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THE RESILIENCE OF PHILHELLENISM

'Tis Greece, but living Greece no more!
So coldly sweet, so deadly fair,
We start, for soul is wanting there…
Lord Byron, *The Giaour*, 1813

George Tolias

ABSTRACT: This essay aims to survey certain key aspects of philhellenism underpinned by the recent and past bibliography on the issue. By exploring the definitions of the related terms, their origins and their various meanings, the paper underscores the notion of "revival" as a central working concept of philhellenic ideas and activities and explores its transformations, acceptances or rejections in Western Europe and in Greece during the period from 1770 to 1870.

Philhellenisms

"The French are by tradition philhellenes." With this phrase, the authors of *Le Petit Robert* exemplified the modern usage of the word *philhellène*, explaining that it denotes those sympathetic to Greece. Although the chosen example refers to a tradition, the noun "philhellene" entered the French vocabulary in 1825 as a historical term which denoted someone who championed the cause of Greek independence. According to the same dictionary, the term "philhellenism" started to be used in French in 1838. It too was a historical term denoting interest in the Greek cause and support of the Greek struggle for national independence. We find corresponding or identical definitions in other dictionaries of Western languages, as for example in Webster's, where philhellenes are defined as "friends and supporters of the Greek cause, specifically the issue of regaining independence", or the Duden *Diktionär*, where philhellenism is defined as the "political-romantic movement, which supported the liberation struggle of the Greeks against the Turks".

These definitions refer to philhellenism as related to the specific historic context of the Greek War of Independence.[1] The shared solidarity of public

[1] The main bibliographic guide to philhellenism remains *Philhellénisme. Ouvrages inspirés*

opinion in the West during the years of the Greek national uprising affected various domains, from political activism, art and literature to aspects of social and even everyday life, given that it became something of a vogue. As an opinion movement, philhellenic commitments were marked by varying degrees of intensity and participation: from the volunteers who came to fight in revolutionary Greece[2] to the many who remained active in their own countries, organizing dense philhellenic networks and philhellenic committees, lending moral and material assistance to the insurgent Greeks; and, finally, to the majority, who absorbed and consumed philhellenic rhetoric and production, participating in a sort of philhellenic "fashion".[3]

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par la guerre de l'ndépendance grecque, 1821-1833, by Loukia Droulia, published in 1974. A second edition, revised and augmented, is forthcoming in 2017, edited by Alexandra Sfoini. For an overview of philhellenism, see Loukia Droulia, "Ο Φιλελληνισμός. Φιλελεύθερο και ριζοσπαστικό κίνημα" [Philhellenism: A liberal and radical movement], in V. Panagiotopoulos (ed.), *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού* [The history of Modern Greece], Athens: Ellinika Grammata, Vol. III, 2003, pp. 267-286. See also S. Asdrachas, "La Rivoluzione greca. Una sintesi storica", in Caterina Spetsieri Beschi and Enrica Lucarelli (eds), *Risorgimento greco e filellenismo italiano. Lotte, cultura, arte*, exhibition catalogue, Rome: Edizioni del Sole, 1986, pp. 73-81. Most classic scholarly studies align themselves with this definition, including Virginia Penn ("Philhellenism in Europe, 1821-1828", *The Slavonic and East European Review* 16/48 [1938], pp. 638-653), Jean Dimakis (*La guerre de l'indépendance grecque vue par la presse française*, Thessaloniki 1968), Christopher Woodhouse (*The Philhellenes*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1969), William St Clair (*That Greece Might Still be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence*, London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1972), Regine Quack-Eustathiades (*Der deutsche Philhellenismus ührend des griechischen Freiheitskampfes, 1821-1827*, Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1984), Byron Raizis (*American Poets and the Greek Revolution, 1821-1828: A Study in Byronic Philhellenism*, Thessaloniki: Institute of Balkan Studies, 1971), Denys Barau (*La cause des Grecs. Une histoire du mouvement philhellène [1821-1829]*, Paris: Éditions Honoré Champion, 2009), Konstantinos Maras (*Philhellenismus. Eine Frühform europäischer Integration*, Würzburg 2012) and others.

[2] The known philhellene volunteers in the Greek War of Independence numbered 940. The four largest contingents came from Germany, France, Italy and Britain. They were followed by Swiss, Poles, Dutch and Belgians, Hungarians, Swedish, Spanish and Danes. See Stefanos Papageorgiou, *Από το Γένος στο Έθνος. Η θεμελίωση του ελληνικού κράτους, 1821-1862* [From genos to nation: The foundation of the Greek State, 1821-1862], Athens 2005, pp. 116-117.

[3] Besides the philhellenic images, songs and artefacts sold "in favour of the Greeks", such as porcelain wares, clocks, liquor bottles, playing cards and soaps, even masquerade balls with Greek themes were organized, such as the one given by the Hungarian nobleman József Batthyány in Milan in 1828. See the series of 50 drawings with the "Costumi vestiti alla festa di ballo data in Milano dal nobilissimo conte Giuseppe Batthyány la sera del 30 gennaio 1828", in Spetsieri Beschi and Lucarelli (eds), *Risorgimento greco e filellenismo*

Philhellenism formed a self-defined corpus of emblematic gestures, texts, images and objects and an established *topos* of the nineteenth-century legacy of the West. Although composed by varied, disparate and even contrasting elements, philhellenism evolved beyond national boundaries and cultures, a fact that presupposes common foundations and deeply rooted affinities. As a shared allegiance of the West intermingling the world of learning and the world of politics, affecting public opinion and inspiring personal commitment and even self-sacrifice, philhellenism had no preceding analogy since the Crusader mobilizations. Therefore, its manifestations and their underpinnings have occupied relevant research to a considerable extent.

Philhellenism indeed had deep roots and cast a long shadow. It has long been claimed that philhellenism was an upshot of Hellenism, the shared Hellenic heritage and its diffusion.[4] The dissemination of Greek culture during ancient times is also referred to fairly often as philhellenism.[5] The ancient philhellenism of the Hellenistic age and of Rome was to be renewed by Western humanists beginning in the fourteenth century. "Roman and philhellene", stated Aldus Manutius, a wording he rendered in Latin with the phrase "Romanus et graecarum studiosus", a scholar of Greek. In fact, humanists would elaborate the modern version of an *extra muros* Hellenism, making it a discrete field of scholarly pursuit and a component of the Western cultural construct. This coincided with the conquest of the Greek East by the Ottomans. The humanistic turn towards Greek letters would often be accompanied by expressions of sympathy by the residents of the Republic of Letters towards the Greeks under Ottoman rule, a sympathy which would convert to solidarity during periods of tension and politicization of humanism and amid constant calls for new crusades against the Turks.[6]

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italiano, p. 277. See also Angélique Amandry, "Le philhellénisme en France. Partitions de musique", *Ο Ερανιστής* 17 (1981), pp. 25-45; *id.*, "Le philhellénisme en France à travers les étiquettes commerciales", *Revue de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 9 (1983), pp. 12-21; *id.*, *L'Indépendance grecque dans la faïence française du 19e siècle*, Athens: Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation, 1982.

[4] See Stefanos A. Koumanoudis, "Περί φιλελληνισμού. Λόγος ἐν τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ, τῇ 27 Φεβρουαρίου 1866", *Πανδώρα* 385 (1866), pp. 1-11; Pierre Grimal, "L'héritage de la Grèce", foreword to Moses Finley and Cyril Bailey, *L'héritage de la Grèce et de Rome*, Paris: Robert Laffont, 1992, pp. 3-13.

[5] The ancient uses of the term cover two distinguished realities: the non-Greeks who participated in or admired Greek culture, and the Greeks who engaged in panhellenic patriotic activity. For some illustrations, see F. E. Adcock, *Aspects of Philhellenism in Antiquity*, Adelaide: Australian Humanities Research Council, 1961.

[6] For an overview, see Gerhard Pfeiffer, *Studien zur Frühphase des europäischen*

Thus, the philhellenism of the learned would be linked to political projects as well as to the public sentiment set in motion by the terror of the "Turkish threat".

European wars with the Porte during the eighteenth century would pose the issue of the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and the creation of more or less client states under Western protection. Within this framework, a novel politicization of philhellenism can be observed, sustained by the Greek plan of Catherine II of Russia and the successive presences of the Russian fleet in the Aegean (1769-1792). The notion of the salvation of Greece promoted by Christian humanism and the imperialist philhellenism of Russia would soon be overlapped by the liberal philhellenism of the late Enlightenment. The latter would promulgate the idea of the modern revival (*régénération*) of the moral, cultural and political values of antiquity, while simultaneously sustaining the claims of Greek patriots.

All these overlapping notions converged during the Greek War of Independence, shaping the central philhellenic statement, that of the restoration of Greece and the defence of the rebellious Christian descendants of the Ancient Greeks from a despotic Muslim yoke. This was undoubtedly valuable for the insurgent Greeks, who constantly based their hopes on the Christian West and attempted to internationalize their demand for independence. Numerous studies have revealed that the old ideological footings of a humanistic or religious type remained resilient, particularly in such legitimist or absolutist environments as those of the courts of St Petersburg, Vienna or Berlin.[7] At the same time, other specialists have

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Philhellenismus (1453-1750), Erlangen-Nürnberg: Friedrich-Alexander University, 1968. For the general context of early Modern Greek studies, see A. C. Dionisotti and A. Grafton, (eds), *The Uses of Greek and Latin: Historical Essays*, London: Warburg Institute, 1988; also, Jean-Christoph Saladin, *La bataille du grec à la Renaissance*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2000.

[7] Earlier as well as more recent analyses have pointed to expressions of philhellenism in conservative environments, before, during and after the Greek uprising. See Stella Ghervas, "Le philhellénisme d'inspiration conservatrice en Europe et en Russie", in *Peuples, États et nations dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe*, Bucharest: Anima, 2004, pp. 98-110; *id.*, "Le philhellénisme russe. Union d'amour ou d'intérêt?", in *Regards sur le philhellénisme*, Geneva: Permanent Mission of Greece (UN), 2008, pp. 33-41; and *id.*, *Réinventer la tradition. Alexandre Stourdza et l'Europe de la Sainte-Alliance*, Paris: Honoré Champion, 2008. For philhellenism as a component of policy in conservative environments in the nineteenth century, see Ariadni Moutafidou, "Zwischen risorgimento-Tradition und raccoglimento-Politik. Philhellenismus und Staatspolitik in Italien, 1897", in Wolfram Hörandner *et al.* (eds), *Wiener Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik. Beiträge zum Symposion Vierzig Jahre Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien im Gedenken an Herbert, Hunger,*

focussed on the liberal ideological foundations of philhellenic solidarity, such as republican patriotism,[8] the novel ideas of the sovereign state and peoples' right to self-determination, as shaped by the late Enlightenment and the French Revolution.[9]

It was Terence Spencer's *Fair Greece! Sad Relic: Literary Philhellenism from Shakespeare to Byron* (1954) which defined research on early philhellenism, expanding its time span by dating its beginnings to fifteenth-century humanism in Britain.[10] Spencer approached British philhellenism as an interaction between public opinion and literary production, between literature and action. He defined it as a moral commitment by the West to Greece, based on cultural values and Christian ethics, as well as a mechanism of providence looking out for the restoration of Greece. According to Spencer, philhellenism "[…] described that devotion to the welfare of Greece and the faith in her future […]", a moral rallying of European public opinion which "[…] derived from a classical partiality in favour of the supposed descendants of the ancient pagan Hellenes; and it inspired the notion that there existed an urgent moral obligation for Europe to restore liberty to Greece as a kind of payment for the civilization which Hellas had once given to the world."[11]

Wien, 4.-7. Dezember 2002, Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2004, pp. 299-307; and *id.*, "Anton Prokesch-Osten and the Kingdom of Greece", in Herbert Kröll (ed.), *Austrian-Greek Encounters over the Centuries: History – Diplomacy – Politics – Arts – Economics*, Innsbruck 2007, pp. 117-126. For an overview of Prussian philhellenism, see Johannes Irmscher, *Der Philhellenismus in Preussen as Forschungsanliegen*, Berlin 1966.

[8] On republican patriotism, see Franco Venturi, *Settecento riformatore, IV. La Caduta dell'Antico Regime (1776-1789)*, Vol. II: *Il patriottismo repubblicano e gli imperi dell'Est*, Turin: Einaudi, 1984. Also, Pier Giorgio Camaiani, "La religiosità patriottica nel '21 greco e nel '48 italiano", in Giovanni Spadolini (ed.), *Indipendenza e unità nazionale in Italia ed in Grecia*, Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1987, pp. 61-78; and André Soboul (ed.), *Patriotisme et nationalisme en Europe à l'époque de la Révolution française et de Napoléon*, Paris: Société d'études Robespierristes, 1973.

[9] See Emile Malakis, *French Travellers in Greece (1770-1820): An Early Phase of French Philhellenism*, Philadelphia 1925; Chantal Grell, "Les ambiguités du philhellenisme. L'ambassade du Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier auprès de la Sublime Porte (1784–1792)", *Dix-huitième siècle* 27 (1995), pp. 223-235; Georges Tolias, *La médaille et la rouille. Images de la Grèce moderne dans la presse littéraire parisienne sous le directoire, le consulat et l'empire (1794-1816)*, Paris and Athens: Hatier, 1997, esp. "L'hellénisme restructuré", pp. 15-62; Dimitri Nicolaïdis, *D'une Grèce à l'autre. Représentations des Grecs modernes par la France révolutionnaire*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1992.

[10] Terence J. B. Spencer, *Fair Greece! Sad Relic: Literary Philhellenism from Shakespeare to Byron*, Bath: Chivers, 1973 (first edition, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1954).

[11] *Ibid.*, p. VII.

Spencer's methodology consisted of collecting and organizing into thematic historical groups the varied philhellenic manifestations which he himself did not consider as historical data. "Opinion," he noted in his foreword, "is not information; and it is very difficult to turn it into information; for opinion is too subtle a nature, and often too contradictory, to be translated into general terms […]"[12] This "loose" perception of the field allowed the study of diverse situations and phenomena, sometimes even alien to the Greek question.

Specialists have equally taken an interest in philhellenism's persistence following the Greek War of Independence.[13] As early as 1920, the peculiarities of philhellenism in Italy had led to the recognition of a broader historical range of philhellenism which encompassed the final years of the eighteenth century and nearly all of the nineteenth.[14] The peculiar features, as well as the long duration of Italian philhellenism, led Antonis Liakos to extend the range of its expression down to the end of the Ottoman period, in light of the two countries' mutual expectations of "revival" and national unification (*risorgimento – παλιγγενεσία* [rebirth]).[15] Gilles Pécout also approached Italian philhellenism in the long nineteenth century to 1920 as an expression of "political friendship" between two Mediterranean peoples.[16] Finally, Ariadni Moutafidou studied the Italian philhellenism of the early twentieth

[12] *Ibid.*, p. VIII.

[13] A symposium organized by the University of Cyprus in November 2015 under the title "Philhellenism and European Identity" explored aspects of the philhellenic commitments from the Roman era to the mid-nineteenth century; another symposium, organized by the University of Ioannina in July 2013, attempted to explore expressions of philhellenism from the Greek War of Independence to our day. See A. Mandilara, N. Anastasopoulos and L. Flitouris (eds), *Φιλελληνισμός. Το ενδιαφέρον για την Ελλάδα και τους Ελληνες απο το 1821 ως σήμερα* [Philhellenism: Interest in Greece and the Greeks from 1821 to today], Athens: Herodotos, 2015.

[14] Elena Persico, *Letteratura filellenica italiana, 1787-1870*, Rome 1920. Italian philhellene volunteers took part in the Cretan revolts, the Greek-Turkish Wars of 1880 and 1897 and even in the Balkan Wars.

[15] Antonis Liakos, *Η ιταλική ενοποίηση και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα, 1859-1862* [Italian unification and the Megali Idea, 1859-1862] Athens: Themelio, 1985; and *id.*, "Movimenti filellenici nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento", in Spetsieri Beschi and Lucarelli (eds), *Risorgimento greco e filellenismo italiano*, pp. 173-175. See also the proceedings of the symposium held in Athens, 2-7 Oct 1985: Giovanni Spadolini (ed.), *Indipendenza e unità nazionale in Italia ed in Grecia*, Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1987.

[16] Gilles Pécout, "Philhellenism in Italy: Political Friendship and the Italian Volunteers in the Mediterranean in the Nineteenth Century", *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 9/4 (2004), pp. 405-427.

century, stressing its elements foreign to the Greek context, such as the Austrian occupation of northern Italy and the exile of Italian anarchists and activists during that period.[17]

Neo-humanism, Postcolonialism, Orientalism

From 1770 onwards, philhellenic notions proliferated and evolved with an uneven intensity of content and a varied range of priorities. They were transmitted into a wide range of ideological, cultural and social backgrounds, inspiring a broad spectrum of expressions ranging from political thought and erudition, to literature, art, music and fashion. The broad dissemination of philhellenic notions and their varied uses in different environments is a challenging field for researchers, as well as the main impediment to any attempt at synthesis, since the phenomenon manifested itself in dissimilar ways and for different time periods, depending on its origins and the local or national priorities of its area of expression.

Indeed, within the transnational wave of philhellenism, we witness the development of its distinct national expressions. The most stable was undoubtedly the French one, both by virtue of the persistence of humanist traditions among the French learned élites, as well as the hegemonic position of French culture during this age. Other related national expressions (each with its own specific features) were those of Italy and Britain. As we just mentioned, in Italy philhellenism gave a fresh sense to the constant bonds between the Mediterranean's two historic cultures, being involved in the common claims of both people for national emancipation and unification. In Britain, philhellenism renewed the long literary traditions of British Hellenism and translated philhellenic notions into political concepts, related to the emerging political liberalism and aspirations for true constitutional government.[18] In addition, we

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[17] Ariadni Moutafidou, "Restless Elements and the Worst Imaginable Riff-raff: Italian Philhellenism and the Uncontrolled Dynamics of Volunteer Groups", in Evangelos Konstantinou (ed.), *Ausdrucksformen des europäischen und internationalen Philhellenismus vom 17. – 19. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2007, pp. 211-217. British philhellenism has also been seen as a long-lived phenomenon encompassing the entire nineteenth century. See Margarita Miliori, "Europe, the Classical *Polis* and the Greek Nation: Philhellenism and Hellenism in Nineteenth-century Britain", in R. Beaton and D. Ricks (eds), *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, Romanticism and the Uses of the Past*, Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009, pp. 65-80.

[18] Spencer, *Fair Greece! Sad Relic*. Also, David Constantine, *Early Greek Travellers and the Hellenic Ideal*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984. Frederick Rosen explored the "translation" of philhellenic ideas into political concepts such as liberalism

find philhellenic references in many patriotic national movements of that time, such as those in Poland, Finland, Spain and even Bulgaria.[19]

German philhellenism appeared as the most dynamic, given that from the late eighteenth century onwards German culture experienced a phase of Greek obsession. Therefore, studies on philhellenism in Germany have a wider scope, different from the rest of Europe. French academic studies on philhellenism are usually confined to the specific historical philhellenism, the favourable disposition of public opinion to Modern Greece, while those related to German philhellenism encompass the entirety of Greek references in German culture and thought. German philhellenism is therefore associated to neo-humanism and its strong impact on German culture, as has been expertly assessed first by Eliza Marian Butlers and more recently by Suzanne Marchand.[20] The French continued to describe these phenomena, using the traditional term Hellenism, that is, the study of Greek letters, history, archaeology and so forth,

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and nationalism. See his *Bentham, Byron and Greece: Constitutionalism, Nationalism and Early Liberal Political Thought*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992. The involvement of French republican ideas in the philhellenic discourse was studied by Nicolaïdis, *D'une Grèce à l'autre.*

[19] For connections between philhellenism and the Polish patriotic movement, see Praca Zbiorowa *et al.* (eds), *Filhellenizm w Polsce. Rekonesans*, Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press, 2007 (with English and Greek abstracts). For the functions of philhellenism in the formation of Finnish national identity, see Petra Pakkanen, *August Myhrberg and North-European Philhellenism: Building the Myth of a Hero*, Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens, Vol. X, Helsinki: Finnish Institute at Athens, 2006. For Spanish philhellenism, see Thanos Vagenas, "Ο Ισπανικός φιλελληνισμός κατά την Ελληνικήν Επανάστασιν" [Spanish philhellenism during the Greek Revolution], *Φιλελληνικά* (January-March 1955), pp. 6-9, and I. K. Chassiotis, "Ο Ισπανικός φιλελληνισμός" [Spanish philhellenism], *Μακεδονική Ζωή* (March 1972), pp. 10-14. For Bulgarian philhellenism, see Spyros Loukatos "Le philhellénisme balkanique pendant la lute pour l'Indépendance hellénique", *Balkan Studies* 19/1 (1978), pp. 249-283.

[20] Eliza Marian Butlers, *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany: A Study of the Influence Exercised by Greek Art and Poetry over the Great German Writers of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935. The peculiarities of German perceptions of philhellenism formed the subject of Suzanne Marchand's recent analysis. In her study, philhellenism is presented and interpreted as the Greek cultural obsession of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Germany and is entirely decoupled from any marshalling of German public opinion with modern Greece and its claims. See Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996. A similar perception of philhellenism pervades the articles in the collective volume *Graecomania. Der europäische Philhellenismus*, ed. Elena Agazzi and Élisabeth Déculot, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009.

thoroughly examined by the great historians of Greek studies in France such as Émile Egger and René Canat.[21] French Hellenism was confined to scholarly issues, particularly to matters of erudition and literature, and the study of the various elaborations of Greek ideas in philosophy or political thought were not covered by any specific term; indeed, relevant studies conducted with the use of philhellenism as a tool are rare.[22] Lastly, in contrast to the German approach, that of other European cultures (especially in France, Italy and Britain) did not acknowledge a specific neo-humanist movement beginning in the late eighteenth century, following the *retour à l'antique* and adoption of Neoclassicism.[23]

The inclusion of the German example in our globalized studies results in a semantic confusion, heightened once we leave the closed field of monographs on specific subjects and proceed to attempts at synthesis or multifaceted approaches.[24] In 2005, a special issue of the *Revue Germanique Internationale*

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[21] Émile Egger, *L'Hellénisme en France. Leçons sur l'influence des études grecques dans le développement de la langue et de la littérature françaises*, Paris: Didier, 1869; René Canat, *L'Hellénisme des romantiques*, 3 vols, Paris: Didier, 1951-1955. On French Hellenism, see Alfred Croiset, *L'Hellénisme*, in the series 'La science française' of the Librairie Larousse, Paris 1915. For its early expressions, see Jean-François Maillard, *La France des humanistes*, Vol. I: *Hellénistes*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2003. Sophie Basch, in her effort to distinguish the turn of the French intelligentsia towards Ancient Greece observed between 1870 and 1914, independent of philhellenism and established scholarly Greek studies, proposed the term "modern classicism"; see her "Albert Thibaudet et la *klassiche* Moderne", *Philhellénismes et transferts culturels dans l'Europe du XIXe siècle*, special issue of the *Revue Germanique Internationale* 1-2 (2005), pp. 169-190.

[22] Such as Sophie Bourgault, "Philhellenism among the Philosophes: Ancient Greece in French Enlightenment Historiography", in Sophie Bourgault and Robert Sparling (eds), *A Companion to Enlightenment Historiography*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013, pp. 437-468. Studies in this field are usually situated within the scope of cultural heritage, historicity or the memory of the antique, such as Chantal Grell, *Le XVIIIe siècle et l'Antiquité en France, 1680-1789*, Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1995; Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Les Grecs, les historiens, la démocratie*, Paris: La Découverte, 2000; François Hartog, *Anciens, modernes, sauvages*, Paris: Galaade, 2005.

[23] Rather, they questioned Hellenism's political implications from the French Revolution and onwards. See François Hartog, "La Révolution française et l'Antiquité. Avenir d'une illusion ou cheminement d'un quiproquo?", in *Situations de la démocratie*, La Pensée politique 1, Paris: Gallimard – Le Seuil, 1993, pp. 30-61; also, Chryssanthi Avlami (ed.), *L'Antiquité grecque au XIXème siècle. Un* exemplum *contesté?*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000.

[24] The example of a series of conferences on European philhellenism organized in German academic settings by Evangelos Konstantinou reveals the essential instability of the term. To date, 13 volumes resulting from these meetings (the series *Philhellinische Studien*,

undertook to tame philhellenism's content variations, approaching it as a cultural transfer between European cultures in the long nineteenth century.[25] According to the volume's editors, Michel Espagne and Gilles Pécout, philhellenism encompassed three historical realities which contributed to the making of the cultural identity of the West in the nineteenth century: a) a scholarly, aesthetic and philosophical movement, which from the late eighteenth century restored Ancient Greece as a leading political and cultural reference point and introduced the modern version of humanism; b) an occasional movement involving support for the revolutionary Greeks, which combined Romanticism and military guardianship in Europe after the Congress of Vienna; and c) a confirmation of a continuous and stable allegiance with the Greek people in the name of the principles of 1848 and of the country's historic Mediterranean identity. The Greek nation was viewed as the last remaining conquered people in nineteenth-century Europe.

Both Espagne and Pécout, familiar with the losses and alterations of content resulting from cultural transfers, acknowledged that the triple definition they proposed was more descriptive than interpretative, in other words that it aimed to encompass the broadest-possible range of relevant expressions rather than identify a canon. Thus, the first historical reality was essentially German neo-humanism's perception of philhellenism, the processes by which the connection with Ancient Greece was forged.[26] The second combined the classic meaning of historical philhellenism associated with the Greek War of Independence, highlighting its links to nineteenth-century European protectionism and military interventionism. The third was that of patriotic liberalism and its various applications, especially in Italy as well as in the regions of Europe that were attempting at that time to gain national independence from imperialist rule, such as Spain, Poland and Finland.

Frankfurt: Peter Lang Publications), include essays devoted to traditional philhellenism together with others dedicated to various aspects of Greek studies, with an emphasis on the diffusion of Ancient, medieval and Modern Greek culture.

[25] *Philhellénismes et transferts culturels dans l'Europe du XIXe siècle*, special issue of the *Revue Germanique Internationale* 1-2 (2005). The issue contains essays on philhellenic manifestations across a broader spectrum, from the reception of Greek antiquity by Winckelmann and Greek archetypes in the work of Freud to the views of philhellenes about the infrastructures of the newly founded Greek State. In addition, some of the preoccupations of Greek scholars, such as Andreas Moustoxydis, were included.

[26] Sandrine Maufroy went deeper into this line of thought, analysing the uses of Hellenic references in Germany and France in connection to scholarly philhellenic works between 1815 and 1848. See Sandrine Maufroy, *Le philhellénisme franco-allemand (1815-1848)*, Paris and Berlin 2011.

Philhellenism was confronted as a sum of interactions pervading European cultures and societies, shaping a shared supra-national *topos*. Nevertheless, the diverse historical realities that philhellenism encompassed were not even, nor necessarily complementary. Both humanism and neo-humanism were general frames of reference, while the specific philhellenic commitments were subject to the vagaries of circumstance. Furthermore, the expanded content of philhellenism went beyond both the traditional domain of Western solidarity with the insurgent Greeks, allowing the inclusion of the Greek reactions of reception, incorporation or rejection. In fact, the common feature in this tripartite definition of philhellenism is the recovery of the antique aesthetic, philosophical and patriotic values and their modern use in the processes of nation-building in nineteenth-century Europe. If we accept this common denominator, then we would set as a central working concept of philhellenism that of "revival", *régéneration*, *risorgimento* or, for the Greeks themselves, *παλιγγενεσία*.[27]

The analysis of philhellenism's ideological implications is the object of some novel approaches to the issue. Scholars working in this vein follow the line of attack launched by theorists of postcolonial studies, who aimed to deconstruct the erudite discourse by disclosing the hidden agenda of scholarly preoccupations especially in the fields of Eastern and Classical studies and to highlight their involvement in the shaping of geopolitical concepts of weighty semantic range.[28] In fact, a number of recent approaches to philhellenism focus on the ideological functions of philhellenism's representations and aim to analyse their implications, both on the level of the formation of Western cultural identity as well as that of their reception in Modern Greece. Thus, and after Elli Skopeteas' early attempts,[29] Stathis Gourgouris explored the role and functions of philhellenism in the perception of Modern Greece and the formation of Modern Greek identity. In his work *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization, and the Institution of Modern Greece*, he proposed a multi-level and somewhat arcane approach, one that combined psychoanalytic methodology,

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[27] For the meanings assumed by the term after the French Revolution, see Mona Ozouf in François Furet, Mona Ozouf *et al.*, *Dictionnaire critique de la révolution française*, Paris: Flammarion, 1988.

[28] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, New York: Vintage Books, 1979; Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*, Vol. I: *The Fabrication of Ancient Greece, 1785-1985*, New Brunswick, NJ, 1987.

[29] Elli Skopetea, *Το πρότυπο βασίλειο και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα* [The model kingdom and the Megali Idea], Athens 1988; and *id.*, *Φαλμεράυερ. Τεχνάσματα του αντίπαλου δέους* [Fallmerayer: Ruses of Counterbalance], Athens: Themelio, 1997.

philological criticism, the theory of the imagined communities of nationalism and the deconstruction of colonialism and orientalism.[30] Gourgouris stressed the decisive influence of philhellenism both on shaping Greece as a nation as well as on framing European cultural perceptions in the nineteenth century. His work reveals philhellenism as a form of orientalism to the extent that it proceeded to the replacement of local "realities" with representations of Western provenance ("the desire for civilization").[31]

The association of philhellenism and orientalism is certainly a challenge. Orientalism had a decisive influence on the perception of Greece in the nineteenth century, and the "Eastern" nature of Modern Greek culture and society led Modern Greek studies from an early date to the field of Oriental studies. Greek and Oriental studies are *a posteriori* or "external" scholarly approaches to the culture of the Greeks and other historical peoples of the Ancient East, perceptions or, if one prefers, cultural constructions whose roots stretch back to Hellenistic and Roman times. In fact, both Greek and Oriental studies are such old scholarly fields that they can be considered structural components of Western culture.[32] Without doubt, during the age when Western colonial rule spread over the historical cultures of the East, in other words throughout the entire period encompassed by the Eastern Question (eighteenth-twentieth centuries), both orientalism and philhellenism proved to be fields for the coalescence of cultural views and political ventures. From this standpoint, we could define philhellenism and orientalism as cultural transfers among antiquity (or "antiquities"), Western Europe and the modern societies of the Eastern Mediterranean, in other words an interaction between ideology, politics and cultural representations. In this framework, philhellenism could be seen as an ideological construct of the West to which Modern Greeks were called to respond.[33]

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[30] Stathis Gourgouris, *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization, and the Institution of Modern Greece*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996 (esp. Chapter 4, "The Punishments of Philhellenism', pp. 122-154).

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 140-141.

[32] The German terminology complicated matters here as well. In 2004, Suzanne L. Marchand published a study in which she undertook to compare learned German preoccupations with Ancient Greece and the ancient civilizations of the East, under the title "Philhellenism and the *Furor Orientalis*" (*Modern Intellectual History* 1/3 [2004], pp. 331-358).

[33] See N. Sigalas, "Hellénistes, hellénisme et idéologie nationale. De la formation du concept d''hellénisme' en grec moderne", in Avlami (ed.), *L'Antiquité grecque au XIXe siècle*, pp. 239-291. For a critique of Greek responses, see Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982.

A Movement in Three Acts

Perennial or circumstantial, political realism or fantasy of the Republic of Letters, protectionist or interventionist, philhellenic discourse was gradually confirmed around a series of decisive military acts, such as the Orlov expedition (1769-1775), the French and Russian occupations of the Ionian Islands (1799-1815), the Greek War of Independence (1821-1833), the Battle of Navarino (1827) and the ensuing expedition of General Maison to the Morea or the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829. Over the long course of philhellenism's varied transfers and transferals, the Greek War of Independence should be viewed as a main catalyst, a watershed event and a blood tie which transformed a rather vague universal aspiration into a specific claim and sealed the commitment to solidarity. This defining moment can serve as a mark, distinguishing three historical phases of the phenomena we are considering here, one before, one during and one after the Greek War of Independence.

In its first phase, as it was generated by political and military events, philhellenism became primarily established in the realms of learned and political thinking, literature and erudition. This phase saw the development of the philhellenic rhetoric of the revival of a "free Greece" and the system of critical and comparative Hellenism which aimed to assess Modern Greek realities in relation to the Ancient.[34] There was a response to this system by the avant-garde patriotic Greek intelligentsia who envisioned national emancipation. The revival theories of Rhigas Feraios and of Adamantios Korais in particular could be viewed as Greek responses to the philhellenic vision, since they argued for the association of Modern Greece with democratic antiquity and presented the Greek national awakening as the "rebirth" of Greece.[35]

Already in 1803, Korais appeared as the main theorist of the revival project, with his *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce*.[36]

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[34] Tolias, *La médaille et la rouille*, esp. "L'hellénisme critique et compare", pp. 25-62.

[35] This allowed Greek intellectual patriots to declare themselves as "philhellenes". Rhigas' statement on this is characteristic: "being philhellene by nature" [*ὄντας φύσει φιλέλλην*]. Rhigas Velestinlis, *Φυσικῆς ἀπάνθισμα διὰ τοὺς ἀγχίνους καὶ φιλομαθεὶς Ἕλληνας* [Florilegium of natural sciences for the sagacious and studious Greeks] [1790], ed. K. T. Petsios, Athens 2002, p. 37.

[36] Adamantios Korais, *Memoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce, lu à la Société des Observateurs de l'Homme, le 16 Nivôse, an XI (6 Janvier 1803)*, Paris: Didot, 1803. See Olga Avgoustinos, "Philhellenic Promises and Hellenic Visions: Korais and the Discourses of the Enlightenment", in Katerina Zacharia (ed.), *Hellenisms: Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008, pp. 169-200.

In this programmatic text of Greek nationalism, Korais announced the ongoing and irrevocable regeneration of Greece's culture, society and economy through contact with "enlightened Europe" and the return to the ancient sources of Hellenism. The revival of Greece found a warm response in Greek intellectual circles and bestowed a specific tone to the cultural and patriotic effervescence of the years from 1790 to 1820, what we usually call the Greek Enlightenment.[37] However, the resilience of the philhellenic revival vision can be traced in the Greek rejections. Apart from the negative response of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which was both expected and *de rigueur* for a religious imperial authority, other reactions were also noticed. One such example was offered by Michail Perdikaris in his *Ρήγας ή κατά ψευδοφιλελλήνων* [Rhigas, or Against pseudo-philhellenes] (1811). Perdikaris did not accept the scheme of connecting a Modern Greece with republican antiquity anticipated by Rhigas, since he could not conceive of any other political system for the Greek people apart from empire.[38] Another, more picturesque example was offered by the Ionian Islands during their short occupation by the French Republicans in 1799. Nikolaos Koutouzis satirized the philhellenic resurrection propaganda of Antonios Martelaos, intoning:

> *Martelaos, my learned friend, whoever dies, dies!*
> *We shan't see another Greece, whoever dies, dies!*
>
> *They are just dirt nowadays, all the ancient valiant bones.*
> *If you search, my professor, you will find nothing but worms.*[39]

In the West, it was Korais' manifesto of Greek regeneration which called into doubt the feasibility of such a realization, and his long debate with Jakob Salomon Bartholdy in the early years of the nineteenth century provides a summary of the challenges which were at stake. Both sides resorted to analogies with nature to describe relations between Ancient and Modern

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[37] See C. Th. Dimaras, *Ο Ελληνικός Διαφωτισμός* [The Greek Enlightenment], Athens: Ermis, [5]1989, pp. 53-55.

[38] Perdikaris understood the subjugation of the Greeks as part of the design of Divine Providence, as punishment for the decline of Christian morals, and believed that the Greeks "co-ruled" the empire. He cauterized philhellenic ideas as a satanic plot. See "Ρήγας ἢ κατὰ ψευδοφιλελλήνων τοῦ Μιχαὴλ Περδικάρη (1811), ἐκδιδόμενον ὑπὸ Λ. Ι. Βρανούση" [Rhigas, or Against pseudo-philhellenes by Michail Perdikaris (1811), edited by L. I. Vranoussis], *Επετηρίς του Μεσαιωνικού Αρχείου* 11 (1961), pp. 7-204.

[39] M. Papaioannou and K. Iordanidis (eds), *Η ελληνική ποίηση. Φαναριώτες, Άνθη Ευλαβείας, Επτανήσιοι* [Greek poetry: Phanariots, flowers of virtue, Ionian poets], Athens: Govostis, 1980, p. 145.

Greece. Korais proposed the metaphor of an abandoned garden which, with care and watering, would flourish once more. Bartholdy countered with the metaphor of a magnificent petrified forest; only something new could bloom where it had stood, assuming all the dead trees were cut down.[40]

In its second and central phase, during the Greek War of Independence, philhellenism became a matter of action, a political dictate, acquiring ideological and social content. Although it became a current of public opinion and a social "fashion", philhellenism was primarily a matter of blood – that of the foreign volunteers who fought in Greece.[41] Their sacrifice lent coherence and content to the proclivities of public opinion, while reminding us that cultural transfers are not always anodyne intellectual issues; that they can be associated with crucial matters of identity, for which men are ready to kill or be killed.

In this phase, philhellenism did not form a unified definite phenomenon. Its national manifestations diverged, being inspired by diverse motives: anti-authoritarian and republican ideas repressed by the Bourbon restoration in France; British liberal aspirations to establish a constitutional rule of law; the failed movements of Italian and German patriots seeking to join the divided territories of Italy and Germany into nation-states; the imperial views of St Petersburg and to some degree, Vienna; and, finally, the resurgence of Christian, Crusader-like ideals, which wished to confine Ottoman Islam within its presumed Asiatic borders. All these concurrent, often conflicting motives found common expression in the philhellenic commitment. Greek fighters and intellectual patriots strongly adhered to philhellenic rhetoric. The revolutionary press, the memoirs of the combatants and the patriotic

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[40] For Korais' views on revival, see Gourgouris, "The Formal Imagination, II: Natural History and National Pedagogy – The Case of Korais", *Dream Nation,* pp. 90-112. For the ideological bases of the revival and Korais' views on its implementation in the Ionian Islands, see George Tolias, "Κοραής και Επτάνησα (1798-1814). Αποδοχή και ενδοιασμός των Ιδεολόγων" [Korais and the Ionian Islands (1798-1814): Acceptance and reticence of the Ideologues], in A. Nikiforou (ed.), *Επτάνησος Πολιτεία (1800-1807). Τα μείζονα ιστορικά ζητήματα* [The Septinsular Republic (1800-1807): The major historical issues], Corfu: Archives of the Corfu Prefecture, 2001, pp. 75-101. For the controversy between Korais and Bartholdy, see P. M. Kitromilides, "Κριτική και πολιτική. Η ιδεολογική σημασία της επίκρισης του ελληνισμού από τον J. L. S. Bartholdy" [Criticism and politics: The ideological impact of J. L. S. Bartholdy's censure of Hellenism], *Δελτίον της Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος* 24 (1981), pp. 377-410; and *id.*, "Aux origines des mishellénismes", in Gilles Grivaud, *Les mishellénismes*, Athens: French School at Athens, 2001, pp. 49-56.

[41] Stefanos Papageorgiou estimated that one third of the known philhellenes died in Greece (313 of 940 philhellene volunteers). See his *Από το Γένος στο Έθνος*, pp. 116-117.

literature teemed with references to the rebirth of Greek values, a dominant idea encapsulated in the early Greek national insignia: the phoenix, reborn from its ashes, was the device of the Sacred Band, the company of Greek volunteer students who fought and perished under Ypsilantis at the Battle of Dragassani (Moldavia, 1821), and the first Greek national emblem during the Kapodistrian administration (fig. 1).[42] Here too, however, the resilience of philhellenism should be pointed out: there was mutual mistrust, as well as disappointments in Greece and excesses provoked by the philhellenic frenzy in Europe, as E. T. A. Hoffmann acidly recorded.[43]

Fig. 1. The silver phoenix, the emblem and currency of Greece during the Kapodistrian administration (1828-1831).

[42] The first mint facility, an antiquated screw press imported from Malta, was kept in Kapodistrias' own courtyard in Aegina. See G. D. Dimakopoulos, "Το Εθνικόν Νομισματοκοπείον της Ελλάδος (1828-1833)" [The National Mint of Greece (1828-1833)], *Πελοποννησιακά* 8 (1971), pp. 15-96. The phoenix as emblem is also found on the revolutionary seal of the Peloponnesian Senate (1821), but was mainly used for activities related to Greek responses to Russian political philhellenism. Besides its appearance on Alexandros Ypsilantis' 1821 revolutionary standard, "Phoenix" was the name given by Prince Alexandros Mavrocordatos the Fugitive (1754-1819) to the secret patriotic society that he founded in 1787; it appears on the personal seal of Prince Dimitrios Ypsilantis and on the seal of the Greek Authority of the Harbour of Odessa. The symbol also had associations with Freemasonry. It was the name of the Hall of Zakynthos, founded in 1815. See Georgios Georgiopoulos, *Το νεοελληνικό νόμισμα απο την ανεξαρτησία μέχρι σήμερα* [Modern Greek currency from independence to today], Athens: NHRF, 2002, pp. 122-123.

[43] For Hoffmann's satire, see Sophie Basch (ed.), *E. T. A. Hoffmann, Contes grecs*, Paris and Athens: Hatier, 1997. On disappointments, see Vana Mylona-Büsse (ed.), *Οι ανώδυνες παρατηρήσεις του Γερμανού Φιλέλληνα Ντάνενμπεργκ* [The bland observations of the German philhellene Dannenberg], Athens: D. N. Karavias, 1990. In her study of the international revolutionary volunteerism of the nineteenth century, Anna Karakatsouli stressed the frequent disenchantment of philhellenes in Greece; see *"Μαχητές της ελευθερίας" και 1821. Η Ελληνική Επανάσταση στη διεθνική της διάσταση* ["Freedom fighters" and 1821: The Greek Revolution in its international dimension], Athens: Pedio, 2016, especially the concluding chapter on utopia or dystopia.

The third phase of philhellenism was of a protectionist nature, as post-war philhellenism had a clear political background. It appeared during the crisis of the Greek War of Independence as a *deus ex machina* and endured after the founding of the Greek State. It was linked both with the implementation of modern state institutions in the newly founded nation and the construction of its Hellenic identity, as well as with the gradual integration of the Greek territories that remained in the Ottoman Empire.

This stage was inaugurated by the intervention of the French, Russians and British at Navarino (1827), the three "rival allies"[44] and guarantors of the Kingdom of Greece at the London Conference of 1832, and was marked by the dependent allegiances of the first Greek political parties. During this phase, we observe the presence and activity of foreign groups and individuals who took part in the making of a model state, such as the members of the French Morea Expedition (1828-1833), those of the 1829 French Scientific Expedition to the Morea and of the Bavarian auxiliary army corps (1833-1837), as well as individual scholars and experts such as von Heydeck, Quinet, Tiersch, d'Eichtal and many others. Briefly, we could define this phase as the period of moral support or guardianship of the Greek Kingdom in its infancy or, to recall the restrained wording of C. Th. Dimaras, the period when "[…] the West continued to repay the descendants of those who had once nursed it".[45] Their aim was to found infrastructures on an institutional level, regarding legislation, the army and administration, education and even the economy.[46] This transformation of philhellenism into a moral guardianship proved decisive. The complex equilibrium between the three protecting "Great Powers" led to a kind of devious colonialism which Michael Herzfeld defined as "crypto-colonialism",[47] a veiled involvement by the European West in the setting up and control of Greek affairs.

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[44] See Vassilis Panagiotopoulos' introduction to Yanis Saïtas (ed.), *The Work of the French Scientific Expedition to the Morea, 1829-1838, Part I: Natural Sciences Section*, Athens: Melissa, 2011, pp. 4-5.

[45] C. Th. Dimaras, "Ο ελληνισμός" [Hellenism], *Το Βήμα* (16 March 1956), repr. in *Σύμμικτα, Α΄: Από την παιδεία στην λογοτεχνία* [Analecta, I: From culture to literature], ed. Alexis Politis, Athens: Center for Neo-Hellenic Studies, 2000, p. 317.

[46] See Mariliza Mitsou, "Βαυαρικός Φιλελληνισμός και Μεγάλη Ιδέα" [Bavarian Philhellenism and the Great Idea], *Κονδυλοφόρος* 3 (2004), pp. 71-81. Also, Sandrine Maufroy, "Pour une étude du philhellénisme franco-allemand. Une approche de la question à partir des cas de Karl Benedikt Hase et de Friedrich Thiersch", *The Historical Review / La Revue Historique* 6 (2009), pp. 99-127; and *id.*, *Le philhellénisme franco-allemand, 1815-1848*, Paris: Belin, 2010, pp. 211-235.

[47] Michael Herzfeld, "The Absent Presence: Discourses of Crypto-Colonialism", *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 101/4 (2002), pp. 899-926.

Philhellenic protectionism would replace patriotic liberalism as the common denominator in the activities of these new philhellenes. Another shared trait was the often professional status of many of them. Several earned their livelihoods in Greece, continuing upon return to their homeland as professional Hellenists specializing in subjects related to Greece. Restoring Greece to Europe's eastern borders became a career.[48] This was the case for the foreign officers in the Greek army, as well as for Neoclassical architects, archaeologists, Hellenists and Neo-Hellenists. They saw in Greece's restoration a sort of laboratory for testing aesthetic, political and economic ideas; even Saint-Simonianist companies and communities undertook ventures in Greece.[49] In short, we could say that the scholarly and theoretical philhellenism of the pre-revolutionary period was gradually transformed into a political act which culminated during the Greek War of Independence, to be once more transformed into a moral guardianship in the post-revolutionary period. The theme of the revival of ancient values and virtues pervaded and united philhellenism's three successive phases, allowing us to treat them as a continuous phenomenon.

Revival as national objective and the instauration of multiple bonds with the antique past were the keystones in shaping the identity of the newly founded Greek State. They occupied the wider range of socio-political and cultural sectors, from language and literary production, art and architecture, to

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[48] François Pouqueville's career provides an excellent illustration: a surgeon on the French expedition to Egypt, he was imprisoned in Tripoliza and Constantinople (1798-1801), where he learnt Greek and collected the material for a travel narrative (1805). In 1806 he was appointed consul general of France in Ioannina and in 1815 in Patras, where he stayed until 1816. The outcome of this long residence was the five volumes of *Voyage dans la Grèce* (1820-21) and the six volumes of its revised philhellenic second edition, published after the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence (*Voyage de la Grèce*, 1826). In 1824 he produced a four-volume history of the Greek War of Independence (*Histoire de la régénération de la Grèce*). Finally, in 1835, he composed the volume dedicated to Ancient Greece for Didot's series "L'Univers". He was elected a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (1827) and was a member of the Institut d'Egypte, the Académie de Médecine, the Académie Royale de Marseille, the Ionian Academy (Corfu) and the Society of Sciences of Bonn and was a Knight of the Légion d'Honneur. Upon his death in 1838, a commemorative medal was commissioned to David d'Angers, the "last reward received by Pouqueville, for having learned Greek", as Jules Lair mordantly put it in 1902 (Jules Lair, "La captivité de Pouqueville en Morée", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 46/6 [1902], pp. 648-664).

[49] Gustave d'Eichthal, *La langue grecque, mémoires et notices, 1864-1884, précédé d'une notice sur les services rendus par Gustave d'Eichthal à la Grèce et aux études grecques, par le marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire*, Paris 1887.

administration, education, historiography, philology, ethnography, archaeology and even popular culture.[50] This is not the place to wonder about whether this option was the indispensable and essential pathway for Greek nation-building or whether it was a sort of "tyranny of philhellenism over Modern Greece" (to adopt E. M. Butler's phrase for Germany).[51] What concerns us here is that, gradually, philhellenic visions and public opinion were to follow separate roads. As the years passed, philhellenism's resilience diminished. Sophie Basch has expertly analysed the predicaments of the philhellenic project which appeared from 1850 onwards in France and defined them as "miso-philhellenism".[52]

Indeed, in 1854 and 1857 Edmond About disclosed the disparities between the philhellenic revival myth and contemporary Greek reality and mocked the romantic legend of the heroic revolutionary Greece.[53] A rejection of the philhellenic vision, though different in content and delayed, was also observed in Greece. In 1878, Joseph Reinach conveyed the Greeks' discomfort, writing: "The Greeks, when they want to say of someone they know that he is gullible and naïve, say 'He's foolish, like a philhellene'." The same Reinach recorded the irritation of Anastasios Goudas, who preferred the "anti-Greek" critique of Edmond About "[…] to the pompous panegyrics of the idiotic philhellenes".[54] Emmanouil Roidis cauterized Reinach's philhellenism,

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[50] Among the titles of the vast relevant bibliography, see Beaton and Ricks (eds), *The Making of Modern Greece*; P. Bien, "Inventing Greece", *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 23/2 (2005), pp. 217-234; Effie Fotini Athanassopoulos, "An 'Ancient' Landscape: European Ideals, Archaeology, and Nation Building in Early Modern Greece", *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 20/2 (2002), pp. 273-305; Antonis Liakos, "Hellenism and the Making of Modern Greece: Time, Language, Space", in Zacharia (ed.), *Hellenisms*, pp. 201-236. To these we should add the recent essay by Ewa Ròza Janion, *Imaging Suli: Interactions between Philhellenic Ideas and Greek Identity Discourse*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2015.

[51] On this matter there is an extensive and ever-growing bibliography which aims to deconstruct the relevant narratives. Besides the above-mentioned works by Skopetea and Gourgouris, one should add Michael Herzfeld's *Anthropology through the Looking Glass: Critical Ethnography on the Margins of Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, and Yannis Hamilakis' *The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology and National Imagination in Greece*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

[52] Sophie Basch, *Le mirage grec. La Grèce moderne dans la littérature française depuis la création de l'École française d'Athènes jusqu'à la guerre civile grecque (1846-1946)*, Paris and Athens: Hatier, 1995, pp. 493-500.

[53] Edmond About, *La Grèce contemporaine*, Paris: Hachette, 1854; and *id., Le Roi des montagnes*, Paris: Hachette, 1857. Both works were quite influential. They went through several editions and were translated into almost all Western languages.

[54] Joseph Reinach, *Voyage en Orient. La Grèce, la Grèce contemporaine, l'Adriatique, la question d'Orient en Orient*, Paris: G. Charpentier, 1879, pp. 171-172. See also Georges Tolias,

accusing him of describing Greece and the Greeks by concealing his total ignorance of his subject with his omnipotent memories of antiquity.[55] Roidis' criticism of Reinach's philhellenism is a penetrating text which clearly keeps its distance from the coercive cultural projections of the Republic of Letters. The critiques by Goudas and Roidis reveal the gradual liberation of Greek intellectuals as regards the philhellenic project. They indicate the degree of saturation with philhellenic comparisons and advice and with utopian theories of revival. At the same time, they reveal a new sense of security, an identity which differentiates itself from antiquity and distances itself from the Western philhellenic construct.

By the 1870s, the resilience of philhellenism both in Europe and in Greece appeared to have been exhausted. Political attempts to revive philhellenism during times of armed conflict would be circumstantial and temporary. They were observed mainly in connection with the Cretan uprisings and, to a lesser degree, in connection with issues of national unification, such as the annexation of Thessaly and later that of Macedonia. In fact, we cannot say that there was a fourth phase in philhellenism beyond a philhellenic afterword, a slow decline in philhellenic commitments by the West noted between 1870 and 1920. In this atmosphere of waning philhellenism, Greek and European politicians would meet, endeavouring to prioritize Greek culture and its humanistic values as a political bulwark against Russian politics and the "Slavic threat". These issues, however, are the subject of another chapter.

Institute of Historical Research / NHRF

Translated from Greek by Deborah Kazazis

"Les interlocuteurs Grecs de Joseph Reinach (1878)", in Sophie Basch, Michel Espagne and Jean Leclant (eds), *Les frères Reinach*, Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres – de Boccard, 2008, pp. 309-322.

[55] *Ἑστία*, no. 224 (18 April 1880), p. 229.