TS* no. 18, 7 May 1867; *HD* no. 134, 19 May 1879 (here the rider whom Myhrberg shot was a Turk); *RL*, 29 July 1899 specifying that the battle in the village of "Khoidari" took place between 17 and 19 August. The version in *Folkwännen* no. 21, 21 May 1879 relates that Myhrberg was lying with a wounded leg under his dead horse, unable to move. He decided to end his own life, but changed his mind. Soon afterwards a Turkish soldier approached him, but did not see the philhellene. A comrade saved Myhrberg the next day.

[151] Krohn 1875, 21–22. This version continues with a remeniscence of Myhrberg's, who had recalled that he once threw dice with a Frenchman to decide which one of the two should kill a wounded friend, and how Myhrberg "had never so praised the Lord when the dice fell to the other man." The same in Dietrichson 1901, 134.

[152] See A. Aarne's motif-index 1920, nos. 460–480; Thompson, *Motif-Index* 1956–1958, K515 ('escape by hiding'); R215 ('escape from execution').

[153] Thompson, *Motif-Index* 1956–1958, R311 (under R300, 'refugee and capture').

[154] *Ibid.*, K642 ('free animal saves its captured friend'); more specifically *idem* 1932–1936, B401 ('helpful horse').

[155] *Ibid.*, B151 ('horse determines road to be taken'); B515 ('resuscitation by animals'); B520 ('animals save person's life').

Myhrberg-tales operate with the ideas of folk tales in general, and as such are comparable to them. Perhaps for the same reason they have responded so well to folk imagination, and evolved in the course of time, providing the basis for wider use of the tale material for a variety of purposes.

It was mentioned earlier that the tale about the escape from Chaidari also has a parallel in the Myhrberg-lore. The motifs of the Bozzaris- and Chaidari-episodes, particularly those concerning escape from suspicion of crime,[156] mingle into these versions of the same tale-type and reveal how a narrative had its own life from an early age. The motifs remain the same, but they are told differently, and connected with new inventive situations, or with those from other episodes of Myhrberg's adventures. Typically, the authenticity of the tale is confirmed by explaining that Myhrberg himself was the source, despite the fact that in some of these tales the adventurous element is even more incredible than in others which 'are told by someone to whom Myhrberg had told the tale' or which 'Myhrberg is said to have related.' Thus, the more fantastic the tale, the more there seems to have been a need to convince the reader of its authenticity. The following story, told by Camille Wergeland (later Collett) in her diaries from 1834 appears, however, quite impartial, and could be regarded as a 'first-hand narrative'. It still belongs to the tradition, however, and we cannot give full credit to its reliability.

> [Myhrberg had told Camille how] he had been badly wounded in the Greek war and was lying in a desperate condition on the ground waiting for someone to come and take him to a hospital. A man saw him and approached him but did not pay any attention to Myhrberg, who just waited for bloodthirsty thieves to come and kill him. He cocked his pistol and decided to end his days himself. Just then, he remembered Mademoiselle Normand's prediction (mademoiselle was those days a famous prophetess in France[157] and Myhrberg had visited her). She had said: "You will see more 26ths of Augusts than most people." It was 26 August. "I shall not die today – eh bien! I did not pull the trigger, and I kept my head that time between my shoulders. My friends found me."[158]

Another 'first-hand narrative' of this tale-type is given by Aminoff and Åberg:

> "A Turk had fallen into the hands of the Greeks, and was doomed to die by stabbing. Myhrberg felt pity over the man's terrible suffering and killed him with a shot to his forehead. Because this was regarded as betrayal, Myhrberg was now in his turn doomed to death by being shot the next morning. Tied to a tree, waiting for his fate to be fulfilled, he thought over his life and death, but suddenly heard two Greek soldiers talking to each other. These two had decided to betray the Greeks and reveal the Greek tactics to the nearby Turks. As soon as two men were at a distance, Myhrberg shouted with a loud voice to the nearest checkpoint and his bonds were loosened: he was free again. Myhrberg's horse had, however, died from a bullet wound to its chest. Still, regardless of his badly wounded leg, Myhrberg managed to crawl to the sea shore from where he swam to the Greek ship which was just about to weigh anchor. Twice during the same day had Myhrberg been saved from death in an incredible manner."[159]

---

[156] Thompson, *Motif-Index* 1956–1958, K 661.

[157] Marie-Anne Lenormand was a famous seer who worked in Paris (she died in 1843). She was consulted by many prominent personalities of the time, among them Napoleon's wife Josephine; see *Dictionnaire génêral de biographie* vol. 2, *s.v.* 'Lenormand'.

[158] Collett 1834 (1926), 116.

[159] Aminoff, 'Notes', cited and discussed in Bruun 1963, 168–169. The first part of the story concerning a Turkish prisoner is also given by Åberg 1891, 248. Bruun 1963, 170 thinks that the source for both of these stories is the same and its core can be regarded as authentic.

Åberg in particular underlines the issue of the obvious poor discipline of the Greeks, and Myhrberg's (alleged ethical) feelings of pity towards the suffering of the badly-treated Turks: "Myhrberg often expressed his great empathy towards the Turks, his enemy, and even complained about his duty as a soldier to kill them, but about the Greeks he never said anything respectable."[160] This criticism is lacking in the version by the Greek biographer F. Karvelas, whose story reminds us of Krohn's tale, but is located rather ambiguously in a deep forest which Myhrberg had reached alone through the Turkish lines after a fierce battle which was eventually lost. He was about to take his own life when he thought about Turkish knives and his head as a trophy for which money could be gained. He heard the sound of a galloping horse and, not knowing who was there, he blindly fired his gun. The bullet had chosen its target, and the horse, freed from serving its previous master carried the exhausted Myhrberg to the Greek camp.[161] Generally, however, the theme of Myhrberg's (especially later) mishellenism and even turkophilia is apparent in the narrative which, with regard to this theme, follows the model of many memoirs of the former volunteer philhellenes.[162] Myhrberg is, for example, said to have always talked about the Greeks in a contemptuous, harsh manner and praised the Turks as diligent people when he later related his memories.[163]

The battle at Chaidari took place at the end of August, and we do not have many traces of Myhrberg in the archival material and historical record during the following months. He is said to have been recovering from his wounds on Aegina. Colonel Karl Wilhelm von Heideck, who had arrived in Greece from Bavaria at the end of 1826,[164] mentions Myhrberg in connection with his description of the battles for relieving Athens, especially that of Chaidari. He writes that "at Consul Gropius' house on Aegina also stayed a brave and thoroughly good young Swedish Philhellene, Mirberg."[165] Gropius was Consul of Austria in Greece, and known as an honest supporter of the philhellenes and a sincere lover of Greece, who had also been engaged 'in the Orient' for thirty years in archaeological exploration and excavations.[166] Myhrberg must have stayed at the Consul's house on Aegina for the succeeding months.[167] It becomes possible to trace his presence again in the sources during the spring of 1827, starting from 3 May, immediately before the catastrophic battle of Phaleron which took place on the 6th of the same month. The first letter in this series is from Count Porro to Richard Church, informing him that

[160] Åberg 1891, 248.
[161] Karvelas 1901, 297–298.
[162] For the comparative material, see above pp. 10–11 (n. 34).
[163] Krohn 1875, 15. In Nord 1918, 66 Myhrberg says: "A Turk is such a nice human being. I have to say that his character appeared to me more beautiful than that of a Greek." See a similar reference also in Nord 1918, 3–31, 34.
[164] Von Heideck had considerable experience as an officer in the Bavarian army. His philhellenic 'brigade' was sent to Greece by king Ludwig as a clear philhellenic gesture of Bavarian sympathy at state level for the Greek cause. For Heideck's expedition together with his military biography, see his *Die bayerische Philhellen-Fahrt* 1897 vol.1, 1–62.
[165] Heideck 1898 vol. 2, 28.
[166] Heideck 1897 vol. 1 describes on many occasions the ancient ruins he went to see together with Gropius.
[167] Wikén 1958, 84 notes that during the winter of 1826 Myhrberg stayed "on Aegina at the home of the Swedish Consul at Athens"; see also Bruun 1963, 157.

Myhrberg was ready to go to Ambelaki,[168] but when Porro noticed that Church had a task for Myhrberg, he asked the philhellene to stay.[169] Myhrberg, therefore, became involved in the Church-led operation at Phaleron which started from Ambelaki three days later. In the tale-lore, however, the wealth of stories about Myhrberg inside the Acropolis, among Fabvier's besieged men and many civilians, is remarkable. Still, it can be shown with certainty that Myhrberg was not present on the Acropolis but instead took part in the operations in Attica. What was he doing?

MUNYCHIA

Yet another exercise to free Athens was was to be led by Fabvier on the night of 13 December 1826. He approached Athens from Munychia with 430 regulars, 60 artillery, and 40 selected philhellenes at the front, each carrying a leather sack of gunpowder on their backs. The attempt failed dismally: they faced a Turkish attack; casualties were only very few, but the troops became besieged within the fortress of the Acropolis. Their situation was hopeless despite the fact that they were safe inside the walls.[170] During the almost five months which followed, people inside the Acropolis experienced boredom, lack of fresh water and food supplies, and suffered from disease. As noted above, Myhrberg was not present on the Acropolis during its siege in 1826–1827, even though a great number of tales concerning this episode of Myhrberg's war activites, place him inside the besieged fortress. Logically, he is thought to have been among those of Fabvier's troops who approached Athens with the intention of relieving the Acropolis, but became instead besieged within its walls.[171] In one of the well-known literary accounts of our philhellene, a poem entitled 'Colonel Fabvier's Adjutant' ('Öfverste Fabviers Adjutant') by Zacharias Topelius (Appendix D1), Myhrberg is described as a leader of the forty philhellenes on the side of Fabvier in the succesful operation for breaking the Turkish resistance on the Acropolis:[172]

> "It was a dark December night
> when from Munychia
> the corps of noble Fabvier started
> towards the land of Attica.

[168] Ambelaki, a village on the island of Salamis, was one of the Greek military bases. Troops gathered there before they were sent to the action at Phaleron. Due to its favourable location, the harbour of Ambelaki was frequently visited by the foreign navies, see e.g. [Hahn] 1870 vol. 1, 61. Jourdain 1828, 322–327 describes the building up of the expedition.
[169] SRAM; see also Bruun 1966, 145.
[170] For the operation, see esp. [Hahn] 1870, 68–71; Debidour, 1904, 319–326; Finlay 1861 vol. 2, 124–126; Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 405; Bruun 1963, 157. Hahn, who was among Fabvier's men, specifies the numbers of soldiers as 450, of whom 53 were philhellenes, each carrying two sacks of gunpowder.
[171] In the Myhrberg-narrative e.g. in Krohn 1875, 26–27; *RL*, 29 July 1899; Nord 1918, 62-63; Cederberg 1928, 144–145. In these stories we are told that Fabvier had 650 men of whom 40 were philhellenes.
[172] Z. Topelius, *Sånger* 1876, 105–111. The original Swedish text is given in Appendix D1.

Tight, a man next to each other, in silence
they marched out.
From the chief to the last man
each carried a pack of gunpowder.

And at the head of the front was a group
of forty and their horses,
the boldest of the bold they were
in that feast of death.
…
A dozen cannons spat out
a flood of iron and lead,
and one could see but sabre strikes
smoke and clash of arms.
…
And among the first of those in front
rode Fabvier's Adjutant,
the noblest son of the North Pole's snow,
if his fame was true.
…
The Acropolis opened up her gates
for Fabvier's brave men."

Even though Myhrberg was not among the men who carried the gunpowder on the dark December night, the significance of Topelius' poem is not diminished since its symbolism goes beyond the confines of Myhrberg's individual history, as we shall see in the final chapter.

The next attempt to relieve the besieged took place in March 1827, and was led by Thomas Gordon. He had encamped on the hills of the Piraeus with his men. The plan was to land secretly at Phaleron and free the besieged Greeks and Fabvier's men on the Acropolis. It was a case, however, of déjà vu: the Turkish cavalry confronted the army on the plain, and the irregulars fled. Over five hundred men were lost. Shocked about the massacre that the Greeks had carried out at the end of April at the monastery of St. Spiridon, during the campaign, Gordon resigned and left his temporary command to Richard Church.[173] Von Heideck was to conduct the next expedition. He had promised to serve under Gordon during his first attempt at relieving the Acropolis, and when it had failed, he agreed to try his own method. His plan was to attack the fort of Oropos in the north of Attica and cut off the Turkish supply line. Heideck's attempt failed like Gordon's.[174] Myhrberg did not take part in either of these expeditions; his activity in the attempts at relieving the Acropolis was left to the final one, led by Richard Church and Thomas Cochrane.[175] We need to know, however, a little more about these commanders before we start investigating Myhrberg's role in the operations.

[173] For the operation, see Blaquiere 1828, 201–233 ('Narrative of the Expedition for the Occupation of the Heights of Phalerum, under the Command of Colonel Gordon of Cairness'); Finlay 1861 vol. 2, 129–133; Dakin 1955, 136–139; St. Clair 1972, 233–235; Bruun 1966, 111.
[174] For the expedition designed to Oropos, see Heideck 1897 vol.1, 52–55 and esp. Finlay 1861 vol. 2, 133–135 who sees the failure of Heideck in this event as especially injurious to his future influence in Greece.
[175] See below pp. 109–114.

Greek leaders had persuaded Richard Church (FIG. 13) to come to Greece as early as 1825, and in August 1826 he received an invitation from the government in Nauplion to help the Greeks; Kolokotronis' own personal message read: "Come! Come! And take up arms for Greece, or assist her with your talents, your virtues, and your abilities that you may claim her eternal gratitude!"[176] Church was, indeed, on a mission at odds with his earlier military acts in Italy, where he had been fighting on the side of tyranny. Without seeing a problem, he himself wrote:

> "I go there to satisfy my own feelings on the subject. … I have made, God knows, sacrifices sufficient to prove my heartfelt zeal for the cause – but sacrifice reputation and honour for it I will not. If I do no more than what I have already done it will be more than sufficient to prove my friends and to the real friends of Greece my sincerity and desire to be useful to the cause of Graecian Independence."[177]

Church was finally persuaded, but landed in Greece in the capacity of a private travelling gentleman, a position on which he insisted until the Greeks had decided upon an agreement between their two rival governments. Church was often described in a less sympathetic way in the memoires of the philhellenes; for example the Swiss, L.A. Gosse, characterises him as a mannequin on board a vessel accompanied by two young gallants, mediocre talent as a soldier, irresolute, and with weak nature; he cared more about his toilet and Bible than his soldiers.[178] As Church was a gentleman travelling in Greece, he at first hesitated to answer the call from one of the two Greek governments. That led by Kolokotronis at Castri was in disagreement with the government led by Mavrocordotos on Aegina. Finally, in May 1827, the two rivals met half way between the seats of their headquarters, at Damala, near ancient Troezen. Ioannis Capodistrias was nominated the first president of Greece. Thomas Cochrane was nominated admiral of the fleet, and Church commander-in-chief of the army, generalissimo. The oath of allegience was administered to them by the archbishop of Arta.[179]

---

[176] BL Manuscripts, Add.MS.48.590 (48590H): the letter written to Church at Calamos 25 October 1825 by Kostas Botsaris (a brother of Markos and a great figure in the victorious battle of Karpenisi) in Greek: "Because your presence is a necessity, and contributory in regards to our army, I urge you with praises to come to the village of Saint Blasiou, a spacious place which has good houses, even though the rest of the countryside is burnt down… ." The letter from the government is cited in St. Clair 1972, 321 and Howarth 1976, 216.

[177] BL Manuscripts, Church Papers, vol. 2: Brit.Mus.Add. Ms 36.544, no. 39 written to colonel Leake, 4 June 1827. The letter intends to explain the reasons for leaving for Greece "on the point of embarkation for Greece." Underlining is Church's. The same tone is reflected also in letter no. 31, written earlier in Naples to a friend (in French): "… I will do it to satisfy my desire to serve with all my efforts the sacred cause. … I leave for Greece armed only with my devotion to the cause and with my confidence in God!"

[178] [Gosse] *Séjour en Grèce*, 51. Simopoulos 1999 vol. 5, 196 (n. 178) notes that Gosse's report is written from the point of view of defending Cochrane, whose personal doctor he was. Finlay 1861 vol. 2, 135–138 states: "The goodness of his disposition was admitted by his enemies, but the strength of his mind was not the quality of which his friends boasted" (p. 135); [Hahn] 1871 vol. 2, 66 tells us that Church did not know any other languages but his own. He read French, however, but was unwilling to write in French as his correspondence with e.g. Gosse shows.

[179] E.g. Lesur 1828, 379–381 and Appendice, 129-139 (proclamation of the Greeks at Damala); Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 364–365; Davesiès de Pontès 1864, 11–13; Woodhouse 1973, 325–328.

FIG. 13. Portrait of Richard Church, National Historical Museum, Athens.

A week after Church had arrived in Greece, in March 1827, Cochrane[180] finally disembarked on Greek soil. Cochrane was an extremely respected and famous admiral, a former member of the British parliament with liberal views who, having become *persona non grata* in England due to his spurious financial dealings at the London Stock Exchange, had joined, with much success, the liberation of South America in Chile, Peru and Brazil. His philhellenism was seasoned with greed: he demanded huge sums of money for his services: 57,000 pounds, most of it in advance, and a contract was settled between him and the Greek government.[181] Cochrane was also hungry for fame and disrespectful of all authority but his own. His biographers record that when he had agreed to join the Greek cause, one of his friends, Dr William Porter from Bristol wrote him a letter urging caution:

> "Our remembrance of what their [the Greeks'] ancestors did at Salamis and Marathon, at Thermopylae, gives an additional interest to all that concerns them. But, to say the truth of them, they are a race of tigers, and their ancestors were the same. I shall be glad to see them fall upon their aigretted keeper and his pashas; but, confound them!"[182]

Cochrane ended up playing a role in the battle of Cape Colias, in which, as we shall see, Myhrberg also took part. On the basis of the archival record it is possible to reconstruct Myhrberg's movements before this battle. Instead of finding him on the Acropolis, we encounter with him in Attica and on the islands of Andros, Syros, Tinos, Poros and Aegina, and in the battles attempting to relieve the Acropolis near Athens, in Chaidari and at Cape Colias. He had left Euboea before the catastrophic end of the operation and at least visited Athens, as well as taking care of cavalry duties for Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely in the archipelago. It is worth remembering that the islands, especially Poros and Aegina, were the most important administrative centres before Nauplion was made the capital, and they were also places where the people gathered. Fontanier, a French traveller and a companion of many philhellenes, wrote, for example, about Syros that "all the

[180] On Cochrane, see e.g. his biography by H.R.F. Bourne 1869 (Cochrane & Bourne 1869); Lloyd 1947; also St. Clair 1972, 303–309. The whole litany of Cochrane's titles is the following: Tenth Earl of Dundonald, Baron Cochrane of Dundonald, of Paisly, and of Ochiltree in the Peerage of Scotland, Marquess of Maranham in the Empire of Brazil, G.C.B., and Admiral of the Fleet; see e.g. the grave inscription at Westminster Abbey, London. On his nature, see Finlay 1861 vol. 2, 137–138; Dakin 1955, 127, and note a remark of Davesiès de Pontès 1864, 72 who cites his English friend's note that Cochrane was "a grand, noble man with good character, but vivid and impetuous. I know that there is a lot of malevolent talk about him, holding that he loves money more than honour…" Simopoulos 1999 vol. 5, 160; Howarth 1976, 218, 221 who specifies both Cochrane and Church as "self-centred rivals, jealous of their own reputation, ignorant of the people, the language and the events of the past five years."

[181] For the negotiations between Cochrane and the Greek government, see Dakin 1955, 118–119; also St. Clair 1972, 305–306. Compare this with the refutation of Cochrane's biographer Bourne in Cochrane & Bourne 1869 vol. 2, 324–235: his sole inducements were desire to do his best on all occasions towards the punishment of oppressors and the relief of the oppressed" (p. 324).

[182] Cochrane & Bourne 1869 vol. 1, 322.

foreigners who stayed in Greece and had rushed to help her, reunited on Syros. The Europeans came there to relax and have a rest; there were agents of the philhellenic committees and known philhellenes often stayed there."[183] In the meanwhile, leaving Myhrberg on the islands, we shall examine the acts of the legendary Myhrberg on the Acropolis.

THE ACROPOLIS

Ameneus Hahn,[184] a Swiss national who served in Fabvier's corps, was among those of Fabvier's men who was besieged inside the Acropolis, and one of the very few who wrote about the episode on the basis of personal memories. He recalls how, on the Acropolis, the philhellenes settled in the south-east corner which was better protected from enemy fire than the other parts of the fortress.[185] During the first six weeks, the men ate mainly olives and cactus fruits. This diet was far from luxurious, but enough to keep hunger at bay. According to Hahn's ironic text, the lack of wine and other stronger spirits was a greater annoyance. Hahn's description of the conditions inside the fort is very grim. The cold winter weather, bad hygiene and lack of warm clothing, as well as any kind of medication, helped to spread such illnesses as dysentery. Men soon ran out of olives, fruit and meat, and had to live on beans, peas and lentils. The fortress was bombarded from without, and many died in the attacks.[186] The dead were buried in the ruins of the temples or lay wounded in a magazine in the Propylaea. The clothes of the dead, if in good condition, were taken to be used by their comrades.[187] Hahn fell seriously ill, he was as thin as a skeleton and prepared to die on the bench in the Propylaea which had become free after a Spanish philhellene had died on it. Hahn, however, recovered. Being bald and beardless he endured terrible suffering: fuel for baking bread was non-existent; the old bread, after being soaked in dirty water, was inedible. Even spoilt grain was ground into flour and baked into the last *pita* breads. Occasionally small pieces of mule or donkey meat became available to keep the men alive. Cats were consumed, and the meat of rats was fed to the wounded. Terrible thirst was an ever-increasing problem and a constant companion.[188]

Hahn's text is certainly coloured by his personal suffering, being gravely ill with flu and dysentery (he mentions that he was in worse shape than the other philhellenes),[189] but it contains information which is interesting with regard to the

[183] Fontanier 1829 vol. 1, 168.
[184] [Hahn] 1871 vol. 2, 70–71, 79–80. For Hahn, see Barth & Kehrig-Korn 1960, 128–129 and the introduction to his *Memoiren* by G. Ludwig, 1–23.
[185] [Hahn] 1870 vol. 1, 75. The Italian Vicenzo Pisa was another philhellene who wrote about his experiences inside the Acropolis in his *Résumé des luttes de l'armée regulière*, Athènes 1841.
[186] Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 459 mentions that eight philhellenes were killed by the shells of cannon-balls in these attacks.
[187] [Hahn] 1870 vol. 1, 76–81 reminisces how one day, after cannon fire, he saw a philhellene fall and rushed to help him. A man had died, but his mantle was fine compared to Hahn's own, and he gladly replaced his old one with it. The dead man was a French poet who had come to Greece to compile a new collection of poetry.
[188] [Hahn] 1870 vol. 1, 76–86.
[189] *Ibid.*, 81.

Myhrberg-narrative about the lack of food inside the besieged Acropolis. Hahn's description may be compared with another testimonial, namely that of Christos Vyzantios, a Greek leader of the Athenian troops. He also described in his *Istoria* the grim conditions in the fort before its surrender.

> "Everything related to human life diminished towards the end of April, and not only pack animals, but also those producing milk, and finally even mice were extinct. Plenty of birds flew inside the fortress because of the decaying bodies, and many tried to catch them and eat their meat. Of edible substances only rotten barley was left in the tower of the fort, and for satisfying the thirst, the Klepsydra well produced 200 *dramia* of brackish water every 24 hours for all the men, half of which amount was used for fermenting barley flour for bread which was baked on slabs, and half of the amount, i.e. 100 *dramia* was left to quench the thirst of the men."[190]

Finlay tells us that on the Acropolis there was still sufficient grain for several months' consumption, but the water was both scarce and polluted. There was still some ammunition, but little wood for baking bread, while the clothes of the soldiers were in rags.[191]

In his letter to the Greek generals and commanders, three days after the capitulation of the Acropolis, Church wrote in annoyance that "the information he had previously received about the quantities of grain and water inside the fortress were false, and at the moment I was informed about the real state of affairs I was forced to make my own calculations and I have no doubt that in my capacity as the Chief of the Greek forces it would have been my duty to retard the surrender of the place."[192] In the biography of Cochrane we are also given hints as to the large quantity of remaining food supplies: "It was then found that the Acropolis still contained stores of food and ammunition sufficient for four months use, and that the report of destitution had been a deliberate falsehood."[193] Carazini, who worked in the Greek diplomatic service, noted in his dispatch to Captain Hamilton that after the final surrender of the fortress "On the basis of the food supply for five days that was abandoned on the Acropolis, it is hard to believe the earlier notions about the situation at the fort, according to which, of 25 thousand kilos of barley, 20 was left intact. During the month of April, all those who left the Acropolis talked only about the lack of wood [i.e. fuel] and clothes."[194] The truth about the lack of food on the Acropolis must be somewhere in the middle: conditions with regard to nutrition and drink certainly were extremely bad, but some supplies of grain must have been remaining at the time of the capitulation. Hahn most probably exaggerated the situation to some extent (we can read later in his narrative how he was still gladly eating spoilt onions and garlic on his dry bread shortly before the capitulation),[195] but equally so, Church and Cochrane may have ex-

[190] Vyzantios 1901, 254. He continues to describe how, with the lack of soil, the bodies of the dead were covered with stones, finally taken from the Parthenon, in order to stifle the smell and the spread of flesh-eating pests.
[191] Finlay 1877 vol. 6, 432.
[192] A letter by Church to generals and commanders of the Greek troops on Aegina, dated 8 June 1827, published in Argenti 1933, 6.
[193] Cochrane & Bourne 1869, 73.
[194] Cited in Argenti 1933, 8 (the French document in *ibid.*, 6–9).
[195] [Hahn] 1871 vol. 2, 68.

aggerated the positive side of the situation. Their intention was to present Fabvier as misleading.

During the siege of the fortress in 1827, Church was appointed to take charge over Fabvier, and craving for action, the colonel finally sent a deceitful message to Church with a report that 500 Turks had been seen to approach Athens from Euboea.[196] Besieged, Fabvier could not help the situation. Fabvier also used the lack of food and water as an attempt to gain help in relieving the siege sooner; he may well have considerably overstated the difficulties and presumably even given false details about the amount of the food supply inside the fortress in order to get out as soon as possible. It is often claimed that Fabvier created in his messages a dramatic scenario of horror, illness and death, and he is accused of excessive exaggeration. He did not, however, make up the whole story of being deprived of food and drink, even though he perhaps fell into hyperbole. It has to be taken into account that, like Hahn, Fabvier also suffered from ill health during the siege and this may have had an effect on him. An Athenian soldier, Karoris, described the state of Fabvier in the last phase of the siege: "he has grown extremely melancholic and talks with sheer hopelessness…"[197] Fabvier's biographer, A.V. Fabvier, records in an unpublished manuscript that when the men inside the fort had eaten all the animals within reach on the Acropolis, that is horses, donkeys, dogs, pigeons, rats and mice, they tried to survive on herbs and nettles. At this point Fabvier fell ill and thought he would die. One philhellene thought that Fabvier had died and he had already prepared a small cross for the colonel.[198]

Stories about the conditions within the walls of the Acropolis, particularly relating to the lack of food, are also found in the Myhrberg-narrative.[199] In addition, it is said that overcrowding inside the fortress was so serious that during the night men turned on the marble floor of one of the divine temple ruins only on command.[200] Dysentery was the cause of many deaths. In one tale Myhrberg is even presented as the person who himself slipped out to inform those outside about the terrible situation of the beseiged, and, thus paved the way for them to be freed.[201] In the same tale, reference is made to the horrible deprivation of food: rats were a sought after source of nutrition, they were consumed together with pigeons and also with dogs and cats.[202] We are told that only dry beans were left, or dry

[196] The letter was sent on 20 April 1827, cited in Simopoulos 1999 vol. 5, 174; see Argenti 1933, xii and for more detailed discussion below pp. 104–106.
[197] The text cited in Simopoulos 1999 vol. 5, 175 (n. 133).
[198] Manuscipt by A.V. Fabvier in ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier, no. 10, D1a19. Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 459 mentions that Fabvier was attacked by fever on the Acropolis, and men suffered greatly from cold and disease.
[199] Drawing from the report sent to the philhellenic society in Dresden, René Puaux published in *MA*, 6 January 1931 a list of the philhellenes who were besieged on the Acropolis during the five months of 1826–1827. The list contains 23 French, 12 Italian, one Swiss, one German, and one Danish philhellene. See Simopoulos 1999 vol. 5, 211–221 who lists the names. The Danish philhellene was Christopher Fabricius (Fabrizius on the list), later a good friend of Myhrberg, see below pp. 142–143. *Taktikon*'s register of the philhellenes from July 1827 in the Dossiers Fabvier in ADM-M lists nine philhellenes who died on the Acropolis, and one who was wounded, and gives the dates of the incidents. The percentage of fatalities during the siege was in any case very high.
[200] Aminoff, 'Notes' cited in Bruun 1963, 161; Nord 1918, 64.
[201] Aminoff's story, cited in Bruun 1963, 161–162; see Bruun's discussion 162–163.
[202] In Lydecken's version, 1935, 45.

leaves of orange or almond trees,[203] bitter cactus and aloe plant,[204] and, for some reason, rice grains.[205] Except for rice grains, all these food stuffs are also mentioned by Hahn. The search for food in the fortress is one of the most frequent motifs in the Myhrberg-narrative and it is told in a number of variations:[206]

> "One morning Myhrberg saw from his window a thin cat on its nice little early morning promenade on the stones of the Erechtheion".[207] He shot the animal, but just when he went to collect his prey a German philhellene[208] rushed to the spot claiming that it was he, not Myhrberg, who had shot the cat and it belonged to him. Even though the matter was not really worth quarrelling about, the Finn was stubborn and the German hot-blooded, and neither wanted to give way. A 'jury' of fellow philhellenes examined the matter and concluded that the dead cat was to be divided equally between the two men, or, according to another version, that, as the better shot, the German got the meat and Myhrberg the skin, with which he could patch his clothes.[209] Later, when the siege was over the two philhellenes met again and, as they felt that the matter was not fully settled, they fought a duel. As a reminder of this, Myhrberg was to carry a large scar on his arm for the rest of his life.

As a historical tale this narrative again represents historical traditions. Motifs in this tale, like the conduct of a clever man and his conduct as a response to an adversary[210] are situated in a context which does have some analoguous features with the historical situation inside the fortress of the Acropolis as described by Hahn and Vyzantios. Hahn even tells us about a hunt for meat in an anecdote which is reminiscent of those about Myhrberg's search for meat: A fat mule had been slaughtered in front of a temple, and as the Greeks regarded mule's meat as impure (and said that only the *Frankoi* [i.e. foreigners] could eat it, good Christians never) they asked higher and higher prices for the valued meat. Hahn did not have a penny, but he still arrogantly requested a chunk of meat. A boy selling it gave some meat to him and requested payment. Hahn knocked the boy down and ran away with his chunk of meat; the boy followed him, threatening to kill him with his knife. At that moment a cannon ball fell on the fort and killed the boy. Hahn had got his prey.[211]

---

[203] Nord 1918, 56.
[204] Dietrichson 1901, 136.
[205] Krohn 1875, 27; Cederberg 1928, 146; Lydecken 1935, 62.
[206] Pinello in *ÅU* no. 49, 25 April 1867; Krohn 1875, 27–29; Dietrichson 1901, 136–137; Nord 1918, 40-43; Cederberg 1928, 146–148; Lydecken 1935, 41–48.
[207] Dietrichson's 1901, 136–137 version (with an explanation that around the Erechtheion and Parthenon there were small houses in which the besieged lived); compare with Krohn's version in which Myhrberg is sitting on the windowsill inside the Acropolis (p. 28); Pinello localises the event to "the bottom of a valley" (*dalsluttning*), Nord 1918, 40 and Lydecken 1935, 14 to "a small town besieged by the Turks."
[208] In Pinello's version this philhellene was a Frenchman. Krohn and Cederberg specify that he was a German nobleman; Nord 1918, 41 and Lydecken 1935, 46 name him as Baron Eschenbach (or Essenbach).
[209] In the versions of Krohn and Dietrichson.
[210] Cf. Aarne's (1911) tale-types nos. 1525–1527: anecdotes about a clever man. Thompson, *Motif-Index* 1956–1958 contains a large number of motifs concerning clever a man; the motif J1172 ('judgement as a rebuke to unjust plaintiff') is the closest equivalent of the motifs in this tale.
[211] [Hahn] 1870 vol. 1, 78, 85.

Myhrberg is known to have related his memories about the siege of the Acropolis to his friends. Snellman and Topelius, for example, remembered situations when the philhellene reminiscenced about his experiences, even from within the mighty walls of the Acropolis.[212] Cygnaeus tells us about "Myhrberg's terrible state there."[213] It seems probable that Myhrberg returned to this topic on many occasions and himself gave rise to different interpretations of his experiences. Is it too far-fetched to think that details about food deprivation in the narrative were at least to some extent added to the tales by someone who knew Hahn's text and disseminated the story? If this were so, it could have been done, for example, by J. Krohn, whose 1875 story had been one of the main sources for the cat or rat hunt episode in later Myhrberg tales. From here the tales evolve even further in the tradition. It is typical of these kinds of historical traditions that repeated motifs are connected with new historical situations, while the overall tale-type remains the same. The enemy causes misery and is extremely cruel, while the defenders are cunning and escape using their wits. The deprivation of food and drink in besieged towns during the war in Greece, as in Missolonghi, is of course itself a frequently-reported historical fact. War, famine, and epidemics are common topics in folktales, too, and they often take the lion's share of historical traditions. In one classification of Finnish folklore, for example, the subcategories for historical legends are the tales relating to war, epidemics, famines, and tales about historical figures.[214]

In the Myhrberg-narrative there is another tale about his adventures that relates to the lack of water and food, but as a genre it comes closer to anecdotes or comical tales as seen in historical traditions.[215] An anecdote in folklore can be defined as a short expression in words operating within traditional forms about an event or state of affairs which is regarded as comical.[216] It is typically relatively simple with regard to its contents and to its connection with reality, unlike story tales which operate within unrealistic and fantastic spheres. Despite their realistic nature, a scene in an anecdote is described by a few quick lines and the time hori-

[212] Snellman's biographer Th. Rein explains in the biography of Snellman, Rein 1895 vol. 1, 310 that the siege of the Acropolis was one of those events from the Greek war that Myhrberg narrated to Snellman in Stockholm in 1841 and 1842. Rein adds that Myhrberg was on the side of the troops attempting to relieve the fortress.

[213] Cygnaeus 1873 (1868), 29. Note that Cygnaeus was Myhrberg's personal friend and they met during the philhellene's later years in Stockholm (p. 31). Thus, it is possible that Myhrberg himself related some stories about the siege of the Acropolis to Cygnaeus, as the latter takes up the theme in his memoires about Myhrberg as "one of those few whom Myhrberg accepted as his friends" (p. 32).

[214] Wessman's classification in *Finlands Svenska Folktidning* 2, 1924–1928, further explained in Lehtipuro 1982, 53.

[215] The name of this genre in German in *Schwank*, in Finnish *kasku* which derives from the Russian word *skazka*. Due to its specific nature, the genre already became differentiated from story tales in the nineteenth century: the consul of Austria in Greece, J.G. Hahn, collected folktales and grouped them in his work *Griechische und albanische Märchen* (1864); the division is also in K. Krohn's dissertation from the year 1887. See Knuuttila 1982, 107.

[216] There is also a group of anecdotes, i.e. the so-called historical anecdotes, which utilise historical events as a base for their narrative. See Moser-Rath in *Enzyklopädie des Märchen*, (1977), *s.v.* 'Anekdote'.

zon is rather vague.[217] This is the case with the tale in question; it is imprecisely located "on an island" surrounded by enemy vessels:

> Myhrberg was stuck on the island with a group of other soldiers, and they faced a serious lack of drinkable water. But there were plenty of oranges which quenched their thirst, and the men could wash their faces with the juice of the fruits. In the long run, however, this nutrition did not satisfy their hunger. One night, after careful planning, the men decided to escape. Darkness covered them and the fog was thick. Some of the Greek inhabitants of this island had asked to be taken along onboard the small boats, and Myhrberg had decided to carry away a Greek girl who was as pretty as a picture. But he was too late: another man was already carrying the girl in his arms in triumph, and it was Myhrberg's lot instead to carry the girl's mother, a matron of colossal dimensions.[218]

This short tale reveals one characteristic in the Myhrberg-narrative: a slight touch of humour is not alien to it, and a comical dimension colours a number of the tales. Serious matters are parodied (as often in anecdotes), and even in Myhrberg's heroic character there is the aspect of a serious clown, a person who reveals reality through parody and paradox (trickster-figure). If we wanted, we could regard this anecdote as a parody of the motif 'piety rewarded' occurring in folktales, for example, in stories in which Christ, often in the form of a child, is carried across a stream.[219] If Myhrberg is seen as the antithesis of a trickster-figure due to his moral elevation, a motif of 'a trickster carries a girl across stream and leaves an old woman'[220] is at the heart of this tale. We can imagine Myhrberg in a party of friends, at first withdrawn and silent, awaiting a suitable moment to recount his adventures and, when it occurred, he, as a story-teller, could adjust his tales according to the general interest, acquiring details from his stock of memories, relating them to new episodes and adding a slight sense of humour to his stories. The method is the same for story-tellers in general, and it was also workable in the written form of the narrative. It is important that events described in anecdotes and transferred in this manner can still be imagined to have really happened.[221] Thus, their credibility is high, actually to such an extent that many of the anecdotal tales in the Myhrberg-narrative have become accepted as serious historical facts.

Tradition holds that Myhrberg was a much-talked-about messenger who, shortly before the landing at Cape Colias – an event which will be looked at in detail below – brought a message which led to the disastrous battle and later surrender of the fortress.[222] Fabvier sent a few messages to the commanders outside Athens urging them to send immediate help. In his frequent notes to Church and Cochrane, Fabvier also painted a picture of growing inclination among the men to capitulate.[223] As we have seen, however, he was not the only one who painted a

---

[217] Knuuttila 1982, 114.
[218] *ÅU* 49, 25 April 1867; Cederberg 1928, 165 (note).
[219] Thompson, *Motif-Index* 1932–1936, Q10 ('piety rewarded'); Q25 ('Chist carried across a stream').
[220] Thompson, *Motif-Index* 1956–1958, K3119.7.
[221] Knuuttila 1982, 115.
[222] This appears for the first time in Krohn 1875, 29 with the specification that Myhrberg had been within the Acropolis walls for four months. The most detailed version is Nord 1918, 66–67, also Lydecken 1935, 63.
[223] For the letters, see Simopoulos 1999 vol. 5, 173–175.

FIG. 14. Greeks surrendering the Acropolis to Reshid pasha, G.E. Opitz, watercolour, Benaki Museum, Athens.

very grim picture of the situation inside the fortress, and cannot be deemed to have been presenting a total fabrication. He was also given encouragement about forthcoming help by the Greeks and philhellenes outside the fort. The leader of the Cretan troops, Dimitrios Kallergis, for example, had sent to Fabvier a message at the end of March that six thousand men who were before the Piraeus were ready to launch an attack, and added that even the irregular cavalry, stationed in Ambelaki, was prepared for action.[224] Correspondence between the British on their ships and Fabvier on the Acropolis was arranged by sending soldiers disguised as Turks or Albanians out from the fortress with letters.[225] Hahn mentions that messengers were sent back and forth from the Acropolis on a weekly basis. According to him, they escaped in the cover of night, and if ever one did not make it through the Turkish lines, he would begin to converse with the Turks in a familiar way, drink coffee with them, smoke his pipe, and loudly praise Allah until Turkish suspicion vanished.[226] An explanation by Carazini of the details concerning the Acropolis and its capitulation relates that admiral de Rigny had, on a number of occasions, sent his officers to talk with the garrison at the fortress.[227] Carazini notes that Fabvier had made it clear in his letter that a French commandant had brought letters from the fortress to the British commander, and adds that the identity of this person was not known to him.[228] This commandant was a French captain, Leblanc.[229]

The negotiations for the surrender were a matter of controversy due to the intrigues of the different parties (FIG. 14). Leblanc commanded the frigate La Junon and represented the views of Fabvier; he had been requested to mediate favourable terms for the capitulation.[230] He was furnished with a sketch of the proposed surrender.[231] The Greek leaders on the Acropolis, however, rejected the proposal. They wrote: "We have decided to live free with arms in our hands, or die."[232] Finally, however, they had to admit that capitulation was necessary, and accepted the conditions given in the second and final round of negotiations effectively conducted by de Rigny, a French admiral. At this stage the Turkish pasha

[224] ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier 16J, no. 10, D1a:19, dated 25 March 1827 (in the document the date is 13 March according to the Old Style calendar).
[225] Simopoulos 1999 vol. 5, 173, and for Fabvier's letters *ibid*. 173–175.
[226] [Hahn] 1871 vol. 2, 68.
[227] Letter of Carazini, in Argenti 1933, 7–8.
[228] *Ibid*, Argenti 1933, 8.
[229] See letters addressed to the commanders on the Acropolis via Leblanc in ADM-M 16J, Dossiers Fabvier no. 10, D1a:19.
[230] The details concerning the negotiations for the capitulation are explained in a letter of Carazini to Captain Hamilton, 29 June 1827, published in Argenti 1933, 6–9. For Leblanc's role in the negotiations, see also e.g. Jourdain 1828 vol. 2, 354–358; Cochrane & Bourne 1869, 73; Gravière 1876, 130; Heideck 1898 vol. 2, 61.
[231] Finlay 1877 vol. 6, 432.
[232] ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier no. 10, 12V D:12. Surprisingly Fabvier's name does not appear in the list of the Greek leaders who signed. This is commented upon by Carazini in his letter to Hamilton (published in Argenti 1933, 8) as he explains that when the first rejection was sent, Fabvier had said that he had arrived accidentally at the fortress and was not part of the garrison. One day after the battle of Cape Colias, Gosse wrote a letter to Cochrane in which he referred to the negotiations of Leblanc and attached a French translation of the Greek leaders' rejection to Leblanc's propositions, [Gosse & Cochrane] 1919, 47–52 (citation p. 50); see also Lesur 1828, 387–388.

wilfully invited the mediation of an Austrian captain, Corner, but wanted no more participants in the negotiations.[233] De Rigny, however, was unwilling to accept that an Austrian officer should take part in the process.[234] Yet, in a letter, Fabvier appears to have requested Corner's mediation.[235] In any case, Fabvier and the eight Greek leaders accepted the conditions of the surrender.[236] General Church had retired to Aegina at the time of the capitulation, and only afterwards received de Rigny's message informing him of the fall of the fortress. Church, having not been previously consulted concerning the matter, announced his surprise at the fact that the troops on the Acropolis had surrendered.[237] He was furious, and denied ever having written to Leblanc or any other commander on the seas. He also denied that the plight of the fortress was hopeless, and made it clear that he was the one who was in the position to raise the siege.[238] He had, however, sent an order for capitulation to the Greek chiefs on 30 April 1827, pleading two facts: "Many persons are suffering inside the fortress, and there are ancient monuments, so dear to the civilised world that I desire them to be preserved from destruction."[239] J.-P. Jourdain, a French naval officer, explains that Church's intention was to provoke a rivalry between the British and the French when he addressed the Greek chiefs about the matter of surrender. He sent a copy of the response of the Greek leaders in which they declined that the order of capitulation should be published in the Greek press.[240]

Tradition has been willing to replace Leblanc, Corner, or earlier disguised messengers, with Myhrberg, adding extra colour to the story in the following way:

> After the Acropolis had surrendered, the Turkish pasha requested that a deceitful messenger who had negotiated with him should be brought to him for decapitation. This man was Myhrberg, the negotiator of the capitulation, who had earlier occupied the pasha's attention (in Turkish, a language of which Myhrberg had a good command, of course) with secondary matters, allowing the Greeks to make an attack. Our philhellene's fellow soldiers were not willing to agree to this and lose one of their best men for ever, and came up with an idea. They

[233] Documents in ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier no. 10, 12V D:12. Corner was also later recruited to negotiate the conditions of suspension of fighting on Chios; see the letter of the captain in command of the Austrian squadron in the Levant, S.G. Dandolo, to the Austrian ambassador in Constantinople, 9 March 1828, published by Argenti 1933, 172–174, in which Dandalo states that they had decided to send to Chios an Austrian and a French officer to make the necessary arrangements in order to set the conditions of the armistice. He specifies that their choice, major Corner took part in the affair of St. Spiridon, in the surrender of the Acropolis etc. and had proven to be very careful.

[234] De Rigny wrote 1 June 1827 (ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier no. 10, 12V D:12) to the "Chiefs of the Acropolis" referring to their desire for the mediation of the French commander, and explaining the efforts to fulfil their requests.

[235] For this see general Church's dispatch to de Rigny, dated on Aegina, 8 June 1827, published in Argenti 1933, 5–6 (Public records office, Admiralty I, vol. 448) and Carazini's letter (Argenti 1933, 6–9).

[236] ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier no. 10, 12V D:12. Fabvier was not only the first to sign this document but also wrote the names of the eight Greek leaders on their behalf on 5 June 1827.

[237] Church's letter 8 June 1827 (n. 235 above).

[238] Church's letter (n. 235 above); see also Argenti 1933, xxi–xxii. Finlay 1877 vol. 6, 432 holds the view that Church especially wanted Leblanc's negotiation in the first place, regardless of his secondary reaction.

[239] ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier no. 10, 12V D:12 from Church to the "Assiegers dans l'Acropole", dated 30 April 1827.

[240] Jourdain 1828 vol. 2, 354–357.

> told the pasha, to his great annoyance, that Myhrberg had died in the latest battle and could not be brought to him. But since the Turks would certainly recognise Myhrberg's strong facial features, he had to be concealed and taken out by other means. At the same time, empty wine barrels were about to be carried out from the fort, and Myhrberg was placed in one of them. Everything seemed to be fine and going according to plan until at the crossroads on the way out of the city, Turkish troops came across the wagon which was transporting the wine barrels and turned the wagon upside-down. Now Myhrberg was positioned within his barrel head down, and blood was rapidly flowing to his head. He was already blue and almost dead when his comrades opened the barrel and pulled him out. But the headstrong Finn soon recovered.[241]

It is also recounted that the same Mademoiselle Le Normand to whom Camille Wergeland had referred in connection with another Myhrberg episode[242] had predicted to Myhrberg in France that he would be in mortal danger in the future but would be saved by standing on his head.[243] In another version, Myhrberg's escape from the Acropolis is mixed with the tale-type, already encountered many times, and also familiar from the Sass-tales, in which the Turkish pasha had ordered Myhrberg to be brought to him, and when he asked from where this Christian dog came, Myhrberg answered: "From Sweden". Hearing this, the pasha remembered the good times he had in the distant north and granted amnesty to Myhrberg for old times' sake…[244] The motifs in this tale relate to escape and deception. Death is escaped through disguise; shamming or substitution is a typical motif in folktales. Deception may be in hiding, a thief in a barrel, for example, thus allowing him to escape danger of disclosure.[245] Imaginary details were easily added to the tales to replenish the motifs already existing in folk imagination.

---

[241] The tale in slightly differing variants in Krohn 1875 (1887), 30–32; Dietrichson 1901, 137–138; Cederberg 1928, 152–155; *RL*, 29 July 1899; Nord 1918, 56 (relating that 5 philhellenes escaped from the fortress in disguise).

[242] Collett 1834 (1926), 116 and see above the Chaidari-episode, p. 92. Collett calls the lady Mademoiselle Normand, but e.g. in Cederberg 1928, 154 she is named Lenormand. Note that Myhrberg becomes attached to another lady Lenormant later through his good friend Fredrika Bremer who was, on her part, a friend to Adrienne Lenormant, wife to the famous French archaeologist, scholar of Greek antiquities and Assyrologist, François Lenormand. Cederberg may have mixed up the names. Lydecken 1935, 66–68 tells the story without the episode about the Parisian fortune-teller.

[243] The story is given by Krohn 1875, 31–32; Dietrichson 1901, 137–138; Cederberg 1928, 152–154. Mention of Myhrberg as a messenger disguised as a Turkish soldier and entering the Greek camp during the early days of May is also given in *RL*, 29 July 1899. In Lydecken 1935, 63–64 Myhrberg first eats and drinks well in a Turkish camp, disguised as a Turk, and then dashes to northern Attica to tell Church about the situation. Church admires his courage.

[244] Told by Cederberg 1928, 145–155 (as "a piece of fantasy"). The motif here is e.g. Thompson, *Motif-Index* 1956–1958, R 215 ('escape from execution') and more specifically R 512.2.2.1 ('victim escapes when executioner makes substitution'). Cf. the similar tale-type in connection with the stories about Sass' escape above p. 33.

[245] Thompson, *Motif-Index*, 1956–1958, K500 ('escape from death or danger by deception through disguise', 'shamming or substitution'); esp. K515 ('escape by hiding'), also R 152.1 ('escape from prison') and K1840 ('deception by substitutes'). Hiding in barrel is known from folk tales, e.g. K312 ('thieves in oil-barrels'); F679.4 ('rolling downhill in a barrel').

CAPE COLIAS

Even though Myhrberg's endeavours inside the Acropolis form a part of the tales about the Myhrberg of tradition, the role of the historical Myhrberg in the military operations cannot be ignored. Church preferred to conduct the fighting on land from the comfort and safety of his schooner, giving most of his orders in writing.[246] He was given the name of 'Yacht-general' by the Greeks.[247] The Cape Colias operation was carried out at the beginning of May 1827, following the model of Gordon's disastrous expedition less than three months earlier (which in large part had followed the model of Fabvier's earlier campaign), with the addition that Cochrane's fleet was to attack the pasha's troops simultaneously with Church's land operation. It was decided that the men should embark from the Piraeus in Greek vessels and should land to the right of the port of Phaleron. They were to advance the distance of about four miles upon the Acropolis under the cover of darkness, and colonel Fabvier was then to make a sortie.[248] Cochrane's men landed at Phaleron, and on 6 May a larger army began its approach from the eastern side of Phaleron bay, at Cape Colias. The army was now three thousand strong. Turkish cavalry appeared again, and the Greek army was crushed: they were massacred in the sea, Cochrane waded to safety with seawater up to his neck,[249] 150 men drowned in the waves; altogether around 1,500 men died or were lost, only a handful of 26 European volunteers of the irregular battalion survived.[250] Reschid Pasha, who commanded his troops himself, was wounded slightly in the arm.[251] The Turkish trophies brought to Constantinople were significant: twelve hundred pairs of ears, the heads of seven Greek generals, eight cannons and a flag.[252] One leader of the Athenians, Christos Byzantios, who was inside the fortress, relates that while Fabvier, through his telescope, was observing the progress of the

[246] Simopoulos 1999 vol. 5, 172 specifies that the distance to Karaiskakis' camp was only 500 meters, but even so the correspondence was carried out in writing via messengers.
[247] Jourdain 1828, 341.
[248] The operation is described rather neutrally in Lesur 1828, 374–376, 385–386. Cochrane 1837, 80 provides a different point of view.
[249] See e.g. Gosse *Séjour*, 54; Jourdain 1828 vol. 2, 351–352; the incident is still mentioned by Vice Amiral Jurien de la Gravière who studied the French nautical archives related to the Aegean battles in his *La station du Levan* 1876, 129.
[250] Estimated numbers of casualties vary: 42 philhellenes who died in the events leading to the surrender of the Acropolis are known by name; the majority were killed on 6 May, when only 4 of the 26 philhellenes who took the field survived (for this detail, see more below pp. 114, 117–118); the loss of 1,500 men in this battle seems to be a consensus on the matter; see St. Clair 1972, 129–330 and 390. Finlay 1861 vol. 2, 151 states that 1,500 Greeks fell in the last disastrous battle in Athens, 240 prisoners were taken. Lesur 1828, 386 states that 2,000 men died or were seriously wounded. Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 401 calculates that in the attempts to relieve Acropolis 3,000 Greeks had died, and as many Turks, from Fabvier's troops 400 survived; altogether in Attica upwards of 600 regulars and philhellenes perished; see detailed description of sources in Simopoulos 1999 vol. 5, 191–202, see also Bruun 1963, 158. Compare this with the information given by Myhrberg in the resume of his (military) career written to the king of Sweden, signed 7 April 1842 (SRAJ), stating that the front line at Cape Colias comprised 376 men of whom 46 were foreign volunteer officers (i.e. philhellenes); only 13 of them survived. For the discussion of the document, see p. 114.
[251] Grevière 1876, 128.
[252] Lesur 1828, 386 (n. 1).

devastating battle spreading its horror before his eyes, he uttered: "These men are good and so few among them effective."[253]

Consul Gropius witnessed the battle, "un triste spectacle", watching it together with colonel Heideck through a telescope from Castellas, the peak which gives a panoramic view and dominates the plain of Attica.[254] Both of them wrote about the battle, Heideck with a soldier's eye, and Gropius as an eye-witness. His report, written three days later, is sad, reading: "1,400 out of 1,500 of the best men of Greece, and almost all of their most reputable chiefs perished miserably in less than an hour."[255] Four other witnesses of the battle wrote about it. Doctor L.-A. Gosse gives a detailed report describing what he experienced early that morning, not as a soldier but as Cochrane's physician and friend;[256] Hahn, who was besieged inside the Acropolis, wrote about the battle on the basis of what he had observed from the fortress;[257] a French captain in the Greek fleet, J.-P. Jourdain, who witnessed the battle from onboard a ship at Phaleron bay;[258] and Cochrane himself, in his report to the Greek government on the event.[259] Hahn writes that after they had seen the Turkish cavalry attacking with their left hands covering their eyes, swords in their right hands, holding the horses' mane with their teeth and shouting "Allah!", he and the others could not see anything through the smoke and a cloud of dust. But when it waded away, the battlefield had been turned into a slaughter-house.[260] Heideck was annoyed at Church's tardiness in giving commands to the army, and also at the Greeks' lack of discipline.[261] Cochrane's report is amazing

[253] Byzantios 1901, 239, 237–244. Byzantios states, p. 243, (contrary to Trikoupis to whose history he refers) that, of the 2,000 men who participated in the battle, 600 perished and 200 of these were the regulars.

[254] Heideck 1898, 59–61. Heideck writes that he stayed in his artillery camp with officers Schnitzlein and Rueprecht (p. 59).

[255] Gropius' long report dated 9 May 1827 is cited in full by Knös 1949, 550–552. Finlay 1877 vol. 6, 430 tells us that after the battle he rode with Gropius over the battlefield while the bodies of the slain still remained unburied.

[256] [Gosse] *Séjour*, 51–56. Bouvier-Bron provides an edition and a commentary of the text. Gosse was a Swiss doctor who departed for Greece and left behind his desperately-concerned mother, to whom he wrote a number of letters from Greece, where he worked, among other duties, as Cochrane's personal doctor, see e.g. Report of [Gosse] 1920 in 21 July 1827, 40. Heideck 1898 vol. 1, 59 describes Gosse as an "untiring, discreet, ambitious, but fair-minded man." As a doctor, Gosse witnessed at close hand the last moments of Karaiskakis who was brought to Cochrane's boat during the night of 5 May. Cochrane also had other physicians on board. Jourdain 1828 vol. 2, 326 tells us that Henry Bradfield cared for the wounded at the camp at Phaleron, and M. Johnson carried out similar duties on board Cochrane's schooner.

[257] See above p. 99.

[258] Jourdain 1828 vol. 2, 350–354. Jourdain encapsulates the scene in the words "Il y eut un carnage horrible des deux côtés" (p. 351).

[259] Cochrane's nephew George, who acted as one of the Lord's secretaries, witnessed the moment on board with Lord Cochrane and narrates its course in his *Wanderings in Greece* 1837, 79–82. Church also wrote a report to the representatives of the Greek government, published by Lesur in 1828 in the appendix of the *Annuaire historique pour 1827*, pp. 127-128. It contains many inaccuracies and simplifies the facts, e.g. a tendency to criticise Greek conduct during the action: see also Finlay 1877 vol. 6, 430. The theme is studied in detail by Simopoulos 1999 vol. 5, 193–203.

[260] [Hahn] 1870, 73–74.

[261] Heideck 1898 vol. 2, 60–61. Heideck tells us how he realised that a delay to the attack would result in catastrophe, and sent his officer Schnitzlein to talk to Tzavellas, who commanded the Greeks.

reading in its hypocrisy and failure to admit to his own mistakes and, instead, blame the Greeks: "I had to lament this day that the Greeks still continue their aversion to that regularity of movement and honesty of action which constitute the strength of armies … The affairs of Greece require energy, and that remedy be at once applied to whatever impedes the progress of affairs."[262] He boasted on 27 May to Eynard:

> "I believed it be my duty to act as I did, and I have not since regretted any step that I took, because, if Fabvier and the garrison fall into the hands of the Turks and are destroyed, I shall at least have the consolation of knowing that my utmost efforts were made to avert their fate."[263]

Jourdain writes that, when he met Church onboard his schooner on the evening following the battle, and asked how many men there had been on the expedition under his command, the general replied that he had commanded 3,000 men, but 2,500 had appeared at Phaleron, and when the troops were counted afterwards 900 remained in lines; thus, ca. 1,600 of them perished in a matter of a few moments.[264]

After the almost-five-month siege, the Acropolis was surrendered on 5 June, and the garrison marched out with arms and baggage. Altogether, some two thousand left the fort, 400 of whom were women and children (FIG. 15). The philhellenes were in front, led by Fabvier and de Rigny.[265] They were escorted to Phaleron and taken by French ships to the Greek camp on Salamis. The joint campaign was by far the worst single disaster the Greeks had suffered. The last of their armies was destroyed, the rest dissolved, of Fabvier's 1,000 men in Attica only 400 remained in service. The blame without doubt lay at the feet of Cochrane and

---

Tzavellas sent back a reply that if Heideck wanted his men to attack straight away, he expected Heideck to send him money immediately (p. 60).

[262] Cochrane's report in Cochrane & Bourne 1869, 72. Compare this with the letter Cochrane sent to Eynard, 27 May, cited in the same volume, pp. 74–76, in which he defended himself and accused the Greeks and Church: "…But my council was in vain, and he (Karaiskakis) had no idea of any combined naval and military movement, nor indeed of any military plan…This, however, would not have proved decisive had not general Church, with a view to conciliate the officers under his command, and indeed in order to induce them to embark at all upon the expedition, conformed to their [the Greeks'] absurd view of military movement…" The same tone is expressed by Cochrane's nephew George: "Every effort to rally the Greeks having been found useless, the general and admiral returned on board the brigs…", see Cochrane 1837, 82.

[263] Letter to Eynard 27 May 1827, cited in Cochrane & Bourne 1869 vol. 2, 76.

[264] Jourdain 1828 vol. 2, 353–354. Like many other philhellenes who wrote about the battle, Jourdain blamed Church for the failure of the expedition, cf. e.g. [Hahn] 1871, 79.

[265] The conditions of the pasha for the capitulation detailed in 9 articles and signed by Fabvier and eight Greek chiefs (by Fabvier's handwriting) in ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier 16J no. 10 12V.D.12. See document no. 24 in Blaquiere 1828, 281–286: 'Statement respecting the surrender of Acropolis of Athens, drawn up by the representative of the Chiefs of the Garrison, Captain Stelios, the Cephaloniote, and confirned by the verbal testimony of all who have come from the Acropolis to Egina, up to this day, 28th of May, 1828.' For the surrender, see also Dakin 1955, 156–157 and for the first-hand description of a philhellene see [Hahn] 1871, 74 who writes how he was moved and in a state of emotional turmoil when he finally left the fort where he had experienced so much deprivation, illnesses and pain.

FIG. 15. Return of the besieged after the capitulation of the Acropolis 1827, G.E. Opitz, watercolour, Benaki Museum, Athens.

Church. They, in return, blamed Fabvier, and each other.[266] The same endless circle of quarrels between the philhellenes, among the Greeks and between the Greeks and the philhellenes, continued. It was no wonder that the British ambassador in Paris wrote to the secretary of state of foreign affairs, Earl Dudley, on the 8th of October 1827:

> "…the observations he [admiral de Rigny] makes upon the unfortunate divisions which distract Greece, upon the English and French participants in that country, upon the pretensions of General Church, and Colonel Fabvier, and Lord Cochrane, all satisfy me not only that no sinister or partial views are cherished…"[267]

What did Myhrberg do, and what was his role in these events? His acts in the landing at Cape Colias, and the land operation at Phaleron prior to the surrender of the Acropolis, have so far been very unclear, with the exception of the fact that he was present at the battles: the official Greek testimonial mentions both Phaleron and Cape Colias.[268] In the tradition, Myhrberg's presence at Cape Colias is sometimes mentioned.[269] The scantiness of tradition about the events in which Myhrberg certainly took part, and in which he perhaps truly distinguished himself, seems to be characteristic. Conversely, there is a wealth of tradition about the events and places where he simply cannot have been present. Good examples are episodes on the Acropolis and Cape Colias: stories about Myhrberg's actions on the Acropolis are plentiful, even though he was not there in reality, while about his deeds at the battle of Cape Colias we can read only a few lines. Even Krohn noted the discrepancy between different descriptions and tried to solve the problem: "It seems that, after the battle at Colias, Myhrberg somehow rushed back to the fortress and took up his role as a messenger."[270] For the focal point of Myhrberg's acts at Cape Colias, the tradition has made use of Gordon's point that Myhrberg swam to the boats with all of his weapons.[271] Generally his role in the battle is not hugely dramatised in the tales.[272] It is mentioned that the battle was fierce and Myhrberg was trampled under the Turkish cavalry; he was, however, like a turtle with such a strong shell that he survived and made his way to the shore.[273] In the archival record the historical Myhrberg makes an appearance at the camp before Athens on

[266] See e.g. Cochrane's letter to Eynard cited above p. 111; Argenti 1933, xxi–xxii with references to correspondence between Fabvier and the British officers: Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 464 refers to Fabvier's bitterness about being under Church's command.
[267] Published by Argenti 1933, 9 (Public Record Office, F.O., France, 27, vol. 366, no. 135.)
[268] SRAM: "expédition du Phalère; débarquement & affaire du Cap Colias."
[269] E.g. Nord 1918, 67-68; Lydecken 1935, 63–64 who tells us that Myhrberg was one of the 26 philhellenes (according to Nord their number was 24).
[270] Krohn 1875, 31. Lydecken 1935, 64–65 dramaticises this further by relating that it was Myhrberg who proposed to Church the attempt to relieve the Acropolis after the battle of Cape Colias, and volunteered to dress as a Turk in order to get back into the fortress. He transported food to Fabvier's men under his loose Turkish clothes. For the messenger and Myhrberg, see above pp. 107–108.
[271] Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 472: "[Myhrberg] served throughout the winter campaign in Attica, and on the 6th of May swam out to the boats loaded with arms, not choosing to resign them to the enemy."
[272] See e.g. Krohn 1875, 30; Cederberg 1928, 149–151.
[273] Lydecken 1935, 64.

7 May 1827, when Richard Church (or rather his secretary, Lee[274]) wrote for Myhrberg a certificate (FIG. 16), which reads:

> "It is to be certified that Captain Myrhbergh has yesterday taken part in a battle for relieving the fortress of Athens with my army under my orders, and that he has distinguished himself by taking all the risks involved in my orders for transporting two pieces of cannons to the front posts. The present certificate is given as a proof of my satisfaction in him."[275]

We know that a handful of some twenty or so European volunteers of the irregular battalion survived the landing at Cape Colias. Myhrberg was one of them. In his testimonials he explains this event at length, describing it as "the most bloody and disastrous for the Greeks during this war" and specifies that he "was among the front guard, 356 men strong, of whom 46 were foreign volunteer officers and who, with the exception of 13 men – among whom the undersigned belongs – were all torn to pieces."[276] A rare document housed in the Finlay archives at the British School at Athens (Appendix A4) describes in detail the events of the night of 6 May 1827, and was written three days later by Myhrberg to Thomas Gordon on Syros.[277] This letter is a valuable account of an eye-witness from the point of view of one of the few philhellenes who took an active part and survived the battle. It is contemporary, and unlike the other documents written later by Myhrberg for different purposes, it appears to be a 'true story' of what he experienced:

> "I have come here without any hope of finding you, persuaded of the fact that the news about our latest disaster has been enough to make you leave this unfortunate country for ever. I wish also to tell you details about the bloody disaster which took place and which I take a liberty to enlighten you about.
>
> You are certainly aware that 3,000 men were disembarking in the night from 5 to 6 o'clock near the church situated in front of Phaleron on the slopes of Mount Hymettos. I had come to Ambelaki the day before and discovered immediately that all men had embarked and set sail so that I had no time but to embark myself, too, without knowing anything about the plan and the outline of the expedition, nor about the composition of the troops. When I understood that they wanted to attempt to try going for Athens I was very surprised to see that the troops did not leave the sea-shore until it was almost morning; they were waiting for the entire night onboard at the sea instead of moving on in advance.[278] It would have been possible to reach Athens without firing because the following day the men united just one quarter of an hour away from the city without seeing anybody. They had just 2 hours time to fortify themselves before the enemy, about 2,000 men strong of which 600 cavalrymen, appeared.

[274] "According to the words of his Excellency by the Principal Secretary, Lee."
[275] SRAM.
[276] Ia and Ib.
[277] BSA, Finlay, Appendix A4. The letter is not signed, but it is clearly in Myhrberg's handwriting; the contents also strongly support attributing the letter to Myhrberg: the writer names three other philhellenes who survived but omits his own, as well as referring to the certificate quoted above (n. 275) and to Gordon's letter to him preserved in SRAM (see below pp. 119–120).
[278] Byzantios 1901, 237–238, who observed the happenings from the Acropolis, notes, like Heideck, Jourdain and Myhrberg, the failure of the corps to act sooner instead of waiting on board for many hours and constructing *tambours* on the ground. From Cochrane's point of view, his nephew explains that the troops wasted a great deal of time and when they did move they stopped after the first half mile to erect *tambours* in order to be protected from the Turkish cavalry, G. Cochrane 1837, 81. For *tambours*, see the next note.

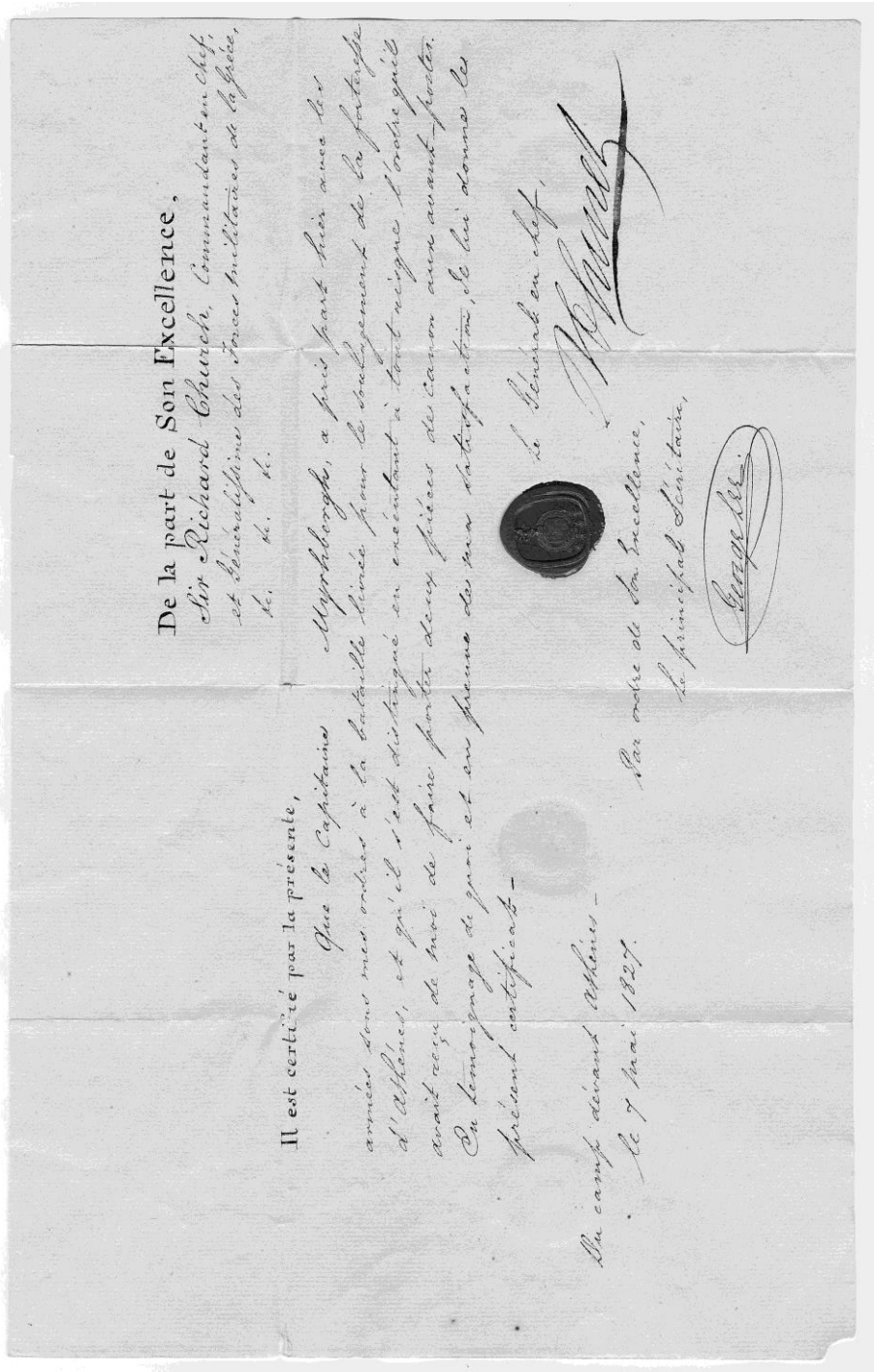


FIG. 16. Certificate given by general Church to Myhrberg outside Athens 1827, Swedish National Archives.

Unfortunately, no proper disposition had been established: 12 tambours[279] had been erected without choice of field or troops so that the best men, like the Suliotes, Candiotes and the Philhellenes found themselves in the most advanced tambours, the regular corps were confined to one tambour and in the rest were Canajotaki Notaras' and Micheli's men who this time, as previously, were together with Borbachi.[280] They abandoned their tambours at the moment when the first attacks were made and did not continue firing. Also, with the exception of a dozen men of the regular troops and two officers, all were dispersed. Hazbergi Arcondopulo, the chief of the Suliotes, all of the Philhellenes except 2, Messieurs Odon[281] and Machia[282] who had stayed behind for the Rotians [?]; Inglesi[283] with his 250 men, all were killed. Finally, of 26 foreigners, as we were, only 4 escaped: Captain Nerelbach, Odon, Machia and me. Bloody expiation of the massacre of the monastery![284] I had been ordered to transport the cannons to the tambours of the regular corps, 2 of them were already there and I found myself with the third 750 steps away from the tambour when the enemy attacked. We did not have time to pull but once; all was broken down and we were surrounded in an instant, and those who were lucky enough to escape rushed off to the sea to reach the vessels. The cavalrymen threw themselves into the sea in order to reach the vessels. More than 150 drowned. At the moment it is most reasonable to say that all is finished and the wish to capture the fortress ever again has faded. It was told here yesterday that Ibrahim has gone through to Roumeli[285] and that he has there torn into pieces the corps of Genejos and Sisini.[286] If the case is really so, I don't care about it, it being just a rumour. It would be lucky for the garrison if he came, because Kutaja[287] would perhaps like to respect capitulation even if his soldiers did not do so. We have been attacked with such a rage for which there is no earlier example – they came their heads lowered down and shouted like fanatics.

Things were like that there. You would perhaps have preferred to see me coming to you in person instead of sending this letter; my Colonel, I will always recognise your generous offer, but I cannot accept it – you have shown me the same kindness as Colonel Fabvier during the last 2 years and it would be sign of ingratitude and cowardice from my part to abandon him before his lot is decided. And even if I would like to join you I could not because I have lost all the little money I had till the last half sou. Messieurs Dujourdhui,[288] Dim. Kalery and

---

[279] 'Tambouri' literally means a stronghold, a bastion or a construction that the troops built for their defence. The best contemporary description of them (with an illustration) is given by Heideck 1898 vol. 2, 55–57; he explains that the term derives from the Turkish word *dabbur*. At Cape Colias these constructions were erected under the cover of night and were, according to [Gosse], *Séjour*, 51 "as bad as useless." Like Myhrberg, Gosse also mentions that twelve tambours were erected.

[280] Byzantios 1901, 242–243 also gives similar details to those of Myhrberg about the positions of the troops: Suliotes were the first, commanded by Makriyanni, followed by Kallergis' men, the Cretans, and the regular troops with 16 philhellenes and their two cannons. In Gosse's account, *Séjour*, 51 the Hydriotes and Canidiotes advanced from Phaleron bay, and Kitsos Tzavelas attacked the Turks from the olive groves.

[281] Odon was a French captain from Toulouse. He was still listed in the register of philhellenes in June 1828 under Fabvier's irregulars in the 'Contrôle de Philhellènes' ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier 16J no. 9, c1:14.

[282] Joh. Anton Macchia was an Italian colonel who died in Nauplion in 1835, where he worked in the Greek court-martial; Barth & Kehrig-Korn 1960, 174.

[283] Inglessi led the regular troops and was from Kephallonia.

[284] Monastery here most probably refers to the church of the Saviour of Three Towers which was situated near the coastline and where Church had his headquarters; see below n. 288.

[285] The area north of the gulf of Corinth.

[286] Sisinis was a Greek leader from the Morea [Peloponnese]; originally he was a doctor in Patras; for Sisinis, see e.g. Simopoulos 1999, 282.

[287] Kiutaha Pasha.

[288] For German First Lieutenant Franz Dujourdhui, see Kehrig & Korn 1960, 102–103. The monument of the philhellenes in Nauplion indicates that he died by the 'Three towers' (i.e. the church of the Saviour of Three Towers) at Phaleron; same in [Hahn] 1871 vol. 2, 79. According to Fornèzy 1884, no. 71, p. 238 Dujourdhui fought also in the battle of Chaidari.

> Inglesi[289] who owed me are dead, and having been obliged to depart from my habits I have also spent the amount I had of my own. One matter which consoles me is that I have saved my arms, and there are many men who cannot say the same thing.
>
> Apart from all I have addressed to you, my Colonel, I ask you to deliver to me a certificate of the service for the time I have had the honour to serve under your orders and to send it either here to the address of Mr Hens on Syra or to Mr Manarachi, Consul of Spain."

This letter was Finlay's prime source in his reconstruction of the events of the night of 6 May in his history of the war.[290] Gordon naturally used it in his own *History* as the letter was addressed to him.[291] Our knowledge about the number of philhellenes who survived (four out of twenty-six) comes from Myhrberg's letter, mostly through Finlay and Gordon, even though different information was initially available.[292] As we have seen, even Myhrberg himself in his testimonials from the beginning of the 1840s, gives different numbers for the philhellenes who were present and who survived (13 of 46).[293] The small number of surviving philhellenes in the letter could be explained by the confusion following the battle. After the massacre it was quite possibly not certain who had survived, and Myhrberg only later discovered more of his comrades who had had actually managed to escape. Jourdain who observed the battle from the sea remarks that "almost all Souliotes and Cretans died, and of twenty philhellenes only two were saved, the French Audon and Italian Macquère."[294] Audon is obviously Myhrberg's Odon, and Macquère his Machia. Another eye-witness was Gosse who listed in his *Séjour en Grèce* 20 philhellenes who "finished their career that day".[295] Commandant Leblanc's numbers in his report to de Rigny are 14 philhellene fatalities out of

[289] Kallergis led the Cretans in the battle. He and Inglessi were both killed.

[290] Finlay 1861 vol. 2, 151; cf. *idem*, vol. 6 1877, 429. It is for this volume that Finlay utilised Myhrberg's letter to Gordon, and in the upper margin of the letter he mentions that "I cannot recollect how it came into my possession."

[291] Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 401.

[292] In the studies before Finlay's later, revised edition, for which Myhrberg's letter was consulted, we see different numbers for philhellene fatalities; for example, Gravière 1876, 129 reports that 14 philhellenes perished. In the Myhrberg-narrative only Cederberg 1928, 150 specifies the number of survivors as 4, using Gordon as his source.

[293] Testimonial Ia. Following Myhrberg's numbers *RL*, 29 July 1899 mentions that of 376 men in the front row only 13 were saved, Myhrberg among them. The same numbers of men, 376 and 13, are mentioned by Karvelas 1901, 298 who specifies that 46 of them were philhellenes, and 13 of them, Myhrberg among them, were saved. Karvelas knows Myhrberg's testimonial and seems to be aware also of the certificate Church signed for him the next day.

[294] Jourdain 1828 vol. 2, 353. According to his count, almost 2,000 of the best of the Greek troops perished.

[295] Gosse's list of the deceased philhellenes in his *Séjour*, 55–56 is corrected by the editor according to the similar list he wrote down in a letter to Eynard, 11 May 1827, on Poros: Pascal (from Corsica), Dracos de Souli, Ritatori (from Piedmont), Nicolas (from Constantinople), Dujourd'hui (from Thurgau), Lefèvre (form Normandy), Pazzani (from Corsica), Becker (from Wurtemburg), Rheinold and Wolf (from Hesse-Cassel), Georgio (from Slavonie), Marco (from Hungary), Brubacher (from Bavaria), Zimmermann (from Hamburg), Carel (from Toulon), Dimitrovich (from Illyria), Christopoulos, Marsiliesi (from Corsica), Seiffarth (from Meersburg) and Doudiet (from Basle). A.E. Hahn lists 14 names of fallen philhellenes, all of whom, except Fisher (from Prussia), Geisert (from Baden) Georg (from Hungary), are also listed by Gosse.

24.[296] Church reports in his explanation of the event to the Greeks that "only four of the courageous philhellenes remain, and almost all of the brave Suliotes died at their posts."[297] Heideck reports that of the "Taktiker und Philhellenen" more than 30 died.[298] In the *Taktikon*'s register of the philhellenes, signed in July 1827 by Fabvier and Pisa, 19 philhellenes are marked as having died in the battle of Cape Colias.[299] Hahn lists the names of 14 German philhellenes who died, and says that just as many Frenchmen and Italians fell.[300] Dionysios Sourmelis published in 1828 a list of the names of the men who had fallen in the battle. His list contains the names of ten philhellenes.[301]

Gosse further explains that 22 (or 23, commentator's note) philhellenes had managed to transport a cannon towards Philopappos without meeting resistance, and since they had no further orders they abandoned their hazardous position. Gosse had stayed overnight onboard Cochrane's schooner in the Phaleron bay, and at dawn, immediately before the action, the two decided to go and see the results of the preparation for the battle at Cape Colias. They planned to have a promenade along the Phaleron bay with the intention of going to have lunch in Athens (!). His description of the scene on the battlefield is most vivid and authentic, even though he was obviously loyal to Cochrane. Gosse and Cochrane were accompanied by the latter's nephew, George, who also wrote about the occasion later.[302] On their way they encountered a Candiote (i.e. Cretan) soldier bringing an urgent letter addressed to general Church from the philhellenes in the forward position. The message informed them that the philhellenes had reached the close vicinity of the fortress, within firing range, and now asked what they should do next. Gosse accompanied the soldier in order to find Church, who was at the chapel near the coastline. He found the general dictating a dispatch, as indifferent as ever about the devastation taking place around him. At that moment they heard the noise of frantic gunshots from a distance and saw the Turkish cavalry approaching, cutting off the heads of the slaughtered and throwing them into bags which hung on their saddles. Gosse and his party observed the panic and disorder into which the regular troops had been thrown near the beach at Cape Colias. They ran into the boat, and

[296] See below p. 119. The number 14 for philhellene fatalities is given also by [Hahn] 1871, 79 (see above), and later also by Gravière 1876, 129 who specifies that 286 regulars were among the number of 1,500 men killed, 240 were taken prisoner.
[297] Church's report published in Lesur, appendix, 127–128.
[298] Heideck 1898 vol. 2, 61.
[299] 'Contrôle de Philhellènes', ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier, no. 9 and 10 (for details, see above p. 62–63 [n. 34]). The names in this list differ greatly from the lists of Hahn and Gosse: only eight names, Ritator, Garel, Wollf, Raunold, Beker, Daudier, Passano and Marseillei, coincide with their lists.
[300] [Hahn] 1871 vol. 2, 79.
[301] Simopoulos 1999 vol. 5, 211 cites the booklet published on Aegina in 1828. The names are: Robert, Reval, Ferdinandos, D'Armaniac, Para, Rigal, Voarion, Limar, Rafail, Clement. In the Myhrberg-narrative a number for those philhellenes who took part in the battle of Cape Colias is specified only by Cederberg 1928, 149 and Lydecken 1935, 64. Suprisingly the numbers are different (Lydecken tends to follow Cederberg: according to Cederberg 26 volunteer philhellenes were present while Lydecken gives the number as 25).
[302] Cochrane 1837, 79–82: "I had accompanied Lord Cochrane ashore half an hour previous to the attack and we proceeded to General Church's headquarters which were at a small church about a hundred yards from the beach" (p. 82).

Cochrane waded in the sea up to his neck.[303] Gosse does not name the philhellenes who sent the message to Church, but it is most probable that Myhrberg was one of them since the philhellenes were positioned together at the head of the troops, with the cannons, Myhrberg recounting in his letter that it was one of his many duties to transport the cannons to the *tambours*.

A brief summary of the miserable event is given by commandant Leblanc in his report to admiral de Rigny. It reads:

> "On Sunday the sixth, the corps of three thousand Greeks, supported by a battery of six pieces, disembarked on the beach to the southeast of Phaleron and marched from behind the Turkish posts which were close to the Acropolis. This corps was supported by the troops in a position north of the Piraeus (the corps of Karaiskakis), and by the ones which occupied the top of the Phaleron hill (the corps of Gordon[304]). Due to badly understood measures, and non-execution of them, the disembarked troops were left without support by the corps which should have defended them. The troops advanced to the plain when a two-thousand-strong Turkish cavalry approached and attacked them. One charge of ten minutes by two thousand cavalrymen was enough to destroy them totally; one thousand five hundred or two thousand men perished; this number includes fourteen philhellenes (of the twenty-four who took part to the combat), and one hundred and eighty men of the regular corps commanded by Inglessi (Inglessi was killed in the action). Generals Church and Cochrane failed to do anything. The latter was saved only by throwing himself to the sea and swimming to the embarked vessel."[305]

Even though there is no consensus as to the number of philhellenes, it seems plausible that around twenty of them fought in the battle, and Myhrberg was certainly one of them. The different accounts give contradictory numbers of survivors, and the truth may be somewhere in between 4 and 13, figures which Myhrberg gives in two of his testimonials.

After the battle of Cape Colias, the real Myhrberg was somewhat desperate and uncertain about the future, as we can read in his letter to Gordon. They had found each other by this time, and had become friends. Gordon remembered Myhrberg as his oft-cited description of our philhellene shows: "We gladly sieze this opportunity of paying a tribute of applause to Myhrberg, the best and bravest of the philhellenes, a Swede by birth, and remarkable alike for his strength, stature, courage and exemplary moral conduct…"[306] The correspondence between the two is warm and relatively intimate after Cape Colias and the surrender of the Acropolis. Gordon left Greece and travelled to Ancona on 5 July 1827, from where he sent Myhrberg a letter with a recommendation to Lord Cochrane (as Myhrberg had requested him to do), and asked Myhrberg to collect letters addressed to him and copy them.[307] Before this, Gordon had written a long letter to Myhrberg, who was on Poros or Syros, from the Port of St. Nicolas, in which he was worried about the situation:

> "At this moment one could consider the war of Greece is finished because no resistance can be put together. When you left me on Poros I was not joking because at the moment I have only

[303] Gosse *Séjour*, 51–56.
[304] See above.
[305] Cited in Debidour 1904, 327–328.
[306] Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 471.
[307] SRAM.

> two concerns: as you insist on staying in Greece you must be absolutely mad, not least because you alone try to be useful to Colonel Fabvier who cannot but look forward to being relieved from his duties as a happy instance. I persuade you to finally recognise what you owe to your family and to your country, and invite you to join me at Zante later on in order to as soon as possible return with me to Europe…"[308]

This was a direct response to the explanation in Myhrberg's letter about his debt to Fabvier and how he was not able to leave him at the moment of crisis. Gordon tried to persuade Myhrberg to leave Greece for the second time, and our philhellene declined the offer again. Perhaps, despite all his recent misfortunes, he still saw a possibility for taking a step forward in his career.

Myhrberg's official Greek testimonial states that he had gained his third promotion in January 1827 when he was nominated aide-de-camp of colonel Gordon. In his own testimonials Gordon is not mentioned, instead, he is said to have become captain and a member of the staff of general Richard Church's officers in September 1827.[309] If Myhrberg had been nominated Gordon's adjutant in January it must have been during the winter campaign for the relief of Athens in which Gordon played an active role.[310] He did not hold this position for long, and Myhrberg seems to have been without a definitive task or position after Cape Colias until the time Gordon left the country at the beginning of July 1827.[311] Myhrberg had asked Gordon for a recommendation to Cochrane and asked him to send it to Syros. The same day that Gordon left for Ancona he sent the following reference to the general:

> Certificate: I have the honour of recommending to his Excellency Lord Cochrane, Mr Mihrberg, my Aid-de-Camp as a brave & skilful officer & a young man endowed with every good quality. Zante July 5th 1827 Thoˢ Gordon.[312]

It is worth noting that in the certificate, after Cape Colias, Church made his secretary write to Myhrberg using the title of captain. Finlay gives him the title of lieutenant in connection with this battle.[313] In the Greek testimonial, even when he is nominated aide-de-camp to colonel Fabvier in 1828, he is entitled lieutenant aide-de-camp.[314] Bruun thinks that since the situation was exceptional, promotions in practice took place on the field and were not systematically registered, least of all at the *Taktikon*'s headquarters.[315] This view seems very plausible: the *Contrôle* of the philhellenes in *Taktikon*'s register, signed by Fabvier and Pisa in June 1827, still shows Myhrberg's military rank as lieutenant.[316] Thus, since his latest promotion had not guaranteed him any special task or post, Myhrberg was still in search of one in the late summer of 1827.

---

[308] SRAJ, dated 17 May 1827; partly discussed in Bruun 1996, 146.
[309] Testimonials IIa and IIb.
[310] For Gordon's campaigns, see above pp. 77, 95.
[311] Bruun 1966, 146.
[312] SRAJ.
[313] Finlay 1877 vol. 6, 430.
[314] For discussion, see below p. 124.
[315] Bruun 1966, 147, 149–151.
[316] ADM-M Dossiers Fabvier 16J, no. 9 C1:14, for more detail, see above pp. 62–63 (n. 34).

There is one further matter in Myhrberg's own writings which deserves to be clarified in this connection, namely his wounds. In his testimonials he consistently mentions the wounds in his left temple caused by a musket ball at Charysto on Euboea. Concerning the wound in his left knee caused by shrapnel from a bomb, he gives different details regarding where it was received. In the testimonial of 1842 he reports that an incident took place on 6 May 1827 "on the plain of Athens" in connection with the "affair of Cape Colias," but in the preliminary version (the 'concept'), this happened during the "affair of Chaïdary in front of Athens", and the wounding at Cape Colias is mentioned without specification. In his 'military testimonial' he differentiates the two, and is reported to have been wounded in the left knee by a bomb at "Chaydary outside Athens" in 1826, and in the left thigh by a lance at Cape Colias in 1827. Only in the 'concept' of the testimonial, written to the king of Sweden, does he mention his serious wounds gained on Chios. Thus, he is relatively consistent in connection with his wound from the battle at Cape Colias. Despite his serious injuries, Myhrberg was still unable to be consistent in his method of recounting information in his testimonials. As long as his message was clear, he did not see the necessity for accuracy of detail. In his old age he was suffering from "old wounds", as they are sometimes mentioned by those who knew him. Fredrika Bremer, for example, wrote in 1862 to her friend Adrienne Lenormant that "le pauvre Philhellène est malade d'une vieille blessure grecque à la jambe!"[317] Perhaps in order to connect well-known significant battles and Myhrberg's wounds, Sara Wacklin mentioned in her biography of Myhrberg that he was badly wounded in Navarino, the battle in which Myhrberg did not take part.[318] We shall now go to the islands with wounded Myhrberg in the autumn of 1827.

6. The Islands

CHIOS

After the surrender of the Acropolis during the late summer and early autumn of 1827, Fabvier found himself without a command. The *Epitropé* (local government) of Chios had no difficulty, therefore, in enlisting the colonel's interest in the liberation of Chios.[319] Like many philhellenes, Fabvier was willing to stay in military positions in Greece after the decisive sea battle at Navarino. The war was not over; it continued in a series of expeditions the significance of which was to secure for the new country as much territory as possible. Fabvier led one of these expeditions to Chios.[320] The proposal for this enterprise was accepted and authorised by the Greek government, and they thus undertook a share of responsibility for an

[317] [Bremer] 1920, 222 (letter dated 25 October 1862).
[318] Wacklin 1844 (1974), 322.
[319] Argenti 1933, xxii.
[320] For the expedition see esp. Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 450–473; Debidour 1904, 334–369 and Argenti 1933 (the course of events in the 'Introduction').

expedition which could no longer be considered a private venture.[321] At the end of October 1827, one day after Navarino, the regular forces sailed from Methana towards Chios under the command of the colonel, who, in the name of Greek government, had issued before landing an order which stated the strict rules which were to be obeyed during the campaign. Since most expeditions had failed, he stated, due to inferior leadership and above all owing to the poor discipline of the irregular troops, the objective was now to act differently, to liberate Chios and ameliorate the conditions of the island's inhabitants. No soldier was allowed to leave his camp without the permission of his commanding officer, and no officer of any rank was permitted, without the express order of colonel Fabvier, to requisition any article, except foodstuffs, and these only in the district where the units were posted.[322] Fabvier had 2,000 men, and 700 of them were regulars. At first all seemed to proceed well: having landed on Chios on 28 October, Fabvier gained a good position in the mountains. He achieved some success despite the immense difficulties he faced during the campaign. At the end of January, for example, 'the affair of Tourlotti' was a victory. The Turks had gained possession of the height of Tourlotti, and on 23 January Fabvier made a valiant assault at the head of a handful of regulars, inflicting heavy casualties and thereby succeeding in forcing the Turks to return to the fort.[323] Hahn, who served in Fabvier's corps on Chios until the beginning of March, described the enthusiastic attitude of Fabvier towards his philhellenes during the battle: "Volunteers come forward! Today, soldiers, I want to see that bread which I shared with you during the days of sorrow."[324] Fabvier proudly wrote a report about "the glory of this splendid day" to Capodistrias:

> "... The slaughter was terrific. Of 1,000 men [Turks] who made the *sortie* hardly 150 regained the fort. Only 30 prisoners were taken. [...] The moat round the fort is still full of corpses and wounded. The leading Turkish officer fell in the battle. The *élite* of their forces has been lost. We captured seven flags. [...] I owe the greatest praise to all the officers and men of the regular corps who maintained their positions, disregarding the fact that the enemy had gained possession of the heights at their rear ... The majority of the officers and men of the regular troops actually fought duels with the Turks, most of whom they slew with their swords."[325]

Gordon notes in his *History* that the behaviour of the regular troops on Chios proved satisfactory and the battalions were inspired with unbounded admiration of

[321] Argenti 1933, xxii. Fontanier 1829 vol. 1, 207 regards the expedition mostly as a mercantile enterprise, a monetary affair between the local government (*Epitrope*) and the mainland Greeks. For this, Captain Leblanc was appointed negotiator (for Leblanc, see below p. 106).
[322] Argenti 1933, xxiii,
[323] For the first-hand description of the battle, see e.g. [Hahn] 1871 vol. 2, 93–96; see also Argenti 1933, xxxvi–xxxvii; Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 456–457.
[324] [Hahn] 1871 vol. 2, 94, see also *ibid.*, 91–92 for the preparations of the operation. Hahn was probably enthused by the encouragement since he was to be promoted to captain of infantry at the end of the month on Chios; see ADM-M, dossiers Fabvier 16J, a list of the promotions in January 1828, including 23 names, most of them Greeks.
[325] Fabvier's report to Capodistrias from Chios, 24 January 1828 (published in *Yeniki Efimeris*, no. 6, February 1828) cited in Argenti 1933, xxxvii. In ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier 16J, no. 9 there is, for example, a letter congratulating Fabvier for the victory "this morning" by colonel Pisa and all the officers on board, dated 22 January 1828.

their chief, and had gained confidence in themselves.[326] This campaign, however, was to end in total disaster; only cavalry horses and a very few pieces of military equipment were saved.[327] The failure of this expedition meant total ruin for the island's inhabitants; they had to be evacuated and relocated to the last soul.[328] Most of Fabvier's regular and irregular troops abandoned him in desperation, lack of food and ammunition. The Greek soldiers tended to accuse Fabvier of favouring his compatriots at the expense of they who were placed in the front phalanx.[329] They took to the mountains and overran the whole island, pillaging and plundering it in the cruelest way.[330] As a result, the last attempt also failed, and the Greek corps escaped the siege of Chios harbour in the night of 11 March 1828. The last regulars disembarked for Syros on 18 March.[331] On 23 March Fabvier obtained a passage to Syros with the last 300 officers and wounded men.[332] Hahn blames the insuperable difficulties which Fabvier faced, such as the severity of the weather, perfidy of the Chian commission, lack of discipline regardless of all efforts to control it, and the inexperience of the Greek officers and gunners. The reasons for explanation of the failure have not changed in later reports. Hahn's view was directly adopted by Gordon for his *History*.[333] Fabvier resigned soon afterwards, returning to France in August 1828.[334] When he returned he was hailed as a national hero, and was decorated with the Order of the royal legion, because he was "coming from the country of the brave memories of Miltiades and Leonidas, and had defended the descendants of Homer and Plutarch… and secured the fate of

[326] Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 471. Fabvier's capacity of calming men down is often mentioned in the reports; see e.g. Debidour 1904, 369.

[327] Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 472; Bruun 1963, 159. For contrary information and for more details, see below pp. 124–125.

[328] See the letter of admiral de Rigny to baron Hyde de Neuville, minister of the French navy, of 31 March 1828, published in Argenti 1933, 106–108 about the recent developments and necessity of evacuation. In his dispatch no. 126 on 9 May, Count Guillemont, French ambassador in Constantinople, provided Count de la Ferronnays, minister of foreign affairs and secretary of state of France, with extracts from letters of de Rigny who wrote on 1 April: "Chios is evacuated. There have been abominable scenes among the Greeks. They were willing to assasinate Fabvier, and they especially accuse us of betrayal, saying that the French wanted Chios for themselves, etc…"

[329] See e.g. the diary of colonel Touret ('Journal de Grèce'), commandant of Athens, decribing the events from November 1827 to March 1828, and from 1 January on Chios, to 31 December 1828 in Argos, published by Argenti 1933, 111–115. Touret explains that Fabvier had not addressed a pleasant word to the philhellenes either, because they had expressed their inclination not to obey all his commands (p. 113). On the 3 February 1828 Touret added to his notes: "Fabvier est un brutal" (p. 114).

[330] In the report of 4 April 1828 from Fabvier to Capodistrias, he explained: "… Captains and their soldiers leave one after another and leave me alone with a couple of hundreds of regulars" (published by Argenti 1933, 110). See also Fontanier 1829 vol. 1, 302; Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 458–469; Argenti 1933, xxxviii–xxxix. Fontanier 1829 vol. 1, 301–302 describes the cruelty of the Greeks: they decapitated everybody they could, and having put an orange in the mouth of a head, they presented these to the enemy as their companions and, making fun of them, asked them to eat the oranges.

[331] Touret, *Journal de Grèce*, cited in Argenti 1933, 111.

[332] Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 471. The previous day, eight Greek launchers and barques sailed away, and Fabvier sent a written protest on board the French frigate, the accusation being of having been left on a barren rock without food, ammunition, or water (*ibid.*).

[333] [Hahn] 1871, 101–102; Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 471.

[334] Debidour 1933, 380. He was succeeded by von Heideck.

the classical land of Greece to a place of honour."[335] Chios remained a part of the Ottoman Empire for another 84 years.

What was Myhrberg's part in the Chios operation? The Greek testimonial states that Myhrberg became colonel Fabvier's adjutant (lieutenant aide-de-camp) in January 1828. This is probably true, despite the information he himself gives in his testimonials of the 1840s. In the 'military' testimonials (IIa and IIb), Myhrberg reports that he became Fabvier's adjutant in September 1828, during the expedition to Chios.[336] If we believe the Greek testimonial, rather than that of Myhrberg's own reporting,[337] it means that he was nominated Fabvier's adjutant during the last stage of the Chios campaign. In an invitation to dine on Chios, from Fabvier to Myhrberg on 16 December 1827, the colonel mentions rather surreptitiously that he will, "*a propos*", reveal something pleasant to Myhrberg. Myhrberg later used the paper for making his own pencil-written notes about some near contemporary incidents of an event in Tourlotti, which Myhrberg says "took place the next day."[338] Bruun discusses the possible connection of the note and the date of Myhrberg's nomination as Fabvier's adjutant, suggesting the possibility that, as a result of discussions on the evening of 16 December, Fabvier chose Myhrberg to hold the position which became official in January. Myhrberg later wrote his notes on the invitation in order to remind him of the connection with the first event.[339] It is obvious – as we see in the light of the archival documents – that, as with almost all of his chiefs, Myhrberg also established a close and mutually-respectful friendship with Fabvier, and this friendship may have deepened, particularly during the Chios campaign. Myhrberg's service as the colonel's adjutant did not last long, however, because Fabvier returned to France at the beginning of August 1828.

The Chios expedition has been connected with heroic Myhrberg-tales mainly due to Gordon's account of Myhrberg, which is a footnote to his examination of the possible reasons for the disastrous results of the Chios campaign. He specifies that "…most of the cavalry horses were saved through the energy of his [Fabvier's] Aid-de-Camp, Captain Myhrbergh."[340] There is no mention of this detail, however, in the texts of other authors who wrote about the expedition.

---

[335] ADM-M 16J no. 10, d 1a19, signed in Paris 13 October 1828. Fabvier himself writes to Myhrberg, in a letter dated 22 June 1828 (SRAM), about the "amiable reception" he received in France on his arrival, and to Eduard Grasset, representative of France in Greece, he mentions in his letter written from Toulon, 8 September 1828, that he "has been received … very well!", ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier 16J, no. 9, V c.2.

[336] In the testimonials written to the king of Sweden (Ia and Ib), Myhrberg does not specify the date of nomination but writes: "Aide-de-camp du Général Fabvier pendant la campaign de Chios 1827 & 1828."

[337] Bruun 1966, 148 regards Myhrberg's reporting as a slip of the memory and explains that this is understandable because Myhrberg and Fabvier certainly became close friends during the Chios campaign, a friendship which can be observed in the later correspondence between the two men.

[338] SRAM: "Le lendemain eut lieu l'affaire de Dorlatti."

[339] Bruun 1966, 148–150.

[340] Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 471. This mention has been utilised by authors writing about Myhrberg, e.g. Wacklin 1844 (1974), 357; *Abl*, 1 April 1867 followed by *Hbl* no. 83, 9 April 1867 and *ÅU* no. 42, 9 April 1867; *Svea* 1868, 209–210; Krohn 1875, 37; Dietrichson 1901, 135, 138; Karvelas 1901, 298; Rein 1909, 348; Nord 1918, 75; Cederberg 1928, 162–163; Sovelius-Sovio 2001, 15. Krohn even specifies that the event took place on 14 March 1828. In *Rl* we are told that the brave Myhrberg also led this expedition ("Tätäkin yritystä uljas Myhrberg johti").

Colonel Touret noted in his diary on Chios that "the corps abandoned the siege of the port of Scio during the night of 11/23 March 1828; regular corps comprised 659 men; irregulars 1,334; the horses could not embark and were killed by the shore."[341] Gordon does not specify the occasion on which Myhrberg's act took place: was it connected with the final abandonment of the siege of the Chios fort by the Greeks, or with the final departure from the island when the Turks had been loitering in the environs of the town? The Turks attempted one further small attack, exchanging musket fire across the ravine without initiating a larger attack, even if it had been possible for them to do so.[342] Hahn wrote a detailed description of the events,[343] and his text seems to have been the main source for Gordon's examination in his *History* of the course of events in Tourlotti, and during the last phase of the campaign; Gordon follows Hahn's text quite faithfully.[344] Hahn does not mention Myhrberg, nor saving the horses. Thus, Gordon seems to have added the famous passage in the footnote about our philhellene in this connection to honour his personal friend, with whom he was in contact in the 1830s.[345] Fabvier's last 300 men had obviously suffered many hardships during the campaign, especially during its unlucky last phase, and this, together with hunger and low morale, certainly took its toll on their memories of Chios. Such suffering must have left a permanent impression in the minds of the philhellenes, and it is possible that Myhrberg, sometime in his later life, seized the opportunity to recount the hardships related to his deeds to overcome adversities and his wounds. He may already have started in Greece with Gordon, when the latter was writing his *History* and used sometimes to meet our philhellene.

The Chios expedition has generated little tales for the Myhrberg-narrative, with the exception of the previously-cited tale about the abduction of a maiden by Myhrberg and his companions before joining the expedition to Chios.[346] In the narrative there is, however, one heroic description relating Myhrberg's acts on Chios, and it is told, surprisingly, by Myhrberg's only Greek biographer, and is not encountered in any other tale. Karvelas explains how on the island Myhrberg saved Fabvier's life in one of the many battles of 1828; Fabvier commanded the attacks and Myhrberg fought so bravely that his sword was bent into a curve. On the basis of this event, warm bonds of friendship were established between the two men.[347] We recall here the numerous mentions in the Myhrberg-narrative about the philhellene saving Fabvier's life on Euboea, the episode with which Karvelas might have confused this one.

If Myhrberg was promoted to Fabvier's adjutant on Chios, this provided him with a title by which he was to become later known in Finland. For this we can thank Z. Topelius' poem 'Colonel Fabvier's Adjutant' ('Öfverste Fabviers Adjutant'), mentioned above. It was written in honour of Myhrberg after his death. The

[341] Touret, *Journal de Grèce*, published in Argenti 1933, 113.
[342] Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 470.
[343] [Hahn] 1871 vol. 2, 87–101.
[344] Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 450–471.
[345] Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 471. For Myhrberg's probable visit to Gordon's house in Scotland, see below p. 149.
[346] See above p. 51.
[347] Karvelas 1901, 298. See discussion on saving Fabvier's life above pp. 79–80.

purpose of the poem is not to present historical facts, but rather the heroic association between Myhrberg and Fabvier which plays the primary role in its concept. The two men together, as equals, are looking at the dawn which symbolises the future:[348]

> "It is said that to his Adjutant
> gave Fabvier his hand
> and they looked towards the glory of the morning dawn
> at the edge of the horizon.
>
> Two gallant eagles flew there
> towards the mountain of Zeus Kronion:
> one emerged from the light of south, and the other
> from the night and sorrow of the north."

These words have an important place in the use of Myhrberg's life history for historical purposes in 1860s Finland. Behind their poetic symbolism is the fact that Myhrberg and Fabvier truly became close friends, in a similar way to that in which Myhrberg had gained the friendship of his previous commanding officers, Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely and Thomas Gordon. One day before Fabvier left Greece, on 4 August 1828, he wrote a letter on Aegina to Myhrberg, "Monsieur de Mirberg. Lieutenant Philhéllène" (Appendix A3):

> "On the moment of our departure I wish to tell you how much I value your pleasant company. When you came [to Greece] you served under my orders as a modest, simple cavalryman, but solely by your zeal and personal merit you have gained promotion in rank; your conduct has been so good and so honourable that you have gained both the respect and attachment of all the men who have got to know you. I place you above any other person. I have seen you brave in front of the enemy. You are courteous towards your friends.
>
> Return now to your noble country where you can with honour carry a Swedish name. You will move to France and will be well-received there also because, as you know, friendship unites our two nations. Sometime we will meet again. Believe me that with true pleasure I will embrace you and shall always renew the ties of sincere attachment I owe you. All yours, Colonel Fabvier."[349]

But Myhrberg did not return; he rejected Fabvier's wish to leave Greece as he had turned down Gordon's advice to leave the country one year and three months earlier. Some of the reasons for his decision may be traced in the archival material which reveals details about Myhrberg's movements during the months which followed.

IN THE ARCHIPELAGO

The next time we meet Myhrberg is in August 1828 on Poros, where he seems to have stayed together with Fabvier before the colonel travelled to France and left Greece behind (not, however, for ever). A few things had happened before that point; in the summer of 1828 Gordon had returned to Greece. A letter from Gordon

[348] Z. Topelius, *Sånger* 1876, 105–111; for the text in original Swedish, see Appendix D1.
[349] SRAJ.

to Myhrberg is preserved, wishing Myhrberg a happy trip to Syros and asking him for information about a person called Agnes de Findecki.[350] In the margin of this undated letter Myhrberg has written his own pencil notes in the form of a type of mini diary, perhaps as a reminder of the recent course of events. He begins on 27 July,[351] when "Gordon has arrived on Poros.[352] He has given me much hope. Dined on board at Gordon's with Fabvier." Bruun, rightly, reconstructs a likely situation in which Myhrberg had stayed with Fabvier on Poros. Gordon had arrived there, and knowing of the future departure of his chief, Myhrberg had now turned to Gordon for advice. Gordon may have then recommended him to take a position as von Heideck's adjutant.[353] Myhrberg's notes further clarify his movements from late June to mid August, when he seems to have (again) been without a permanent position. Finlay tells us that the pay of Fabvier's corps had fallen ten months into arrears after the unfortunate expedition to Chios. Finlay blames Capodistrias' conscious neglect of the regular troops for this situation: instead of paying the troops and retaining Fabvier's veterans under arms, he allowed them to disband. According to Finlay, the reason was that the troops had been attached to Fabvier, and Capodistrias was jealous of Fabvier's influence.[354] Thus, Myhrberg was also without official financial support. After the return from Chios, Fabvier gradually relinquished his duties as head of the *Taktikon* throughout the spring and summer. During that time, Myhrberg acted as his secretary in Methana, the administrative centre of the philhellenic activity, editing his reports and financial declarations.[355] Myhrberg's notes in the margin of Gordon's letter also show that, even though

[350] SRAM.

[351] The dates in Myhrberg's notes run from 8 August to 24 August. Here, however, Myhrberg must have followed the Old Style dating, corresponding to New Style dates from 27 July to 12 August. The reason is that Fabvier had left on 5 August, and thus cannot have any longer been present on the islands when Gordon returned. Myhrberg gives one double date, 5/17 August. Cf. Bruun's (1966, 152–153) discussion on dates which differs slightly from my suggestion.

[352] Gordon was already on Poros, probably from 19 July, or had returned a week later, since Heideck wrote to Fabvier from Nauplion on 17 July 1828 that "Gordon has arrived here and will depart tomorrow for Poros where you certainly will meet him." ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier 16J, no. 10.

[353] Bruun 1966, 152.

[354] Finlay 1877 vol. 7, 37. Finlay (p. 38) also explains the reason for Fabvier's reassignment: "As soon as Fabvier perceived that the military plans of the President were subordinated to personal schemes of ambition, he resigned his command." The payments to the philhellenes had also been a problem earlier: after Fabvier left Athens in May, the philhellenes in his corps did not receive a salary for months. At that time, however, they still had confidence in him and promised to "hold on to the flag"; see [Hahn] 1870 vol. 1, 64. The register of the philhellenes ('Contrôle de Philhellènes') between August 1826 and June 1827 (ADM-M, dossiers Fabvier 16J, see above) lists also the salaries of each category of the philhellenes: lieutenants (31) were paid 0.22 piastres a day; captains (17) 1.30, volunteers 0.15, and the colonel (1) 1.20 piasters per day. The sums probably were advisory and, in the case of the lack of money, payments were simply cancelled.

[355] In HAMFA there are a few documents in Myhrberg's own handwriting (certified by Fabvier) between 25 and 28 June 1828, e.g. 68:1a,b, nos. 2308 (1828): a report on the finances and expenses of the *Taktikon* specifying that his corps of the *Stavrophori* had consisted of 2,944 men in the infantry, 308 in cavalry, 225 in artillery, and of 23 musicians (altogether 3,500 men), but the catastrophes of Athens reduced his troops by 1,015 men, and of Chios by 300 men. Fabvier adds that he possessed 50,000 piastres from which he would have liked to pay for different philhellenic parties, and he would donate the rest of the money to the Greek government. In the margins of some letters from this period among the Dossiers Fabvier in ADM-M, no. 9 there are small notes or corrections made by Myhrberg himself, e.g. a letter dated 20 April 1828 in Tacticoupolis and sent to Poros.

Fabvier resigned from his position of commandant of the *Taktikon* after the campaign on Chios, Myhrberg still followed him throughout the summer until the colonel's final departure for France.[356] He travelled with Fabvier and Gordon to Aegina four days after the first note on Poros in his 'diary' (31 July), and stayed on board with Gordon all of the following day. He socialised with the two men during this time. On 5 August Myhrberg reported that Fabvier dined on board with Gordon, and at eight o'clock in the evening Fabvier left on board the *Gabarren* which was accompanied by fresh winds the whole night. This must have been the frigate on which Fabvier sailed from Greece.[357]

Myhrberg's notes further inform us that he left Aegina for Syros the next day, together with a philhellene named Urquhart.[358] On the way they stayed at the port in Thermia, when Myhrberg tells us that his fever returned, and was still bad a week later. He arrived on Syros on 12 August (when "damned captain Sas[359] anchored the ship on the wrong side of the island"), sought for somewhere to stay overnight, and the next morning met a French philhellene,V. Rabusson, with whom he reported having had "a long conversation." He adds that "the future will show if I was once again fooled by him as by Molliere" (*framtiden visar mig om jag ännu en gång narrat mig som med Molliere*). Mollière is mentioned as Fabvier's adjutant and close follower by V. Fontanier, a French traveller who wandered in Greece in 1827–1828 and was present on Chios during the last phase of the campaign.[360]

---

[356] Capodistrias wrote to Fabvier on Aegina, a couple of days before his departure, that the government of Greece had decided to pay to the colonel 52,000 piastres for his services to the country: HAMFA, 68:1a, document no. 2308 (1828), dated 1 August 1828, sent to Aegina. It is also explained that Fabvier and his positive input are not to be blamed for the current state of disorder of the troops. Fabvier, in a letter of 7 June 1828, had explained to the government that all his expenditure had been motivated by the interest of Greece and that "you may be certain about their modesty,… because I have sacrificed for the nation of Greece more than God has given to me and have shed half of my blood in order to be useful…"

[357] Bruun 1966, 153.

[358] This Urquhart must be the British philhellene David Urquhart, because his older brother Charles had died tragically at the beginning of March 1828 in Grabousa, when a house collapsed and buried him in rubble; see Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 256. David Urquhart had arrived in Greece a year earlier (1 August 1827) and, after his tour to Turkey in 1830, turned into a passionate turcophile and famous mishellene. His first prominent mishellenic work, *Spirit of the East* was published in 1838. Urquhart's biographer, Robinson, 1921, 3 remarks that he regretted all his life his boyish participation in the Greek War of Independence, and carried on a life-long crusade against unjust war as robbery and murder. As a diplomat, Urquhart wrote much on the conditions in the east, see e.g. his *Turkey and Its Resources, Its Municipal Organisation and Free Trade; the State of English Commerce in the East, the New Administration of Greece, Its Revenue and National Possessions* (1833). For Urquhart, see esp. Robinson 1921, 3–16. Urquhart must already have been under a certain amount of suspicion in 1827 when Cochrane wrote to Fabvier from Poros, dated 7 July 1827, rejecting the obvious accusations and saying that Urquhart was a man of honour incapable of plotting against the Greeks, ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier no. 10.

[359] I have not been able to trace the identity of this sea captain.

[360] Fontanier 1829, 303 (for Fontanier's description on the events on Chios, see pp. 207–214). See also Bruun 1966, 153 about Mollière, mentioned as Fabvier's adjutant by a French naval officer, Joseph Kerviler. In the *Taktikon*'s register of philhellenes (ADM-M, dossiers Fabvier 16J, see above), signed 19 June 1827, Alexandre Mollière is still listed as a French Volunteer from Orleans. He stayed in Greece in the early 1830s in rather a high military position, as a Chief of the battalion in the Greek service, when he was among those who organised the newly established system (see e.g. correspondence in ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier, no. 6, M, dated 6 February 1831). After Greece, he appears in

Mollière was one of the men closest to Fabvier: he was besieged with Fabvier on the Acropolis, and belonged to his brigade on Chios. In a draft of a reference statement for Mollière which Fabvier most probably wrote for the application for the Greek decoration in 1834, the colonel mentions that Mollière bravely helped in relieving his chief, Robert, from the hands of the enemy during the siege of the Acropolis. Robert died a few days later from 24 wounds to his body. Fabvier also specifies that Mollière distinguished himself by commanding the artillery in the operation which was designed to gain the boats at the port of Chesme on Chios.[361] Myhrberg must have known Mollière well, probably from Chios where they carried out similar functions in Fabvier's corps. How Myhrberg could have been mistaken in Mollière and his actions cannot be clarified. Instead, the use of military titles in connection with, and in comparison between Mollière and Myhrberg, shows us how flexible an entity the title aide-de-camp actually was: it could have been applied without official certification to men who were especially close to their commanding officers, as were Myhrberg and Mollière to Fabvier. It is noteworthy that Fabvier never referred to Myhrberg as his aide-de-camp in any of his letters to him or about him, nor did he address Mollière as his aide-de-camp. In Fabvier's papers there is an undated paper on which he had made quick notes about money, the numbers of men in different locations, and drafted a text explaining his motives for continuing the battles in Greece. He writes that he "has talked with Mollière and Schnitzlein,[362] has consulted Gordon as well… Almeida would be one hope." Gordon and "Mirberghi" are mentioned at the end of the names which Fabvier had in mind. This note must date to the period after Chios, before Fabvier's final departure from Greece, as Gordon appears in it, connected with Myhrberg. As a casual personal note, it tells us that the names Fabvier mentions in the paper were at least to some extent those in central roles in the philhellenic operations at the time, and close to the colonel himself. Even though Myhrberg was without a permanent position after Chios, he still functioned actively in his role as a philhellenic officer before he was nominated for his new position.

In all of his testimonials, Myhrberg informs us that he "continued to occupy the same functions in the corps" as he did as Fabvier's aide-de-camp, and became aide-de-camp to the Bavarian general von Heideck, "who, after the departure of G. Fabvier in the month of September 1828 followed in commanding the Greek regular corps."[363] In reality he had been without a position for almost six months.

Algeria as a captain (in the draft letter of reference by Fabvier to Mollière his "present status" is "Capitaine d'Alger", ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier no. 10 V.D.17.)

[361] ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier 16J, no. 10, V.D.17. The document is undated but belongs to the group of draft recommendations. For their possible connection to the Greek decorations, see below p. 176 (n. 124). Fornèzy 1884, p. 259 (under the entry for François Robert, no. 245) explains the death of Robert on the Acropolis: he was wounded by a cannon ball near the entrance to the fortress, lost both of his legs in the attack and was thrown to the side of the Turkish trench. Six philhellenes, Mollière, Pignault, Bernand, Cartier and one other heard Robert's wailing and courageously rescued him from where he was trapped, and carried him to the fortress. It was discovered that he had 24 wounds all over his body. Robert died a heroic death in great pain four days later.

[362] For Schnitzlein, see e.g. Heideck 1897 vol. 1, 1–2. Schnitzlein was a very close colleague of von Heideck.

[363] Testimonial 1a and 1b: "le soussigné a continua d'occuper les mêmes functions…"; testimonials IIa and IIb: "fortfor jag med innehafvande stabs-tjenst…".

Fabvier's successor at the head of the *Taktikon* was Karl von Heideck. He explains in his 'Compte rendu,' left for Capodistrias before his departure over a year later, that at the moment of colonel Fabvier's departure for France, the corps of the *Taktikoi* had been without a commander, and he began to serve in the post in place of Fabvier.[364] Myhrberg kept in touch with his former chief after he had sailed back to France, as can be seen, for example, at the end of long letters in which Fabvier speculates at length with Eduard Grasset, the administrative representative of France in Greece (*Secrétaire de l'Agence de France en Grèce*), on political issues and the prospects of Greece. Fabvier often added the note: "I embrace Mirberg".[365] Finally, at the end of September 1828, Myhrberg received an answer to his enquiries relating to a job in a letter addressed to him on Poros[366] from Lieutenant Friedrich Schnitzlein, who was one of the closest colleagues of von Heideck. The subject of this letter was that Heideck wished to see Myhrberg in Nauplion as soon as possible concerning the continuation of Myhrberg's duties in the *Taktikon*, where Heideck could certainly find him a position corresponding to "your merits and your qualities." Schnitzlein sent regards to Gordon and Finlay, who were both on Poros at the time, as well as to Cochrane, and lastly relates some pieces of minor news from the corps. It seems very plausible that the date mentioned in the official Greek testimonial for Myhrberg's nomination as von Heideck's "capitaine aide-de-camp" in November 1828 is correct. This position in Nauplion was certainly important.

Before turning to Myhrberg's role at Nauplion, and finally at the Palamidi fort during the last phase of his Greek career, when his active military campaigning was over, we will look at two examples of Myhrberg-tales which draw from the different episodes described above. They are mixtures of different elements occurring in the narrative, and, thus, intertextual references are easy to pinpoint. The first is usually given in the first person as if Myhrberg himself was speaking.[367] The locations are specifically named, but Euboea (Negroponte), a road to Eleusis, which played an important role in the battle of Chaidari, Salamis, and the Piraeus are all ambiguously mixed in one tale, making the location quite an impossible equation in reality:

> "The Turks had got reinforcements to Negroponte. They occupied the whole field and held the road to Eleusis. The risk of us becoming besieged and captured was real. For us there was no other possibility left but to try to transport people and horses in small vessels over to Salamis."

[364] Heideck's 'Compte rendu' published in Heideck 1898 vol. 2, 94–102, here esp. p. 99, also a synopsis of Heideck's military career in Heideck 1897 vol. 1, 1-2. See also Debidour 1904, 380 and Bruun 1966, 150.

[365] ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier 16J, e.g. no. 9, V c.2., dated 8 September 1828 in Toulon.

[366] SRAM, dated 28 September to "Monsieur Myhrberg, officer et philhellène suedois à Poros"; discussed also by Bruun 1966, 151. Schitzlein explains that he supposes Myhrberg stayed on Poros with Gordon, and that he had replied to Myhrberg's two earlier letters to Consul Gropius' address on Aegina. Now he repeats the same contents in the letter at hand.

[367] Given in Schöldström 1897, 8–11; *idem* 1902, 174–176 followed by Knös 1949, 548–550. The story was also published later in *ÅU* no. 20, 26 January 1876, following the recent article in *NIT*, and explaining that a well-known author, Fredrik Sander, who had recently made a trip to Greece, had heard it from Myhrberg himself. Schöldström specifies that the occasion on which he heard the story from Myhrberg was one evening in the mid-1860s, in the company of Sander, Blanche, Enblom and Myhrberg.

> Myhrberg continues: "I was the last one to embark on the last remaining vessel and so got separated from my comrades. The reason was that earlier in the Piraeus I had been hosted by an old widow of a merchant who had only one daughter, fifteen years of age. Things were very hard for the family, but they had nevertheless taken very kindly good care of me when I was recovering from my wounds in the knee. When almost all the other men were already over on Salamis, the old widow came to me in tears with her daughter and begged me not to leave them behind but take them with me. This was not up to me only, however, as the boat was already overloaded, and men shouted angrily in the greatest of haste. So I lifted the woman into my arms and carried her on board, and the boat floated away. There I was, in the dark evening with a girl and a horse."

The story continues by recounting how Myhrberg and the girl decided to wait for the dawn in the old widow's house. He and the girl kept watch in turns, each for half the night, listening for any sounds from the enemy.

> "Just at dawn I was awoken by a cry of horror from the girl: Turbans were visible in the distance amongst the olive trees, and a handful of cavalrymen were approaching. I immediately saddled my horse, placed the girl in front of me and, hoping to find my way to Eleusis, I galloped towards the coast. But suddenly the path ended near a ravine. People called this place 'King Xerxes' throne' because here the Persian king watched Themistocles wiping out the great Persian fleet. My only chance was to swim over to Salamis at the shallowest point. I settled the poor girl, so very terrified, in the saddle and tied her feet to a string around the horse. I forced the horse to water and started swimming myself at its side, holding its neck. But the sound was wider than I had thought. When the horse was approaching land it ran aground because the Salamis shore was a gentle slope. It fell, and so the girl fell under water. I was soon able to get her ashore and lead the horse to the beach. The people in the vicinity came to help the unconscious girl who soon recovered, and I felt that I had paid some of my debt back to the mother and the girl."

When Myhrberg told this tale to his friend Fredrik Sander, the poet asked if Myhrberg had heard from the family ever again.

> "Yes, two years later. At that time the Americans sent a boat to Greece with a cargo of arms and food and they had constructed a magazine on Poros from which they distributed goods for those most in need. The mother and her daughter also came there, since they were needy indeed. The girl was young and beautiful. An American Commissar seduced her. This annoyed me – I had in any case become very attached to this girl myself and thought that it really was a pity to lose her like this. I was angry at the American and challenged him to a duel. I can truly say that I shot him down like a dog. That is why I was summoned to a court-martial. And it was the first, last and only time this happened to me. However, I was freed."

This tale shares a number of themes and motifs with other tales in the narrative. The occurrence of the same themes and motifs in different tales of the narrative shows the flexibility of tradition and reveals the nature of the evolution of the narrative: a narrator – who could initially have been Myhrberg himself – picked up a theme, the core of a plot, and connected it with new contexts and frameworks. The contextual framework of this tale reminds us of the tales concerning the battles of Euboea (court-marshal, risk of execution, last embarkation), Chios (last embarkation, carrying a girl, escape), Chaidari (escape, aid of a horse, wounded knee), Acropolis (escape, risk of execution, duel, connection with Salamis). A mother and a daughter in need, and the carrying of a woman to safety in the greatest of dangers also appear in a tale connected with the stories about a general lack of food. A new

FIG. 17. The Fortress of Nauplion. Georg Theodor Chiewitz (1815–62). Water-colour and gouache. Turku Art Museum (painted ca. 1834–1836).

motif is Myhrberg's connection with a Greek family of low income which, regardless of economic strain, helps the hero in trouble.[368] In the last part of the tale, about Myhrberg's duel, he, entirely contrary to his general heroic depiction and his good, modest and most generous nature, appears somewhat brutish, even cruel. There is another short tale in which we encounter something analogous: "We are told that Myhrberg got married in Greece, but in order to prevent his wife from being abused by the Turks he, with his wife's agreement, shot her dead. This unpleasant memory caused Myhrberg enormous pain during his later years."[369] Here we are reminded about a different set of values which constituted admirable and manly behaviour, unlike those with which we are accustomed today. Throughout the philhellenic literature, the ideal character of a man is constructed around a heroic figure who courageously fights with his weapons, bravely faces challenges, and chooses to serve ideological rather than personal goals of happiness. Love for a woman is a minor obstacle in this framework. The Briton James Froude, who wrote moralistic texts in mid nineteenth-century England, praised courage as the most important characteristic of human nature:

> "Among all fine people, old and modern, wherever we are able to get an insight into their training system, we find it [courage] a thing particularly attended to. The Greeks, the Romans, the old Persians, our own nation till the last two hundred years, whoever of mankind have turned out good for anything anywhere, knew very well, that to exhort a boy to be brave without training would be like exhorting a young colt to submit to the bridle without breaking him in."

7. Nauplion and Palamidi

IN *TAKTIKON*'S SERVICE

From September 1828, Myhrberg served in Nauplion where *Taktikon*'s headquarters were situated (FIG. 17). During the next seven months, however, we meet him again in different places in the Greek Archipelago and in the Peloponnese. Both Gordon and Fabvier continued to play important roles in his life. Fabvier also returned to Greece in December 1829, as Gordon had done earlier. Actually, Myhrberg seems to have had an influence on Fabvier by indirectly persuading him to return: Fabvier wrote to Eduard Grasset from Modon (Methoni) at the end of November that he had been very touched by the value which Gropius and Myhrberg had attached to his picture (of the country) and the memory he had of Greece, to where he did not believe he would return again.[370] Not long after this, he was back. Fabvier did not settle in the country, however, like Gordon who had

[368] This corresponds with the motif 'wounded hero restored in peasant's house', Thompson, *Motif-Index* 1856–1958, R165.1.
[369] Åberg 1891, 248; Cederberg 1928, 230. Cederberg explains that the memory of this "horrible event" may have added to gloominess which was characteristic of Myhrberg's facial features, and refers to Collett 1834 (1926), 94 who described Myhrberg in the following way: "His pale face was carved by profound sufferings as if it were a sign of a terrible secret or consciousness of a crime; at times it attracted, at times appalled." See also Lappalainen 1997 (*Kaleva*, 2 March 1997).
[370] ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier no. 9, V c.2.

acquired a house in Argos and devoted himself to collecting material for his *History of the Greek Revolution*. Nevertheless, there were philhellenes who warmly welcomed the news of Fabvier's return, and the Greeks also saw new potential in this fresh attempt to forward the Greek cause.[371]

In the Myhrberg archives, the first in a series of letters by Doctor Dumont to our philhellene between January and May 1829, was written on Syros.[372] It "impatiently" recognises the possibility that the colonel could regain the directorship of "that unfortunate regular corps."[373] Dumont was a French medical doctor who resided on Syros and appears to have been popular among the philhellenes.[374] His friendship with Myhrberg deserves mention here, since it seems to be a characteristic example of one of the few close relationships he had in Greece, apart from his companionship with his chiefs, Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely, Gordon and Fabvier, which were, after all, friendships between a superior and his respected underling. Dumont wrote to Myhrberg in January 1829: "Mirberg is dead, about to die, or buried from sight because he has not produced plausible excuses which I could accept to save his cold friendship. We all agree here about the matter, and Joseph even adds that, after having sent him one of his swords, Myhrberg has not deigned to bother writing him a word." These were the words of one good friend to another, and the consequent correspondence further illuminates the characteristics of this friendship. In February, Dumont writes apologetically that he would never question Myhrberg's friendship. In the latter part of January, Myhrberg recieved his first leave, and wrote to Gordon on Poros about his twenty-day vacation as a "tour de monde", which he had already started on the 26th of the month on Hydra.[375] He journeyed first to Aegina, from where he travelled to Syros, landing there on 11 February together with a few philhellenes, and there met his friend Dumont.[376] Myhrberg had been on the island for a week when several events took

[371] See e.g. an official letter welcoming Fabvier back to Greece signed by the Greek governmental officials on Hydra 13 January 1829, telling him that they had full confidence in Fabvier and in his good heart, ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier 16J, no. 9.
[372] Letters in SRAM.
[373] SRAM. See also Bruun 1966, 155.
[374] There are a few Dumonts and Doctor Dumonts in the philhellenic record. Myhrberg's friend was the French Doctor Dumont who travelled, for example, with Fontanier on the Cycladic islands in 1828 (Fontanier 1829, 237 ff.). A Swiss philhellene, Henri Dumont, was the principal physician of the military hospital in Patras. He appears frequently in the documents of 1828 housed at HAMFA. These documents, e.g. nos. 88-1 (1828) are mainly lists of objects received from the philhellenic societies, lists of dead and their possessions, inventories of the new field effects. The third Dumont, Henry Dumont, later (1862) wrote a medical treatise *Mémoire sur les prémiers secours à donner aux blessés sur les champs de bataille*, which was based on his experiences in Greece. For H. Dumont, see also Fornèzy 1884 (1957), no. 89, p. 240 informing us that he died in Athens in 1852 as a decorated officer (Order of the Saviour) and Head Physician of the Greek army; see also Barth & Kehrig-Korn 1960, 102–103. A French officer Dumont belonged to the army of Maison, who campaigned in and occupied the Morea in the years 1828 and 1829; he wrote his memoirs about his experiences in *Souvenirs historiques de la campagne de Morée 1828* (for the book, see Simopoulos 1999 vol. 5, 468–484 and for Maison, who led the expedition to the Morea, see Veremis 1997, 13–14). It seems that this Dumont was not the same person as Myhrberg's and Fontanier's friend Dumont, who was yet another Dumont and not the principal physician in Patras, as he stayed mainly on Syros at the same time, and travelled in the west of Greece.
[375] SRAM; see also Bruun 1966, 155.
[376] Bruun 1966, 155.

place. They are clarified by Dumont's letters, as evidenced by that which was written on 18 February, when Dumont refers to the books which Mollière had promised to send him from Paris. He writes of the hope of establishing a hospital on Syros in the near future. This plan was that of Doctor S.G. Howe, so it can be presumed, therefore, that Myhrberg had also met this American philhellene.[377]

The next letter from Dumont to Myhrberg in Nauplion is dated 18 March.[378] Dumont complains of the daily deterioration happening before his eyes, and all the difficulties made him wish to finally leave Greece, despite his strong desire to do good for the country. He despises the intrigues of the political rivalry; he is depressed about the privation of medicines, worried about the pests which are ravaging many parts of Greece, disappointed about the ineffectiveness of the president and his men, who do nothing to help him, and of discussions with them which always finish unfavourably with regard to his interests. Dumont enquires if Myhrberg has been thinking of the Howe issue at all since he left Syros for Aegina, and he mentions that Myhrberg "should have reason to regret his trip to Syros. Be aware also that Colonel Fabvier was offended by the brusque manner in which you left his dinner party for your boat. The fact that the weather was bad does not excuse your behaviour." Myhrberg, therefore, visited Syros, met Fabvier again and the colonel invited him to a dinner, during which Myhrberg behaved in a questionable manner.[379] His friendship with Dumont, and the doctor's companion Joseph, seems to have been on firm ground until early April: Myhrberg sent butter and shoes to Syros for the two men, who had obviously complained about lack of of such items on the island.[380] After this he did not correspond with Dumont again, and the doctor, who was annoyed at this, wrote on 2 May 1829:

> "You seem to believe, my good friend, that it is acceptable enough to declare your laziness by silence, and so justify your withdrawal into yourself. I allow myself, however, the right to view your silence indifferently. Let reciprocity from my part keep communication alive. It does not take a long time for you to forget that you have ignored every possible opportunity of our relations, my friend; it is impossible for me to pay back indifference with indifference. Be aware that as there will always be a Mirberg for me, there would not be a Dumont for you."[381]

No further letters from Doctor Dumont survive. There is only one similar instance of Myhrberg's correspondence in his papers (or, rather, the receiving end of it), and we shall examine it shortly. Like the correspondence with Dumont, and the doctor's rebukes of Myhrberg, it also reveals similar tendencies in the character of our philhellene: he perhaps sincerely wished to be a good friend and sociable, but his

---

[377] The American, Samuel G. Howe, had established a hospital on Poros which had been closed in 1828 due to lack of finances. Dumont refers to this closure in his letter. Howe returned to Greece and planned an ambitious scheme of permanent humanitarian projects, which included the establishment of hospitals. For Howe's work in Greece see e.g. St. Clair 1972, 339–347 and Howe's *Letters and Journals* 1830 (1906).

[378] SRAM. Dumont makes it clear that he had sent a letter previously to Myhrberg on Aegina, to Consul Gropius' address.

[379] Bruun 1966, 155.

[380] Letters from Dumont in SRAM, dated 28 March and 8 April, to Myhrberg in Nauplion.

[381] SRAM. Dumond goes on, telling him his news "in hope that even if you [Myhrberg] do not have time to write your news to me, you will still have time to read mine." In the end he supplies Myhrberg with a detailed recipe for a home-made medication against fever and cold, made of pomegranate root.

nature prevented him from getting very close to anybody. As a consequence he tended to withdraw, he could not explain the motive for his behaviour to his friends, and this caused disappointments. One of his friends, an Italian philhellene, Giuseppe Stoli, wrote to him around the same time, in spring 1829, that even though he "had addressed a number of letters to Myhrberg he had not heard a word of response from the other end… On Syros we have a famous debate about Mirberg having let his friends down again. Would you please, as it is, let us know whether you are dead or alive? Wishing you a heartfelt salute."[382]

In his correspondence, Myhrberg deals with the everyday problems of the *Taktikon*'s life. He takes care of financial matters, and simultaneously tries to deal with his own money worries.[383] He keeps in contact with Finlay, and with Gordon who was working on his *History* in Argos.[384] The last letter he wrote from Greece to Fabvier, in the archival record, was written in May in Nauplion: it was never sent to the colonel and is preserved among Myhrberg's papers. It reads:

> "My Colonel, I have the honour to tell you about the motives which have made me reject travelling away, and about my wish to make myself useful for the country I have adopted as my own (*patrié*), by offering her the modest knowledge which I have acquired through education and experience in military service. It is particularly your example, my Colonel, that has served as an encouragement in my military career, and it is because of your judgement that I have been able to occupy a position and gain promotions (?)… My enthusiasm, my habits and work will be a guarantee of your confidence. Accept, my Colonel, my feelings of respectful faithfulness as well as homage and gratitude towards a father from this young veteran."[385]

Perhaps Myhrberg was shy in expressing his feelings of attachment to Fabvier and chose not to send this letter, or he was uncertain about the way in which he should express his gratitude.

At this point, Myhrberg could hardly have been aware of his forthcoming and final promotion, but he seems to have been considering and perhaps wishing for it. It was to be his last position in Greece. A French officer, Maxime Raybaud, who had volunteered in Greece for the first time among the first wave of the philhellenic movement, was again in the country.[386] He had taken part in Fabvier's expeditions, having been, for example, Myhrberg's brother in arms in Chaidari.[387] He was now a more or less private individual who still worked for the Greek cause. He wrote to Myhrberg at the beginning of June about the news he had acquired "in an indirect way": Raybaud congratulates our philhellene about the promotion

[382] SRAM, dated 30 April 1829.
[383] SRAM, e.g. letter to Myhrberg from U. Rabusson on loans and their expiry dates, dated 13 July 1829; see discussion in Bruun 1966, 150.
[384] SRAM, e.g. Finlay's letter on 8 June 1829 to Myhrberg, informing him that he is on his way to Syra (Syros) but is still uncertain if he is going to stay there, and sending regards to Heideck.
[385] SRAM.
[386] Raybaud's first stay in Greece was between 1821 and 1822. He left the country disillusioned, but returned in 1825 enrolling in Fabvier's troops. He left in the same year, unhappy about the situation yet again. Raybaud's third visit to Greece, commencing in 1826, was politically motivated from the point of view of French interests; see Simopoulos 1999, 468 and Raybaud's *Mémoires sur la Grèce* 1824–1825.
[387] Fornèzy 1884 (1957), no. 96, p. 272.

which he knows is waiting for Myhrberg in the near future.[388] This is a direct reference to the position of commandant of the Palamidi fort in Nauplion. Raybaud could have gained his information as an editor of the recently-established Athens-based newspaper *Courrier d'Orient*.[389]

COMMANDANT OF PALAMIDI

In August 1829, immediately before leaving Greece, von Heideck described the situation in Nauplion in his 'Compte rendu' to president Capodistrias in the following way: When he began at the end of February 1828 in his position in Nauplion, the town had been in a great state of disorder, and the commanding officers of its different forts had been in complete disagreement with each other. The regular corps was still on Chios, and so Heideck had begun by reordering the structure of the command in the three different forts of Nauplion, namely Palamidi, Itschkalé (i.e. Its-Kale) and Bourtzi. He decided to nominate foreigners, who would not be jealous of each other, and who would be reliable. Thus, Captain Hane started at Palamidi. He was soon succeeded by Rayka (i.e. the Russian officer N. Raijk[390]), who had earlier held a position at Its-Kale. Müller was later nominated to hold that post. Colonel Pisa had been commandant of the town, and as he had unfortunately broken his leg, Heideck himself had taken up his duties.[391] Heideck also became the head administrator of the Gulf of Argolis. He explains his efforts to improve the conditions in the town. Nauplion had been ravaged by illnesses and plague brought in by immigrants, a situation which was worsened by the constant lack of sufficient nutrition and poor hygiene. "The image of dirtiness everywhere, mountains of filth and refuge infesting the town bring back horrific memories to me." Heideck provided a new sewage system, established new hospitals and employed new doctors, opened an orphanage for 250 orphans, and even established a new institute for educating the sons of notable families of the young nation "in order to provide them with acknowledgeable education suitable for the demands of civilisation."[392] Heideck dedicated special attention to the forts. He reports that they were in a need of urgent repair; fortifications as much as military residences had been ruined by the old wars, and more closely resembled pigsties than human dwellings. Under the direction of Rayka, the accommodations at Palamidi were cleaned and repaired so well, Heideck explains, that some of them could be taken for new. They possessed all that was necessary for the needs of a battalion.[393]

---

[388] SRAM, Raybaud's letter dated 3 June 1829; see also Bruun 1966, 156. Raybaud soon writes to Myhrberg (14 June) about a mutual friend who has been terribly ill, and whom he has personally helped to recover.

[389] The first eleven issues of the *Courrier d'Orient. Journal Politique, Commercial et Littéraire, Paraissant une fois par semaine à des jours indéterminés*, were published in Patras from 6 December 1828 to 12 March 1829. In April Raybaud transferred the press to Athens where he continued publishing the paper until October 1829. See Simopoulos 1999 vol. 5, 491.

[390] For Raijk, see below.

[391] Heideck 1898 vol. 2, 94–95.

[392] *Ibid.*, 101–102. At the time of writing there were four officers employed, eight professors and forty pupils.

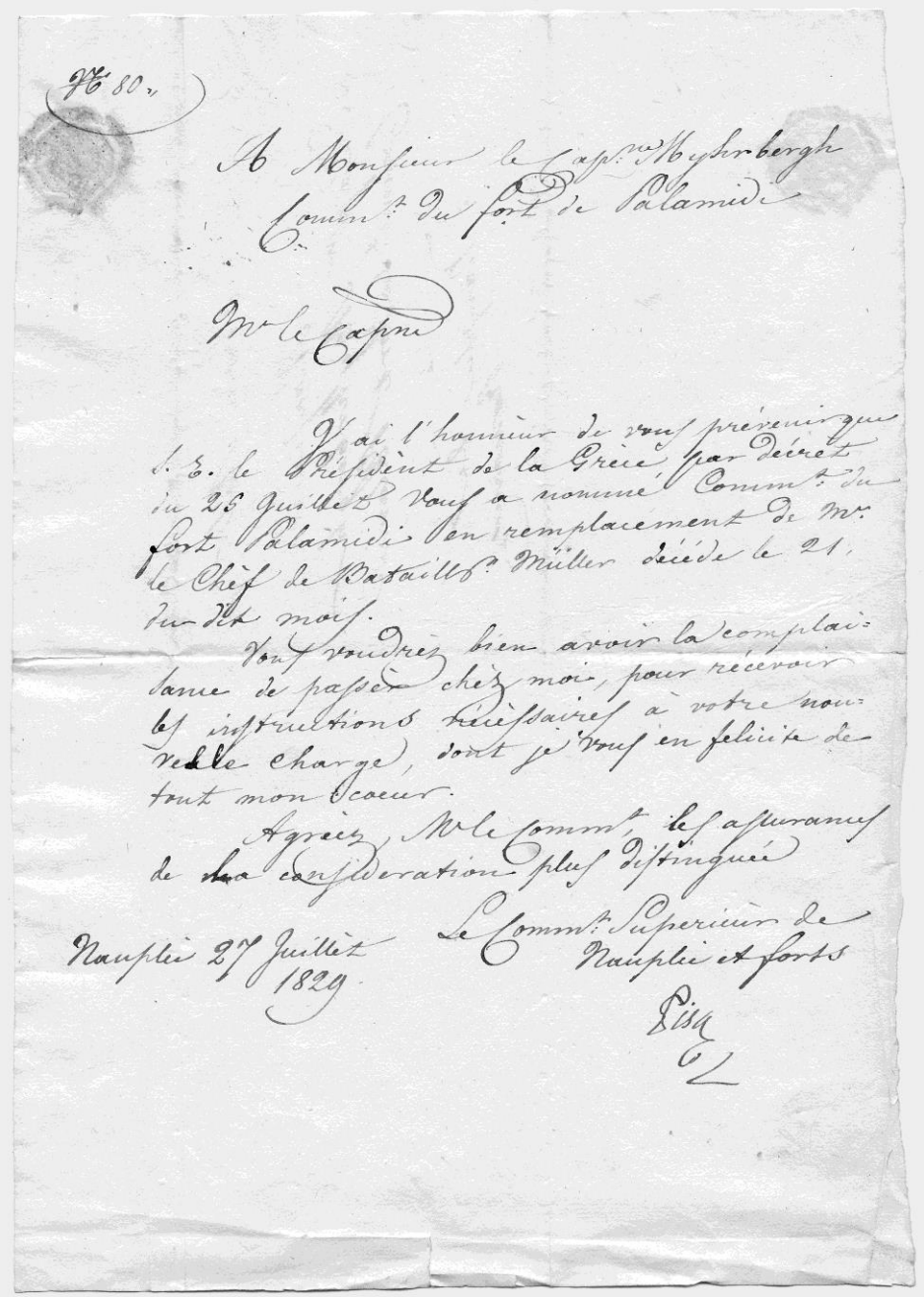
[393] *Ibid.*, 97–98.

Finally, Heideck reorganised the regular corps, starting with its relocation from Methana to Nauplion and Argos. It was mainly under the direction of his close colleague, Captain Schnitzlein, who unified all troops' attire.[394] This was the situation about a year before Myhrberg received his nomination.

On 2 September 1829, three months after Raybaud's hint, *Courrier d'Orient* revealed that "By the decision of his Excellency the President, Captain Myrberg has been nominated Commandant of the important fortress of Palamidi, a position which became vacant after M. Müller died."[395] The official nomination had taken place on 27 July, and was signed on behalf of President Capodistrias by general Pisa, the superior commandant of Nauplion and its forts (FIG. 18).[396] The new chief of the *Taktikon*, general Trezel, notified Myhrberg of the nomination the next day,[397] and the official testimonial of Myhrberg's career in Greece states, likewise, that he was nominated for the post on 25 July 1829. Even Consul Gropius informed the representatives of Sweden in Constantinople two weeks later that "you are informed with pleasure that M. Myhrberg is going to take the command of the Palamidi."[398] In his own testimonial to the king of Sweden, written in 1842 (Ia), Myhrberg reports having been nominated by president Capodistrias as "Commandant de la Ville et la Fortresse de Nauplie" in August 1829. In each of the other three testimonials his formulation of the matter is different: in the 'concept' of the previous one (Ib), he reports having been nominated in July 1829 as commandant of the fortress of Nauplion, where the residence of the government was situated at the time. In his military testimonials (II and IIb) he declares that he became Major and Commandant of the Palamidi fort. The truth is there, but many details do not correspond with the historical situation. It is easy to see that the position of the superior commandant of Nauplion and its forts was a different, and higher, post to those of the commandants of the three different forts of the town. Pisa had now succeeded Heideck in the superior position of command, and Friedrich Müller had succeeded Raijk at Palamidi. Myhrberg obviously exaggerates the truth about the position in the testimonial written to the king. Or, perhaps he reveals here that the position of the superior commandant of Nauplion and its forts was the post he would have most wished to receive. He certainly exaggerates his promotions, since he obtained the rank of major only when the king of Sweden, Carl XIV Johan, nominated him major on 24 September 1842.[399] Myhrberg also tended to exaggerate the meaning of his new position. This tendency is clear in his explanation of the testimonial to the king about the reasons as to why he is approaching his Majesty in order to gain recognition for his past philhellenic career. He wrote:

---

[394] *Ibid.*, 100–101. All the troops had uniform clothing: a woollen uniform, summer jacket, four pairs of trousers and leggings, an overcoat, hat and a *tzako*, shirts and shoes (p. 101).
[395] *CO*, 2 September 1829, p. 4.
[396] SRAJ.
[397] SRAJ. It is also specified that Friedrich Müller died on 21 July of heart inflammation.
[398] Cited in Knös 1949, 553. Knös adds (incorrectly) that this is the only mention of Myhrberg in the official consulate documents. See e.g. a letter of D. Guarracinos, Consul of Sweden on Corfu, dated 16 April 1831, about Myhrberg's departure from mainland Greece discussed below on pp. 147–149.
[399] Certificate in SRAJ.



A Monsieur le Capne Meyhrberghe
Comm.t du fort de Palamide

Mr le Capne

J'ai l'honneur de vous prévenir que
S. E. le Président de la Grèce par décret
du 25 Juillet vous a nommé Comm.t du
fort Palamide en remplacement de Mr.
le Chef de Bataillon Müller décédé le 21.
du dit mois.

Vous voudrez bien avoir la complai-
sance de passer chez moi, pour recevoir
les instructions nécessaires à votre nou-
velle charge, dont je vous en félicite de
tout mon coeur.

Agréez Mr le Comm.t les assurances
de ma considération plus distinguée

Nauplie 27 Juillet 1829

Le Comm.t Supérieur de
Nauplie et forts

Pisa

FIG. 18. Official nomination letter for Myhrberg's position as the commandant of Palamidi, 27 July 1829, signed on behalf of president Capodistrias by general Pisa, Swedish National Archives.

> "Perhaps one could consider some recognition for a man who has had the honour to function in one of the most significant positions of the Greek Government during that time, taking into account that five years earlier he had arrived in the same place without rank or experience and without means."

How important, then, was this position?

Nauplion became the administrative capital of Greece for the second time in 1829, after the seat of the government had been situated first on Aegina, then on Poros, and thereafter in Troezene.[400] Capodistrias, who had arrived in Greece in January1828, found the town in anarchy, but the situation certainly improved towards the end of the decade. *Taktikon*'s infantry was positioned in the town, and its administration was run from there. Fontanier tells us that in 1830 Nauplion had acquired a certain importance, and many influential people used to gather there. The general organised balls, and half of the inhabitants of the town wore European costumes, while half still retained their traditional Greek clothing.[401] Palamidi, however, was (and is) isolated from the town by one thousand steps, and life in the barracks was hardly ideal. Still, Myhrberg took part in social activities in the town and was paid visits by his friends. In the archival material, invitations run through the whole period in which he was posted at Palamidi. The Café Alexis in the town seems to have been one of the meeting places,[402] and Myhrberg was often invited to accompany the other philhellenes,[403] and also to visit his former superiors, like Gordon.[404] Illness was a constant problem and worry, and Myhrberg, too, had to apply for leave to recover from fever; he was granted 15 day's leave for "recovering health" in November 1829.[405] Sickness and fatal illnesses, which thinned the ranks of the remaining philhellenes, were a frequent theme in the correspondence between Myhrberg and his philhellene friends.[406] Economic worries were no less troublesome. Philhellenes borrowed money from each other as their income from the government was not reliable, and payments were often made in arrears. Myhrberg's receipt from a tailor's shop is revealing: the total cost for white trou-

[400] The city fell into anarchy in 1826, and its administrative functions were moved to Aegina, then Poros and Troezene. See e.g. the letter written by Codrington to "the persons exercising the functions of government in Greece" on 15 July 1827 (HAMFA, aak 1:g 1827) still urging the rest of the members of the legislative body to leave the town immediately; only in such a case, Codrington writes, will he still be ready to acknowledge them as a government and to conduct himself accordingly.

[401] Fontanier 1834 vol. 2, 23.

[402] SRAM, e.g. invitation, 27 July 1829, to the café to meet philhellenic friends and to deal with money (i.e. loans).

[403] SRAM, e.g. Benière ("v. sincero amico") invites him to town to meet his French friends on 17 October 1829.

[404] SRAM. Gordon writes to him from Argos on 15 October 1829 and says that he will pay a visit to Palamidi the next day with Mr Dawkins. Together they will go hunting, and Gordon proposes a lunch together. Gordon promises to bring with him the medicine about which he had spoken to Myhrberg. There is also an invitation to Myhrberg to a supper together with Gordon on the vessel *Akhilles*. Gordon stayed close to Myhrberg and obviously respected him: e.g. on 3 September 1829 he writes on official matters to philhellenic officers and mentions, that he will discuss the issues with "Mr Myhrburgh, Commendant de Palamide dans lequel j'ai la plus grande confiance."

[405] SRAM.

[406] For this see Bruun 1966, 159–160.

sers and diverse small accessories was 92 piastres, of which 30.10 had been paid, still leaving a sum to be paid of 61.30 piastres.[407]

Our commandant nevertheless took care of his duties: for example, he is reminded that the adjutant of the garrison, Captain Janné, will be the person who will give the signal to Myhrberg to fire 21 cannons when his excellency drinks "à la Santé des Puissances Protectrices". The signal will be a large white handkerchief on the top of a long stick.[408] Myhrberg mediated various requests of his superior commandant at the town,[409] and made short trips to the Peloponnesian towns and to the Archipelago on his official duties.[410] The position of superior commandant changed frequently. General Pisa was followed by a Portuguese philhellene, Almeida, who had succeeded St-Jean d'Angely as the head of the *Taktikon*'s cavalry in 1826.[411] He had been an inspector of the cavalry before being nominated for the position of superior commandant of Nauplion and its forts in January 1830.[412] Even before his official nomination, Almeida was in correspondence with Myhrberg in his role of cavalry inspector. He was also Myhrberg's friend:[413] they had fought together on Chios and they may have become friends during that campaign.[414] Myhrberg had obviously spent time recovering from his fever in Argos at the home of Almeida, who, before his promotion to Nauplion, stayed in that town, as the cavalry was positioned there. He had invited Myhrberg to visit him on Argos whenever he wished and specified that there was no need to inform him in advance

[407] SRAM, dated 31 January 1830. See also Bruun 1966, 159. From 1808 to 1839 the currency of the Ottoman Empire was suffering from serious inflation: the exchange rate against the British pound plummeted from 8 to 104 piastres (or kuruses); Pamuk 2000, 194 (Graph 12.1), 195. Assuming linear inflation, the exchange rate against the pound can be calculated as approximately 80 piastres in 1830. Therefore, the considerable total bill of 92 piastres must be a payment to a tailor, not laundry (also, as it is written in Italian, the bill could even have been that of a fashionable tailorshop). Compare also Hahn's (1870 vol. 1, 32) explanation of the price of an officer's equipment: the cost of a fine uniform was included in a sum of £3 given to officers for purchasing equipment.

[408] SRAM, signed by Pezzolis, 26 October 1829. See also Bruun 1966, 158.

[409] SRAM, e.g. Pisa'a request of 26 July 1829 for taking *réinseignements* to the town's police force.

[410] SRAM, e.g. on 29 July 1829, he (Mr Myrebergh) was given permission by Pisa to travel to Aegina to take care of "particular affairs" and return to Nauplion after the completion of duties, and on 26 June 1830 for few days to Leonidaion for carrying out duties signed by Trezel, the chief of the regular troops (after Heideck).

[411] Almeida was nominated to the position of commanding officer of the cavalry with the rank of colonel on 18 June 1826. Almeida fought in the Morea in the summer of 1826, and took part in the expedition to Chios. He married in Greece and remained in the country after the war, becoming a much-liked and respected philhellene among the Greeks. For Almeida, see Vayena 1955, 35–45 and his portrait, FIG 10.

[412] *Ibid.*, 37.

[413] SRAM. It can be read in Almeida's letter from Argos (where *Taktikon*'s cavalry was positioned at the time), dated 26 September 1829, that Myhrberg had recently met Almeida, who had caught an illness from Myhrberg (obviously the same fever Myhrberg had when he was granted leave in order to recover). Almeida tells him about recent news from the navy. Myhrberg was granted permission to travel to Argos before his nomination for the Palamidi position, on 11 July 1829. As Myhrberg's superior Almeida accepted and signed, for example, the bookkeeping of the Palamidi, 26 March, carried out by Myhrberg on the 14th of the month.

[414] HAMFA, aak 1:g 1827: the government's order to colonel Almeida, commandant of the regular cavalry, to embark with his cavalry for the expedition to Chios, dated on Aegina 13 October 1827.

as Myhrberg's presence was eagerly awaited.[415] Almeida was the last of Myhrberg's commanding officers with whom he established a warm friendship.

Only one other of Myhrberg's acquaintances in Greece became very close to him. Like Dumont earlier, this friend of Myhrberg was not his superior in rank, but equal to him, and his colleague. This man was the Danish philhellene, Christoph Fabricius, who rose in Greece to the rank of commandant.[416] A handful of letters from Fabricius to Myhrberg written during the two years between June 1828 and June 1830 are preserved.[417] The two men had been brothers in arms in Chaidari, but afterwards Fabricius was posted to a different front in the Morea. He fought there with the troops of Almeida who relates, for example, that in August 1826, near Delion, Fabricius was wounded in a battle which ended in victory for Almeida.[418] Fabricius was the only Scandinavian who had been among Fabvier's besieged men inside the Acropolis in 1827.[419] In July 1829, a little earlier than Myhrberg received his nomination, Fabricius became commandant of the Acrocorinth fortress above Corinth, a post which he held until June 1830.[420] These two commandants of sister fortresses, situated in close proximity, were brought together by human and emotional rather than by professional interests. Namely, Fabricius was passionately in love with a young woman in Nauplion. He opened his heart to Myhrberg about his love for Marie and, according to Bruun, as a consequence, Myhrberg took on the role of a *postillion d'amour*.[421] Fabricius visited Nauplion and met Myhrberg there.[422] Our philhellene was, however, much more reluctant to visit Corinth.[423] Myhrberg was again withdrawn and unwilling to speak about personal matters in his relationships. Fabricius was much more open; he planned for the future, wanted to get married and settle down in Corinth, to purchase a house there. By the end of August he fell seriously ill, and even *Taktikon*'s head physician asked Myhrberg to visit him.[424] The Dane recovered,

[415] SRAM, dated 22 September 1829 and signed by Almeida, "votre sincere ami".
[416] Christoph Heinrich Detlev Fabricius was a Danish lieutenant; in 1827 he had been placed in the fleet under Lord Cochrane, and in 1829 he was nominated commandant of the fortress of Acrocorinth, the post he held until 1830. Fabricius' military career is detailed in Libiger 1845, 216–220; see also Barth & Kehrig-Korn 1960, 111–112. He is presented in *Taktikon*'s register of the philhellenes, signed by Fabvier and Pisa in July 1827, as Christophe Fabricieus from "Danemark." This Fabricius is not to be mixed with other philhellenes named Fabricius, who were Germans: Barth & Kehrig-Korn 1960, 122 (from *Allgemeines Wochenblatt* from the year 1835 listing 29 Schleswig-Holsteiners in Greece, three individuals named Fabricius among them: a German Candidate of Theology Fabricius first became a schoolmaster on Syros and later a professor of Latin in the gymnasium in Nauplion; major Christopher F. in Athens and Lieutenent Theodore F. in the Piraeus). Myhrberg's friend Christopher Fabricius was, however, Danish.
[417] The correspondence is studied in depth by Bruun 1966, 161–163. The following discussion is largely based on his study.
[418] Vayena 1955, 37 and Almeida's report in *Yeniki Efimeris tis Ellados* no. 79, 31 July 1826, cited in Vayena 1955, 42–43. Fabricius and Almeida kept in close contact with each other later, as becomes clear in Fabricius' letters to Myhrberg.
[419] See above p. 101 (n. 199) , e.g. R. Puaux's list in *MA* in 1931 of the besieged philhellenes.
[420] Fabricius' military career is detailed in Libiger 1845, 216–220.
[421] Bruun 1966, 161–162.
[422] SRAM, letter dated 17 June 1829.
[423] SRAM, letter dated 28 August 1829. Fabricius begs Myhrberg to come: "Si vous voudrez venir vous même Samedi, ou Dimanche, j'aurai un cheval à votre d'apporter…"
[424] SRAM.

and on 14 September he wrote to Myhrberg from Aegina, informing him that he was on his way to an audience with President Capodistrias in order to leave his *kasus* and ask for permission to marry Marie. The same day he told Myhrberg that Capodistrias had been understanding and hearty, but had asked him to come again when he had regained his physical strength. Fabricius further explained that his destination was now Nauplion. The two philhellenes obviously met each other in Nauplion soon afterwards. The next we read about Fabricius is in the letters written on 23 and 26 March, reporting that his resignation had been accepted and that he planned to leave Greece in the near future. Fabricius' letter of farewell to Myhrberg is dated on Poros, 1 July 1830,[425] one day before his planned journey back home to Copenhagen via quarantine in Malta. He asked Myhrberg to write to Ploen in Denmark, and wanted to hear news from Marie. He promised to visit the Swedish ambassador in Copenhagen in order to pass Myhrberg's news on to his family, and told him that he would ask Myhrberg's family to send letters for their son to Ploen, from where he would forward them to Greece. Fabricius chides Myhrberg for not having said anything about his family so that he could give Myhrberg's news to his relatives. He continues: "Your persistence (to stay) (*sustitution*) has caused a lot of confusion among your friends, and everybody is very sorry that you have not been willing to leave with them."

Myhrberg stayed behind once again. This time, however, he did not have the same reasons to justify his decision as he had previously when Gordon and Fabvier had tried to persuade him to leave, namely that of his sense of responsibility to his superior officer or his wish to accomplish the unfinished duties for the Greek nation. The war was over, and the independence of Greece had been recognised by France, Britain and Russia under the London protocol of 3 February 1830. Furthermore, Myhrberg did not have the similar warm friendship with his final commanding officer in Greece, Nikolai A. Raijk (or Raikov), as he had had with his previous chiefs, St. d'Angely, Gordon, Fabvier, and Almeida. Bruun has shown that king Carl XIV Johan's representative in Paris, Joseph Izarn, wrote later, at the end of the1830s, about his understanding of the reasons why Myhrberg finally left Greece. Izarn explained that Myhrberg "saw a Russian officer who had served in Greece only for one year being promoted above him."[426] Of the twelve known Russian philhellenic volunteers,[427] Raijk is the only one whose career is relatively well-known, and who was in Greece when Myhrberg held the position at Palamidi.[428] He had been a decembrist sympathiser, an artillery commander who participated in several Greek campaigns. He was certainly on Chios, which was most likely his first Greek campaign. Despite this, and just as with Myhrberg, a legend about Raijk's philhellenic endeavours reports that he was a friend of Byron and belonged to his brigade as an artillery commander.[429] This reveals that tale-types and motifs of a philhellene as a good friend of Byron are not restricted to Nordic countries, but could be applied also in the Slavonic tradition. As we have

[425] SRAM.
[426] Bruun 1966, 162–163 with refenrence to Izarn's letter of 10 October 1839.
[427] Loukatos 1989, 74–86; see above p. 23.
[428] For Raijk (or Raikov or Raiko), see Loukatos 1989, 81–83, also Fornèzy 1884 (1957), no. 97, p. 272; Barth & Kehrig-Korn 1960 (as Rajk), 204–205.
[429] Loukatos 1989, 85 (n. 45). Loukatos rightly doubts this information due to contradictions in dates.

seen, Heideck noted Raijk's position in Nauplion as the commandant of the Its-Kale fort after the expedition to Chios, and adds that he was soon moved to occupy a similar position at the Palamidi, as Myhrberg's predecessor.[430] It is said that Raijk was exceptionally active and executed his duties with care at Palamidi.[431] He was obviously also a religious man: he organised a religious feast (*prazdnik*) for St. Andrew's day, 30 November 1828, and appointed Archbishop Dionysios to conduct liturgies at the fort.[432] Upon his return to St. Petersburg in 1832 he testified that his philhellenism had been aroused by "news of the military feats of co-religionists" and by "a sense of national honour to aid the Greeks."[433] From Palamidi, Raijk was promoted to Patras to hold the position of military governor of the district, and finally he became general inspector of the artillery.[434] In this position he was certainly superior to Myhrberg, who could have felt disappointed at his own progress when compared to Raijk who, as a Russian, was obviously a favourite of Capodistrias.[435]

Myhrberg was not the only one who felt bitter about Capodistrias' nomination policy, which was seen as too openly favourable to his compatriots; Finlay remarked that "Capodistrias had the weakness or the misfortune to name always the wrong man for every important place. His enemies accused him of fearing the right man in any office."[436] When Fabvier had heard that Raijk had been nominated commandant, Fabvier wrote in a letter to Grasset that "this has a little air of mystery about it."[437] In many accounts about Myhrberg, the philhellene is explained as having been disappointed and bitter about Capodistrias' policies.[438] This reflected the feelings of many philhellenes who had remained in Greece, and suffered from Capodistrias' paternalistic regime in which the role of the army, particularly of foreign-led irregulars, was not given much importance. Capodistrias had decided to gradually tame them in order to strengthen his centralised administration. More-

[430] Heideck 1898 vol. 2 ('compte rendu'), 94–95. Heideck specifies (p. 98) that Rayka [in the text a misprint "Zayka"] has merited all the satisfaction of the government for his excellent service. Fontanier 1829, 295–296 mentions that Reika was nominated commandant of the fort in Nauplion where Mr Heydek was governor. See also Loukatos 1989, 82 who tells us that Raijk was nominated commandant of Palamidi in January 1828. This must have happened later, however, since the expedition to Chios continued until March 1828.

[431] Loukatos 1989, 81; Heideck 1898 vol. 2 ('compte rendu'), 94–95; also in Barth & Kehrig-Korn 1960, 204–205.

[432] Loukatos 1989, 81. Raijk also authorised the admission of unarmed people to the fortress.

[433] Prousis 1994, 52; also Barth & Kehrig-Korn 1960, 204 with the specification that Raijk had been forced to retire from his position in the Russian army in 1826, when he travelled to Italy and thereafter Greece.

[434] Loukatos 1989, 82–83; Bruun 1966, 163.

[435] Capodistrias titled Raijk e.g. as a "remarkable" and "prudent" man in letters cited by Loukatos 1898, 82; see also a Greek government certificate given to Raijk after his philhellenic career, cited in Barth & Kehrig-Korn, 205.

[436] Finlay 1877 vol. 7, 35.

[437] ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier 16J, no. 9, V c.2 ("cela a un peu l'air d'une mystification"). The remark may refer to the shared Orthodox religious mysticism between Capodistrias and Raijk in addition to meaning that of the in-house dealings of Capodistrias in Fabvier's letters to Grasset. It is clear that Fabvier particularly feared that Russia would take a greater hold on the internal matters of Greece during Capodistrias' reign. Fabvier did not like this development in view of French politics.

[438] Krohn 1875, 39; *RL*, 29 July 1899; Karvelas 1901, 300; Dietrichson 1901, 138; Rein 1909, 348; Foststrand 1916, 35; Nord 1918, 77; Cederberg 1928, 170; Knös 1949, 553; Sovelius-Sovio 2001, 15.

over, the London protocol of 1830, which proclaimed Greece independent, marked a turning-point in Capodistrias' administration which led to his assasination in 1831.[439]

Myhrberg had obviously already left his position at Palamidi in 1830 when he applied for, and was granted, different lengths of leave during the summer. On 26 June 1830, for example, he was granted a permit for twenty days to take care of his private business in Spetsai and Leonidaion.[440] On 29 July he had ten days' leave for "his own specific matters" on Aegina,[441] and immediately after his return, he obtained another authorization for nine month's leave in France. He never took up this possibility, but he was instead granted permission for another long leave of nine months "for returning to your home country, Sweden, for personal matters" beginning on 6 January and lasting until 6 October 1831.[442] It seems that Myhrberg had started downgrading his duties, and was certainly contemplating leaving the country well before he finally did so at the beginning of 1831. In 1842, in his testimonial to the king, he explained that "he left Greece in January 1831 as he had leave, and he wanted to fulfil his wish to return [to Greece] in the near future, though circumstances independent of the nature of his volunteer service prevented him from realising the wish." There is no reason to doubt his intention to return. Myhrberg must have first planned to travel to France, in order to meet his friends, Fabvier among them, but he did not make the journey. Instead, he turned his thoughts to the north and applied for a permission to travel to his "home country, Sweden." He did not, however, return to that land, but decided to continue pursuing a freedom fighter's career elsewhere. We will return to this matter after we have glanced at the last tale in the Myhrberg-narrative concerning our philhellene's stay in Greece, when he still held his final position in Nauplion.

There are hardly any tales in the Myhrberg-narrative about his acts as commandant of the Palamidi. The following is the only example:

> "As a commandant, Myhrberg happened to be the person to rescue a Finnish vessel which had sailed to Nauplion from Turku and ended up in trouble in those violent waters. Great was Myhrberg's joy when he recognised in the skipper, his old friend, a student tutor, Matts Augustin. A cosy "Finnish evening" was spent together; after a long time Myhrberg had an opportunity to talk his own Finnish language, wash down Finnish food with a real Nordic drink [vodka], and hear news from his country."[443]

Sara Wacklin, who wrote one of the earliest biographies of Myhrberg, gives a version of the story according to which, once in Greece, he had an opportunity to serve his beloved fatherland by saving a couple of Finnish mercantile vessels from the hands of the Turks.[444] In 1867, Nils Pinello, himself a Turku-man, also told the story in his long obituary of Myhrberg. Thus, it is possible that the source for this short episode in the narrative could have been Myhrberg himself, though the story

[439] Veremis 1997, 13, 21–23.
[440] SRAM.
[441] SRAM.
[442] SRAM.
[443] Pinello in *ÅU* no. 49, 25 April 1867; Cederberg 1928, 169. The story in quite a different variation was also presented by Aminoff, 'Notes', cited by Bruun 1966, 174.
[444] Wacklin 1844 (1974), 322.

as told is questionable. There was a shipping company called Augustin in Turku, but its fortunes declined in the late eighteenth century, and in the 1820s, after the death of Matts Augustin the younger in 1808, it only owned less than a quarter of the barque *Myran*. The *Myran*, on its last voyage to Vyborg, on 17 October 1828, landed with a cargo of salt which had been loaded in Sicily.[445] Thus, it is impossible that the skipper could have been Matts Augustin, and as such it is very unlikely that Finnish mercantile vessels would have sailed in the Greek archipelago during the war, either before the battle of Navarino or after it had been fought, in 1829. Their successful mercantile activity in the Mediterranean must be doubted. Even the Swedish ships sailing in the eastern Mediterranean during those years were, as we have seen, mostly escort vessels.[446] The purpose of this story is to add some local colour to the Myhrberg-narrative, and connect his adventures in distant lands more closely to Finland, when they were relayed to the Finnish public. Pinello's version of Myhrberg's adventures is imaginary in many ways, and in connection with this episode he draws from the local history of Turku. It is possible, however, that Myhrberg had mentioned his attempts to save Greek ships from the hands of the Turks during the war. When he later related his memories of Greece to his friends, he may have exaggerated certain details and in that way given rise to the much grander stories which, finally, after him, were coloured with topical and local details.[447] He could also simply have had in mind the dealings of, for example, food supplies during the Chios campaign. In relation to this activity Gordon recounts that the besieged men received supplies of one kind or other almost every night from the Asiatic shore through regular communication,[448] and the traveller V. Fontanier recounts that:

> "Every week the *Epitropi* sent a small shipload of the necessary food and drinks to the Greek soldiers who besieged the fortress of Chios. If someone wanted to communicate with Admiral Rigny, it was simply done by sending a Greek officer to a Turkish harbour and finding him there. This was exactly what Fabvier's adjutant, Mollière, was sent to do. I was not surprised to see that commerce of oranges and lemons there had not lost its vivacity at all. They were exchanged in that little harbour [Chesme] where we had embarked on our way to Constantinople."[449]

Mollière is the same officer whom we have met before and who belonged to the men closely associated with Fabvier and Myhrberg's colleagues, perhaps even to his friends.[450] Myhrberg was to hold a similar position as Mollière, as Fabvier's adjutant, and, thus, he could have remembered the deeds of Mollière in the Turkish harbour connected with buying and selling food supplies or with an attempt to save Greek boats from the Turks. Mollière, therefore, had certainly distinguished himself in Fabvier's undertaking on that November night against the harbour of

[445] Bruun 1966, 175.
[446] See above p. 26.
[447] Bruun 1966, 176–177 suggests that one such event could have been Fabvier's attempt to reach the Turkish harbour Chesme during the Chios campaign. The episode is described by Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 461–462.
[448] Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 461.
[449] Fontanier 1829 vol. 1, 303.
[450] See above, p. 129.

Chesme, where the Turks were augmenting some of their troops. The philhellenes, shrouded in thick darkness, managed to capture two sacolevas and, even though their success was not decisive, the enterprise still had a strong moral influence on the minds of the Turks, who found that they were not safe even in their own havens.[451] It is possible that Myhrberg took part in the same operation, or in one of the endeavours to bring food from the closest Turkish harbour, in a party of philhellenes.[452] Later, when he recounted his experiences to his audiences he could have acquired the identity of Mollière and added details from the deeds of this French officer – towards whom his own opinion was somewhat doubtful – to his own experiences, and connected the event with his own role in Nauplion and Palamidi.

8. Departure and Recognition

In Stockholm, *Aftonbladet* records that Myhrberg "was around in Greece for seven years – it is known for certain."[453] This shows that some uncertainties about the details of Myhrberg's Greek career were acknowledged, but the length of this career had to be seven years. At some point the importance of the seven years of the Greek war became a part of the Myhrberg narrative as it is almost invariably stated in all the material concerning him, from the obituaries to President Ahtisaari's phrasing in 1996.[454] It has been shown above that Myhrberg stayed in Greece as a philhellene for five-and-a-half years. He writes in his testimonial to king Carl XIV Johan in 1842 that "[when he left Greece] he had arrived 5 years earlier in the country…", and a couple of lines below he states that [these] 6 years of deprivation and misery…". It is likely, however, that Myhrberg later acquired the habit of recounting that he spent seven years in Greece, as recorded by those who knew him during his latter years. For example, Fredrika Bremer, Myhrberg's close friend during the latter years of his life, wrote about him to Adrienne Lenormant in 1862, telling her that this "Grand Major Philhellène" fought in the Greek War of Independence for seven years.[455] Years of "deprivation and misery" were the reality of what he was left with from Greece when it comes to his personal experience. In the Myhrberg-narrative, the philhellene's later bitterness towards the Greeks is a recurring theme.[456] It echoes the disillusionment described earlier, or

[451] Gordon 1832 vol. 2, 462.
[452] Fontanier 1829 vol. 1, 296, 302. Fontanier came to Chios during the last chaotic phase of the campaign. He reports that he was happy to find a few French philhellenes onboard the Canaris' ship. These philhellenes were willing to escape from Fabvier's authority and chose this way to rebel against him. They also brought some food for the garrison by light boats from the harbour of Chesme during the night.
[453] *Abl* 1 April 1867 followed by *Hbl* no. 83, 9 April 1867 and *ÅU* no. 42, 9 April 1867.
[454] See e.g. *Abl* 1 April 1867 followed by *Hbl* no. 83, 9 April 1867; *ÅU* no. 42, 9 April 1867; *NIT*, 13 April 1867 (Blanche); *HD* no. 96, 20 April 1867; *TS* no. 18, 7 May 1867 ("he risked his life hundreds of times during this period"); *Folkwännen* no. 28, 12 July 1871; Schöldström 1897, 14; Forsstrand 1916, 35; Cederberg 1928, 171; Ahtisaari 1996 (see above p. 41); Sovelius-Sovio 2001, 15.
[455] [Bremer] 1920, 221 (letter to Adrienne Lenormant 25 October 1862). For the friendship of Myhrberg and Bremer, see above pp. 25, 47 and below 158–159.
[456] See above p. 93.

even sentiments of mishellenism which many philhellenes expressed in their memoirs.

What really happened after January 1830 is again unclear, as different versions in the Myhrberg-narrative tell different stories. It is variously told that from Malta[457] the philhellene travelled to Spain in order to there fight again for the freedom of that country, and from Spain he is said to have travelled to England.[458] According to another version of the tale he went in the direction of Rome in order to perform a duty of a delicate nature: it is recounted that Prince Paul Marie Bonaparte, a son of Napoleon's brother Lucien, had accidentally shot himself in the harbour of Nauplion in 1827. He had been a philhellene and a mariner.[459] Myhrberg had witnessed the event and it fell to him to bring to the prince's grandmother, Letitia Bonaparte, her grandson's possessions. We are informed that the 'Mother-Empress' gave Myhrberg a ruby ring when showed her a small medallion with the picture of Napoleon which he had kept with him throughout the Greek war.[460] In Spain, Myhrberg is said to have been a hero following an incident when bandits, led by the feared Maria Rosa, attacked the post wagon in which Myhrberg and his company were travelling from Tarragona towards the French border. The bandits robbed them of everything they possessed, even their clothes. This party, naked from the first lady to the last boy, were saved from losing their lives due to Myhrberg's cunning, as he was clever enough to mention to Maria Rosa their mutual friend whom he had once met during the Greek war.[461]

Myhrberg travelled from Greece via Corfu[462] and most probably Malta,[463] which for foreigners and philhellenes was the usual place to stay en route from Greece, and functioned also as required quarantine. It is not totally impossible that Myhrberg would have met his friend Gordon there at this time, and finally accepted his earlier invitation to travel with him from Greece.[464] In January 1831

[457] *Svea* 1867, 211; Krohn 1875, 339; *RL*, 29 July 1899; Dietrichson 1901, 138; Cederberg 1928, 178; Forsstrand 1916, 35.

[458] Aminoff's 'Notes', published in Bruun 1963, 177–178. Following especially Krohn 1875, 39–41; both Cederberg 1928, 178–181 and Nord 1918, 78–83 think that Myhrberg travelled to Spain from Malta, together with Gordon, and they describe at length their adventures in Spain.

[459] Fornèzy 1884, no. 41 (p. 233 in the 1975 edition) lists him as a philhellenic navy officer.

[460] Dietrichson 1901, 138; Rein 1909, 349; Nord 1918, 79; Cederberg 1928, 177–178; discussed in Bruun 1963, 181.

[461] *NIT*, 13 April 1867 (Blanche); *Svea* 1868, 211 (in which the name of a bandit is Rosa Maria); Krohn 1875, 39–40; *Folkwännen* no. 28, 12 July 1871; *RL*, 29 July 1899; Dietrichson 1901, 138; Rein 1909, 349; Forsstrand 1916, 36; Nord 1918, 79–81; Cederberg 1928, 178–181.

[462] Bruun 1966, 178–179 refers to information given in a letter dated 16 April 1831 and written by the Swedish consul on Corfu, D. Guarracinos, to Stockholm with the information that Myhrberg had arrived on Corfu at the beginning of April 1831.

[463] Löwenhielm 1927 vol. 2, 138 specifies that Myhrberg had travelled to Paris via Malta, Cadiz and Madrid; the same in *Svea* 1868, 211; see also above n. 457.

[464] See above pp. 119–120 and Bruun 1963, 179. Krohn 1875, 39 states that Myhrberg stayed on Malta with Gordon; Cederberg 1928, 177, followed by Sovelius-Sovio 2001, 16 add that they planned to travel together to Paris. *NIT*, 13 April 1867 (Blanche); *HD* no. 92, 20 April 1867 and *Folkwännen* no. 28, 12 July 1871 report that when Myhrberg had left Greece he stayed for some years in Spain together with an elderly wealthy English gentleman with whom he travelled across that romantic country.

Gordon had also decided to leave Greece for the second time, and sailed via Zante on his private yacht.[465]

Myhrberg may have planned to visit Gordon in England. It is not known, however, if this visit took place and, if it did, for how long it might have lasted.[466] A misunderstanding may have arisen here, as Myhrberg most probably did visit Gordon in Scotland in 1836. It is possible that these visits have been confused.[467] In any case, after a journey of some three months, Myhrberg arrived in Paris in the late May or early June of 1831. *Aftonbladet* in Stockholm informs us that "Our famous compatriot Myhrberg… is said to be returning to the fatherland [Sweden], from where this heroic young man is believed to be offering himself to the struggle of the Poles,"[468] revealing that Myhrberg still planned to return to Sweden. Around the same time, Myhrberg received Fabvier's reference letters, dated 2 June, together with an invitation to spend an evening and dine with his former commanding officer at his home on the evening of 24 June.[469] Myhrberg had obviously asked Fabvier to write references for him for different purposes; two of them were to be used for his plan to volunteer for Poland's uprising against Russia. Thus, at least at this point, his intention must have been to offer himself to the service of Poland's struggle for freedom. Fabvier's recommendation letters state clearly that it was now Myhrberg's intention to "sacrifice his existence and his talents for the cause of the beloved and glorious [Poland]".[470] In this way, Myhrberg's plan to return from Greece to "his home country, Sweden" did not materialise. It is possible that Fabvier affected his decision to direct his interests towards Poland because he liaised with the prominent Polish officers who carried out the country's struggle for freedom and was a central figure in the *Comité Polonais* in Paris, which actively organised volunteer support for the Polish fight in a similar manner to that in which the Greek societies and committees had done earlier for the Greek cause.[471]

---

[465] See e.g. Woodhouse 1969, 148 who informs us that Gordon's journey took place in January. *Oxford DNB, s.v.* 'Gordon, Thomas' tells us, however, that Gordon travelled from Greece in the spring or early summer of 1831 (and returned again in 1833).

[466] Aminoff, 'Notes' published in Bruun 1963, 177, see also 178–188 for discussion.

[467] Bruun 1963, 179. Gordon visited Scotland in 1836 for a longer period of time, returning to Greece again in 1837 or 1838, see *Oxford DNB, s.v.* 'Gordon, Thomas'. Myhrberg's visit of 1836 to Scotland (Cairness) is mentioned in *Svea* 1867, 212; Krohn 1875, 48; Karvelas 1901, 301; Forsstrand 1916, 87; *SDb*, 14 March 1970 (Rudberg); Jägerskiöld 1987–1989, *s.v.* 'Myhrberg'. Karvelas tells us that in Scotland Myhrberg visited Lord Gordon, the former Governor of Bombay, whom he had met on his way from Greece in 1831. The former Governor, Lord Gordon, who was obviously confused with or simply mistaken for Thomas Gordon, is mentioned also in *Svea* 1868, 211 and Forsstrand 1916, 35, who explains that Myhrberg made friends with this Lord on Malta in 1831 and travelled with him to Paris via Cadiz. The source for this is unknown, but it is obvious that *Svea*'s text has been Karvelas' source. Nord 1918, 78 calls this Gordon "an Englishman with the name William Gordon," and explains that Myhrberg travelled with him from Malta via Rome and Spain to Paris.

[468] *Abl*, 6 June 1831.

[469] SRAM, the invitation is accompanied by a recommendation letter to general Romarino in Poland and dated 23 June 1831. Myhrberg's address is now Rue Richelieu, no. 12.

[470] SRAJ, a letter to Adam Czartoryski, dated 25 June 1831 in Paris; see discussion below pp. 177–178.

[471] E.g. *ÅU* no. 49, 25 April 1867 (Pinello); *RL*, 29 July 1899; Forsstrand 1916, 36 tell us that Fabvier introduced Myhrberg to the members of the Polish committee. For Fabvier's activities for the Polish cause, see ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier, 16J, no. 10, V,F.8, and for his letters of reference to Myhrberg,

What happened during the next couple of years, when Myhrberg is believed to have fought in Poland, is covered by the veil of legends which are, if possible, even more colourful than those concerning his adventures in Greece. In this study, however, details of Myhrberg's adventures in Europe during the 1830s will not be examined in detail, as they do not directly concern his philhellenic career. We should mention, however, that Myhrberg stayed mostly in Paris during those years, met Camilla Wergeland there in 1834, is said to have fought again in Spain, in Don Carlos' ranks against Maria Christina's royal party, in 1833. Fabvier informs us, in the draft of a letter of reference for Myhrberg's Greek decoration in 1834, that he is presently "on leave in France".[472] If we believe the narrative, Myhrberg seems indeed to have been very active in the glittering social circles of the French capital during the last years of the decade. In the list of Myhrberg's acquaintances at this time we find in the narrive such names as the historian and politician, later President of France, Adolphe Thiers, who published an opposition newspaper, entitled *La Nationale*, and who, as a historian, was extremely acclaimed and widely-read. Another acquaintance was Marquis Lafayette, who is said to have often invited Myhrberg to his manor house, *La Grange*, near Paris.[473] We also find François Guizot, later minister of education, and Armand Carrel, a respected Parisian journalist, who published *La Nationale* together with Thiers, and wrote actively, for example, on Greek matters. Finally, in the list of acquaintances was Count Brogli who, as Prime Minister from 1835 to 1836, is said to have always opened his house to Myhrberg.[474] It is clear that much of this is exaggeration. The stories about his high-society role have to be seen in the context of the tales about his life in Paris in general. One of the popular genre of anecdotes about Myhrberg's years in Paris concerns his poverty and extremely modest life-style.[475] The narrative draws a picture of a heroic figure whose greatness is not dependent on material wealth or official recognition, and it has a parallel in fairy tales where a poor servant girl is the true princess. It is recorded that in Paris Myhrberg was supported partly by a tiny annual payment which Fabvier had organised, and partly by the earnings he received from sending reports to Swedish and Finnish newspapers.[476] There is no proof for Fabvier's payments, and Myhrberg's journalistic career is equally questionable. A rather common motif of contrasting Myhrberg's poorness and greatness is seen in an anecdote about him meeting with Thiers in Paris, told by Fredrik Cygnaeus. It was adapted as a different version later in both Finnish and Swedish newspapers:

---

see below p. 177. Cygnaeus 1873 (1868), 30 claims that Myhrberg's decision to volunteer for Poland resulted from the personal request of Cassimir Perrier, the Prime Minister of France.

[472] ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier 16J, no. 10, 12V.D.12, for more details on decorations, see below pp. 151–152.

[473] Wacklin 1844 (1974), 322; Cederberg 1928, 225;

[474] *Svea* 1868, 213; Cederberg 1928, 226–227; Wacklin 1844 (1974), 322 mentions Lafayette's friendship; *RS*, 4 March 1965 (Hannila) lists Lafayette, Thiers and Guizot.

[475] See e.g. *Hbl* no. 219, 20 September 1867, same in *ÅU* no. 112, 21 September 1867; *HD* no. 134, 19 May 1879; *Folkwännen* (*Fw*) no. 22, 28 May 1879; Ramsay 1905, 128–131; Krohn 1875, 47–48; Cederberg 1928, 222–224.

[476] *ÅU* no. 42, 25 April 1867 (Pinello); *Svea* 1868, 213; Krohn 1875, 48; Cederberg 1928, 221.

> A dozen of the city's most celebrated figureheads were invited to a party at the *Hôtel de Ville*. Myhrberg was among them, and Thiers was also there. At the climax of the celebration everybody wanted to see what was happening at the front and wished to get closer to the scene. Thiers, a small man in size, could not see anything. Then the Finnish fighter who had saved Greece took Thiers in his arms, lifted him up to the position where he would once be: in the highest place of the society.[477]

The story is, of course, symbolic, and relates to the greatness of the small and modest, but it also has other implications about the use of the Myhrberg narrative in Finland to which we shall return shortly. What is clear is that Myhrberg had gradually become a celebrity in the north. When he finally returned there in 1840, the significance of particularly the philhellenic part of his military career became well recognised, and Myhrberg, now a well-known freedom fighter, obviously wanted to be known primarily as a philhellene, and wished recognition for this status.

What was this longed for recognition? When Myhrberg returned to Sweden he was without a job. A frequently-cited testimonial to the king, Carl XIV Johan, was both a job application and literally a request for recognition:

> "Against his usual habits the undersigned has taken liberty to record his deeds till the present time to His Majesty because, as it is, he has been the only representative of his country in this long battle of liberating the famous civilisation and people of Europe… His role has without doubt been obscure and not of great importance. If His Majesty would consider, however, to attach – as he wishes – some importance to it and regard this role as significant directly for His Majesty and also for the countries he has served, as well as for the men he has had under his orders. These men have been for the most part well accustomed to the great wars of the Empire."

Carl XIV Johan responded and took Myhrberg's appeal into account. Myhrberg mentions in all of his testimonials that "in 1834 he was nominated by the king of Greece to become a Knight of the Royal Order of the Saviour, and he has been decorated with a Greek medal."[478] The certificate of the Croix de Chevalier en argent de Ordre Royal du Saviour, awarded on 29 December 1834/10 January 1835 by Otto, is preserved among the Myhrberg papers at the Swedish national archives,[479] and at the Greek state archives in Athens there is also a letter requesting Mister le Caradjà in the Paris consulate to forward the personal copies of the certificates to the recently decorated philhellenes.[480] The letter lists five

---

[477] Cygnaeus 1873 (1868), 34–35. A version in *DN* no. 207, 6 September 1877 and *Hbl* no. 68, 6 September 1877 is slightly different. It is based on the information the correspondent of the *Göteborgs Posten* in Paris sent in a report to Sweden about an article published in *Mot d'Ordre*. The article reports in its introduction that Thiers had recently given a talk entitled 'Conservative republic'. The two men, Myhrberg and Thiers, had met in the *Salong*, and the small Thiers explained with his usual liveliness and confidence that he "did not see any need for an independent Poland" – "Step on a chair in order to see further, Monsieur Thiers!" replied Myhrberg, a freedom fighter who had played a heroic role in the Polish fight for freedom.

[478] Testimonials Ia and Ib, IIa and IIb.

[479] SRAJ. The certificate must have been stored together with Myhrberg's papers which were later found in the attic of the Schwan's house in Stockholm. About G. Schwan, Myhrberg's friend who ran a mercantile business, the Schön & Co., from 1829, see above p. 69.

[480] HAMFA, 42.113 in 33:1, dated in Athens 15/27 March 1835; Myhrberg's certificate dated 29 December 1834/10 January 1835.

philhellenes nominated commanders, four of whom were decorated with the golden cross of the Saviour (St. Martin, Count Porro, Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely, and Mollière), and ten philhellenes who received the silver cross of the Saviour, Myhrberg among them. He was granted this decoration as one among the group of mainly French philhellenes who were recommended to the government for receipt of the decoration by Baron Bouen, minister of France (*ministre resident*) in Greece, with the required letters of recommendation.[481] These recommendations were obviously written by Fabvier, as in his papers there are draft references with basic information about each nominee, and according to the Greek documents all of them were granted decorations at the same time. Myhrberg is entitled philhellene in the certificate for the decoration, without any rank, unlike many others, and all of the philhellenes who received crosses of higher ranks.[482] He also received the memorial medallion of the Greek War of Independence.[483] Even though Myhrberg's decoration of the Saviour was the lowest of five different categories of medallions of the Saviour,[484] it was nevertheless recognition by the Greek state. It had been the intention of the new Greek government of the independent state in 1829 to confer the cross of the Order of the Saviour upon all the philhellenes who had taken part in the war.[485] This was not realised as such, and many philhellenes were forgotten, regardless of the considerable numbers who received their crosses.[486]

The information in the Myhrberg-narrative enlightens us about a Greek general, for example, who eagerly hankered after the cross of the Saviour and a few years after the war encountered a Swedish sea-captain in Greece. The Greek wondered: "It is strange that the only Swede whom we would decorate with the cross of the Order of the Saviour hides away without anybody knowing where he is. The pretty farm which has been donated to him awaits its owner."[487] In the narrative we are told that in addition to the decorations, Myhrberg was given a plot of land and a farmhouse by the Greek state in gratitude for his services to the coun-

[481] HAMFA, 33/1a in 33:1 (1835).

[482] ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier 16J no. 10, 12V D.12. Fabvier's drafts are for the reference letters for Count Porro, Poirel, Bourbon, Geindre, de St. Jean d'Angely, Mollière, Montigny, and Myhrberg. The 'motifs' for the text for Myhrberg include much the same as Fabvier also used in the other references he wrote for Myhrberg, describing his modest nature and the respect he had gained among his companions, as well as mentioning that he gained his promotions from a simple volunteer to captain solely on his own merit. For more details on Fabvier's references for Myhrberg, see below pp. 176–178.

[483] This medallion like the cross of the Saviour is preserved among his possessions, photograph in Cederberg 1928, 175; mentioned as the medallion of *andreias* (bravery) by Karvelas 1901, 299.

[484] The categories were the following: medallion of great service, medallion of great commanders, medallion of commanders, golden medallion of service, and silver medallion of service; HAMFA, 33:1g (1835). Of Fabvier's list, Poirel, Geindre, Montigny and Myhrbeg were decorated with the silver cross.

[485] St. Clair 1972, 352.

[486] E.g. according to the list of decorations delivered in 1835 by 31 May / 12 June the numbers were the following: 3 of the highest category, 9 of the second highest, 8 of the third highest, 17 of the golden service medallions, and 189 of the silver service medallions, HAMFA, 33/1 no. 83 in 33:1g (1835). In 1834, 63 French soldiers and 33 of other nationalities who fought in Navarino were conferred crosses in one single decision, HAMFA 33:1a.

[487] *NIT*, 13 April 1867 (Blanche); *HD* no. 92, 20 April 1867; *Folkwännen* no. 28, 12 July 1871; Cederberg 1928, 174–175.

try.[488] Some versions add that a small pension was attached to this gift.[489] Myhrberg, it is said, declined all these honours because he did not want to receive land which had been confiscated from a Greek who had fought in the war on the Turkish side. The property was large and the land around it very productive – one version mentions that it was an entire fertile island.[490] Myhrberg is said to have written to the owner of the land: "I came to fight for your freedom and for your right of property in the name of humanity, not to deprive you of anything. Return now as faithful citizens to your country to take care of your inherited properties and of your legal rights for which I have for my part been fighting for you. Then I have gained a fair enough salary."[491] Donation of land and property, or a regular pension to philhellenes who did not continue their service, was not the usual practice, and there is accordingly no evidence about Myhrberg's governmental gift in the archival record.[492] The story supports the picture of Myhrberg as a most modest man who despised vanity and empty honours; some versions mention that Myhrberg had received a few foreign Orders, but he never wore the decorations; a small, multicolour band in the button hole of a worn coat was his only embellishment.[493]

In Sweden, as a response to Myhrberg's application cited above, king Carl XIV Johan nominated him major in 1842,[494] and in 1850 granted him the title of Knight of the Order of the Swords.[495] Connected to the nomination of major, the king also offered Myhrberg the opportunity to become an inspector of the crown lands in Norrbotten, the northernmost province of Sweden. Myhrberg declined this offer.[496] Instead, he accepted a job as the secretary of the great council of the island of Saint Barthélemy. The nomination was connected with his title of major and was specified to provide similar rights to the status of major in the army. Myhrberg

[488] Wacklin 1844 (1974), 322; *Abl*, 1 April 1867 followed by *Hbl* no. 83, 9 April 1867 and *ÅU* no. 42, 9 April 1867; *HD* no. 82, 8 April 1867; *Ts* no. 18, 7 May 1867; Krohn 1875, 38; Topelius 1878, 136; Åberg 1891, 248; Schöldström 1897, 21 explains that the farm was sold after some time because it was thought that Myhrberg had died, as nobody had heard from him; also by Karvelas 1901, 299; Dietrichson 1901, 142; Rein 1909, 349; Forsstrand 1916, 38; Cederberg 1928, 173–175.

[489] Wacklin 1844 (1974), 322; Krohn 1875, 38; Åberg 1891, 248 explains that Myhrberg could not have accepted the pension, whereas e.g. Rein 1909, 349 states to the contrary that he did receive it.

[490] *RL*, 29 July 1899. The writer specifies that the gift was donated to Myhrberg by the people of Greece through the Parliament of the country.

[491] Wacklin 1844 (1974), 322; Krohn 1875, 38; Cederberg 1928, 174 explains that this was what Myhrberg proudly told the Greek government officials in Paris who had come to bring the news to him.

[492] Material concerning the decisions of the national congress in Argos in August 1829 related to financial aid to those who had made great sacrifices for the nation during the war is in HAMFA, 97 1:d (1830). As an example of the decisions of the year 1834, see e.g. the correspondence between the Greek government and French representatives, HAMFA, 90:1 /88:2 (1834) showing that a payment of 1,500 drachmas or "quelque établissement du choix" from the minister of education was asked in 1834 for Dutrône, an ex-captain in the Greek service, for his services in military instruction. In 1835 Fabvier asked Amiral de Rigny for a state building (bâtiment de l'état) for a philhellene called Tromper as "a personal favour", HAMFA, 33:1g (1835). These are, however, exceptions rather than the rule.

[493] Schöldström 1897, 21.

[494] Certificate in SRAJ, dated 24 September 1842 in the Castle of Stockholm.

[495] Certificate in SRAJ, dated 26 June 1850. Myhrberg's name here is Axel Maximilian Myhrberg.

[496] See Myhrberg's letter of refusal to P.A. Wallmark of the Royal Office, dated 23 April 1842, KBb, no. 5 MÜ-NY, and for more details below p. 181.

himself states in his 'military' testimonials that on 24 September 1842 he became major of the military police (*milicen*) on the island of St. Barthélemy.[497] Sweden had bought this west Indian island from France in 1784 and kept it as her colony until 1878 when it was resold. In 1785, king Gustavus III proclaimed the island a free port for promoting the trade of the Swedish crown in the West Indies. Its local administration was in the hands of a council whose head was a governor. One of the officials was the secretary of the council, a post Myhrberg held for almost five years from the summer of 1843.[498] Some of Myhrberg's biographers call this position a "voluntary exile" as the work was an uninteresting and unrewarding administrative job.[499]

In the north, however, during those years, Myhrberg became known as Major Myhrberg. He became to some extent a celebrity whose actions in the glamorous societies of, for example, Paris were recounted, and about which there were many rumours. Exoticism was added to the former career of this already legendary figure by the claim that in Greece major Myhrberg had been known as Murad Bey, a name the Greeks gave to him because they could not pronounce his Scandinavian name.[500] Myhrberg's biography offered the possibility of its use also in the context of Finnish national awakening. The analysis of this connection forms the final section of this study. For its background it is profitable to investigate Myhrberg's connection with Finland after his active career as a freedom fighter was over.

[497] Testimonials IIa and IIb. Note that in these testimonials he claims that he had already become a major when nominated commandant of Palamidi in July 1829, and was nominated major again in connection with the position on St. Barthélemy. Finally he states that he became a major in the army on 18 March 1834.

[498] For St. Barthélemy, see e.g. Sjögren 1967; Cederberg 1928, 244–248.

[499] Cederberg 1928, 247–248; Wacklin 1844 (1974), 356; Lappalainen 1997 (*Kaleva* 2 March 1997). For Myhrberg and St. Barthélemy, see also Åberg 1891, 251 and more recently Olin 1990.

[500] A. Lydecken's adventure book for boys is even titled *Murad Bey* (1935), and explains (p. 6) that the name Myhrberg turned into Myr-bey and then Murad-bey according to Greek spelling; the same in Nord 1918, 6; Dietrichson 1901, 131; Ramsay 1905, 128; Cederberg 1928, 172; *SDb*, 14 March 1970 (Rudberg); *RS*, 4 March 1965 (Hannila); Sovelius-Sovio 2001, 11 (giving the name as Murad Bei). The best-known Murâd-Bey was the chief of the Mameluks of Egypt in the Napoleonic wars who, after the battle of Heliopolis in 1800, formally submitted himself to the service of France and became 'French Sultan'. He died soon afterwards, and it has been suggested that plague was not the cause of his death, but that he was poisoned instead. See e.g. *Nouvelle bibliographie général*, *s.v.* 'Murâd-Bey'.

III. Myhrberg and Finland

1. Visits to Finland and Life in Sweden

Soon after having returned to Sweden in July 1840, Myhrberg decided to visit Finland.[1] At the end of October 1840, Myhrberg is mentioned in *Helsingfors Tidningar* among the list of passengers arriving in Finland,[2] and on 22 September 1841 the same newspaper reported that he had left Helsinki on 17 September, on board the vessel *Storfursten* for Stockholm, together with Aminoff.[3] Moreover, *Borgå Tidning* reports in January 1841 that "our compatriot, the well-known Philhellene, Major Myhrberg, who after having returned from Greece was in the French service, visited Helsinki during the last Great jubilee. He lives these days in Stockholm where he enrolled in the service of Sweden."[4] The jubilee referred to was the celebration, held in the summer of 1840, in honour of the 200-year-old university in Helsinki, the Imperial Alexander University of Finland. It was to mark a turning point in the cultural life of Finland, and also in the development of the university itself; the new decade was to become exceptionally meaningful in the formation of the national spirit of the country.[5] This visit was to be Myhrberg's last to Finland before the 1850s, when he was back in the north from Saint Barthélemy, and has been connected with a frequently-repeated incident in the Myhrberg-narrative, according to which he can be identified as the acclaimed general Langermann of the Polish war.[6] We are told that after the Crimean war he was no longer welcome in his native country due to political sensitiveness towards the man who had earlier fought in the Polish uprising against the Russians, and was now living in Sweden.[7]

Myhrberg's next visit to Finland took place in 1852 and lasted longer, at least one year: according to a passenger report in *Helsingfors Tidningar* he returned to Sweden in the end of 1853.[8] One of the initial reasons for this visit was that Myhrberg's uncle, a wealthy merchant, had died, and his inheritance had to be

---

[1] Wacklin 1844 (1974), 322 and Krohn 1875, 50: "to visit his dear mother"; Karvelas 1901, 301; Cederberg 1928, 135–239; see also Bruun 1966, 196.

[2] *HT* no. 83, 24 October 1840: "Major Myhrberg from Espo Manor, at Mrs Strandberg." Mrs Strandberg kept a hostel in Helsinki at Vuorikatu; it was a well-known residence especially for students, but also e.g. Snellman stayed there in 1843 during his visit to Helsinki; see Rein 1895, 361.

[3] *HT* no. 75, 22 September 1841. Aminoff recalls in his 'Notes' that he met Myhrberg for the first time in 1845, for the second time in Helsinki in 1855 and for the last time in Turku in 1856; see Bruun 1963, 148–149. The first visit must have taken place in 1841, and Aminoff misremembers the exact years.

[4] *BT* no. 5, 20 January 1841.

[5] Klinge 1978, 74; for the jubilee *ibid.*, 72–73.

[6] General Langermann was a famous soldier who was hailed as the hero of freedom fights, especially in Paris at the beginning of the 1830s; see e.g. an invitation to a celebration in honour of generals Langermann and Romarino in Paris, 11 January 1832 (ADM-M, Dossiers Fabvier 16J, no. 11, V.F.8), boasting a list of their brave acts on the battlefields.

[7] For this rather complicated mixture of legend and reality, see especially Bruun 1963, 187–200 who has studied the matter in great depth.

[8] *HT* no. 234, 20 November 1853 informs us that "Our famous compatriot Major Myhrberg stayed for some time in Helsinki before travelling to Sweden, which has also acquired this son of our fatherland."

settled. During his visit Myhrberg socialised with culturally influential Finns; Zacharias Topelius' calendar has a note, for example, on 21 November 1852, reminding him that "Myhrberg, Aminoff and others at Ilmoni."[9] Count Adolf Aminoff had been a general in the Russian infantry, and Immanuel Ilmoni was a professor of medicine, and a cultural figurehead who had been Myhrberg's fellow student at the university in Turku. Aminoff writes in his 'Notes' that one winter evening Ilmoni gathered together all Myhrberg's friends from his student days in Turku.[10] This is most probably the same event referred to at the beginning of the examination in this study of Myhrberg's career, when Myhrberg began to recount his adventures in Greece and his audience listened to the stories until the small hours.[11] Topelius reminisces that "Myhrberg was at that time in Helsinki, and was invited among a few friends to Ilmoni, and I was the only youngster." Topelius adds that after the visit, on the way home, Aminoff, also Myhrberg's friend from his student days, had told him that "Myhrberg had revealed that he was General Langerman, the figure much feared by the Russians during the Polish uprising in 1831."[12] Myhrberg visited Raahe, the town of his birth, in May 1853, when the inheritance document was signed,[13] and on another occasion, in September of the same year, on similar business, and stayed there for some time.[14] From Raahe he continued his tour of the country, visiting Oulu, the home town of his boyhood years.[15] It is possible, however, that Myhrberg may have visited Stockholm in between his two longer stays in Finland and returned to the country rather quickly; A. Schauman recalls in his memoirs that he met Myhrberg at Petas Manor near Espoo, as a guest of the wife of Professor Gadolin, at the beginning of 1854. The major had then stayed at his brother's house, the Espoo Manor. Schauman also recounts that it was still possible to meet Myhrberg on the streets of the capital in the autumn of the same year.[16]

It seems that Myhrberg led a rather active social life in the Finnish capital during 1854, and certainly mixed in the cultural society of the capital. He had made

[9] Cited in Bruun 1963, 148–149.
[10] Aminoff, 'Notes', published by Bruun 1963, 148. Bruun suggests that this meeting must have taken place in 1852, not in 1855 as recalled by Aminoff.
[11] [Topelius] 1922, 215; see above pp. 47–48.
[12] Topelius' notes refer to the years 1853–1863, but the editor notes (in the commentary) that this event must have taken place earlier than 1853; also Bruun 1966, 149.
[13] Myhrberg signed for his share of the inheritance left by Johan Sovelius on 11 May 1853 in Raahe. I am grateful to Eero Sovelius-Sovio for a copy of the document.
[14] This time the share of the inheritance of Fredrik Sovelius, brother of Johan, was signed for in Raahe on 17 September 1853. A week earlier Myhrberg had signed and received his share of the obligations of the Saimaa Channel from the years 1847–1850 (the sum of 113 silver roubles). I am grateful to Eero Sovelius-Sovio for copies of the documents. *RL*, 29 July 1899 and Nord 1918, 93 mention that Myhrberg returned to Finland in 1852 because of the inheritance.
[15] *FAT* no. 243, 20 October 1853 reports that Myhrberg came from Oulu (to Helsinki) in late October and stayed with Mrs Sandberg. *Svea* 1868, 213; Krohn 1875, 50, followed by Cederberg 1928, 263–265, describes his visit to Oulu in rather an imaginary way, adding e.g. a detail according to which Myhrberg was asked to marry the only daughter of Mr Kinnunen, the new owner of the Knuutila, Myhrberg's childhood home.
[16] Schauman 1922 vol. 2, 155. Ramsay 1905, 124 remembers how Myhrberg's appearance still made an impact on him in 1863: his face was manly, with seriousness in his expression, and he still had the mighty body of an old soldier.

the acquaintance of J.V. Snellman during his previous visit to Finland, or, alternatively, in Stockholm between 1841 and 1842. In any case Myhrberg visited him in Helsinki in 1854, being one of the many cultural personalities who frequently appeared among the guests at Snellman's house.[17] This time Myhrberg also kept friendships alive with his old student companions. For example, Theodor Ilmoni told Immanuel Ilmoni's biographer that one autumn night in 1854, when Ilmoni lived at the New Clinic, a door bell rang. A tall man entered the house. Both Ilmoni and his guest stared at each other for a while and then fell into each other's arms. The man was Myhrberg, and Ilmoni invited him for a visit to his house one evening with some friends and colleagues. Then the otherwise quiet Myhrberg recounted his adventures in Greece and Spain, and Ilmoni gave a talk at the dinner about the knighthood of the Middle Ages, a phenomenon Myhrberg represented in their times.[18] There is also differing information about the date of Myhrberg's departure back to Stockholm: Schauman tells us that he met Myhrberg for the first time at Snellmann's in the autumn of 1854, as the latter had invited his closest friends from Kuopio, Schauman among them, for a visit to meet the famous freedom fighter. This happened when Myhrberg was about to leave Finland after having been in the country for almost two years.[19] Ilmoni, on the other hand, tells us that Myhrberg travelled back to Stockholm together with him at the beginning of December 1854 on board the boat *Fulton*.[20] Rein, however, explains that Myhrberg had to leave Finland in haste in October 1854, taking a route via Oulu where he had to have his passport checked by the local governor. As the weather was very bad he stayed overnight at the house of the governor, Aleksanteri Lavonius, and the two men spent the whole night telling stories of bygone wars.[21] The reason for Myhrberg's departure was most probably the heightened political situation due to the Crimean War, also known in Finland as the Eastern War. Nicholas II had attempted to secure a positive Finnish attitude towards his political intentions. Myhrberg was known to have been in Swedish service, and had fought against Russia in Poland and, thus, was seen as suspicious in the eyes of the Russians. In early 1855 Myhrberg was officially declared unwelcome in Finland: following the declaration of the governor general, Count Berg, Myhrberg was not granted a travelling permit due to the situation following the outbreak of the Crimean War.[22]

Myhrberg's final visit to Finland can be dated to the last years of the same decade. *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* reports that, on the first day of August 1857, a vessel, *Örnskiöld*, sailed from Stockholm, and among the passengers was major

[17] Rein 1895 vol. 1, 587–588; Schauman 1922 vol. 2, 155 tells us that he met major Myhrberg for the first time at Snellman's in Helsinki in the autumn of 1854. See also Bruun 1963, 149 and Cederberg 1928, 267.
[18] Heinricius 1912, 274 (n. 1).
[19] Schauman 1922 vol. 2, 155. *Svea* 1868, 213 informs us that Myhrberg came to Finland in 1852 and stayed for the whole of the following year.
[20] Heinricius 1912, 247. Ilmoni had received permission to travel from St. Petersburg to Sweden. His visit was partly scientific, partly political; see Heinricius 1912, 272–283.
[21] Rein 1909, 350.
[22] Bruun 1963, 149 on the basis of the archival document in VA, dated 25 April / 7 May 1855. Also Ramsay 1905, 126 refers to the risks due to which Myhrberg had to leave the country.

Myhrberg who was in the service of Sweden.[23] A letter of 12 January 1858 from Runeberg's wife, Fredrika, to his sister, mentions the Runebergs' visit to Juselius at Boe, following Myhrberg's invitation.[24] Fredrika writes in her letter that this visit lasted three whole "interesting" days, during which time Myhrberg told his audience the whole of his extraordinary life history, from his earliest childhood to the present.

Myhrberg's contacts in Finland show that he was a well-known figure in the contemporary cultural and political establishment. In Sweden, too, he enjoyed a somewhat similar celebrity status. The writer of the *Svea folk-calendar* informs us that noble, well-educated women in particular provoked Myhrberg to use his exceptional gifts in social intercourse.[25] The most important and probably the closest of Myhrberg's friends in the Swedish capital was the well-known author Fredrika Bremer.[26] In the 1860s she regularly invited Myhrberg, already an elderly gentleman, together with a group of good friends to her home. For Fredrika, Professor Sven Nilsson, archaeologist and zoologist Per Erik Bergfalk, L. A. Ekmarck and Myhrberg were "my young fellows" (*mina unga gubbar*).[27] Myhrberg was later one of the three witnesses to Bremer's will.[28] In one of her letters from January 1862 to H. C. Andersen, the famous author of fairytales, she relates how she had invited Myhrberg, "a brave old Philhellene who fought in Greece in the War of Independence" and some of her closest friends and relatives to her home to see photographs of her journey from the south and east, to see the roses of Jericho in bloom and listen to Andersen's stories. [29] Among the invitations which Myhrberg received in Stockholm in 1863, and which is preserved in the archival record, there are, for example, notes from Constantine Czartoryski, Adam Czartoryski's nephew,[30] and from the pianist and composer Liszt.[31] Myhrberg also used to meet his Finnish friends and acquaintances in Stockholm: A.I. Arwidsson

[23] *FAT* no. 175, 3 August 1857.

[24] [Runeberg] 1931, 326. The editor Strömborg mentions, in the note for this Runeberg diary-text, that in the Runeberg-archives is an invitation from Myhrberg dated 12 January 1858. Juselius' wife was related to Myhrberg.

[25] *Svea* 1868, 214. Jägerskiöld 1987–1989, *s.v.* 'Myhrberg', also tells us that Myhrberg was well noticed on his promenades in Stockholm and he became a known figure in society, particularly among the liberals.

[26] For Bremer, see above pp. 25, 47, 147.

[27] [Bremer] 1920, commentary, p. 613. The same can be read in the invitation to Fredrika Limnell, 23 November 1864 (no. 1241): "Could and would my little Fredrika, 'Fru Mamma', come on Friday evening to accompany my young fellows Bergfalk, Myhrberg, Nilson and Ekmark, together with Miss Lejonhufvud and a good old friend?" To her translator, Margaret Howitt, Bremer wrote on 5 April 1865 (no. 1273, p. 389) that "Professor Bergfalk, Major M- [i.e. Myrberg], the Nilssons, & c. come to me in the evening as usual, and often it is very agreeable; but I feel myself more and more weary, and out of tune for company. I have been very little out this winter – only one evening."

[28] [Bremer] 1920, letter no.1108 written 9 July 1862, commentary p. 614. The two others witnessing the will were Lotten Wennberg and Erik Bergfalk. Bergfalk invited Myhrberg to his home after Bremer's funeral; see the document in SRAJ dated 3 January 1865.

[29] [Bremer] 1920, letter no. 1079 (p. 177), dated 10 January 1862; Johanson and Kleman note in the commentary of this letter that for Fredrika, Myhrberg was 'a real figure from an adventure novel.'

[30] Constantin Czartoryski had arrived in Sweden in May 1863 to rally support for the new Polish uprising, and was received very favourably in the city; see e.g. Cederberg 1928, 281–283. For Adam Czartoryski, see below pp. 177–178.

[31] Invitations and letters in SRAJ from 1863 and 1864.

resided in Stockholm and kept in contact with him,[32] and F. Cygnaeus recalls the time that he spent together with Myhrberg in Stockholm. He explains that Myhrberg was actually working there for Finnish interests, as he mediated a message to the highest political levels in Sweden, including the king, and explained that Finland was not interested in turning against Russia despite the upheavals caused by the Crimean war. The perception in Sweden that Finland was prepared to rise against her ruler was false.[33] Immanuel Ilmoni was chosen to act as a messenger in the matter, and Myhrberg is thought to have helped him in this enterprise.[34] Snellman had already kept in regular contact with Myhrberg in Stockholm during his second, longer stay in the Swedish capital. The elderly freedom fighter used to visit Snellman's flat to read a book; he lounged on a couch while Snellman carried out his literary work at the desk.[35] The journalist and author Schauman reports that he met Myhrberg on a Stockholm street in 1854, and recognised the man whom he had first met in Helsinki at J.V. Snellman's home. For some time after this meeting Myhrberg came to see Schauman almost every morning and introduced him to those who were prominent in Stockholm society. Myhrberg did not, however, give his address to Schauman.[36]

Probably through his acquaintance with Fredrika Bremer, Myhrberg became involved again in the Polish question, and travelled once more to Paris and Rome, in 1863, with the possible intention of working for the cause. The new uprising was in general warmly welcomed in Europe, and very much so in Sweden, but despite this welcome, the attempt for Polish freedom failed. Bremer tells us that Constantin Czartoryski, who met our old philhellene at her home, liked Myhrberg very much and asked him to join a tour of Sweden, and later invited him to Rome.[37] Myhrberg set himself *en route* and again stayed for some time in Paris. Anders Ramsay, one of his biographers and Myhrberg's distant relative, was staying in the French capital at the same time, and used to meet the old major at the *Café Regence* which was a meeting place for many famous Parisians. Myhrberg used to play chess there with his Polish friends or other impressive figures.[38] Perhaps it was difficult for Myhrberg to settle down even during his old age since, by the late autumn of 1863, he had left Paris[39] for Stockholm. According to the letter written by Fredrika Bremer to her friend Doria d'Istria on 24 November of the same year, he was soon on his way towards Rome. Bremer's letter was a recommendation for Myhrberg to

[32] Myhrberg's reply to Arwidsson's invitation is preserved in the letter collection of the *KBb*, Stockholm, no. Ep.A.12. Myhrberg complains that he cannot come due to prior dinner arrangements.
[33] Cygnaeus 1873 (1868), 31; the same in Rein 1899 vol. 2, 34.
[34] Rein 1899 vol. 2, 35–36 explains that Myhrberg told the king and the prince that, according to his understanding, the Finnish people were loyal to their tsar and, thus, they would treat the Swedes badly ("Suomessa kansa ollen uskollinen keisarillillensa ja suuriruhtinaallensa tulisi pahoin kohtelemaan Ruotsalaisia").
[35] Rein 1895 vol. 1, 310.
[36] Schauman 1922 vol. 2, 155–156. Schauman explains that he noticed how highly regarded Myhrberg was among the society he visited together with the old major.
[37] Bremer's letter to Doria d'Istria (SRAJ), dated 24 November 1863. See also *Svea* 1868, 215–216; *Abl*, 1 April 1867 followed by *Hbl* no. 83, 9 April 1867 and *ÅU* no. 42, 9 April 1867; Schöldström 1897, 17 and Cederberg 1928, 284.
[38] Ramsay 1905, 123–124, 126.
[39] Ramsay 1905, 132.

her friend, who had wanted to meet the Countess d'Istria.[40] Myhrberg is presented here as a brave and noble philhellene, an original gentleman who "would certainly provide lots of fun for his company." In Rome Myhrberg spent time again with Ramsay, who had also gone down to the Mediterranean from Paris, together with the Norwegian, Lorenz Dietrichson. For his part, Dietrichson was taking care of the library of the Scandinavian Society in Rome, which was housed at Palazzo Corea. Members of the society tended to be well-known Nordic personalities: Ibsen quite frequently made an appearance there, as did the Danish poet Carl Andersen, who later wrote the epic poems 'Markos Bozzaris' and 'Kathinka'.[41] Swedish poet Carl Snoilsky, Finnish sculptor Walter Runeberg, and Myhrberg were also among the regular guests. Dietrichson explains how impressed he was with the old philhellene, not least regarding the mysterious aura of his character, but also about his modestly silent contact with countesses and princesses, with whom, every now and again, he was known to have had luncheons. He was also seen in their company driving in coaches along the streets of Rome.[42] He tells us also that after having returned to Sweden from Italy, Myhrberg lived very modestly in a simple room on the ground floor of a building in Drottningsgatan in Stockholm. His room was simpler than any student accommodation could have been, and Dietrichson often visited the old man there during his last year, in 1867.[43]

The impression we get about our elderly Myhrberg is that he was a man who not only had a mysterious character and still kept his secrets, but one who was also well-connected and well-known. His movements were followed in the press, and like his previous life, this period also generated stories. Now, however, they exaggerated Myhrberg's high society connections. One example is given by Cederberg:

> In Stockholm Myhrberg had become acquainted with a wealthy mercantile family. When the World Exhibition was opened in London in 1851, the members of this family travelled to London to take part in the event. One day they were wandering about in the magnificent Crystal Palace and noticed in the crowd a large figure of a man: Myhrberg. He was surrounded by a whole group of fine ladies and gentlemen. When Myhrberg recognised his Swedish friends he presented them to his English party, all were earls, lords, counts and countesses. To their surprise the Swedish company noted that they were in the middle of purely blue-blooded English high society.[44]

Once more the meaning of the tale is to strengthen the conception of a good man by presenting him on the one hand as living in a modest way and even suffering from economic restraints, while on the other marshalling him into high society in order to show that his high esteem was purely due to his own merit and character.

---

[40] SRAJ. Since Myhrberg had obviously not met the countess in Rome he brought the letter back and it is preserved in his archives. The letter was later cited in the Finnish newspaper *Hbl*, 5 December 1867.
[41] C. Andersen wrote an invitation to Myhrberg for a meeting in Naples on 5 March 1864, SRAJ; see also above pp. 86–87.
[42] Dietrichson 1901, 131–132, 141. The countess in question was Czartoryska of Poland, and the princesses Maria Christina of Spain and Louise of France. In SRAM there are invitations to Myhrberg from Czartoryska, one of them in Rome. The other acquaintances cannot be verified in the light of the archival material.
[43] Dietrichson 1901, 132–133, 142 who tells us that if someone wanted to see Myhrberg, it was possible in the afternoon at the Royal gardens.
[44] Cederberg 1928, 260–261.

It was through hard work and suffering that he had gained a position of respect in society. Much was still added to the conceptualisation of a national hero-figure who would reflect the national concerns of Finland. Myhrberg's life saga was to be used for these purposes.

2. Finnish National Awakening and Myhrberg

In the first part of this study the main components of philhellenism, its classicist, romantic and religious aspects were surveyed. One element, however, was left for later examination because of its particular importance for the study of the philhellenism of the 1820s and its impact on the culture of the latter part of the century in Finland. It is the connection of philhellenism with national consciousness, or, in its initial phase, with national awakening.

The process of the development of nationhood took place in Finland during the nineteenth century in different phases, and followed the general lines of developments in Europe, with some local differences and particularities characteristic to Finland. In Europe and in Russia, as we have seen, an interest in classical culture, and Hellenism, was also tied to early romanticism and a particular aspect of it, the romantic nationalism which was articulated in philosophical and artistic terms. The works of the German literary critic, historian and philosopher, Johann G. von Herder (d. 1803), provided a much-read model for this development. His concept of *Volksgeist* maintained that each nation expressed its creative genius in its own language, art, literature and folklore, which contribute to the general historical evolution. He regarded revolutions, too, as integral in this process, thus influencing the revolutionary nationalism of the early nineteenth century. Herder's ideas and thoughts regarding German romanticism, even though they had been reflected in the work of his Turku contemporary H.G. Porthan, were systematically brought to Turku in the late 1820s, firstly by A.J. Sjögren, a member of the 'Turku quartet' of Uppsala students.[45] Sjögren praised Herder's work *Stimmer der Völker in Lieder* (1778), and was inspired by the plan to arrange the epics of the world according to countries, peoples, nationalities and languages, so that the 'people's voice' could find a positive response among the intelligentsia.[46] The activity of collecting Finnish folklore had already been started by C. Ganander (d. 1790), a Finnish mythologist and lexicographer who published important works on old Finnish folk poetry, runes and mythology under the titles *Mythologia Fennica* and *Nytt Finskt Lexikon*, and by H.G. Porthan (d. 1804) who published an extensive study of Finnish poetry, *De Poesi Fennica*, between 1766 and 1778. Gottlund, Poppius and Arwidsson continued to pursue this enterprise, and in 1819 a dual Finnish- and German-language collection, *Finnische Runen* was edited by D.H.R. Schröter in Uppsala, containing nearly two thousand verses, the main body of which was col-

[45] Sjögren became a scholar of Finnish language, folklore and history, and was later nominated to the chair of philology at the St. Petersburg University; see e.g. Pentikäinen 1989, 18, 240.
[46] Niemi 1898, 28; see also Pentikäinen 1989, 18.

lected by Ganander, Porthan, Gottlund, Arwidsson and Poppius.[47] Dissertations on Finnish folklore and old religion were written, and activities related to the collection and publication of national culture and folklore were further initiated.[48] Writers were encouraged to seek inspiration in national legends and folklore. Arwidsson, a lifelong friend of Myhrberg, was one of the leaders of the 'Turku Romantics' of the second decade of the nineteenth century. It is to him that the rallying call of the period is often attributed: "Swedes we are not, Russians we cannot become, let us then be Finns."[49] M. Klinge points out, however, that after the initial phase of romantic idealism, particularly when the university was transferred from Turku to Helsinki in 1828, it did not gain a strong hold, either in Finnish intellectual or in political life, and declined into a weak current within them. Instead, neohumanistic ideas gathered ground in the country among its intelligentsia and artists. Nationalistic ideas and national moulding in Finland started largely in isolation.[50]

The French Revolution had freed the powers of the bourgeoisie and enabled them to establish a national state. Its ideal was the phenomenon known as western democracy. Classical florescence occurred simultaneously with the quest for national self-definition, and Hellenism interacted with a growing sense of national consciousness. In Russia this was fuelled by the sharp reaction against Gallomania and by the victory over Napoleon.[51] The term *narodnost*, national identity in Russian culture, deriving from *narod*, meaning both 'people' and 'nation', crystallised in literary trends which sought to adopt foreign models to its own national tradition, but not to imitate them.[52] In Finland this phenomemnon was to be called *kansallisuusaate*, a term which implies both national consciousness and national ideology, and which finally led to the establishment of regular parliamentary activity of the legislature, diet (*valtiopäivät*) and senate in 1863.[53] As in the history of

[47] See *Finnische Runen. Finnisch und Deutch von D.H.R. von Schröter*; Pentikäinen 1989, 18–19. Arwidsson wrote a review of Schröter's *Finnische Runen* in *Mnemosyne*, which published it continuously in eight volumes, between 4 March and 17 June 1820; see also Nuormaa & Rein 1909, 60–93).

[48] Pentikäinen 1989, 17–18.

[49] In *ÅMb* no. 2, 13 January 1821 Arwidsson's article 'An insight into our fatherland' ('En blick på vart fosterland'), and on 17 February and 24 March 'On nationality and national spirit' ('Om nationalitet och national anda') containing thoughts on the necessity of official status for the Finnish language and of separate Finnish identity (published in Finnish in Nuormaa & Rein 1909, 109–148 and in *Oma Maa* 1909, 55–57). The theme of the position of the Finnish language was taken up again in *Mnemosyne* and in *ÅMb* no. 40, 3 October 1821, under the title 'Finnish language treated as national language' ('Finska språket, betraktat som national språk'). See esp. Castrén 1951, 198–200; also Tommila 1988b, 93; Annist 1944, 11; also above p. 39 (n. 175).

[50] Klinge 1990 (1992), 75–77.

[51] Prousis 1994, 89, 105.

[52] The term *narodnost* became one of the passwords of the reign of Nicholas I in the 1840s. It also had a political intonation, echoing reaction against the French Revolution and the subsequent nationalist as well as liberal movements. In the writings of the Russian intelligentsia of the 1840s the term was given also a meaning nearer to 'patriotism' as it was understood in western Europe: see Venturi 1952 (1966), 19, 25. In the name of *narodnost* in Russia, the life of peasants in particular was idealised by many cultural and political thinkers, especially of the 1860s; see e.g. Figes 2002, 220–226.

[53] Klinge 1967 chose the term *kansalaismieli*. The closest equivalent to it in English would be 'national ethos'; see esp. p. xv for his definition of the programme for the creation and development of a special

ideas, at least within Hegelian perspective, it was built on opposing previous systems or political institutions. With its demand for social consciousness and participation by large and by new parts of society, Hegelianism was indeed regarded as an important and influential philosophical trend, particularly in the 1840s.[54] The reactionary atmosphere in Europe provided a basis for the growth of liberalism which opposed the post-Napoleonic political system, the principles of the Holy Alliance, centralistic paternalism, censorship, and Christian-hierarchical political organisation. In Europe the first half of the nineteenth century was a period for the formation of new channels for expression of opinion: journals and newspapers were founded and widely read. As a reaction to reactionism, liberalism advocated freedom of opinion and national rights; it turned against idealistic romanticism (in literature) and speculative idealism (in philosophy).[55] Liberalism requested the right for independent nation states to exist. In Finland these ideas were received as a mixture of western European thought and Russia's own radicalism (e.g. the decembrists). The reaction was neither revolution nor subordination, but rather a conciliatory and confident process of nation building. Nationalism was used for conservative, not rebellious purposes, but its background was nevertheless the trend in which there was tension between the conservative classicism of home, and the liberal, utopian revolutionary and also romantic currents of western Europe.[56] It has also recently been pointed out that the development towards the emergence of the idea of a Finnish nation state (*valtioaate*) was dependent on the rather non-predictable nature of events and the realised historical scenario does not exclude the posibility that other scenarios could just as likely have directed this development differently. One such event was the Polish uprising against the Russians in 1863, and its influence on Russia and on Finland.[57]

The Hellenic resurgence certainly contributed to a liberal awakening. In Russia, for example, the Greek revolution symbolised the battle which the liberals were fighting against despotism and contributed to the wish for national regeneration. This ideal was apparent, for example, in Russia's own 'revolution', the revolt of the decembrists in 1825, an important event in the country's history, when a group of young men rose up against the government.[58] In March 1809 Finland had been formally granted the status of Grand Duchy at a meeting of the Finnish diet,[59] and relations between Russia and Finland were regulated by the secretary of state, based in St. Petersburg, and by a personal representative of the tsar in Finland, the governor-general.[60] Even though Alexander I was considered to be relatively

national spirit, which included in Finland a particular type of Finnishness developed in relation to other different national systems. This process is the nation's differentiation and particularisation.

[54] Cf. Klinge 1990 (1992), 162.

[55] Klinge 1967, xi.

[56] Klinge 1990 (1992), 161.

[57] Jussila 2004, 16–17; for the influence of the Polish uprising, see below p. 178, n. 97.

[58] See pp. 16–17, 22 above and 165, 167 below.

[59] For the English translation of the Alexander I's formal Act of Assurance at the Porvoo Diet, March 1809, see e.g. Singleton 2002[2] (1989), App. A (p.178) and 62–63; for discussion, Jussila 2004, esp. 69–80, 90–92.

[60] This Russian-speaking official was, however, represented in practice by his vice-chairman of the senate, who presided at meetings of the senate and became *de facto* the Finnish 'prime minister'; see e.g. Singleton 2002[2] (1989), 64.

liberal within the climate of contemporary Europe, he still regarded himself as the 'emperor and autocrat of all the Russians' and pursued autocratic policies, as we have seen, particularly in relation to matters relating to the Holy Alliance. Alexander saw the diet as a purely advisory body which could be called upon at the discretion of the ruler, but which had no constitutional rights to restrict the absolute power of the divinely appointed monarch. After 1809 the tsar saw no reason to call a diet. His successors followed the practice until Alexander II summoned the diet in 1863, attending the opening ceremony in person. This event was a turning point in the history of Finland, after which the diet met on a regular basis and was occupied both with legislative and extended rights.[61]

Russian bureaucratic-tsarist control certainly heavily coloured the nature of cultural and political life, from censorship to increasingly centralistic policies during the later years of the reign of Alexander I (after 1812), and particularly during the reign of Nicholas I. In Russia, strict censorship regulations were launched in 1826; they were followed by the slightly less harsh version of the legislation in 1828, which remained in force until the end of the reign of Nicholas I. Finland's own censorship regulations were imposed in 1829, and they naturally followed the model of the 'mother country'. Laws forbidding all foreign publications which could possibly disturb the social and political equilibrium were enacted. In this vein, many Swedish newspapers in particular were banned in Finland.[62] At the same time elsewhere in Europe, censorship was becoming less severe and the freedom of the press enhanced. Thus, developments in Russia took their own course, and were different from European trends.[63] By European standards, freedom of the press was most advanced in Sweden, and the Russians feared revolutionary ideas would spread to Finland. The Swedish newspaper *Allmänna Journalen*, which actively opposed the policies of the Holy Alliance and reported on the acts of the German students, was banned in Finland in 1820.[64] Arwidsson founded his newspaper, *Åbo Morgonblad*,[65] in January 1821, and did not spare his criticism relating to the Russian policy over Finland. As a result his paper was suppressed less than a year after its first edition had been published.[66] The following year, Arwidsson was removed from the Academy of Turku because he had published bitter comments about officials and military representatives – this time in *Mnemosyne*.[67] From the Russian official perspective, Arwidsson was certainly seen as a

[61] See e.g. Singleton 2002[2] (1989), 65–66; Jussila 2004, esp. 270–280, 288 emphasises that the conception of the 'birth of the Finnish nation' in 1861 (according to him that year was more significant than the year 1863; it can be called *annus mirabilis*) was formed rather in the minds of the people and the politically-enlightened population, and did not depend on any specific political deeds.

[62] Tommila 1988b, 102–104. The most severe censorship in Finland was in force between 1846 and 1854; following censorship legislation, newspapers and journals were allowed to write on general matters only, following the model of the official newspaper; for reporting of foreign news, the official paper of the capital (St. Petersburg) had to be followed. In 1850 it was possible to write on economic and religious matters only.

[63] Tommila 1988b, 105.

[64] Tommila 1988b, 85. The next wave of censorship of Swedish papers in Finland took place between 1831 and 1836, when eleven papers were banned; see *idem*. 1988b, 103–104.

[65] Tommila 1988b, 90–94; see also above p. 39.

[66] Heinricius 1909; Castrén 1951a, 365–382.

[67] Castrén 1951a, 383–414.

dangerous freethinker who, as a political leader of students, spread questionable ideas amongst the youth. He distributed banned literature and sold extracts of his articles published in Swedish newspapers which criticised the government and state authorities. He was also the necessary scapegoat in a situation where the Finns did not want the Russian authorities to pay too much attention to the internal matters of the Grand Duchy.[68] In the early nineteenth century the goal in Finland was clear among those circles which regarded themselves as liberals and reformists: on a political level they wished to achieve full autonomy by the means of the regular meetings of the diet and senate with its legislative powers.

This development required a certain level of understanding between the different generations, and this 'generational spirit' raised the awareness of the possibility for change, and of the people's conscious participation in attempts to achieve common goals. In striving for change this perspective contrasted the present with the past.[69] The cradle for the emergence of this spirit in Finland was the university. New ideas were pondered among the youth at the only university of the country, then at Turku. There the university was alone, without the neighboring presence of the state bureaucracy and – to cite the words of Klinge – began to turn into a hotbed of oppositional activity which was partly political, partly more generally subordinate.[70] All early journalists were academics carrying out their journalistic activities part-time alongside their academic commitments. In a reactionary spirit, the Russian government tried to restrict and suppress freedom in the universities from 1815 onwards, after the demonstrations at Wartburg where students actively opposed state power, for example by burning books by authors whom they regarded as reactionists. As a result, Metternich declared that all types of interventions by the youth in public life were a crime. Alexander Stourdza, a Russian statesman whom we met earlier, wrote a memorandum which was distributed to those present at the Aachen Congress in 1818.[71] This text, *Mémoires sur l'état actuel de l'Allemagne*, was published by *The Times* and translated into German. Its message was that all kinds of academic privilege should be banned, and academic institutions should be much more effectively controlled, both by their own academic structure and by the police forces of the European states. In his view, Germany's unrest was a direct result of undisciplined student activities, and consequently Orthodox Russia should not permit any liberties to be granted in its new universities.[72] The revolutionary spirit of the decembrist movement in St. Petersburg, which itself can be regarded as a youth uprising (of the 121 conspirators who were found guilty of treason in a show trial after the revolt, only 16 were over thirty years old[73]), certainly contributed to the need felt to tighten control. The effect was immediately felt in the Imperial Academy of Turku, where harsher

[68] Heinricius 1909, 79–80 also cites a letter of dismissal from the tsarist office; also Klinge 1978, 107–108; Tommila 1988b, 94.
[69] For this topic see esp. Klinge 1967. S. Lovell's seminar 'Russian literature as the history of Russia's generations' at Royal Holloway College, University of London, October 2003 discussed similar themes and was thought-provoking.
[70] Klinge 1990 (1992), 158.
[71] For 'Wartburg's fest', see Klinge 1978, 86–88.
[72] Stourdza 1818, 63–64; see also Billington 1966 (1970), 291; Klinge 1978, 87–89.
[73] Klinge 1989, 90; Figes 2002, 90.

discipline and control took hold.[74] The Uppsala Academy was also seen as a nest of revolutionary spirit, and in 1819 the tsar ordered all Finnish students studying abroad to return home.[75] This was also the time when Myhrberg moved from Uppsala to Turku, and there were disturbances as well as student riots against the tighter controls.

The first wave of national awakening on the cultural *and* political level took place during the period known as 'Turku romanticism,' which lasted from 1810 until the fire of Turku in 1827, after which the Academy was moved to the new capital of Helsinki. A group of young men attached to the university, all aged between 25 and 30, established the so-called *Aura Sällskapet* (*Aura Society*). It functioned generally on similar principles as the popular secret societies of the time, although it most probably did not have any exclusive ceremonies. Following the literary trends of the time, the society was, however, clearly patriotic in nature.[76] The second wave of activism took place during the 1840s, when the nucleus of the so-called *Lördag Sällskapet* (*Saturday Society*), a society in which literature and philosophy, cultural and social ideas were discussed throughout the 1830s, was active through its members, who were journalists and political as well as cultural figureheads.[77] Major Finnish historical figures, Snellman, Runeberg and Topelius, belonged to the society, and their work later became the cornerstone of the cultural and political processes for the development of the country. Snellman, Finland's national philosopher and statesman, promoter of the Finnish language, and finally Senator in 1863, founded his newspaper, *Saima*, a political mouthpiece of his nationalistic policy, in 1844. Snellman's journalism endeavoured to turn fennofilia into fennomania in the spirit of liberalism and Hegelian philosophy.[78] Runeberg, Finland's national poet, published his *Tales of the Ensign Ståhl*[79] (*Fänrik Ståhls Sägner*) between 1848 and 1860. It is a considerable account of the fight against the Russian occupation of 1808–1809, describing the campaign through its hero Ståhl, whose unselfishness and courage, together with the loyalty of the Finns to their rulers, are praised. Important works of the period were also written by Topelius, particularly his *Tales of a Field Surgeon* (*Fältskärns Berättelser*), which was published as serial between 1851 and 1867. It tells the story of Finnish soldiers in the Swedish army during the Thirty Years war.[80] Topelius had started his long career in journalism in 1841 in *Helsingfors Tidningar*,

[74] Klinge 1978, 90–92.
[75] *Ibid.*, 93.
[76] Castrén 1944, 101–105. For the development and activities of the society from Snellman's point of view, see Rein 1895, 77–122; from Cygnaeus' point of view, see Nervander 1907, 76–78; see also Stenius 1987, 112–114 and Tommila 1988b, 85. It is noteworthy that in Finland a number of different culturally-, socially- and religiously-oriented societies, for example workers' and women's societies, temperance organisations and literary societies etc., expanded during the nineteenth century; this phenomenon has been linked with the Finnish national awakening; see Stenius 1987, 15–16, 158–159.
[77] The *Saturday Society* met in Helsinki, mostly at J.L.Runeberg's home; its members were also academics: F. Cygnaeus, J.J. Nervander, Snellman, Topelius, M.A. Castrén and E. Lönnrot belonged to the nucleus of the group. See e.g. Topelius' account of the meetings in his memoirs of Cygnaeus, Topelius 1884, 180–182; also Stenius 1987, 145–146 and Tommila 1988b, 115–116.
[78] Klinge 1967, 102; Tommila 1988b, 133. For *Saima*, see esp. Tommila 1988b, 135–145.
[79] English translation: *The Tales of Ensign Stål* (1952).
[80] English translation: *The Surgeon's Storie* (1872).

which he developed into a nationalistic-patriotic newspaper designed for a wider readership, and in which he expressed his Hegelianistic philosophy, strongly advocated the language question, wrote educational and moralistic stories, and published his epic historical poems.[81] Ideologically, the 1840s in Finland was an exceptionally rich decade, when the ideas of national spirit became clearer and more crystallised: Snellman's work in *Saima* had its impact, and the effects of the uprisings in Europe brought new types of ideas about liberalism and socialism in the north.[82]

The whole concept of the Finnish nation was still, however, rather theoretical and diffuse. It was in the making, and awaited the accepted framework for its existence. Regular meetings of the diet, and a certain network of symbols to encapsulate the idea of the nation, were still not at hand on the most concrete level. One of the most important of such symbols was to be the first presentation of Runeberg's poem *Our land* (*Vårt land*), which was later to become the national anthem of Finland. It was first sung to a tune by Fredrik Pacius on 13 May 1848, at the spring celebration, *Floralia*, of the students of the Imperial Alexander University in Finland (later the University of Helsinki). M. Klinge regards this moment as one of the most significant points in the history of the nation and, as such, calls it 'Finland's birthday'.[83] The celebration was led by F. Cygnaeus, with the help of Topelius, Runeberg's influence in the background, and a positive national spirit was expressed. The festivity was not a political demonstration in the revolutionary spirit, even though the political influences of the turbulent year of 1848 were also felt in Finland. Rather, the clear presentation of loyalty to the tsar within the Grand Duchy was a significant part of the message of this nationalist-political manifestation.[84] This spirit is also reflected in Cygnaeus' talk, presented as one of his speeches in the *Floralia*-celebration. It was written to commemorate the recent death of J.J. Nervander, who had been a fellow student of both Cygnaeus and Myhrberg, but a large part of it was dedicated to describing the freedom fighter. In this talk, Cygnaeus' view of ideas about nationality and academic life are presented through idealised examples of those who understood these ideas: "I have the pleasure of spending a while reminiscing about the noblest representative of certain tendencies which characterised student life in Turku during the university's eleventh hour. For me personally, the justification for this delay is in my faith that this phenomenon – although in the minds of the current academic generation, as alien as its framework – would nevertheless not be without interest."[85] Cygnaeus also reminisced later, in 1867, that during the 1820s when they all studied, "a graceful glory of Finland's honour was sung about with a great pathos, regardless

[81] For Topelius, see esp. Klinge 1998; for Topelius and *Helsingfors Tidningar*, see Tommila 1988b, 145–150.
[82] Klinge 1978, 74.
[83] *Ibid.*, 133, 149; *idem* 1997, 151–153.
[84] Klinge 1978, 149–153. Klinge 1997, 152 characterises the event as "a skillfully directed conservative-nationalistic, counter-revolutionary counterdemonstration, a complete reassurance of loyalty for the tsar."
[85] Cygnaeus in 1848, republished in *Hbl* no. 89, 16 April 1867. The article is an extract of "what Fred. Cygnaeus, wrote about A.M. Myhrberg in his description of J.J. Nervander nineteen years ago." The talk in memory of Nervander had been given on 13 May 1848.

of deceitfulness hidden in it, as that song merely responded to the necessity of anger. The fate of the Finnish nation was examined through the necessary lenses of past events, but very few persons were able to look beyond to the idea of a specific goal of the Finnish nation in the future."[86] In an interesting way Cygnaeus evaluated the different approaches to the self-definition of the nation through the character of Myhrberg, in his texts about the philhellene from the 1840s and 1860s, which also reflected changes in his own approach to the matter of nation building.

Another significant period in the national history of Finland can be dated to the end of the 1860s, when the diet started meeting regularly. It was also at this time that the national press begun distributing the news to everyone, and the 'mass media' was born. It has often been noted that this period marked the transformation of the national spirit into fennomania. These years have been regarded as the most important period of change in the history of the country.[87] There was a certain difference between the first wave of the national movement of the 1820s and that of the 1860s: the Herderian romanticism of the early nineteenth century was now being replaced with programmatic political ideas about developing the nation state and carrying out public enlightenment. This development followed the pattern of Finland's mother country, Russia, where, after the Napoleonic wars, experienced by those who were politically active during the early 1820s, most notably the decembrists and after them the new intelligentsia of the 1840s,[88] revolutionary ideas had been expressed and change sought. The earliest members of the Russian intelligentsia, most notably Alexander Herzen and Mikahail Bakunin, were also aware of the romantic movement with its emphasis on an individual as a part of the universe, of a new scientific worldview, of the German idealists, most notably Hegel, and of the French Utopists, in addition to the relatively recent revolutionary movements in Europe and the United States. They wanted, however, to move beyond foreign ideas and bring along change in their own country.[89] It seems that in order to 'create' revolutionary members of intelligentsia, a certain distance and, indeed, outsiderness was also needed in order to make these young men acknowledge the distinctive features of Russian culture which could potentially enable change.[90] With the earlier members of the intelligentsia this also resulted in an inner conflict which was personal and moral in nature, and which first created the

[86] Cygnaeus 1873 (1868). The original talk was given at the jubilee of the Ostrobotnian student association, 9 November 1868, see Appendix D2.
[87] Klinge 1967, x.
[88] The emergence of the intelligentsia brought about a significant contribution to social change in Russia. The 'movement' was founded by a handful of young men, the *révoltés* of the years between 1838 and 1848; see Berlin 1978, 116. F. Venturi 1952 (1966), 67 coins the same period as "transition years between thirties and forties" when "embryonic intelligentsia" was formulating its ideas.
[89] Herzen wrote in 'Dilettantism in Science' (Herzen 1842 [1956], 49): "They [Romantics] are anguished to hear the joyous song of modern life, a song which is not theirs. Gnashing their teeth they watch the vain world preoccupied with material improvements, social questions and science. At times one is startled by the ferocious and reproachful stare from these corpses which still haunt the seething and fragrant realms of life, never dreaming that they are dead. May they rest in peace: it is not seeming that the dead should mingle with the living."
[90] Both Herzen and Bakunin were exiled in Russia, and both of them later emigrated to western Europe. For Herzen's exile and emigration see esp. his autobiography, Herzen [1973] (1982), 137–184, and for Bakunin esp. Venturi 1952 (1966), 45–63.

specific nature of the modern Russian intelligentsia.[91] The first 'youth culture', however, emerged only during the early1860s, with different ideas from those of their fathers. This period also witnessed the first student protest culture, when the call of the youth for direct action in the people's (*narod*) name opened up a conflict with the men of the 1840s generation who had been content to criticise the state of affairs without addressing the future.[92]

When fitting the reception of the Myhrberg-narrative into this larger ideological scheme, and its development within it, we can see three different phases which the evolution of his biography reflects, and which correspond to the shifts in the political and historical development of Finland. First, Myhrberg's philhellenic career was seen to have been triggered partly by the atmosphere of the late 1810s and early 1820s, when he was a student both at the 'radical' Uppsala University and at the Imperial Academy of Turku. Already by the end of the decade, in a romantic framework, he was idealised as a model freedom fighter who brought about his high-minded ideas about freedom through practical deeds. In one of the early articles about Myhrberg in the Finnish newspapers, published in 1829, and possibly written by F. Cygnaeus, as I have suggested,[93] we already find hints as to the question of national consciousness, as the writer states: "[Information about Myhrberg] should not be without interest among his compatriots, who take part in the citizen's goal of spreading consciousness in a respectful manner about a so little-known and so often misunderstood Finnish name, even in the distant east."[94] When Cygnaeus later praised Myhrberg as "the noblest representative of certain tendencies which were around at the university in Turku at its eleventh hour,"[95] his words echo the idealistic romanticism and components of the philhellenism of the 1820s.

Secondly, the period following the European upheavals of the 1840s also affected the symbolic role which the narrative of Myhrberg's life was to have in the process of nation building. This time he was consciously conceived as the model freedom fighter who symbolised Finland's own political goals in a climate of new liberalism; he was no longer merely a romantic figure, but now also a political one. The romantic concept of nationality was translated into political terms. His heroic reputation was converted into a national asset. In 1848, in his *Floralia* speech in connection with paying homage to Nervander, Cygnaeus wrote that "Myhrberg's knightly character was not in any aspect exaggerated, he did not conceal himself in the shadows of penitence but neither did he explode aloud in the masquerade of Saturnalia celebrations." In the person of Myhrberg, Cygnaeus presented his conception of the ideal Finland, which should not hide away but not burst out aloud either. He continued:

---

[91] Cf. Billington 1966, 233, 257.

[92] Figes 2002, 221–222. Figes compares this to the 'sixties-movement' in western Europe. The often cited example is Turgenev's 1862 novel, *Fathers and Children*, which is set in the midst of the emergence of this new culture. For the Russian intelligentsia of the 1840s and 1860s, see esp. Berlin 1978.

[93] See above pp. 77–78.

[94] *HT* no. 92, 28 November 1829; the whole text in original Swedish is given in Appendix B2.

[95] Cygnaeus in 1848, republished in *Hbl* no. 89, 16 April 1867.

> "One wishes his conduct would have benefited his own country. The power he expressed when he faced adversity and misfortune, the threats and ingratitude which are inevitably the payment for the bloodshed for foreign hosts and foreign lands, shows us that his heroism was of the kind which is not awoken only during troublesome times when tempers are heated. Even though Myhrberg's heroic acts did not directly benefit his own country, it is his name – like that of Nervander – that is one of the very few with particular signifigance, especially to Finland, since in the distant countries Myhrberg made the power of Finland, that *terra incognita*, known to everybody."[96]

Finally, in the atmosphere of the 1860s, Myhrberg was used as a model of the liberal ideas born in the climate of active Finnish nation building, and the newly and rather hastily-emerged idea of a Finnish nation state (*valtioaate*) in the early years of the 1860s.[97] Most of the literary accounts about Myhrberg's life were published in newspapers soon after his death at the end of the decade. His life history was harnessed to display a new national identity and public enlightenment in a quieted political climate in which a compliant and docile attitude was regarded as the most beneficial way of implementing the country's national agenda. In this programme, the celebration of heroic figures has always been important and closely connected with the maintenance of a sense of national community. The link with the hero's historicity (his personal development) is created with the collective story of historical change.[98] In this process, certain aspects of the narrative become stressed at the expense of others. Myhrberg's frequently-described self-sacrificing spirit, for example, acquired a national rather than purely personal significance. For instance, *Wasabladet* (Appendix B4) wrote in 1867 that:

> "The famous and in our Ostrobotnian land a lot talked about, brave and noble Major Myhrberg, firm-minded from birth, born in Raahe, has passed away to the other ream and taken with him his eventful and romantically such a rich life. In the great freedom fights of Spain, Poland and especially of Greece, this hero gained the most immortal wreaths of honour and his colourful life, the little we know about it, reminds us more of an old saga than the life history of a man who belonged to the early nineteenth century and who was born in such a safe and peaceful country as our beloved Suomi [i.e. Finland]. From his fatherland Myhrberg had inherited his incredible strength, which could not be overwhelmed by anything and which together with his outstanding character and his warmest love of freedom, allowed him to overcome the greatest obstacles and sail ahead while death harvested dozens and dozens yet again."[99]

Topelius, Snellman and Cygnaeus supported and advocated a programme of peaceful nation building rather than rebelling from behind barricades. Finally, Myhrberg's biography, more or less legendarised and mythicised, was continuously used for public enlightenment, and his activities and idealised persona were taken up as a model for a proper, unselfish, and noble way of life. He provided the

---

[96] Cygnaeus in 1848 republished in *Hbl* no. 89, 16 April 1867, the whole text in the original Swedish is given in Appendix B3.

[97] Jussila 2004, esp. 17–21 has pointed out the importance of the rapid, almost expansive emergence of the idea of a separate nation state of Finland, which was triggered in particular by the Polish uprising in 1863. In Russia the event awoke patriotic fervour, emphasising the unity of the country and opposing division of the country into separate parts, whereas in Finland its impact was a tendency to see the possibility of a distinct nation state.

[98] Cubitt 2000, 18–20.

[99] *Wbl* no. 16, 20 April 1867; the whole text in the original Swedish is given in Appendix B4.

model for anyone who wished to be a good citizen and also a Christian, and to achieve ideal goals.

Cygnaeus' different texts about Myhrberg are interesting because they associate him with national ideology when it was in the making, and in them Myhrberg's idealised persona represents changes in emphasis in the development of this ideology. In his speech of 1868, Cygnaeus reminisces about the time when the students at Turku had learnt the erroneous news informing them that their friend and fellow student Maximilian August Myhrberg had died in Greece, and how deeply the students had been moved when they were told that Myhrberg had been burnt at a place which he had bravely defended. Cygnaeus walked along Hämeenkatu street, thinking deeply and wondering how he could best honour his friend's memory and compose a poem for him.[100] Cygnaeus' speech given at the important *Floralia*-celebration of 1848 is a eulogy of Myhrberg's noble self-sacrificing character, with reference to the time when they studied together with J.J. Nervander, when "chivalrous and unselfish ideals were appreciated, unlike now when they tend to have become more uncommon."[101] Early in the 1870s Cygnaeus symbolically elevated Myhrberg to the gallery of the great and admired ideologists in his description of the freedom fighter lifting Adolphe Thiers into his arms and showing him a perspective of the future.[102] This passage brings together the differing views of the generations as an older man reminisced about his youth and compared the ethos of the different generations.

More than any other literary account about Myhrberg, Topelius' epic poem 'Colonel Fabvier's Adjutant,' from 1867, draws together the ideas which Myhrberg's life history resonated in 1860s Finland. In the poem, different episodes from the attempts to relieve the Athenian Acropolis in 1826 and 1827 are combined. They are drawn from the tradition concerning Myhrberg's adventures, and the historical context plays a secondary role; for example, the Acropolis is relieved in the poem by the brave troops of Fabvier. The poem is lyrical and even symbolic; it was written as a tribute to Myhrberg soon after his death in April 1867. It begins with the lines:

> "This happened a long time ago
> on a dark December night:
> in the clouds of Olympus
> Pallas Athene was sitting clad in armour.
>
> The old Hellas, young again,
> broke her chains asunder;

[100] Cygnaeus 1873 (1868), 29. See also Rein 1895 vol. 1, 56–57 who writes about Myhrberg: "Myhrberg had been, as is known, a student in Turku but had left the university in order to take part in freedom fights in Europe. After having fought in Riego's army on the Iberian peninsula, he left for Greece in 1824, where he brilliantly and bravely took part in the war against the Turks. The rumour of his death was proved wrong, and he carried out his most splendid heroic deeds after the day we recieved the news." Note that Fabvier also mentions a rumour of Myhrberg's death in his letter to the philhellene from Toulon, 22 June 1828 (SRAJ), also proving how heavily dependent on the oral tradition the information about Myhrberg was during the time that he still lived in Greece.

[101] *Hbl* no. 89, 16 April 1867.

[102] This story is an addition to Cygnaeus's original 1868 text and was published with the new addition in *Joukahainen* 7, 1873, 34–35. For details, see above pp. 150–151 and below 186–188.

her honour raised up
from a thousand-year-old grave.

In her name, so long badly shamed,
She still stood proudly by the Lethe:
Heracle's arms were strangling snakes,
and She was badly bleeding."

The poem continues to the might of the Acropolis, the last standing fortress:

"Against Kekrop's rock, however, seemed
all the Muslims' goals too weak."
Its roots were firmly in the night of Hades,
its top in the day of Febus.

Fabvier's troops were coming from Methana to save the fort, Myhrberg as the leader of 650 men. At the end of the poem the perspective is widened:

"But saved was the Acropolis,
and saved the hope of Greece,
the sun which had set with chains,
rose free again with the victory.

Two gallant eagles flew there
towards the mountain of Zeus Kronion:
one emerged from the light of the south and another
from the night and sorrow of the north.

One flew in the lustre of red morning light,
basking in the sun of fame;
the other – ah, the noblest one!
died forgotten in the barren north."

Even though Myhrberg and Fabvier are compared here, a more symbolic meaning could be read into the poem: the two eagles are in principle equal in status, though one, poorer and sorrowful, transcends the honour of fame and rises above the more glorious one. They remind us of the Russian two-headed eagle, and the plight of the dark and sorrowful north is contrasted to the great power of the ruler. The poem may be treated as a summary of the ideas which were read into Myhrberg's life history and its meaning to Finland. The numerous references in the poem to ancient Greece and to the glory of the ancients also echo the atmosphere of earlier national romanticism and idealism. It is worth noting that even though Myhrberg is not mentioned at all by name, and only indirectly referred to in the title, he is still the hero of the poem. He is regarded nevertheless as having died forgotten and sorrowful. This theme is common in the literature about Myhrberg: a modest man who lived for mighty ideas, despised vanity and timely honours, and even though not recognised by his contemporaries, his value yielded more than superficial notions, beyond time and death, because his deeds are interpreted in order to benefit the generations who followed him. Myhrberg's alleged self-sacrificing spirit of duty acquires a national rather than a purely personal significance, and his personal glory is buried beneath the mightier goals of nations and the more successful

stories of fame. The power of the small finally overcomes the oppression of the great. The impersonal level becomes more important in this poem, which goes beyond the description of an individual and his deeds in one war. Myhrberg's role as a leader in the freedom fight in a distant land is a symbol of the plight of the writer's own country and its fate.

The ideas of national awakening and the development of the national ethos were generally crystallised in poetry. Runeberg found Finland as his point of identification in his poem 'Christmas evening' ('Julkvällen') written in 1841, and in 'Our land' ('Vårt land') written in 1846. Runeberg is often seen as the creator of the Finnish conception of the fatherland, *patria* (*isänmaa*). In 'Christmas evening,' set during the time of "the Turkish war", an old major who has been wounded in the knee tells us about the war in which he had fought: "he sat and recounted, the old soldier, smoked his pipe and talked about the war… far away in Turkey".[103] This old soldier puts forward the core and ethos of the Finnish national spirit when he utters: "Finland lived in his soul, he saw his distant land, barren and poor, his sacred fatherland."[104] Runeberg developed further his idea of the Finnish nation in his later poetry, most notably in *Ensign Ståhl*. According to his idealistic view, the role of an individual and society is significant for the historical and natural process which is ultimately guided by divine order. It would not be very fruitful to speculate whether Myhrberg had made an impact on Runeberg as one of his figureheads when the poet describes a soldier and deliberates in his poetry upon an individual's capacity for significant deeds as well as the patriarchal relationship between the leading personalities, like officers in war, and ordinary soldiers. In the 'Christmas evening' the old major "looked back with new eyes to his former brothers in arms who in the past had been honest, sometimes sullen and quiet, but at heart they were firmly honourable."[105] Still, it is not totally impossible that Runeberg had met Myhrberg during the philhellene's first visit to Finland at the beginning of the 1840s, before the poem 'Christmas evening' was published. Runeberg was certainly greatly interested in Myhrberg's life history, at least after they met at the end of 1850. After Myhrberg's death, the poet was still planning to write, if he had had material to refresh his memory about the details of the stories he had himself heard directly from Myhrberg.[106]

There is yet another connection between Myhrberg and Finnish national literature worth mentioning here. Aleksis Kivi, Finnish national writer, playwright, poet, novelist, and creator of the Finnish modern literary language, is also said to have been influenced by Myhrberg's stories, which he might have heard as a young man directly from Myhrberg himself. Kivi, particularly after the death of his father, could not make ends meet, and was economically dependent on the support of the aristocratic Adlercreutz family living in the Raala manor. Matilda Augusta, the Mistress of the wealthy house of the Adlercreutz, maintaned contacts with the

[103] Runeberg 1870, 'Julkvällen', Tredje sången, p. 191.
[104] Runeberg 1870, 'Julkvällen', Tredje sången, p. 205: "Finland stod för hans själ, det kulna, hans torftiga, gömda heliga fädernesland". For discussion, see e.g. Castrén, G. 1950, 64–66.
[105] Runeberg 1870, 'Julkvällen', Tredje sången, p. 205.
[106] See below. Nord 1918, 98 draws a parallel between 'Christmas evening' and Myhrberg's adventures by making Runeberg write to Myhrberg that it was a shame that he had not met the philhellene before he wrote 'Julkvällen'.

Stenvall family (i.e. Kivi), and provided them with economic and material aid.[107] Her father was Myhrberg's brother, Gustav. Thus, it is told that during his stay in Finland in the 1850s, when he lived in Espoo Manor, Myhrberg used to visit the nearby Raala, where his brother's daughter lived; there, young Aleksis Kivi would have had the opportunity to listen to the stories of this "mysterious, taciturn soldier" and they would have had a later influence, especially on his plays.[108] Whether Kivi met Myhrberg or not cannot be proven; it is also possible that he heard about the philhellene's career and his adventures as a freedom fighter from his friends and supporters in Helsinki, as Kivi was close to the same group of intellectuals and cultural figureheads whom we have met earlier in connection with Myhrberg, most notably F. Cygnaeus and J. Krohn.[109] In any case it seems that there is, indeed, a link between Myhrberg and one of the figures in Kivi's play *Alma*, which was most probably written in 1869.[110] In the play, Kasper and Conon have taken a sacred oath in their youth to fight for freedom, and now the news has reached them about the war between the Greeks and the Turks:

> "Look, we have now heard of certain news,
> that wild, bearded Turks
> intend to capture under their power
> the land of Hellas,
> and so we can seize the moment
> when our promise must be fulfilled,
> the oath to defend the Greeks.
> So, alas! We shall leave already the day after tomorrow!"[111]

> "Shoulder to shoulder with Conon,
> he leaves with his companion
> for fighting as a hero of the Greeks
> against the ugly Turk,
> who, angry and bloodthirsty,
> intends to go for the land of Hellas."[112]

[107] The surname of the family was Stenvall. In the wake of national awakening Kivi translated his Swedish surname (Stenvall, 'stone-bank') into Finnnish (Kivi, *stone*).
[108] Puokka 1979, 16–18. Puokka's theory is that Carl Henrik Adlercreutz was Erik Stenvall's father, and Aleksis Kivi Adlercreutz's grandson. Erik Stenvall would thus have been Adlercreutz's illegitimate child, and that was the principal reason why the Adlercreutzs' supported and cared about the Stenvalls.' This theory cannot, of course, be proven; it is discussed in detail by Sihvo 2002, 111–118, 121.
[109] For Kivi's connection with Cygnaeus, see Sihvo 2002, 39, 41, 105, 138–140, 198, and with Krohn *ibid.*, 69–71. J. Krohn edited the 'Preface' for Kivi's influential novel *Seven Brothers*; the text of the 'Preface' was written by Snellman and largely also by Cygnaeus; see *ibid.*, 70–71.
[110] *Alma* in Kivi 1869 (1984). See Sihvo 2002, 127–128.
[111] Kivi 1869 (1984), 290.
[112] *Ibid.*, 295.

3. Questions of Nationality and Language

Finland had (and still has) two official languages, Finnish and Swedish. Swedish was the language used for administration, even though early in the nineteenth century it was spoken by only circa fifteen percent of the population, and generally, but not exclusively, by those who belonged to the upper and middle classes and had received further education.[113] The professional classes were usually bilingual – it was necessary to be able to communicate with the majority of the Finns even though Swedish was the language of cultural and commercial life. The Russian language naturally had a status in the Grand Duchy, but it was used only in the office of the governor-general and in communication with Russian officials in St. Petersburg.[114] A lectorship in Finnish language had been established at the university in 1828, and the chair was founded in 1850. A debate about whether the Finnish language should be developed into a cultural language on its own right continued for a long time, till the 1870s.[115] Nevertheless, the importance of the right to use and become educated in Finnish was a defining question of the early advocators of Finnish national awakening, even though they themselves most often wrote in Swedish. Herderian national-romanticism emphasised the importance of the nation's own language as an expression of its 'soul,' and as a tool for the discovery of the identity of a nation. This is why the early advocators of national awakening regarded the language question as one of the crucial ideological issues in their programme.[116] It is essential to bear in mind, however, that during the nineteenth century, within the process of nation building, despite the importance of the language question, being Finnish was not equivalent to speaking the Finnish language; the main issue was not bound to language, instead, it was a socially-oriented question of nationhood. The main cultural figureheads, Runeberg, Snellman and Topelius, who shaped Finnish ideology and advocated Finnish national awakening, all wrote in Swedish.[117]

The students' petition for a chair in Finnish language at the Academy of Turku in 1821 has been mentioned briefly above. Myhrberg also signed the appeal in which 222 students first explained what the fatherland requires from respectable citizens, and how much this was hindered by the dominant status of the Swedish language: "The language which should have a right to be everybody's mother tongue has been suppressed, forgotten and despised…". The students humbly peti-

[113] Singleton 2002[2] (1989), 73.
[114] E.g. in 1833 F.P. Kuorring explained the language situation in his *Gamla Finland eller Det Fordna Wiborska Gouvernement* in the following way: "Swedish is usually spoken by the upper classes (*ståndspersoner*) and craftsmen […], in the Church, in everyday conversation and everything in written form in the courts is communicated in Swedish […] Russian is spoken by the Russian peasants of Russian origin, and it is the language of the Greek Church and of the Russian authorities in the country. Finnish is used by all the peasants, both Lutheran and Orthodox.", cited in Tandefelt 2002, 65–66.
[115] Klinge 1997, 256.
[116] *Ibid.*, 257. Klinge reminds us that the government's positive official stance towards supporting the role of the Finnish language in administration and culture was linked to its interests in foreign policy: it kept ties to loyalty to the tsar firm, and secured the nation's support for Russia, particularly in possible opposition to Swedish influences.
[117] See e.g. Klinge 1983, 44–45.

tioned for the establishment of a position for a qualified teacher of the Finnish language in the Imperial Academy of Turku.[118] This text has been attributed to Arwidsson or to his close friends and colleagues.[119] At around the same time, Arwidsson published his well-known articles, 'About nationality and national spirit' and 'A view of our fatherland' in his own *Åbo Morgonblad*,[120] the paper which advocated Finnish national consciousness and ethos. The style and tone of these articles is very similar to the text of the petition. The first Finnish-language newspaper, *Turun Wiikkosanomat*, wished to improve the status of Finnish, stating that the Finns should "strive to gain the deserved value for the delightful language of our mothers which we hold in a place of common honour."[121] A long battle for the rights of the language followed, and finally, in 1863, as response to a petition presented by the liberal, Snellman, tsar Alexander II decreed that Finnish should be an official language of the government, and it should be available as an official language in the courts on an equal basis with Swedish.[122] The language question raises important issues concerning Myhrberg.

By now the reader may have been wondering if Myhrberg was indeed a Finn at all, as he seems invariably to appear as Swedish in the majority of primary material. The question is valid, but secondary for two reasons. First, our interest is in the development and historical use of the life history of a person who was regarded as exemplary from different points of views over the course of time. Secondly, national consciousness and a definite concept of nationality in Finland were still being developed, and the exact equivalent of our modern conception of Finnish nationality simply did not yet exist. At the start of the nineteenth century, Finland still had very strong cultural and intellectual links with Sweden, of which it had been a part for so many centuries.

Myhrberg presented himself as Swedish in official documents, like, for example, the Greek testimonial in which he appears as 'natif de Suède'. In the lists of philhellenes from H. Fornèzy onwards, as well as in research-oriented studies, he is counted as a Swedish Phihellene, even though his half-Finnish parentage is sometimes acknowledged.[123] Fabvier wrote different references for Myhrberg in 1831, and four of them are preserved.[124] In these references, Myhrberg's nationality varies according to the purpose for which the letters were meant to be used. Among Myhrberg's archival documents there is a note on which the philhellene has written the names of those whom he was about to ask, or whom he had asked Fabvier to address the reference letters; the note was obviously written when he

[118] The text is published in Jörgensen 1925, 175–176. A lectorship in the Finnish language was established in 1828 and the first professor, M.A. Castrén, was nominated in 1851; see Jörgensen 1925, 178; Singleton 2002[2] (1989), 74–75.
[119] Jörgensen 1925, 176–177; Castrén 1951a, 169–170; Klinge 1978, 84.
[120] See above p. 39 (n. 175).
[121] Cited by Tommila 1988b, 89.
[122] Klinge 1990 (1992), 81; Singleton 2002[2] (1989), 77.
[123] Fornézy 1884 (1957), no. 80; Kehrig-Korn 1960, 185–187; Knös 1949, 547–553; Marlin 1989, 7–8. See also e.g. Karvelas 1901, 298; Schöldström 1902, 173; Ramsay 1905, 124; Forsstrand 1916, 33.
[124] The draft for the reference for the Greek cross of the Saviour could be regarded as the fifth reference (in ADM-M, see above p. 152 [n. 482]). Its contents are largely the same as in the other references.

visited the colonel in Paris in 1831.[125] In addition to the general reference, he wished Fabvier to write four other references: one to Czartorinski (i.e. Czartoryski), one to Romarino, one to Marquis Dalmaki, and one to Ostrowski. In the general reference – in which our philhellene is unambiguously praised by Fabvier – as well as in the reference to Marquis Dalmaki, the ambassador of France in Stockholm, Fabvier entitles Myhrberg 'Mr Myrberg, suèdois',[126] but in the letters to the Polish officers and freedom fighters, he is specified as being a Finn. One is addressed to Adam Czartoryski, a Polish count, prominent aristocrat and reformist leader (called prince), whom Alexander I had appointed as his foreign minister and who worked in Paris for his country's cause.[127] The good nature and reliability of 'Monsieur Myhrberg, finlandais' is described in this recommendation.[128] Only a covering letter and an envelope written by Fabvier to general Romarino, the respected leader of the Polish fight, are preserved.[129] A reference written by Leonard Chodzko on behalf of the Polish committee organising the country's fight for freedom,[130] most probably written on the basis of Fabvier's reference, is preserved as a whole. It specifies Myhrberg as "Mr de Myhrberg, Finlandais de naissance".[131]

So, the only documents in the archival record (with one exception[132]) in which Myhrberg is named as a Finn are written to the leaders of the Polish uprising at the beginning of the 1830s. This raises two questions. First, in Sweden, the Polish efforts for independence were generally sympathised with and followed eagerly in the press. Presenting Myhrberg as a Swede in Poland would not have done him any harm. Secondly, Finland was a part of Russia, from the yoke of

[125] SRAJ. The note is undated, but it must be from Myhrberg's visit to Fabvier in Paris in 1831.

[126] SRAJ: "M. Myrberg, suèdois… Je suis certain que Myrberg vous plaisira et si vous pouvez lui être utile je vous guarantai que vous seul ne regretterez pas. Brave, elevour, modert, il a tout pour lui."

[127] Czartoryski became a kind of "king over the water" of the Polish emigrants at his base, the Hotel Lambert, in Paris, and his work with brilliant Polish emigrant poets, musicians and elder statesmen aroused the sympathy of the European public against Russia; see Hoskins 2001, 257–258. Czartoryski had been instrumental in drawing up the Holy Alliance through his influence on Alexander I, whom he knew from childhood, and with whom he retained his friendship till the tsar's death; see Phillips 1914 (1920), 35–46, 51–52, 61. Phillips (p. 62) compares him with Capo d'Istria: "if Czartoryski had represented Polish nationalism, Capo d'Istria had championed that of the Greeks."

[128] SRAJ, dated 2 June 1831: "Monsieur Myhrberg, finlandais, a servi sous mes ordres en Grece. Entré au service comme simple cavalier, il est parvenu par son seul merite et sa valeur personnelle eu en grade de Capitaine. Il commandait au derniér lieu la Citadel de Nauplie. Au bruit des evenements d'Europe il a voulu se rapprocher de sa patrie…"

[129] This means that the reference letter may have been given to its recipient.

[130] The richly decorated, colourful logo on the letter lists Poland's greatest military heroes, Kosciuszko, Dombrowski and Poniatowski (for Kosciuszko, Dombrowski and Poniatowski in their historical context, see Pac 1839–1841, 146–155; esp. for Kosciuszko pp. 195–203).

[131] SRAJ. The whole letter reads: "Mr de Myhrberg, Finlandais de naissance, en des braves combattans de la liberté grecque et compagnon d'armes, pendant plusieus années, du général Fabvier, se rend aujourd'hui en Pologne, sous les auspices du Comité Polonais. Mr de Myhrberg désire aujourd'hui consacrer son existence et ses talents à la cause de notre chère et glorieuse patrie. Je sera charmé de faire votre connaissance, Monsieur le Comte, et je suis heureux de pouvoir la lui procurer. Il porte avec lui des lettres de recommendation auprès le gouvernement national, de la part du général Fabvier."

[132] SRAM; in the letter cited above (p. 70 and illustrated on the cover), written by Åhman with a reference for the entry card to the 'gentlemen's club' in Bordeaux in 1823, he entitles Myhrberg "Monsieur Myhrberg de Helsingfors." This is somewhat surprising since Myhrberg never lived in Helsinki.

which Poland was striving to free itself. Thus, presenting himself as a Finn, *ergo* officially Russian, Myhrberg could have in principle been regarded in a more negative light. Why did Myhrberg want, or Fabvier decide, to introduce Myhrberg to the Polish reformist as a Finn, while in other official documents he always appears as a Swede? Myhrberg or Fabvier or both seemed to have hoped, or calculated, that the Poles could have regarded Finland's situation as analogous to their own, and were aware of the awakening national spirit in Finland which implied some ambition for independence. This could have strengthened the loyalist bond between the two and given more credibility to Myhrberg's choice to "sacrifice his existence and his talents for the cause of the beloved and glorious [Poland]". This is why Fabvier writes in the reference letter to Adam Czartoryski, that "becoming aware of the events in Europe, he [Myhrberg] wanted to move closer to his fatherland. … Mr Myrberg appears to be one among the great number of Finnish officers who fight against you, but his wish is to be able to be useful for your country."[133] The analogy between Finland and Poland was drawn. (Czartoryski had also strongly sympathised with the Greek struggle and tended to present himself as a philhellene. In one of his essays, *Manuscrit d'un Philhellene*, for example, which he published in Paris in 1830 he described volunteer philhellenes in the following way: "How many philhellenes I have seen to rush to Marseille from all over Europe for the security of unfortunate Greece! I have seen these brave and generous men leave, and to almost all of them I have said my last goodbyes. They have shed their blood, and we have donated our gold, and the product of all the charitable hearts is that Greece is finally free!"[134])

In reality, certain opportunism in drawing an analogy between Poland and Finland was not without ground because there were opinions in Finland supportive of the Polish uprising. It was sympathised with in certain academic circles even though, or perhaps because a number of Finns were sent to fight in the Russian army in Poland 'for the tsar and the patria'. In December 1830, the so-called Polish toast (*den polackiska skålen*) was raised at a café in Helsinki in the presence of Nervander, Cygnaeus, Runeberg and others, perhaps echoing the much more enthusiastic reaction of the Uppsala students who had openly hailed the memory of the men who had lost their lives in the fight for freedom in Poland.[135] Fredrik Cygnaeus wrote a poem, 'Kosciuszko's song to an eagle' (*Kosciuszkos sång till örnen*),[136] praising the old heroic Polish freedom fighter, Kosciuszko. The first passages of this poem were written in Stockholm in 1831, under the pseudonym *Rudolf*, since Finns were not allowed to write such texts during the Polish uprising.[137] In any case, Fabvier's reference to Prince Czartoryski is interesting, as it reveals something about contemporary attitudes on nationality and its use. As we

[133] SRAJ: "aubruit des evenements d'Europe il a voulu se rapprocher de sa patrie. … Mr Myrberg est paruit ou celui (?) grande nombre d'officiers finlandais qui combattent contre vous." Note that Myhrberg's name is written twice on the document, once as Myhrberg and once as Myrberg. Fabvier was inconsistent in this matter in his letters to Myhrberg.
[134] Toulouzan [=Adam Czartoryski] 1830, xii.
[135] Klinge 1978, 17–18 with references.
[136] Cygnaeus published two Kosciuszko poems in G.H. Mellin's Christmas Calendar, 'Vinterblommor' ('Winter Flowers'), in 1832; see Nervander 1907, 63, 85, 91.
[137] Nervander 1907, 85, 90–91.

have seen in a private letter which Fabvier wrote to Myhrberg on Aegina immediately before his departure from Greece in the beginning of August 1828, he advised Myhrberg to "return to your noble fatherland because there you can with honour carry a Swedish name."[138] Thus, it seems apparent that Myhrberg tended to present himself as a Swede, but had made it clear that he also had roots in Finland.

Myhrberg's own attitude to his nationality, however, is somewhat ambiguous, and the issue seems to have been a matter of some interest to him. By 1834 he was already frequently visiting the Wergeland family in Paris, and the daughter, Camilla, later Collett, explains in her diary that "Major M. was actually Finnish by birth … that is, under Russian rule, but he named Sweden his fatherland, or said that the whole world is his fatherland; his arms, his blood belong to the service of freedom wherever it is oppressed, and to whichever country he decides to offer himself."[139] Collett also mentions that Myhrberg was very fond of talking about politics, and explained that he *hated* the Swedes, his *ex-compatriots*, but loved Sweden.[140] Myhrberg's relative, Anders Ramsay, mentions in his memoirs, however, that Myhrberg avoided revealing, where possible, his own Finnish surname.[141] In a draft of his testimonial in 1842 (1b), we can read the text written to the king of Sweden: "But having been almost the only representative with a Swedish name in this long battle for the freedom and civilisation of the noble nation, as a part of a modern crusade to which all the European nations rushed to contribute… "[142] In the final version of the text (Ia), however, this part is modified: "But having been, so to say, alone representing his country in this long battle…". There is, of course, certain opportunism here, as Myhrberg is writing to the king and asking for a favour, but nevertheless, his uncertainty about the matter of nationality can be read between the lines. Or, it is possible that it was not uncertain after all, but simply followed the norm of the time. Namely, the issue has to be seen in the context of the early nineteenth century, when, particularly in Finland, being entitled Finnish or Swedish was a rather flexible issue. The reason was partly due to the lack of a clear conception of nation state and, thus, Finnish nationality as a process of nation building was on its way, and partly it was tied to language and a long history with Sweden. If necessary, the Swedish-speaking Finns found it easy to identify with the Swedes, and were ready to do so quite flexibly, utilising both identities in different situations.

The matter was different in the use of Myhrberg's life history in Finland, and illustrates the change in focus in the biographies and newspaper articles about him in different periods. Presenting Myhrberg particularly as a Finn becomes more and more important in the course of time, corresponding to the process of national awakening and nation building. One of the early newspaper accounts of Myhrberg, the article in *Helsingfors Tidningar* in 1829, already reflects the matter of nation-

[138] SRAJ: Fabvier on Aegina, 4 August 1828.
[139] Collett 1834 (1926), 95.
[140] *Ibid.* Collett's italics.
[141] Ramsay 1905, 128 specifies that in Spain he used another name, in Greece he chose to be known as Murad Bey, in Poland he called himself Langerman.
[142] "Mais ayant été presque le Seul représentant du Nom Suedois dans cette longue lutte d'affranchissement et de civilisation, croissande moderne, à la quelle chaque peuple d'Europe s'empressait alors à fornir son contingent…"

ality. It states: "August Mathias Myhrberg, whom Swedish journalists have been willing to count as their compatriot… should not be without interest among his fellow citizens (*landsmän*),"[143] which meant the Finns. The notion of this duplicity of Myhrberg's nationality is relatively frequent in the Myhrberg-narrative. As we have seen, the earliest mention of him in the Swedish and Finnish press recounts the same incident in Greece, when Myhrberg was said to have saved his chief's life during the campaign on Euboea in 1826.[144] The notable differences in attributing nationality to him are already clear here. *Kometen*'s report underlines that Myhrberg was a Finn, for understandable reasons: short reports for *Kometen* were written by Arwidsson,[145] Myhrberg's old fellow student who at the time lived in Sweden and, as we have seen, was an ardent advocator of fennophilia, if not fennomania. The Finnish official newspaper, *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, states that he was "a Swede" and the Swedish *Stockholms Dagligt Allehanda* describes him as "our compatriot".[146] This discrepancy is characteristic of the entire literature relating to Myhrberg: both Finns and Swedes have been willing periodically to 'abduct' him for their own respective camps. Some writers tried to reconcile the problem in his obituaries and later texts reminding us that in Myhrberg the noblest features of both Finns and Swedes could be seen, as he was half Finn and half Swede. His seriousness, clear-headedness and a tendency to avoid all vanity were typically Finnish characteristics, and his liveliness, social skills and heroic love of adventure typically Swedish.[147] In Finnish national literature he is, however, always a model Finn. "He never forgot his fatherland and he always held it his honour to be a Finn;"[148] "his character had genuine Finnish features like a tenaciousness, the highest level of self sacrifice, his tendency to despise vanity in all thoughts, sayings and deeds."[149] We are reminded that Myhrberg had inherited from his own country [Finland] a tenacious and tireless character which was not disturbed by any adversities, and together with his noble mind and the warmest love of freedom in his heart, he was able to overcome all setbacks.[150] Eino Cederberg writes at the end of his rather extensive biography of Myhrberg: "Systematically he [Myhrberg] seems to have been willing to present himself as a Finn, underlining his Finnish origins. To this country and its fate he directed his sight beyond continents and oceans, and its language, Finnish, was and remained his only real mother tongue."[151]

The question of language as an aspect of national identity is also echoed in the Myhrberg-narrative. On the basis of the surviving archival material it is easy to note that Myhrberg used Swedish as his mother tongue. He wrote his 'poems' in

[143] *HT* no. 92, 28 November 1829. Note the discussion of the authorship of this article above pp. 77–78.
[144] See above pp. 79–80.
[145] Bruun 1963, 185.
[146] *FAT*, 12 September 1826: "en Swensk"; *StDA*, 30 August 1826: "Vår landsman."
[147] Krohn 1875, 53; *ÅU* no. 42, 9 April 1867 and *Hbl* no. 83, 9 April 1867 following *Abl* 1 April 1867 gives the following characteristics: love of adventure and freedom, sympathy for oppressed people as typically Swedish, while tenacity, taciturnity and stoic, contemplative calm were Finnish features.
[148] *RL*, 29 July 1899.
[149] *Svea* 1868, 214. This indicates that *Svea*'s writer T-n most probably was a Finn.
[150] *Wbl* no. 16, 20 April 1867.
[151] Cederberg 1928, 319.

Swedish, addressed his family in Swedish, and in the marginal notes of some of the letters he also used this language.[152] There is not a word of his texts in Finnish. When Fabvier had returned to France from Greece for the first time in 1828, he wrote to Myhrberg from Toulon that immediately after his return he received many letters requesting news from Myhrberg; the philhellene's family had been gravely concerned about his well-being, Madame de Rothen and G. Oman also report that in two years they had only received one letter from Myhrberg, and it was in French. Fabvier continues, however, that as Myhrberg addressed his family in Swedish, even knowledge of this letter had been a way to placate them when there had been a rumour that Myhrberg had died.[153] Thus, we can confidently say that Swedish was Myhrberg's own language, contrary to so many writers, who stress his willingness to use the Finnish language, which is claimed to have been his real mother tongue; he is even said to have uttered his last words in Finnish (what they were is not revealed).[154]

Myhrberg certainly knew Finnish, however, but how well is hard to judge. It is worth remembering, though, that using Finnish became common in Finland only from the second half of the nineteenth century when, particularly among the well-educated, command of that language was regarded as a desirable virtue. As one of the students who signed the petition for a chair of Finnish for the Academy of Turku, Myhrberg was already well aware of the debate over the status of the Finnish language in Finland, early in his youth. Despite the debate and the awareness of the role of the language in the process of nation building, the students communicated with each other in Swedish in both official and casual contexts. When the king, Carl XIV Johan, offered Myhrberg a position as an inspector of the crown lands (*inspecteur des proprietaires de S.M.*) in Norrbotten,[155] in 1842, as a response to Myhrberg's application for recognition, Myhrberg wrote a letter (in French) to the Assessor, P. Wallmark, in which he declined the offer and explained that he was in principle acquainted with the conditions and life in the north, and would not find himself a stranger there, since he spent his youth in the neighbouring province, knowing the climate, nature and language spoken there.[156] The language question became, therefore, a part of the same programme discussed above, in which Myhrberg was made a prototype Finnish heroic figure.

---

[152] E.g. in SRAM, in the margin of a letter from Thomas Gordon to Myhrberg asking for a report on Agnes de Finchecki, Myhrberg has constructed a sequence of events from 8 to 24 August in Swedish. The notes are discussed above pp. 127–128.

[153] SRAJ, dated 22 June 1828.

[154] *Abl*, 1 April 1876, followed by *Hbl* no. 83, 9 April 1986; Krohn 1875, 52; *RL*, 29 July 1899. In Nord's story (1918, 94) Myhrberg says: "I had a good command of Finnish, regardless of the fact that I had stored so many foreign languages in the back of my mind during my lifetime."

[155] Åberg 1891, 250–251 explains that Myhrberg "has personally told us" that he had an audience with the King and explained at least some of his life history and fate to him. The king, himself a brave old soldier, is then said to have embraced him, saying: "I would like to do everything for you, but I am afraid of the Russian tsar." For Carl XIV Johan's attitudes to revolutions, see above pp. 23, 27.

[156] KBb, 15 MÜ-NY (Brev till P.A. Wallmark), Stockholm 23 April 1842.

4. Myhrberg and Public Enlightenment

For the purpose of scrutinising Myhrberg's meaning for Finland's public enlightenment of the late nineteenth century I cite in full Z. Topelius' tale 'Gossen fran Brahestad' ('Son of Raahe') from the year 1878:[157]

> "Do you know what it is to deny yourself and to live for a great cause? I will explain.
>
> There was once a boy in the town of Raahe. He was eight years old, healthy and vigorous, noble and brave. There was not a hill in the vicinity that he hadn't conquered on his swift skis, nor a tree so tall that he hadn't climbed to its wind-blown top. He swam like a fish, ran like a stallion, climbed trees like a squirrel. In games he was king: none could hit a ball higher, no one's arrow met its target with more precision. His parents, sisters, friends – everyone loved him, for he was as able as he was vigorous, as humble as he was courageous. He would have walked through fire for his friends; and had his mother told him "August, today you must study all day, and you will have no food until tomorrow," he would have kissed his mother's hand and replied with confidence and good cheer: "I am happy to, Mother dear, if that is what you wish!"
>
> Of course his mother did not say that, but from early on she accustomed her son to self-denial and obedience. Sometimes it happened that he happily gave up his dearest toys to other children. And if there was an amusement or pleasure that he would greatly have enjoyed, his parents might say, "Try to live without it!" August would reply: "I wish to try." And it worked. Abstinence is not easy or pleasurable, but it is edifying, as often in life we must deny ourselves what we desire – and then we will see whether we can resist temptation with a serene and cheerful mind.
>
> August's parents were neither poor nor rich. They had what they needed, and they could have clothed their children as finely as others did and fed them desserts and other sweets. But they brought up their children in moderation and diligence. We must remember that not one great man or noble woman was raised in sloth, ostentation or gluttony.
>
> One time August was roaming on the wooded ridges together with other boys, running and flying a paper kite. The wind was blowing and the kite flew high, and the higher it flew the more magnificent it looked.
>
> "If only I could fly so high," thought August to himself! "Battling against the storm up there in the shimmering heights, above the land and the seas; that would be something."
>
> They came about a hill upon which stood some windmills, sails whirring around in the powerful wind.
>
> "Well, that would be a lark, flying together with the windmill's sails," thought August to himself, standing right next to the sails and listening to their drone as they sliced through the stormy air. An audacious thought occurred to him and suddenly he caught hold with both hands of a large sail as it flew past...
>
> The boys squealed, but August was already high up in the air. He was not one to let go easily. He clung on like a burr, and it looked awfully strange and dangerous. But once the sail had lifted him so high that he was hanging right above the windmill, it hurled itself back downwards, catching August by surprise. His grip loosened and down he fell from the dizzying heights onto the rocky hill. The huge sail cared not for his fate and simply swished over him, continuing on its cycle.
>
> His companions rushed to the scene, thinking he had died. But he lived still, having only broken both his arms. In that state he was carried home to his parents.
>
> You may imagine their astonishment. Both his arms broken – that was a hard blow for them! Even if he lived, what would he do without his arms? August saw his dear mother crying, and her tears were not unjustified.
>
> This pained August's heart more than all his own injuries. His broken arms were smarting as if they were held in a blazing fire, but he did not think about them. He only said

[157] Topelius 1878, 133–140. Finnish translation 1905, 132–134. The text here is translated from Finnish by Eva Malkki.

"Forgive me, Mother!" And then he smiled as best he could and consoled her: "I will recover, please be patient..."

At that time there was no doctor in the town, and so they summoned an old woman who was used to curing such injuries. She put the broken bones back in place and set splints around them. The splints she wrapped in bandages. This was no mere child's play, either; it smarted terribly, but August set his jaw, looked at his mother, and nodded: "Be not anxious, all will be well!" Behold, how well he had learnt the skill of forgetting himself!

And all *was* well, as the boy was no spoiled pet but patient and obedient. After two weeks the splints were already removed, and having lain completely still for another two weeks, he was gradually able to begin using his arms again.

That was a good woman who cared for him. She cured his two little arms – which later, strengthened by the world, would carry out such heroic feats – so well that not the slightest fault could be found in them. Had the old woman lived still when August had become a celebrated hero, August would no doubt have sent her one of the medals he had earned with his bravery, as without the old woman and his arms he would have ended up suffering, crippled, forgotten and undistinguished, in the northern wastes.

But as it was he grew to be big and strong, and went to take on the world. There was something great hidden in his chest that compelled him to depart on his adventures. God does not grant this kind of disposition to everyone. He creates some who live in tranquil happiness, in the peace of their homes and modest work; others he prepares for stormy lives, and but a few are to become champions for all of humanity. Though in the eyes of God it matters not what path a man follows, as long as he travels through life in honesty and fear of God.

That little boy, grown to be big and having acquired a lot of valuable knowledge, went out to fight for freedom and justice. The citizens of his homeland were free and lived in peace and harmony, safeguarded by their laws, but not all people were as fortunate. Many were oppressed by violent leaders, who had no respect for laws or justice; some were destroying each other in civil wars. This northern boy could not think of a better way to use his newly restored arms than by fighting for the oppressed. He willingly fought the strongest on behalf of the weakest; he bled for their sake in hundreds of battles. Finland was his mother's land and Sweden his father's; the north was his cradle and the world was his nation. Every good and honest person was his brother or sister; every innocent, oppressed soul was naturally his protégé; every noble mind was his friend and companion.

In our time we know of no braver hero than that northern boy. His life was a series of wondrous tales and heroic deeds. Where danger was greatest he could always be found: thousands fell around him; he lay bleeding and half-dead on gory battlefields; he often suffered from hunger and other wants; he was taken prisoner and abandoned, he was persecuted and robbed, ill and forgotten. He swam across rivers amidst icy floes. He scaled high walls and forced his way through thorny embankments. He fought in the darkness of the night, encircled on all sides by mercenary enemies who felt no pity and who were paid for the head of each prisoner. Almost always he battled with just a handful of companions against a huge majority – yet often he won, with the help of God and his incomparable courage. At times there would be traitors amongst his own battle companions, and when he laid his head, weary from his trials, to rest on the stony ground, with his soldier's cape beneath him and the bright stars above him, he had to lie awake with his hand on his sword, ready to fight off murderers. Amazingly God protected him through all dangers, and he never lost his happy trustfulness or the warmth he felt in his heart toward the unhappy. He rose from a mere soldier to be the leader of thousands, he achieved great fame and honour, but for himself he never asked for more than what was absolutely necessary, and he shied away from all tributes. He was not one who wished to shine before others or pride himself on a fame well earned. Nor did he fight for his own honour or privileges, but for freedom and humanity – for their sake he would have been happy to die forgotten.

When he had fought for seven years under a false name, in a foreign land, for the liberation of Greece, and that ancient land had finally been able to shed from its shoulders the yoke of Turkey, the Greeks sought him in vain through Europe in order to bestow upon him a great piece of land in their country as a mark of their gratitude. Finally they gave it to someone else, believing that their beloved hero had died long before. But he lived, hiding modestly – sometimes in Sweden and Finland, at other times somewhere on an island in the West Indies.

> He was poor, yet he did not accept any prizes. He did not want to defile his higher calling or his brave sword by desiring earthly possessions for himself.
>
> The little boy, who first had fought against windmills and then against half of Europe – or indeed *for* half of Europe – became in the end a grey-haired war veteran, weary from his trials and honourable wounds. His life ended in his tranquil home and he was laid to rest in the bosom of the Swedish earth. Few knew him; no one did ever hear him speak of his own feats. How much he would have been able to tell, had he not avoided all praise of himself and given all thanks to God, the Lord who had guided him through so many dangers! Some, who have achieved very little in this world hardly know how to make everyone know enough of themselves, their honour and their importance. He, whose deeds amazed the world, did all he could to make himself be forgotten. This is why the world knows so little of his eventful life, and his greatest feats have perhaps been forgotten forever. But God sees his honest heart and strong faith, and we men know enough of him to honour his memory.
>
> Had God allowed *August Maksimilian Myhrberg* to fight for his own motherland, as he fought on behalf of the oppressed elsewhere in the world, there would have been only one man comparable to him: the Italian, Garibaldi. But he battled for a long time, unknown and unnamed, for the rights of humans and for the freedom of various peoples, and this is why no one nation surrounds his grave with tearful eyes. But Finland, his great Mother, and Sweden, his father's homeland, include him amongst the bravest heroes they have ever seen. His life story will be retold on firelit evenings for many years to come, to many future generations. Everything about him – his courage, his work, his honesty, his pure heart and above all his noble self-denial – was great and fantastic, and therefore let us include his great story amongst these lesser ones.
>
> Oh, Son of Finland, learn, as he did, to fight for justice in the world; and learn, as he, to deny yourself."

In the programme of public enlightenment it was important to appeal to children who would adopt in their early years the ideal model of a citizen. Topelius' tale was published in his multi-volume collection *Reading for Children* which was printed as illustrated volumes between 1847 and 1896. That is why a considerable part of the story is devoted to the childhood of the heroic Myhrberg. August's adventure of flying to the sky with the windmill's sails works as an indicator of the grand ideas even in the mind of an eight-year-old Myhrberg. As we frequently encounter this motif in the Myhrberg-narrative[158] it appears as a tale-type within the narrative which could be classified as historical tradition about a famous individual. We may compare it, for example with the following British tale:

> "A little boy, five years of age, was on a visit to his grandmother. One day he was missed, and could nowhere be found. At last, after hours of anxiety on the part of the old lady, the little truant was found standing – but without the slightest sign of alarm – by the side of a deep and rapid river, which he was unable to cross. When brought into her presence, his grandmother reproved him from going out without a guide. She then told him of the dangers which he had escaped, and said: 'I wonder that fear did not drive you home.'
> 'Fear, Grandmamma!' replied the child. 'I never saw fear.'

[158] Wacklin 1844 (1974), 355; *Svea* 1868, 207; *ÅU* no. 49, 25 April 1867 (Pinello); *TS* no. 18, 7 May 1867; Krohn 1875, 4–5 (see Appendix C1); *RL*, 29 July 1899; Karvelas 1901, 297 (not specified, but mentioning the dangerous games of the boys); Rein 1909, 343; Nord 1918, 19-20; Cederberg 1828, 32–34; referred to also by Lappalainen 1997. See also speculation about the exact location of the event in Montin-Tallgren 1915, 30–31 and Sovelius-Sovio 2001, 13. *NIT*, 13 April 1867 (Blanche), followed by *Folkwännen* no. 28, 12 July 1871 give the version according to which, as a boy, Myhrberg fell down a cliff and got a wound on his head but, despite the pain, he did not say a word.

> This boy was little Horatio Nelson, who afterwards became the great naval hero of England."[159]

As a pedagogue of public enlightenment, Topelius was constructively conservative. His idealistic message was attached to his social message which criticised extravagance and the egoism of the upper classes.[160] Fennomania, from the 1860s onwards, was a counterweight to liberalism, and its nationalism stressed the moral and material values of the traditional rural society as the underpinning of the national culture.[161] This is echoed in Topelius' tale about Myhrberg. According to his neo-humanistic pedagogical programme, children's learning as a whole was to be undertaken through positive character-building. In accordance with the spirit of his time, Topelius was particularly critical in his tales of the aristocratic cultural traditions of the Enlightenment opposing 'the spirit of Voltaire'.[162] His role as an educator of the public is quite evident in this version of Myhrberg-tales, more so than nationalistic tendencies obvious in many other accounts of the philhellene. This tale represents a genre (which we can trace back to Plutarch) of 'lives' of individuals as an appropriate and efficacious vehicle of moral instruction. In the eighteenth century, the author, essayist and classicist Oliver Goldsmith (1728–1774) framed this idea in his programme for cultivating moral men:

> "To give his [pupil's] mind a turn for observation, to direct his powers of discernment, to point out the distinguishing marks of character, and dwell upon the charms of moral and intellectual beauty, as they may occur in the classics that are used for his instruction. […] He will become enamoured of vistue and patriotism, and acquire detestation for vice, cruelty and corruption."[163]

Myhrberg is presented as an exemplary figure through whom it is believed that moral and ethical qualities can be transmitted by the pedagogic force of practical example.[164] He is heroic (and as such possesses qualities far exceeding those of ordinary men), but there is still ground for comparison of him with common people: you (we) might in principle become like him if you learn from the example given by him to everybody. Exemplary figures stand as simple illustrations of moral qualities or codes of conduct inviting imitation without much interpretation.[165] James Froude wrote about the necessity of this type of literature, which is also a good illustration of the spirit of public enlightenment in Finland of the late nineteenth century:

---

[159] In Briggs 1970, 51 'The fearless boy.' Briggs mentions the various motifs of fearlessness and their general attachment to some supernatural episode or test.
[160] Klinge 1998, 238.
[161] Klinge 1990 (1992), 90.
[162] Klinge 1998, 25.
[163] Goldsmith, *s.d.*, p. 378 'Cultivation of taste'. Goldsmith's educational programme begins from learning classical languages and reading ancient literature: "Historical knowledge, indeed, becomes necessary on many other accounts. But as the formation of the heart is of the first consequence, and should precede the cultivation of the understanding, such striking instances of superior virtue ought to be culled for the perusal of the young pupil who will read them with eagerness, and revolve them with pleasure" (p. 378).
[164] Cf. Cubitt 2000, 10.
[165] Cubitt 2000, 12.

> "It is not enough for us to know that others have set out as we set out, that others have faced the lions in the path and overcome them, and have arrived at last at the journey's end. Such knowledge may give us heart; but the help it gives is nothing beyond teaching that difficulties are not insuperable. It is the *track*, which these others, these pioneers of godliness, have beaten, that we cry to have shown us; not mythic "Pilgrim's Progress", but a real path trodden by real men."[166]

Topelius presents Myhrberg's life as valued and admired not merely (or not even necessarily) for his practical achievements ("had God allowed Myhrberg to fight for his own motherland…"), but because Myhrberg's life is seen to perceive and embody moral, ethical and social values. Topelius' intention was to impress the minds of others through the force of an idealised example.[167] Also when, at the beginning of the 1870s, Cygnaeus told the story about Myhrberg's actions in Paris,[168] his message was similarly motivated. He related how Myhrberg, at a great party at the *Hôtel de Ville*, lifted into his arms Adolphe Thiers, who was a small man and could not see through the crowd to the front. Cygnaeus did not only emphasise Myhrberg's heroism but presented listeners with significant symbolism: Thiers had also presented Napoleon in a positive light in his writings, and was himself a truly acclaimed authority throughout Europe in those days, as a scholar and politician. Napoleon, famously a small man in size as well, was himself admired, not only by Myhrberg. Thus, Myhrberg moved beyond evident historical developments and turmoil as he carried forward Thiers, who was influentially great despite being small in stature; thereby, Myhrberg symbolically showed, even to him, the perspectives of the future. There is an analogy between the two (and between them and Napoleon), as both of them, a small man and a modest man, performed great deeds, but history is also converted here into images of heroic virtue in which moral values are projected through the narrative of heroic action and historical achievement.[169] Moral teaching is seen in the need to honour modesty and ideals which are often concealed beneath the surface.

It is worth mentioning here that as a model character and target of admiration, Napoleon had made an impact on many philhellenic volunteers who fought in the Greek war.[170] During the last years of the Napoleonic wars, a nationalistic spirit had developed especially in the countries which fought against Napoleon. Napoleon died on St. Helena in 1821, around the same time as news about the Greek Revolution reached Europe. The prodigious adventures of Napoleon created a legend which presented him as a champion of liberalism and nationalism, and as an idealistic architect of a united Europe. He had an enormous aura of military glory and was openly admired by many officers in the first decades of the nineteenth century. At the time of the return of his body to France in triumph in 1840, Napoleonic nostalgia was still felt in Europe. Thus, it is not a surprise that we frequently find an admiration of Napoleon among the philhellenes, not only among his loyal former officers and soldiers: ordinary philhellenic soldiers often carried, among the

[166] Froude 1867, 238–239. This 'short story' is entitled 'Representative men' (pp. 230–254) and was written in 1850. See also Cubitt 2000, 13–14.
[167] Cf. Cubitt 2000, 2.
[168] Cygnaeus 1873 (1868), 34–35. See also above pp. 150–151, 171.
[169] Cf. Cubitt 2000, 20.
[170] See above pp. 1, 59, 65, 148.

possessions they took on Greek expeditions, a medallion with a small cast relief depicting Napoleon's bust.[171] Myhrberg is also said to have carried one in his pocket throughout the war.[172] Napoleon himself had consciously used philhellenic tones in his propaganda against the Turks, and utilised allusions to a prosperous Greek future with those of its glorious antiquity.[173] Admiration of Napoleon by the philhellenes was not necessarily political, but largely directed towards his military genius, and as such it could also have united the volunteers. For many philhellenes, Byron's well-known admiration of Napoleon could also have provided them with an analogy between two mythicised heroes, and so have freed Napoleon from his political role, elevating him to a more idealistic sphere. In many depictions of Byron, a conscious similarity of gestures and poses between the two is clear, for example, in the painting by Theodoros Vryzakis depicting Byron's arrival at Missolonghi we see a 'Napoleonic' Byron giving his hand to the Greeks. It is clear that both Napoleon and Byron provided a basis for drawing analogies between them and 'lesser' and more topical heroes in moral and national education.

In the context of Finnish public enlightenment, however, the significance of Topelius' 'Gossen fran Brahestad,' from the point of view of the use of Myhrberg's biography, should be regarded in the framework of Topelius' cultural-political message. Topelius had seen his more radical years during the upheavals of the 1840s, when the political unrest of 1848–1849 shook Europe and led to suppression of the uprising in many parts of the continent. As a reaction, a period of neo-conservatism followed, and in the 1860s a more peaceful reconciliation replaced the rebellions and upheavals. What is important in Topelius' tale of the boy from Raahe is that he presents Myhrberg's life history with a docile and compliant tone, which is harnessed to be a vehicle of public enlightenment. Topelius educated Finns to adopt the values of ideal characteristics of those from the model Myhrberg provided: be brave but modest, good and meek, always be ready to deny yourself. A similar interpretation is expressed in the short obituary of Myhrberg in *Wasabladet*, which states that "[Myhrberg's] colourful life,… reminds us more of an old saga than the life history of a man who belonged to the early nineteenth century and who was born in such a safe and peaceful country as our beloved Suomi [i.e. Finland]."[174] Myhrberg is no longer seen as a political agent for national ideology, instead, he is "the little boy who first had fought against windmills and then against half of Europe" who had now "grown into a grey-haired war veteran, weary from his trials and honourable wounds", whose "life ended in his tranquil home."[175] History is here converted into images of heroic moral virtue. Myhrberg's greatness was in his modesty, and in that he despised any outward

[171] E.g. documents listing possessions of those who died in the military hospital in Patras (run by Henri Dumont as the Chief Physician; for Dumont, see pp. 134–135), e.g. "medaille de Napoleon, capotti de colton, pair de gants, 7 papiers écrit, veilles serviettes…", HAMFA, no. 88–1.
[172] Wacklin 1844 (1974), 321: "a little model of Napoleon's grave"; Krohn 1875, 30: "a little iron medallion depicting Napoleon"; Nord 1918, 79: "a bronze medallion with Napoleon's relief"; Cederberg 1928, 177.
[173] Dimopoulos 1962, 33.
[174] *Wbl* no. 16, 20 April 1867; the original Swedish text is given in Appendix B4.
[175] Topelius 1878, 137.

display of dignity. A poor man was a real prince, just as Myhrberg was a real hero compared to such figures as Fabvier or Thiers.

5. The Last Journey

Myhrberg died on 31 March 1867. On 20 April, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* in Stockholm published a front-page feature, with a picture from his funeral (FIG. 19), in which we can read: "On Saturday 6 April a huge crowd of people streamed to a simple graveyard plot… Snow was falling and the wind blew, but all waited. The funerary procession proceeded, with a company of honour guards and sharpshooters, and even Poland's sons were present in the procession."[176] Myhrberg was granted an official state burial with full military honours in Sweden. L.H. Åberg wrote that he had rarely experienced a more impressive and touching act. He remarks that it was, indeed, an unusual official recognition by the state in honour of Myhrberg, who never served in the ranks of the Swedish army, but had fought in the armies which had been merely regarded as rebellious. Åberg speculates that the funeral may well have been king Carl XV's personal initiative, regardless of the obvious contrary advice given by his civil servants and military advisors, who naturally wished to take into account their great neighbour to the east. The king was not on the best of terms with Russia at the time, due to both the Polish and Danish questions. Åberg, however, writes that Carl XV wanted to show how he honoured the memory of the dead freedom fighter, but also that it was *he* the king, not the Russian tsar, who held command over the Swedish army.[177] Myhrberg's burial was also cautiously acknowledged in Finland.[178] *Åbo Underrättelser* gave a detailed description of it, mentioning, for example, that a group of sharp shooters and musicians led the procession, and they were awaited by the formation of life guards, clad in parade costumes and welcoming the procession with military honours; they released two shots into the air when the coffin was laid in the ground. The highest military representatives were present, and prominent Finns and Poles were also there.[179] These procedures were, of course, part of the formalised practices for the promotion and celebration of a heroic figure within a formal and controlled framework. Military presence brought an institutionalised dimension to the celebration, and even some contemporaries, like Åberg, understood that the event might have been a powerful instrument of control in the hands of an

[176] *NIT*, 20 April 1867. In Sweden also e.g. the newspaper *Fädernesland*, cited by Cederberg 1928, 309, described the funeral in detail. In the newspaper a speech given at Myhrberg's graveside by a Polish Commissar, Demontowicz, was cited, and it was mentioned that this could have been regarded as a politically questionable act which could have been interpreted as a demonstration against the Russians.
[177] Åberg 1891, 251.
[178] The event is often described in obituaries; some later articles had new additions, e.g. *RL*, 29 July 1899 tells us that the Greek nation was also represented at the event. See also Forsstrand 1916, 38, and *Svea* 1868, 216–217 (where the poem read in Myhrberg's honour at the funeral is published). In the archival material different poems written for the occasion are preserved, e.g. in SRAM and among E. Sovelius' private possessions; see also one such poem published in *Svea* 1868, 216–217.
[179] *ÅU* no. 45, 16 April 1867.

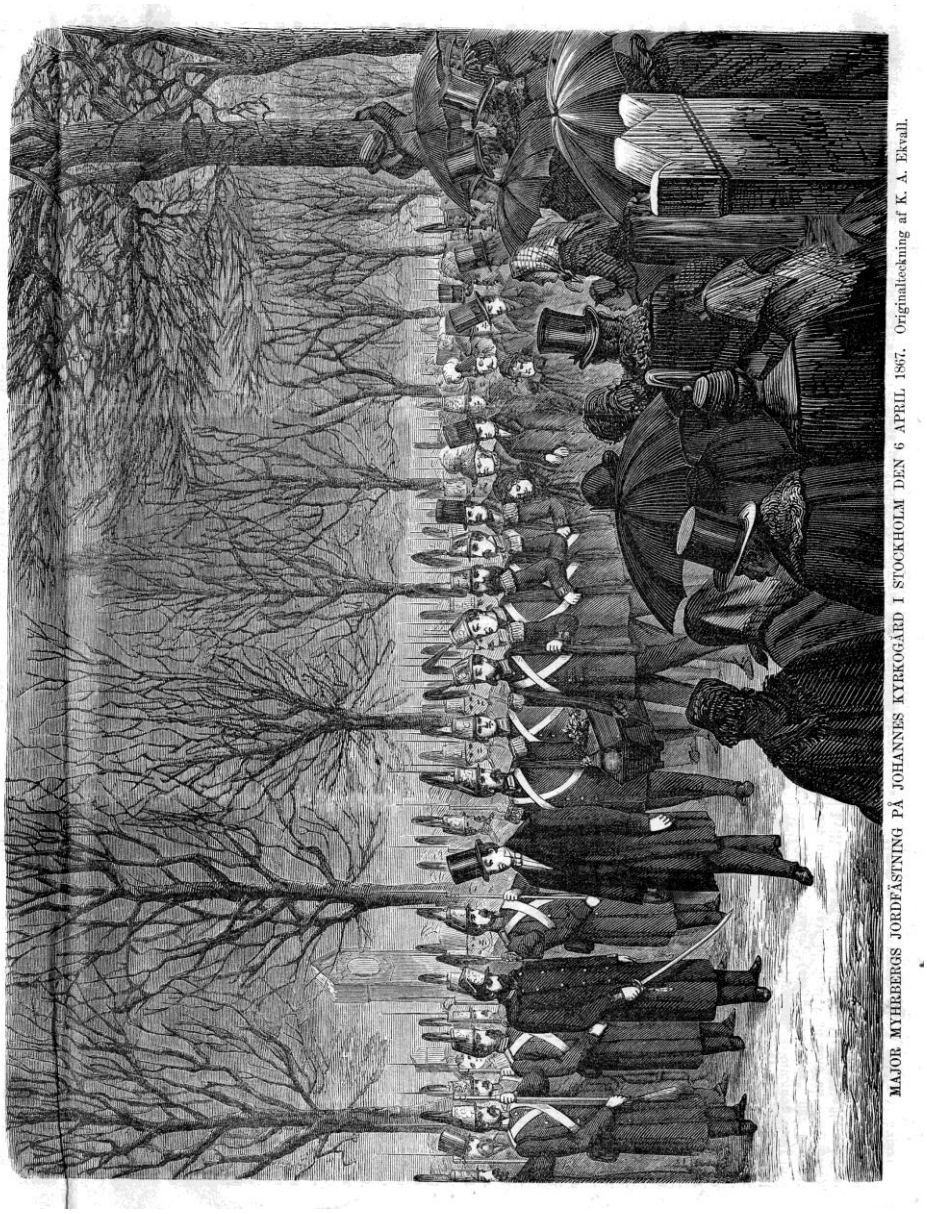


FIG. 19. Myhrberg's funeral 6 April 1867, Stockholm, cover of *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* , 20 April 1867.

authority, like the king himself, who, according to Åberg, sought to use the conventional form of heroic celebration for his own political advantage and self-promotion.

Grave monuments in many ways encapsulate how the idealised life of the dead person is presented for the living. Their message often mediates values and ideas of the time as the dead person is regarded as a personification of those values. Furthermore, Myhrberg's grave monument[180] acts as a symbolic commemoration of a hero through its location in the graveyard of the Johannes church in Stockholm: it is in close proximity to the most important grave there, that of the general of the Finnish War (1808–1809), Georg von Döbeln, who was counted among the greatest individuals in the history of the Swedish military. Runeberg described Döbeln in his famous poem 'Döbeln at Jutas' with warmth and intensity. Associating Myhrberg as a brave hero with Döbeln is clear: he was to rest next to the "hero of Jutas."[181] This graveyard was a resting place for many of those who were significant in Swedish cultural and political history, and Myhrberg is to be counted among them.[182] His gravestone was laid on 29 May 1868, [183] over a year after the funeral. It bears the text: "Brave, high-minded, self-sacrificing; he dedicated his heroic powers for the sake of freedom, his heart to the wellbeing of humanity, his soul to our Lord. Greece, Poland Spain have witnessed his heroism." Myhrberg's state burial and his grave monument sanctioned the official dimension in the process of the making of a hero.

Topelius, like some other authors, mentioned in both his 'Son of Raahe' and 'Colonel Fabvier's Adjutant' that Myhrberg died forgotten.[184] This was clearly not the case, and Topelius' meaning is to contrast the greatness of Myhrberg's deeds and his modest character in a moralistic framework: "He did not fight for his own honour and privileges, but for freedom and humanity – for their sake he would have been happy to die forgotten."[185] Topelius also remarks in the same text that "he [Myhrberg], whose deeds amazed the world, did all he could to make himself be forgotten. This is why the world knows so little about his eventful life, and his greatest feats have perhaps been forgotten forever." Two years after Myhrberg's death, however, he was presented in the gallery of the most important men from the Ostrobotnia in an annual celebration of the Ostrobotnian academic association. In the article in *Uusi Suometar*, we can read about the Ostrobotnian association in

[180] See photograph in Fig. 6.
[181] This was also noticed by contemporaries, see e.g. Dietrichson 1901, 143; Ramsay 1901, 131; also in Nord 1918, 102; later e.g. by Lappalainen in *Kaleva*, 2 March 1997.
[182] For a guide to the grave monuments, see Ros 1997. About Myhrberg's grave monument among the others of the graveyard, see also Thorén 1993, 17 and Wästberg 1994, 34. I am grateful to Johan Falk for the information on the graveyard of the Johannes church in Stockholm, about its monuments, and for the photo in FIG 21.
[183] The event was reported in Finland in *ÅU* no. 66, 4 June 1868; *Hbl* no. 128, 5 June 1868. Also later, in 1872, a Finnish journalist wrote an article about the grave monuments of the Johannes church, see *Mbl* no. 207, 6 September 1872 (in which Myhrberg's year of birth is mistakenly 1749) and the same in *Hbl* no. 208, the next day 7 September 1872 (in which the year of birth is changed to another incorrect date, 1789).
[184] Topelius' 'Colonel Fabvier's Adjutant', see above; also in *TS* no. 18, 7 May 1867; *RS*, 4 March 1965 (Hannila) states that Myhrberg lived the years of his later life forgotten and in poverty; also Lappalainen 1997 (*Kaleva*, 2 March 1997).
[185] Topelius 1878, 138, also in his 'Colonel Fabvier's Adjutant', see above pp. 171–172.

honour of Porthan's birthday at the great hall of the *Seurahuone* in Helsinki. The back wall of the hall was decorated with flags and swords; the names of the most splendid Ostrobotnians were carved on a blue, crowned shield which glittered in the middle of the wall. Fifteen names are listed, among them Porthan, Topelius, Nervander and Myhrberg. The shield was surrounded by the statue of Porthan on one side and by the statue of Runeberg on the other. In front of the speakers' platform was a picture of Snellman.[186] The builders of the national ideology are presented in this display.

As we have seen, Myhrberg was among Snellman's friends in Stockholm at the beginning of the 1840s, and used to lounge on Snellman's couch in his apartment in Stockholm.[187] Snellman's biographer, Th. Rein, mentions that Snellman later recounted details about Myhrberg's rich life on many occasions, as he had heard them from Myhrberg himself. Snellman, according to his later words, would have liked to have written Myhrberg's tales, but the philhellene convinced him that he would write some notes about his life himself – this intention was never realised.[188] Cygnaeus also reminisces about a similar situation: once he requested Myhrberg to fulfil his responsibility of writing of his experiences, and recounts that, if these memories were not to be kept elsewhere, they would be appreciated by the Ostrobotnian student association, where they would certainly be preserved for future generations. Myhrberg promised to discharge this task.[189] As an elderly man, Myhrberg recounted his colourful experiences in the company of various friends through the spoken but not the written word. When Fredrika Runeberg wrote about the three days her husband spent in Boe with Myhrberg and some others, she added that Myhrberg related his history because it was his silent wish to see the stories written down by Runeberg. Fredrika mentions that Runeberg was, indeed, very much interested in what he heard, and it is possible that if he had not been so taken up by his *Ensign Ståhl* he would have written them down. He listened untiringly, with the greatest of interest, to Myhrberg's stories from Greece, Spain, Poland and Paris.[190] Runeberg's biographer, J.E. Strömborg, who lived in the south wing of the Runeberg's Porvoo house from 1868, adds that Runeberg was indeed much interested in Myhrberg's life history during the poet's last period of illness. In the summer of 1869, during major C. Adelskiöld's visit from Stockholm to Runeberg's house in Porvoo, the topic of Myhrberg's stories was once again discussed. Runeberg confessed that he still recalled the most important events from the life of the philhellene, but had, on the whole, forgotten their dates and their context. Adelskiöld enlightened him with his knowledge that Myhrberg had left a number of interfoliated calendars on which he had made notes about events during the course of his life, and that these calendars were now at the editorial office of the *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* in Stockholm. Adelskiöld promised to get them to Runeberg, who still wished to fill the gaps in the life of the philhellene and produce a continuous description of his rich life. The calendars, however, were

[186] *US* no. 90, 11 November 1869.
[187] See above p. 159.
[188] Rein 1895 vol. 1, 310.
[189] Cygnaeus 1873 (1868), 32.
[190] [Runeberg] 1931, 328. See also above, p. 158. Nord also writes about this event, 1918, 97–98.

never sent, and according to Adelskiöld they would have contained, after all, only a few notes about Myhrberg's colourful adventures.[191]

Thus, Myhrberg obviously wished his story to be handed down to the generations to come. Even though fragments about his deeds were published in newspapers before his death, the stories lived on and were developed in the oral tradition. Krohn was to write the first compilation of them in 1875, and the narrative has further evolved ever since. In the tradition it is sometimes mentioned that in Greece Myhrberg was relatively soon the only philhellene whom the Greeks remembered, even though they pronounced his name in an almost incomprehensible way.[192] This is the last small piece of information about the legendary Myhrberg. The result of combining the activities of a figure of tradition and of history like Myhrberg nevertheless proved to be important in the development of Finnish history: even though he was not an active agent himself, the narrative about Myhrberg reflects the values the nascent country wished to adopt for its ideal view of good conduct of its citizens. Through the exemplary life of Myhrberg, and through his personal characteristics, those values which the country wished to respect were presented: freedom, bravery and modesty. In the depiction of Myhrberg's personality, certain themes were stressed differently over time, starting from the fearless romantic hero who was ready to face dangers in his fight for freedom, to a calm and tranquil freedom fighter who did not wish to shine before others or lift the flag of rebellion towards the authorities, but instead one who shied away from tributes. This was an idealised picture of the country of Finland. If we wished to interpret this further we could conclude that the biography of Myhrberg can be seen as an example of the representative narrative in which the changes in the development of a nation, from national awakening to the compromising and compliant but determined path towards freedom, were presented to everybody.

[191] [Runeberg] 1931, 464.

[192] *Svea* 1868, 211; Cederberg 1928, 172; Sovelius-Sovio 2001, 15 specifying that a few years after the war, a Swedish captain, B. Cronstrand, stayed in Greece and noted the special memory Myhrberg held among his former comrades, and the Finnish professor, J.J.W. Lagus, some twenty years later stated that Myhrberg was the only philhellene still remembered.

FIG. 20. Map of Greece, the Aegean and western Black Sea with place names appearing in the text.

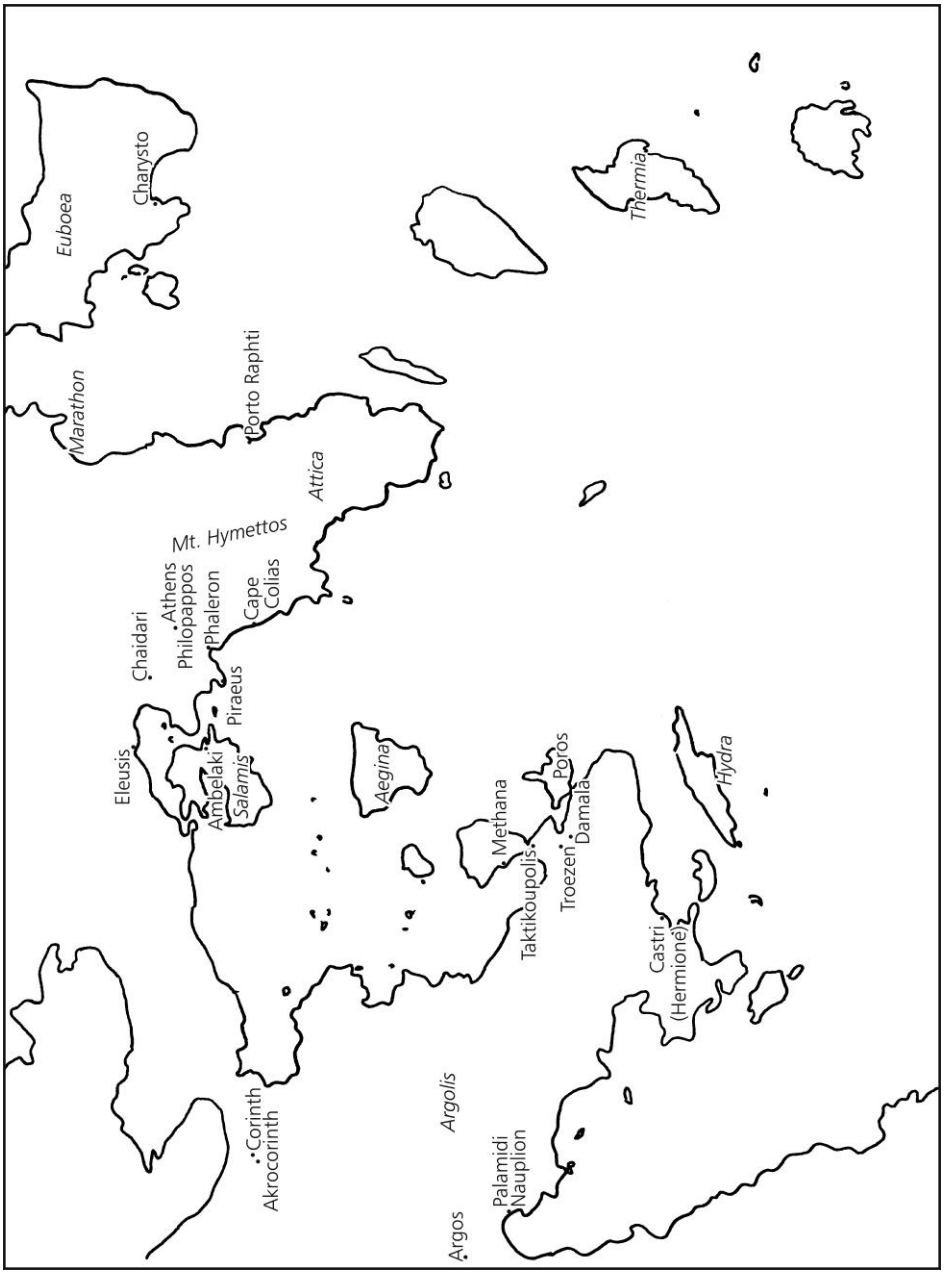


FIG. 21. Map of Attica with place names appearing in the text.

Appendices

List of Appendices

These appendices are intended to provide the reader with examples of the nature of the categories of the material concerning Myhrberg's life and biography in the original languages.

A. DOCUMENTS

1. Myhrberg's testimonial (Ia) written to the King of Sweden, Carl Johan XIV, 7 April 1842 (SRAJ).
2. Myhrberg's 'military' testimonial (IIa) written in December 1848 (SKA).
3. Charles Fabvier's letter to Myhrberg written on Aegina, 4 August 1828 (SRAM).
4. Myhrberg's letter to Thomas Gordon describing the events of the night of 6 May 1827 written on Syros, 9 May (BSA, Finlay).

B. NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

1. *Turun Wiikkosanomat* (*TWs*) no. 42, 20 October 1821 about the Greek war against the Turks.
2. *Helsingfors Tidningar* (*HT*) no. 92, 28 November 1829 about Myhrberg.
3. F. Cygnaeus 1867 (1848) in *Huvudstadsbladet* (*Hbl*) no. 89, 16 April 1867: a speech by Cygnaeus, 13 May 1848, published in 1867.
4. *Wasabladet* (*Wbl*) no. 16, 20 April 1867.

C. EXTRACTS FROM 'HEROIC' BIOGRAPHIES OF MYHRBERG

1. Extract from J. Krohn 1875 (1877), first published as a series in *Suomen Kuvalehti* (*SK*) nos. 50–53 in 1875 entitled 'Maksimilian Aukusti Myhrberg. Elämäkertomus', *SK* no. 50, 15 January 1875.
2. Extracts from E. Cederberg, *August Maksimilian Myrberg. Suomalaisen vapaustaistelijan elämäntarina,* Helsinki (Kirja) 1928, pages 109–110, 121–122, 319.

D. TEXTS ABOUT MYHRBERG USED FOR PUBLIC ENLIGHTENMENT

1. Z. Topelius, 'Öfverste Fabviers Adjutant' 1876 in *Sånger* 2 (nya blad), Stockholm (Bonnier) 1876, 105–11.
2. Extract from Cygnaeus in *Joukahainen* 7 (1873), 26–35, a speech given on 9 November 1868.

APPENDIX A1

Myhrberg's testimonial (Ia) written to the King of Sweden Carl Johan XIV on 7 April 1842. SRAJ.

T. H. M. / présenté à S. M. le 8 avril

Le Soussigné est né à Brahestad en Finlande 1800. Son Pere, Suèdois, né à Westervik, Capitaine au Corps de Partisans de Général Baron d'Armsfeldt pendant la guerre de 1788, quitta le service militair à la fin de cette guerre et fut placé chef du douane /Tullförvaltare/ à Uleåborg, place, qu'il occupa jusqu'a la guerre de 1808. Attaché à cet époque à l'intendance militaire, il suivit les mouvements de l'armée, et se trouva ainsi en Suéde à la conclusion de la paix. Réintegré dans ses precedentes fonctions, il les remplit d'abord à Carlshamn et puis succésivément dans les villes de Calmar Sundsvall et Hernösand. C'est en cette dernière ville qu'il est mort en 1822, laissant ine famille de 6 Enfants, et, pour toute fortune, une pension, dont sa Veuve la Mere du Soussigné jouit encore.

Pour ce qui regarde le Soussigne personellement, il a l'honneur d'espôser, qu'arrivé en Suede à l'age de douze ans, il fit ses études à Upsala, ou il a pris l'examen pour la Chancellerie du Roi, mais que, resté sans appui et sans resources à la mort de son Pere, il quitta la Suéde an 1823, aprés avoir préalablement satisfait à la Loi de Conscrition.

Arrivé en Grèce au commencement de l'année 1824, il entra comme soldat dans la Cavallerie sous les ordres du Colonel francais Regnault St Jean d'Angely.

Promu d'emblee Officier à la suite dúne affaire avec la Cavallerie Turque sur l'Isle de Négropont, /Euboa/ au mois de mars 1825, il quitta bientot aprés cet arme at entra dans l'Infanterie.

Au mois d Avrill 1826 il fut nommé Capitaine d'Etat-Major.

Aide-de-Camp du Général Fabvier pandant la campagne de Chios 1827 & 1828, le Soussigné continua d'occuper les mëmes fonctions auprés du Général Bavarois von Heydeck, qui, aprés le depart du G. Fabvier au mois de Sept. 1828, succéda auCommandement du Corps régulier Grecque.

En Aout 1829 le Soussigné fut nommé par S. E. le Président Capodistrias Commendant de la Ville et la Fortresse de Nauplie, alors la R´ssidence du Gouvernement, commandement qu'il conserva jusqu'au decembre 1830.

En Janvier 1831, le Soussigné quitta la Grèce muni d'un Congé et emportant le desir et l'espoir d'un prochain retour, que des circonstances indépendantes de sa volonté ne lui ont pas permis d'effectuer.

Le Soussigné a eté blessé, savoir, a la Tempe gauche par un coup de feu devant la Fortresse deCharisto à Négropont 1825.

Au génou gauche par l'Éclat d'une Bombe dans la plaine d'Athenes 1826.

À l'affaire, dite, duCap Colias le 6 Mai 1827. l'affaire la plus sanglante comme la plus funeste pour les Grécs pendant cette guerre, le Soussigné fit partie de l'Avant-Garde, forte de 376 hommes y compris 46 Officiers Étrangers volontairs, qui, à l'éxeption de 13 hommes, au nombre desquels le Soussigné se

trouva, tous furent taillés en pièces. À cet occasion renversé et passé sur le Corps par la Cavallerie Turque, il eut sa jambe griévement foulée.

Le Soussigné a eté nommé par S. M. le Roi de la Grèce Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal du Sauveur, il est en outre decoré de la Medaille Grecque.

C'est à regrêt et en sortant de ses habitudes que le Soussigné a pris sa liberté de consigner ces faits dans le présent T. H. M. Mais ayant eté pour ainsi dire, soul à représenter son Pays dans cette longue lutte d'affranchissement et de civilisation d'un Peuple célébre, Croissade moderne, àlaquelle chaque Peuple d'Europe s'empressoit de fournir son contingent, il a pensé, qu'il devoit compter de sa conduite ainsique du rôle, qu'il y a joué.

Ce role a sans doûte eté obscur et de peu d'importance, Toutefois, si, en le jugeant, on veuille bien, comme il éspère, attacher quelque considération à son point de depart aussi bien qu'aupays ou il a servi et aux hommes qu'il y a trouvé devant lui, gens, pour la pluspart rompus et vieillis dans les grandes guerres de l'Empire, on lui comptera peut-être pour quelque mérite, d'avoir fini par être investi et honoré d'une des places des plus importantes pour le Gouverment Gréc, à cet époque, à l'endroit même, ou, 5 ans auparavant il avait abordé sans expérience, sans titres et dans un état de denûment complet.

Ces faits en outre, constituant les seuls avantages que 6 and de privations, de misére at d'efforts incéssants de corps et d'ame lui ont valu, il ose éspérer, que rentré dans sa patrie, ils lui deviendront un faible titre à la gracieuse bienveillance de Sa Majesté.

A. M. Myhrberg
ExCommandant
au service de la Grèce

Stockholm le 7. avril 1842.

APPENDIX A2

Myhrberg's 'military' testimonial (IIa) written in December 1848 (SKA).

Examina och Fullmakts-data

Undergått Student-Examen vid Upsala Academie 1810
1819 Undergått Examen till vinnande af Inträde
uti Kongl. Majest. kansli
1823 Börjat tjenstgöra som Soldat i Spanska Armeen
1824 Ingick som Soldat uti Grekisk tjenst
1825 December, Befordrad till Cornett vid Regnault
St Jean d'Angelys Cavellerie Corps
1826 Maj. Befordrad till Lieutenant med transport till
1st Bat. af Grekiska Reguliera Infanterie Corpsen
1827 Befordrad till Capitaine och tjenstgörando vid
General Sir Richard Church's stab.
1827 September tjenstgörando Adjutant hos
General Fabvier tills
1828 September, Då General Fabvier öferlämnade
Befälet till General von Heydeck, fortfor jag
med innetvasando ? Stabstjenst hos Sistnämnde General
tills
1829 juli, Då jag blef befordrad till Major och
Kommendant på Fästningen Palamides
i Naupli di Romania.
1834 Riddare af Kongl. Grekiska Frälsar Orden
Samt Grekiska Frihets Medaljen
1842 24 Sept. Utnämnd till Major vid Milicen på Ön
St Barthelemy
1843 13 Mars Utnämnd till Major i Armeen

A. M. Myhrberg

APPENDIX A3

Charles Fabvier's letter to Myhrberg written on Aegina, 4 August 1828 (SRAM).

a Monsieur de Mirberg. Lieutenant Philhélléne, à l'état Major du Corps régulier

Mon cher Myrberg

au moment ou nous allons nous séparer je veux vous dire combien je regretterai votre bonne et aimable companie.

depuis le jour ou votre zèle et votre modertié vous ont fait servir sous mes ordres comme simple cavalier et prendre tous vos grades par votre seul Merite, votre conduite a été si belle et si honorable que vous a attené l'Estime et l'attachement de tous ceux qui vous ont connu. Je vous place le premier puisque plus que personne. J'ai pu vous voir brave devant l'ennemi. Vous êtes courtant avec vos amis.

Vous retournerez dans votre noble patrié ou vous devra d'avoir sifois d'elle porté avec honneus le Nom Suédois. Vous transferrez la France, vous asserez bien reçu aussi car vous savez que l'amitié unit nos deux patriés. quelquepart que nous nous rencontrions. Croyez avec vif plaisir que j'aurai à vous embrasser et vous renouvelier des empressions du sincère attachement que je vous ai Voeú.

Tout à vous

Egine le 4, Aout 1828 Le Colonel Fabvier

APPENDIX A4.

Myhrberg's letter to Thomas Gordon describing the events of the night of 6 May 1827 written on Syros, 9 May (BSA, George Finlay Papers, produced with the permission of the British School at Athens).

Monsieur le Colonel!

Je suis venu ici sans espoir de Vous trouver, persuadi que la nouvelle de notre dernier desastre etait assez, pour vous faire quitter pour jamais ci malheureux pays; aussi ci n'est que pour vous donner des details dela catastrofee sanglante qui vient d'avoir lieu, que je prends la liberté de vous en entretenir.

Vous connaissez sans doute que 3000 hommes furent debarqués dans la nuit du 5 à 6 pres de l'Eglise qui se trouve vis à vis Phalere à coté du Mont Hymetto; j'étais allé la veillo à Ambelaki, d'ou je revenais au moment ou toute etait embarquée et on mettait à voile, de la sorte que je n'avais temps que de m'embarquer sans savoir ni la lutte de l'Expedition, ni les Trouppes qui la composait; croyant dones qu'on voulait tenter un coup de main sur l Athen je fus bien surpris de voir qu'on resta la nuit sur le bord de Mere au au lieu de pousser en avant, cequ'on aura pu faire jusqu'a Athen sans tirer un coup, parcequ le landemain on est alli jusqu'a un quart d'heure pres d'Athen sans voir personne et ce ne fut qu'apres avoir eu 2 heures du temps de se fortifer que l'Ennemie se faisait voir fort d'environ 2000 hommes dont 600 Cavalieurs. Malheuresement il n y avait pas aucune disposition en s'était etablie dans 12 Tambours sans choix ni du terrain ni des Trouppes, ainsi les meilleurs, comme les Suliotes les Candiotes et les Philhellenes se trouvaient dans le Tambour le plus avancé, le Corps regulier à coté de en Tambour; et le reserve ce composait de Vasos Canajotaki Notaras et Micheli, qui cette fois ci comme auparavent avec Borbachi, abandonnant leurs Tambours au moment ou les premiers furent attaqués, sans tirer un coup de fusil. aussi, exepté une douzaine de Corps regulier avec 2 Officers, tous ont peris: Hazbergi Arcondopulo, le Chef des Suliotes; tous les Philhellenes exepté 2, Mss Odon et Machia, qui etaient restés en assis? pour les Rotians; Inglesi avec ses 250 hommes, tous ont etés taillés; Enfin, de 26 etrangers qui nous etions 4 seulement sont echapés, savoir Capt. Merelbach, Odon, Machia et Moi; expiation sanglante du massacre de Monastere! J'avais eté chargé de transporter les Conons dans le Tambours de Corps regulier, 2 etaient deja entrés, et je me trouvais avec le 3^{me} 750 pas du Tambour, quand l Ennemie attaqua, nous n'avons temps de tirer qu'une seule fois, toute fut culbuté et cerni à l'instant, et ceux qui avaient le bonheur d'echaper à la Cavalleri se precipitaient a la mere pour atteindre les batiments ; plus de 150 se sont noyés. Maintenant on peut bien dire que tout est fini, et l'espoir de sauver la fortresse plus que jamais evanoué. On dit ici aujourhui que Ibrahim est passé à Romelia et qu'il a taillé en pieces dans les dervins (?), les Corps de Ganejos et Sisini, si se la chase est bien vrai, je n'en fais rien, mais le bruit en court. Ce ferait heureux pour le garniron s'il vint, car Kutaja voudrait peut-être respecter une capitulation, que ses soldats ne le

feraient pas – nous ont attaqués avec une rage dont on n'a pas encore eu l'exemplo – ils venaient la tête laissié et hurlaient comme les Enrages.

Les choses etant dans cet etat la, Vous aurez attendre de me voir venir moi même, au lieu d'envoyer cette lettre ; Mon Colonel, je ferais toujours reconnaissant à votre genereux offre, mais je ne puis pas d'accepter – la même bonté qui Vous avez eu pour moi, Colonel Fabvier l'a eu pendant 2 ans et ce serait une ingratitude une lacheté de ma part de l'abandonner avant qui son sort soit dicté, et je voudrais même, que je ne le pourrais pas ayant perdu j'usqu'a demies sous le peu d'argent qui me resta, Mss Dujourdhui Dim Kalery at Inglesi qui m'en devait ont eté tués, et ayant eté obligé de me la faire dire partir de mes habites. j'ai aussi perdu ci dont j'etais posteur moi même. Une chose que me console c'est que j'ai conservé mes armes, il n a bien des gens qui ne peuvent pas dire la même chose.
Depouvru de tout j asi m'adresser à Vous mon Colonel pour vous prier de ma delevnir un certificat de service pour le temps que j'ai eu l'honneur de servir sous vos Ordres et l'envoyer soit ici sous l'adresse de Mr Hen ou à Syra, sous celle de Mr Manarachi, Consul Espagnol.

APPENDIX B1

Turun Wiikkosanomat (*TWs*) no. 42, 20 October 1821 about the Greek war against the Turks.

Greekkalaisten senaatti on julistanut kaikillen Euroopan waltakunnillen että Greekan kansa on yhdistänyt itsensä vapaaksi eri waltakunnaksi. Frankriikista, Saksanmaalta ja Englannista on lähtenyt monta upseeria Greekan maallen sotimaan Greekkalaisten puolesta, ja ovat Greekkalaisilta awoin sylin wastaan otetut. Kuin ne ehtiivät opettaa Greekkalaisia sotimaan muiden kristittyjen tawalla; niin uskotaan Greekkalaisista tulewan sangen hyvät sotamiehet, sillä miehuutta ei heiltä puutu. Mantereella sanotaan Greekkalaisten voittaneen muutamia linnoja ja fästingiä; mutta merellä ovat he Turkkilaisillen tehneet pahimmat markkinat. Saksan maalla on pantu muutamia Greekkalaisia wankiuteen, jotka owat luwata pestanneet siellä itsellensä sotamiehiä. Englannin valtakunnan sanotaan, wanhain liittoin jälkeen, olewan Turkkilaisten ystäwän, ja tahtowan, ettei muut waltakunnat auttaisi Greekkalaisia. Wenäjän waltakunnassa ovat hywän-tahtoiset ihmiset koonneet apu-rahaa Greekan maalta tulleillen pakolaisillen. Jos Wenäjän ja Turkin waltakuntain wälillä tulee sotaa, siitä ei ole wieläkään warmaa tietoa. Kretan eli Kandian saaressa ovat Turkkilaiset hirttäneet Greekkalaisten Archipiispan ja monta pappia kirkkojen oven eteen.

APPENDIX B2

Helsingfors Tidningar (*HT*) no. 92, 28 November 1829 about Myhrberg.

A u g u s t M a t h i a s M y r b e r g

Nära nio år warade den förfärliga kamp som åt Östern beredde en ny morgon. Med det största raseri fortfor ett krig, som å den ena sidan fördes för religionsfanatismen och egennyttan, å den andra för det högsta, det heligaste menniskan äger: fädernesland och en lagbunden frihet. Wäl motstodo Grekerne länge, men Ibrahims blodiga kohorter hade troligen öfwerswämmat ett land af ruiner, om ej det bildade Europas werksamma bistånd förberedt det stora werk, hwars fullbordande blef Keisar N I C O L A I S mensklighet och ädelmod förbehållet.

Under detta Greklands frihetskrig strömmade från all håll ädelt tänkande män att sluta sig till det gamla Hellas'sfanor. Äfwen wårt fädernesland blef ej den ära förwägrad, att se sig genom twenne medborgare representeradt i filhéllenernas leder. Wäl föll den ena af dem, Kapitenen Sas, för ett förrädiskt skott af en Suliot, ännu i början af sin bana, men den qwarlefwande har icke fördunklat det namn af tapperhet, hwarigenom Finnarne redan i trettioåra kriget wid öfwergången af Lech, förwärfwat sig en ära, som historien icke förgätit.

Denne man är August Mathias Myrberg, hwilken Swenska Tidningsutgifware welat räkna bland sine Landsmän. Född i Brahestad 1797, och son af tullförwaltaren Kapitenen Anders Gustaf Myrberg, hwars sällskaps talenger äfwen i Sweriges hufwudstad förwärfwat honom en wiss ryktbarhet, samt dess fru Christina Sovelius, började hans första underwisning i Uleåborgs trivial skola, der hans mod redan utmärkte honom ibland sina kamrater, och wågstycket att söka fasthålla wingarne a en i full gång warande wäderqwarn nära kostat honom lifwet. Efter fyra års wistande wid Akademien i Upsala och der 1818 undergången kansli examen, forsatte han sina studier wid Åbo Universitet och återwände år 1822 till Stockholm.

Under wistandet i Åbo utwecklade sig hos honom denna böjelse för det romantiska, som waknad genom en nära bekantskap med den nyare Tyska Litteraturen, af tidens händelser höjdes till ett chevalereskt riddarsinne. – Kretsen af embetsmannalifwet syntes honom för trång och enformig, och, oupptäckt för hwarje af hans närmaste omgifning, mognade hos Myrberg beslutet att i det år 1820 började Spanska insurrektions kriget förwärfwa sig namn och ära, det enda hwarefter hans, för hwarje annat föremål slutna inre, oupphärligt sträfwade.

Till winnande af detta mål hade han redan i Åbo studerat Spanska språket och på egen hand förwärfwat sig deri en färdighet, som förwånade hans i Stockholm antagne Lärare. Efter ankomsten till denne hufwudstad begagnade Myrberg wid Artilleri skolan på Marieberg enskild underwisning i krigswetenskapen och begaf sig om wåren 1823 på resan till Spanien, – målet för hans längtan; men wid ankomsten till Lissabon fann han kriget på halfön slutadt och alla utsikter för krigslystnaden, åt detta håll, stängde.

Emedlertid war Myrbergs beslut snart fattadt. Grekiska frihetskriget lofwade wida skönare lagrar än den militära resningen i Spanien och han skyndade till Marseille, för att erbjuda derwarande Grekiske emissarer sin arm och sitt mod. Swårigheter som der mötte utförandet af hans föresats, twungo honom att begifwa sig till Paris, der han tillbragte wintern 1824. – Swenska Ministern Grefwe Löwenhjelms ynnest, som lemnade Myrberg tillträde i sitt hus, hade jemwäl förskaffat honom bekantskap med flere af Grek-komitéens ledamöter, hwilka beredde honom tillfälle att afgå till Grekland med den Expedition som utrustades dit om hösten samma år. Der engagerades han wid filhellenska kohorten, utmärkte sig snart till den grad, att han af Öfwerste Fabvier utnämndes till Adjutant, bewistade i denne egenskap bland andre, expeditionerne till Euboea och Chios samt lyckades att genom sällsynt personlig tapperhet flere gånger frälsa den älskade anförarens lif.

Dessa icke wanliga förtjenster kunde ej heller undgå att wäcka uppseende. Myrbergs mod, rådighet och beslutsamhet utwerkade för honom 1828 utnämningen till Löjtnant wid filhellenkorpsen; en befordran så mycket mera smickrande, som densamme war en följd utaf det friwilliga walet af en corps, bestående enbart af bildade män från alla delar af Europa, hwilka beslutit att uppoffra lif och blod för Greklands frihet. Ännu en mera betydande utmärkelse har nyligen blifwit Myrberg tilldelat i det Presidenten Grefwe Capodistria öfwerlemnat honom, i egenskp af commendant, med grad Kapitanos,* förswaret af en bland Greklands wigtigaste fästningar: Citadellet Palamedes, som beherrskar Napoli di Romania.

Dessa anteckningar, samlade ur utländska blad och en anförwandts meddelanden, hade Redaktionen önskat att lemna mera suständiga; men Myrbergs egen tystnad angående sina öden har ej tillåtit några utförligare underrättelser: Uppsatte af en ungdoms wäns hand, skola de dock troligen icke sakna intresse för landsmän, hwilka deltaga i en medborgares bemödanden att, på ett hedrande sätt, äfwen i det aflägsna Östern utbreda bekantskapen med det hitintills så föga kände, så ofta misskände Finska namnet.

* Betyder en befälhafware af högre grad och bör ej förwexlas med den af Kapiten i reguliera arméer.

APPENDIX B3

F. Cygnaeus 1867 (1848) in *Huvudstadsbladet* (*Hbl*) no. 89, 16 April 1867: a speech by Cygnaeus, 13 May 1848, published in 1867.

– Om A. M. Myhrberg som som student i Åbo har Fredr. Cygnaeus, för nitton år sedan, i sin teckning af J. J. Nervander skrifwit några ord, som nu på den bortgångnes graf förtjena att ihågkommas. Efter att ha skildrat studentlifwet i Åbo wid den tid Nervander ankom till akademien och särskildt de bedröfliga triumfer, som den dåwarande ungdomens älskade att med näfwarne tillkämpa sig i skumrasket uti gränderna, fortsätter Cygnaeus:

– – Men också genom dunklet af dessa förirringar framlyste mången strimma , som wisade att, midt bland utbrotten af den studerande ungdomens öfwerdåd, trifdes äfwen en högsintare kraft, behöfwande enbart tillfälle och utrymme för att göra sig gällande ej blott i djerf utan ädel handling. Såsom medelpunkt för dessa noblare riktningar framstod, synlig för all, en yngling, hwilken, olik deri mängden af sina kamrater, ej hufwudsakligast i groteska åthäfwor och attributer sökte uttryck för den gäsande och öfwerswallande inre kraften, och icke i wapen, som tycktes upplockade i spåren af ett flyktadt nomadlif sin “robur et securitas.” Af ingen öfwerträffad i alla de konster, hwilka företrädeswis pläga kallas ridderliga, röjde hela hans personlighet, att det ej är en nödwändighet för det ridderliga sinnet, hwarken att begrafwa sig under Penitentens tagelskjorta, eller att fira saturnalierna af sin uppståndelse medelst den äkta ”Burschens” yswerborna later och i maskradkostymer, uppgräfda uti det aflidna medeltidsbarbariets grifter. Men hans mod, sträfwande ända till de gränser, der öfwerdådets widtaga, hans rådighet och beslutsamhet gjorde denne yngling till en af de besta naturer, omkring hwilka, i farans högsta stund, all de som ännu hoppas på räddning, sluta sig såsom kring ett standar, det der, så länge det ännu swäfwar högt öfwer mängden, pekar på en utwäg ur undergångens krets. Lyckligtwis saknade han i eget land tillfälle att underkasta detta sitt ridderliga mod farans allwarliga pröfning; men han drefs omotståndligt deraf, att uppsöka henne i alla land, der han kunde hoppas att möta henne, wärdig att anställa sådan pröfning. Och han aflade hjältemodigt dessa prof så, att de wäl försjenat att bestås i ett fäderneslands tjenst; röjande derjemte, genom den kraft, hwarmed han bar försakelsens börda och motgångens, samt den otacksamhet, hwilken är den säkraste skörden, som werer upp ur ens på fremmande jord och för fremmande intressen gjutna blod, att hans mod ej war af det slag, som kokar upp endast wid blodets swallning i hetsiga ögonblick. Namnet på denne yngling war Myhrberg. Jag har med glädje dröjt en stund wid en återblick på denne ädlaste representant af wissa tendenser, som röjde sig uti studentlifwet i Åbo under derwarande universitetets elfte stund. För mig sjelf ligger ursäkten för detta dröjsmål uti öfwertygelsen, att detta fenomen, ehuru den nuwarande akademiska generationens hugkomst like fremmande som för dess sinnesstämning, likwäl ej bör sakna allt intresse – åtminstone såsom fenomen. Och skulle wäl wår tid denna gång wara oss så dyrbar, att wi wille uppoffra några ögonblick deraf åt det förklingade minnet af

en man, såsom hjeltegrafwen i Perho “ej förtjent att glömma,” och hwilken med kraften af sin arm och sin själ diktat sig ett lif, hwars tilldragelser kunde synas alltför djerfwa osannolikheter äfwen ifall de blefwo diktade af den historiska romanen? Ehuru Myhrbergs hjeltekraft förslösats utan omedelbar båtnad för sitt land, är hans namn, jemte Nerwanders, ett ibland de få, hwilka gälla såsom ett förord för Finnen, då han i fjerran trakter nämnt det terra incognita, der han föddes. Skulle någon i sitt sinne göra mig förebråelsen, att jag nu obehörigt framkallat landsmän den mångbepröfwades minne, bör ju äfwen sist antydda omständighet medwerka i djupet af det werldshaf, från en af hwars aflägsnaste klipper den biltoge mannen kastar längtande blickar till det fädernesland, som för honom är så kärt som för hwem det än wara må, försänka missnöjet.”

APPENDIX B4

Wasabladet (*Wbl*) no. 16, 20 April 1867.

Ett celebert dödsfall har inträffat i Swerige. Den berömda, i wåra österbottniska bygder mycket omtalade, tappre och ädle Majoren Myhrberg , sinne till börden och född i Brahestad, har ändat i grannriket sitt bragdfulla och på romantiska äfwentyr så rika lif. I Spanien, i Polen och framför allt i Grekland, under dess herrliga frihetskamp, skar denna hjelte de mest oförwanskliga lagrar och hans bragdrika lefnad, så litet man och känner beraf, torde mera likna en gammal kämpasaga än en mans lefnadshistorie, som tillhörde det nyktra 19:de århundrade och som föddes i ett sådant lugnets och trygghetens land, som wårt kära Suomi. Från sitt hemland hade han wäl ärft denna sega outtröttliga kraft, som inga hinder besegra och som lät honom, i förening med ett okufligt mod, adladt af det warmaste hjertas frihetskärlek, öfwerwinna de största swårigheter och segrande framgå, der döden nedslog tusen och åter tusen. Det lilla, som om honom berättas i wåra tidningar, efter swenska Aftonbladet, sakna wi, tywärr! i wårt lilla blad utrymme att meddela. Måtte en lefnadsteckning af honom, såsom folkskrift, icke låta alltför länge wänta på sig!!!

APPENDIX C1

Extract from J. Krohn 1875 (1877), first published as a series in *Suomen Kuvalehti* (*SK*) nos. 50–53 in 1875 entitled ‘Maksimilian Aukusti Myhrberg. Elämäkertomus’, *SK* no. 50, 15 January 1875.

Maksimilian Aukusti Myhrberg*

Pienestä pikkaraisesta asti he [isättömäksi jääneet Myhrbergin lapset] jo kuulivat äidin suusta innokkaita tarinoita sekä muinais- että nyky-ajan mainioista jaloista miehistä ynnä myös eläwiä, kirjawia kertomuksia wieraista maista ja kansoista. Kaikesta tästä kohosi heidän mielensä ja halunsa jo aikaiseen tawallisista jokapäiwäisistä tapauksista ihmiskunnan ylimmäisiin pyrintöihin ja tottuivat heidän sailmäinsä laajempaan kuin oman kotinurkan piiriin.

Merkillistä ja sangen huvittavaa on kuulla, kuinka nämä äidin kertomukset aiwan eri lailla, kunkin erilaista luonnetta myöten, waikuttivat lapsiin. Muut weljekset – joista useammat sitten tulivat merikatteineiksi [merikapteineiksi] – kuultelivat mielimmin juttuja Kolumbus’esta tai muista matkaajoista kaukaisilla mailla. Mutta kolmas poika ei tyytynyt ennen kuin sai äidin tarinoimaan Kreikan ja Rooman urhoista; silloin hän wasta kuulteli koko sydämmestään, suu auki, silmääkään räwähtämättä.

Tämä poika, Mattias Aukusti,** syntynyt Raahessa Heinäk. 24 p. 1799, kuuluu olleen näöltään, terweydeltään ja wäkewyydeltään ilminen karhun pentu. Kaikki Myhrberg’in pojat oliwat riwakat kaikissa ruumiinharjoituksissa ja karskit kaikkia töitä kestämään. Oikein Suomen poikien tawalla saattoi nähdä heidän tulikuumasta saunasta, punaisina kuin krawut, juoksewan ulos lumihankeen piehtaroimaan. Hiihtämisessä, uimisessa, weneenlaskussa, ampumisessa he olivat mestareita. Kaikki muut voitti kuitenkin Mattias Aukusti woimallaan, taitawuudellaan ja pelottomuudellaan, niin että aina oli kumppaleittensa [kumppaneittensa] päämiehenä ja kuninkaana. Tähän ylimmäiseen paikkaan wielä wahwisti hänet leikkiweljein rakkaus, jonka hän lujalla uskollisuudellaan ystävyydessä sekä suoralla, jalolla sydämellään oli taivuttanut puolellensa.

Hywä onni on säilyttänyt meille pari hywin luonnetta kuwaawaista, hauskaa juttua tästä Myhrberg’in wallattoman poikuuden ajasta. Pienenä paitaressuna lankesi hän kerran kalliolle ja löi suuren kuhmun otsahansa. Pikku mies tuosta ei parkaissut, ei älähtänyt, nousi waan wakawasti, mitään virkkaamatta seisaalleen; mutta kun sitten hattua päähänsä pannessa hawaitsi ettei saanutkaan paisunutta otsaansa siihen sisään, kas silloin wasta kyyneleet silmistä purskahtivat; kipu ei ollut hänen wakawuuttaan woinut järkähdyttää, siihen tarwittiin woimallisempi mielen liikutin – harmistus. Toisesta tilaisuudessa taas, kun pojat myllymäellä

* Tähän elämäkertaan on käytetty kaikki tiedossa olevat hajalliset kirjoitukset Myhrberg’istä ynnä myös koko joukko wainajan sukulaisilta ja ystäwiltä saatuja suullisia tarinoita.

** Edellisen arkipäiväisen nimen hän sittemmin itse muutti runollisemmaksi Maksimilianiksi.

peuhaelivat, Myhrberg sai hurjan mielijohteen päähänsä ja tarttui ympärikäywään tuulimyllyn siipeen, muka lentää yrittääkseen. Siipi, korotettuaan häntä kappaleen matkaa ilmaan, sitten, niin kuin luonnollista oli, wiskasi hänet aika wauhtia jälleen maahan, josta pojalta molemmat käsiwarret katkesiwat. Walittamatta, itkemättä kärsi Myhrberg kovaa kipuansa, antaen ääneti, niin kuin wanha sotasankari, tehdä waiwaisille jäsenilleen kaikki tarpeelliset temput. Mutta nähdessään äitinsä itkewän – se olikin ensikerta, että hän sitä oli nähnyt – tää lujamielinen poikakaan ei woinut enää pitää sysämestä uhkuawia wesikarpaloita. Ajan ja paikan täydelliseksi kuvaamiseksi olkoon tähän vielä lisätty, että käsiwarren sitojana ja parantajana ei ollutkaan mikään oppinut lääkäri, waan wanha wiisas akka, jonka huulien malosta wirtaeli yhtä paljon loitsurunoja kuin kädestä woiteita. Kumpainenko konsti siinä lienee tehnyt tehoisimman waikutuksen, jääköön puhumatta; se waan on warma, että Turkkilainen ja moni muu wastustaja sitten on saanut kowin hywin kokea, ettei Myhrberg'in luut tuosta katkeemisesta suinkaan olleet tulleet heikommiksi.

APPENDIX C2

Extract from E. Cederberg, *August Maksimilian Myrberg. Suomalaisen vapaustaistelijan elämäntarina*, Helsinki (Kirja) 1928, pages 109–110, 121–122, 319.

Värväystoimisto sijaitsi Marseillessa. Toinen huomattava oli Pariisissa. Tarjokkaita ilmaantuikin, mutta Fabvier ei sittenkään ollut oikein tyytyväinen. Suurin osa mukaan aikovista oli näet entisiä sotureja, jotka olivat kyllästyneet rauhanaikaiseen toimettomuuteen. He olivat aikoinaan ehtineet kohota eri sotilasarvoihin, kersantista kenraaliin asti, ja vaativat ainakin vastaavaa asemaa perustettavissa joukko-osastoissa. Siitä uhkasi niinmuodoin sukeutua vain upseeriarmeija. Mutta Fabvier tarvitsi ennen kaikkea reippaita ja urheita rintamasotureita, joista hän kehittäisi mielensä mukaisen, Kreikan oloihin sopeutuvan pataljoonan. Ilmestyipä sitten eräänä päivänä toimistoon mies, joka pyysi puhutella eversti Fabvier'ta. Tämä silmäili kookasta ja avokatseista nuorta miestä ja tiedusteli, mitä hän halusi. "Kivääriä, herra eversti!" huudahti muukalainen, joka oli juuri August Maksimilian Myrberg. "Viimeinkin sotilas", kerrotaan Fabvier'n tyytyväisenä huudahtaneen, ja hänen väitetään heti ensi näkemältä kiintyneen tähän kaukaisen maan mieheen, jossa hän vaistosi sukulaisluonteen. Heidän keskensä sukeutuikin, kuten tulemme myöhemmin näkemään, harvinaisen eheä ja hedelmällinen ystävyys (pp. 109–110).

Taistelun telmeessä ammuttiin Fabvier'n hevonen, ja vaivoin sai hän vedetyksi jalkansa sen alta. Selviydyttyään siitä hän havaitsi joka puolella ryntääviä turkkilaisia, jotka sapelit pystyssä pyrkivät häntä kohden. Vain kourallinen kreikkalaisia oli hänen ympärillään. Urheasti he kävivät turkkilaisten kimppuun ja pahaa jälkeä heidän raskaat miekkansa tekivätkin. Mutta siitä huolimatta näytti tuho varmalta, varsinkin kun Fabvier lisäksi haavoittui. Silloin Myrberg, jonka alta hevonen tarinan mukaan myös oli ammuttu, joutui lähelle paikkaa, jossa Fabvier jakoi epätoivoisia iskujaan turbaanipäille. Siekailematta Myrberg lähti raivaamaan itselleen tietä sinnepäin ja veristä jälkeä tehden pääsikin. Hän saapui viime hetkessä. Fabvier oli menehtymäisillään ja hänen puolustajansa kaatuneet. Silloin Myrberg suoritti sankariteon, joka oli koko sodan loisteliaimpia ja jonka maine eli kauan sekä turkkilaisten että kreikkalaisten keskuudessa. Hän irroitti vainoojat Fabvier'stä, nosti hänet vasemmalle olkapäälleen ja huitoi oikealla kädellään ympärilleen niin silmittömän raivokkaasti, kuin vain suomalainen ärsytetty karhu saattaa huitoa. Kauhistuneina väistyivät turkkilaiset hänen tieltään ja turhaan komensi heidän päällikkönsä vangitsemaan hänet elävänä. Siihen uhkapeliin he eivät hirvinneet antautua ja niin pääsi Myrberg taakkoineen turvaisaan paikkaan. Fabvier ei ollut kiittämätön pelastajalleen. Rintaman edessä hän illalla koroitti Myrbergin upseeriksi ja määräsi hänet omaksi adjutantikseen. Se oli Myrbergille erikoisen mieluisa tehtävä, sillä kaikista filhelleeneistä miellytti Fabvier häntä eniten, ja se antoi hänelle tilaisuuden aina vaaran hetkellä olla tämän urhean ranskalaisen tukena. Tämän toimenpiteen mainitaan myös koko joukkueessan herättäneen yleistä tyytyväisyyttä (pp. 121–122).

Jos Myrberg olisi elänyt varhemmin, sellaisina aikoina, jolloin maassamme elettiin melkein katkeamattomia vihan ja vainon vuosia, olisi hänestä epäilemättä sukeutunut nimenomaan suomalainen sankari, jonka nimi olisi lähtemättömästi piirtynyt maamme sotaisan historian lehdille. Mutta hän eli Suomen historian kenties rauhallisimpana vuosisatana ja joutui siis käyttämään kalpaansa muiden kansojen hyväksi. Tämä ei tietysti kuitenkaan himmennä hänen sankaruutensa loistetta, vaan päinvastoin: hänestä ei tullut sankaria vain olosuhteiden pakosta, vaan omasta vastustamattomasta halusta uhrata voimansa vapauden puolesta, missä tahansa sitä sorrettiin. Ja tällainen esimerkki velvoittaa, tällainen elämäntyö antaa aikanaan satonsa: sellaisten miesten kuin Myrbergin uljas ja ylevä elämäntyö luo pontta ja uskoa Suomen miesten mieliin polvesta polveen (p. 319).

APPENDIX D1

Z. Topelius, ‘Öfverste Fabviers Adjutant’ 1876.

Öfverste Fabviers adjutant

Det var en gång för längesen
en mörk decembernatt:
stridsrustad i Olympens moln
Pallas Athene satt.

Det gamla Hellas, ungt på nytt,
slet nu sin boja af;
dess ära stod förklarad upp
ur tusenårig graf.

Dess namn, så länge höljdt med skymf,
steg stolt ur Lethe än:
Herakles’arm strypt ormarna,
men hårdt förblödde den.

Nyss fanns en sköld, som Hellas’ mod
i faran uppehöll:
den klöfs i tu; Europa teg,
och Missolonghi föll!

Och än en gång förmörkades
af pilar solens sken,
och än en gång barbarens häst
förtrampade Athen.

Blott i Akropolis till sist
en trotsig trupp stod kvar
och Griziotti var dess chef,
en solbränd palikar.

På denna punkt berodde allt:
död – frihet – seger – sorg!
Europas spända blick var fäst
på denna minnets borg.

Mot Cekrops’ klippa tycktes dock
all Moslims makt för svag:
dess rot stod djupt i Hades’ natt,
dess topp i Febus’ dag.

Då till Egina smög en natt
ett bud ur borgen ut:
“Vi kämpa gladt till sista man,
men ha ej mera krut!”
I bukten vid Methana låg
den tappre Fabvier,
och budet kom: “Akropolis
kan räddas blott af er.”

Han växlade en hastig blick
allt med sin närmste man:
“Välan, vi bryta upp, och ni
för främsta ledet an.»

Sexhundrafemti voro de,
som stodo där på strand:
från Joniens skär, från romarbygd,
från frankers ädla land;

från Englands töcken, Spaniens glöd
och kulna nordens snö
dock alla lika redo att
för Hellas’ frihet dö.

Sexhundrafemti voro de
där vid Methanas våg;
en här af tiotusen man
rundtkring Athen man såg.

Det var en mörk decembernatt,
då vid Munychia
den ädle Fabviers skara steg
i land på Attika.

Tätt, man vid man, förutan ljud
de ryckte stilla ut.

Från chefen till den siste, bar
hvar man en påse krut.

Och nu vardt larm, nu vimlade
i hvarje skans en här,
i hvarje graf en bataljon,
vid hvarje sten gevär.

Nu blixt på blixt bröt ut med brak
ur svarta vallars sköt,
och Zeus Kronions blå Olymp
sitt svar i åskor röt.
Där spydde tusen eldgap ut
sin skur af järn och bly,
och hvart man såg, var sabelhugg
och rök och vapengny.

Men omotståndlig trängde fram
de kristnes djärfva skar',
och nattens dunkel deras sköld
mot nattens dödar var.

Den tappre Griziotti föll
med hast ur borgen ut:
nu blixtrade hans eld också,
nu hade han fått krut!

Upp lät Athenes borg sin port
för Fabviers tappre män;
sex af dem hade ren förblödt,
och fjorton blödde än.

Och främst i spetsen red en trupp
af fyrtio till häst,
de tappraste bland tappre där
vid denna dödens fest.

Och bland de främste allrafrämst
red Fabviers adjutant,
en högrest son af polens snö,
om ryktet sade sant.

Men rundtom klippans fot en rad
af mörka skansar bjöd
åt hvarje ryttare en graf,
åt hvarje kämpe död.

Här låg den sluge Redschid gömd,
som pantern i sin bur,
och kärnan utaf Moslims makt
i natten låg på lur.

Och månen sken på Parthenons
halfbrutna pelarrad
och såg så sällsamt dyster ned
på Cekrops' hvita stad.

Men osedt kom till närmsta skans
de kristnes främsta led;
där sof en skäggig albanes:
han höggs i blinken ned.

Men räddadt var Akropolis,
och räddadt Hellas' hopp;
den sol, som sjönk i kedjor ned,
stod fri med seger opp.

Då sägs, att åt sin adjutant har
Fabvier räckt sin hand
och sett i morgonrodnans prakt
mot horisontens rand.

Två ädla örnar flögo där
mot Zeus Kronions borg:
en dök ur söderns ljus,
och en ur nordens natt och sorg;

En flög i morgonrodnans glans,
beglänst af ryktets sol;
den andra – ack, den ädlaste!
dog glömd vid öde pol.

APPENDIX D2

Extract from F. Cygnaeus in *Joukahainen* 7 (1873), 26–35, a speech given on 9 November 1868.

August Maximilian Myhrberg

August Maximilian Myhrberg föddes i Brahestad i slutet af förra århundradet, det stormupprörda; han såg af dagen 24 Juli, skulle jag tro, en tid af året, då man hunnit glömma, att en natt funnits i naturen. Han kom till Åbo, blef student, och österbottniska martikeln förvarar minnet deraf, att han studerade vid denna afdelning. Det var likväl annorlunda beskaffat då med studentlifvet. Man sjöng med stor patos om den finska ärans gudaglans, obekymrad om det sanningslösa deri, ty man fann dock näring för sitt behof af retelse i denna dikt. Det var en tid af bedröflig försoffning; Man satte det finska folkets öden i ett nödvändigt sammanhang med förtflutna dagars förhållanden, och få kunde höja sig till en tanke på ett eget mål i det finska folkets framtid. Huru denna skulle gestalta sig, kunde ännu färre föreställa sig. […] Redan då kunde man märka, att han [Myhrberg] var född under en dag, mer än vanligt ljus. Halft annat decennium tidigare skulle han kanske kämpat ut bland Wasa-gossarne och fått ett rum i Fänrik Ståls Sägner, nu var ej tillfälle till dylika bedrifter. Han fann ej tillfredsställelse i studenternes äfventyr, men han utmärkte sig i all fall genom en lyftning i sitt väsende, genom en redbarhet, som genomträngde hela hans varelse, och genom denna underbara längtan, som omsider dref honom ut. […]

Myhrberg kom ännu mången gång i tillfälle att bevisa detta, såsom vid den oförgätliga belägringen af Akropolis. Det är en ej vanlig lott att draga svärdet till försvar för en plats, der Perikles hade talat till Greklands folk, der Demosthenes låtit höra sina gripande ord och Alcibiades utgjort sina landsmäns förtjusning – tills de funno för godt att drifva honom i landsflykt. Att stå på Akropolis och försvara sådana minnens stod – vi tänka, att det skulle varit makalöst att skörda ära för ett sådant pris. Det var emellertid en ryslig belägring; den räckte ett halft år under otaliga svårigheter, så att besättningen ibland var nära att omkomma af svält och härjande farsoter. Att försvaret anstod hjeltar, derom är intet tvifvel, och dock var Myhrberg i ett hemskt läge där. Med ett försvar sådant som detta kunde ej ett land kufvas. Grekland blef sålunda fritt, ehuru visserligen ej genom dem, som mest uppoffrat derför.

Då vi tänka oss i hvilken skuld äfven vi stå till Grekland, väl ej till dess nu lefvande generationer, utan dem, som för årtusenden tillbaka skänkt oss sin rika kultur, så är det väl glädjande för oss, att för allt hvad vi fått åtminstone en man uppoffrat sig för Greklands sak. Och han kom tillbaka lika fattig som han for, men med några sår mera i alla fall och, såsom vi skulle tycka, bedragen på bröd och mynt. […]

Tillägg 2. Ett af de minnen, som återkallade ett ljust leende öfver Myhrbergs, af så mången bitter erfarenhet sårade drag, förde honom stundom tillbaka till den tid, då han, Fabviers adjutant, jemte sin chef, efter deras kamp för

Greklands räddning, hade hamnat i Paris. Det var perioden i Myhrbergs lefnads sommarsolstånd. Såsom en bland dagens mest frejdade hjelter, inbjöds han till en af dessa fester, dem verldsstaden gaf i *Hôtel de ville* och hvilkas härlighet all verldens potentater sökte fördunkla. Bland de tusen kallade fans också en, lekamligen den minsta af all, men som var ämnad att af historien lyftas upp till jemnbredd med hennes yppersta heroer och hvars namn redan begynte nämnas med beundran. Det namnet var Adolphe Thiers. Nu hände sig, att, då till en af festens glanspunkter all ville störta fram, den lille mannen, som var ämnad att en gång hinna så långt i verlden, stängd af folkmassor och andra obstakel, icke slapp ur fläcken. Men hjelpen var nära till hands i gestalten af den Hellas-räddande finske kämpen. Denne upptog på väldig arm mannen, som Frankrike en dag skulle lyfta upp på den högsta platsen i sitt skakade samhälle, och bar honom till allmän gamman dit Thiers för tillfället förgäfves sökt bana sig väg.

Buren af Myhrberg, behöfde Thiers ej utveckla denna beundransvärda talent att balansera, hvarmed han sedermera slagit menskligheten med häpnad.

Jag har med glädje dröjt an stund wid en återblick på denne ädlaste representant af wissa tendenser, som röjde sig uti studentlifwet i Åbo under derwarande universitetets elfte stund. För mig sjelf ligger ursäkten för detta dröjsmål uti öfwertygelsen, att detta fenomen, ehuru den nuwarande akademiska generationens hugkomst like fremmande som för dess sinnesstämning, likwäl ej bör sakna allt intresse – åtminstone såsom fenomen.

F.C.

Sources and Literature

Primary Sources

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

ADM-M	Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, Nancy: Dossiers Fabvier
BL	The British Library, Manusripts: Church Papers, Howe Papers
BSA, Finlay	British School at Athens: The Finlay Papers
HAMFA	Historical Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens
KBb	Kungliga Biblioteket (Royal Library), Stockholm: brevsamling
OMA	Oulun maakunta-arkisto (Provincial Archives of Oulu), Finland
PRR	Raahen kihlakunnan arkisto (Parish Records Office, Raahe), Finland
SKA	Krigsarkivet (Swedish War Archives), Stockholm
SRAM	Sveriges Riksarkiv (Swedish National Archives), Stockholm: Maximilian Myhrbergs samling
SRAJ	Sveriges Riksarkiv (Swedish National Archives), Stockholm: Jägerskiöldiska stiftelsens arkiv / Maximilian Myhrberg
VA	Valtionarkisto (The State Archives of Finland), Helsinki

NEWSPAPERS

ÅAT	*Åbo Allmänna Tidning* 1814, 1816, 1819
Abl	*Aftonbladet* 1831, 1867
ÅMb	*Åbo Morgonblad* 1821
AT	*Argus den Tredje* 1825
ÅT	*Åbo Tidningar* 1821, 1822, 1826
ÅU	*Åbo Underrättelser* 1826, 1867, 1868, 1874, 1875, 1876
Boston	*Boston* 1824
BT	*Borgå Tidning* 1841
Constitutionel	*Le Constitutionel* 1821, 1822
CA	*Courier d'Athènes* 1827
CO	*Courrier d'Orient. Journal Politique, Commercial et Littéraire* 1829
DB	*Drapeau Blanc* 1821
DN	*Dagens Nyheter* 1877
Examiner	*The Examiner* 1821
FAT	*Finlands Almänna Tidning* 1821, 1822, 1824, 1826, 1853, 1857
Folkwännen	*Folkwännen* 1871, 1879, 1887
GHS	*Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning* 1876
Hbl	*Huvudstadsbladet* 1867, 1868, 1877, 1883
HD	*Helsingfors Dagblad* 1867, 1879
HP	*Helsingfors Posten* 1825

HT	*Helsingfors Tidningar* 1829, 1840, 1841, 1853
Hämäläinen	*Hämäläinen* 1867, 1874
Kaleva	*Kaleva* 1997
Kometen	*Kometen* 1826
Kotiseutu	*Kotiseutu* 1915
MA	*Messager d'Athènes* 1930, 1931
Mnemosyne	*Mnemosyne* 1820, 1821
Mbl	*Morgonbladet* 1872
NIT	*Ny Illustrerat Tidning* 1867, 1875, 1876
Pamphleteer	*The Pamphleteer* 1823
PIT	*Post- och Inrikestidningar* 1867
RL	*Raahen Lehti* 1899
RS	*Raahen seutu* 1965
SDb	*Svenska Dagbladet* 1970
SK	*Suomen Kuvalehti* 1875
StDA	*Stockholms Dagligt Allehanda* 1826
StDb	*Stockholms Dagblad* 1897
ST	*Svensk Tidskrift* 1891
TS	*Tampereen Sanomat* 1867
TWs	*Turun Wiikkosanomat* 1821, 1822
US	*Uusi Suometer* 1869
Wbl	*Wasabladet* 1867
WWb	*Wiburgs Wochenblatt* 1824

CONTEMPORARY PRINTED SOURCES

Åberg 1891
L.H. Åberg, 'Ett lif i strid för folkens frihet', *Svensk Tidskrift* 1 (1891), 247–25.

Adventures of Baron Münchausen
The Adventures of Baron Münchausen, rev. ed. with an Introduction by T. Teignmouth Shore, illustrated by Gustave Doré, London (Cassell, Petter & Galpin) 1871.

Andersen 1873
C. Andersen, 'Kathinka' in *Liv i Laenker. To Digte* (I *Kathinka*, II *Markos Botsaris*), Kjøbenhavn (G.E.C. Gad) 1873.

Appel aux grecs 1821
Appel aux grecs. La proclamation d'Ipsilanti aux français, Paris 1821.

Arwidsson 1826
A.I. Arwidsson, *Historia om Greklands närvarande Frihetskrig Jemte En framställning af Grekernas Religion, Seder och National-lynne*, Stockholm 1826.

[Arwidsson] 1909
Adolf Ivar Arwidssonin tutkimuksia ja kirjoituksia, transl. S. Nuormaa & E. Rein, Helsinki 1909.

Aschling 1824
N.F. Aschling, *Försök till grekiska revolutionens historia enligt anteckningar gjorde på stället*, Stockholm 1824.
Bellier de Launay 1823
W. Bellier de Laynay, *Einige Worte über Griechenland zum Besten verarmter und verwaister Familien von Wilhelm Bellier de Laynau*, Berlin 1823.
Berjourd 1829
É.B.F. Berjourd, *Histoire médicale du 35me régiment pendant la campagne de 1828 en Morée. Tribut académique présenté et publiquement soutenu à la faculté de Médecine de Montpellier, le 31 août 1829 par Éduard B.F. Berjourd, chirurgien Aide-Major, au 35me régiment por obtenir le title de docteur en médecine*, Montpellier (Jullien) 1829.
Blaquiere 1824
E. Blaquiere, *The Greek Revolution; Its Origins and Progress together with Some Remarks on the Religion, National Character & c. in Greece*, London (G. & W.B. Whittaker) 1824.
Blaquiere 1825
E. Blaquiere, *Narrative of a Second Visit to Greece, Including Facts Connected with the Last Days of Lord Byron, Extracts from Official Correspondence, Official Documents, & c.*, London (G.B. Whittaker) 1825.
Blaquiere 1828
E. Blaquiere, *Letters from Greece with Remarks on the Treaty of Intervention*, London (James Ilbery) 1828.
Bollmann de 1822
L. de Bollmann, *Remargues sur l'état moral, politique et militaire de la Grèce, écrites sur les lieux pendat l'année 1822. Ouvrage dédié à la Jeunesse Européenne*, Marseille (Carnaud & Simonin) 1822.
Bremer 1862
F. Bremer, *Lifvet i gamla verlden. Dagboks-anteckningar under resor i söder- och österland. Grekland och dess öar*, Stockholm (Bonnier) 1862.
Bremer 1863
F. Bremer, *Greece and the Greeks. The Narrative of a Winter Residence and Summer travel in Greece and Its Islands*, translated by M. Howitt, vol. 1, London (Hurst and Blackett) 1863.
[Bremer] 1920
K. Johanson & E. Kleman (eds.), *Fredrika Bremers brev* vol. 4 1857–1865, Stockholm (Norstedt) 1920.
[Clape] 1821
[G. de la Clape], *Appel aux Français en faveur des Grecs, par Girauld de la Clape, ex-étudiant en droit*, Paris (C. Chantpie) 1821.
Cochrane 1837
G. Cochrane, *Wanderings in Greece* vol. 1, London (H. Colburn) 1837.
Cochrane & Bourne 1869
Thomas, Eleventh Earl of Dundonald & H.R. Fox Bourne, *The Life of Thomas, Lord Cochrane, Tenth Earl of Dundonald, G.C.B., Admiral of the*

Red, Rear, Admiral of the Fleet, etc., etc. Completing "The Autobiography of a Seaman" vol.1–2, London (R. Bentley) 1869.

Collett 1834 (1926)
C. Collett, *Optegnelser fra ungdomsaarene utgit av Leiv Amundsen*, in C. Collett & P.J. Collett, *Dagboger och breve utgit av Leiv Amundsen*, Oslo (Gyldendal) 1926.

Comstock 1829
J.L. Comstock, *History of the Greek Revolution Compiled from Official Documents of the Greek Government*, New York 1829.

Contributions d'un militaire 1825
Contributions d'un militaire No1: *Sur les moyens de procurer à l'infanterie l'assistance de la cavalerie légère pour le service des avants-postes, avec le sixième de l'ordinaire de chevaux*, Londre (R. Taylor) 1825.

Coup d'oeil 1826
Un coup d'oeil sur Morée, ou le Philhellène converti par G… L…, Marseille (de Rouchon) 1826

Cygnaeus 1867 (1848)
F. Cygnaeus, 'Om A.M. Myhrberg', *Hbl* no. 89, 16 April 1867.

Cygnaeus 1873 (1868)
F. Cygnaeus, 'August Maximilian Myhrberg' in *Joukahainen* 7 (Pohjois-pohjalainen osakunta), 1873, 26–35 (talk given in 1868).

[Czartorinski] = Toulouzan 1830
M. Toulouzan [=Adam Czartorinski], *Essai sur la diplomatie. Manusrit d'un Philhellène, publie par M. Toulouzan*, Paris (Firmin Didot) & Marseille (Feissat Ainé et Demonschy) 1830.

Davesiès de Pontès 1864
L. Davesiès de Pontès, *Notes sur la Grèce*, Paris (Michel Lévy) 1864.

Dietrichson 1901
L. Dietrichson, *Svunde tider* 3: *Rom och Stockholm*, Kristiania 1901.

Documents Eynard 1826
Documents officiels sur les secours envoyes en Grèce par monsieur Eynard, et sur l'état de la Grèce a la fin du juillet 1826 publiés par la Comité de Génève en favour des Grecs I–II, Génève 1826 (J.J. Paschoud) 1826.

Documents relatifs
Documensts relatifs à l'état présent de la Grèce. Publiés d'après les communications du Comité Philhellénique de Paris, 10 vols., Paris 1826–1829.

Dumont 1829
Dumont, *Souvenirs historiques de la campagne de Morée 1828*, La Rochelle 1829.

Dumond 1862
M. H. Dumont, *Mémoire sur les prémiers secours à donner aux blessés sur les champs de bataille. Conseils aux soldats des armées volontaires*, Coulommiers 1862.

E.J.C. 1821
E.J.C., Étudiant en droit, *Le nuveau chant d´Homère, aux Grecs de 1821*,

Paris (Corriard: Ambroise Taudieu) 1821.

Elster 1828
J.D. Elster, *Das Bataillon der Philhellenen: dessen Errichtung, Feldsug und Untergang*, Baden (Die Boldschen) 1828.

Elster 1837
[J. D. Elster], *Fahrten eines Musikanten Herausgegeben von Ludwig Berhstein*, vol 2: *Der Philhellene*, Schleusingen (C. Slaser) 1837.

Finlay 1861
G. Finlay, *History of Greek Revolution*, vols. 1–2, Edinburgh & London (W. Blackwood & Sons) 1861.

Finlay 1877
A History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time B.C. 146 to A.D. 1864, A New Edition, Revised troughout, and Partly Re-written with Considerable Additions by the Author and Edited by the Rev. H.F. Tozer, Vol. 6: *The Greek Revolution*, Part I: *A.D 1821–1827*; Vol 7: *The Greek Revolution*, Part II: *Establishment of the Greek Kingdom*, Oxford 1877 (Oxford University Press, reprinted in New York 1970).

Finnische Runen
Finnische Runen. Finnisch und Deutsch von D.H.R. von Schröter (mit einer Musikbeilage), Upsala (Palmblad & Co.) 1819.

Fontanier 1829
V. Fontanier, *Voyages en Orient enterpris par ordre du gouvernement français, de l'année 1821 à l'année 1829. Constantinople, Grèce. Evénements politiques de 1827 à 1829*, Paris (P. Mognie Ainé) 1829.

Fornèzy 1884 (1957)
H. Fornèzy, 'Τό μνεμεῖον τῶν φιλελλήνων', Αθήνα 1957; first published in *Ἑβδόμαδος* no. 1, 1884.

Forsstrand 1916
C. Forstrand, 'August Maximilian Myhrberg' in *idem*, *Svenska lyckoriddare i främmande länder*, Stockholm 1916 (H. Gebers), 33–38.

Froude 1867
J.A. Froude, *Short Stories on Great Subjects*, vol. 2, London (Longmans & Green) 1867.

Gamba 1825
P. Gamba, *Relation de l'expédition de Lord Byron en Grèce* (*par le Comte Pierre Gamba, ex Liutenant Colonel de la Brigade grecque organisée et commandée par la seigneurie*), Paris 1825.

Gear 1824
Rev. E.G. Gear, *A Sermon, Delivered at the Taking up of a Collection, for the Benefit of the Greeks, in the Congregation of St. John's Church, in the Village of Ithaca, on the Evening of the 18th of January 1824*, Ithaca (Mack & Morgan) 1824.

Goldsmith, *s.d.*
O. Goldsmith, *The Complete Works of Oliver Goldsmith Comprising His Essays, Plays, and Poetical Works with a Memoir by W. Spalding* (new ed.), London (Blackwood & Co.), *s.d.*

Gordon 1832
T. Gordon, *History of the Greek Revolution*, vol. 1–2, Edinburgh & London 1832.
[Gosse] *Séjour*
M. Bouvier-Bron, *Le séjour en Grèce de Louis-André Gosse (1827–1829)*, undated manuscript donated by the author to the Gennadios Library, Athens.
[Gosse] 1920
[L.-A. Gosse], *Lettres du genevois Louis-André Gosse à sa mère pendant son séjour en Grèce (1826–1830) publiées avec une introduction et notes par E. Rothpletz*, Paris & Genève (Atar) 1920.
[Gosse & Cochrane] 1919
E. Rothplezt, *Correspondance entre deux Philhellenes: le Docteur Louis-André Gosse et l'Amiral Lord Cochrane (1827–1828)* (publiée avec une introduction et des notes), Paris & Genève (Atar) 1919.
Gravière de la 1876
J. de la Gravière, *La station du Levant* vol. 2, Paris (Plon) 1876.
Guiria 1842
J. Guiria, *Marco Botzaris, o l'amour della Patria ed altre cantische e poesie lirische*, Savona (Genoa) 1842.
[Hahn] 1870
G. Ludwig, *General-Lieutenant Hahns Memoiren über seine Beteiligung am griechischen Freiheitskampf aus den Jahren 1825–28 mit einem biographischen Wor- und Nachworte von dem Herausgeber* (Berner Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1870), 1–89.
[Hahn] 1871
G. Ludwig, *General-Lieutenant Hahns Memoiren über seine Beteiligung am griechischen Freiheitskampf aus den Jahren 1825–28 mit einem biographischen Wor- und Nachworte von dem Herausgeber* (Berner Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1871), 63–151.
Harring 1828
H.P. Harring, *Rhonghar Jarr. Fahrten eines Friesen in Dänemerk, Deutschland, Ungarn, Holland, Frankreich, Greichenland, Italien und der Schweiz*, 3 *mitt eimen Anhange: Fragmente über die Griechische Insurrection*, München (J. Lindauer) 1828.
Heideck 1897
K. von Heideck, *Die bayerische Philhellen-Fahrt 1826–1829 aus dem Handschriftlischen Rücklas des Generallieutnants Karl Freiherrn von Heideck*, I Teil in Darstellungen aus der bayerischen Kriegs- und Heeresgeschifte 6 herausgegeben vom K. B. Kriegsarkiv, München 1897 (Heft 6), 1–62.
Heideck 1898
K. von Heideck, *Die bayerische Philhellen-Fahrt 1826–1829 aus dem Handschriftlischen Rücklas des Generallieutnants Karl Freiherrn von Heideck*, II Teil in Darstellungen aus der bayerischen Kriegs- und Heeresgeschifte 7 herausgegeben vom K. B. Kriegsarkiv, München 1898

(Heft 7), 47–102.

Heinricius 1909

G. Heinricius, *Om A.I. Arwidssons förvisning från Åbo Akademi och bortflyttning från Finland* (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Litteratursällskap för Finland 88, Förhandlingar och uppsatser 22), Helsingfors 1909.

Heinricius 1911

G. Heinricius, *Skildringar från Åbo Akademi 1808–1828* (Skrifter utfivna av Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland 110), Helsingfors 1911.

Heinricius 1912

G. Heinricius, *Anteckningar om Immanuel Ilmoni enligt bref och dagböcker* (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland 109), Helsinki 1912.

Herzen 1842 [1956]

A. Herzen, *Selected Philosophical Works* (transl. L. Navrozov), Moscow (Foreign Language Publishing House) 1956.

Herzen [1973] (1982)

A. Herzen, *My Past and Thoughts. The Memoirs of Alexander Herzen. Abridged, with Preface and Notes* by D. Macdonald (transl. C. Garnett, revised by H. Higgens, Introduction by I. Berlin), Berkeley & Los Angeles & London (University of California Press) 1973 (1982).

Howe 1830 (1906)

S.G. Howe, *Letters and Journals*, Boston & London 1830 (1906).

Jourdain 1828

J.-P. Jourdain, *Mémoires historiques et militaires sur les événements de la Grèce, depuis 1822, jusqu'au combat de Navarin* vol. 1–2, Paris (Brissot-Thivars) 1828.

Kapnist 1821 or 1822 (1973)

В.В. Капнист, 'Воззвние на помощь греции' in Г.В. Ермаковой-Битнер (ed.), *В.В. Капнист, Избранные произведения* (Библиотека поета, советский писатель), Ленинград (Ленинградское отделение) 1973, 318–322.

Karoris 1957

Ν.Α. Καρωρις, *Απομνημονεύματα αγωνιστών του ᾽21* 13, Αθήνα ('Βιβλιοθήκι') 1957.

Karvelas 1901

Φ. Καρβελας, 'Ο φιλέλλεν Αὔγουστος Μάξιμιλιανος Μύρβεργ, *Ἁρμονία* (έπιστιμονικόν περιοδικόν σύγγραμμα) 2 (1901), 296-301.

Kiesewetter 1823

F. von Kiesewetter, *Reise eines teutschen Officiers nach Griechenland, seine dort erlebten Leiden und Schicksale und seine Rückkehr ins Vaterland zum Warnung von ihm selbst geschrieben*, Parchim 1823.

Kivi 1869 (1984)

A. Kivi, *Kootut teokset 3*, toimitusneuvosto: E. Kauppinen & S. Konsola & K. Laitinen, (Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seuran toimituksia 399), Helsinki (SKS) 1984.

Krohn 1875 (1887)

J. Krohn, *En finsk krigarens lefnadsöden. Maksimilian August Myhrbergs*

biografi, Stockholm (Carl Suneson) 1887.

Krøyer 1870
H. Krøyer, *Erindringer af Henrik Krøyers liv 1821–1838 efter forfatterens efterladte haandskrift*, Kjøbenhavn 1870.

Krug 1821a
W.T. Krug, *Griechenlands Wiedesgeburt. Ein Programm zum Anferstehungsfeste* von Wilhelm Traugot Krug, der Philosophie Professor in Leipzig, Leipzig (F.A. Brochaus) 1821.

Krug 1821b
W.T. Krug, *Letzter Wort über die griechische Sache. Ein Programm zum Michalis Festes von Wilhelm Traugott Krug*, Frankfurt & Leipzig (F. Brochaus & Co) 1821.

Krug 1822
T.W. Krug, *Neuester Stand der griechischen Sache*, dargestellt vom Professor Krug in Leipzig, Altenburg 1822.

Lassberg von1860
J. von Lassberg, *Markos Botsaris. Trauerspiel in funf Akten*, Mainz (Weissenberg) 1860.

Leake 1826
W.M. Leake, *An Historical Outline of the Greek Revolution with a Few Remarks on the Present State of Affairs in That Country*, London (J. Murray) 1826.

Lesur 1828
C.L. Lesur, *Annuaire historique universel pour 1827 avec un appendice*, Paris (La (Librairie universelle) 1828.

Libiger 1845
J.A. Libiger (Oberstlieutnant, Ridder av Danneborg), 'En graesk tjeneste tilbagelagt, militair löbebane', *Militairt repertorium* 2:2 (1844), Kjøbenhavn 1845, 216–220.

Lieber 1823
F. Lieber, *Tagebuch meines Aufenthaltes in Griechenland wahrend der Monate Januar, Februar und Mars im Jahre 1822*, Leipzig (F.A. Brodhaus) 1823.

Louvet 1824
Éd. Louvet (fils d'un deputé du peuple à la confédération du français), *Byron et la liberté, hymne de mort*, Paris (P. Renouard) 1824.

Löwenhielm 1927
C.G. Löwenhielm, *Minnen* 2, Stockholm (Bonniers) 1927.

Lydecken 1935
A. Lydecken, *Murad Bey "Raahen poika". Suomalaisen vapaustaistelijan seikkaluja Kreikassa* (Poikien seikkailukirjasto 61), Helsinki (Otava) 1935.

Müller 1872
A. Müller, *Erinnerungen an Griechenland vom Jahr 1822 von dem ehemaligen Philhellenen A. Müller*, Aarau (H.R. Sauerländer) 1872.

Nervander 1907
E. Nervander, *Fredr. Cygnaeus. Muistokuva. Elämäkerrallisia piirteitä ja*

muistiinpanoja (transl. by K.A. Petrelius & O. Manninen), Helsinki (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 117) 1907.

Niemi 1898
A. Niemi, *Kalevalan kokoonpano l. runokokous Väinämöisestä*, Helsinki 1898.

Nord 1918
P. Nord, *Major Myhbergs berättelser för Margareta, Beata och Gösta*, Helsingfors (Söderström) 1918.

Obodovskii 1828
П. Ободовский, *Хиосскій сирота*, Санкт Петербургъ (департамент народнаго просвщения) 1828.

Oliver 1826
J. Oliver, *Marcos Botzaris au moment Aracynthe*, Lausanne 1826.

Pac 1839–1841
M.-J. Pac, 'Stanislas II Auguste IV Poniatowski (Du septembre 1746 au 25 novembre 1795)' in L. Chodzko (ed.), *La Pologne historique, littéraire, monumentale* (redigée par une Societé de littérateurs), Paris (Fain et Thunot) 1839–1841, 146–204.

Paganel 1826
C. Paganel, *Le tombeau de Marcos Botzaris*, Paris 1826.

Palma 1826
A. Palma, *Greece Vindicated: in Two Letters by Count Alerino Palma to Which Are Added, by the Same Author, Critical Remarks on the Works Recently Published on the Same Subject by Messrs Bulwer, Emerson, Pecchio, Humphreys, Stanhope, Parry & Blaquiere*, London (J. Ridgway) 1826.

Parry 1825
W. Parry, *The Last Days of Lord Byron with his Lordship's Opinions on Various Subjects, Particularly on the State and Prospects of Greece*, London (Knight & Lacey) 1825.

Parry 1826
W. Parry, *The Last Days of Lord Byron with his Lordship's Opinions on Various Subjects, Particularly on the State and Prospects of Greece, to Which Are Added Reminiscences of Lord Byron Contained in Letters Addressed to the Honourable Colonel Leicester Stanhope*, Paris (A. & W. Galignari) 1826.

Perry 1882
T.S. Perry, *The Life and Letters of Francis Lieber Edited by T.S. Perry*, Boston (J.R. Osgood & Co) 1882.

Persat [1910]
[Persat], *Mémoires du Commandant Persat 1806 à 1844 publiés avec une introduction et des notes par Gustave Schlumberger*, Paris (Plon-Nourrit & Imprimeurs) 1910.

Pisa 1841
V. Pisa, *Résumé des luttes de l'armée régulière*, Athenès 1841.

Précis de la bataille Navarin 1829
Précis de la bataille Navarin, livrée le 20 octobre 1827; par les divisions combinées de l'Angleterre, de la France et de la Russie sous le commendement de l'Amiral Codrington, Paris (A Mesnier & Delaforest) 1829.
[Pushkin] Foticheva (ed.) 1989
А.С. Пушкин, *Дневники. Аутобиографическая проза*, Москва (Советская Россия) 1989.
Ramsay 1905
A. Ramsay, *Från baranår till silferhår. Skildringar* 5: *I Frankrike 1863*, Helsingfors (Söderström) 1905.
Raybaud 1824–1825
M. Raybaud, *Mémoires sur la Grèce, pour servir à l'histoire de la guerre de l'Indépendance, accompagnés de plans topographiques. Avec un introduction historique par Alph. Rabbe*, vols. 1–2, Paris (Tournachon-Molin) 1824–1825.
Rein 1895
Th. Rein, *Juhana Vilhelm Snellmanin elämä* (transl. O. Relander), vol. 1, Helsinki (Otava) 1895.
Rein 1899
Th. Rein, *Juhana Vilhelm Snellmanin elämä* (transl. O. Relander), vol. 2, Helsinki (Otava) 1899.
Rein 1909
Th. Rein, 'Maksimilian August Myhrberg', *Oma Maa* 4 (1909), 343–350.
Rothpletz 1900
E. Rothpletz, *Der Genfer Jean Gabriel Eynard als Philhellene (1821–1829)*, Zürich (von F. Schulthess) 1900.
Runeberg 1870
J.L. Runeberg, *Runebergs samlade skrifter* vol. 3, Stockholm (F. & G. Beijern) 1870.
Runeberg 1898 [1841]
J.L. Runeberg, *Julkvällen. En Dikt i Tre Sägner med Teckningar af Olle Hjortzbeg*, Stockholm (F. & G. Beijers) 1898.
[Runeberg] 1931
[J.L. Runeberg], J.E. Strömborg, *Biografiska anteckningar om Johan Ludwig Runeberg av J.E. Strömborg* IV: *Senare delen 1845–1860*, Ny upplaga utgiven av Karin Allardt (Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland 225), Helsingfors (Mercator) 1931.
Ryleev 1821 (1985)
К. Ф. Рылеев, 'А.П. Ермолову' in Т. И. Махалова (ed.), *Звезда плнительного счастья: стихотворения Декабристов* (Камеровское книги) 1985, 14–15.
Ryleev 1824 (1987)
К. Ф. Рылеев, 'На смерть Вейрона' in *К. Ф. Рылеев*, *Сочинения* (С.А. Фомичева: составление, вступительная статья, комментарии), Ленинград (Художественная литература) 1987, 73–75.

Schauman 1922
A. Schauman, *Från sex årtionden i Finland. Levnadsminnen*, vols. 1–2, Helsingfors (Schilds) 1922.
Schöldström 1897
B. Schöldström, 'Den tappre major Myhrberg' in *Skrifter för folket* 41, Stockholm (Huldbergs) 1897, 1–21.
Schöldström 1902
B. Schöldström, *Damer och knektar. Minnen och anteckningar*, Stockholm (Bonniers) 1902.
Schrebian 1825
C.M. Schrebian, *Aufenthalt in Morea, Attika, und Mehreren Inseln des Archipelöagus*, Leipzig (Hartmann) 1825.
Schweighaeuser 1821
J.-W. Schweighaeuser, *Discours sur les Services que les Grecs ont rendus à la civilization par J. G. Schweighaeuser fils.*, Paris (Firmin Didot) 1821.
Stabell 1824
J.H. Stabell, *Händelser paa en Reise til Morea og Constantinopel, beskrevne af J. H. Stabell*, Kjøbenhavn (C.A. Reinals) 1824.
Stourdza 1818
A. Stourdza, *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de l'Allemagne par M. de Stourdza, conseiller d'état de S.M.I. de toutes les Russies*, Paris 1818.
Stourdza 1823
A.S. Stourdza, *La Grèce en 1821 et 1822. Correspondance politique publiée par un grec*, Paris (P. Dufart) 1823 (original republished in the series of the Ιστορική και εθνολογική εταιρεία της Ελλάδος, Φιλελληνικών φυλλάδιων 110, Αθήνα 1974).
Stourdza 1913
A.A.C Stourdza, *L'Europe orientale et le role historique des Maurocordato 1660–1830 avec un appendice contenant des actes et documents historiques et displomatiques inedits*, Paris (Librarie Plon) 1913.
Sturdza-Edling 1888
R. Sturdza-Edling, *Mémoires de la comtesse Edling (née Stourdza) demoiselle d'honneur de sa majesté l'Impératrice Élisabeth Alexéevna*, Moscow (Imprimerie du S-t Synode) 1888.
Svea 1867
T-n, 'August Maximilian Myhrberg' in *Svea. Folk-kalendar för 1868*, Stockholm (Bonniers) 1867, 206–217.
Swan 1826
C. Swan, *Journal of a Voyage up the Mediterranean; Principally among the Islands of the Archipelago, and in Asia Minor: Including Many Interesting Particulars Relative to the Greek Revolution, Especially a Journey through Maina to the Camp of Ibrahim Pacha, Together with Observations on the Antiquities, Opinions, and Usages of Greece, as They Now Exist to Which Is Added an Essay on the Fanariotes*, vol. 2, London (C.&J. Rivington) 1826.
[Topelius] 1872
Z. Topelius, *The Surgeon's Stories*, Cycles I–III. An Historical Novel.

(Transl. by S. Borg & M.A. Brown), New York 1872.

Topelius 1876
Z. Topelius, 'Öfverste Fabviers Adjutant', *Sånger* 2 (nya blad), Stockholm (Bonnier) 1876, 105–111.

Topelius 1878
Z. Topelius, 'Gossen från Brahestad', *Läsning för barn* 3: *Visor och sagor*, Stockholm (A. Bonnier), 3. upplaga 1878, 133–138.

Topelius 1884
Z. Topelius, 'Bidrag till en karakteristik af Fredrik Cygnaeus och hans historiska arbeten', *Historiallinen Arkisto* 8 (Suomen Historiallinen Seura), Helsinki (SKS) 1884.

Topelius 1905
Z. Topelius, 'Raahen poika', *Lukemisia lapsille* 2, Porvoo (WSOY) 1905, 132–134.

[Topelius] 1922
Z. Topelius, *Självbiografiska teckningar utgivna av Paul Nyberg*, Helsingfors (Schilds) 1922.

[Topelius] 1952
The Tales of Ensign Stål, Helsinki (WSOY) 1952.

Toulouzan [=Czartorinski] 1830
M. Toulouzan [=Adam Czartorinski], *Essai sur la diplomatie. Manusrit d'un Philhellène, publie par M. Toulouzan*, Paris (Firmin Didot) & Marseille (Feissat Ainé et Demonschy) 1830.

Tzschirner 1821
H.G. Tzschirner, *Die Sache der Griechen, die Sache Europa's*, Leipzig (Bogel) 1821.

Urquhart 1833
D. Urquhart, *Turkey and Its Resources, Its Municipal Organisation and Free Trade; the State of English Commerce in the East, the New Administration of Greece, Its Revenue and National Possessions*, London 1833.

Urquhart 1838
D. Urquhart, *Spirit of the East. Illustrated in a Journal of Travels through Raoumelia during the Eventful Period*, London 1838.

Vizantios 1901
Χρ. Βυζάντιος, *Ἱστορία τῶν κατά τήν Ἑλληνικήν Ἐπανάστασιν ἐκστρατειῶν καί μαχῶν καί τῶν μετά ταῦτα συμβάντων, ὧν συμμετέσχεν ὁ Τακτικός Στρατός ἀπό τόν 1821 μέχρι τοῦ 1833* (ἔκδοσις 3), Αθήναις 1901.

Wacklin 1844 (1974)
S. E. Wacklin, *Hundrade minnen från Österbotten*, Stockholm 1844–1845, 6th edition, Jacobstad (Schildts) 1974.

Zampelios 1864
I. Zamplios, *Markos Botsaris. Tragedie in Five Acts* (translated in prose) in C. Schaub, *Poèmes grecs modernes*, traduit par C. Schaub 1864.

Secondary Sources

Aarne 1911
A. Aarne, *Finnische Märchenvarianten. Verzeichnis der bis 1908 gesammelten Aufzeichnungen*, FFC 5, Hamina 1911.
Aarne 1920
A. Aarne, *Finnische Märchenvarianten*, Ergänzungsheft I: *verzeichnis der in den Jahren 1908–18 gesammelten aufzeichnungen mit der Unterstützung der finnischen Litteraturgesellschaft* (Folklore Fellows Communications 33) Hamina (Suomalainen tiedeakatemia) 1920.
Aarne & Thompson 1981
A. Aarne & S. Thompson, *The Types of Folktale. A Classification and Bibliography* (Antti Aarne's *Verzeichnis der Märchrntypen*, FF Communications 3) Translated and Enlargened by Stith Thompson, FF Communications 148 (Academia Scientiarum Fennica), 2nd revision, Helsinki 1981.
Ahtisaari 1996
Speech by Martti Ahtisaari, President of the Republic of Finland at a banquet in honour of Mr Constantinos Stephanopoulos, President of the Hellenic Republic, Helsinki, October 8, 1996 (www.valtioneuvosti.fi/puheet).
Almqvist 1943
H. Almqvist, 'Hellener och filhellener. Det grekiska frihetkrigets förutsättningar', *Historisk tidskrift* 1943, 265–297.
Ambatsis 1989
Ambatsis, I. & J., 'Han stred för Grekland', *Hellenika* (Föreningen för svenska Institutets vänner) 47 (1989), 14–18.
Amos 1976
B. Amos, 'The concept of genre in folklore' in J. Pentikäinen & T. Juurikka (eds.), *Folk Narrative Research. Some Papers Presented at the VI Congress of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research* (Studia Fennica. Review of the Finnish Linquistics and Ethnology 20), Helsinki 1976, 33–43.
Angelomatis-Tsougarakis 1990
H. Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, *The Eve of the Greek Revival. British Travellers' Perceptions of the Early Nineteenth-century Greece*, London (Routledge) 1990.
Annist 1944
A. Annist, *Kalevala taideteoksena*, Porvoo 1944.
Apunen 1970
O. Apunen, *Hallituksen sanansaattaja. Virallinen lehti – Officiella Tidningen 1819–1969*, Helsinki 1970.
Argenti 1933
P.P. Argenti, *The Expedition of Colonel Fabvier to Chios Described in Contemporary Diplomatic Reports*, London (John Lane) 1933.
Asse 1900
E. Asse, 'L'Indépendance de la Grèce et les Poètes de la Restauration' in

Les petits romantiques. Antoine Fontaney – Jean Polonius – L'Indépendance de la Grèce at les poets de la restauration – Jules de Rességuier – Eduard D'Anglemont, Paris 1900.

Athanassoglou-Kallmyer 1989
N. Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, *French Images from the Greek War of Independence 1821–1830. Art and Politics under Restoration*, New Haven & London (Yale University Press) 1989.

Barth & Kehrig-Korn 1960
W. Barth & M. Kehrig-Korn, *Die Philhellenenzeit von der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zur Ermordung Kopodistrias am 9. Oktober 1831 mit einem ausführlichen Namenverzeichnis der europäischen und amerikanischen Philhellenen*, München (Max Hueber Verlag) 1960.

Berlin 1978
I. Berlin, *Russian Thinkers*, Edited by H. Hardy & A. Kelly, Introduction by A. Kelly, Harmondsworth (Penguin Books) 1978.

Billington 1966 (1970)
J.H. Billington, *The Icon and the Axe. An Interpretive History of Russian Culture*, New York (Vintage Books) 1966 (1970).

Bogdanopoulos 1987
Δ.Σ. Μπογδανόπουλος, *Φιλική Ἑταιρία, ἄγνοστές σελίδες*, Αθήνα 1987 (Metron) 1987.

Briggs 1970
K.M. Briggs, *A Dictionary of British Folk-tales in the English Language Incorporating the F.J. Norton Collection.* Part B, vol. 2: *Folk-legends*, London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1970.

Bruun 1963
P. Bruun, 'August Maximilian Myhrberg. Legend och verklighet', *Skrifter utgivna av svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland* 399. (*Historiska och litteraturhistoriska studier* 38), Helsingfors 1963, 145–221.

Bruun 1966
P. Bruun, 'Myhrberg i Grekland', *Skrifter utgivna av svenska litteratur-sällskapet i Finland* 413 (*Historiska och litteraturhistoriska studier* 41), Helsingfors 1966, 133–173.

Carlsson 1968a
S. Carlsson, 'Karl Johans fredspolitik' in *Den svenska historian*, vol. 8: *Karl Johanstiden och den borgerliga liberalismen 1809–1865*, Stockholm (Bonniers) 1968, 108–116.

Carlsson 1968b
'Konservativ reformpolitik' in *Den svenska historian*, vol. 8: *Karl Johanstiden och den borgerliga liberalismen 1809–1865*, Stockholm (Bonniers) 1968, 148–158.

Castrén, G. 1950
G. Castrén, *Johan Ludwig Runeberg. Natur och kultur*, Stockholm 1950.

Castrén 1944
L. Castrén, *Adolf Ivar Arwidsson. Nuori Arwidsson ja hänen ympäristönsä*, Helsinki (Otava) 1944.

Castrén 1951a
L. Castrén, *Adolf Ivar Arwidsson isänmaallisena herättäjänä* (Historiallisia tutkimuksia 35), Forssa (Suomen historiallinen seura) 1951.
Castrén 1951b
L. Castrén, 'Suomalaisten kirjoittelua Kreikan vapaussodasta', *Historiallinen aikakauskirja* 49 (1951), 1–13.
Cederberg 1928
E. Cederberg, *August Maksimilian Myrberg. Suomalaisen vapaustaistelijan elämäntarina*, Helsinki (Kirja) 1928.
Clogg 1992 (2002)
R. Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press) 1992 (2002).
Clogg 1994
R. Clogg, 'Some aspects of philhellenic press in Britain during the early nineteenth century' in E. Konstantinou (ed.), *Die europäische philhellenische Presse bis zur 1. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Frankfurt am Main & Berlin (Peter Lang) 1994, 19–30.
Cubitt 2000
G. Cubitt, 'Introduction: heroic reputations and exemplary lives' in G. Cubitt & A. Warren, *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives* (York Studies in Cultural History), Manchester (Manchester University Press) 2000, 1–26.
Dakin 1955
D. Dakin, *British and American Philhellenes during the War of Greek Independence, 1821–1833* (Εταιρεία μακεδονικών σπουδών 8), Θεσσαλονίκη 1955.
Davies 1996
N. Davies, *Europe. A History*, London (Pimlico) 1996.
Debidour 1904
A. Debidour, *Le Général Fabvier. Sa vie militaire et politique*, Paris (Librairie Plon) 1904.
Despotopoulos 1966
A.J. Despotopoulos, 'La révolution grecque, Alexandre Ypsilantis et la politique de la Russie', *Balkan Studies* 7 (1966), 395–410.
Diakonova & Vacuro 1981
N. Diakonova & V. Vacuro, 'Byron and Russia. Byron and nineteenth-century Russian literature' in P.G. Trueblood (ed.), *Byron's Political and Cultural Influence in Nineteenth-century Europe. A Symposium*, London & Basingstoke (Macmillan Press) 1981, 143–159.
Dimakis 1966
J. Dimakis, '"La Société de la morale chrétienne" de Paris et son action an faveur des Grecs lors de l'insurrection de 1821', *Balkan Studies* 7 (1966), 27–48.
Dimakis 1968
J. Dimakis, *La guerre de l'Indépendance grecque vue par la presse française (période de 1821 à 1824). Contribution à l'étude de l'opinion*

publique et du mouvement philhellénique en France (Institute for Balkan Studies 102), Thessalonique 1968.

Dimopoulos 1962
A.G. Dimopoulos, *L'opinion publique française et le révolution grecque (1821–1827)* (Publications du Centre Européen Universitaire, Collection des Mémoires), Nancy 1962.

Droulia 1974
L. Droulia, *Philhellénisme, ouvrages inspirés par la guerre de l'Indépendence grecque 1821–1831. Répertoire bibliographique*, Athènes 1974.

Droulia 1992
L. Droulia, 'Philhellenism and Greek Writings for the Cause' in E. Konstantinou (ed.), *Europäisher Philhellenismus, die europäische philhellenische Literatur bis zur 1. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Philhellenische Studien 2), Frankfurt am Main & New York (Peter Lang) 1992, 41–52.

Dundes 1962
A. Dundes, 'From etic to emic units in the structural study of folktales' *Journal of Americal Folklore* 75 (1962), 95–105.

Dundes 1980
A. Dundes, *Interpreting Folklore*, Bloomington & London (Indiana University Press) 1980.

Dundes 1987
A. Dundes. 'Editor's Preface' in D.S. Azzolina, *Tale Type- and Motif-Indexes. An Annotated Bibliography*, New York & London (Garland publishing) 1987.

Ekelund (1931) 1986
Th. Ekelund, 'Förord' in C.A. Gottlund, *Dagbok över mina vandringar på Wermlands och Solörs finnskogar 1821*, Kirkenär & Malung (Gruetunet Museum & SKS) 1986, 5–8.

Etienne & Etienne1992
R. & F. Etienne, *The Search for Ancient Greece*, London & New York (Thames & Hudson) 1992 (French original 1990).

Figes 2002
O. Figes, *Natasha's Dance. A Cultural History of Russia*, London & New York (Allen Lane) 2002.

Friedel 1947
F. Friedel, *Francis Lieber. Nineteenth-Century Liberal*, Louisiana (Louisana State University Press) 1947.

Goldhill 2002
S. Goldhill, *Who Needs Greek? Contests in the Cultural History of Hellenism*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press) 2002.

Grimm 1965
G. Grimm, *Studien zum Philhellenismus* (Habilitationsschrift, Ludwig Maximilian-Universität), München 1965.

Grimm 1993
G. Grimm, 'Griechenbegeisterung und Bayerns Schulen' in G. Grimm & T. Nikolaou (eds.), *Bayerns Philhellenismus. Symposium an der Ludwig Maximillians-Universität, München 22. und 23. November 1991*, München 1993, 97–111.
Hannila 1965
V. Hannila. 'A.M. Myrberg – kiistelty Raahen poika', *Raahen seutu*, 4 February 1965.
Hauser 1990
C. Hauser, *Anfänge burgerlicher Organisation Philhellenismus und Frühliberalismus in südwest Deutschland* (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtwissenschaft 87), Göttingen (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht) 1990.
Heckscher 1949
E.F. Heckscher, *Sveriges ekonomiska historia från Gustav Vasa*, vol. 2,2: *Det moderna Sveriges grundläggning*. Stockholm (Bonniers) 1949, 692–701.
Herzfield 1987
M. Herzfield, *Anthropology through the Looking-Glass*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press) 1987.
Heyer 1994
F. Heyer, 'Professor Wilhelm Taugot Krug in Leipzig und Liebarzt Hufe Land in Berlin: Ihre philhellenischen Aufrufe und ihr Presse-echo' in E. Konstantinou (ed.) 1994, *Die europäische philhellenische Presse bis zur 1. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Frankfurt am Main & Berlin (Peter Lang) 1994, 67–76.
Highet 1949 (1967)
G. Highet , *The Classical Tradition. Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature*, London & Oxford & New York (Oxford University Press) 1949 (1967).
Hobsbawm 1962 (2003)
The Age of Revolution. Europe 1787–1848, London (Abacus) 1962 (2003).
Hoskins 2001
G. Hoskins, *Russia and the Russians. A History*, Harmondsworth (Allen Lane, the Penguin Press) 2001.
Howarth 1976
D.A. Howarth, *The Greek Adventure. Lord Byron and Other Eccentrics in the War of Independence*, London (Collins) 1976.
Jaeckel 1994
K. Jaeckel, 'L'engagement philhellène et l'image de la Grèce dans la littérature française de 1770–1830' in A. Noe (ed.), *Der Philhellenismus in der westeuropäischen Literatur 1730–1830* (Internationale Forschungen zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft 6), Amstardam & Atlanta (Radopi) 1994, 87–109.
Jägerskiöld 1987–1989
S. Jägerskiöld, *s.v.* 'Myhrberg, August Maximilian' in *Svensk biografiskt lexikon under redaktion av G. Nilzén*, vol. 26, Stockholm 1987–1989.

Järvinen 1982
I.-R. Järvinen, 'Legendat' in I.-R. Järvinen & S. Knuuttila (eds.), *Kertomusperinne. Kirjoituksia proosaperinteen lajeista ja tutkimuksesta* (Tietolipas 90), Pieksämäki (SKS) 1982, 141–158.
Jörgensen 1925
A.Jörgensen, 'Meddelanden och aktstycken. Studenternas språkpetition år 1821', *Historisk tidskrift för Finland* 10,4 (1925), 175–182.
Jussila 2004
O. Jussila, *Suomen suuriruhtinaskunta 1809–1917*, Helsinki (WSOY) 2004.
Kampouroglou 1957
K.M. Καμπούρογλου (transl.), *H. Fornèzy, Το μνημείον των Φιλελλήνων*, in Απομνημονεύματα αγωνιστών του ᾽21 vol. 20, Αθήνα (Βιβλιοθήκι) 1957.
Klein 2000
N. Klein, "*L'humanité, le christianisme, et la liberté". Die Internationale philhellenische Vereinsbewegung der 1820er Jahre* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische geschichte Mainz Abteilung für Universalgeschichte 178), Mainz (von Zabern) 2000.
Klinge 1967
M. Klinge, *Kansalaismielen synty. Suomen ylioppilaiden aatteet ja järjestäytyminen ilmentämässä yleisen mielipiteen ja kansalaistietoisuuden kehittymistä v. 1858–1871*, Helsinki (Werner Söderström) 1967.
Klinge 1978
M. Klinge, *Ylioppilaskunnan historia* I *1828–1852*: *Turun ajoista 1840-luvun aktivismiin*, Helsinki 1978 (Vaasa Oy).
Klinge 1983
M. Klinge, 'Alla finnar är svenskar', M. Engman & H. Stenius, *Svenskt i Finland* 1. *Studier i språk och nationalitet efter 1860* (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland 511), 42–49.
Klinge 1990 (1992)
M. Klinge, *Let Us Be Finns. Essays on History* (transl. By M.G. Abrahamsen & *al.*), Helsinki (Otava) 1990 (1992).
Klinge 1997
M. Klinge, *Keisarin Suomi* (transl. Marjatta Klinge), Helsinki (Schildts) 1997.
Klinge 1998
M. Klinge, *Idylli ja uhka. Topeliuksen aatteita ja politiikkaa*, Helsinki (WSOY) 1998.
Knös 1949
B. Knös, 'Officiers suédois dans la guerre d'Indépendance de la Grèce', *L'Hellenisme contemporain*, 2ème ser., 3ème année, fasc. 4–6 (1949), 319–334, 404–416, 535–554.
Knuuttila 1982
'Kaskut ja vitsit' in in I.-R. Järvinen & S. Knuuttila (eds.), *Kertomusperinne. Kirjoituksia proosaperinteen lajeista ja tutkimuksesta* (Tietolipas 90), Pieksämäki (SKS) 1982, 106–125.

Konomos 1984
D. Konomos, *George Tertsetis and His Surviving Works*, Athens 1984.
Konstantinou 1989
E. Konstantinou, 'Trägerschichten des Philhellenismus und Frühliberalismus in Europa' in E. Konstantinou & U. Wiedenmann (ed.), *Europäischer Philhellenismus. Ursachen und Wirkunden* (Philhellenische Studien 1), Neuried (Hieronymus) 1989, 53–84.
Konstantinou 1992
E. Konstantinou (ed.), *Europäische Philhellenismus. Die europäische philhellenische Literatur bis zur 1. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Philhellenische Studien 2), Frankfurt am Main & New York (Peter Lang) 1992.
Konstantinou 1995
E. Konstantinou (ed.), *Europäischre Philhellenismus. Antike griechische Motive in der heutigen europäische Literatur* (Philhellenische Studien 4), Frankfurt am Main & New York (Peter Lang) 1995.
Koukkou 1964
H. Koukkou, *Philomousos etaireis*, Athina 1964.
Lappalainen 1997
I. Lappalainen, 'Raahelaisten oma tuntematon sotilas', *Kaleva* 2 March 1997.
Lavisse 1911
E. Lavisse, *Histoire de France illustrée* VII:2, Paris 1911.
Lehtipuro 1982
O. Lehtipuro, 'Historialliset tarinat' in I.-R. Järvinen & S. Knuuttila (eds.), *Kertomusperinne. Kirjoituksia proosaperinteen lajeista ja tutkimuksesta* (Tietolipas 90), Pieksämäki (SKS) 1982, 44–55.
Lincoln 1978
W.B. Lincoln, *Nicholas I. Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russians*, London (Allen Lane) 1978.
Lloyd 1947
B. Lloyd, *Lord Cochrane*, London 1947.
Löschberg 1994
W. Löschberg, 'Den ganzen Tag mord faul. Krugs Aufrufe zur Unterstützung des griechischen Befreiungskampfes und die Erlebenisse und Schicksale des "Demagogen" und Philhellenen Franz Lieber', in E. Konstantinou (ed.), *Die europäische philhellenische Presse bis zur 1. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Frankfurt am Main & Berlin (Peter Lang) 1994, 125–138.
Loukatos 1989
S. Loukatos, '"Памятник" русским филеллинам' in *Политические, общественные и культурные связи народов СССП и Греции* 19–20 (Балканский иследования 11), 1989, 74–86.
Marling 1989
E. Marling, 'Svenska filhellener', *Hellenika* (Föreningen för Svenska Institutets vänner) 47 (1989), 2–9.

Mazarakis Aenian 1975
J.C. Mazarakis Aenian, 'Introduction' to *Philhellenika 1821–1831* (Ιστορική και εθνολογική εταιρεία της Ελλάδος), Αθήνα 1975, 58–59.
Montin-Talgren 1915
J.M. Montin-Talgren, 'Lisäpiirre August Maximilian Myhrbergin luonnekuvaan', *Kotiseutu* 5 (1915), 29–31.
Moser-Rath 1977
E. Moser-Rath, 'Anekdote' in K. Ranke *& alii* (herausgegeben), *Enzyklopädie des Märchens. Handwörterbuch zur historischen und verleichenden Erzählforschung*, Band 1, Berlin & New York (Walter de Gryter) 1977.
Mygdalis 1992
L. Mygdalis, 'Der Philhellenismus in Deutschland' in E. Konstantinou (ed.), *Europäisher Philhellenismus, die europäische philhellenische Literatur bis zur 1. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Philhellenische Studien 2), Frankfurt am Main & New York (Peter Lang) 1992.
Nuormaa & Rein 1909
S. Nuormaa & E. Rein, *Adolf Ivar Arwidssonin tutkimuksia ja kirjoitelmia.* (Suomalaisuuden syntysanoja. Kokoelma kansallisten suurmiestemme kirjoituksia 2), Helsinki (SKS) 1909.
Olin 1990
K.-G. Olin, *Våra första västindienfarare*, Jakobstad (Olimex) 1990.
O'Mara 1989
P. O'Mara, *Политическая биография поэта-декабриста* (перевод А.Л. Величанского), Москва (Прогресс) 1989.
Oteta 1966
A. Oteta, 'Les grandes puissances at le mouvement Hétairiste dans les principautes Roumanies', *Balkan Studies* 7 (1966), 379–394.
Palmqvist 1928
A. Palmqvist, *Karl Axel Gottlunds och prosten J. Boëthii brev om Finnmarkerna i Dalarne och Bergslagen*, Filipstad 1928.
Pamuk 2000
Ş. Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*. New York (Cambridge University Press) 2000.
Pappas 1930
Sp. V. Pappas, 'Le "Monument" des Philhellènes: précieux document et pieuse cérémonie' in *Messager d'Athènes* no. 16, juillet 1930.
Pentikäinen 1989
J. Pentikäinen, *Kalevala Mythology* (transl. by R. Poom), Bloomington & Indianapolis (Indiana University Press) 1989.
Phillips 1914 (1920)
W.A. Phillips, *The Confederation of Europe. A Study of the European Alliance, 1813–1823 as an Experiment in the International Organization of Peace* (2nd edition), London (Longmans, Green & Co) 1920.
Propp 1968
V. Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale* (transl. L. Scott), Austin (University

of Texas Press) 1968.

Propp 1984
V. Propp, *Theory and History of Folktale* (transl. A.Y. Martin & R.P. Martin, ed. A. Lieberman), Minneopolis (University of Minnesota Press) 1984.

Protopsaltis 1957
Ε.Γ. Πρωτοψάλτης, 'Πρόλογος' in K.M. Καμπούρογλου (transl.), H. Fornèzy, Τό μνεμεῖον τῶν φιλελλήνων', in *Απομνημονεύματα αγωνιστών του ΄21* vol. 20, Αθήνα (Βιβλιοθήκι) 1957.

Prousis 1982
Th.C. Prousis, *Russian Cultural Response to the Greek War of Independence 1821–1830,* Minneapolis (University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor) 1982.

Prousis 1994
Th.C. Prousis, *Russian Society and the Greek Revolution,* DeKalb (Northern Illinois University Press) 1994.

Puokka 1979
J. Puokka, *Paloon Stenvallit,* Helsinki (Otava) 1979.

Raglan 1990
Lord Raglan, 'The hero. A study in tradition, myth, and drama' in O. Ranke & Lord Raglan & A. Dundes. *In Quest of the Hero,* Princeton (Princeton University Press) 1990, 87–175.

Raizis 1994
M.B. Raizis, 'Philhellenism in English literature' in A. Noe (ed.), *Der Philhellenismus in der westeuropäischen Literatur 1730–1830* (Internationale Forschungen zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft 6), Amsterdam & Atlanta (Radopi) 1994, 111–113.

Riasanovsky 1959
N.V. Riasonovsky, *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia, 1825–1855,* Berkeley & Los Angeles (University of California Press) 1959.

Robinson 1921
G. Robinson, *Some Account of David Urquhart,* Oxford (Blackwell) 1921.

Ros 1997
E. Ros, *S:t Johannes kyrkogård – en vägvisare i ord och bild,* Stockholm 1997.

Roussos-Milidounis 1988
M.N. Roussos-Milidoudis, 'Τό Μνημείο Φιλελλήνων στό Ναύπλιο', *Σύγχρονα Βήματα* 68 (1988), 224–254.

Rudberg 1970
S.Y. Rudberg, 'Gossen från Brahestad. Den siste vikingen', *SDb,* 14 September 1970.

Sérieyx 1933
W. Sérieyx, *Un Géant de l'action: Le Général Fabvier,* Paris (Édtions Tallandier) 1933.

Sihvo 2002
H. Sihvo, *Elävä Kivi. Aleksis Kivi aikanansa* (Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden

seuran toimituksia 889), Helsinki (SKS) 2002.

Simmons 1935
E.J. Simmons, *English Literature and Culture in Russia (1553–1840)*, (Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature 12), Cambridge (Harvard University Press) 1935.

Simopoulos 1999 vol. 2
Κ. Σιμόπουλος, *Πως είδαν οι ξένοι την Ελλάδα του ᾽21. ᾽Απομνημονεύματα, χρονικά, ἡμερολόγια, ὑπομνήματα, ἀλληλογραφία ἐθελοντῶν, διπλοματῶν, εἰδικῶν ἀπεσταλμένων, περιηγητῶν, πρακτόρων κ.ἄ*, τόμος 2 (έκδοση 4): *1822–1823*, Αθήνα (Στάχυ) 1999.

Simopoulos 1999 vol. 5
Κ. Σιμόπουλος, *Πως είδαν οι ξένοι την Ελλάδα του ᾽21. ᾽Απομνημονεύματα, χρονικά, ἡμερολόγια, ὑπομνήματα, ἀλληλογραφία ἐθελοντῶν, διπλοματῶν, εἰδικῶν ἀπεσταλμένων, περιηγητῶν, πρακτόρων κ.ἄ*, τόμος 5 (έκδοση 2): *1826–1829*, Αθήνα (Στάχυ) 1999.

Singleton 2002[2] (1989)
F. Singleton, *A Short History of Finland* (revised and updated by A.F. Upton), Cambridge (Cambridge University Press) 2002.

Sjögren 1967
B. Sjögren, *Ön som Sverige sålde*, Uddevalla (Zindermans) 1967.

Sokoleva 1976
V.K. Sokoleva, 'The interaction of the historical legend with other folkloristic genres' in J. Pentikäinen & T. Juurikka (eds.), *Folk Narrative Research. Some Papers Presented at the VI Congress of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research* (Studia Fennica. Review of the Finnish Linquistics and Ethnology 20), Helsinki 1976, 58–66.

Sovelius-Sovio 2001
E. Sovelius-Sovio, 'Suomalaisia Kreikan vapaustaistelussa', *Helikon* 4 (2001), 10–18.

Spencer 1954 (1974)
T. Spencer, *Fair Greece, Sad Relic. Literary Philhellenism from Shakespeare to Byron*, Bath (Cedric Chivers) 1954 (1974).

St. Clair 1972
W. St. Clair, *That Greece Might still Be Free. The Philhellenes in the War of Independence*, London (Oxford University Press) 1972.

Stenius 1987
H. Stenius, *Frivilligt jämlikt samfällt. Föreningsväsendets utveckling i Finland fram till 1900-talets början med speciell hänsyn till massaorganisationsprincipens genombrott* (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland 545), Helsingfors 1983.

Ståre 1945
E. Ståre, 'Sjörustningar och expeditioner under åren 1815–80' in O. Lybeck *et al.* (eds.), *Svenska flottans historia. Örlogsflottan i ord och bild från dess grundlagging under Gustav Vasa fram till våra dagar*, vol. 3, Malmö (A.-B. Allhems) 1945, 245–266.

Svoronos 1972 (1994)
Ν.Γ. Σβορώνος, *Επισκόπηση της νεοελληνηκής ιστορίας* (transl. A. Asdrachas), Αθήνα (Θεμέλιο) 1994 (French original *Histoire de la Grèce Moderne*, Paris 1972).
Tandefelt 2002
M. Tandefelt, 'Fyra språk på en marknad' in M. Tandefelt (ed.), *Vyborgs fyra språk under sju sekel*, Jyväskylä (Schillds), 11–67.
Thompson 1932–1936
S. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature. A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folk-Tales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Medieval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Just-Books, and Local Legends* (Indiana University Studies vols. 19, 21, 22, Studies nos. 96, 97, 100, 101, 105, 106, 108–112), Bloomington (Indiana University Press) 1932–1936.
Thompson 1955–1958
S. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature. A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folk-Tales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Medieval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Just-Books, and Local Legends*, Copenhagen (Rosenkilde & Gagger) 1955–1958.
Thompson 1984 (1949–1950)
S. Thompson, 'Motif' and 'Type' in M. Leach & J. Fried (eds.), *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*, New York (Harper & Row) 1984 (1949–1950).
Thorén 1993
L. Thorén, *Det hände vid Johannes*, Stockholm (Forum) 1993.
Tommila 1988a
P. Tommila, 'Suomen sanomalehdistön alkuvaiheet' in P. Tommila (ed.), *Suomen lehdistön historia* 1: *Sanomalehdistön vaiheet vuoteen 1905*, Kuopio (Sanomalehtien liitto Ry) 1988, 23–76.
Tommila 1988b
P. Tommila, 'Yhdestä lehdestä sanomalehdistöksi 1809–1859' in P. Tommila (ed.), *Suomen sanomalehdistön historia* I: *Sanomalehdistön vaiheet vuoteen 1905*, Kuopio (Sanomalehtien liitto Ry) 1988, 79–266.
Uther 1996
H.-J. Uther (ed.), Brüder Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* I, München (Diederichs) 1996.
Vayena 1955
Θ. Βαγένα, 'Ο φιλέλλην Αλμέϊντα και ο πορτογαλικός φιλελληνισμός' in *Φιλελληνικά* 1 (Ιαν.–Μαρτ.) 1955, 35–45.
Veremis 1997
Th. Veremis, *The Military in Greek Politics. From Independence to Democracy*, London (Hurst & Co) 1997.
Voigt 1972
V. Voigt, 'Some problems of narrative structure universals in folklore' *Acta Ethographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 21 (1972), 57–72.
Voigt 1973
V. Voigt, 'Position d'un problème: La hiérarchie des genres dans le

folklore' *Semiotica* 7:2 (1973), 135–141.

Walker 1969
F.A. Walker, 'K.F. Ryleyev: A self-sacrifice for revolution', *The Slavonic and East European Review* 47 (1969), 436–446.

Wästberg 1994
P. Wästberg, *Kung Johannes*, Stockholm (Höjerings) 1994.

Webb 1982
T. Webb, *English Romantic Hellenism 1700–1824* (Literature in Context), Manchester (Manchester University Press) 1982.

Venturi 1952 (1966)
F. Venturi, *Roots of Revolution. A History of the Populist and Socialist Movements in Nineteenth Century Russia* (with an Introduction by I. Berlin), New York (Grosset & Dunlap) 1952 (1966).

Wikén 1941
E. Wikén, 'Sveriges hjälp till grekerna på 1820-talet' *Svensk tidskrift* 28 (1941), 347–352.

Wikén 1958
E. Wikén, 'Med svenskar i 1800-talets Hellas' in R. Henzel (ed.), *Mitt Grekland*, Stockholm 1958, 81–92.

Wikén 1989
E. Wikén, 'Två filhellenbrev' in *Hellenika* (Föreningen för svenska Institutets vänner) 47 (1989) 10–13.

Wells 1998
B. Wells, 'Visitors from the North. Early Swedish travellers to Greece' in *Visitors from the North. Early Swedish Travellers to Greece*, Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundations, Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens 23.9.–24.10.1998, Athens 1998.

Woodhouse 1969
C.M. Woodhouse, *The Philhellenes*, London (Hodder & Stoughton) 1969.

Woodhouse 1973
C.M. Woodhouse, *Capodistria. The Founder of the Greek Independence*, London (Oxford University Press) 1973

Woodhouse 1989
C.M. Woodhouse, 'The British Philhellenes' in E. Konstantinou & U. Wiedenmann (ed.), *Europäischer Philhellenismus. Ursachen und Wirkunden* (Philhellenische Studien 1), Neuried (Hieronymus) 1989, 87–99.

Woodhouse 1992
C.M. Woodhouse, 'English Literary Philhellenes' in E. Konstantinou (ed.), *Europäisher Philhellenismus, die europäische philhellenische Literatur bis zur 1. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Philhellenische Studien 2), Frankfurt am Main & New York (Peter Lang) 1992, 149–158.

Yalouri 2001
E. Yalouri, *The Acropolis. Global Fame, Local Claim*, Oxford & New York (Berg) 2001.

Reference Books

Dictionnaire génêral de biographie
Ch. Dezobry & Th. Bachelett (eds.), *Dictionnaire génêral de biographie et l'istoire de géographie ancienne et moderne*, Paris (Delagrave) 1880.

Dictionary of British Folk-tales
K.M. Briggs, *A Dictionary of British Folk-tales in the English Language Incorporating the F.J. Norton Collection.* Part B, vol. 2: *Folk-legends*, London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1970–1971.

Enzyklopädie des Märchen
K. Ranke & *alii* (herausgegeben), *Enzyklopädie des Märchens. Handwörterbuch zur historischen und verleichenden Erzählforschung*, Berlin & New York (Walter de Gryter) 1977– 2003.

Nouvelle bibliographie général
M. Hoefer (ed.), *Nouvelle bibliographie générale*, Copenhagen (Firmin Didot) 1968.

Oma Maa
E.G. Palmén *et al.* (eds.), *Oma Maa. Tietokirja Suomen kodeille*, Porvoo (WSOY) 1909.

Oxford DNB
H.C.G. Matthew & B. Harrison (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography in Association of the British Academy from the Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, Oxford (Oxford University Press) 2004.

Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend
M. Leach & J. Fried (eds.), *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*, New York (Harper & Row) 1984 (1949–1950).

Motif-Index of Folk Literature 1932–1936
S. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature. A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folk-Tales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Medieval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Just-Books, and Local Legends* (Indiana University Studies vols. 19, 21, 22, Studies nos. 96, 97, 100, 101, 105, 106, 108–112), Bloomington 1932–1936.

Motif-Index of Folk Literature 1955–1958
S. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature. A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folk-Tales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Medieval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Just-Books, and Local Legends*, Copenhagen (Rosenkilde & Gagger) 1955–1958.

Svensk biografiskt lexikon
Svensk biografiskt lexikon under redaktion av G. Nilzén, Stockholm 1987–1989.

Index