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THE FIRST GERMAN TRANSLATION OF A
GREEK NOVEL AFTER 1830:
O EΞΟΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ 1831, BY
ALEXANDROS SOUTSOS

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Konstantinos A. Dimadis
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IN 1837 a German translation of *Ο Εξόριστος του 1831* (The Exile of 1831) by Alexandros Soutsos was published in Berlin. This was the first translation into any foreign language of a Greek novel written and published in Greece after the foundation of the Greek state in 1830. The novel was printed independently in Athens in 1835 by Βασιλική Τυπογραφία.¹ The title page of the German edition contained the following information (page i):

Der Verbannte von 1831.
Roman
aus Griechenlands neuester Geschichte,
von
Alex. Soutsos.
Aus dem Neugriechischen.
Berlin 1837.
Verlag von F. U. Herbig.²

Pages iii-viii of the book contain a translation of Alexandros Soutsos' original Greek "Πρόλογος" (Foreword), and pages ix-xii an unsigned text with the heading "Vorwort des Übersetters" (Translator's Preface). The name of the translator is not mentioned anywhere in the book. The text of the novel itself occupies pages 1 to 285, and the colophon (page 286) informs us that the book was printed in Berlin by Brandes and Kiewert ("Berlin, gedruckt bei Brandes und Kiewert").

The first (unnumbered) page inside the cover contains promotional announcements about other books published by the same publisher, while on

the next page, again unnumbered, there is a text headed “Der Verbannte von 1831,” which as we know from the reference at the end of the text (“Allgem. Zeitung 1837”) comes from the newspaper *Allgemeine Zeitung*. Before proceeding I will clarify that this text consists of two passages which both come from a lengthy unsigned article published in a special supplement to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (*Außerordentliche Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*), not in 1837, as is erroneously indicated in the reference quoted above, but in three installments, on 27, 28, and 29 July 1836.

This means that the article was published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, a newspaper with a wide circulation which will be discussed later in this article, very soon after Alexandros Soutsos’ novel was published in Greece. We will examine this article, titled “Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland” (“Literary Publications in Greece”),³ in more detail later, because it was the key to an attempt to answer some fundamental questions in connection with the first translation of a Greek novel to appear in German after the foundation of the Greek state. These questions are:

- What were the reasons for choosing this particular Greek novel, almost immediately after it was published in Greece, and relating to this, what was the purpose of translating the work into German?
- Who was the translator?
- Who wrote the article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*? Is there some connection between the translator of the novel and the author of the article “Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland,” and what, if any, was his role in the publication of Alexandros Soutsos’ novel in Berlin?

It would not be an exaggeration to say that the excerpts from the lengthy unsigned article, “Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland,” published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in July 1836, the only text shown on the page opposite the title page of the 1837 edition of the German translation of the novel, immediately reveal what end was served by the translation of this work into German. This is what the text says:

The Exile of 1831.

The work is highly significant because of its simple but extremely gripping depictions, the deep emotion with which it is suffused, its noble sentiments and excellently drawn characters, and that clear and warm Greek tone which bestows such a distinctive charm on every manifestation of that country. It equally combines artistic interest with political interest, while providing a faithful picture of the atrocities, corruption, treachery and profligacy which characterized the deeply corrupt rule of the Corfiots over Greece, and which fill the poet’s noble soul with the utmost indignation. Among the almost exclusively contemporary characters he has woven into his novel there is also the German philhellene, whose book *De l’état actuel de la Grèce*, insofar as it deals with the Capodistrian government, finds its motivation and explanation here. The book also provides information from a highly intelligent observer who was right in the middle of the events about significant figures of that time and the state of the parties and their intentions, and should therefore not be overlooked by future historians, as

it will always attract friends of fine literature through its charm and the power of its poetic descriptions. *Allgem. Zeitung* 1837. [correction: 1836]⁴

I do not consider it necessary to refer to the work of Alexandros Soutsos (Constantinople, 1803–Smyrna, 1863), the social conditions in which the novel was written and published, or to its literary value and the position it occupies in the history of nineteenth-century Modern Greek literature as one of the first post-revolutionary romantic novels in Greece. What interests me here is the fact, revealed by the passages quoted above, that the Greek novel was made available on the German book market and consequently to the German reading public for political reasons.

However, before taking a closer look at “Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland,” the article which appeared in 1836 and from which, as we have seen, the passages quoted in the 1837 edition of the German translation were taken, a few points are in order.

Research into the German press of that era shows that there must have been a man of considerable influence in contemporary politics, publishing, and culture behind the Berlin publishing house, which published the German translation of the novel *O Εξόριστος του 1831*. It is not by chance that the forthcoming publication of the translated novel was announced in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* on 24 June 1837, just before the book came out in Berlin.⁵ Most importantly, the first three chapters of the translated novel appeared as a prepublication, in two installments, in the first volume of the year 1837 of the art journal *Europa: Chronik der gebildeten Welt*, which had an extremely wide circulation. The fact that part of the novel was prepublished in this particular journal is noteworthy in every respect as regards Greek literature of the time, since the work in question came from the literary output of a newly-founded European state, which in general did not yet have satisfactory intellectual and artistic activities. The prepublication of the first three chapters in *Europa* had the following title:

Der Verbannte des Jahres 1831/Neugriechischer Roman/von/Alexander Soutsos/(Ο εξόριστος του 1831, κωμικοτραγικόν ιστορήμα υπό Αλεξάνδρου/Σούτσου. Εν Αθήναις 1836.) [The exile of 1831, tragicomic tale by Alexandros/Soutsos. Athens 1836.]⁶

The two installments of the prepublication are found on pages 481-94 and 529-48 of the journal, respectively.⁷ These are the prepublished pages which are located in the Gennadeios Library and which have not previously been identified (MGL 445. I.).⁸

On page 481 of the journal, below the heading, the following passage has been inserted for the reader’s information:

This extremely significant novel by the talented Alexandros Soutsos depicts the adventures of a young man, who is unable to bear the tyranny of Capodistrias and is, therefore, persecuted by those in power and thrown into prison. Freed by his beloved, he flees the realm of oppression to follow the flag of independence raised by the Roumeliots. He returns triumphantly with them to the

Peloponnesos, but when he is about to win his beloved, he is robbed of her by the dastardly deed of his rival, who poisons her. Soon after the Regency comes into power, despairing of himself and his country, he leaves Greece and withdraws into the deepest solitude.

The *Allgemeine Zeitung* was the first to draw attention to this novel. As a result, the Herbig bookshop in Berlin has a translation prepared which will appear soon, and from which we are sharing some passages with our readers.⁹

It cannot be by chance that the first paragraph of the passage quoted above, which accompanies the prepublication and informs the reader of the subject matter of the book, also appears in the first installment of the unsigned article “Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland,” published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* on 27 July 1836.¹⁰ It is clear that the author of the article “Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland” had access both to the Herbig publishing house in Berlin and to the journal *Europa*.

I would like to stress that the prepublication of three chapters of the German translation of the novel *Ο Εξόριστος του 1831* was placed in the most important German literary journal of the time. This is extremely relevant to and consistent with the tactics followed by the person promoting Alexandros Soutsos’ novel in Germany. The journal *Europa* circulated from 1835 to 1885; its first editor, until 1846, was August Lewald. One of the most widely circulating literary and art journals of the nineteenth century, it showed interest in all the literatures of Europe, and this was the special feature which distinguished it from other literary journals of the time. It was intended mainly for the middle classes. August Lewald had defined the journal’s objectives as follows: “We aim to portray the greater European community, in all its aspects, truly and faithfully.”¹¹ In addition, this journal clearly had liberal leanings; its point of departure was that there was no such thing as a pure work of art, but that a literary work was a vehicle of political and social ideas. It is therefore worth noting that this important literary journal acknowledges the contribution of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in the promotion of Alexandros Soutsos’ novel in Germany which, in fact, prepared the way for the independent publication of the German translation of the book in Berlin in 1837.

As for the *Allgemeine Zeitung*,¹² suffice it to say here that it was the biggest political newspaper in the German-speaking world with international prestige during the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1787 the newspaper’s first publisher, Johann Friedrich Freiherr Cotta von Cottendorf (1764–1832), took over the publishing house which had been founded in 1659 by his great-grandfather, Johann Georg Cotta (1631–92). Cotta von Cottendorf was the first German publisher whose name was closely connected with an entire literary period, namely, German classicism. The paper first came out under the name *Allgemeine Zeitung* on 9 September 1798 in Stuttgart; the last issue appeared on 1 April 1908.¹³

The evidence gathered here clearly shows that the Greek novel *Ο Εξόριστος του 1831* was highlighted and promoted in Germany in 1836–37 mainly for political reasons, in the columns of a newspaper recognized at the time as being liberal, with a very wide circulation, and at the same time in the most important German literary journal of that period which also had liberal

leanings. Consequently, the question that remains to be answered is: who was the author of the article “Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland,” published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which, as we have seen, began the promotion of the book, a process which culminated in the independent publication of the German translation in 1837.

A close study of the unsigned article, “Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland,” leads to the following conclusions about the person who wrote it. The author of the article was a classicist or had enjoyed an excellent classical education. In 1836 he was in Germany,¹⁴ but maintained very close connections with important political and intellectual figures in Greece; the contents of the article also make it clear that he was on familiar terms with the people to whom he refers. Moreover, he is well acquainted with and keeps abreast of the political, social, and intellectual situation in Greece at the time and, more generally, developments in the Greek world throughout the whole period from the 1821 Revolution to 1836.

The author’s views are liberal, and he is in favor of the monarchy. While writing for the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, he evidently has the original Greek text of the novel *Ο Εξόριστος του 1831* close at hand, since he quotes from it and gives references in his article. The reader is left with the impression that in this text, the author of the article is also trying to draw a sort of self-portrait based both on historical reality, which is what the novel *Ο Εξόριστος του 1831* depicts, and on contemporary Greek political and social reality beyond the text. The author of the article knows for certain that his text will be published anonymously in the newspaper, and perhaps this is why he tries to give the readers positive information about himself, his political convictions, and his special ties with Greece—which are clearly of a political and ideological nature—so that the well-informed reader may be able to identify the author of the article. Seen in this light, it cannot be by chance that in the first installment of “Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland,” a certain emphasis is placed on the German philhellene and his book *De l’état actuel de la Grèce*. This was Friedrich Thiersch (1784–1860), who was known among the Greeks as Ειρηναίος Θύρσιος.¹⁵

In fact, the author of the article takes a passage from the original text of the novel, translates it roughly, and includes it in the text of his article. This shows that the author of the article had no difficulty understanding the Greek text of the novel and rendering it into German. Moreover, in this excerpt from the novel there is a reference to the close ties of ideology and friendship between Alexandros Soutsos and “Ειρηναίος Θύρσιος” (the name is printed in Greek characters in the German text of the article). By way of documentation, in a footnote to the German text of his article, the author quotes the following passage from the novel:

Ο αρχιστράτηγος Γρίβας δίδει το σύνθημα του πολέμου, ότε ο Ειρηναίος Θύρσιος, εμβαίνων μεταξύ των δύο στρατευμάτων και δημηγορών, εμποδίζει την έκρηξιν.

[Field Marshal Grivas gives the signal of war, when Eirinaios Thyrsios, stepping in between the two armies and making a speech, stops it breaking out].¹⁶

This is not the appropriate place to discuss the historic events in great detail; however, it must be stressed that, as a whole, the article “Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland” reflects the explicit anti-Capodistrian views of its author. The author of the article has close connections with the anti-Capodistrian circle in Greece and, as already mentioned, supports the monarchy. His own views—anti-Capodistrian and pro-monarchy—are the reason the author of the article promoted Alexandros Soutsos’ novel through the columns of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, because the novel was also vehemently anti-Capodistrian and unreservedly in favor of the monarchy. Another two facts need to be noted: first, the author of the article points out how limited the amount of literature produced at this time in Greece is (which enables him to stress that the novel *Ο Εξόριστος του 1831* is also important as a work of art); and, second, regarding the identity of the author of the article, it must be remembered that he wrote for the *Allgemeine Zeitung*.

This evidence, revealed by an analysis of the article “Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland,” corresponds exactly with what is known about the German philhellene Friedrich Thiersch,¹⁷ one of the most important writers for the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. Referring to the period immediately after 1821, Günter Müchler says: “[Thiersch] was one of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*’s most highly appreciated writers.”¹⁸ Moreover, in a letter from Munich dated 25 July 1821, Thiersch himself reveals:

I would be very pleased if I could receive reliable news from you or your friends about the glorious struggle of your Fatherland. Your acquaintances will tell you that I have undertaken to defend the Greek cause in the [*Allgemeine Zeitung*] and therefore it is crucial for me to have information about the successful progress of the war endeavors. . . . Long live your fatherland, which is my finest Fatherland as well, the Fatherland of my education and my ideals!¹⁹

I would like to point out that in the police departments of Austria and Prussia, Thiersch’s philhellenist articles had aroused grave suspicions as to his activities until eventually, as Günter Müchler tells us, “under Austrian pressure he was forced to keep silent for a while.”²⁰ Be that as it may, the professor of Greek at the University of Munich and his colleague Wilhelm Traugott Krug (1770–1842), professor of philosophy in Leipzig, played leading roles in the development of the philhellenic movement in the German states. Moreover, after Otto was chosen, Thiersch maintained close connections with the royal court of Bavaria and visited Greece after the assassination of Capodistrias. The purpose of his visit was to explain the political and economic circumstances of the Greek state-under-formation to the Bavarian court. The fruits of this visit (1831–32) were the two-volume work *De l’état actuel de la Grèce et des moyens d’arriver à sa restauration*.

From 1831 on, especially from 1835 to 1837, Thiersch began to work more systematically for the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. But because of censorship, it had become common practice for articles on subjects which touched on the politics of Metternich²¹ to appear in the newspaper without the authors’ signatures.²² This situation prevailed in the period under discussion, namely, 1835–37. Referring to the period after 1831, Günter Müchler says of

Thiersch: “Thiersch, who specialized in the sensitive subject of Greece, used a different signature each time, and his articles also appeared with deliberately misleading place names.”²³

This was a singular type of censorship, fundamentally different from censorship known today, in that it was based on the principle that the new type of man formed since the Renaissance needed protection and guidance. Certainly, this mentality changed very quickly, and censorship soon came to serve mainly political ends, as it does today. This was the reason why there was no reference to the names of the authors in their articles. But Thiersch’s texts expressed specific political views, and therefore the newspaper had to ensure that the identity of the author was kept absolutely secret. It should be noted that those responsible for censoring the *Allgemeine Zeitung* were carefully selected high-ranking civil servants who had studied law, had practical training in matters of a legal nature, and acquired relevant experience.²⁴

Further archival research at the Schiller-Nationalmuseum / Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Cotta-Archiv (Stiftung der Stuttgarter Zeitung), Marbach am Neckar corroborated the initial hypothesis as to the identity of the author of the article “Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland” in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*.²⁵ In the corpus of the newspaper, which comes from the archive of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* and is now kept at Marbach, there is some clear evidence in connection with the censorship. Specifically, in quite a number of texts, which for obvious reasons make no reference to the name of the author, the author’s name has later been written by hand just below the title of the article for the sake of the newspaper’s archives. This was also done in the case of the article examined here: in the second and third installments of “Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland,” dating from 28 and 29 July 1836, whoever was responsible for these matters at the newspaper wrote the name “Thiersch” by hand in the usual place (see facsimile of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*). Therefore, without a shadow of doubt the author of the article “Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland” was Friedrich Thiersch.

It should be mentioned that there is no reference to this article in the two-volume biography of Friedrich Thiersch written by his son and based on his father’s correspondence.²⁶ And as far as could be ascertained, there has been no discussion of this article in any other study to date. Nevertheless, the significance of the article in relation to the life and works of Friedrich Thiersch is obvious. The identification of the author of “Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland” means that an invaluable text may be added to the list of Thiersch’s works—a text which is closely connected with the history of modern Greek literature during the early years after the 1821 Revolution.

But was it also Friedrich Thiersch who translated Alexandros Soutsos’ novel *Ο Εξόριστος του 1831* into German? Stylistic features of the 1837 German translation suggest that this may be the case, though the hypothesis cannot be proven solely on the basis of these features. However, in the first installment of the article, “Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland,” Thiersch roughly translates a passage taken from the ninth chapter of the novel. Reference to this passage was made above in connection with the

peacemaking role Thiersch played in Greece at a critical point after the assassination of Ioannis Capodistrias.²⁷ In the translation of the passage, which, as has been shown, was by Thiersch, there are again certain stylistic elements, mainly choice of vocabulary, which may offer further support for the view that the translator of the novel *Ο Εξόριστος του 1831* into German was Thiersch.

It should be borne in mind that there is no mention of the translator in the edition of the German translation of the novel which appeared in 1837. This shows that the translator was *persona non grata* in the conservative political regime of Prussia at the time. Fearing censorship, the publisher did not mention his name;²⁸ otherwise, it was not customary to omit the name of the translator. Thiersch was certainly a frequent target of censorship at the time, so the hypothesis that he was the unknown translator is quite reasonable.

However, the main argument for the view supported here, that the translator of the novel *Ο Εξόριστος του 1831* was Friedrich Thiersch, is based on the “Vorwort des Uebersetters” (Translator’s Preface) in the 1937 edition of the German translation. The text of this preface has all the features of Thiersch’s language, style, and way of thinking. As the text of the preface shows, the translator is an individual who is very well acquainted with the events which took place in Greece in connection with the assassination of Ioannis Capodistrias. He attempts to interpret Alexandros Soutsos’ novel in the framework of the political situation which prevailed in Greece at that time. While not overlooking its satirical character, he thinks that in general this work falls into the category of the historical novel.

But the most important element of the “Translator’s Preface” is the fact that its author regards Soutsos’ novel as a mirror of Greek political and historical reality of the time. This is exactly the point he is making: he argues that the book is significant and valuable first and foremost for its background and for Modern Greek history. As is emphasized in the “Translator’s Preface,” “the book is too historical and patriotic, too truthful in its satirical scenes of political life at that time and its depictions of everyday life in Greece, and in the whole of its historical component.” And a little further on:

The whole presentation is also distinguished by a certain simplicity; however, the greater the wealth of lessons offered by the book about the period of Modern Greek history in question, the more attractive this simplicity is—at least for the reader whose taste has not been ruined by frivolous fantastical tidbits.²⁹

This very clear position in the text of the “Translator’s Preface” corresponds exactly to the views expressed by Thiersch in the excerpts from the article, “Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland,” which constituted the sole text printed opposite the title page of the German translation of the novel *Ο Εξόριστος του 1831*. There, too, Thiersch emphasizes that the book “should therefore not be overlooked by future historians.”³⁰

The identical meaning of the two texts in relation to the importance of the novel’s historico-political implications is crucial as far as the translator’s identity is concerned. The article “Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland” and the “Translator’s Preface” both express with the same intensity Thiersch’s anguish about the political concerns of Greece.

Finally, the ideological orientation of the text of the “Translator’s Preface” is no different from the ideological perspective unfolded in Thiersch’s article, “Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland.” Indisputably, the text of the “Translator’s Preface” is a decisive factor in determining the identity of the translator: here we see an individual who is passionately devoted to Greek political issues of the time, just as Friedrich Thiersch was. The translator is not so much interested in the literary value of the work; his main concern is to present Soutsos’ novel as a faithful historical depiction of the political situation which prevailed in Greece at the time and to recommend it as a source for future historians. This was also his motive for translating the work into German.

Since in this case the “Translator’s Preface” is not only of vital significance in determining the identity of its author, but also has a wider significance in relation to the theoretical interpretation of prefaces in literary works in general, it seems necessary to quote the “Vorwort des Uebersetzers” in its entirety, both in translation below and in the original German in the note:

In accordance with the publisher’s wish, with the publication of this translation one of the first novels from the field of Modern Greek literature is being presented to the German public. Whether the German translation appeals to the emotions and taste of the German public, or even in this form still contains too many foreign elements, is not up to the translator, or to the author. Although in general it falls into the category of the historical novel, nevertheless the book—as regards its whole essence and its immediate purpose—is based too much on a practical political element (as might naturally be expected in view of its author’s political convictions and connections with the Greek cause in 1831) for it to serve merely as a stimulus of the imagination, a frivolous antidote to boredom. For that purpose, although it is literary in structure and a product of the inexhaustible imagination of the author of the work *Satires* against Capodistrias, the book is too historical and patriotic, too truthful in its satirical scenes of political life at that time and depictions of everyday life in Greece and in the whole of its historical component, and also too serious and honest with regard to its author’s mentality and ideology, of which it was a direct result. The whole presentation is also distinguished by a certain simplicity; however, the greater the wealth of lessons offered by the book about the period of Modern Greek history in question, the more attractive this simplicity is—at least for the reader whose taste has not been ruined by frivolous fantastical tidbits.

Furthermore, the character of “The Exile” may well be based on the author himself (this could be true, but only in certain respects) or some other person; at any rate, this exile, with all his sentiments and character traits, is all the more interesting because of his whole attitude and behavior on the constantly shifting terrain on which he moves, in the midst of a reality which is not simply corrupt and disastrous by chance, but rather almost deliberately debased, seeking life and nourishment in multifarious intrigues.³¹

In conclusion, then, the identification of the author of the article, “Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland,” which appeared in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in 1836, provides answers to the questions in connection

with the first translation of a Greek novel into German after the foundation of the Greek state.

Second, with his article, "Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland," Friedrich Thiersch took the initiative in introducing Alexandros Soutsos' novel *Ο Εξόριστος του 1831* to the German reading public. This initiative was political in character, since it meant putting an anti-Capodistrian literary text on the German book market just a few years after the assassination of Ioannis Capodistrias and the ascent to the Greek throne of a Bavarian prince. The description in Alexandros Soutsos' novel of the historical event of Otto's ascent to the throne is a true eulogy, while the positive role played by Thiersch in the matter of Otto's accession to the Greek throne is well known.

Third, if the unsigned translator's preface to the 1837 translation is compared with the views on the novel *Ο Εξόριστος του 1831* expressed by Friedrich Thiersch in his article "Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland," it becomes clear that Thiersch was also the translator of the novel into German. Thus, there are no intrinsic objections to making another addition to the list of works by Friedrich Thiersch: the translation into German of the only work of creative prose by Alexandros Soutsos, a novel which was written and published in Greece after the foundation of the Greek state.³² The circumstances which contributed to the realization of the first translation of a Greek novel into German and the independent publication of this translation in Berlin in 1837 constitute yet another example in the theoretical field of literary translation and also the wider field of artistic creation to illustrate the relations between art and political power.

Finally, the publication of the German translation of the Greek novel *Ο Εξόριστος του 1831* functioned as a strong alibi for Friedrich Thiersch; in this way, he was able to introduce a novel dealing with contemporary political problems and groundbreaking social ideas to the European literary arena of the German-speaking world. It would have been very difficult for an original German novel with the same ideology and social orientation to have eluded the censorship of the time and to have seen the light of day.

Außerordentliche Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, No. 347 und 348, vom 29. Juli 1836.

Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland.

Α. Β. 1774
(weiter.)

Wohl man von dem, was auf dem Gebiete der Poesie, der
Rede und der Geschichte weit in gleicher Weise einen hervorra-
genden Theil hat, und diese die Zerstreuung an den schra-
nkten Grenzen derer, die nicht unterhalten wird, auf die
Vulgären und juristischen Gebiete der Literatur über, so
ist der Mann zu befragen, ob die weitere Entwicklung an ihren
Erscheinungen zu sehen ist. Durchdringung beider ein-
ander bei amerikanischen das bei der Regierung, eine bei den
Katholiken und Unverstandenen in Athen, aber keine an
anderen Orten, und zwar hat sich ausschließlich mit Zeitungen
und Regimentsbüchern beschäftigt, obwohl die Regimentsräthe
eine Erziehung für den von Verstandenen zu erwarten hat.
Denn so hat sich außer dem Kommissar dieses berühmten Hofes
kein Zweifler etabliert, und die Erfüllung der Regierung
bei die Schulbücher, in deren Erlösung ein solches beizubeh-
alten in einer besondern Schulbuchhandlung sollen gebracht und in ih-
rem Besten verkauft werden, wie die Schulung des Buch-
handels nicht befördert. Auf dem Gebiete der Schule haben
früher nur die amerikanischen Wissenschaften brachten lassen, diese
Bücher für den Elementarunterricht und Drucker zu ihrem Ge-
brauche. Die älteren Schulen enthalten das System der
ähnlich, und die Schüler schreiben nach wie vor die Werke über
Klassiker, die ihnen der Lehrer diktiert. Für die lateinische
Sprache hat diesem Rathgebende der tüchtige Professor Dr. M.

Wirth und Werner, Lehrer bei lateinischen und deutschen Sprache
am Gymnasium in Athen, abgehandelt. Der in griechischer
Sprache eine sehr reichhaltige lateinische Grammatik und in
diesem Jahre auch ein Elementarbuch zu ihr herausgegeben
hat. *) für die griechische, Deutsch und französisch lesen sich
vollkommen nach einander. Jedes ist eine kunstvollere Arbeit
ein wissenschaftliches Verfügen mit den entsprechenden Büchern be-
ziehungsweise und französischer Sprache **) ausgeschrieben durch
Beschäftigung mit Grammatik bei jeder Art, wenn das
Ganze umfasst nicht einem geschriebenen Verfügen nur 394 Seiten
füllen. Auch hat außer Griechischland in Triest und Wien
griechische Grammatiken und Wörterbücher, und in München
die vorzügliche Verbesserung der griechischen Grammatik von
Thiersch nach der letzten Ausgabe, von einem Lehrer der grie-
chischen Institution, J. M. Wolfenb., erschienen. In der Zeit
so sie erschienen nicht, außer nachträglich einmal die „επιστολή
σε τριτάτους“ (griechisch von Zeller), welche bequemer und
fruchtbarer Stoffe, auch lateinische behandelt und gut be-
rechnet ist, unter dem griechischen Namen die Regens zum Unterricht
und zum Studium näher zu helfen. In der Darstellung haben al-
lein die Griechische, mit deren Revision und Druck man beschäftigt ist.

*) *Στοιχείω μαθηματικῆς ἐπιστήμης γυμνάσιου*, *ἢ ἰσοδυναμίας ἀριθμῶν*
ἢ ἀριθμῶν ἢ ἀριθμῶν ἢ ἀριθμῶν ἢ ἀριθμῶν, *ἢ ἀριθμῶν*, *ἢ ἀριθμῶν*, *ἢ ἀριθμῶν*, *ἢ ἀριθμῶν*,
1836.
**) *Διόφαντος ἐπιπέδου ἀριθμῶν*, *ἢ ἀριθμῶν ἢ ἀριθμῶν ἢ ἀριθμῶν*,
ἢ ἀριθμῶν ἢ ἀριθμῶν ἢ ἀριθμῶν, *ἢ ἀριθμῶν ἢ ἀριθμῶν ἢ ἀριθμῶν*,
Σταυρόπουλος, *ἢ ἀριθμῶν ἢ ἀριθμῶν ἢ ἀριθμῶν*, *ἢ ἀριθμῶν ἢ ἀριθμῶν ἢ ἀριθμῶν*,
1835.

Third installment of the article "Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland" (Außerordentliche Beilage zur Allgemeine Zeitung, nos. 347 and 348, 29 July 1836). The handwritten entry confirms that the author of the article is Friedrich Thiersch. (Source: Schiller-Nationalmuseum / Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach a. N., Cotta-Archiv [Stiftung der Stuttgarter Zeitung])

NOTES

1. Alexandros Soutsos, *Ο Εξόριστος του 1831*, ed. Nasos Vayenas (Athens: Nefeli Publishers, 1996); and Nasos Vayenas, “Ο ουτοπικός σοσιαλισμός των αδελφών Σούτσων,” *ibid.*, 9-40. See also Alexandros Soutsos, *Ο Εξόριστος του 1831: Κωμικοτραγικόν ιστορήμα*, ed. Lukia Droulia (Athens: Modern Greek Library, Kostas and Eleni Ourani Foundation, 1994), 7-56, “Εισαγωγή,” and 57-59, “Επιλογή βιβλιογραφίας.”

2. The Exile of 1831/Novel from the recent history of Greece/by Alex. Soutsos. /From the Modern Greek/Berlin 1837./Published by F. U. Herbig/ The same details are also printed on the cover of the book, which is 11.5 x 18 cm. in size, except that the date and place of publication and the publisher’s name are missing. As far as it could be determined, there is no copy of the German translation of the work in any Greek library, nor is it mentioned in the catalogues of certain other big libraries such as the National Library of France or the Library of Congress.

3. *Außerordentliche Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* (Munich), no. 344 (27 July 1836), nos. 345 and 346 (28 July 1836), and nos. 347 and 348 (29 July 1836).

4. “Der Verbannte von 1831.

Das Werk ist höchst bedeutsam durch seine zwar einfachen, aber äußerst ergreifenden Schilderungen, durch das tiefe Gefühl, von welchem es gleichsam durchathmet ist, durch die edlen Gesinnungen, die vortrefflich gezeichneten Charaktere, durch jenen klaren und warmen hellenischen Lokaltone, der allen Erscheinungen des Landes einen so eigenthümlichen Reiz giebt, und vereinigt mit dem hochpoetischen ein gleiches politisches Interesse, indem es ein treues Gemälde der Gräuel, der Verderbtheit, des Verrathes und der Ruchlosigkeit giebt, die jene tiefverdorbene Korfiotenherrschaft über Griechenland bezeichneten, und das edle Gefühl des Dichters mit der stärksten Entrüstung erfüllen. Unter den Personen, die er in seinen Roman gewebt hat, und welche fast alle der Gegenwart angehören, ist auch der deutsche Philhellene, dessen Buch, de l’état actuel de la Grèce, so weit es über die Kapodistriatische Regierung handelt, hier seine weitere Begründung und Erläuterung findet. Auch über die bedeutenden Charaktere jener Zeit, die Lage der Parteien und ihrer Absichten giebt das Buch die Aufschlüsse eines geistreichen und mitten in den Begebenheiten stehenden Beobachters, und darf deshalb von den künftigen Geschichtsschreibern nicht übersehen werden, wie es durch den Reiz und die Kraft seiner poetischen Darstellungen den Freund der schönen Literatur immer anziehen wird.

Allgem. Zeitung 1837.” [correction: 1836]

5. *Außerordentliche Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, no. 175, 24 June 1837, p. 1202.

6. The “1836” in “Εν Αθήναις 1836” is an error; it should be “1835.” Of course, the Greek title and all other bibliographic details in Greek are in the polytonic system.

7. *Europa: Chronik der gebildeten Welt*, ed. August Lewand, “in Verbindung mit mehreren Gelehrten und Künstlern,” issue 3, vol. 1 (Leipzig, Stuttgart: J. Scheible, 1837).

8. See also 52 n. 72 of Droulia’s “Εισαγωγή,” where the unidentified pages in the Gennadeios Library (Athens), i.e., the prepublication of the German translation of the first three chapters of *Ο Εξόριστος του 1831* in the journal *Europa*, are characterized

as “Απόσπασμα από αταύτιστη έκδοση” (Passage from an unidentified publication). I would like to thank Sophie Papageorgiou of the Gennadeios Library for providing me with photocopies of the pages in question.

9. “Dieser höchst bedeutsame Roman des talentvollen Alex. Sutzos schildert die Schicksale eines jungen Mannes, der die Capodistrianische Tyrannei nicht ertragen kann, darum aber von den Gewalthabern verfolgt und in den Kerker geworfen wird. Aus diesem durch seine Geliebte befreit, flieht er aus dem Bereich der Bedrängniß, um der Fahne der Unabhängigkeit zu folgen, welche damals die Rumelioten erhoben, kehrt mit ihnen siegreich in den Peloponnes zurück, wird aber, im Begriffe die Geliebte zu erringen, durch das Verbrechen des Nebenbuhlers, der sie vergiftet, derselben beraubt, und zieht sich im Beginne der regentschaftlichen Regierung, an sich und dem Vaterlande verzweifelnd, außer den Grenzen Griechenlands in die tiefste Einsamkeit zurück.

Die *Allgemeine Zeitung* machte zuerst auf diesen Roman aufmerksam. Dieß gab die Veranlassung, daß die Herbig'sche Buchhandlung in Berlin eine Uebersetzung von demselben anfertigen ließ, welche nächstens erscheinen wird, und aus der wir Einiges unsern Lesern mittheilen.”

10. Here I quote the passage from the *Allgemeine Zeitung*: “während Alexander Sutzos sein großes Talent fortdauernd in Verbindung der politischen und poetischen Stoffe zeigt und die Leiden und Bestrebungen seines Vaterlandes wie in einem Spiegel wider-scheinen läßt. Im letzten Jahre 1835 erschien sein Roman, der ‘Verbannte’, welcher die Schicksale eines jungen Mannes schildert, der die Capodistrianische Tyrannei nicht ertragen kan, darum aber von den Gewalthabern verfolgt und in den Kerker geworfen wird. Aus diesem durch seine Geliebte befreit, flieht er aus dem Bereich der Bedrängniß, um der Fahne der Unabhängigkeit zu folgen, welche damals die Rumelioten erhoben, kehrt mit ihnen siegreich in den Peloponnes zurück, wird aber, im Begriffe der Geliebten theilhaftig zu werden, durch das Verbrechen des Nebenbuhlers, der sie vergiftet, derselben beraubt, und zieht sich im Beginne der regentschaftlichen Regierung, an sich und dem Vaterlande verzweifelnd, außer den Gränzen desselben in die tiefste Einsamkeit zurück.”

11. “Wir wollen die grosse europäische Gesellschaft schildern, nach allen ihren Beziehungen, treu und wahr” (Sibylle Obenaus, *Literarische und politische Zeitschriften 1830–1848* [Stuttgart: Metzler, 1986], 20-22). In these pages, the following information is also given: during the first period of its circulation, the journal published mainly excerpts from foreign journals and publications. Even later, when there were more original articles, it continued to adhere to the following principle: “den gehaltvollen Übersetzungen und Mittheilungen aus auswärtigen Journalen stets ein bedeutender Raum gelassen werden” (1836). In Prussia, circulation of the journal was prohibited from 26 January 1837 to 31 January 1838, because in late 1836, in E. Beurmann's column “Vertraute Briefe aus Berlin,” it published passages from a book which was also published anonymously and which was immediately prohibited by Berlin.

12. It was also known as *Cotta'sche Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, and *Münchner Allgemeine Zeitung*.

13. For the history of the newspaper, see Günter Mächler, “Wie ein treuer Spiegel”: *Die Geschichte der Cotta'schen Allgemeinen Zeitung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1998).

14. “Und allerdings kommt uns Kunde von Einzellnem zu, was Einheimische und Fremde die letzte Zeit in Griechenland bekannt gemacht haben” (And, certainly, information reaches us from isolated individuals about what locals and foreigners have published in Greece recently), “Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland,” *Außerordentliche Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, no. 344 (27 July 1836).

15. For Thiersch’s relationship with Greece in general, see Hans Loewe, *Friedrich Thiersch und die griechische Frage* (Munich: Straub, 1913). Hans Loewe was Thiersch’s great-grandson.

16. Alexandros Soutsos, *Ο Εξόριστος του 1831* (1996), 237; and idem, *Ο Εξόριστος του 1831* (1994), 194. See also the 1837 German translation, p. 253.

17. The classical scholar Friedrich Thiersch was a prominent educational reformer in Bavaria, where he is regarded as the founder of classical scholarship and humanist studies. From 1804 on he studied at the universities of Leipzig and Göttingen. In 1809 and 1811 he worked as a teacher, first at the Wilhelmsgymnasium and then at the Lyzeum in Munich. In 1812 he founded the Philologisches Institut, which had close connections with the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften). In 1826, when the university was moved from Landshut to Munich, he was appointed professor. From 1831 to 1832 he was in Greece, where he effectively prepared the way for Otto to be proclaimed king of Greece. In 1848 he became chair of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities. He strongly opposed the views of Fallmerayer.

18. “Er [=Thiersch] war einer der Erfolgsautoren der Augsburgerin” (Müchler, “*Wie ein treuer Spiegel*”, 88).

19. Friedrich Thiersch, *De l'état actuel de la Grèce et des moyens d'arriver à sa restauration*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1833); and *Η Ελλάδα του Καποδίστρια: Η παρούσα κατάσταση της Ελλάδος (1828–1833) και τα μέσα για να επιτευχθεί η ανοικοδόμησή της*, trans. A. Spiliotis, ed. T. Vournas, vol. 1, 2 (Athens, 1972), 15–16.

20. “Bis er [=Thiersch] auf österreichischen Druck hin kurzzeitig zum Schweigen gebracht wurde” (Müchler, “*Wie ein treuer Spiegel*”, 88). See n. 13 above.

21. Müchler observes: “The powers of the Holy Alliance were alarmed because of the unrest in the Iberian peninsula and in Italy, but above all because of the Greek war of independence against the Turks. In November 1822 the Congress of Verona had cynically ignored Greek interests which only further incited philhellenism among the middle classes in Western Europe. In Germany the keenest activist on behalf of the Greek cause was Friedrich Thiersch” (“Die Mächte der Heiligen Allianz waren wegen der Unruhen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel und in Italien, vor allem aber wegen des griechischen Freiheitskampfes gegen die Türken alarmiert. Im November 1822 war die Konferenz von Verona in zynischer Weise über die griechischen Belange hinweggegangen, was den Philhellenismus in Westeuropas Bürgertum nur noch weiter anstachelte. Eifrigster Agitator der griechischen Sache in Deutschland war Friedrich Thiersch”) (ibid.).

22. Müchler comments: “For the paper lived on the publication of important documents and contributions by knowledgeable authors. Thereon lay its reputation. But it could only count on these editorial showpieces if the anonymity of those submitting them was absolutely guaranteed” (“Denn die Zeitung lebte ja davon, daß sie wichtige Aktenstücke publizierte und kenntnisreiche Autoren zu Wort kommen ließ. Darauf beruhte ihr

Renommee. Sie konnte aber nur dann auf diese redaktionellen Glanzstücke rechnen, wenn die Anonymität der Einsender absolut gewährleistet war”) (ibid., 135).

23. “Thiersch, der Spezialist für das delikate Thema Griechenland, erhielt nicht nur wechselnde Signets, seine Beiträge erschienen auch unter absichtsvoll irreführenden Ortsnamen” (Müchler, “*Wie ein treuer Spiegel*”, 134).

24. “For the *Allgemeine Zeitung* . . ., that the censors were usually qualified civil servants. They had a three-year law course and two years of practical experience behind them. Most of them were town administrators charged with police and administrative tasks or members of the district council. The supreme control was in the hands of the district president, in the case of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* [the president] of the Oberdonau district, from 1837 on of the district of Swabia and Neuburg with its seat in Augsburg. At least one of the censors of the AZ, Ludwig Wirsching, made a career for himself. In the 1830s he became minister of finance. The censor Fischer at least became district president. In 1847, after the fall of the Abel government, he was asked to be a minister, but he refused” (“Für die *Allgemeine Zeitung* . . ., daß die Zensoren durchweg qualifizierte Beamte waren. Sie hatten ein dreijähriges Jurastudium und den „Akzeß“ hinter sich, ein zweijähriges Praktikum. Meist waren es Stadtkommissäre mit Zuständigkeit für Polizei- und Verwaltungsaufgaben oder Mitglieder des (Kreis-) Regierungskollegiums. Die Oberaufsicht führte der Regierungspräsident, im Falle der *Allgemeinen Zeitung* der des Oberdonaukreises, ab 1837 des Kreises Schwaben und Neuburg mit Sitz in Augsburg. Mindestens ein Zensor der AZ, Ludwig Wirsching, machte Karriere. Er wurde in den dreißiger Jahren Finanzminister. Der Zensor Fischer brachte es immerhin zum Regierungspräsidenten. 1847, nach dem Sturz der Regierung Abel, wurde er als Minister gehandelt, lehnte jedoch ab”) (ibid., 128).

25. At this point I would like to express my warmest thanks to Georgios Gogos, my colleague at the Department of Modern Greek Studies at the Freie Universität Berlin. His assistance and patience in checking the sources which led to the identification of the author of “Literarische Erscheinungen in Griechenland” were exemplary.

26. See Heinrich W. J. Thiersch, ed., *Friedrich Thiersch's Leben*, 2 vols. (Leipzig and Heidelberg, 1866).

27. See n. 16 above.

28. See also n. 11 above, which explains why circulation of the journal *Europa* was prohibited in Berlin that same year.

29. The full German text of the “Translator’s Preface” is quoted below in n. 31.

30. He is referring to the novel *Ο Εξόριστος του 1831*. See also the passage from the first instalment, dating from 27 July 1836, of the same article by Thiersch: “während Alexander Suzzos sein großes Talent fortdauernd in Verbindung der politischen und poetischen Stoffe zeigt und die Leiden und Bestrebungen seines Vaterlandes wie in einem Spiegel widerscheinen läßt” (“while Alexandros Soutsos constantly shows his great talent by combining political and literary subject matter, reflecting the passions and struggles of his fatherland as in a mirror”).

31. The text of the “Translator’s Preface” from the 1837 edition:
“Vorwort des Uebersetzers.

Nach dem Wunsche des Verlegers wird dem deutschen Publikum in der vorliegenden Uebersetzung einer der ersten Romane aus dem Bereiche der neu-griechischen Literatur dargeboten. Ob er in dieser Verdeutschung dem Sinne und

Geschmacke des deutschen Publikums selbst nahe genug gerückt worden sey, und ob er nicht vielmehr auch noch in diesem Gewande zu Viel des Fremdartigen an sich trage,— darüber kann weder dem Uebersetzer, noch könnte dem Verfasser die Entscheidung zukommen. Gehört er auch im Allgemeinen zur Klasse der historischen Romane, so liegt ihm doch, seinem ganzen Wesen und seiner unmittelbaren Richtung nach (wie dies von dem Verfasser, zufolge seiner politischen Grundsätze und seiner Verhältnisse zur griechischen Sache, namentlich im Jahre 1831, nicht anders zu erwarten war), zu sehr ein praktisch-politisches Element zum Grunde, als daß er zum bloßen Kitzel der Phantasie, zum frivolen Lückenbüßer der Langeweile dienen könnte. Dazu ist das Buch, wenschon poetisch seiner Anlage nach und ein Erzeugniß der unerschöpflichen Phantasie des Dichters der Satyren wider die Kapodistrias, doch zu historisch-patriotisch, zu wahr auch in den satyrischen Szenen des damaligen politischen Lebens und den Sittenschilderungen des Volks, so wie in seinem ganzen geschichtlichen Theile, zu ernst und ehrenhaft in der Gesinnung und dem Glaubensbekenntnisse des Verfassers, woraus es unmittelbar hervorgegangen. Auch ist der ganzen Darstellung eine gewisse Einfachheit eigenthümlich, die indeß wenigstens für den, dessen Geschmack durch frivole phantastische Leckerbissen nicht verwöhnt worden, um so anziehender seyn muß, je vielfachere Belehrung das Buch über die betreffende Epoche der neugriechischen Geschichte gewährt.

Mag übrigens, was die Person des Verbannten anlangt, darunter der Verfasser selbst (er könnte es aber nur in gewissen Beziehungen) oder ein Anderer verborgen seyn; jedenfalls ist dieser Verbannte in Gesinnung und Charakter, wie in seiner ganzen Haltung und seinem Auftreten auf dem vielfach unterwühlten Boden, auf dem er sich bewegt, und inmitten einer fast mehr absichtlich entarteten und in den mannigfachsten Intriguen Leben und Nahrung suchenden, als nur zufällig verderbten und bloß unheilvollen Gegenwart, eine um so interessantere Erscheinung."

32. Three years later, in 1840, a translation of the novel *Ο Εξόριστος του 1831* from the original Greek into French by Jules Lennel was published in Paris (*L'Exile de 1831, roman historique, par Alexandre Soutsos, traduit du grec moderne, par Jules Lennel* [Paris: A. Pougin 1840], iv-155). See also "Chronique de la quinzaine 31 juillet 1840/Revue Littéraire," *Revue des deux Mondes* 23 (1840): 512-13.