

# German scholars and Otho's Greece

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The arrival of Otto (or Otho) of Bavaria as king of Greece in February 1833 was the culmination of nearly two decades of Philhellenic activity in the German state of Bavaria. For some time before the assassination of the governor-president of Greece, John Capodistria, on 9 October 1831, the Great Powers, as well as influential figures in Bavaria, had been working towards Otho's appointment as king. His arrival was hailed as the long-awaited solution to the period of crisis following the death of Capodistria. With hindsight, the hopes and transports of joy which accompanied Otho's arrival can be seen as sadly misplaced: it is generally accepted that the Bavarian regime was both out of touch and illiberal, and that it depended on a policy of Bavarianization of the ruling class and the administration (including the army and the court) to preempt the dominance of any one of the Greek 'parties.'<sup>1</sup> It is the purpose of this paper to look at some aspects of the cultural background of Othonian Greece, and the presuppositions with which Otho and his entourage set out to govern the new kingdom. What was the vision of Greece they held up to themselves, and did it prevent them from seeing the real Greece?

In 1885 one Ludwig Steub published a second edition of his *Bilder aus Griechenland* ('Pictures from Greece'), first published in 1841. Steub had been an officer in the Bavarian army and had formed part of Otho's entourage from May 1834 to February 1836. In the opening lines of the second edition, he writes that it seems to him now 'like a fairy-tale, that half a century ago a Bavarian prince should have gone to Greece as king.'<sup>2</sup> Indeed Otho's was a fairy-tale kingdom, just as based on fantasy, and unrelated to political reality, as the very different regal fantasies of his nephew Ludwig II back in Bavaria.

The fairy-tale aspect is conveyed in, for example, the very numerous descriptions of court balls which occur in travellers' accounts: a large part of Prince Pückler-Muskau's account of his visit to Athens in 1836 is devoted to the glamour of court life, with scarcely an allusion to wider contemporary conditions.<sup>3</sup> Pückler-Muskau was certainly a dilettante, but even the philologist F.G. Welcker, who visited Greece in 1842, wrote after three months of this kind of life in Athens that he could hardly bear to leave. Christiana Lüth, the Danish wife of Queen

Amalia's chaplain, wrote in her notebook for 1839, 'Bavaria has favoured the country with a kingdom. What could be more logical than that the country should favour us with as comfortable a life as possible!'<sup>4</sup>

But the frivolity of Otho's kingdom went deeper than this kind of thing. There is no doubting the genuine enthusiasm of his father, Ludwig I, for the classical world and for all things Greek; but Ludwig's vision of Greece was a vision of classical Greece. The Propylaea or monumental gateway which he erected in Munich to commemorate Otho's accession to the throne of Greece is adorned with two pediments, portraying – in a style modelled on the archaism of the Aegina Marbles (in Munich since 1816) – on one side the struggle of the Greeks for independence, and on the other the flourishing of the kingdom under Otho. This piece of official art speaks volumes about the motives the Bavarians had for their interest in Greece: an idealism about Greek independence, heavily imbued with classicist nostalgia, combined with a relative indifference to the people of the country which that idealism celebrated. A remark by the architect Leo von Klenze, in his very thoughtful *Aphoristic Observations Assembled on his Journey to Greece* (1838, but largely composed during the presidency of Capodistria) suggests that such an attitude was quite widespread: the common people of Greece, he writes, have many good qualities, and if the government could rely on them alone, it would be the strongest and most peaceful country in Europe; but the rich and the learned use the people as their playthings.<sup>5</sup>

There are certainly reasons for thinking that Otho, despite a genuine love of his adopted country, treated it in some respects as a tourist destination. He and his wife were much given to long excursions on horseback or on foot to visit antique sites; Mycenae was a favourite destination.<sup>6</sup> They travelled, of course, with an entourage, which during the 1830s usually included Ludwig Ross, the first national conservator of antiquities for Greece. Ross describes his rulers' epiphanies in the countryside in terms which vividly present the fairy-tale vision a royalist German might have of his king: as they go about the country roads, happy peasants prostrate themselves in adoration of their sovereign,<sup>7</sup> and when the royal couple take shelter in a peasant's hut Ross compares their arrival to that of Jupiter and Mercury in Ovid's story of the Lydian peasants Baucis and Philemon.<sup>8</sup> Otho would happily drag his sweating *aides-de-camp* up steep mountains to visit caves and ruins, and on one hot day in June 1840, after several hours of struggling through dusty, cactus-strewn terrain near Ithome, Ross writes with feeling, 'we were glad when their majesties had had enough'.<sup>9</sup>

But Otho did not set the tone of his reign single-handed. Indeed, for his first years he was a minor, and the country was in the hands of regents.<sup>10</sup> Many other Bavarians and other Germans were in the kingdom. How far did they share the fairy-tale vision of Greece? I shall concentrate on just two or three of the numerous band of Germans, which included the architect Schaubert, already established in Greece and working on the new Athens, when Otho arrived; the philologist Friedrich Thiersch, who left a few months before Otho's arrival; the painters Peter von Hess and Carl Rottmann; the architect Leo von Klenze, the restorer of the Acropolis; the archaeologist Ludwig Ross and the classical scholars Friedrich Gottlob Welcker, Carl Otfried Müller (who died of heatstroke contracted while copying an inscription at Delphi) and Ernst Curtius, author of the magisterial two-volume geography of the Peloponnese and the excavator of Olympia. Did these visitors see Greece simply as an extension of the ancient Greece of their books, or did they care for the country of the present?<sup>11</sup>

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The painters undoubtedly cared for Greece as it was. Carl Rottmann (1797-1850) had already acquired a reputation as a landscape painter in his native Bavaria when he was commissioned by Ludwig I to provide a series of thirty-eight paintings of Greece (twenty-three were completed), matching the existing Italian series, for the arcades in the royal Hofgarten in Munich. Rottmann's interest is above all in landscape: occasionally a ruin appears, to provide a point of focus, but in many pictures buildings are scarcely visible, and in very few do contemporary people appear. An exception is a view of Chalcis – with Bavarian soldiers; another is the Sacred Way, with ancient celebrants. No modern Greeks. Very revealing is a remark of Rottmann in a letter to Carl von Heydeck, a painter-soldier who had been in Greece in 1826-7, on his departure for Greece in March 1834. He writes that Peter von Hess, the distinguished genre and battle painter, had returned from Greece disappointed: there was, he said, nothing in Greece to interest a landscape painter. Rottmann is of a different opinion. 'That is to me incomprehensible. . . How I shall paint Blue in Greece! I will take a bladder full of cobalt, the biggest a Bavarian boar ever carried in his innards.'<sup>12</sup>

Rottmann's choice of sites is revealing, reflecting the relative inaccessibility of many parts of the country. He made more than four hundred sketches, water-colours and oils of Greece, almost all of Peloponnesian sites (such as Sparta: see facing page), plus some of Attica, Thebes, Chalcis and Delos. His younger colleague and pupil Ludwig Lange (1806-68), who travelled with him, provides views further afield, of Delphi, Tenos and other places, and also a number of



charming water-colour sketches of present-day Greeks, emphasizing by contrast the absence of any such interest on Rottmann's part. Rottmann was painting a Greece suited to German romantic taste, and even Lange with his greater interest in contemporary Greece tended to portray it in an excessively idealized way – the fairy-tale vision again.

THIERSCH Painters, it is true, must always have an eye to pictorial values. What then of the scholars? I shall begin with Friedrich Thiersch (1784-1860),<sup>13</sup> the first Bavarian of importance in Greece, whose career raises all the issues that feature in the activities of his successors. Thiersch had already acquired a distinguished reputation as a philologist when he first visited Greece in 1831-2. He had been Professor in Munich since 1809 and had published work on Homer, Aeschylus and Pindar; he had also produced a German translation of Pindar. He had been following Greek affairs since 1807, and in 1813 had met Adamantios Korais in the course of a visit to Paris. He had established links with the Philomousos Etaireia in Greece which had resulted in bringing numbers of Greeks to study at the Hochschulen and the university in Bavaria. On the outbreak of Prince Ypsilanti's rising in 1821, which attempted to establish the Greek Revolution in the Rumanian principalities, Thiersch had begun the publication of a series of articles devoted to the affairs of Greece in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. (He was to continue publishing this series intermittently throughout his life.) His articles warmly supported the Greek cause and proposed the establishment of a German legion to assist the Greeks. King Ludwig offered general support to these aims, and in 1826 Carl von Heydeck led a troop of German volunteers to fight for the Greeks in the War of Independence. By 1829 Thiersch was writing in support of the idea of sending a Western European king to Greece, and arguing that Otto of Bavaria would be the most suitable candidate. The motivation for this idea was a feeling that Greece needed such a monarch to preserve its independence as a nation.

In 1831 Thiersch, already nearing fifty, set off for his first visit to Greece, to set eyes finally on the country he had studied for so long. His purpose was a scholarly one, to visit and study antiquities, but he was helped in this by his connections with the Bavarian royal house, from which he secured introductions to the most important people in Greece. In fact, though he made numerous thorough excursions to classical sites in the fourteen months he was on Greek soil, his visit quickly acquired a political dimension, because he was widely seen in Greece as the unofficial spokesman for King Ludwig.<sup>14</sup> From the outset, even in letters to his wife, he was noting details about agricultural conditions and the

destitution of the population cheek by jowl with information about excavations he had conducted at Tiryns and the observation, for example, that to understand ancient Greece, one must see Mycenae (always a popular destination: Rottmann spent fourteen days there, to only one at Nemea). His reports to Prince Wrede were probably the first hint that had been received in Europe of the inadequacies of Capodistria's authoritarian and over-centralized rule in Greece.

Thiersch's Bavarian connections made him important enough to the rulers of Greece that his detailed study of the ruins of Nemea, in the company of Ludwig Ross and some architects with ladders, had to be broken off when news came of Capodistria's assassination. He was summoned to Hydra and quickly came to play an important and successful political role as a mediator between the Moreot party, led by Capodistria's brother Agostino, and the Roumeliots or constitutionalist party led by John Colettis. Thiersch's sympathies lay determinedly with the constitutionalists, and he made a number of journeys as intermediary between Agostino's headquarters in Nafplion and the Colettis camp at Perachora. It was Thiersch's achievement to effect the flight of Agostino and the introduction of Colettis to the capital without bloodshed, on a day which he described as the most remarkable of his whole life. (Prince Pückler-Muskau, in a patently unfair attack on his integrity, called him a Don Quixote.)<sup>15</sup> Such was Thiersch's success that he was even offered the regency of Greece pending the arrival of Otho – an offer which he refused. Soon thereafter he was again 'peacefully busy with the ancient past and its marvels'.

Thiersch's great anxiety during these months was the delay in the arrival of Otho, which he saw as essential to calm the anarchy of the time. A long and important report to Ludwig of 25 January 1832 pleading for the hasty dispatch of Otho and the establishment of regents puzzled him by producing no response. In it he emphatically advised against several possible choices of regent, including Heydeck. In the circumstances it is unfortunate that Ludwig, who trusted Heydeck as an adviser on Greek affairs, gave him the letter to open – with the result that its recommendations never reached the king. The honest scholar, whose only ambition was the good of Greece, had been outwitted by the politician.

Otho eventually reached Greece a few months after Thiersch had returned home. Thiersch continued to follow the affairs of Greece, but his views were regarded as excessively liberal even by the most liberal of the regents, Georg von Maurer.<sup>16</sup> Maurer himself was recalled after a short time because his attempts to understand the customary law of the Greeks, and to use it as the basis of an

appropriate law code for the new kingdom, were seen as too liberal by his more authoritarian colleagues. But Maurer characterized Thiersch, somewhat unfairly, as one who 'looked at Greece with the eyes of a philologist', and that was the image of him that lingered. When the painter Carl Rottmann, sent to Greece by Ludwig to work on paintings for the royal arcades in Munich, worked up a view of the plain of Sparta, he took the unusual step of including a prominent foreground group in his landscape: Thiersch is sprawled on the ground in front of a large stone, on which is inscribed a dedication honouring a victor in the Games, of the kind celebrated in the odes of Pindar. The stone, needless to say, is imaginary. The painting at once bows to the prevalent idea that Greek landscape is somehow validated by being a setting for bits of classical text and presents Thiersch in a wholly fantastic situation which belies his serious interest in both the antiquities and the present state of Greece. In this picture, Philhellenism is trivialized and emasculated; and unfortunately this sets the tone for the involvement with Greece of many of the later German visitors. Thiersch himself continued for the rest of his life to write about Greece, supporting a constitutionalist position and becoming increasingly disillusioned with Otho's rule. He died two years before the expulsion of Otho, and was thus spared the humiliation of seeing the final collapse of the kingdom he had done so much to create. Nor did he see the growth and economic development of Greece that he had both hoped for and confidently predicted as the result of political independence.

Thiersch was perhaps unique in combining high political seriousness with a deep study of the antiquities of Greece. Some features of his involvement with antiquities, and that of other German scholars, shed light on the theme of this study. First of all, it cannot be denied that when Thiersch first arrived in Greece he was invited by the rulers to collect, during his tour of the Peloponnese, antiquities which might be suitable for adding to the collections of the Munich Glyptothek. Making a collection was seen as an entirely natural task, and there was no conception of keeping antiquities in their country of origin – though Capodistria had got together a small museum on Aegina. However, Thiersch does not have much to say about collecting, apart from consulting Wrede about whether the permit, which must lapse with Capodistria's death, should be renewed, and his letters are occupied much more with description, analysis and scholarly discussion of monuments: his measuring at Nemea; his discussion of the temple of Aphaea on Aegina (which he took for that of Panhellenian Zeus) in the light of the odes of Pindar; his criticisms of William Martin Leake and Carl Otfried Müller

for the inadequacy of their maps of Sparta; his study of the Argive Heraion, one of the few sites Leake had failed to identify. He is also concerned about damage to antiquities – the constant removal by visitors of bits of the Lion Gate at Mycenae as souvenirs, the turning over of part of the fortifications at Tiryns to make a market garden staffed by convicts (part of a misguided piece of Capodistrian economic regeneration). Thiersch did serious work of the kind a philologist can do with archaeological monuments.

Ludwig Ross, despite the brevity of his career, had more substantial archaeological achievements to his credit. A recent writer remarks rather grudgingly that he 'poked about a bit' at the Menelaion in Sparta.<sup>17</sup> Archaeology at that time did not involve systematic and meticulous excavation, though digging could be undertaken in search of objects. That is what Ross uncovered at Sparta in 1834: a few small statuettes and other miscellaneous finds. The discoveries were dignified by the presence of King Otho and Queen Amalia as observers. The story was the same at Megalopolis, where Ross succeeded in digging up a few coins of Constantine and a bronze spoon. His comment was that, though Megalopolis must have had many fine works of art, they were all gone, and therefore the site was not worthy of excavation.<sup>18</sup> Archaeology is here explicitly a search for beautiful objects, though this approach is partially belied by Ross's contribution to the topography of Megalopolis. At Tegea he made a further detailed study of the topography and prided himself on having improved on Leake's findings by virtue of discovering some local peasant traditions which Leake had missed.<sup>19</sup>

More substantial achievements on Ross's part were the identification of the site of the Temple of Artemis Limnatis on the western slopes of Mount Taygetos and, above all, the collecting or checking of a very large number of inscriptions from the Peloponnese and the islands which were either published in Ross's own collections or passed on to Boeckh for his *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Furthermore, as Conservator of Antiquities for Greece, Ross was responsible for far more effective protection of monuments than had been the case. It was at the instigation of his associate on the restoration of the Acropolis, Leo von Klenze, that local ephors were installed in 1834 at Athens, Aegina, Eleusis, Delphi, Rhamnus, Sunium, Epidaurus, Corinth, Bassae, Messene, Delos and Olympia.<sup>20</sup>

Ross has very little to say about contemporary political conditions, concentrating his attention firmly on antiquities. When he looks up from the ground, he sees nothing but his king and queen; it is only when an excursion with their majesties is interrupted by the discovery and capture of a band of brigands – the last in the Peloponnese – that the contemporary scene intrudes.<sup>21</sup>

ROSS



The preface to his *Travels and Itineraries*, dated Athens 1840, expresses Ross's dissatisfaction with the new law prohibiting the export of antiquities, and suggests that a distinction should be made between 'national monuments' and 'evidence for everyday life'. Ross, with his authoritarian nature, did not take kindly to limitation of his activities. In 1836 he was removed from office on the grounds that he had given some of his finds as gifts to Prince Pückler-Muskau. The reconstruction or 'regeneration' of Greece was, nevertheless, a political enterprise with which Ross and Klenze, by virtue of their official positions, were perforce involved. The restoration of the Acropolis of Athens was but a step towards an ideal vision of Greece which Klenze displayed more fully in his famous reconstruction painting of the Acropolis as it might have been in antiquity; less well known is a similar painting by Ludwig Lange. The whole reconstruction project in Athens was of course a statement of continuity with the classical past.<sup>22</sup> But such projects were not confined to Athens. In one of his more thoughtful pronouncements on the Greek scene, Pückler-Muskau expressed indignation that the inhabitants of Mistra, ruined as it had been by the onslaught of Ibrahim Pasha during the war, were being compelled to relocate to a new town built, for classical reasons, on the site of ancient Sparta. He expressed a preference for the kind of spontaneous activity which had raised from the equally devastated ashes of Megalopolis a new town, built – even if jerry-built – by native labour.

Agricultural regeneration was another important issue. Many travellers, if they noticed anything at all, noticed the devastation and disuse of much of the countryside; some had a proposal for the regeneration of this land which must occasion surprise today (though it had been done in Russia): the establishment of colonies of German farmers. In 1837 Thiersch complained that his friend Ignaz Rudhart, the Minister-President of Greece, was being hindered in the work of establishing colonies by the lack of trust shown by the king.<sup>23</sup> Klenze in 1838 noted that there were one and a half million vacant hectares which could be given to colonists or immigrants to improve the prosperity of Greece.<sup>24</sup> Ross, somewhat later, after his return to Germany, was arguing a similar case for Asia Minor: in his case it takes on uncomfortable overtones of *Lebensraum* for the Germans, which was certainly not the intention of the other scholars.<sup>25</sup>

KLENZE The restoration painting of Athens by Klenze may give the impression that he, like Ross and the lesser writers, had a vision of Greece which was based too heavily on ancient realities and had too little relation to the present. I think that a reading of his *Aphoristic Observations* belies this view. As an architect and

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scholar he is steeped in the ancient texts, but he attempts always to use them for present benefits. Sometimes this striving takes an absurd form, as when he argues that Greece is well suited to works of hydraulic engineering, and cites as an argument the success that Heracles had in diverting the waters of the Alpheus to cleanse the stables of Augeas.<sup>26</sup> He insists also that the rulers of Greece would make a better job of it, if they had Ross's understanding of the country. Like Thiersch, he pins his hope on the establishment of the kingdom; but in Klenze's case we have no evidence for the development of his views after that event: after he left Greece, he resumed the duties of an architect. Perhaps for him Greece did remain, as a Munich exhibition catalogue put it, 'a Greek dream' (*Ein griechischer Traum*).<sup>27</sup> Certainly he was not in a position to do more on the political level. As an archaeologist, he served the country faithfully.

The last figure I shall consider is the great German scholar Ernst Curtius, the excavator of Olympia. Curtius visited Athens first in 1839, and only five years after the establishment of the kingdom one senses a difference in the attitude of the scholar to the regime. Curtius is (in the famous phrase of Thomas Mann) an 'unpolitical German'. His massive two-volume study of the Peloponnese, exhaustive as it is in its discussion of ancient *Realien*, contains not one word about present-day conditions – in this differing sharply from the works of the English traveller William Martin Leake, which Curtius was the first German (apart from Thiersch!) to use at all.<sup>28</sup>

I have written elsewhere of the German enterprise to excavate Olympia,<sup>29</sup> from the dream of Winckelmann to the achievement of Curtius, but I cannot resist repeating here the plan proposed to the regent Count Armanberg in 1836 by Prince Pückler-Muskau.<sup>30</sup> This was soon after the establishment of the *Oktoberfest* in Munich as a celebration of the Wittelsbach dynasty. The Prince proposed that Armanberg make him a gift of the site of Olympia; he would then set aside money for excavations and a museum, and have the whole site laid out as a garden. Ross regarded this as an excellent idea: the park could be used as a setting for a Greek version of the *Oktoberfest* – except that the games should consist of athletic events, not horse-races of the English type.

Only a year after this, the Greek Archaeological Society was founded and archaeological affairs were put on a new and serious footing.<sup>31</sup> By the time Curtius came to develop plans to dig at Olympia, such frivolities as Pückler-Muskau's would no longer have been in question, and the excavation contract is an important document as the first such contract legally to define the rights and

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responsibilities of the excavators vis-à-vis the host country – a document which shows how Greece had now come of age. But Curtius came to Olympia first in 1837 ‘with the eyes of a philologist.’ Where Thiersch had studied the temple on Aegina to elucidate the meaning of Pindar – and had certainly not lolled on the ground before imaginary inscriptions – Curtius wrote of Olympia: ‘the place itself makes no great impression, but it was a great joy to me to recite the ode of Pindar on the Hill of Kronos and to imagine to myself the horses and mules gathering here from the different parts of the world.’<sup>32</sup> Curtius’ response is closer to the *Schwärmerei* of the proponents of the ‘Greek fairy-tale’ than to the political engagement of Thiersch and Klenze, and even Ross. I do not know if Curtius was a royalist; his achievement, majestic as it is, is entirely independent of politics. That may be seen as either an advantage or a limitation.

In conclusion I return to Otho himself, and conjoin him with a passage of considerable political import from the ‘unpolitical German’ *par excellence*, Thomas Mann. Here is Klaus Heinrich, the hero of Mann’s novel, *Royal Highness*, in conversation with the girl he wishes to marry. I could imagine that it is not the girl, but the figure of Greece, speaking to King Otho:

‘No, Prince, you are asking too much of me! Did you not tell me all about your life? You went to school for show, attended University for show, you did your military service for show, and for show you are still wearing a uniform; for show you grant audiences and play at being a marksman and God knows what else; you were born for show, and now I am supposed to suddenly believe that you are serious about me.’

Tears came to his eyes while she said these things; her words hurt him so much. He answered in a low voice: ‘You are quite right, Imma, much of my life is utterly spurious. But you should know that I neither chose it nor made it that way, and have only done my duty as it was laid down for me for the edification of the people, and it is not enough that it has been difficult, full of restrictions and self-denial; it now takes its revenge by causing you not to believe in me.’<sup>33</sup>

Of an Otho cast in this mould, I can well believe that he loved his adopted country in his own inadequate way; I can believe that his dying words were, as is reported of him, ‘My Greece, my Greece, my lovely Greece’.<sup>34</sup> Otho had regrets for his country as one might have regrets for the playthings of childhood. Some, at least, of his associates were made of sterner stuff.

## NOTES

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- 4 C. Lüth, *Μιά Δανέζα στην αθήνη του Όθωνα* (Athens 1981) 34.
- 5 *Aphoristische Bemerkungen, gesammelt auf seiner Reise nach Griechenland* (Berlin 1838): cited from [Klenze] *Ein griechischer Traum: Leo von Klenze der Archäologe* (Munich 1985) 107 (Exhibition Catalogue: Munich Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek).
- 6 L. Ross, *Wanderungen in Griechenland im Gefolge des Königs Otto und der Königin Amalia* (Halle 1851) [orig. publ. as *Reisen des Königs Otto und der Königin Amalia in Griechenland* (Halle 1848)] 230.
- 7 Ross, *Wanderungen*, 17.
- 8 Ross, *Wanderungen*, introduction.
- 9 Ross, *Wanderungen*, 200.
- 10 R. von Armansperg, *Joseph Ludwig, Graf von Armansperg. Ein Beitrag zur Regierungsgeschichte Ludwigs von Bayern* (Diss. Munich 1949), gives a general account of the regency.
- 11 Many Greeks also had a predilection for invoking the classical past, as for example in the titles of a number of journals established during the period: *Athena, Euterpe, Pandora, Parthenon*. See A. Politis, *Ρομαντικά χρόνια. Ιδεολογίες και νοοτροπίες στην Ελλάδα του 1830-1880*. (Athens 1993) 108.
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- 13 See H.W.J. Thiersch, *Friedrich Thierschs Leben* (Berlin 1866); H. Loewe, *Friedrich Thiersch und die griechische Frage* (Munich 1913); L. Spaenle, *Der Philhellenismus in Bayern* (Munich 1990).
- 14 Petropulos, *Politics and Statecraft*, 137.
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- 19 Ross, *Reisen und Reiserouten*, 66-9.
- 20 [Klenze], *Ein griechischer Traum*, 163.
- 21 Ross, *Wanderungen*, 216-27.
- 22 See in general Politis, *Ρομαντικά χρόνια*, 75-6.
- 23 Loewe, *Friedrich Thiersch*, 95.
- 24 Klenze, *Aphoristische Bemerkungen*, 131.
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- 26 Klenze, *Aphoristische Bemerkungen*, 133-4.
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- 29 R. Stoneman, *Land of Lost Gods: the Search for Classical Greece* (London 1987) 256-64.
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- 31 V.H. Petrakos, 'Η ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐταιρεία (Athens 1987).  
 32 *Olympia*: exhibition catalogue (1979) 30.  
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