

Othon I, King of Greece (1832–1862)¹

I. Prolegomena: A Bavarian Prince on the Greek Throne²

July 2022 marked the 155th death anniversary of *Othon I* (*Όθων Α΄*), the former King of Greece and former Prince of Bavaria. This should be taken as an opportunity to present in more detail his role in the implementation of the Greek Constitution of 1844 (admittedly born through a revolution), which was to remain in force for the Hellenic state for 20 years (until the successor Constitution of 1864).

Prince *Otto Friedrich Ludwig* von Wittelsbach, the second-born son of the then Crown Prince *Ludwig* (later *Ludwig I*) of Bavaria and *Therese* of Saxe-Hildburghausen, was born in 1815. At the time, no one could have imagined that he would one day ascend a throne in a state completely foreign to him.

The Hellenic revolution against the Ottoman yoke begun in 1821 and would bear fruit a few years later; Count *Ioannis Kapodistrias* (1776–1831; written with 'K' according to the Greek way of spelling), formerly the Tsar's Minister of Foreign Affairs, was elected Governor of Greece in 1827 (the Greek independence being internationally recognised by the London Protocol of 22 January/3 February 1830), and was assassinated in 1831 – nevertheless, the need arose to find a new head of state for Greece. Following the “spirit” of the times, this head of state had to be a Mon-

¹Cf. in the following *Parasbu, Dimitrios*, König Othon I. und die griechische Verfassung von 1844 und weitere Jubiläumsschriften zum 80. Geburtstag von Jörg-Detlef Kühne, Berlin 2022, pp. 1 et seqq.

For reasons of authenticity, the dates in this section follow both the Julian and Gregorian calendars.

²The following historical, genealogical and royal information is taken from *Parasbu, Dimitrios*, Genealogien europäischer Fürstenhäuser, Kap. I: Griechenland / Kap. XII: Bayern (unpublished).

arch – the Great Powers (United Kingdom, France, Russia) desired such person to be a member of a non-Great Power dynasty.³

Ludwig I of Bavaria was a Philhellene known beyond the borders of his Kingdom;⁴ it was not surprising that the Great Powers (each represented in Greece by its own political party, namely the “English,” the “French,” and the “Russian”)⁵ ultimately chose his second-born son. In 1832, Prince *Otto* officially became King *Othon I*, as part of the revision of the London Protocol (signed on 25 April/7 May 1832).⁶

In the first few years, the young Monarch ruled under a Regency Council (initially consisting of Count *Josef Ludwig von Armanstperg*,

³Cf. for the relevant background especially *Philaretos, Georgios N.*, *Foreign Rule and Monarchy in Hellas (Ξενοκρατία και Βασιλεία εν Ελλάδι (1821–1897))*, Athens 1897, pp. 1 et seqq. (in Greek).

⁴Cf., for instance, *Aliberti, Sotiria*, *Amalia the Queen of Greece 1818–1875 (Αμαλία η Βασίλισσα της Ελλάδος 1818–1875)*, Athens 1896, p. 22 (in Greek); such was also emphasised by King *Pavlos I.* of the Hellenes on 20 December 1959 in Athens, in the context of being visited by Wittelsbach representatives in order to receive *Othon's* regalia; cf. *Hourmouziou, Stelio*, *No Ordinary Crown. A Biography of King Paul of the Hellenes*, London 1972, especially p. 313.

⁵Cf. for that *Vlachos, Nikolaos*, *The Birth of the English, the French and the Russian Party (Η γένεσις του αγγλικού, του γαλλικού και του ρωσικού κόμματος)*, in: *Review “Archives of Economic and Social Sciences” (Αρχείον Οικονομικών και Κοινωνικών Επιστημών)*, Vol. 19 (τ. 19) (1939), pp. 25 et seqq. (in Greek).

⁶Cf., for instance, *Strong, Frederick*, *Greece as a Kingdom, Or A Statistical Description of that Country: From the Arrival of King Otho, in 1833, Down to the Present Time; Drawn Up from Official Documents and Other Authentic Sources*, London 1842, basically pp. 1 et seqq; *Pipinelis, Panagiotis N.*, *The Monarchy in Hellas, 1833–1843 (Η Μοναρχία εν Ελλάδι, 1833–1843)*, Athens 1932, already pp. 1 et seqq. (in Greek); *Laios, Georgios*, *The Election of Othon as King of Greece and its Legitimation through the National Assembly in Pronoia (Η εκλογή του Όθωνος ως βασιλέως της Ελλάδος και η επικύρωσις αυτής υπό της εν Πρνοία Εθνοσύνελεύσεως)*, in: *Review “Journal of the Historical and Ethnological Union of Greece” (Δελτίον της Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρίας της Ελλάδος, ΔΙΕΕΕ)*, Vol. 19 (τ. 19) (1967–1971), pp. 167 et seqq. (in Greek); *Nakos, Georgios P.*, *The Political Regime of Greece under Othon until the Constitution of 1844. From the Democratic Ideals of the Revolution of 1821 to the Absolute Monarchy (Το πολιτειακόν καθεστώς της Ελλάδος επί Όθωνος μέχρι του Συντάγματος του 1844. Εκ των δημοκρατικών ιδεωδών της Επαναστάσεως του 1821 εις την απόλυτον μοναρχίαν)*, Thessaloniki 1974, p. 97 (in Greek); *Petridis, Pavlos V.*, *Political and Constitutional Institutions in Modern Greece (1821–1843) (Πολιτικοί και συνταγματικοί θεσμοί στη νεότερη Ελλάδα (1821–1843))*, Thessaloniki 1990, p. 208 (in Greek).

Karl Wilhelm von Heideck and *Georg Ludwig von Maurer*).⁷ Extensive reforms were implemented in every facet of the administration,⁸ although these also included strongly paternalistic elements towards the Greeks (for example, the Kingdom's Government Gazette was issued bilingually, in Greek and German, until 1836).

After the Monarch came of age, he enjoyed a purely absolutist reign,⁹ which even culminated in him becoming the Greek Prime Minister (!) on two occasions (and for a total of six years).¹⁰ This, however, did not go unanswered and ultimately led to the adoption of the Greek Constitution of 1844.

II. The Greek Constitution of 1844 in a short Analysis

1. Genesis of the Constitution as well as Introductory Remarks on its Structure of Powers¹¹

As a result of the revolution of 3/15 September 1843, on the square in front of the then Royal Palace (today's Parliament/"Vouli" building) – a square that was soon renamed "Syntagma (=Constitution) Square" – the Monarch was forced to appoint a transitional cabinet (he chose *Andreas Metaxas* at its helm, the leader of the "Russian Party", whom he considered the most moderate), which called elections on 7/19 September to convene a Constitutional Convention for the autumn (October-

⁷About them cf. *Petridis* (Fn. 6), p. 213 (in Greek).

Cf. further especially *Mendelssohn-Bartboldy, Karl*, Die Regenschaft in Griechenland, 1833–1835, in: *Historische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 28, Nr. 3 (1872), pp. 1 et seqq.; *Petrooulos, John Anthony*, Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece, 1833–1843, Princeton 1968, especially pp. 153 et seqq./218 et seqq.; *Anastasiadis, Georgios*, Parliament and Monarchy in Greece (*Κοινοβούλιο και Μοναρχία στην Ελλάδα*), in: *same author*, Parliament and Monarchy in Greece (*Κοινοβούλιο και Μοναρχία στην Ελλάδα*), Thessaloniki 1995, pp. 11 et seqq. (17; in Greek).

⁸Cf. especially *Nakos* (Fn. 6), pp. 109 et seqq./192 et seqq. (in Greek).

⁹Cf., for instance, *Anastasiadis* (Fn. 7), p. 17 (in Greek).

¹⁰1837–1841 as well as 1841–1843.

¹¹Cf., in regard to the following information about political parties, political developments and parliamentary elections in Greece, *Parashu, Dimitrios*, Geschichte der griechischen Parlamentswahlen: Kap. I (Periode 1843–1862) (unpublished).

November) of 1843.¹² This Convention had to ensure both the creation and implementation of a Constitution for Greece.

This election (still under the electoral law of 4/16 March 1829, which provided for an indirect popular vote with the participation of men – specifically landowners – not younger than 24 years of age)¹³ resulted, in November 1843, in a total of 243 representatives from all parts of today's Greece (both liberated and unliberated parts, at the time) assembling in Athens (“Η της Γ’ Σεπτεμβρίου εν Αθήναις Εθνική των Ελλήνων Συνέλευσις” / “The 3rd September National Assembly of the Hellenes in Athens”).¹⁴

The Constitution was published in the Government Gazette six months later, in March 1844.¹⁵ According to a long-standing¹⁶ tradition (this also applies to all subsequent Greek constitutions) the text of the Constitution of 1844 began with a reference to religion, making it clear from the very outset that the faith of the Eastern Orthodox Church was predominant;¹⁷ any proselytism to its detriment was forbidden – all this, however, was flanked by religious freedom with regard to the other confessions known at that time.¹⁸ In terms of canon law, Article 2 of the Constitution was significant, establishing the autocephaly of the Church

¹²Cf. also *Petridis* (Fn. 6), pp. 233 et seqq. (in Greek); *Nakos* (Fn. 6), p. 257 (in Greek).

Cf. further *Anastasiadis, Georgios*, The historical institutional achievements of the First National Assembly (1843–44) (Το ιστορικό θεσμικό κεκτημένο της Α' Εθνικής Συνέλευσης (1843–44)), in: *same author*, Parliament and Monarchy in Greece (Κοινοβούλιο και Μοναρχία στην Ελλάδα), Thessaloniki 1995, pp. 65 et seqq. (in Greek).

¹³According to the Decision of 4/16 March 1829, to be read at Hellenic Parliament (ed.), Archives of Hellenic Renaissance (Αρχαία της Ελληνικής Παλιγγενεσίας), Vol. 4: 4th National Assembly in Argos 1828–1829 (Τόμος 4ος. Δ' εν Άργει Εθνική Συνέλευση 1828–1829), Athens 1973, pp. 12 et seqq. (in Greek);

also to be accessed digitally, through <https://paligenesia.parliament.gr/> as well as through <https://library.parliament.gr/> (in Greek).

¹⁴Cf. for relevant background *Anastasiadis* (Fn. 12), pp. 65 et seqq. (in Greek); further especially *Heinze, Alexander Clarus*, Der hellenische Nationalcongress zu Athen in den Jahren 1843 und 1844. Nach der Originalausgabe der Congressverhandlungen im Auszug bearbeitet und mit geschichtlichen Notizen, Actenstücken u.s.w. begleitet, Leipzig 1845 (*passim*).

¹⁵Government Gazette (ΦΕΚ) Α' Nr. 5 of 6/18 March 1844, pp. 16 et seqq. (in Greek).

¹⁶Cf. *Parashu* (Fn. 1), pp. 103 et seqq.

¹⁷Cf. Article 1 Greek Constitution of 1844.

¹⁸Cf. *ibid*.

of Greece over the traditionally superior Patriarchate of Constantinople. Autocephaly had, however, already been unilaterally declared by the Holy Synod (the Supreme Bishops' Conference) in Athens in 1833 (in light of the founding of the Kingdom of Greece).¹⁹ Patriarch *Anthimos IV*. recognized this officially in 1850.²⁰

Initially, the Church of Greece was presided over by the so called “Metropolitan/Μητροπολίτης”²¹ of Athens; since the turn of the year 1923/24, this person has been called “Archbishop of Athens and All Greece/Αρχιεπίσκοπος Αθηνών και Πάσης Ελλάδος”, serving as President within the aforementioned Holy Synod.

The constitutional text, which was based on various contemporary Constitutions (e.g. the French and, as will be understood in the upcoming comparison part of this monograph, the Belgian one)²² included a catalogue of fundamental rights that was quite extensive for the time being (especially compared to European relevant standards), manifesting the principle of equality among the Hellenes, also relating to civic duties;²³ further, personal freedom,²⁴ the right to petition,²⁵ the freedom of housing,²⁶ a prohibition of slavery,²⁷ the freedom of expression,²⁸ the

¹⁹Cf. the relevant Royal Decree of 23 July/4 August 1833, Government Gazette (ΦΕΚ) Α' Νρ. 23 of 1/13 August 1833, pp. 169 et seqq. (in Greek and German!). For relevant background cf. *Serwo, Mathias*, Die ersten staatlichen Kirchengesetze in Griechenland 1833 und ihre politische Herkunft, in: Review “Balkan Studies”, Vol. 11, (1970), pp. 111 et seqq.

²⁰Cf. *Takopoulos, Philippos*, The National Churches and Ethnic Grouping (Οι Εθνικές Εκκλησίες και ο Εθνοφυλετισμός), 4 November 2011, accessed through <https://www.pemptousia.gr/2011/11/i-ethnikes-ekklisies-ke-o-ethnofileti/> (in Greek; last access on 5 October 2025).

²¹In Roman times and up to *Grigorios I* (end of the 8th century AD) the official title was “Bishop of Athens” (Επίσκοπος Αθηνών).

²²Cf. *Svolos, Alexandros*, The Hellenic Constitutions 1822–1952. The Constitutional History of Greece (Τα Ελληνικά Συντάγματα 1822–1952. Συνταγματική Ιστορία της Ελλάδος), 2nd ed. Athens 1972, pp. 76 et seq. (in Greek).

²³Cf. Article 3 Greek Constitution of 1844.

²⁴Cf. Article 4 Greek Constitution of 1844.

²⁵Cf. Article 7 Greek Constitution of 1844.

²⁶Cf. Article 8 Greek Constitution of 1844.

²⁷Cf. Article 9 Greek Constitution of 1844.

²⁸Cf. Article 10 Greek Constitution of 1844.

right to education,²⁹ the right to property³⁰ and the inviolability of the secrecy of correspondence³¹ were part of this catalogue. Particularly relevant in criminal proceedings was the emphasis on the principle of *nullum crimen nulla poena sine lege*³² and the reservation that any restriction of personal freedom had to be based on a reasoned judicial decision.³³ Finally, torture and general confiscations were prohibited.³⁴

As a result of the absolutist rule experiences from 1832 onwards, the new Constitution enshrined the Monarch's non-responsibility;³⁵ this was accompanied by the need for countersignature.³⁶ Any written or oral orders from the Monarch would not detract from this ministerial responsibility.³⁷ A concentration of power within the executive branch was already prevented *a priori* by the prohibition on a member of the royal family holding a ministerial office.³⁸

The ministers were obliged to answer questions from the legislature upon request.³⁹ At the instigation of Parliament, ministerial impeachments were possible before the Senate as a decision-making body,⁴⁰ in practice, however, clearly lacking significance. In any case, the Monarch had the power to pardon a convicted person under certain conditions (following a relevant motion by Parliament or by the Senate).⁴¹

2. Separation of Powers

Montesquieu's separation of powers doctrine was also considered quite prominently in the 1844 Constitution: the legislative power as well as its

²⁹Cf. Article 11 Greek Constitution of 1844.

³⁰Cf. Article 12 Greek Constitution of 1844.

³¹Cf. Article 14 Greek Constitution of 1844.

³²Cf. Article 6 Greek Constitution of 1844.

³³Cf. Article 5 Greek Constitution of 1844.

³⁴Cf. Article 13 Greek Constitution of 1844.

³⁵Cf. Article 22 Greek Constitution of 1844.

³⁶Cf. Article 23 Greek Constitution of 1844.

³⁷Cf. Article 82 Greek Constitution of 1844.

³⁸Cf. Article 80 Greek Constitution of 1844.

³⁹Cf. Article 81 Greek Constitution of 1844.

⁴⁰Cf. Article 83 Greek Constitution of 1844.

⁴¹Cf. Article 85 Greek Constitution of 1844. See also the following part of this analysis, (II.)3.

authentic interpretation in cases of doubt⁴² belonged to the Monarch, as well as to the Parliament and the Senate;⁴³ the submission of draft laws was also regulated in a quite sophisticated manner.⁴⁴

The chambers were particularly responsible for adopting the budget.⁴⁵ Such as other fiscally significant legislative proposals had to be submitted first to Parliament;⁴⁶ proposals, which would have a negative impact on the state budget due to additional expenditure, could not, of course, come legitimately from the two chambers.⁴⁷ If a legislative proposal was rejected by one of the three power poles of the legislative branch, the same proposal could not be reintroduced within the same parliamentary term.⁴⁸

As far as the Monarch's involvement in legislation was concerned, the sanctioning of laws was his elementary competence,⁴⁹ accompanied by the issuance of constitutionally necessary decrees.⁵⁰

The executive power was vested in the Monarch (although by the constitutionally responsible, thus countersigning⁵¹ members of cabinet);⁵² the judiciary was exercised, in the name of the Monarch, by the courts.⁵³

3. The Monarch

A special section of the Constitution of 1844 highlighted the Monarch's other constitutional rights and duties. He was explicitly the head of state with the power to represent his Kingdom in the context of international law (with appropriate involvement of the other members of the legisla-

⁴²Cf. Article 19 Greek Constitution of 1844.

⁴³Cf. Article 15 Greek Constitution of 1844.

⁴⁴Cf. Articles 16–18 Greek Constitution of 1844.

⁴⁵Cf. Article 53 Greek Constitution of 1844.

⁴⁶Cf. *ibid.*

⁴⁷Cf. Article 17 Greek Constitution of 1844.

⁴⁸Cf. Article 18 Greek Constitution of 1844.

⁴⁹Cf. Article 29 Greek Constitution of 1844.

⁵⁰Cf. Article 28 Greek Constitution of 1844.

⁵¹Cf. Article 23 Greek Constitution of 1844.

⁵²Cf. Article 20 in combination with Article 22 Greek Constitution of 1844.

⁵³Cf. Article 21 Greek Constitution of 1844.

ture).⁵⁴ As an example, the Hellenic-Swiss agreement regarding bilateral recognition of inheritance law matters⁵⁵ as well as the agreement between *Othon I* and Tsar *Nicholas I* of 25 August/6 September 1848 for the purpose of deepening diplomatic and postal relations between Greece and Russia⁵⁶ can be mentioned.

In addition, the King could award military and naval ranks⁵⁷ as well as orders⁵⁸ – especially the Cross of the Order of the Redeemer (Τάγμα του Σωτήρος)⁵⁹ -, but also allow a Greek citizen to receive comparable foreign honours (for example, by the French Foreign Legion)⁶⁰. Furthermore, the Monarch had the right to grant pardons and amnesties⁶¹ and the right to mint coins.⁶² The Constitution also regulated the basis for the royal appanage.⁶³

⁵⁴Cf. Article 25–26 Greek Constitution of 1844.

⁵⁵Cf. Government Gazette (ΦΕΚ) A' Nr. 43 of 28 December 1837/9 January 1838, p. 181 (in Greek).

⁵⁶Cf. Government Gazette (ΦΕΚ) A' Nr. 3 of 25 January 1849/6 February 1849, pp. 9 et seq. (in Greek).

⁵⁷Cf. Article 27 Greek Constitution of 1844. Cf., as an example, Government Gazette (ΦΕΚ) A' Nr. 9 of 2/14 March 1849, p. 35 (in Greek); Government Gazette (ΦΕΚ) A' Nr. 10 of 8/20 March 1849, p. 41 (in Greek).

⁵⁸Cf. Article 33 Greek Constitution of 1844.

⁵⁹Cf. Government Gazette (ΦΕΚ) A' Nr. 1 of 1/13 January 1838, p. 3 (in Greek); Government Gazette (ΦΕΚ) A' Nr. 28 of 13/25 August 1849, p. 120 (in Greek).

⁶⁰Cf. Government Gazette (ΦΕΚ) A' Nr. 1 of 9/21 January 1840, p. 2 (in Greek).

⁶¹Cf. Article 32 Greek Constitution of 1844. Cf. as examples for pardons Government Gazette (ΦΕΚ) A' Nr. 3 of 16/28 February 1844, p. 11–12 (in Greek); cf. as examples for amnesties Government Gazette (ΦΕΚ) A' Nr. 26 of 27 July/8 August 1844, p. 102 (in Greek); Government Gazette (ΦΕΚ) A' Nr. 10 of 8/20 March 1849, p. 39 (in Greek); Government Gazette (ΦΕΚ) A' Nr. 27 of 30 July/11 August 1849, p. 116 (in Greek).

Cf. also Government Gazette (ΦΕΚ) A' Nr. 10 of 15/27 April 1844, p. 40 et seq. (in Greek).

⁶²Cf. Article 34 Greek Constitution of 1844.

⁶³Cf. Article 35 Greek Constitution of 1844.

4. Succession and Regencies⁶⁴

The question of succession to the throne remained a delicate one throughout *Othon's* reign. After his 1836 marriage to *Amalie*, born a Duchess of Oldenburg (1818–1875), there was no heir to the throne; the queen suffered a miscarriage in 1837.

The Constitution of 1844 adapted to these circumstances: It stipulated that *Othon's* next younger brother (Article 38 Clause 1 of the Constitution), *Luitpold* – who later became Prince Regent of Bavaria (1821–1912) – and his descendants, and in the event of the death of any relevant heir, the next younger brother (Article 38 Clause 2 of the Constitution), Prince *Adalbert* (1828–1875), and his descendants, would eventually succeed the childless Monarch to the throne.

However, the Constitution underlined and emphasised that an heir to the throne had in any case to be of the Greek Orthodox faith (Article 40 of the Constitution); none of the persons concerned made any attempt to do so (this was not changed by *Adalbert's* having his eldest son, *Ludwig Ferdinand*, given also the first name *Constantine* – a name significant in Greek history since Byzantine times – added to his baptismal font), which, in the eyes of the tradition-conscious Greek people, did not exactly lead to a feeling of attachment to the *status quo*.

The Great Powers and the Kingdoms of Greece and Bavaria signed an international agreement on 8/20 November 1852, which again regulated the succession to the throne in accordance with the Greek Constitution articles listed above, and expressly entrusted the regency to Queen *Amalia* in the event of being widowed.⁶⁵

At the ordinary legal level, *Othon* initially varied somewhat with regard to regencies; during a visit to the Aegean islands, he authorised his Council of Ministers to carry out selected official duties.⁶⁶ A regency of

⁶⁴The following historical, genealogical and royal information as well as regnal elements is taken from *Parashu* (Fn. 2). Cf. further *the same author*, König Georgios I. der Hellenen und die Anwendung der griechischen Verfassung von 1864 in praxi, Baden-Baden 2020, especially p. 14.

⁶⁵Government Gazette (ΦΕΚ) Α' Nr. 32 of 6/18 October 1853, pp. 303 et seqq. (in Greek), the relevant Royal Decree dating back to 4/16 August 1853.

⁶⁶See the Government Gazette (ΦΕΚ) Α' Nr. 25 of 11/23 July 1849, p. 107 (in Greek), the relevant Royal Decree dating back to 7/19 July 1849.

the Queen was established in case of illness or absence of the Monarch, by the law (v.) ΠΞζ' of 28 July/9 August 1850.⁶⁷ A corresponding, implementing Royal Decree (due to *Othon*'s nine-month stay abroad in Germany⁶⁸) dated back to 4/16 August 1850⁶⁹.

Further such regencies of *Amalia* should follow in upcoming years (besides shorter ones in 1858⁷⁰ and in 1860⁷¹):

ad 4. Regencies of Queen Amalia

In two cases, 1850–1851⁷² and 1861⁷³, King *Othon I* left his Kingdom for longer periods, which necessitated a regency of Queen *Amalia*.

In July 1850⁷⁴ King *Othon I* had the idea of going to Munich for a health cure.⁷⁵ Since taking office as regent, *Amalia* was immediately actively involved in the implementation of projects, and at the same time was particularly concerned with the beautification and landscaping of the capital city.⁷⁶ Every day she went to the royal office at 8 a.m. and worked continuously with the relevant ministers. The ministers found *Amalia*'s opinion being both objective and forward-looking.⁷⁷

⁶⁷ See the Government Gazette (ΦΕΚ) Α' Nr. 21 of 29 July/10 August 1850, p. 81 (in Greek).

⁶⁸ Cf. *Aliberti* (Fn. 4), p. 115 et seq. (in Greek).

⁶⁹ Cf. Government Gazette (ΦΕΚ) Α' Nr. 23 of 6/18 August 1850, p. 97 (in Greek).

⁷⁰ Cf. *Aliberti* (Fn. 4), p. 124 et seq. (in Greek).

⁷¹ Cf. *Aliberti* (Fn. 4), pp. 125 et seqq. (in Greek).

⁷² Cf. (*without an author's mention*) The Regency of Amalia 1850–1851 (Η αντιβασιλεία της Αμαλίας 1850–1851),

accessed through <http://amynometha.blogspot.com/2014/10/1850-1851.html> (issued 30 October 2014; last access on 5 October 2025).

⁷³ Cf. *Bower, Leonard*, *Otho I: King of Greece, a biography*, London 1939 (Reissue 2001), p. 186 et seq.

⁷⁴ Cf. a letter by Queen *Amalia* to her father, the Grand Duke of Oldenburg, dated 18/30 July 1850, in: Vana Busse/Michael Busse (eds. and translators), *Unpublished Letters of Queen Amalia to her Father, 1836–1853*, Vol. 2 (Ανέκδοτες επιστολές της Βασιλισσας Αμαλίας στον πατέρα της, 1836–1853), 2nd ed. Athens 2020, p. 645 et seq. (646; in Greek).

⁷⁵ Cf. *Driault, Édouard/Lhéritier, Michel*, *Histoire diplomatique de la Grèce de 1821 à nos jours: Le Règne d'Othon – La Grande Idée (1830–1862)*, t. II, Paris 1926, p. 365–366; cf. also *Bower* (Fn. 73), p. 186 et seq.

⁷⁶ Cf. Fn. 72.

⁷⁷ Cf. *ibid.*