CLASSICAL PRESENCES The texts, ideas, images, and material culture of ancient Greece and Rome have always been crucial to attempts to appropriate the past in order to authenticate the present. They underlie the mapping of change and the assertion and challenging of values and identities, old and new. Classical Presences brings the latest scholarship to bear on the contexts, theory, and practice of such use, and abuse, of the classical past.

Placing Modern Greece

The Dynamics of Romantic Hellenism, 1770–1840

CONSTANZE GÜTHENKE

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Despite the loss of nature as a condition of modernity, the Greek landscape embodies the sheer potential for realization, however fractured or unachievable this realization may be. In order to sustain the position of potentiality, the rift between its success as the surviving environment of the ancients and its present ambiguous state of deficiency must, of necessity, defy closure. The Greek land as both authentic materiality and imagery bridges that rift while keeping the divide open. In that way it can continue to be a 'landscape of longing', conforming to the aesthetic positions that have turned attention towards it in the first place. Hyperion, of course, is a modern man, and it is the free self-realization of the 'Western' identity that is in question. For Hölderlin, the site of contemporary Greece is his Archimedean point of leverage, just as Germany is for Hyperion.

This leads us on to consider the artistic responses when contemporary Greece became a stronger material presence, not only on the metaphorical or cognitive maps, but on the political and geographical ones too, especially around and after 1821. The principal structure, underpinned by aesthetic tenets, perseveres: the rift that marks the Greek land as both authentic and deficient is kept open. So does using the site of Greece as an intrinsically suitable foil for the concerns of individual and national artistic identity. With the politicization of the topos after 1821, dynamism and decline remain the defining features in depicting the Greek land. The stress on the former element increases, without the latter being discarded. How this is achieved in detail is the topic of the next chapter.

Fertig, *Die Hofmeister: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Lehrerstände und der bürgerlichen Intelligenz* (Stuttgart, 1979), 3–99; Bernd Giesen and Kay Junge, 'Vom Patriotismus zum Nationalismus. Zur Evolution der "Deutschen Kulturnation"', in Bernd Giesen (ed.), *Nationale und Kulturelle Identität: Studien zur Entwicklung des kollektiven Bewußtseins in der Neuzeit 2* (Frankfurt/M., 1991), 255–303; Henri Brunschwig, *Gesellschaft und Romantik im Preußen des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt/M., 1976), 344–74. Hölderlin, as a privately employed teacher, belonged to that rank of intellectuals particularly prone to exploitation, dissatisfaction, and isolation.

3

Nature in Arms: German Philhellenism, its Literature, and the Greek War of Independence

> The old hypothesis that comets are the revolutionary firebrands of the universal system is surely true of another kind of comet too, one that periodically revolutionizes the spiritual system of the universe and makes it young again. The astronomer of the mind has long noticed the force of such a comet over a large part of the planet of the mind that we call humankind. Mighty deluges, changing climates, a moving centre of gravity, a common tendency for diffusion, and strange meteorites are the symptoms of this violent incitation, which will result in a new world age. As necessary as it may be to mobilize everything periodically so as to create new, necessary combinations and prompt a new and more pure form of crystallization, it would be as inconceivable not to shore up such crisis and thereby avoid complete diffusion, so that a root might remain, a kernel on which new matter can be grafted, to develop around it in beautiful new shapes.
>
> (Novalis, *Faith and Love*, fr. 21)

By the second decade of the nineteenth century the sheer vertigo of modernity, which Hölderlin had so painfully experienced, had in some respects given way to a more manageable incline, at least as far as the position of Hellenism, and its institutions, was concerned. As for Hellenism as the study of ancient Greece, classical scholarship, in the wake of Wilhelm von Humboldt's educational reforms in the 1800s, had become firmly established as a foundational subject in

schools and especially in the universities, feeding from there into all other institutions of state and the civil service.

Literary Romanticism (and Classicism), at the same time, was giving way to a growing eclecticism, even if the symbolizing practice of landscape representation continued in the discursive framework that linked it to the employment of the imagination and to poetic activity as an exercise of freedom. In the world-view which German literary history has termed *Biedermeier*, but which has been extended beyond Germany as the general phenomenon of what Nemoianu has called a 'tamed Romanticism', individual and nature are treated as part of a single higher order, going hand in hand with increased attention to local realism and religious symbolism.[1] At the same time as local realism is invested in, increased political realism enters literary production too. The Congress of Vienna (1814–15) after the Napoleonic Wars, the establishment of the German Federation (Deutscher Bund) in 1815, and the so called Karlsbad Decrees in 1819, which reinforced censorship and the restrictive climate of *Restauration*, all made politics an issue both for the conditions and themes of literary productivity.[2] In addition, Greece, through the development of its own political situation, now became an entity that existed more firmly in the present than ever before. The main argument put forward in this chapter is that, regarding the representation of Greece by way of its landscape, the focus of the period after 1821 shifts from characteristic and reflexive nature more widely to a concentration, or a shorthand, of specific locations, of rhetorical and literal topoi, without, however, abandoning the structure of aesthetic landscape and Romantic nature imagery. I will argue that this abridgement occurs not coincidentally at the same time as topoi, or clichés, an air of citation, become part of Romantic poetics and its self-awareness. The literary output occasioned by the Greek War of Independence held a fragile position already in its own time between

[1] e.g. Friedrich Sengle, *Biedermeierzeit: Deutsche Literatur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Restauration und Revolution, 1815–1848*, Bd. i (Stuttgart, 1971); this is not to be understood as an opposition to Romanticism, but instead as a reassessment and modification of the elements of Romantic aesthetics.

[2] T. Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte, 1800–1866: Bürgerwelt und starker Staat* (Munich, 1983), 569–79; Sengle, *Biedermeierzeit*, i. 110–256, for the different literary tendencies and their degree of politicization.

inspiring admiration and uneasy derision in its readers in almost equal measure. As the classical historian Bartold Niebuhr expresses it, with appalled delight, in a letter to Hensler in 1826: 'Did you read Tiedgen's poem "The Battle of Greece against Barbary"? I should not have thought he had it in him; no matter how many imperfections the verses as such may have. The sentiment is frightfully beautiful (*die Gesinnung ist grässlich schön*).'[3] Repetitive much of the occasional poetry may be, but it is not simply 'bad verse', or rather it may be bad verse for a good reason, if we take into account the reduction that put images of Greece into a firm place, despite the insistence on unleashed freedom and upheaval as the proper content of that poetry. At the same time this strategy is accompanied by a politicization of nature imagery, and a corresponding naturalization of its political aspects. In capturing the Greek War of Independence, the imagination of the Greek land and its natural environment merges with a tradition of nature metaphor to describe historical and political events. This tradition was certainly not new, but it had gained momentum throughout the period of the French Revolution, Jacobinism, and the Wars of Liberation. If, once the insurrections in Greece had been given the name of a War of Independence, images of Greece appear to become more formalized, it is because concrete political events were now contained not only within the relative security of lasting, particular place, but also within tested aesthetic and artistic models and imagery to describe them.

The case of Hölderlin shows how at the turn of the nineteenth century national identity was increasingly part of the question of authorial identity, and how, pondering on both, Hölderlin could draw argumentative strength from the designation of his poetic landscapes as Greek. Hyperion, the displaced Greek, is painfully conscious of his position and, in contrast to his beloved Diotima, he cannot sustain the look into the abyss. A good twenty years on, the Greeks re-enter the scene with a new assurance, populating poetry occasioned by the Greek War of Independence. It is in images like that of the mountain-dweller thundering down into the plain to raise freedom, 'free, like my mountain streams, like the eagle in the sky', that violence

[3] Karl Dieterich, *Aus Briefen und Tagebüchern zum deutschen Philhellenismus (1821–1828)* (Hamburg, 1928), 315.

is suggested, yet still kept at bay.[4] This chapter looks at a phase of more obvious politicizing of content and imagery in German poetry about contemporary Greece. Among other things, this affects particularly the employment of nature metaphors and the use of location. Wilhelm Müller's poems, in particular, not only reflect contemporary political and literary issues, but they do so by positioning Greek-speakers within their natural environment. 'Greece' provided a value system transcending historical and geographical space, while the establishment of a Greek nation state would come to pose a challenge to both German and Greek notions of a national landscape.

Overall, it is important that although the description of Greece is specific, as far as significant location and general ambience go, it is broad enough to allow identification and transfer to the German perspective, quite in line with the pattern whereby Greece stands in for a privileged location to combine the particular and the universal with maximum transparency. Roger Paulin has rightly argued that it is unfair to treat all political poetry of the time as a surrogate for a German situation that could not be openly expressed or discussed.[5] By the same token, not every philhellenic sentiment was 'mixed with a Hellenic Teutonocentrism' ('griechische Deutschtümelei'), as Varnhagen von Ense suspected (although he has a point).[6] Greece may share some of the German concerns brought to its revolution with those brought to the liberation movements of Spain, Italy, or, a little later, Poland. Yet Greece is not a random choice, and it is certainly not one free of ambivalence. It is Greece, especially in its contemporary material manifestation, that is considered particularly entitled to represent and to regain freedom, and to a large extent this conviction is bolstered in writing through the use of nature imagery, although an imagery now turning in its dynamic towards the extremes of the static and the violent, often combining both.

[4] Wilhelm Müller, *Werke*, ed. Maria-Verena Leistner (Berlin, 1994), i. 245.

[5] Roger Paulin, 'Some Remarks on the Occasion of the New Edition of the Works of Wilhelm Müller', *Modern Language Review*, 92/2 (1997), 363–78, 364.

[6] Letter to Oelsner, Nov. 1821, in Dieterich, *Aus Briefen*, 313 f.

As a term, Philhellenism carries connotations of revolution in appeal to tradition, and it is this double vision that informs the imagery of philhellenic writing as well. Just as the sheer abyss between Greek antiquity and German modernity seemed to have receded a little into the background, so had the curious tension that characterized perceptions of modern Greece. At the same time, during the first decades of the nineteenth century the nature of German knowledge of contemporary Greece had developed, and so had the perception of Europe among the Greeks, that is to say, mainly the educated Greek-speaking, Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman Empire. The latter half of the eighteenth century had seen considerable change in the social structure of Greek territory under Ottoman rule, with an increase in (maritime) trade enterprises in Europe and a decided orientation towards Western European models by the influential educated classes of Greek (or more broadly Balkan) society and those living in Greek communities outside the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire.[7] Greek commercial communities in Leipzig, Breslau, Trieste, or Vienna, to name but a few, also provided the ground and means for much publishing activity. In addition, the influx of Greek students to German universities and academies increased in the last decades of the eighteenth century (as Italy lost its monopoly in attracting Greek students), and led to personal acquaintances which very often proved the initial trigger for voicing what, especially following the outbreak of the War of Independence in 1821, was now a more active interest by German scholars.[8] Social changes for Greek strata of the Ottoman Empire meant that its decline coincided with an increase in revolutionary potential.[9] In March 1821, Alexander

[7] For the development of an Enlightened intellectualism across the Balkans, see e.g. Paschalis Kitromilides, *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy: Studies in the Culture and Political Thought of South-Eastern Europe* (Aldershot, 1994); Victor Roudometof, 'From Enlightenment to Romanticism: The Origins of Modern Greek National Identity, 1453–1878', *Thetis*, 7 (2000), 149–67, esp. 149–60.

[8] On the Greek communities in the German-speaking areas, Emil Turczynski, *Die deutsch-griechischen Kulturbeziehungen bis zur Berufung König Ottos* (Munich, 1959) and Giorgios Veloudis, *Germanograecia: Deutsche Einflüsse auf die neugriechische Literatur (1750–1944)*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1983), 21–46.

[9] Gunnar Hering, 'Zum Problem der Ursachen revolutionärer Erhebungen am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts', in Ch. Choliolčev *et al.* (eds.), *Nationalrevolutionäre*

Ypsilantis, aide-de-camp to Tsar Alexander I, led a short-lived uprising in Moldavia, followed shortly afterwards by episodes of violence in the Peloponnese, which took on the form of all-out revolt. To the observing German public, the new flaring-up of insurrection against Ottoman rule had similar effect to that after the events of 1770, only greater; the same constituents were there: an interest in the physical and spiritual condition of the Greek land, connected with the hope of finding in Greece a paradigm for a country liberating itself. The political scene in Germany and Europe in general had of course changed drastically since 1770: in 1776 America had given Europe the example of a successful attempt at establishing a new independent nation state. The subsequent experience of the French Revolution and the Terror had left Germany with a different set of political and cultural expectations. The Napoleonic Wars, fought in the name of liberation both by and against the French, had since 1792 acted as a catalyst for national movements across Europe. Hence there was a strong liberal-democratic, ultimately national, side to support for the Greek cause. An example are the *Griechenvereine* (Greek Associations) and their fate: established to enlist financial and military support across Germany, they became almost immediately suspect as hothouses of revolutionary activity, and many of them, especially in Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria, were closed down by the authorities in the autumn of 1821.[10] Fervour for the Greek cause slowly diminished over the next years, to be reignited after 1826 with the fall of Missolonghi, when also the balance of power in a European contest was changing. Russia now paid renewed attention to the Balkans, and the other Great Powers too began to show more sympathy for the Greek struggle.[11] Philhellenism slowly became socially acceptable and *hoffähig*.

Bewegungen in Südosteuropa im 19. Jahrhundert (Vienna, 1992), 17–30; also Barbara and Charles Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804–1920* (Seattle, 1977), 3–25.

[10] For the social-political role of organized Philhellenism in Germany see, *pro toto*, Christoph Hauser, *Anfänge bürgerlicher Organisation: Philhellenismus und Liberalismus in Südwestdeutschland* (Göttingen, 1990). A critical appraisal of whether the appeal on grounds of charitable obligation did much to further the development of political consciousness among the broader population or not is found in Dieter Kramer, 'Der Philhellenismus und die Entwicklung des politischen Bewußtseins in Deutschland', in *Kontakte und Grenzen: Probleme der Volks-, Kultur- und Sozialforschung. Festschrift für Gerhard Heilfurth zum 60. Geburtstag* (Göttingen, 1969), 231–47.

[11] Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 364.

By 1821 Philhellenism no longer denoted only the valuing of classical Greek culture, but a positive attitude towards the political aspirations of the contemporary Greeks.[12] Without doubt, this, just like Hellenism, was a European phenomenon;[13] what distinguished German Philhellenism was the way in which it continued to be affected by the structural relation between Greek antiquity and a German, or certainly non-Greek, modernity at the centre of German Hellenism.

In its practical manifestations, the movement of German Philhellenism divides into that of 'the sword, the open hand, and the pen':[14] there were those who went to Greece to participate in the military struggle, the donators of money following the appeals for charity, and the writers.[15] These are not hard-and-fast categories: some of those who went out to Greece returned to write memoirs, some of the writers donated their profits, and Wilhelm Müller himself outlines his exemplary situation as the professional writer who pledges to contribute both in poetry and cash, while his personal circumstances (a young family and safe employment in the ducal educational system) unfortunately keep him from joining the expeditions, appealing though the prospect may be: 'Fortunate I am that my home and the Muse bring me comfort in times such as these. Were I unmarried I might well be now standing ready and armed in *Greece*' (emphasis his).[16]

Of the writers' response there was, right from the beginning of the Greek revolutionary movement, a steady flow of German publications

[12] 'Philhellene' is in Germany first attested in the sense of 'support for fellow Christian Greeks' by Martin Crusius (*Turcograeciae libri octo*, 1584), and in the later seventeenth century; see Lambros Mygdalis, 'Der Philhellenismus in Deutschland', in E. Konstantinou (ed.), *Europäischer Philhellenismus. Die europäische philhellenische Literatur bis zur 1. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, 1992), 63–72, 63; Gerhard Grimm, 'Studien zum Philhellenismus', unpublished habilitation ms., Munich (1965), 2. The *OED* defines 'Philhellenism' as the 'love, friendliness towards, or support of the cause of Greece or the Greeks (especially in relation to national independence)', 2nd edn. (1989), xi. 679.

[13] Concise overviews are found in Gerhard Grimm, '"We are all Greeks". Griechenbegeisterung in Europa und Bayern', in R. Baumstark (ed.), *Das neue Hellas. Griechen und Bayern zur Zeit Ludwigs I*, exhibition catalogue (Munich, 1999), 21–32; Gunnar Hering, 'Der griechische Unabhängigkeitskrieg und der Philhellenismus', in A. Noë (ed.), *Der Philhellenismus in der westeuropäischen Literatur (1780–1830)* (Amsterdam, 1994), 17–72.

[14] Grimm, *Studien*, 2.

[15] A solid overview in Regine Quack-Eustathiades, *Der Deutsche Philhellenismus während des Griechischen Freiheitskampfes 1821–1827* (Munich, 1984), 55–89.

[16] Letter to P. D. A. Atterbom, 2 May 1822 (*Werke*, v. 221).

dealing with the Greek question, often in the shape of newspaper and journal articles or as separate political pamphlets.[17] Overall, the response of the pen to the events in and after 1821 was first and foremost an academic and a journalistic one. Despite the variety of political attitudes, the writers mostly came from the same social background, and although philhellenic sentiment cut across all sections of German society, its most vocal supporters were members of the educated middle classes.[18] The intellectual foundations of the philhellenic venture lay firmly with the *Bildungsbürgertum*, even if different arguments for support found favour with different social groups.[19] The authors of the first pamphlets and articles rallying support for the Greeks were university professors, philologists, or theologians, who often had personal contacts with educated diaspora Greeks, and who through their personal acquaintance with each other established a strong network. The first wave of pamphleteers in early 1821, for example, was almost entirely made up of university teachers, professors Krug, Tzschirner, and Jörg, and another anonymous author, all connected with the University of Leipzig.[20]

It is difficult to identify a single political alignment in these publications. The Greek cause was argued for and against by liberals and conservatives alike, but in each case the main line of argument concerned the question whether the Greek revolution was a legitimate act. Argument concentrated on the one hand on the theme of 'Dankesschuld', that is, the obligation towards Greece as the foundation of European *Bildung*. Friedrich Wilhelm Thiersch, in an article in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* in September 1821, writes of the obligation 'to pay off, even if only a little, the sacred duty of old'.[21]

[17] For a detailed list of 34 pamphlets see Quack-Eustathiades, *Der deutsche Philhellenismus*, 155–63.

[18] Johannes Irmscher tellingly calls it a true 'movement of the people', *Der Philhellenismus in Preußen als Forschungsanliegen* (Berlin, 1966), 44.

[19] The religious argument, for example, was advanced mainly by the clergy and was well received in the lower strata of society, see Walter Puchner, 'Die griechische Revolution von 1821 auf dem europäischen Theater: Ein Kapitel bürgerlicher Trivialdramatik und romantisch-exotischer Melodramatik im europäischen Vormärz', *Südost-Forschungen*, 55 (1996), 85–127, 94.

[20] Quack-Eustathiades, *Der deutsche Philhellenismus*, 164 ff. On Krug's personal acquaintance with Greek students see Roxani Argyropoulou, 'O W. T. Krug *και οι Έλληνες*', *O Ερανιστής*, 10 (1972–3), 267–73.

[21] *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, 20 Sept. 1821.

Another anonymous pamphlet was entitled *The Rescue of Greece, the Task of Grateful Europe* (*Die Rettung Griechenlands, die Sache des dankbaren Europa*, Leipzig, 1821). On the other hand, it was the appeal to a Christian obligation to support fellow Christians against Ottoman unbelievers that accounted for the strong religious overtones encountered in many publications, literary or not. F. G. Nagel's gorily entitled pamphlet *How Much Longer Will the Turkish Slaughterhouses Fume with Greek Blood? And Shall the Hereditary Enemy of the Cross Continue to Taunt Christianity?* (*Werden die türkischen Schlachtbänke noch länger von griechischem Blute rauchen? Oder soll der Erbfeind des Kreuzes die Christenheit noch länger höhnen?*, Braunschweig, 1821) is only one of the more colourful examples of this religious tendentiousness. In any case, what is crucial is that whatever the political stance of the commentator, or his views on the fitness or unfitness of the Greeks to succeed, Greece is almost unanimously singled out as different in kind from other instances of revolution.

From these comments and from the corpus of poetry, drama, and prose of the *Griechendichtung*, one impression emerges strongly: they express an apparent desire to see a country that is well described in its physical reality and conditions complemented by a people ripe for a revolutionary challenge, increasingly morally responsible and (hence) predisposed towards freedom, at the same time dynamic, forceful, untamed, courageous, and maintaining a revolutionary momentum. In short, German publicists appeared in search of a people fit to inherit and inhabit a land and a landscape distinguished by its history, tradition, beneficial climate, geographical variety, yet also cohesion and, most of all, continuity. Patterns of landscape imagery and nature metaphor are thereby given a framework of political significance.

POLITICIZING NATURE: GREEK NATURE LIBERATED

With 1821, history in the sense of the past and of current, contemporary events, and space in the sense of meaningful location and of political territory come together more intensely than ever, a constellation that feeds into the particularly close associations of perception of natural space and history that mark modern Greece's position.

Comments about the political nation are imbricated with aesthetic expectations of Greek places and environments as symbolic and meaningful beyond themselves.

For the phenomenon of justification by way of natural environment, Kaufmann and Zimmer have coined the catchy phrase 'nationalising nature and naturalising the nation'.[22] Defining the nation as a 'cultural order with a certain set of values, symbols and myths' which legitimizes in its wake a certain political order (the state), they understand a nation not as a static entity, but as an entity in an ongoing process of affirmation, a process of national identity. According to their model, the symbolic analogies between landscape and nation can take either of two forms. In the process which they term 'nationalising nature', distinctive national characteristics are seen to be reflected in a particular nature; alternatively, in the complementary process of 'naturalising the nation', 'nature in general, and specific landscapes in particular, are depicted as forces of moral and spiritual regeneration capable of determining the nation and giving it a compact, homogeneous, unified form'.[23] Identifying 'authenticity' as one of the key issues in the establishment of national identity,[24] they see two processes involved in the endeavour of authentication, one being the establishment of a historical continuity, the other the creation of a sense of naturalness.

The definition of nation put forward by Kaufmann and Zimmer is arguably too broad, but nationalism as a theoretical problem is not my main concern here. What is more problematic, but a feature shared with many other accounts of the symbolic work done by the creators of national identity in the modern period, is that they, too, rely on a rather timeless and under-defined notion of the symbolic, as well as a rather too reductive notion of Romanticism as counter-Enlightenment with a search for natural determination and a preference for 'primitive' nature as its main characteristic.[25] This underestimates the conscious

[22] Eric Kaufmann and Oliver Zimmer, 'In Search of the Authentic Nation: Landscape and National Identity in Canada and Switzerland', *Nations and Nationalism*, 4/4 (1998), 483–510.

[23] Ibid. 487.

[24] Anthony D. Smith, *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era* (Cambridge, 1995), 65–7.

[25] Kaufmann and Zimmer, 'Authentic Nation', 488.

complexity of nature as a term in currency, and the difference between nature and nation that creates and generates resistance, as much as it enables representation of the nation as natural. What is useful about their argument, though, is the notion of a deliberate mutual reinforcement of nature and nation (in the sense of political community) as a legitimizing strategy, expressed through nature imagery, as it bears out the observations about the potential of nature imagery made so far.

Metaphors to describe history are as varied as they are long-established, and among them nature metaphor has had a stable place in images of organic growth, of gardens, forests, water, seasons, or weather.[26] From the eighteenth and into the early nineteenth century, and mirroring the increased complexity and challenge of a new understanding of nature in every area of the arts and sciences, there is a noticeable increase in nature metaphor, and in violent nature imagery in particular, to represent moments of historical importance. On the one hand, of course, there were still mental aftershocks felt, across European writing and reasoning, of the devastating Lisbon earthquake of 1755, where violent nature had itself become a historical event.[27] On the other hand, there were the no less earth-shattering implications of the French Revolution, which provoked self-characterization and echoes across Europe with a strong programmatic reliance on nature imagery.[28] The ambivalence of nature, the liberation from nature and towards it, its appropriation and taming, is repeated in its violent potential when it comes to the interpretation of history through nature imagery—or the interpretation of nature by aligning it with intelligible historical processes.[29]

[26] For examples, Alexander Demandt, *Metaphern für Geschichte: Sprachbilder und Gleichnisse im historisch-politischen Denken* (Munich, 1978).

[27] On the conceptual reorientation of the nature of good and evil and the good and evil of nature triggered by the Lisbon earthquake, see Susan Neiman, *Evil in Modern Thought: An Alternative History of Philosophy* (Princeton, 2002), 240–50; Wolfgang Breidert, *Die Erschütterung der vollkommenen Welt: Die Wirkung des Erdbebens von Lissabon im Spiegel europäischer Zeitgenossen* (Darmstadt, 1994); R. H. Brown, *Nature's Hidden Terror: Violent Nature Imagery in Eighteenth-century Germany* (Columbia, SC, 1991), 23–55.

[28] Hans-Wolf Jäger, *Politische Metaphorik im Jakobinismus und im Vormärz* (Stuttgart, 1971), 32 ff; Helmut Koopmann, *Freiheitssonne und Revolutionsgewitter: Reflexe der Französischen Revolution im literarischen Deutschland zwischen 1789 und 1840* (Tübingen, 1989).

[29] Brown, *Nature's Hidden Terror*; Olaf Briese, *Die Macht der Metaphern: Blitz, Erdbeben und Kometen im Gefüge der Aufklärung* (Stuttgart, 1998), stresses the use of nature metaphor to tame threatening nature, rather than interpret history.

In the conceptual web that connects the critical subject to his or her environment, nature is keyed to the semantic fields of politics, religion, and aesthetics. With the prominent use of nature imagery to structure historical narrative, nature appears in effect politicized while politics is at the same time naturalized. Novalis's vision, opening this chapter, is paradigmatic for the political vocabulary of revolution and upheaval integrated into a world vision of organic, scientific, and poetic confluence, and Schlegel's well-known dictum that 'the French Revolution, Fichte's philosophy, and Goethe's *Meister* are the greatest tendency of the age' bears out the mutual reinforcement of momentous political, subjective, and poetic generation.[30] Yet from nature as the objective correlative that translates political situation into corresponding landscape, as some have argued, nature is now not only politicized but it comes back to infuse political commentary with the force of nature, especially so in the case of Greece.[31]

The point that the semantic fields of nature and of history with its events impact upon *each other* recalls the important reinforcement that takes place in the act of representing one fact or image, and its semantic range, with another one; in short, in the act of metaphor. Following Max Black's classic analysis that metaphor creates a cross-over of meaning from both semantic areas involved, metaphor (like metonymy and allegory) is not a matter of simple similes or of vehicle and tenor smoothly and silently passing each other in the night; cultural knowledge is filtered in semantic clusters, and the semantic range of the two fields or 'systems of implication' which are engaged in a metaphor, overlaps, that is to say, each set of images affects and changes the other.[32] This not only opens the three-dimensional space of the image from the verticality of the symbol to the lateral effect of metaphor; it also releases the mutual enforcement of the two halves of figurative speech into the interpretation of nature imagery, especially when positive legitimizing power is drawn from the act of relating natural factors and conditions to historical events. Regarding Greece, history is thought inscribed into nature and space especially prominently and compellingly, and what better place, therefore, for history in the making, that is, the revolutionary events around 1821, to have an appropriate, justified fertile ground—history, disruptive and significant, being made naturally. This happened in the writings commenting on the Greek War of Independence.

In the case of the Greek Revolution, the use of forceful nature imagery to legitimize the historical events it describes, and which were otherwise not always so easily justified in the climate of *Restauration*, is indeed a prominent strategy. One of the supporters making that case was Carl Iken (1789–1841), a private scholar from the north of Germany and a philologist by training, although with a strong research interest in the sciences too (his editorial repertoire included fare as varied as collections from contemporary Greek and classical Persian writings, and translations from English treatises on steam technology). Of his writings on contemporary Greece, the first, after the Greek War of Independence, is his *Hellenion. Ueber Cultur, Geschichte und Literatur der Neugriechen* (Leipzig, 1822), following his earlier doctoral thesis entitled *De statu Graeciae hodierno deque Neohellenum seu Romaicorum historia tam politica quam literaria* (Jena, 1817), as well as a catalogue of travellers, *Tabelle der Reisenden in Griechenland seit 1453* (1817).[33] *Hellenion*, published by Brockhaus in 1822 (page references below are to this edition), consists of two parts, a 'general introduction', and a translation of Adamantios Korais's lecture *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce*, presented to the Société des Observateurs de l'Homme in Paris almost twenty years earlier in 1803. Iken's introduction, dated July 1821, follows the same argument a great number of contemporary political pamphlets relied on, namely, that current Greek events were not to be treated as a revolution in the common sense; instead, the insurrection at hand was a token of regeneration and liberation from illegitimate oppression. Iken's plea displays many of the regular features of justifying the Greek revolution. The bold tone in which Iken first of all vilifies the satanic character of Ottoman rule right at the beginning of his pamphlet underlines the other large

[30] Schlegel, *Athenaeum Fragments*, no. 216.

[31] On the absorption of political context into the moods of Romantic nature poetry, and the afterlife of that argument in scholarship, see Frances Ferguson, 'Romantic Studies', in S. Greenblatt and G. Gunn (eds.), *Redrawing the Boundaries: The Transformation of English and American Literary Studies* (New York, 1992), 100–29.

[32] Max Black, 'Metaphor', in *Models and Metaphors* (Ithaca, NY, 1962), 25–47.

[33] On Iken see Wilhelm Kosch, *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon*, 3rd edn., Bd. viii (Munich, 1981), 353 f.

argument that made up the philhellenic portfolio, namely, the Christian duty to come to Greece's aid: '[it is] the attempt to break the heavy iron chains of a despotism that oppresses to the utmost degree and to put that demon of darkness, who has wielded power in this area for 400 years, back in chains and send him down into the realm of shadows forever' (pp. 1 f.). It is also worth noting that with the figure of Satan bound in chains and thrown into Hell, Iken may well be acknowledging the apocryphal story of the *Descensus* that is part of the canon of the Orthodox Church, which, as Iken likes to stress, entertains close affinity with the Protestant one (pp. 40 ff.). The argument for Christian sympathy with the Greeks is further bolstered by reference to Greece as the holy ground of the Apostle Paul. With the satanic Turk removed from the earthly realm and territory, to create anew the rightful space of hallowed Greek ground, there is an underlying appeal to the appropriateness of place; and beyond the argument from Christian duty, the overriding strategy of Iken's text lies in his crafting an argument from nature.

In this frame, where spaces jostle for emergence, the force of oppression triggers the counter-force of Greek insurrection, and Iken goes on to develop an even grander-scale system of natural balances within which Greece's reaction is legitimated. To describe the force of progress, which has brought Greece to its present state on the brink of revolution, Iken enlists both natural events and natural imagery to support his argument. An earthquake that affected the island of Zante and the Morea two months before the insurrection of March 1821 is to Iken a portentous sign: 'Nature and mankind joined hands to become the vanguard of an extraordinary phenomenon' (p. 5). Likewise, an earthquake near the Moldavian town of Iassy (a contemporary centre of activity for Greek learning and politics) early in the same year had proven that 'earth and sky gladly signaled their approval' (p. 6). Comparing it to the impact of the Lisbon earthquake of 1755, Iken foretells a similar disturbance ('Erschütterung') of the Ottoman Empire, while linking the event to the earthquakes and a volcanic eruption at Naples in the previous year:

> On the ninth of February of this same year, at three o'clock in the morning, the capital of Moldavia was shaken by three serious tremors of three seconds each, accompanied by loud underground rumbling; the direction of the earthquake from north to south was to the Greeks all too clearly an intimation of the direction their undertaking would take across their fatherland. The crumbling of uncountable buildings on the island of Zante and in Morea seemed to prefigure the trembling, if not the actual downfall, of the rotten structure of the Ottoman state; in short, nature herself announced in clear signs what was to come, just as she had spoken a year earlier through Vesuvius' mouth about the events to come in Naples. (p. 6)

The analogy with political events is made clear: local revolutions in Naples, the Piedmont, and Spain, to which Iken frequently refers, had broken out in 1820–1, but although his use of violent nature imagery is, as we saw, not an uncommon practice, Iken is not simply conflating the geographically literal and the metaphorical. Instead, he explicitly defends his method, and when he states that, 'to the poet, nature is neither dead nor without intention' (p. 7), he in fact insists on the poet's privilege to derive meaning from the sign language of natural events. This assertion is couched in a scientific framework of natural global balances. In a grand chain of natural forces, including electric conductivity, tectonics, thunderstorms, volcanoes, fires, the currents of the sea, avalanches, and meteorites, Greece is the last stage in a worldwide release of liberating forces, spreading from West (the Americas) to East and from North to South (pp. 14 f.). Actual geography is interwoven with imagery, as the waves of revolution break upon the shores of Greece and the echo is multiplied from Spain to the mountains of Greece (p. 16), locating freedom, and providing a 'natural' justification for the case of Greece:

> Almost in the same instance now that the thunderstorm broke loose above the Spanish peninsula, an electric spark was flaring on the Italian peninsula with such explosive power that it had to jump across to the Greek peninsula. Just as in music, when a harmonious chord is audible to the sensitive ear well in advance even when only two notes are sounded and the third one is not touched, so did this phenomenon of well-tuned strings reveal itself in the realm of the spirit too: as soon as Hesperia and Magna Graecia put forth a sound, Hellas followed suit, as a relative, yes, as the original motherland of both; and even before she began to stir herself and turn to manifest action, she joined joyfully in the resounding harmony of her firstborns, even if she herself could rightly have given the first impetus, judging by her sufferings and her fate. (p. 10)

Like the unsounded note that could also justifiably have been the origin of the domino effect of natural phenomena, Greece's power of liberation is an almost parthenogenic, autonomous one that chimes

well with a global balance: it is a carefully crafted sequence of images through which Iken insist that the Greek insurrection (explicitly not a rebellion) is different in kind and genesis. Given the musical analogy, the third unsounded note that is heard in the chord of political revolution leaves Greece as the origin of that global harmony, affected again in turn, thus squaring its history, yet itself 'untouched'. In that musical dream of an aesthetic effect—the sounded harmony—that is totally natural, Greece appears touched indirectly by both space and time, as it is the effect of its own origins, which return to the land and make it audible, rather than visible.

The link between the sound of continuity and a complex naturalness is repeated in other depictions of Greece by German authors. One such example comes from the writings of Friedrich Wilhelm Thiersch (1784–1860), the classical philologist and leading figure of the philhellenic movement in Bavaria.[34] An influential neo-humanist and educational reformer at the Bavarian court, he had expressed hope for the regeneration of the Greeks as early as 1812, and was instrumental in the establishment of the Munich Athenaeum in 1815, a school for the future Greek political elite. Educated at the universities of Leipzig and Göttingen, he was linked by multiple bonds to other members of the philhellenic circles such as Krug, Cotta, von Haxthausen, and Ukert.[35] From early on he maintained contact with the Greek intelligentsia and the Philomousos Etaireia in Vienna, and on the occasion of a visit to Paris in 1813 he met Korais.[36] In 1831 he took it upon himself to travel in Greece, where he established a reputation as a mediator between the warring political factions after the assassination of the young country's first prime minister, Ioannis Kapodistrias, in 1831—a mediator in skill and intention, it would appear, rather than in effect.[37] Of his many publications it is a lecture on Greek poetry, delivered before the Bavarian Academy of Sciences in 1828,[38] which will concern me here, as it is instructive for the way it expresses the relation of Greek culture to its natural environment, across time. In this lecture Thiersch identifies the animation or personification of nature as a strong guiding principle of Greek folk poetry and folk song, and he traces it back to the ancient practice of perceiving nature as numinous and divine:

> Regarding those images which relate to the 'personification of nature', the reason [for comparison with antiquity] is clearly more deeply rooted; we have to look for it in the intense and fresh feeling for the abundant splendor of that particular sky and earth, which had already in antiquity clothed the phenomena of all creation in human form so as to worship them as images of the divine and even as divinities themselves. (p. 30)

His account of the naturalness and sense of belonging, which allegedly characterizes Greek song, borrows from familiar artistic vocabulary: sensuousness, the longing, gracefulness, and the sublime:

> It is that same intense and pure feeling . . . sometimes like a longing for the homeland which makes every separation seem a calamity, every foreign place a place of grief; a feeling for the life that softly shines with twice its charms in such a homeland, under the dark clarity of its sky, in the ethereal spirit of its balsamic air, above the blue waters of the infinite sea, in the gracefulness of luscious valleys, in the majesty of sublime mountains, under the smell of flowers and the majesty of most noble fruits, and that quickly makes the blood pulse stronger to preserve the vigour and youthfulness of mind in its unhappy inhabitants, even in deepest distress. (p. 31)

The folk song, the fairy tale, and the ballad are examples of what Susan Stewart calls a 'distressed genre', reproduced, made antiquated, and valorized in the process in order to emphasize their nature as artefacts, and, like nature, threatening, with a strong undercurrent rather than a firm base.[39] The terminology around 'folk song' and oral, or naive, culture, in other words, rests on a deep and often ambivalent awareness of modernity. Steward's subtle wordplay of the

[34] Ludwig Spaenle, *Der Philhellenismus in Bayern* (Munich, 1990), 45 ff.

[35] H. W. J. Thiersch, *Friedrich Thierschs Leben* (Leipzig, 1866).

[36] Johannes Irmscher, 'Friedrich Thierschs philhellenische Anfänge', *Neo-Hellenika*, 2 (1975), 160–80; Hans-Martin Kirchner, *Friedrich Thiersch. Ein liberaler Kulturpolitiker und Philhellene in Bayern* (Munich, 1996).

[37] Despite his efforts, his practical assistance, and his wide-ranging publications, Thiersch never quite achieved the official position or demand as an adviser with the Regency he had hoped for.

[38] *Über die neugriechische Poesie, besonders über ihr rhythmisches und dichterisches Verhältniß zur altgriechischen*, ed. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Munich, 1828). Page numbers in text are to this edition.

[39] Susan Stewart, *Crimes of Writing: Problems in the Containment of Representation* (Oxford, 1991), 66–101.

distressed genre takes on its full literal meaning here. Over and above the memory of a timeless, static scene caught and remembered in song, the actual, deep distress of Greece's inhabitants is indicating the movement and violence of time and history.

Thiersch further postulates a regional determination of songs ('they each reflect the character of their people and the landscape from which they originated', p. 32), such as the ferocity of the songs of Souli, Mount Olympus, and other parts of Northern Greece, as opposed to the peaceful scenes of the islands, Smyrna, and Thessaloniki, 'where the softness and gentleness of the Ionian sky often spreads across language, images, and metre' (p. 33). He concludes:

> What then is Modern Greek poetry but the poetry which roots in the people itself, welded to its innermost nature and immediately grasping the events of life, that original poetry of Greek antiquity? ... it inspires and creates within a range of views and fantasies that is analogous to that of the faraway past, yet it is new and peculiar... it is the most recent revelation of the indestructible Greek spirit that breaks forth intact from any misfortune that could befall it, it is the most profound confirmation of the hopes for *Bildung* which were tied to the resurrection of that most famous and most original nation. (p. 35)

Although context makes it clear that Thiersch is first and foremost talking about the development and progress of the Greek nation, the syntax is ambiguous as to whose *Bildung* exactly is being described: his non-Greek readership, in other words, is profiting just as much, if not more, from vicarious participation in Greece's resurrection from and into its own nature. The inalienable Greek spirit breaks forth with a natural force that echoes the river images of Hölderlin, and Thiersch derives similar argumentative power from linking the natural character of the Greeks, expressed in their folk poetry, to their equally natural political aspirations and the hope for progress. The connection between Greece and folk poetry by way of nature is thus inalienable.

To understand the basis for his argument more fully, we need to elaborate the framework of the aesthetic and political interest in folk poetry that allowed Greece to take up a position within that framework. How, in other words, could nature, regeneration, and emancipation, not without their proper ambivalence, the stop and start between stasis and violent motion, be linked to the attention to folk poetry?

Of course, the terminology of folk song, folk poetry, and folk culture is, not only in its eighteenth- and nineteenth-century context, a highly loaded one, and one which requires a careful approach. I use the term 'folk song' therefore not to represent the varied popular culture and song practice of Greece (or any other country), with its intricate relationship to both oral and written expression. Instead of pursuing the slippery, and in any case methodologically misplaced, question of presumed 'authenticity', which is certainly still alive in studies of Greek folklore,[40] I use 'folk song' to indicate the hopes and expectation attached to the practice and the re-creation of what were considered paradigms of a native, oral poetic culture. The most cherished aspect of folk songs, after all, was their potential to *evoke* authenticity and immediacy, and it is this awareness of their formal character, as much as of the distance separating them from the modern author, similar to that powering nature imagery, that interests me most. As in the case of Greek nature in this study, it is neither the reputed 'essence' of folk song, nor their constructed character, hidden under an idealist veneer, that needs disclosing, but their enabling and sometimes troubling dynamic—of which the Romantics were all too aware—that is thought to benefit those who care for their survival and experience. And like nature imagery, folk song, and Romantic poetry reflecting on it, is a medium of historical cognition. The 'discovery' of folk culture and forms as artefacts, in the sense of their being collected in writing or in imitation, involves, and to the Romantics fruitfully involves, the distance that separates them from the present literary culture; yet more, it even enhances that rift. The more it is collected, the more it seems endangered. 'In other words, the *writing* of oral genres always results in a residue of lost context and lost presence that literary culture, as we have seen, imbues with a sense of nostalgia and even regret.'[41] Or even, to take its logic further, of impossibility and grief; Müller, at the end of the trajectory begun

[40] On this, see Margaret Alexiou, *After Antiquity: Greek Language, Myth and Metaphor* (Ithaca, NY, 2002), 172–83.

[41] Susan Stewart, *Crimes of Writing*, 104.

in the eighteenth century, proclaims in a review essay on Béranger: 'A printed folk song is the gravestone of a dead voice.'[42] While folk song had, especially from the late eighteenth century, created potential for a new role of the author as editor, this role, as Stewart so perceptively expresses it, 'was destined to collapse into self-parody because of its impossible claims of authenticity'.[43]

In Germany, the term *Volkslied* was first coined by Herder as a translation of the English expression 'popular song'.[44] It derives from Bishop Percy's slightly earlier *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), which, together with Herder's publications, paved the way for the literary appraisal of folk poetry in the later eighteenth century. Percy's collection was enthusiastically received in Germany, especially by the poet-scholars of the Göttinger Hain circle (Boie, Stolberg, Voss), the group mentioned above for their contacts with von Halem, the writer of fictional travel accounts to Greece.[45] In the tradition of Herder, folk poetry is a form of creative expression that is less an *art* form and more a conduit for the natural creativity of a people preserved through history.[46] The truly free expression of a free nation is in its songs: 'Every unpoliced nation sings. . . . Nature has created man as free, serene, full of song: art and customs make him locked in, suspicious, silent.'[47] Just as the perception of nature is an act that furthers humanity, the creation of song is part of the same process. Herder's interest is in an ideal humanity; within that process, artistic expression has to be readjusted to historical and natural conditions as well as to the stages of *Bildung*. Folk song is an indicator of historical development as well as a lever to recover the free artistic

[42] Müller, *Werke*, iii. 138.

[43] Stewart, *Crimes of Writing*, 125.

[44] *Auszug aus einem Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker* (1773); it was developed as a technical term first in the (unpublished) collection *Alte Volkslieder* (1774), then in his enlarged annotated collection *Volkslieder* (1778/9).

[45] Gonthier-Louis Fink, *Naissance et apogée du conte merveilleux en Allemagne: 1740–1800* (Paris, 1966), 337–56; Heinrich Lohre, *Von Percy zum Wunderhorn: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Volksliedforschung in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1902), 2–10. Boie's journal *Deutsches Museum* became a forum for folk-material collections and their literary-aesthetic discussion.

[46] Herder, *Alte Volkslieder* (1774), in *Werke*, Bd. iii, ed. Ulrich Gaier (Frankfurt/M., 1990), 60.

[47] 'Alle unpolicirte Nationen sind singend. . . . Natur hat den Menschen frei, lustig, singend gemacht: Kunst und Zunft macht ihn eingeschlossen, mißtrauisch, stumm.' Ibid.

expression of humankind. Folk poetry (*Naturpoesie*) is not necessarily an alternative to art (*Kunstpoesie*) proper, but is considered its historical and spiritual foundation. However, the awareness of artificiality remains part and parcel of all subsequent appropriation of folk poetry, and it is this strand that is still strong when the Romantics of the early nineteenth century take a renewed interest both in collecting and (re)creating songs, as for example in the three-volume collection by Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1805–6), part collected folk song and part platform for the editors' own attempts to reformulate its presumed spirit. The artistic editing of older works or their new creation in line with contemporary aesthetic expectation had of course been accepted practice since Macpherson's phenomenally successful *Ossian* (1760–3), and it continued in Percy, ballads and ballad scholarship, the German collections, and eventually in the *Wunderhorn*.

But editorial practice springs from the shared assumption that it was the awareness of the artificiality of art that made the appropriation of the simple Romantic forms of folk songs and ballads productive for the writers' own work.[48] It is in this sense that attention to folk poetry signifies an emancipatory act, too. It carries associations of renewal and education, be it in an artistic, political, or individual sense, and we have seen so far that the aesthetics of the period assumes an intrinsic connection between these three fields. The discourse of folk song does not only follow that of nature imagery, which both refers to phenomenal reality and operates in a metaphorical sense, but folk song and its history can also be described through nature imagery. Nature as environment and its unencumbered, but always past relation to a *Volk* are understood as the content and basis of folk poetry; at the same time nature metaphors are used to describe this relation itself and its historical development. Müller, for example, in an essay on contemporary German poetry, summarizes the state of affairs as follows: 'There is no doubt that we have to view the invigorating stream of the older German folk song as a blessing with a rich yield: it has watered the dry ground of reflection

[48] The writer's own work and that of the nation. For Ossian and his lasting effect see Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton, 1997).

and it has washed out the overgrowth of declamatory phraseology from the soil of German poetry.'[49]

The 'natural' character of folk poetry, of its 'poets' expressing an immediate relation with nature, is carried over into nature metaphor in the description of poetic practice. In an anonymous review of Müller's translation of Fauriel's collection of Greek folk songs, the features of Greek nature reappear as a metaphor to describe the aesthetic process characteristic of the folk song: 'There lives an imagination of the brightest colours in almost all those songs, as if an eternal midday sun fell on everything those people see.'[50]

The motif, or issue, of close interaction with a natural environment as the basis of free artistic expression plays a central role in the perception of Greek folk song. And indeed, in the Greek literature translated as part of the philhellenic endeavour, folk poetry was dominant.[51] Some Greek folk songs had already been transmitted in travel accounts; Herder's folk-song collection of 1778/9 also contained a few labelled as simply 'Greek', although their provenance certainly leaves scope for argument about their folk nature: they are mainly examples of highly literary sympotic poetry taken from Athenaeus' *Scholars at Dinner* (*Deipnosophistai*).[52] The earliest collections of Greek folk songs were initiated by the Swiss and German scholars Sismondi and von Haxthausen in the first decade of the nineteenth century, although they had only limited circulation in manuscript.[53]

[49] 'Ohne Zweifel ist der belebende Strom des ältern deutschen Volksliedes als ein überaus befruchtender Segen zu betrachten, der den trocknen Boden der Reflexion befeuchtet und das Wucherkraut der deklamatorischen Phraseologie auf dem Gebiete der deutschen Lyrik ausgeschwemmt hat.' 'Über die neueste lyrische Poesie der Deutschen. Ludwig Uhland und Justinus Kerner', in *Werke*, iv. 299–342; originally published in Brockhaus's periodical *Hermes*, 4 (1827).

[50] 'Fast durchweg wohnt in diesen Liedern eine Anschauung in den hellsten Farben, es ist als fiele ein ewiges Mittagslicht auf Alles, was diese Menschen sehen.' *Literaturblatt des Morgenblattes 1826*, no. 20 (10 Mar. 1826) and 21 (14 Mar. 1826), 79.

[51] Karl Goedeke, 'Übersetzungen aus dem Neugriechischen', in *Grundriß zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, xvi (Berlin, repr. 1985), 713–17.

[52] Herder, *Werke*, v. 194 f., 1042 f.

[53] Roderick Beaton, *Folk Poetry of Modern Greece* (Cambridge, 1980), 3 ff; Alexis Politis, *Η Ανακάλυψη των Ελληνικών Τραγουδιών* (Athens, 1984), 87–121. Part of Haxthausen's collection circulated in manuscript at the time, but was only published in 1935.

The central (and best-remembered) figure is Charles Fauriel, whose *Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne* was published in two volumes, with a long introductory essay, in 1824. Fauriel, a philologist, had been provided with some material by Korais and other Greek intellectuals (Typaldo, Moustoxidis, and Tommaseo), who all shared with him a link to Neapolitan intellectual circles and an interest in the historical philosophy of Vico.[54] A German translation of Fauriel's popular collection, by Wilhelm Müller, appeared in 1825. In the wake of the philhellenic sentiment emerged a belief that a song tradition and literary form which stresses the immediate analogy or original relation between a people and their environment and which operates with motifs of a personified nature exerting direct influence on the human agents, was a valuable key to representing the tradition of the fledgling Greek nation state; this belief bore fruit on both the German and the Greek sides. For a state such as Greece, whose territory was still in a process of (re)definition and whose geographical as well as social unity was far from stable, the folk song promised both an identifiable regional origin and an analogous nature unspecific enough to allow for the designation of almost any area as 'Greek'. Müller himself, in his introduction to Fauriel's collection, formulated this particular appeal of the folk songs' setting, when he stresses the strength of their schematic and fragmentary character: 'We are given only sketches in those songs, but clearly defined sketches, of intense coloration, which mirror the lights and shadows of the Greek earth and sun' (p. lxii).[55] Likewise, the appeal of a broadly Greek natural setting, together with attention to significant location, was also the principle organizing the representation of Greek landscape and locality in Müller's own poetic collections, *Lieder der Griechen* (1821–7).[56]

[54] Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology and the Making of Modern Greece* (New York, 1986), 24–30; Politis, *Ανακάλυψη*, 238–85.

[55] 'Wir erhalten in diesen Liedern nur Skizzen, aber scharf umzogene Skizzen, mit kräftigen Farbenstrichen, in denen die Lichter und Schatten der griechischen Erde und Sonne sich abspiegeln.'

[56] Such a pattern of the natural setting is somewhat reminiscent of the reception of Ossian and his wild and sombre landscape across Europe; here the lack of specificity and the reliance on stock features in descriptions of the natural setting proved a positive advantage for a widespread reception, by virtue of its 'compatibility'; see Howard Gaskill, 'Ossian in Europe', *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, 21/4 (1994), 643–78, 672.

WILHELM MÜLLER'S *GRIECHENLIEDER*

Although the responses of the pen to the Greek War of Independence were by and large of a journalistic nature, there was also a sizeable more strictly literary reaction. A case in point are the memoirs of those philhellenes returning from active participation in Greece,[57] another a smallish number of translations from Greek literature,[58] together with the collection and translation of Greek folk songs. Lastly there was the *Griechendichtung* proper, which consisted largely of poetry and plays, published mainly in periodicals, newspapers, and almanacs[59]—and showing no less signs of the distress which the genres of folklore and collection exhibit.

Wilhelm Müller (1794–1827) is to many best known as the author of poems set by Schubert as the song-cycles *Die Winterreise* and *Die Schöne Müllerin*. With the fifty-two poems of *Griechenlieder*, however, published in six small volumes between 1821 and 1827, Müller appeared as a popular supporter of the Greek cause. If the French critic Gaston Caminade could call him 'le plus grand philhellène de l'Allemagne',[60] it is because he expressed in his work the particular blend of political, religious, and artistic concerns which distinguishes the discourse of German Philhellenism in the 1820s.

[57] Quack-Eustathiades, *Der deutsche Philhellenismus*, 90–124, on the memoirs, the quasi-fictional character of some of them, and the selective reception they met with at home. She concludes that negative portrayals of Greece and the philhellenic venture were usually discarded when the memoirs were published, which apparently was a cross-European phenomenon; see Wallace, *Shelley and Greece*.

[58] Goedeke, 'Übersetzungen aus dem Neugriechischen', mentions some samples of the patriotic poetry of Andreas Kalvos and Dionysios Solomos, as well as translations of Athanasios Christopoulos. For the latter see also Lambros Mygdalis, '*Οι πρώτες γερμανικές μεταφράσεις ποιημάτων του Αθανάσιου Χριστοπούλου* (1821–22)', *Μακεδονικά*, 17 (1977), 194–211.

[59] For an overview of the philhellenic literature, which was often of rather ephemeral value, see R. F. Arnold, 'Der deutsche Philhellenismus. Kultur- und literarhistorische Untersuchungen', *Euphorion*, 2 (1896), 71–178, and 'Zur Bibliographie des deutschen Philhellenismus', *Euphorion*, 11 (1904), 735–41; Loukia Droulia, *Philhellénisme: ouvrages inspirés par la guerre de l'indépendance grecque, 1821–1833: répertoire bibliographique* (Athens, 1974); Goedeke, 'Griechendichtungen', in *Grundriß*, viii (2nd edn., 1905), 282–93; Puchner, 'Griechische Revolution'; Hans-Georg Werner, *Geschichte des politischen Gedichts in Deutschland von 1815–1840* (Berlin, 1969), 112–46.

[60] Gaston Caminade, *Les Chants des Grecs et le philhellénisme de Wilhelm Müller* (Paris, 1913), 8.

In general, Müller is valued as a poet typical of the versatility and eclecticism characterizing his period.[61] According to Paulin, Müller belongs in his aesthetic orientation, as do Heine and Byron, 'fairly and squarely in the century that gave them birth, and yet (allowing for Müller's lesser stature) they are associated with revolutionary movements that are part of the political tissue of the nineteenth'.[62] Compared to Heine or Byron, though, Müller has had a less charitable press. His poetry, and in particular the song-cycles, though commended for their attempt to fuse simplicity with intellectual depth, are considered successful only in a few cases,[63] and he is mainly commended for his career in literary journalism, and as a perceptive critic of contemporary poetic practice.[64] He also shared a great interest in the manifestations of folk literature and folk song, evident from his 1825 edition and translation into German of Fauriel's important collection. The poetic principle he sought for and discovered in song is simplicity of tone, and he points out the need for reflectiveness on the part of the poet in order to (re)create it.[65] Whatever its literary success, Müller's choice of imagery is in all cases deliberate. This is relevant to a balanced evaluation of Müller's *Griechenlieder*, if we want to avoid an interpretation which gets all too easily bogged down in questioning the literary merit of occasional (political) poetry. Pride of place in that category surely goes to Goethe's uncompromising evaluation: '"Kill him! Beat him! Bring laurels! Blood! Gore!"... That surely cannot yet be called

[61] Gernot Gad, 'Wilhelm Müller: Selbstbehauptung und Selbstverleugnung', doctoral dissertation, Berlin (1989); Sengle, *Biedermeierzeit*, ii. 517–18.

[62] Paulin, 'Some Remarks', 365.

[63] A. P. Cottrell, *Wilhelm Müller's Lyrical Song-Cycles* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1970); Erdman Waniek, 'Banale Tiefe in Wilhelm Müllers "Winterreise"', *Jahrbuch des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts* (1994), 141–89.

[64] Most scholarly interest in his person in the last decades was concentrated in German Studies in the GDR from the 1970s and 1980s onward, maybe as part of a general surge of interest in the Romantics as (political) poets between tradition and history. On his publications Gad, 'Müller', 57–65, and Maria-Verena Leistner, 'Müller als Literaturkritiker', 47–55, who knows of *c.*70 articles until 1826, on subjects ranging from German Baroque literature, which he also edited, to Lord Byron and contemporary poetry. Among his pieces are also several reviews of Greek travel accounts and German philhellenic poetry.

[65] See his essay on Uhland and Körner mentioned above (and below); also, Gerd Hartung, 'Wilhelm Müller und das deutsche Volkslied', *Weimarer Beiträge*, 23 (1977), 46–85; Gad, 'Müller', 75 ff.

poetry.'[66] It would be misjudging Müller's critical acumen, though, to separate the playful from the political.[67] Recently, attention has been redrawn to his self-understanding as a political author and, as a key to it, to the acknowledgement of Müller's critical work, especially his careful discussion of Byron.[68]

As for his philhellenic career, Müller was given the opportunity, in 1817, to accompany the Prussian Baron von Sack on a trip to Greece. Following his classical studies in Berlin, where he was admitted to the circle of the retired (and embittered) classical philologist F. A. Wolf and the up-and-coming scholar August Boeckh, he was recommended by the *Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften* as an academic companion for the Baron's intended journey. Despite two months in Vienna in order to establish contact with Greek intellectuals and to learn Modern Greek, Müller never went to Greece.[69] The journey proceeded as far as Rome, where the two men's ways separated, and from where Müller two years later returned to Germany and a ducal librarian's career, juggling a large number of journalistic projects at the same time—among them, to write popularly and at length about his Italian experiences.[70] During the publication of his *Griechenlieder* Müller kept courting censorship, since some of them attacked very explicitly the *Restauration* powers, at the time very reluctant to interfere in the Greek conflict. He published mainly with Brockhaus in

[66] *Goethes Gespräche*, ed. Freiherr von Biedermann and Wolfgang Herwig (Stuttgart, 1965–84), iii. 699.

[67] Gad, 'Müller', 119–22, makes a particular case for a possible reading of *Die Winterreise* in the light of Müller's recent return from Italy to the German climate of the *Restauration* in 1819.

[68] Ibid. 29–38, 57 ff.; Andreas Klenner, 'Kein Sänger der Weltflucht: Wilhelm Müller als kritischer Beobachter seiner Zeit', in Norbert Michels (ed.), *Wilhelm Müller: Eine Lebensreise* (Weimar, 1994), 71–5; Günther Blaicher, 'Wilhelm Müller and the Political Reception of Byron in Nineteenth century Germany', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 223/1 (1986), 1–16.

[69] Vienna was a good place to prepare for travel to Greece. Between 1787 and 1814 the number of Greek residents had risen from 600 to an estimated 4000; between 1801 and 1820 about 25% of Greek printed books were published in Vienna. It had also provided a home for the first Greek newspaper, the *Ephimeris* (1790–7), and the influential bi-monthly periodical *Ermis o Logios* (1811–21), which, under the patronage of Korais, published a wide range of articles and excerpts from German thought and literature, the sciences, medicine, and philology.

[70] Bernhard Leistner, 'Wilhelm Müller: Leben und Werk', in Michels, *Lebensreise*, 11–31.

Leipzig, who dutifully stood by him through the frequent censorship cases (imposed after the very restrictive Karlsbad Decrees of 1815). The poems were a success. The mixture of lightness of song, honest anger, and a compliance with public taste and commercial needs was recognized, not least by Müller himself, who prided himself on hitting the right note.[71]

In Vienna Müller had spent a few months on the fringes of an intellectual circle where he may have had contact with the 'Philiki Etairia', the Society of Friends, a secret society on a Masonic model founded in Odessa in 1814 with the aim of 'liberating the motherland' and with great influence in the promotion of Greek interests.[72] While *Ermis o Logios* announced Müller's impending trip,[73] as we have seen, Müller never got to Greece. He proceeded as far as Italy, where he stayed, felt himself adopted by the circle of young German artists in Rome, and only after a two-year residence returned to Germany to settle back in Dessau.[74]

The publication of his *Griechenlieder* followed quickly on the heels of the Greek War of Independence. Like his first collection of poetry in *Bundesblüthen* (1816), a co-production by Müller and his friend Kalckreuth under the impact of the German Wars of Liberation

[71] Lohre, *Wilhelm Müller als Kritiker und Erzähler: Ein Lebensbild mit Briefen an F. A. Brockhaus und anderen Schriftstücken* (Leipzig, 1927), 141, 190.

[72] Thus the version proposed by B. Leistner, 'Müller', 23. Leistner relies on Gustav Schwab's biographical sketch of Müller accompanying his edition of Müller's poems in 1837. Johannes Irmscher, 'Der Dessauer Dichter Wilhelm Müller und der Deutsche Philhellenismus', *Ελληνικά*, 21 (1968), 48–74, makes reference only to the influence of the Society of Philomouson, also founded in 1814, whose most prominent founding member was the Corfiote Count Ioannis Kapodistrias, who had served as the Russian legate at the Vienna Congress in 1814–15. Kapodistrias was very active in winning new and influential members for his cause (amongst them Thiersch in Bavaria), and it is very likely that Müller made first and foremost contact with this *Etairia*. There are, generally, strong allusions in Müller's work to ideas and imagery of the Freemasons, and archival work has identified him as a member, even if not one with a great Masonic career, of a Lodge in Leipzig; see Ulrich Hartung, 'Wilhelm Müllers Beziehung zur Freimaurerei—eine Reflexion der *Winterreise*', in U. Bredemeyer and C. Lange (eds.), *Kunst kann die Zeit nicht formen. 1. internationale Wilhelm-Müller-Konferenz Berlin 1994* (Berlin, 1996), 174–82.

[73] Philip Buttmann, 'Brief an die Hellenen', a letter of reference for Müller by a prominent member of the Berlin Academy, appeared in the journal both in German and in Greek in November 1817; a copy of the letter is printed in the appendix of Lohre, *Wilhelm Müller.*

[74] B. Leistner, 'Müller', 18 f.

against Napoleon (in which they had both fought), the *Lieder der Griechen* (first published under this title in 1821, then reissued in 1825 with the collections *Neue Lieder* (1822/3) and *Neueste Lieder der Griechen* (1824)) were no less fervent or politically outspoken. Predominantly framed as first-person narratives, they are uttered by a variety of Greek personae, from the Phanariot Greek to the island boy and the Maniot mother, and some of them attacked very explicitly those who were reluctant to interfere in the Greek conflict. Poems like 'The Greeks addressing the *Austrian Observer*' ('Die Griechen an den *Österreichischen Beobachter*', October 1821), the latter being a conservative political magazine published in Vienna, made censorship quickly aware of Müller. After Metternich's attempt to clamp down on political agitation such as Thiersch's plan for a German Legion,[75] the atmosphere became even more hostile.

Müller's second collection, *Neue Lieder der Griechen* (1822/3), contained more poems courting trouble, such as 'Pestilential Freedom' ('Die Verpestete Freiheit'), which accused the European 'Pharisees' of shying away from the prospect of a Greece liberated at all costs, or 'Pontius Pilatus Washing his Hands' ('Pontii Pilati Händewaschen'), which very outspokenly attacked Friedrich von Gentz, a loyal member of Metternich's cabinet, and also a stout Roman Catholic.[76] The fact that Müller also decided to change his allegiance from his publisher Ackermann in Dessau to Brockhaus in Leipzig could not save him from censorship, even if Brockhaus loyally stood by him.[77] By 1824,

[75] Spaenle, *Philhellenismus in Bayern*, 51–69.

[76] Von Gentz's critical articles on the Greek War of Independence were published mainly in the *Österreichischer Beobachter*; see also I. D. Dimakis, *O Österreichischer Beobachter της Βιέννης και η Ελληνική Επανάστασις* (Athens, 1978).

[77] The first volume of *Neue Lieder der Griechen*, which Müller had commended to Brockhaus in September 1822 as 'hymns of freedom' and 'poetic-political ware' (Lohre, *Wilhelm Müller*, 168 f.), was rejected by the publisher and the censors; the third volume, which contained poems like 'Die neuen Kreuzfahrer' (the Christian powers joining in a crusade against fellow Christians) and 'Die Pharisäer', was likewise rejected by the censors in Leipzig in 1823 and instead published in the *Deutsche Blätter* in Breslau. On the publication history, see James Taft Hatfield's introduction to his edition of Müller's *Gedichte* (Berlin, 1906). The poems, which did not appear in the collections of 1821–6, are added in Max Müller's edition in a section misleadingly entitled 'Letzte Lieder der Griechen'.

however, a tone of pettiness begins to creep into their correspondence. Sales, so promising at first, were flagging, and Brockhaus became reluctant to produce new *Griechenlieder*, because the 'poetic and political hotcakes', as Müller had termed them, were becoming 'Makulatur'. This was generally the time, across Germany, when the original fervour for the Greek cause was diminishing, to be reignited only after 1826 and the fall of Missolonghi, when the European balance of power was changing. In 1824, let alone in 1821, that was still some distance away, and by and large the *Lieder* were a big success. The mixture of lightness of song, honest anger, and a compliance with public taste and commercial needs were recognized, not least by Müller himself.[78]

Beyond their fairly overt political criticism, however, expressed through support for the Greek cause, the *Griechenlieder* illustrate the complexities of two concepts mentioned earlier: the establishment of continuity as legible in the natural environment, and the process of 'naturalization' as a key features in the representation of a nation. The significance of environment in relation to Müller's characters is mainly reflected in three motifs: locations of classical significance, the mountains, and the sea.[79] As opposed to the range and the allusive nature of place-names, as, for example, still in Hölderlin, the Greek land is now defined more directly through names and mainly by names with a military association. At the same time, the range of natural features narrows: mountains (mainland or island) and the sea dominate the Greek landscape. By way of only a few, strong topoi Greek freedom is located; and again, fixed reference points are mixed with an aesthetics of transcendence (on which more below).

What is more significant, though, is that the internal echoes between Müller's poems not only unite and multiply the voices of his Greek characters and their supporters, but they seem to move from self-referentiality to straight self-quotation. Thomas Pfau, in the context of arguing for melancholy vis-à-vis history as the predominant mood of late Romanticism, has suspected, with regard to the folk tone of German high Romantic lyric, that 'this unsettling

[78] Lohre, *Wilhelm Müller*, 141, 190.

[79] It is noteworthy that apart from the *Griechenlieder* there is only sparse use of mountain imagery in Müller's other poetry; Philip Allen, 'Wilhelm Müller and the German Volkslied, II: Nature-sense in the Volkslied and in Müller', *English and German Philological Quarterly*, 3 (1901), 35–91, 69.

proximity of poetry to outright citation or cliché may indeed constitute the underlying aesthetic and ideological signature of European writing during the era of the Regency in Britain and the *Restauration* in Germany'.[80] The citational character, though, he argues, may express the very fear of finding language lacking in resonance, especially as it is so often, in that same lyric poetry, offset by inversion, qualification, or doubt about the cliché. Müller's topoi, accordingly, are not simple attempts to evoke a past glory, but, in line with the dynamic form of the Romantic nature image, they are complex and ambivalent commentators on the availability of freedom and the availability to express it: both in fighting for it, and in writing about it.

A first heroic location of repeated and repetitive significance is the site of Thermopylae, the natural landmark of ostensibly one of the most consequential battles of Greek antiquity, that of few Spartans against the Persians in 480 BC. Alongside Marathon, it is the favourite example of an ancient battle site in the literature (German, Greek, and generally European) surrounding the War of Independence. It was so precisely because it was not only a location which proved the Spartans' military valour and courage, but also a place whose topographical character (a narrow pass) seemed to give active support to their military prowess.[81] The battle of Peta, for example, one of the few actual field battles between the Greeks and the Turks in the War of Independence, was fought in 1822 on a hillside near the village of Peta in Epirus, and resulted in the large-scale and traumatic defeat of the Philhellenes' Battalion.[82] In the newly founded German periodical *The Greek Struggle for Liberty* (*Der Freiheitskampf der Griechen*) it was reported as a (new) victory at Thermopylae.[83] Even if this is a somewhat contrived and uneasy use of figurative speech, it is at least fully consistent with the familiar treatment of place and nature: it shows a military action in accordance not only with a tradition, but

[80] Thomas Pfau, 'Conjuring History: Lyric Cliché, Conservative Fantasy, and Traumatic Awakening in German Romanticism', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 102/1 (2003), 53–92, 69.

[81] On the popularity of the theme across Europe and the arts, see Emma Clough, 'Loyalty and Liberty: Thermopylae in the Western Imagination', in T. Figueira (ed.), *Spartan Society* (Swansea, 2004), 363–84.

[82] Dakin, *Greek Struggle*, 92 ff; W. St Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence* (Oxford, 1972), 97–101.

[83] E. Klein (ed.), *Der Freiheitskampf der Griechen: 3. Heft* (1822), 314.

with its environment. Müller too makes frequent use of the topos of Thermopylae, most explicitly in the poem of that name, where the chorus of the buried Spartans appeals to their descendants, and in 'Alexander Ypsilanti auf Munkacs', where an apparition of Leonidas conjures up the vision of Thermopylae as a site of contemporary victory to the Greek commander imprisoned in Hungary: 'In dem engen Felsenpasse . . . [h]aben über die Barbaren freie Griechen heut gesiegt' ('In the narrow rocky pass free Greeks today were victorious against the barbarians', ll. 16–18). As in the battle report on Peta, Thermopylae becomes a landscape marker that, although topographically determined, is not geographically limited. To Müller's German reader it is likely to become even more of a portable entity as it parallels a motif from the patriotic poetry of the German Napoleonic Wars of 1813, in particular that of the resurrected Prussian troops of Frederick the Great, such as it was used, for example, in the collaborative collection *Bundesblüthen*.[84]

Müller's second favourite imagery centres around the Mani, the southernmost peninsula of the Peloponnese, and its inhabitants. In line with the focus on Sparta and the Spartans as the most militant manifestation Greece has to offer, it seems the location best suited to accommodate the transition to Greece present. The Maniots had not only taken part in the uprisings of 1770 and 1821, but they were perceived, much as they perceived themselves, as the descendants and successors of the ancient Spartans;[85] hence, since classical times, the Mani had had a reputation, still reflected in nineteenth-century travel accounts, as an unapproachable, wild, and dangerous territory, populated by a fiercely freedom-loving people.[86] No doubt, the Mani is and was remote and harsh, but during the period of Ottoman rule leading up to the insurrection it was among those areas of Greece comparatively well populated, with a high degree of cultivation,

[84] e.g. Georg Graf von Blankensee's 'Kriegslied für 1813', *Bundesblüthen* (Berlin, 1816), 24, or Wilhelm von Studnitz's 'Die drei Worte des Preußen', ibid. 235.

[85] Petrobey Mavromichalis, the Maniot leader of the 1821 insurrection, issued an appeal to the European powers as the 'general of the Spartiate forces' from the 'Spartiate camp' (repr. in Spyridon Trikoupis, *Ιστορία της Ελληνικής Επανα-στ άσεως* (London, 1853–7), i. 368 f.).

[86] From the latter half of the seventeenth century the Maniots' liking for bravery, liberty, and robbery had become a set piece in travellers' reports; Augustinos, *French Odysseys*, 113 f.

especially when compared to the rest of the Morea, and in addition enjoying a degree of relative independence.[87] This standing, coupled with the rather conservative, very self-contained and clan-oriented social structure of the Maniots,[88] might easily have reinforced the image, in native and foreign eyes alike, of an area that was distinguished by forcefulness and continuity. Small wonder, then, that references linking the Spartans and the character of the Mani became leitmotifs in the poetry dealing with the Greek revolutionary movement,[89] where Spartan discipline and courage, itself with a long tradition in the Western perception of Greece, now gathered new political significance.[90]

Sparta, in many ways, stood for an essentially un-Athenian, more Doric, and in this sense pre-classical and more ancient element of the Greek world, which extended even further the time-scale of continuity;[91] a concentration on the less perfectly balanced yet more dynamic style associated with the Spartan tradition rendered the imagery highly suitable for representing a Greece in action. A notion of Greece was now needed which could justify the revolutionary and seditious movement, and maybe also deflect its political explosiveness into a natural, and hence less contentious, link between an essentially wild and free landscape that is striving to regain its freedom, and the fighters it breeds. In

[87] Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, *Eve of Greek Revival*, 34 ff., quotes statistical and demographic material, according to which up to 50% of arable land in Greece was left untilled, especially on the Peloponnese, where Turkish landownership and an uneven distribution of the population rendered cultivation more often than not barely self-sufficient. Maniots had served as Venetian mercenaries from the fifteenth century; from the seventeenth century the Mani had been infamous for piracy and brigandage, and in 1777 the region effectively maintained autonomy, even if contested, from the Porte; see Peter Greenhalgh and Edward Eliopoulos, *Deep into Mani* (London, 1985), 17–43.

[88] A recent summary of enduring Maniot social structures is C. Nadia Seremetakis, *The Last Word: Women, Death and Divination in Inner Mani* (Chicago, 1991), 16–46.

[89] Apart from Müller, one other such example is Harro Harring's drama *Die Mainotten* (Luzern, 1825), which also comes complete with thundering rivers and Spartan blood. Wilhelm Waiblinger's novel *Phaeton* (1823), taking up motifs from Hölderlin's *Hyperion*, has the father of the heroine be revealed as a 'descendant of the ancient Spartans' and the son of a 'wild Maniot' (*Werke und Briefe*, ii. 85).

[90] Rawson, *Spartan Tradition*, 306–43.

[91] This could associate a positive value: the young Friedrich Schlegel, for example, in *Von den Schulen der griechischen Poesie* (1794/5), identifies the Doric lyrical style (not only as historical but as a more general classificatory term applicable to different literary, political or cultural periods) as altogether more truly Hellenic than that of the more orientalized Ionians.

Müller's intellectual environment and literary repertoire there was no shortage of writings to assert such a characterization. Ewald Dietrich's *Griechenland und die Türkey*, for example, one of the accounts which emerged to fill the information gap in German public opinion following the events of spring 1821, states in the section on Greek national character: 'The Maniots (Spartans) are distinguished among all others by their nobility, independence and courage.'[92] Pouqueville's *Histoire de la regénération de la Grèce* (1824), of which Müller owned a copy, dwells extensively on the Maniots and their Spartan heritage;[93] Nagel's pamphlet *Werden die türkischen Schlachtbänke*... (1821), similarly knows of the Maniots as descendants of the Spartans, keeping themselves free of the Turkish yoke in their mountain fastness (p. 20); F. A. Ukert's *Gemälde von Griechenland* (1810), part of Müller's library, stresses the impression of freedom and independence which the traveller gained from his encounter with the Maniots;[94] his hopeful description of Spartan women, moreover, as 'blond, free, and strong' (pp. 115 f.) is even more remarkable when it is seen next to his repeated analogy—in regard to natural environment and character of inhabitants—between Sparta/the Mani and Switzerland. The link between the past tradition and the future prospects of the Spartans/Maniots and the Swiss may conjure incongruous images of Germanic utopianism seen at work here, but the link is not accidental: the Swiss Alpine environment was as much a cause of aesthetic fascination to European literati as it was held responsible for their authentic simplicity and republican liberty, especially on the way to a new national consciousness after the demise of the old Swiss Confederation in 1798.[95] Arcadia, too, was thought to be reminiscent of the Alpine republic. Bartholdy, for example, notes that 'this region looks very much like Switzerland', and although historically and geographically clearly different from either Sparta or the Mani, those three areas are often conflated in a general geographical impression of a rough, mountainous, and valiant unity. The philhellenic pamphleteering did not hold back either, but followed through the political implications of the comparison.

[92] Ewald Dietrich, *Griechland und die Türkey* (Annaberg, 1921), 43 f.

[93] Excerpts in Caminade, *Les Chants des Grecs*, 39–42.

[94] F. A. Ukert, *Gemälde von Griechenland* (1810), 115 f.

[95] See Kaufmann and Zimmer, 'Authentic Nation', for further bibliography; on the Alps as the seat of 'Helvetic freedom', see Jacek Wozniakowski, *Die Wildnis: Zur Deutungsgeschichte des Berges in der europäischen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt/M., 1987), 238–58.

Krug, for example, in 1821, envisages a 'Confederation on a Swiss model' as the ideal solution for the Greek political make-up.[96]

Another historical curiosity that had bathed the Mani in the light of political activism and European relevance was that of a seventeenth-century Maniot colony apparently established on Corsica. When, during his Italian campaign, Napoleon was approached by the Bey of Mani, he pledged his support to the area in case of an extension of the campaign to Greek territory. To secure the Mani's alliance in a possible confrontation with the Ottomans, Napoleon sent an envoy there in 1797, headed by two members of the Stephanopoli family from Corsica, Napoleon's birthplace, which claimed descent from the founders of the Maniot settlement, and, further into the past, descent from the Byzantine imperial family into the bargain. According to one account of the venture, 'the occasion was one for an orgy of Spartiate sentiment on both sides'.[97] Iken, in his historical-scientific account of Greece's awakening, goes so far as to claim a Maniot origin for Napoleon himself, who, through what we have to assume is an osmosis of courage, soaks up the displaced Maniot valour on his home ground in Corsica, even if, according to Iken, he does in the end fail to live up to the Maniot ideal. Greek character, arising from territorial realities, is in this context atmospheric enough to be transposable and to have an impact upon significant political events and their participants, in an act of natural cross-fertilization. In other words, the groundedness of Greek character, movable to the territory it has colonized, goes to shape the human actors and decision-makers of fast-moving, volatile history, no matter how tenuous that link is.

In turn, the appeal to and of Spartan origins affected Maniot self-presentation to its European supporters. A letter from Petrobey Mavromichali, the Maniot leader of the 1821 insurrection, to Jean Eynard, the director of the Griechenverein at Geneva, invokes the Maniots as the descendants of the Spartans and the guardians of freedom, also by virtue of their natural habitat. Mavromichalis

[96] Bartholdy, *Bruchstücke*, 241; Krug, *Letztes Wort über die griechische Sache*, 21.

[97] Rawson, *Spartan Tradition*, 293. The account was published in 1800 as *Voyage de Dimo et Nicolo Stephanopoli en Grèce, pendant les années V et VI [1797/1798], d'après deux missions, dont l'une du gouvernement français, et l'autre du général en chef Buonaparte; rédigé par un des professeurs du Prytanée* (Paris, 1800).

bolsters his appeal for financial support in this way: 'Be assured that your generous help will be rewarded by the deeds of the Spartans. They live a life almost conforming to the primitive state of nature. Forced to retire to their dry and steep mountains, in order to preserve freedom, they were extremely poor and not in a state to establish schools for the education of their children there.'[98]

The habitat of those latter-day Spartans, as it is represented to the outside observer, is deficient and in need of support, but in that way it literally lays bare the foundations of why it is worth rescuing. *Almost* conforming to the primitive state of nature is exactly what seems to entitle them, in the eyes of their projected readership, to progress towards the political state that thrives on the stereoscopic vision of progress and an originary, timeless naturalness. While this is the dynamic and paradoxical tension which Homi Bhabha, prominently, has identified for almost any act of modern national (self-) representation, natural environment, in the case of Greece, slots particularly smoothly into that structure.

Against this background it is not surprising that Müller's dramatis personae should feature a number of Maniot characters: poems such as 'The Maniot Woman', 'The Teaching of the Maniot Woman', 'The Maniot', 'The Maniot Boy', and 'The Maniot Widow' spin a web of family continuity and affiliation across the volumes of the *Griechenlieder*. 'The Maniot', from his third collection of September 1822, is one such example. The perspective is that from a mountain-top, and a reified freedom is inscribed into the natural features of the Mani: freedom lies buried in the plain but the rallying-cry, in a reverse upward movement, is to bring freedom down from its mountain refuge in triumph ('Do you want to regain your freedom? Come up with sharpened swords! From the mountains we will bring her down, united'). The Maniot as freedom fighter comes to personify a vital freedom that, as opposed to its buried namesake, thrives in a natural, organic fashion. His image as a mountain-dwelling hero, descending

[98] 'Soyez persuadé que vos généreux secour seront récompensé par les exploits des Spartiates. Ceux-ci mènent une vie presque conforme à l'état primitif de la nature. Forcés de se retirer sur leurs montagnes arides et escarpées, pour conserver la liberté, ils étaient extrêmement pauvres, et hors d'état d'établir chez eux des écoles pour l'éducation des enfants.' *Documents officiels sur les secours envoyé en Grèce par Monsieur Eynard, et sur l'etat de la Grèce à la fin de juillet 1826* (Geneva, 1826; repr. Athens, 1975).

like a rushing river onto the plain where freedom lies buried, renders the action of the Maniot factually indistinguishable from that of nature: 'Free, like my mountain streams, like the eagle in the sky, | I thunder down into the plain, where freedom lies buried' ('Frei, wie meiner Berge Strom, wie der Adler in den Lüften, | Stürz ich brausend in die Fläche, wo die Freiheit liegt in Grüften'). The classical (and maybe expected) continuity and heritage that are alluded to by reference to 'old heroic dust' and the 'grey rubble' (l. 5) burying Greek freedom, are exchanged in favour of a living tradition: the reference to his children—as inheritors of the contested freedom—places the Maniot in a continuous line of predecessors and descendants, while his own actions are invoked as continuity of resistance: 'never, never did a slavish yoke bend my strong neck.'

The image of the Maniot also does something else; the fashioning of the mountains as a place of freedom, which is a recurrent theme in German as well as Greek poetry and prose, deliberately evokes, and integrates into the fabric of a volatile and violent natural continuity, the klefts, the groups of irregular brigands who, particularly during the last century of Ottoman rule had determined the social structure of areas of Roumeli, Epirus, and Thessaly, as well as some of the Morea.[99] Existing on the edge of both legality and society, owing no fixed allegiance to the authorities, yet marked by a strong sense of group loyalty, they were not only a staple of travel accounts in circulation, but they became identifiable with the potential for achieving freedom. To link them, moreover, with the imagery of personified nature not only strengthened the coherence of Müller's poetic imagery, it also established a link to the *kleftika*, the particular group of Greek folk songs treating this group of social bandits, which had developed during the eighteenth century.[100]

Müller's *Griechenlieder*, in fact, need to be seen in an emerging folk-song tradition not only on the German side, in that they also consciously evoke formal characteristics of the Greek folk song: the

[99] See John Koliopoulos, *Brigands With a Cause: Brigandage and Irredentism in Modern Greece 1821–1912* (Oxford, 1987), 20–35.

[100] The so-called kleftic songs, using the same stylistic and structural elements as other (older) folk songs, take as their topic the fighting of groups of brigands against the Turks and were composed mainly during the course of the eighteenth century, particularly in the area of Roumeli. See Alexis Politis, *Το Δημοτικό Τραγούδι: Κλεφτικά* (Athens, 1976), introduction; Beaton, *Folk Poetry of Modern Greece*, 102–11.

fifteen-syllable verse (with a caesura after the eighth syllable) mirrors the *politikos stichos*, the 'political verse', a standard metre of, among other things, the Greek popular or folk song. Müller, fully engaging in the logic of the distressed genre, is keen to bring the model to his readership's attention. In a review of recent *Griechenlieder* in Brockhaus's *Literarisches Conversations-Blatt* in 1824, Müller commends the exemplary character of his own songs, claiming that the 'well chosen metrical form is developed from Modern Greek models', models he in turn likens to the 'Nibelungen verse' of medieval German epic.[101] In a second review of 1825, this time of recent translations of Greek folk song into French, English, and German, the last being his own translation of Fauriel, Müller offers a more precise definition of the 'heroic verse' of Greek folk songs, as a fifteen-syllable line, separated by a caesura into one eight- and one seven-syllable section, and with the main accent of the first section on the sixth or eighth syllable, of the second section on the sixth syllable.[102] Although Müller is very conscientious in following this metrical pattern in his translation of Fauriel's collection, his own *Griechenlieder* are much less conceived as faithful adaptations. Here Müller follows the model of the fifteen-syllable line with a caesura in about half of his Lieder, yet without ever fully succeeding in a complete metrical reconstruction. In some poems he attempts the dactylic ending of the first half-line, but without consistency and with a change of the main stress to the fifth or seventh syllable.[103] It is no less important that he insists on the use of regular rhyming couplets, which deviates from the Greek norm of largely unrhymed lines and brings his poems much closer to European expectations of versification.[104] More than a concession to taste, Müller

[101] *Literarisches Conversations-Blatt*, 59 (10 Mar. 1824), 235. The review, of three recent German collections of poetry in support of the Greeks, is not signed, but is almost certainly by Müller himself, given the comparisons he draws with Müller's poetry, the nature of analysis of metre, and his characteristic and immensely readable style of damning with faint praise, familiar from his other reviews.

[102] *Literarisches Conversations-Blatt*, 122 (27 May 1825), 485. Müller claims that English and French are not suited, nor willing, to break with their strict traditions and render an unrhymed fifteen-syllable verse as precisely that.

[103] In more detail Gad, 'Müller', 149 ff.

[104] In his translation of Fauriel's collection *Chants populaires de la Grèce* (1824) in 1825, Müller keeps as close as possible to the unrhymed original. His own poetic translations of folk material as *Reime aus den Inseln des Archipelagus*, on the other hand, are free adaptations using a standard rhyme form.

also aligns Greek song with the popular precedent of the rhymed ballad. It creates familiarity with a foreign, ostensibly more organic and original relation between the individual (or the group) and its environment expressed in the songs, in which the reader may participate to a degree. Müller hints at the particular predisposition of the German reader in his assertion that the language particularly suited to render the Greek originals is German, 'whose nature made it possible to follow the peculiar metrical form of the original almost word for word, without distorting or forcing the free and natural character of folk song'.[105] Again, naturalness here provides the necessary translucency that allows the difficult translation from one nation in the making (Greece) to another (Germany).

At the centre of the folk 'tone' lies its immediate relation with nature. The adequate expression of feelings or internal processes through the images provided by nature is not merely artistic practice, but the prerogative of the poet who has grasped this very relation to nature that is characteristic of folk song. Müller's comment on his contemporary, Kerner, another poet making use of folk elements, reiterates his basis for the analogy between interior sentiment and exterior environment:

> Moreover, Kerner's Muse is never indoors: for joy and sorrow, in longing and contemplation, in dreamy solitude and playful sociability she is surrounded by free nature all around, above and below. And yet, she would never care to represent nature like a landscape painter. She takes in nature and returns it from inside her through her thoughts and feelings. For this her nature is so peculiar and yet so simple and so true. Shapeless longing clothes itself and its object in images of nature, and even the sun and the moon are mere carriers of the poet's love.[106]

[105] *Literarisches Conversations-Blatt*, 122 (27 May 1825), 485.

[106] 'Überhaupt ist Kerners Muse nie in der Stube: in Lust und Leid, in Sehnsucht und Andacht, in träumender Einsamkeit und spielender Geselligkeit hat sie die freie Natur um sich, unter sich und über sich. Dennoch aber fällt es ihr nie ein, die Natur als Landschaftsmalerin darstellen zu wollen. Sie nimmt die Natur in sich auf und gibt sie aus ihrem Innern mit ihren Gedanken und Gefühlen wieder heraus. Daher ist ihre Natur so eigentümlich und doch so einfach und so wahr. Die gestaltlose Sehnsucht kleidet sich und ihren Gegenstand in die Bilder der Natur, und selbst Sonne und Mond sind für den Dichter oft nur Träger seiner Liebe.' 'Über die neueste lyrische Poesie', 329 f.

Against the refined inventory of stylized landscape painting, Müller's work espouses the ideal of artistic simplicity implied in folk song.[107] Some aspects singled out by Müller are particularly relevant to the tone of the *Griechenlieder*: the untamed flow of both Greek freedom and mountain rivers in his songs echoes the metaphor of his own musings on the reviving 'stream of folk song on the dry ground of reflection'. Yet the regenerative force lies precisely in the use of 'authentic' imagery, not in the emulation of archaizing language or form.[108] The turn away from merely imitating older forms ties in with Müller's credo expressed in the same essay that new folk songs had to be contemporary ('zeitgemäß').[109] The stylistic feature to achieve that end, which Müller commends in Uhland's writing, is the use of personae or dramatic monologue;[110] the fact that he himself uses the same device, that is, the various representative first-person speakers in his *Griechenlieder*, lets him claim the same naturalness and immediacy he values highly as a poetic quality; not only does the first-person perspective facilitate identification; the ultimate beneficiary is again the individual (and the poet) who, in the act of reading or re-creating folk songs and the original direct relation between individual and environment expressed in them, furthers his own (poetic) understanding and human character.

The 'contemporary' character of his (Greek) folk songs—and the political applicability to their German reader's present situation—is further strengthened by Müller's awareness of the unbridgeable gap between the past and the present, whether between older folk-song models and modern imitations, or between ancient and modern

[107] Heinrich Heine, in an often-quoted letter to Müller in 1826, praises the latter's collection *Sieben und siebzig Gedichte aus den hinterlassenen Papieren eines reisenden Waldhornisten* (1820), which contained the song-cycle *Die schöne Müllerin*, as exemplary in achieving the authentic voice of natural simplicity; Nigel Reeves, 'The Art of Simplicity: Heinrich Heine and Wilhelm Müller', *Oxford German Studies*, 5 (1970), 48–66.

[108] 'Über die neueste lyrische Poesie', 304. Müller's attitude betrays the influence of his teacher F. A. Wolf, who was one of the first scholars to stress the importance of oral tradition in the composition and transmission of Homeric epic. Müller himself wrote a treatise *Homerische Vorschule* (1824), modelled on Wolf's *Prolegomena ad Homerum* (1795); Wolf himself had relied on Herderian ideas of poetic composition and had stressed the, in the last analysis, irretrievable nature of ancient texts.

[109] Müller, 'Über die neueste lyrische Poesie', 304.

[110] Ibid. 309.

Greece. On the one hand this concerns the evaluation of contemporary Greek events by the European public. The opening poem of the *Griechenlieder*, 'The Greeks to the Friends of their Antiquity' ('Die Griechen an die Freunde ihres Altertums'), uncovers the failure of the professed Philhellenes (and, one wonders, the professed poets?) to integrate the present situation into their idealizing view:

> Das Alt' ist neu geworden, die Fern ist euch so nah,
> Was ihr erträumt so lange, leibhaftig steht es da,
> Es klopft an eure Pforte—ihr schließt ihm euer Haus—
> Sieht es denn gar so anders, als ihr es träumtet, aus?
>
> (ll. 23–6)

What was old has become new, what was far away has come close, what you had dreamed is, at long last, standing before you alive; it is knocking on your door—and you barricade your house—Well, does it look so different from your dream?

On the other hand, and despite the repeated appeal to the ancient glory revived in the present Greek struggle, there is a strong sense within the scenes of the individual poems and in the views of the individual speakers that the material remains of antiquity are degenerating and beyond recovery. The personified 'Ruins of Athens to England' ('Ruinen von Athen an England') predict their ultimate downfall, 'The Maniot' defies the ancient rubble which has buried freedom, and the voice of 'Temples Old and New' ('Alte und neue Tempel') summarizes the vain attempt to salvage the monuments of old:

> Laßt die alten Tempel stürzen! Klaget um den Marmor nicht,
> Wenn die Hand des blinden Heiden seine schöne Form zerbricht!
> Nicht in Steinen, nicht in Asche wohnt der Geist der alten Welt,
> In den Herzen der Hellenen steht sein königliches Zelt . . .
>
> (ll. 1–4)

Let the old temples come tumbling down! Do not lament the marble, when the hand of the blind heathen destroys its beauteous shape! The spirit of the ancient world rests not in stones or in ashes, but in the Hellenes' hearts, and here it has put up its royal tent . . .

The continuity between the ancient and the contemporary spirit is constantly sought throughout the poems, yet Müller warns against a false sense of continuity which, like the contrived use of formal aspects of folk poetry, does not recognize that the historical past is beyond

retrieval. If continuity is to be established, it is in the *memory* of the past. The surrounding nature, with the locations and markers of memory, is simultaneously the complementary dynamic setting which reflects the actions of its inhabitants. 'The Maniot Woman', who challenges her fellow women to search out the ruins of Sparta so as to gather stones to pelt those of the returning sons who have achieved nothing in the fight for freedom, indicates Müller's understanding of continuity: material locality includes, yet of necessity transcends, the *fragments* of the past, while the continuity of a cultural tradition (Spartan maternal pride and manly honour) comes at the cost of destroying quite another, immediate continuity, that of the family and the sons' lives. Müller's strong views on the potential of folk song (and its potential for failure) echo in the violence that is enabled by his Greek nature: stones become weapons to quench false continuity, while mountain refuges house appropriately independent spirits, whose character is set loose with unforeseen consequences, as much as it is cautiously contained by the trust in the justification of politics by way of natural habitat.

The repeated apostrophe by parts of the Greek land itself must, as a rhetorical strategy, have hit the right note. Müller's collective review of philhellenic poetry speaks with approval of poems by Heinrich Stieglitz, that 'the individual moments of the Hellenes' struggle, which the young poet has singled out to sublimate, are well chosen, and he, like Wilhelm Müller, seeks to find characteristic images of this great struggle in specific locations and nationalities'.[111] Together with place, though, the most consistent attention across contemporary reviews, is to folk songs as paradigms and as collectibles in a landscape.

With the translation of Fauriel's collection, Müller began to have extensive contact with the Greek folk-song tradition, and there are instances, especially after 1824, of very direct literary influence too. Two poems from the later volumes of the *Griechenlieder*, 'On the Death of Markos Bozzaris' and 'On the Death of Georgis', are more or less straight translations of Greek songs quoted in Voutier's *Lettres sur la Grèce. Notes et chants populaires extraits des portefeuilles du colonel* (1826). Motifs like the following, from the beginning of 'Song before Battle' ('Lied vor der Schlacht'):

[111] *Literarisches Conversations-Blatt*, 59 (10 Mar. 1824), 235.

Wer für die Freiheit kämpft und fällt, des Ruhm wird blühend stehn,
Solange frei die Winde noch durch freie Lüfte wehn,
Solange frei der Bäume Laub noch rauscht im grünen Wald,
Solang des Stromes Woge noch frei nach dem Meere wallt

He, who fights and dies for freedom, his glory will flourish as long as the winds blow in the free air, as long as the leaves of the trees are free to rustle in the green forests, as long as the river surges in freedom towards the sea

are reminiscent of certain topoi from the *kleftika*, as in the following: 'As long as the mountains are covered in snow we are not going to bow to the Turks!' (*'Οσον χιονίζουν τα βουνά, Τούρκους μη προσκυνούμεν'*).[112]

Yet the repeated application of the words 'free' and 'freedom' to a plethora of natural features is Müller's own doing. Still, it is likely that he had had some exposure to Greek models before 1824. Many travel accounts, amongst them those of Ukert and Pouqueville, whom Müller is known to have read, contain examples of Greek songs. Moreover, Baron von Sack, who after their falling out continued his travels from Rome to Egypt without Müller, was himself a collector of Greek folk songs, and both in Vienna and Rome there was no shortage of opportunities for Müller to hear, at least, about the growing interest in the systematic collection of the songs.[113]

After the mountains and the historic battle site, the third and last of the topographical motifs mentioned above, which Müller uses to relate the Greek speakers actively to their environment, is the sea. As a place of freedom and a site of memory and tradition, the sea is not only the natural feature seen as most characteristic of Greece since antiquity, it also tends to suggest the search for freedom, as its horizon is ever expanding. The sea's unlimited expanse and the transgression of bounds can mirror an expansion into the past without, however, the prospect of attainability, the pattern familiar from Romantic aesthetics as outlined in Chapter 1. In poems like 'The Phanariot' or 'The Slave Girl in Asia' ('Die Sklavin in Asien'), the sea is a carrier of voices from the past, even though—evoking lost family—a very recent one:

Hör ich eine Woge rauschen, ist es mir, als ob's mich ruft,
Ja mich rufen meine Eltern aus der tiefen weiten Gruft,

[112] '*Του Στεργιού*', Fauriel, i, no. 24.
[113] On the role of von Sack in the procurement of Greek folk songs, see Politis, *Δημοτικό Τραγούδι*, 28 f.

Rufen Rache—und ich schleudre Türkenköpfe in die Flut,
Bis gesättigt ist die Rache, bis die wilde Woge ruht.

When I hear the sound of waves, my parents, I feel, are calling to me from their grave, calling for revenge—and I hurl Turkish heads into the sea until revenge is done and the waves are calmed.

'The Athenians Embarking' ('Die Einschiffung der Athener') moves beyond this temporal frame as the 'free' sea not only contains the promise of a future free Hellas, but is supposed to carry the Athenians, retreating from the Turks, back to the island of Salamis and the Athenian victory against the Persians. The seafaring tradition, and hence the assurance of the sea's favour, find further expression in the education of 'The Little Boy of Hydra' ('Der kleine Hydriot'). Continuity lies in the passing on across generations of knowledge of how to attain a harmonious relation between man and sea. For the importance of locality in representations of Greece and her inhabitants liberating themselves, the combination of nature imagery with the little Hydriot boy that offers a natural form of schooling and *Bildung*, could not be more exemplary.

Let me conclude with a brief look at the poem 'Hydra', which appeared in the collection *Neue Lieder der Griechen* in January 1823. The island of Hydra, which had a strong seafaring and mercantile tradition and was relatively independent of the Ottomans,[114] features in a number of Müller's poems. The naval support from Hydra, and the spiritual support deriving from Hydra's history (after 1770 the island offered asylum to a substantial number of Peloponnesian refugees), were a regular feature in the rallying-cries to advance the Greek liberation movement: Ukert knows of the 'Vaterlandsliebe', the patriotic feelings of the islanders in general; Korais's 1803 lecture, published in Iken's *Hellenion*, praises their progressive strength of character and spirit, and he quotes an example from Hydra, where the earliest education of the mariners' children is in (local) geography; Theodor Kind, in his *Contributions To Better Acquaintance with Modern Greece, with Regard to History, Literature and Geography* (*Beiträge zur besseren Kenntnis des Neuen Griechenland, in historischer, literarischer und geographischer Beziehung*, 1831), devotes ten pages alone to the island of

[114] Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, *Eve of the Greek Revival*, 67; Vakalopoulos, *Ιστορία του νέου ελληνισμού*, 8 vols. (Thessaloniki, 1961–), v. 409–18.

Hydra, singling out its proximity to European standards and its comparative freedom from Ottoman intervention, and cross-referencing his observations to earlier works by Iken, *Leukothea* (1822), Korais, George Waddington, and Pouqueville.[115]

The rocks of Müller's Hydra, as the natural seat of Greek liberty, are surrounded by scenes of violent onslaught. Nature let loose is at the same time not only the force of opposition but also the bearer of Hydra's memory and glory. The permanence of the coastal rocks surpasses even the traces of continuity implied in the material remains of Athens and Thebes: 'Let towers and walls fall down; what is built must perish: | The rock of freedom will stand in the free sea for all times!' ('Laßt die Türm und Mauern stürzen; was ihr baut, muß untergehn: | Ewig wird der Freiheit Felsen in dem freien Meere stehn!'). At the same time the opening vista of the seascape brings about the mental liberation of the spectator: 'When I see your clouded summits, my heart races and my blood surges | ... and on the wings of your sails my spirit soars out above the wide sea' ('Seh ich deine Wolkengipfel, steigt mein Herz, und wallt mein Blut | ... Und mit deiner Segel Fluge schwebt ins weite Meer mein Geist').

Müller's use of locality shows that for the Greek narrators in the poems it is the locality and character of the present environment that activates liberation: it evokes the past and in so doing authenticates the present affinity between nature and individual. The spectator of the poem 'Hydra', however, is unspecified, in contrast to many of the other poems which create a distinct persona, yet is more involved in the scenery than the anonymous 'I' of the very openly critical poems. It is the spectator of the political events and history acted out within a significant environment rich with associations, whose spirit is lifted up and drawn out to sea. As in the other poems, the particular environment bears the traces and memory of a culture and past that have a particular affinity with freedom. Here, however, the spectator, the witness and reader, is himself at the centre of the

[115] Ukert, *Gemälde von Griechenland*, 117; Korais, in Iken, *Hellenion*, 161 ff.; George Waddington, *A Visit to Greece, in 1823 and 1824* (London, 1825), translated into German as *Besuch in Griechenland* (Stuttgart, 1825). The actual extent of Hydra's relative independence is quite another matter; what is relevant is that a network of texts reinforces the image.

poem, which Müller considered one of his best.[116] There seems a consensus among Müller's critics and biographers that his *Griechenlieder* thinly veil his own political agenda and that there is a remarkable similarity with the sentiment of the poems of *Bundesblüthen*: the French of the earlier poems are now the Turks, and the imagery of rousing battle-cries and sabre-swinging youths is little different. The scene of Greece, however, as opposed to France and Germany, offered a different scope to the German reader; much as Greek writing and self-understanding of the period were reliant upon a positive image of Greece and a Greek heritage imported from the Western European tradition, Germany was equally reliant on the image of a Greek state whose aspirations were founded upon and reflected in its own natural habitat, at the same time a habitat which still left enough scope to reflect the German reader's own position.

As Müller characterized the German *Griechendichtung* in his review in 1824: 'From the land of reality, German enthusiasm for the freedom of the Greeks took wing toward the higher reaches of poetry.'[117] Nevertheless, Greece is not a dream-world but a reality, effective by its naturalness and the fusion of material and spiritual factors put into artistic form. Although the perception of Greece is on the one hand firmly connected to the features of a Greek locale, the Greek environment remains on the other hand a transposable entity, a symbolic colony without geographical restriction. Winckelmann's *Gedanken* opened with the address to the elector August, under whose government the arts were 'as a foreign colony' introduced to Saxony, and in whose time the search for the pure springs of art 'meant travelling to Athens; and Dresden from henceforth will be an Athens for artists'.[118] After 1821 the search for a national identity still means 'travelling to Athens'; an Athens with the power to become in turn a Dresden, a Jena, a Berlin, or a Munich for writers.

In the imagery favoured by philhellenic literature, it is the topos of (political) unity that is foregrounded as one of Greece's overriding aspirations in liberating itself. It is a topos that perfectly matches the centrality—and structurally necessary elusiveness—of unity to the

[116] In a letter to Brockhaus of 4 Jan. 1823 Müller calls the poem 'the best of all four volumes'; *Werke*. i. 323.

[117] *Literarisches Conversations-Blatt*, 59 (10 Mar. 1824), 233.

[118] Winckelmann, *Gedanken*, 4.