

DEM NAMEN NACH

GREEK AND JEWISH REFERENCES AND WORD PLAYS IN THE CHARACTER
NAMES OF E. T. A. HOFFMANN'S *DIE IRRUNGEN* AND *DIE GEHEIMNISSE*.

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ABSTRACT

This paper illustrates a less-known aspect of Hoffmann's writing and humour. Two relatively neglected stories, *Die Irrungen* and *Die Geheimnisse*, reveal Hoffmann's use of highly intellectual word plays and esoterical references to the Greek and Jewish traditions. We argue that several famous classicists whom Hoffmann knew through the 'Gesetzlose Gesellschaft' and who actually appear in these stories, played an important part in the creation of these puns. A man who changed his name to express his connection with Mozart can be expected to invent meaningful names for the characters in his stories. We argue that the hidden meaning of some names corresponds closely to the function of the characters in the stories, and their interpretation is corroborated by deliberate allusions by the author himself. The names to be discussed are *Schnüspelpold*, *Aponomeria*, *Apokatastos*, *Prosocarchi*, *Sifur* and *Condoguri*. These names have not been adequately explained by the Hoffmann-Forschung, but they all contain high-brow intellectual puns based upon a profound knowledge of Greek and the Jewish esoterical tradition. These new decipherings contribute to our insights in the creative genius of Hoffmann as a humourist and give us a more colourful picture of the intellectual life in the salons of early nineteenth-century Germany.

Hoffmann is considered by some as the leading humorist of his days. His humour is protean, ranging from his typical mild irony, over subtle satire to the wine-inspired torrent of imitations and free associations during the long nights spent in the Weinstube.¹ In this paper we would like to discuss a perhaps somewhat less-known aspect of his writing and

humour, a kind of humour that was based on highbrow intellectual references and wordplays that could be enjoyed only by those of his contemporaries who had a fairly detailed knowledge of Greek and some of Hebrew.²

Before we try to explain the wordplays involved, we should first establish that Hoffmann indeed had a sufficient command of these languages to invent the little jokes we believe to have found in the names of his characters. With regard to his knowledge of Greek, the starting point should be that Hoffmann enjoyed a standard education at the Burgschule in Königsberg, including, as was common in those days, numerous hours spent studying the Latin and Greek classics. Furthermore, students in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were not only trained in translating and interpreting classical texts, they were brought up to be able to write texts of their own in classical Latin and Greek. So it should come as no surprise that Hoffmann was able to read and write Latin effortlessly up until the end of his life. The extent of his knowledge of Greek is less documented. We know that he was not amongst the top students of his class in either Greek or Latin: his inseparable friend Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel (1775-1843) was at least supposed to help him with both.³ So perhaps we should look for another source that could safely document the possibility of sought-after Greek puns, although we have early examples of Hoffmann making jokes by creating his own Greek words.⁴ For that, we need to refer, not to the friends of his youth, but to the intellectual salons he frequented in Berlin.

As is well known, Hoffmann was introduced in the 'Gesetzlose Gesellschaft', an intellectual circle founded in 1809.⁵ Hoffmann actually refers to this society ironically in *Die Geheimnisse*, where it is called the 'Spanish Society', a society, he claims, with no other purpose than to have a good hearty German meal: 'Wirklich erhielt der, an den dieses

Schreiben gerichtet und den wir der Kürze halber mit Hff. bezeichnen wollen, dasselbe gerade zur Zeit, als er in der sogenannten Spanischen Gesellschaft, die sich bekanntlich alle vierzehn Tage bei Kempfer im Tiergarten versammelt und keine andere Tendenz hat, als auf gute deutsche Art Mittag zu essen, zu Tische saß' (p. 516, 5-6).⁶ In fact, the 'Gesellschaft' was the forum where the leading intellectuals of Berlin could meet and freely discuss all subjects that were banned from public discourse through censure. As a co-member, Hoffmann could interact with philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), writer Achim von Arnim (1781-1831), but also with leading architects, painters, scientists, medical doctors, and even military officers. The purpose of the 'Gesellschaft' was not particularly literary or political, but it was a perfect forum to intermingle with people from all sorts of backgrounds. The character of the discussions was open to say the least. Safranski (402) comments on Hoffmann's little joke that its sole purpose was to have a good German meal: 'So harmlos, wie es Hoffmann darstellt, ging es in dieser Runde allerdings nicht zu. Varnhagen berichtet von einer der Zusammenkünfte dieser Jahre: "Wer als Fremder alles mit angehört hätte, dem waren die Haare zu Berge gestanden über den gefährlichen Geist."'⁷

The relevance of the 'Gesellschaft' for our purpose is that Hoffmann was in direct contact with a number of classicists, who might have helped him with his Greek. The 'Gesetzlose Gesellschaft' was actually founded by a leading *Altertumswissenschaftler*, a distinguished Greek grammarian and an active member of the Berlin cultural scene, Philipp Karl Buttmann (1764-1829). Buttmann wrote a very influential Greek school-grammar. His *Griechische Grammatik* was first published in 1792 and went through many editions in Germany.⁸ Buttmann's grammar was his best-known work: 'it was constantly expanded,

rearranged and improved in many subsequent editions'.⁹ It was even translated into English.¹⁰ During his life-time, his *Ausführliche griechische Sprachlehre* was the standard reference work.¹¹ More importantly perhaps, he published many lexicological studies on enigmatic words in Homer and Hesiod.¹² He was so absorbed by Homer that he named his children after Helen, Achilles, Hector and Alexander (Sandys 85). As a Homeric enthusiast, but also from a strictly scientific-linguistic point of view, this man would have been the ideal consultant for Hoffmann.

We can never be entirely sure that Hoffmann actually consulted Buttmann, but a reference in *Die Geheimnisse* could be taken to confirm our hypothesis that Buttmann did indeed help Hoffmann with his Greek puns and wordplays. Their actual interaction can perhaps be argued from the very scene that describes the 'Gesellschaft'. In it, Hoffmann mentions a witty Professor B., who is arguably none other than Professor Buttmann:

War es nun böses Gewissen oder gespannte Neugierde, genug, alle Freunde bemerkten an Hoffmann Unruhe und Zerstreuung, kein Gespräch hielt er fest, er lächelte gedankenlos, wenn der Professor B. die leuchtendsten Witzworte hinausschleuderte, er gab verkehrte Antworten, kurz, er war ein miserabler Kumpan. (*Die Geheimnisse*, p. 516, 19-25)¹³

This might well be taken as a tongue-in-cheek reference to Buttmann's part in the wordplays Hoffmann inserted in his narrative diptych.

But there were other members of the 'Gesellschaft' who could have helped Hoffmann. We can refer to the famous Hellenist August Boeckh (1785-1867), one of the leading classicists of his generation and Professor of Eloquence and Classical Literature at the University of Berlin from 1811. He published editions of and studies on such Greek authors as Pindar, Plato and Sophocles and was involved in the publication of the new *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. He also extended his interests to the history of ancient

economics or technology. He was, in short, the product and exemplum of 'Altertumswissenschaft' as the study of all aspects of Classical Antiquity.¹⁴

This intellectual ideal for classical studies was most famously formulated by yet another distinguished member of the 'Gesetzlose Gesellschaft': Friedrich August Wolf (1759-1824). Wolf was a co-founder of the University of Berlin, in 1811, the founding father of modern classical philology, and the author of the famous *Prolegomena ad Homerum*,¹⁵ which put the 'Homeric Question' in the centre of academic and intellectual debates. The significance and cultural impact of Wolf can hardly be underestimated: 'Friedrich August Wolf is the founder of *Altertumswissenschaft*, the scientific study of Classical Antiquity. [...] Wolf's work was respected and discussed by the leading minds of his time: Wieland, Herder, Goethe, Schiller, Humboldt, Niebuhr, Friedrich Schlegel'.¹⁶ We should perhaps add Hoffmann to this list, although Hoffmann remained true to himself by finding a typically ironic way to pay his respects to Wolf.

That Wolf was probably also involved in Hoffmann's linguistic games can be deduced from a teasing reference to Wolf in *Die Irrungen*. Hoffmann actually describes how his main character, Baron Theodor von S., consults a man called Wolff on some strange scribbles he found written on a piece of paper:

Auf dem Papier stand ein griechisches Wort, und zwar: Σχνοεσπελλοδ. Es kann hier gleich bemerkt werden, daß der Baron tags darauf bei einem Mittagmahl in der Jagorschen Restauration mit dem Herrn Geheimen Rat Wolff zusammentraf und ihn um die Deutung des griechischen Worts befragte, das auf dem Zettel stand. Der Geh. Rat Wolff hatte aber kaum einen flüchtigen Blick auf den Zettel geworfen, als er dem Baron ins Gesicht lachte und erklärte, daß das ja gar kein griechisches Wort, sondern nicht anders zu lesen als: *Schnüspelpold*, mithin ein Name sei, und zwar ein deutscher, kein griechischer, da im ganzen Homer dergleichen nicht vorkomme und auch billigerweise nicht vorkommen könne. (*Die Irrungen*, p. 465, 17-30)¹⁷

This passage has several levels of irony. The cultured reader of Hoffmann's era immediately recognized the scribblings, that were so enigmatic to the Baron, as Greek characters, and they immediately understood that the characters did not spell 'ein griechisches Wort', as the innocent Hoffmann had announced. But the first real level of irony is to be found in the absurdity of the transliteration: the Greek letters do not simply spell *Schnüspelpold* as Hoffmann would have his less classically trained readers believe, but rather *Schnouespelpold*. The joke is in the Greek transcription of the German <ü>, phonetically a close front rounded vowel [y]: Hoffmann's transliteration as <ouε> is in fact the rendering of the German allograph for [y], viz. <ue>, as in *Schnuespelpold*. Both German <u> and Greek <ou> represent the close back rounded vowel [u], but Hoffmann jokingly transfers the German orthographic tradition of writing the 'u-Umlaut' as <ue> instead of <ü> into Greek.¹⁸

The second level of irony is to be found in Wolff's reference to Homer. The Wolff character is depicted as a somewhat pompous authority on Greek names, who deduces the rules of word formation in all possible stages of the Greek language from Homer's archaic 'Kunstsprache'. The Wolff character answers that the name is not found in Homer, and that there is a perfectly logical explanation for this absence, because the word cannot possibly be Greek. The latter explanation is perhaps somewhat elliptic but can be taken quite seriously, since it is correct that Greek never allowed word-final δ, whether pronounced [d] or [t]. So Wolff is right in saying that *Schnüspelpold* cannot be a Greek word or name.¹⁹ But Hoffmann gives another reason why the Wolff character rejected the name as possibly Greek: it does not occur in the collected works of Homer. This absurd criterion is

Hoffmann's way of poking fun at the way some contemporary classicists viewed ancient Greece.

Die Irrungen and *Die Geheimnisse* actually make fun of two somewhat conflicting aspects of the Philhellenism or Graecomania that characterized so many early nineteenth-century German intellectuals. As is well known, the adventures of the Baron Theodor von S. constitute an ironic reference to the Romantic identification of Germany with the rising nationalism in contemporary Greece and its struggle for independence from the 'Tourkokratia' or Ottoman oppression.²⁰ But the irony in this particular passage touches on another, and older, aspect of German Philhellenism: the identification of German culture with Greek culture, of Greek culture with classical Greek culture, and of Greece with ancient Greece. Most Philhellenic Europeans had no interest whatsoever in contemporary Greece (or Italy), which they saw as the sad results of the decline of the ancient civilizations. In the classical escapism of those days, it was thought far superior to study only the ancient period. The cultural and political relevance of Greece was thought to lie in the texts of the classical and, perhaps even more so, in those of the pre-classical period, when the Greek spirit was not yet in decline.

For these people, Homer was the apogee and the epitome of ancient Greek culture. Hoffmann pokes fun at this Homeromania by giving his Baron character two books: a well-known contemporary travel-book by Johann Ludwig Salomo Bartholdy (d. 1825) and a pocket Homer.²¹ Although the Baron does not read Greek, he was given this 'Taschen-Homer' by a nameless young Professor of Classics. The Baron expresses his unshakeable belief that reading Homer will come naturally once he has trodden 'on classical soil', as he puts it.²² Hoffmann's irony is clear, but it is this myopic focus on Homer that made the

‘Homeric Question’ into the single most important scientific problem for classical philologists of his days and perhaps of the entire nineteenth-century. The ‘Homeric Question’ dealt with a number of problems concerning the textual tradition of Homer, with inconsistencies and anachronisms in the text, and so with the unity of composition of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the date and the identity of its author or possibly authors, etc.²³ These subjects were at the heart of classical debates during the entire nineteenth-century and they made Homer into the single most important writer of Antiquity. As we said earlier, Wolf started this ‘Homeromania’ with his *Prolegomena ad Homerum*, and this is also the focus of Hoffmann’s irony here. For, considered from this point of view, the Wollf-character has turned a simple question about a German name on a piece of paper into yet another ‘Homeric question’.

There is yet a third level of irony. The character of the Baron is madly in love with a woman whose purse he has found (containing amongst other things the piece of paper with the Greek letters) but whom he has never actually seen. The Baron is clearly one of Hoffmann’s many narrative alter ego’s, but Hoffmann describes him as someone who is unable to read Greek. So, for the Baron, the piece of paper is written in code. In real life, Hoffmann sometimes used the Greek alphabet as a code, a cipher (‘Chiffreschrift’), mostly to keep certain things from his wife Mischa. As with the name *Schnüspelpold*, Hoffmann did not write Greek, but merely transcribed German words and sentences into Greek characters. He particularly used the Greek alphabet to ‘encode’ certain romantic passages in his diaries. His wife regularly inspected those diaries but was unable to read Greek, so Hoffmann wrote his adulterous thoughts, e.g. concerning Julia Marc, in Greek.²⁴ In the two stories, the character of Schnüspelpold has an ambiguous relationship with the object of the

Baron's romantic feelings: the woman whose purse he has found is actually a Greek princess looking for her Greek prince, who will liberate their people. The Baron readily believes that he *is* this Greek prince, but he has some trouble finding his Greek princess: his romantic 'Reise nach Griechenland' only gets him a few miles from Berlin, and even in Berlin he always seems to miss her. At one time, the lady actually comes to his hotel room at night, but the Baron is too drunk to even wake up, and the next day he only remembers dreaming about her. When an encounter eventually does take place, he experiences even more problems trying to convince her that he is the chosen one. One of his opponents in these multiple *Irrungen* is precisely the Schnüspelpold character the Greek lady is accompanied by. Schnüspelpold is also identified with the Magus she describes in the letters the Baron had found in her purse along with the Greek 'Zettel'. From these letters, it becomes clear that the Greek princess the Baron has fallen in love with, lives under some sort of spell from this Magus-Schnüspelpold, and that their relationship is defined by a mixture of affection and apprehension.²⁵ In a sense, therefore, Schnüspelpold is also the romantic rival of the Baron, Hoffmann's alter ego. Unless we read it as sarcastic self-criticism, this absurd inversion of the romantic use of code by Hoffmann, of Greek-German 'Chiffreschrift' about and against romantic rivals, is rather cynical.

We can conclude that Hoffmann was in no less than regular contact with a number of the leading classicists of his days. Hoffmann was perhaps able to come up with most of the word plays himself, but these highbrow intellectual circles assure us that he could have created them with a little help from his friends. Two of these classicists actually appear in the stories we will discuss, in two obvious and teasing references involving jokes, names, and the tension between ignorance and understanding. Another Professor is presented

anonymously as a young Homer-fanatic who gives the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as a present to someone who doesn't even read Greek. The reference to Buttmann involves jokes and wordplays ('die leuchtendste Witzworte') made by the Professor in the salons of the 'Gesellschaft' and supposedly not understood by Hoffmann's narrative alter ego ('er gab verkehrte Antworten'). The reference to Wolf includes another example of the ignorance of the Baron, who is unable even to read the name written in Greek letters, and a humorous, absurd criterion used by the Wolff character to determine the authenticity of Greek names. All these references can be taken as inside jokes, as little literary winks only understood by the people of the 'Gesellschaft' involved in the creative process of these two Hoffmann stories.

This then brings us to the actual wordplays. We begin with some references in Hoffmann's character names that have already been decoded by the Forschung, although we will suggest some alternative explanations that perhaps better fit the characters and their function in the stories.

APONOMERIA

Aponomeria is introduced in *Die Geheimnisse* as the midwife who delivered the central character of the Greek princess,²⁶ and served as her guardian after the death of her parents. The name is obviously Greek, but its meaning is unclear. The 'Stellenkommentar' has the following explanation: 'Aponomeria. Deren Name bedeutet, frei übersetzt, etwa: jemand, der ausserhalb der Ordnung der Natur und Gesellschaft steht; damit auch: der sich magischer Praktiken bedient' (p. 1093, Anm. 529, 32). From this explanation we are led to

conclude that the name is composed of two elements: the prefix *apo-* ‘away, off’ (LSJ 192 *s.v.* ἀπό D.1) and the noun *nómos* ‘usage, custom ... hence law, ordinance’ (LSJ 1180 *s.v.* νόμος I).²⁷ Aponomeria would therefore mean ‘she who is above the laws of nature and society’. This is of course not impossible from a functional point of view, since the character of Aponomeria does wield certain magical powers, as do many of the characters in these tales. A first problem for this traditional interpretation is that Aponomeria is not the only character with magical powers, and certainly not the character most involved in magic. One of the characters suggests that the talking parrot Apokatastos is in fact none other than Aponomeria in disguise,²⁸ but this is a perfectly harmless kind of magic, and shifting or mistaken identities are among the Leitmotifs of the two stories. So why would the midwife-parrot be singled out, onomastically, for its magical powers? More serious problems arise, however, with the first interpretation of *nómos* as a ‘law of nature’. The general meaning of the word is ‘that which is in habitual practice, use or possession’ (LSJ 1180 *s.v.* νόμος), hence the political meaning ‘law of society’.²⁹ As such, however, *nómos* as the ‘law of society’ is opposed to *phúsis* as the ‘law of nature’ (LSJ 1964f. *s.v.* φύσις III).³⁰ Moreover, arguing from the second interpretation of *nómos* as a ‘law of society’, it is not at all clear in what sense Aponomeria would be above the laws of society. Her use of magic is perfectly innocent, she functions as a midwife for the parents, and as a guardian and a protectress when the young princess becomes an orphan. What would be extra- or supra-legal about those activities?

The most serious objection against the traditional explanation of the name is to be sought in the derivation of the name from *apo-* and *nómos*. First of all, there is no such compound as **apónomos* (**ἀπόνομος*), meaning ‘above the law’, for which Greek resorts

to *ánomos* ‘lawless’ (LSJ 146 s.v. ἄνομος).³¹ Second, the derivation of *Aponomeria* from the imaginary compound *apónomos* is not in accordance with any known rule of Greek word-formation. Adjectives derived from *nómos* are *nomikós* and *nomimós*, both meaning ‘relating to law’, ‘conformable to law’ (LSJ 1179 s.v. νομικός and νομιμός). There is no such adjective as **nomerios* from which (*Apo*)*nomeria* could be derived.³² If Hoffmann had intended his character to be ‘above the law’, he should have called her *Anomia* ‘lawlessness’ (LSJ 146 s.v. ἀνομία) on the analogy of such names as *Eunomia*, one of the Greek goddesses of the seasons, the *Horae* (ῥοραι). Third, the traditional explanation completely ignores the final part of the name, as if *-eria* was simply added randomly.

Given the semantic and morphological problems of the traditional analysis, we would like to suggest an alternative. We believe that the name should be analyzed as *Apono-meria*, i.e. the so-called ‘privative *a-*’ expressing ‘want or absence’ (LSJ 1 s.v. ἀ- I), the noun *pónos* ‘toil, labour’ but also ‘pain, esp. physical’ (LSJ 1448 s.v. πόνος), and the plural noun *mería* ‘thigh-bones’ but also ‘thighs’ (LSJ 1129 s.v. μηρία). We will argue that this analysis is preferable on linguistic as well as functional grounds.³³

Semantically, *Aponomeria* would mean ‘thighs without pain’, a name better suited to a midwife, we would argue, than ‘she who is above the laws of nature and society’. But ‘thighs’ are not the same as ‘hips’, which would be the exact physiological reference for parturition. It would seem, then, that Hoffmann was inspired by Modern rather than Ancient Greek. In Modern Greek, *pónos* has kept its original meanings, but the plural *pónoi*, phonetically [póni], is the technical term for a woman’s labour during parturition (LKN 1110 s.v. πόνος 1).³⁴ Also in Modern Greek, the plural noun *miriá* [mirjá] or *meriá* [merjá] means ‘hips’ instead of ‘thighs’ (LKN 840 s.v. μερί). In conclusion, then,

Aponomeria means ‘she who has no pain or suffering in the hips’. This new interpretation has the double advantage of explaining all the constituent parts of the name and of offering a more meaningful link with the actual function of the character in the stories, viz. a midwife.

APOKATASTOS

The name of Aponomeria’s alter-ego, Apokatastos, the somewhat eccentric parrot who talks exclusively in Greek folk sayings,³⁵ has also found an explanation in the standard commentary: ‘Apokatastos - Griech.: der Wiederhersteller; oder volkstümlich: der Nachplapperer’ (‘Stellenkommentar, p. 1093, Anm. 529, 32). Hoffmann regularly makes minor changes to names he found elsewhere, by either adding or subtracting a single letter. We have seen that August Wolf (with single ‘f’) appears as Wolff in *Die Irrungen*. When Hoffmann refers to the Biblical name for pagan goddesses of love, the Astartes, he does not use the correct plural *Astaroth*, but adds an ‘i’, and writes *Astarioth*.³⁶

The name Apokatastos is not an existing name or word. It is a name our author coined himself, but it is actually one syllable short. The interpretation of the name as ‘Wiederhersteller’ clearly links it with the Ancient Greek verb *apokathístemi* ‘to re-establish, restore, reinstate’ (LSJ 200 s.v. ἀποκαθίστημι I). The link itself is perfectly reasonable, but the correct form would have been one syllable longer: the verbal adjective derived from *apokathístemi*, or rather its passive form *apokathístamai* ‘to be restored’ (LSJ 201 s.v. ἀποκαθίστημι II), is not attested in Ancient or Modern Greek, but would be *apokatastatós* (ἀποκαταστατός) ‘re-established, restored, reinstated’, as in the compound

dusapokatástatos ‘hard to restore, hard to recover from’ (LSJ 454 s.v. δυσάποκατάστατος), which is generally used in medical contexts. The interpretation of Apokatastos as an agent noun, ‘Wiederhersteller’, is therefore not correct, let alone the *Hineininterpretierung* as ‘Nachplapperer’, i.e. ‘parrot’ (both in its literal and metaphorical sense). The fact that the name is one syllable short could be ascribed to the mystifying tendencies we have discussed in other names used by Hoffmann. But why did Hoffmann choose this (altered) name for this character? A well known action noun derived from this same verb is *apokatástasis*. This is actually a central Greek philosophical and theological term (LSJ 210 s.v. ἀποκατάστασις) denoting, in the Stoic worldview for instance, the periodic return of the cosmic cycle. In theology, and most famously in the third-century theology of Origen of Alexandria, it is used for the total redemption of creation from evil, including the conversion of the devil to Good.³⁷ The meaning of the name in these stories is clearly based upon the theological history of the term: the figure of Apokatastos, the converted one, protects the Greek princess against the powers and the influence of a malign Magus.³⁸ As a force of Good, Apokatastos is opposed to a force of Evil that still remains to be converted. The link with the devil is further expressed by Hoffmann’s use of a Greek folk saying from Bartholdy in a crucial passage. In *Die Irrungen*, the Baron is made aware of the presence of the Magus in a certain room by the parrot Apokatastos who startles the Baron by quoting a Greek folk-saying, about the devil: ‘O diavolos jidia den yche, ke tyri epoulie’ (p. 501, 17),³⁹ i.e. ‘The devil had no goats, and yet he was selling cheese’.⁴⁰

PROSOCARCHI VON SMYRNA

Prosocarchi has been identified by the ‘Stellenkommentar’ (p. 1088, Anm. 497, 25) as a name Hoffmann found in Bartholdy, but this is not entirely correct. The name found in Bartholdy actually reads *Prosacarchi*. Once again, Hoffmann introduced a slight alteration in a name. Why would he have done this? Bartholdy makes only the slightest reference to this *Prosacarchi*. In a rather long passage, he denounces the pretentious and blatantly feudal behaviour of the Mauvrogenis in Miconi. The name *Prosacarchi* appears only once, and in a very casual way. He is merely mentioned as the brother in law of the man Bartholdy is discussing. ‘Seine Mutter und seine älteste Schwester (jetzt an einen Kaufmann, *Prosacarchi*, von Smyrna verheirathet) lassen, bis Sie Abends eingeschlafen sind, ihre Mädchen am Fusse des Bettes stehen, die ihnen die Beine gelinde reiben müssen, damit sie sanfter einschlafen’ (Bartholdy 343). There are no further references to this merchant: Bartholdy continues his story, by describing the Greeks collaborating with the Turks as true publicans towards their own people.

Why did Hoffmann use this name and can we find a reason why he changed it from *Prosacarchi* to *Prosocarchi*? The latter would rule out that we have to do with a simple mistake by Hoffmann or by the printer at any given stage of the research, the writing and publishing of these stories. Also, we have already seen too many examples of deliberate little shifts to simply stop there. We should ask ourselves what the name could possibly mean in this altered form. The *Prosocarchi* character in Hoffmann is still a Greek merchant from Smyrna, visiting Berlin and selling Pastilles du Serail and Balsam from Mekka.⁴¹ The Baron is trying to find the Greek princess, who is accompanied by an old man who is

probably the same person as the Magus the Princess talks about in the letters the Baron found. The Baron thinks or hopes that this man is the old Schnüspelpold, alias the Magus, accompanying the Princess, or that the merchant could perhaps lead him to her. But the man is travelling without company, let alone in the company of a Greek princess. On closer inspection, the appearance of Prosocarchi is also completely the opposite of the old man's: 'Zum Überfluß begab sich aber der Baron zu ihm hin und fand einen schönen großen Mann von angenehmer Bildung' (*Die Irrungen*, p. 497, 31-33). The companion of the Princess is described as ugly, very small, and crooked. He is also rude and a rather unpleasant enemy of the arts.⁴² So Prosocarchi and the old man are clearly opposites. But, at least for some time, the Baron mistakes one for the other. Mistaken identities are of course one of the Leitmotifs of these stories. After all, *Die Irrungen* is the standard title for German translations of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*.⁴³ The motif of mistaken identities is repeated when Prosocarchi informs the Baron that he is probably mistaken: that there is no Greek princess presently staying in Berlin, and that he must be talking about an exiled Primate from Naxos, who is travelling through Germany with his daughter. Of course Prosocarchi had not actually seen this man or his daughter either.⁴⁴ The Prosocarchi-passage also contains one of those mystifying techniques that are so typical for Hoffmann's universe of the bizarre and the estrangement. At the end of their meeting, the Baron buys some Balsam from Prosocarchi. Hoffmann, the author, then adds that the same Balsam from Mekka had been applied by the Princess to the leg of the Magus. But his characters are not aware of this link between them or they neglect to pursue it.

Can we now find a significant link between the name of this character and his function in the stories, between the name and a character that is in every possible sense

defined by the comedy of errors, by mistaken identities, by the interplay between reality and illusion? An almost inescapable association from the link between the name and the theme is *prósopon*, the Greek word for ‘face, countenance’ but also for a ‘mask’, like the masks used in ancient Greek comedy and tragedy (LSJ 1533 s.v. πρόσωπον). From there, the meaning developed into ‘dramatic part’ and ‘character’ in a play or in any literary work. Like the Latin *persona*, the Greek *prósopon* also came to mean ‘person’ in general. The second part of the name should be connected with the Greek *archè* (LSJ 252 s.v. ἀρχή): ‘beginning, origin’ and also ‘first place, power, sovereignty, command [...]’ Prosoparchis is still a common Greek name derived from a noun meaning ‘head of personnel’ (LKN 1151 s.v. προσωπάρχης).⁴⁵ In Hoffmann’s world a *prosoparchès* would be someone who is at the beginning of or has command over the *prósopa*, over the masks, the (*dramatis*) *personae*, the multiple identities in his comedy of errors. This would be a very suitable name for the character of Prosocarchis. But why didn’t Hoffmann simply write a ‘p’ instead of ‘c’, assuming that he had already changed the ‘a’ into ‘o’ with a clear purpose? His joke would have been intelligible for a far greater audience, because the *prósopon* is a fairly common notion in theatre and literature, but only a few people would recognize *prósopon* in Prosocarchis.

Some people, however, *would* have made the link, and the reason why they would have made this association lies in the geographical and linguistic origin of the merchant character: Hoffmann did not change the detail that Bartholdy named Smyrna (present day İzmir) as the merchant’s hometown. In Antiquity, Smyrna used to be in the Ionic or Ionian territory, therefore persons or characters from that area can be characterized by the ancient Greek Ionic dialect. As is well known in some circles, the Ionic dialect has the tendency to

switch between *p* and *k*: it has several pronominal forms with initial *k*- where other dialects have *p*-, e.g. *kóte* (κότε) instead of *póte* (πότε) ‘when?’, *kôs* (κῶς) instead of *pôs* (πῶς) ‘how?’⁴⁶

At first glance, it would seem too far-fetched to find a ‘hyper-Ionism’ in Prosocarchi as the typically Ionic variant of Prosoparchi, but the appearance of Buttman in the stories and his possible involvement in the coining of the character names should caution us against foregone conclusions. In the first chapter of his famous *Griechische Grammatik*, Buttman had characterized the Greek dialects from a cultural point of view. The two main dialects, Dorian and Ionic, correspond to the two main Greek tribes. In a quasi-Hegelian outline he described the Dorian dialect as raw and powerful, whereas the Ionic was more sophisticated and gentle. The Attic dialect that became the language of most of the ancient Greek classics then developed as the linguistic and cultural synthesis of these two opposites.⁴⁷ The characterization of the Ionians as more cultured, sophisticated, and gentle than the Dorians was common in those days. So Hoffmann’s choice of a character from Ionic Smyrna for the more cultured alter ego of Schnüspelpold can be explained from a common source, and should not necessarily be seen as a direct influence from Buttman. The Ionic switch from *p* to *k* is of course another matter. This feature of the ancient Greek dialects is prominently present in Buttman’s grammatical writings. When we compare earlier writings with later ones, the feature seems to have become ever more important to Buttman. Apparently the matter of the regularity of this linguistic phenomenon became an important debating point between Buttman and other historical linguists. Buttman reacted against the idea that linguistics was a law-based science comparable to the natural and mathematical sciences. He reacted especially against the idea

that these laws should leave no room for exceptions, against the precursors of the ‘Junggrammatiker’ who would become dominant in the second half of the nineteenth century, and especially against their main tenet of the ‘Ausnahmslosigkeit der Lautgesetze’.⁴⁸

In his *griechische Grammatik* – we were able to consult the sixth edition from 1811 – Buttman described the phenomenon of the ‘Konsonantenverwechslung’ as a typical feature of Ancient Greek dialects. He gave the well known examples of the interrogative-indefinite pronouns, but added the following cautionary remark: ‘Aber auch bei verwandten Buchstaben muss man sich wohl hüten, irgend eine solche Verwechslung in einem Dialekte für durchgängig anzunehmen. Die Dialekte haben durchaus nur eine Neigung zu gewissen Verwechslungen, und diese darf uns bloss dienen, die wirklich vorkommenden einzelnen Fällen zu erklären. Oft tritt sogar die Verwechslung nur in einem einzigen Falle ein’ (pp. 35-36).⁴⁹ In the first volume of his *Ausführliche griechische Sprachlehre*, that had appeared just one year before *Die Irrungen*, Buttman commented even more extensively on this topic. He stressed that one cannot simply assign the authority of a linguistic law to these occurrences, as so many of his predecessors and colleagues had been or still were inclined to do. According to Buttman, it is absurd and scientifically unexceptable to change every known Attic Greek word with a ‘p’ into supposedly Ionic forms with ‘k’, although that variant is often not attested in any known text or document. ‘Die meisten der angeführten Verwechslungen werden von ältern und neuern Grammatikern durch allgemeinere Sätze eingeführt, als ‘die Attiker verwandeln θ in ϕ ; die Ionier verwandeln π in κ ’ u.s.w. Hiedurch muss man sich nicht verleiten lassen, irgend eine solche Verwechslung in einen Dialekt als durchgängig anzunehmen. Sehr ungewöhnlich sind die

beigefügten Beispiele die einzigen, worin der Fall vorkommt, und nur in einzigen Fällen hat ein oder der andre Dialekt eine Neigung zu einer gewissen Verwechslung, die uns also bloss dienen kann, die vorkommendern Fälle in ihre Analogie zu bringen' (p. 75).⁵⁰ It would seem that for Buttmann the status of the 'Konsonantenverwechslung' in Ancient Greek dialects as a linguistic law or as an odd occurrence was somewhat of a pet subject. Even if Hoffmann never read the first chapters of Buttmann's *Ausführliche griechische Sprachlehre* or the more readily available *griechische Grammatik*, it is not unlikely that our author heard Buttmann discussing this topic in the 'Gesetzlose Gesellschaft', chiding his colleagues with their brainless law of Ionic *k* for *p*. And that is exactly what Hoffmann is doing with the *prósopon-prósokon* pun. By altering, not a 'p' for a 'k', but an 'a' for an 'o', he created a character from Smyrna whose name can be understood as a reference to the Leitmotif of his story, but also as a hyper-Ionism and as a teasingly defiant, highly intellectual, inside joke, wickedly aimed at one of the pet subjects of one of his linguistic consultants and their little scientific crusades.

DER PROPHET SIFUR

Die Geheimnisse introduces a prophet called Sifur who is an expert in the kabbalistic and astrological arts. In the 'Stellenkommentar' we read under 'Prophet Sifur': 'Ein Prophet dieses Namens ist nicht bekannt. Sonnini erwähnt einen Ort Sifur in Griechenland (S. 281). Möglich erscheint eine Abwandlung aus dem hebr. *Sofer*, der Schriftgelehrte, der Gesetzeslehrer, der Weise' (p. 1095, Anm. 544, 37). Hoffmann used Sonnini extensively and often quotes entire passages from his description of Greece,

especially descriptions of magical rituals.⁵¹ But why would Hoffmann name a Jewish kabbalist after a Greek village he found in a travel account? The mere fact that *Die Irrungen* and *Die Geheimnisse* are mostly about Greece and Greek or Grecophile characters cannot account for the Greek name of a *Jewish* character. Perhaps Hoffmann found something special about Sifur in Sonnini? The French explorer mentions the little village of Sifur in his description of the island of Milo (Bombarda). Sifur is situated on top of a mountain, which made it a natural stronghold. This is also the reason why the air in Sifur is more healthy and pleasant than on the rest of the island. Sonnini also mentions ancient sanctuaries:

Ueberdiess mussten auch in einem Lande, wo alle religiösen Ideen sich einzig und allein auf die Theogonie bezogen, die Menschen sich einbilden, dass je höher sie über die Oberfläche der Erde erhaben wären, desto mehr sie sich in der Nähe der Götter befänden, und dass ihre Gebete desto geschwinder und sicherer zu ihnen kommen könnten. (282)

Another possible link between the name Sifur and the revelation of religious mysteries, is the presence, noted by Sonnini, of ‘unterirdische Gänge, alte Catacomben und noch eine Menge von dergleichen Ueberresten des Alterthums’ (282f.). Hoffmann’s imagination might also have been sparked by the presence of a medicinal hot spring, near Sifur, that was visited from all over the Greek world by people who drank the unsavoury, and probably sulphureous, water as a panacea.⁵² The healing power of a spring that produces a sort of water that is disagreeable at first but medicinal in the end, could well have been interpreted by Hoffmann as a metaphor for the redeeming remedies of Biblical prophets.

Of course there is no prophet Sifur in the Bible, and the character ‘Prophet Sifur’ is nothing like an Old Testament prophet. He is involved in astrology and in that famous post-Biblical Jewish spiritual tradition: the Kabbala. According to Schnüspelpold, Sifur made a so-called Teraphim, a kabbalistic homunculus, he carved out of cork as a smaller, younger but artificial version of the Baron himself.⁵³ We already quoted the alternative suggestion in the ‘Stellenkommentar’ to interpret the name Sifur as a variation (‘Abwandlung’) on the Hebrew word for a scribe, *sopher*. This approach should not be ignored, but the relevant link is not that of a variation on the word *sopher*. As a matter of fact, both *siphur* (*sifur*) and *sopher*, together with a number of other words, like *sepher*, are derived from the root SPR (ספר) ‘count, recount, write down’ (KB 723 s.v. ספר).⁵⁴ There are many possible transliterations in Latin characters, especially for the middle consonant P (פ) that can be found as ‘p’, ‘pp’, ‘ph’ or ‘f’, apparently depending, not only on the adjacent vowels, but also on the national and linguistic traditions of transcribing and even on personal choice. In an unpointed Hebrew text, the related words are spelled SPR (ספר), SPR (ספר) and SYPWR (סיפור) respectively. The vocalization of the first word is uncontroversial: *sepher* (*sefer*) ‘book, writing’ (KB 723 s.v. סֵפֶר). The second is vocalized as either *sopher* (*sofer*) ‘scribe’ (KB 724 s.v. סוֹפֵר) or *sephar* (*sefar*) ‘number’ (KB 724 s.v. סָפַר). The third is variously vocalized as *siphur* (*sifur*) or, more commonly, *sippur* ‘story’ (Levy 574 s.v. סיפור).^{55 56}

To find a Jewish prophet in one of Hoffmann’s tales named after the Hebrew word for a story or a tale already seems to make more sense than the reference to a Greek village. But there is an even more meaningful link if we take Hoffmann seriously when he situates his Sifur character in the kabbalistic tradition. According to Sucher, Hoffmann never read

any serious kabbalistic writers, but he was very interested in the kabbala, there are numerous references to this tradition in his works and he used a number of what one could call secondary sources for his knowledge of Jewish mysticism.⁵⁷ One of the most famous and most commented works in the Kabbalistic tradition, is the 'Book of Creation' or *Sepher Yetzirah*. The *Sepher Yetzirah* is a very short mystical work but it has been of great importance. It was probably written between the third and sixth century A.D., so it actually predates the Kabbala proper, but it was used and commented upon by many leading Kabbalists from the Middle Ages onwards.⁵⁸ As the title indicates, it is an alternative explanation for the creation of the world, although it could formally be interpreted as a commentary on the first chapters of *Genesis*. It contains the first known exposition of this creation by way of the Ten Primordial Numbers or *Sephiroth* (singular: *Sephirah*) and the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet. In Hebrew, as in ancient Greek, the numbers were denoted by letters, so there is an intimate relationship between numbers and letters, between mathematics and language, between counting and story-telling.⁵⁹ The creation of the world is explained as an emanation-process from God's name, from the letters of his names, who actually make out the substance of the world. The unseparable relationship between numbers and letters, between counting and relating, is also expressed in the key concept of *Sephirah*, that appears to have been a neologism.⁶⁰ *Sephirah* is based upon the same radical (SPR) as *Siphur* (Sifur) and signifies at the same time number and letter, counting and storytelling, book or tale, etc.⁶¹

The word *Siphur* actually occurs in the first section of the first chapter of this *Sepher Yetzirah*. Here we can read that God engraved and created his world with three

modalities: *Sepher* 'book', *Sephar* 'counting' en *Siphur* or *Sippur* 'tale'.⁶² *Siphur* is a concept from the kabbalistic tradition involved with the creation of the world. The very clear link with Hoffmann's tales is that this work, *Sepher Yetzirah*, was interpreted from the Middle Ages onwards, as a handbook for magic, and more specifically for the creation of a golem through knowledge of the mystical power of words-numbers.⁶³ Sucher comments that Hoffmann only had second hand knowledge of the Kabbala. But can it be a coincidence that a Jewish Prophet involved in the kabbalistic creation of a Teraphim or small golem should be named after the Hebrew word for tale and after one of the three modalities of creation in a book that was used by Kabbalists as a handbook for the creation of a golem? In Hoffmann's mind, the name probably functioned in two worlds, the Greek and the Hebrew, and when he did his research on Greece by reading Sonnini he probably recognized the similarity between the name of the unknown Greek village and the word for the creative force of story-telling in Kabbalistic magic. In tales where Jewish and Greek characters interact in a magical and pseudo-messianic context this coincidence was too good to leave unused.

CONDOGURI

Andreas Condogurri is Hoffmann's consul for Prussia in Patras. He is one of the characters who is often mentioned in *Die Irrungen* and *Die Geheimnisse*, but he never actually makes an appearance in the stories. Early in *Die Irrungen*, this man is introduced as one of the alternatives for the Baron to learn about the woman whose mysterious purse he had found:

Sollte jedoch der besagte junge Mann den Entschluß, den er einmal gefaßt, jetzt auszuführen gedenken und nach Griechenland reisen wollen, so wird er sehr gebeten, sich in Patras auf Morea an den preußischen Konsul Herrn Andreas Condoguri zu wenden und ihm die gedachte Brieftasche vorzuzeigen. Dem geschätzten Finder wird sich dann ein anmutiges Geheimnis erschließen. (*Die Irrungen*, p. 461, 18-25)

As is well known, the Baron never makes it further than the first postal station from Berlin, despite his careful preparations and dramatic farewells. But what does the name of this man he wanted to find mean?

Andreas Condoguri looks like an Italian name, but it is actually yet another Greek one. Kontogouris (Κοντογούρης) is even now a common name in Greece. But, once again, Hoffmann seems to have had his reasons to choose this particular name for this particular character. The first name, Andreas, is an obvious link with the city of Patras: according to legend the apostle Andreas was martyred in Patras and continued preaching the Gospel there even after his death. Andreas is therefore the patron of Patras and by extension of the whole of Greece. He was also the legendary founder of the church of Constantinople, the capital once of the great Greek Christian Empire, now the capital of the Ottomans, the oppressors of the new Greek nation, the baron is supposed to lead to freedom.⁶⁴ The second name is composed of two parts. The first, *Condo-*, is derived from post-Classical and hence also Modern Greek *kontós*, pronounced [kondós], meaning ‘short’ (LSJ 978 s.v. κοντός). In Modern Greek compounds, *konto-* either means ‘short’ or ‘near, close’ (LKN 737 s.v. κοντο-). The second part of the name, *guri*, is a common Greek word which is actually a Turkish loan: *gúri*, pronounced [ýri], from Turkish *uğur* ‘good luck’ (LKN 321 s.v. γούρι).⁶⁵

So the name Condoguri can mean both ‘short (stroke of) luck’, ‘luck or happiness that will last only shortly’ or it can mean ‘nearby luck, nearby happiness’. The baron never was so lucky as to actually make it out of Berlin, so we will never know what kind of luck awaited him in Patras. But we can be quite certain that Hoffmann knew what he was doing in inventing these mysterious names. Condoguri is mentioned five or six times in the stories. Once again, it can hardly be a coincidence that in almost all of the sentences where the trip to Condoguri or his name are mentioned, Hoffmann inserted a word like ‘Glück’ or ‘glücklich’, as if he wanted to allude to the correct interpretation of the name.⁶⁷ Once again, the little joke is only understood, is only perceived by an intellectual elite.

But this elite, initiated in the mysteries of the Greek language and Jewish mysticism, understood the secret messages in the names of the characters and their adventures. They then also fully appreciated Hoffmann for what he really was: the *malin génie* of nineteenth century sophisticated humour.

Endnotes

1. For a description of those nights see Rüdiger Safranski, *E. T. A. Hoffmann, eine Biographie*, Reinbeck bei Hamburg 1992, pp. 377ff., esp. pp. 382-383.
2. This paper is the result of a long quest started by a seemingly innocent question by our dear colleague from the German Department, Dr Myriam Pelgrims, whether the classicists could make anything out of the enigmatic names she found in these Hoffmann stories. Her own study “‘Die Fantasie erscheint Hoffmann zum Troste’. Die Begegnungen in E. T. A. Hoffmanns Doppelerzählung *Die Irrungen* und *Die Geheimnisse* im Spannungsfeld zwischen Entdeckung und Erfindung’ (Doctoral Thesis, Ghent University 2003) will hopefully be published by the end of 2004.
3. ‘Der junge Hoffmann bleibt im Griechischen und Lateinischen zurück, Hippel, mit besserem schulischen Leistungen, kann helfen’ (Safranski 76). Hippel should not be confused with his uncle and namesake, the writer and philosopher Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel (1741-1796).

4. A good example can be found in a letter to Hippel (d.d. 07/12/1794) where Hoffmann refers to the fact that his friend did not attend some or other ball as a case of 'Ballkrampf', immediately translated into a Greek neologism *Chorikospasma*: 'Dein Zufall – man könnte ihn Ballkrampf – Chorikospasma (χορικόςπασμα [sic]) nennen, ist also acht Tage zu früh gekommen' (Julius Eduard Hitzig, *E. T. A. Hoffmanns Leben und Nachlass, Mit Anmerkungen zum Text und einem Nachwort von Wolfgang Held* (Insel Taschnbuch 755), Frankfurt am Main 1986, p. 36).
5. See Willy Hoppe (ed.), *Die Gesetzlose Gesellschaft zu Berlin, gegründet am 4. November 180, Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen*, Berlin 1959.
6. *Die Geheimnisse, Fortsetzung des Fragments aus dem Leben eines Fantasten, die Irrungen*, in: E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Sämtliche Werke in sechs Bänden*, Bd. 5: *Lebens-Ansichten des Katers Murr, Werke 1820-1821* (Bibliothek deutscher Klassiker, 75), Frankfurt am Main 1992, pp. 509-568. In the same edition see also the 'Stellenkommentar' (1092) for further references concerning the 'Gesellschaft' and its members.
7. The reference here is to Karl August Varnhagen von Ense (1785-1858). His wife Rahel Varnhagen von Ense, née Levi (1771-1833) hosted another well-known intellectual salon in Berlin. See Klaus Günzel (ed.), *E. T. A. Hoffmann, Leben und Werk in Briefen, Selbstzeugnissen und Zeitdokumenten*, Berlin 1978, pp. 73-74 and *passim* on the interaction between Hoffmann and Varnhagen.
8. Philipp Karl Buttmann, *Griechische Grammatik*, Berlin 1792 (22nd ed. 1869).
9. John Edwin Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. 3: *The Eighteenth Century in German and the Nineteenth Century in Europe and the United States of America*, New York 1964, p. 84.
10. Philipp Karl Buttmann, *Greek Grammar*, London 1824.
11. Philipp Karl Buttmann, *Ausführliche griechische Sprachlehre*, 2 vols., Berlin 1819-1827 (2nd ed. 1830-1839). Its position was taken over by Raphael Kühner (1802-1878), *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, 2 vols., Hannover 1834-1835 (3rd ed. 1890-1904).
12. Philipp Karl Buttmann, *Lexilogus oder Beiträge zur griechischen Wort-Erklärung, hauptsächlich für Homer und Hesiod*, Berlin 1818-1825. We can also mention his numerous studies on literary and historical subjects, collected in *Mythologus oder Gesammelte Abhandlungen über die Sagen des Alterthums*, 2 vols., Berlin 1828-1829.
13. 'In der "Gesetzlosen Gesellschaft" hätte Buttmann diese Rolle spielen können' ('Stellenkommentar', p. 1092).
14. For a short intellectual biography, see Sandys (95-101).
15. *Homeri opera omnia ex recensione F. A. Wolfii, Tomus Prior*. It became known under its more relevant subtitle: *Prolegomena ad Homerum sive de operum Homericorum prisca et genuina forma variisque mutationibus et probabili ratione emendandi*, Halle 1795. An English translation with introduction and notes was published by Anthony Grafton, Glenn W. Most and James E. G. Zetzel: *Prolegomena to Homer 1795*, Princeton 1985.

16. Hermann Funke, 'F. A. Wolf (1759-1824)', in: Ward W. Briggs & William M. Calder III (eds.), *Classical Scholarship, A Biographical Encyclopedia*, New York 1990, p. 523.

17. For the identification with Professor Wolf see 'Stellenkommentar', p. 1081. Hoffmann regularly changes names by deleting or, as in this case, adding a single letter.

18. The question is whether Hoffmann's transliteration is based on Modern or Ancient Greek. Like German, Ancient Greek had a close front vowel [y], represented by the graph <υ>, but this sound has disappeared in Modern Greek, or rather evolved into a close front unrounded vowel [i]. There is, in other words, no way to transcribe [y] in Modern Greek. Conversely, German <ü> c.q. <ue> is often pronounced [i] by Greek speakers, e.g. *grün* as [gri:n] instead of [gry:n] (or even [grin], as vowel length is not a distinctive feature in Modern Greek). The digraph <ου>, on the other hand, represents [u] in both Modern and Ancient, or at least Classical Greek (for details see W. Sidney Allen, *Vox Graeca, The Pronunciation of Classical Greek*, 3rd ed., Cambridge 1987, p. 75ff.). A priori, therefore, the transliteration of <ue> as <ουε> could be Modern as well as Ancient Greek. It is not clear whether Hoffmann preferred <ουε> to avoid the ambiguity of <υ> – Ancient [y] but Modern [i], or to emphasize the absurdity of transferring the German 'u-Umlaut' into Greek.

19. In fact, both Ancient and Modern Greek only allow <ν>, <ρ> and <σ, ς>, i.e. [n], [r] and [s], in word-final position, at least in native words. Foreign words and especially foreign names, however, allow for a variety of word-final consonants, e.g. *Daueid* (Δαυείδ) 'David' in the Septuagint and the New Testament. There is yet another level of irony in this name *Schnüspelpold*. Although the name is supposedly German (*Die Irrungen*, p. 465, 27: '... mithin ein Name sei, und zwar ein deutscher'), it is clearly coined by Hoffmann and not found anywhere else. The name is obviously a compound name in *-pold* < Germanic **bald* 'bold' such as Liutpold (Leopold), Theobald etc. But the first element 'Schnüspel' remains enigmatic, especially in view of the mysterious reference to the supposed veneration of the American population for 'Schnüspel, the distinguished novelist' in Carlyle's *Past and Present* (Boston 1843; quoted after Douglas Jerrold's new edition, London & New York 1960, p. 237). Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) translated Hoffmann's tale *Der goldene Topf* (in: *German Romance*, vol. II: *Hoffmann, Richter*, London 1827) and was conversant with the German Romantic movement.

20. For this aspect of Hoffmann's irony see Norbert Miller, 'Europäischer Philhellenismus zwischen Winckelmann und Byron', in: Erika Wischer (ed.), *Propyläen Geschichte der Literatur, Literatur und Gesellschaft der westlichen Welt*, Bd. 4: *Aufklärung und Romantik (1700-1830)*, Berlin 1988, p. 358: 'Der Enthusiasmus der deutschen Romantiker ging selten über den Schreibtisch hinaus, und die zornglühendsten Dithyramben wurden immer in gesichertem Abstand zum Geschehen auf das Papier gebannt. Schon 1821 spottete E.T.A. Hoffmann in seinem Doppelmärchen *Die Irrungen* und *Die Geheimnisse* über den Berliner Philhellenen, der in seinem Glauben, ein griechischer Prinz zu sein, nur eben bis nach Schlachtensee sich verirrt.' For an authoritative account of the political struggle, see Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, 2nd ed., Cambridge 2002, p. 7ff.

21. Johann Ludwig Salomo Bartholdy, *Bruchstücke zur nähern Kenntniss des heutigen Griechenlands, gesammelt auf einer Reise von J. L. S. Bartholdy im Jahre 1803-4*, Berlin 1805.
22. “Den Bartholdy,” fiel der Baron dem Professor in die Rede, “habe ich selber im Wagen, und was die versprochenen Pantoffeln betrifft, so erhalten Sie die schönsten, die es gibt, und sollte ich sie diesem oder jenem Pascha von den Füßen ziehen. Denn, o Professor, Sie haben mich bestärkt in meinem Glauben, in meiner Überzeugung, und fleißig werd ich auf klassischem Boden in den Taschen-Homer kucken, der mir ein teures wertres Geschenk ist. Zwar verstehe ich kein Griechisch, aber das findet sich, denk ich, von selbst, wenn ich erst im Lande bin.” (*Die Irrungen*, pp. 482, 37-483, 9). The Baron (and, as we will see, Hoffmann himself) also read the travel account by Charles-Sigisbert Sonnini de Manoncourt (1751-1812), *Voyage en Grèce et en Turquie, fait par ordre de Louis XVI et avec l'autorisation de la cour ottomane*, Paris 1801 (quoted from the German translation: *Reise nach Griechenland und der Türkei auf Befehl Ludwigs XVI*, Berlin 1801): ‘Der Baron machte sofort ernsthafte Anstalten zur Reise nach Griechenland. Er las den Sonnini, den Bartholdy, und was er sonst an Reisen nach Griechenland auftreiben konnte ...’ (*Die Irrungen*, p. 474, 5-8).
23. See Frank Turner, ‘The Homeric Question’, in: Ian Morris & Barry Powell (eds.), *A New Companion to Homer*, Leiden 1997, pp. 123-145.
24. See Safranski (244) on the code-name for Julia as ‘Kätchen’, often abbreviated as ‘Ktch’ and on the use of Greek: ‘Er muss den Namen verschlüsseln, weil Mischa manchmal in seinem Tagebuch liest. Trotzdem ist es zu Eifersuchtsszenen gekommen. [...] In griechischer, deshalb für Mischa nicht entzifferbarer Schrift notiert er am 16.2.1811: “Diese romantische Stimmung greift immer mehr um sich.”’ A striking example of this ‘Chiffreschrift’ can be found in Günzel (209) where we read a hybrid Greek-German entry in Hoffmann's diary for 04/03/1813: ‘διε ενζιγε Ναχιριτ δας Ktch σχwαvger - τραφ μχ wie εν Σχλαγ’, i.e. ‘die einzige Nachricht, dass Ktch schwanger - traff mich wie ein Schlag’.
25. See especially ‘Das Blättlein aus der Brieftasche’ in *Die Irrungen*, p. 466, 5 ff.
26. ‘Es war Aponomeria, die weise Frau, mit der ich sonst in Patras Umgang gepflogen und die meine Kenntnisse ungemein bereichert hatte. Wohl wußte ich nun, daß Aponomeria Hebammendienste verrichten sollte, was eigentlich ihr Beruf war in Patras’ (*Die Geheimnisse*, pp. 542, 37-543, 5).
27. LSJ = Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott & Henry Stuart Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, revised and augmented with a supplement, Oxford 1968.
28. ‘Hüten Sie sich vor ihm [i.e., diesem Vogel], es ist, ich ahne es, die alte Aponomeria!’ (*Die Geheimnisse*, p. 548, 2-3).
29. In the Septuagint *nómos* refers to the *Torah* (Hebrew תורה *tôrâ*) ‘Law of God’ (*Exodus* 12:49) given to Moses (*Deuteronomy* 33:4), and accordingly also in the New Testament (e.g., *Luke* 2:22).
30. See F. E. Peters, *Greek Philosophical Terms, A Historical Lexicon*, New York & London 1967, pp. 131-132 for ‘nomos’ and p. 158-160 for ‘physis’.

31. Though it may be noted that *apo-* is used in compounds as an equivalent to the so-called ‘privative *a-*’, especially with adjectives (LSJ 192 s.v. ἀπό D.6).
32. To be sure, Greek did have a suffix *-ero* to derive adjectives from nouns, e.g. *kraterós* (κρατερός) ‘strong’ from *krátos* (κράτος) ‘strength’ (see Pierre Chantraine, *La formation des noms en grec ancien*, Paris 1933, pp. 228ff.). Adjectives in *-erios* are very rare, e.g. *nuktérios* ‘nightly’ from *núx* ‘night’ (LSJ 1183 s.v. νυκτέριος), probably on the analogy of *hemérios* ‘daily’ from *heméra* ‘day’ (LSJ 771 s.v. ἡμέριος), or *eleuthérios* ‘free’ derived from the adjective *eleútheros* ‘free’ (LSJ 532 s.v. ἐλευθέριος).
33. This alternative is due to a flash of inspiration by our good colleague Dr Roger Stroobandt, who combines Classical Philology and Indology with a profound knowledge of Modern Greek. We would like to thank him for his combined enthusiasm and professionalism.
34. LKN = *Λεξικό της κοινής νεοελληνικής* [Lexicon of Common Modern Greek], Thessaloniki 1998.
35. All these sayings have been identified as direct quotes from Bartholdy, one of Hoffmann's main sources on contemporary Greece and the Ottoman Empire, see ‘Stellenkommentar’, p. 1089, Anm. 501, 10, 17 etc.
36. ‘Astariot. Der Name wurde vielleicht in Anlehnung an Astarte, den griechischen Namen einer vorderasiatischen Göttin, gebildet’ (Stellenkommentar, p. 1096, Anm. 556, 23).
37. For the philosophical and theological history of the term see the ‘Werkinterpretation’ of Origen's main work *De Principiis* (Περὶ Ἀρχῶν) by Lothar Lies (*Oreigenes’ Peri Archon, Eine undogmatische Dogmatik, Einführung und Erläuterung*, Darmstadt 1992), especially §9: ‘Theologische Implikationen in *Peri Archon*: Apokatastasis’, pp. 140ff., more specifically §9.4.2 about the conversion of the Devil: ‘Die Vernichtung des letzten Feindes ist aber so zu verstehen, dass nicht seine von Gott geschaffene Substanz (*substantia*) vergeht, sondern seine feindliche Willensrichtung’ (p. 162).
38. ‘Fünftes Blättlein [...] von der Hand der Fürstin’: ‘Der Magus trat hinein und schien, als er das Beginnen des Papageies gewährte, heftig zu erschrecken. Apokatastos erhob ein solches durchdringendes entsetzliches Geschrei, wie ich es noch niemals von ihm gehört habe, rauschte mit den Flügeln und flog endlich dem Magus geradezu ins Gesicht. Der Magus rettete sich, wie gewöhnlich, ins Bett und zog die Decke über. Apokatastos sprach: “Noch nicht Zeit – aber bald, Teodoros” – Nein, ich bin nicht ganz verlassen, Apokatastos ist es, der mich beschützt’ (*Die Geheimnisse*, p. 557, 22-31).
39. I.e., ο διάβολος γίδα δεν είχε και τυρί επούληγε. The transcription of είχε as *yche* instead of *eiche* or *iche*, phonetically [ixe], is noteworthy.
40. At that point in time the Baron wanted to take possession of the Princess’s purse without realizing that someone else was present in the room. Although the Baron did not understand the saying, it made him aware of a soft sighing noise: ‘Entsetzt prallte er zurück! – Aber in dem Augenblick vernahm er leise Seufzer, die offenbar aus dem grossen Bett kamen’ (*Die Irrungen*, p. 501, 18-20). The use of this particular Greek saying, i.e. the particular content of this saying, is in itself quite absurd in this context. In that respect, the eventual

appearance of the malign Magus as an ugly little old man in a lace women's nightcap, is well adjusted to both Hoffmann's general sense of the absurd and the strange Greek saying about the devil.

41. 'Außer dem griechischen Kaufmann Prosocarchi von Smyrna fand sich indessen kein Ankömmling von fremdartiger Natur, lauter Amtsräte, Justizaktuarien und so weiter aus der Provinz waren am vier- und fünfundzwanzigsten Julius durch die Tore von Berlin hineingefahren. Besagter Kaufmann Prosocarchi war aber ohne alle Begleitung angekommen, schon deshalb konnte es nicht der kleine Alte sein, zum Überfluß begab sich aber der Baron zu ihm hin und fand einen schönen großen Mann von angenehmer Bildung, dem er mit Vergnügen einige Pastilles du Serail und auch Balsam von Mekka, der das verstauchte Bein des Magus kuriert, abkaufte' (*Die Irrungen*, pp. 497, 24-498, 1).

42. 'Ein sehr kleiner verwachsener, krummbeinichter alter Mann, auf groteske Weise altmodisch gekleidet, mit einem großen Blumenstrauß vor der Brust, ein sehr hohes spanisches Rohr in der Hand, führte eine fremdartig gekleidete verschleierte Dame von edlem Wuchs und majestätischer Haltung. Das Seltsamste war wohl gewiß der Haarzopf des Alten, der unter dem kleinen Hut sich hervorschlängelte bis auf die Erde' (*Die Irrungen*, p. 493, 17-21). An example of his rudeness: '... ohne im mindesten seine Höflichkeit zu erwidern' (p. 494, 15-20). See also p. 468, 8-13 where the Magus wants to violate the statue of Apollo.

43. The Hoffmann-Forschung seems to have ignored this intertextual reference. In the early nineteenth century at least two German translations with this title were available: Hoffmann probably knew both the one by Christoph Martin Wieland (1733-1813), whose *Musarion* is quoted in *Die Irrungen* on p. 474, and the one by August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767-1845), whose German translation of *Romeo and Juliette* is quoted on p. 487.

44. 'Prosocarchi meinte übrigens auf Befragen, ob er nichts von einer griechischen Fürstin wisse, die sich in Berlin aufhalte, daß dies wohl nicht der Fall sein werde, da er sonst schon gewiß einen Besuch von ihr erhalten. Übrigens aber sei es gewiß, daß sich ein vertriebener Primat von Naxos aus einer uralten fürstlichen Familie mit seiner Tochter in Deutschland umhertreibe, den er indessen niemals gesehen' (*Die Irrungen*, p. 498, 1-8).

45. There is a very small possibility that Hoffmann also intended a pun on the Greek word for 'Prussian': *prosikós* or *Prósos* (LKN 1158 s.v. προσωικός and Πρόσος), but the only link of the character with Prussia, or Germany in general, is his stay in Berlin. To conclude from this fragile link that this character has some power over Prussians or is at the beginning of something related to Prussia, seems not very likely.

46. The variation $k \sim p$ is observable in various words derived from the root $*ok^w$ - 'eye', e.g. Homeric (Ionic) *ósse* < $*ok^w$ -ye 'eyes' (dual), *óktallos*, the Boeotian variant of *ophthalmós* 'eye', and the Hesychian gloss *ókkon* = *ophthalmón* (LSJ 1211 ss.vv. ὀκκον and ὀκταλλος; 1262 s.v. ὄσσε). The second element in the word we are concerned with here, *prósopon*, is derived from the same root $*ok^w$ -, though there are no known variants in *-okon* (LSJ 1533 s.v. πρόσωπον). It may be noted that Latin *oculus*, literally 'little eye', and English *eye* < Old English *ēage* have the same etymology. For full discussion of the outcome of labiovelars

like **k*^w, see Andrew L. Sihler, *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, Oxford 1995, pp. 160ff., esp. p. 164 (on *k* for *p* in Ionic).

47. Buttmann, § 1: ‘Von der griechischen Sprache und deren Dialekten überhaupt’, p. 1 (on Dorian): ‘Er war rauch, machte auf das Ohr [...] einen Eindruck und war im ganzen weniger ausgebildet’; p. 2 (on the Ionians and their dialect): ‘... ja früher als alle übrigen Griechen kultivirt wurden. [...] Der ionische Dialekt ist vor allen, wegen Häufung der Vokale, der weicheste’.

48. For an authoritative recent account see Anna Morpurgo-Davies, *Nineteenth-Century Linguistics*, London 1998.

49. See §6: ‘Von Veränderung der Buchstaben. Von den Konsonanten.’, p. 34: ‘Wie natürlich die oben angedeuteten Verwechselungen sind, zeigt sich besonders in den Dialekten, da oft ein Wort in verschiedenen Dialekten mit verschiedenen, gewöhnlich auf obige Art verwandten, Buchstaben gesprochen wird. So verwechseln sich am häufigsten (a. aspiratas ...; b. medias ...) c. Die tenues: so haben die Frage, und damit verwandten Formen statt des gewöhnlichen π (ποῦ, πῶς, ποῖος, ὅποῖος, πῶ) bei den Ioniern immer κ (κοῦ, etc. ...)’.

50. In §16: ‘Von Veränderung der Buchstaben’, Buttmann gave the following examples: ‘Die fragenden und damit verwandten Formen haben statt des gewöhnlichen π ionisch κ, z.B. ποῦ, κοῦ; πῶς, ὅκως; ποῖος, κοῖος; οὔπω, οὔκω’ (p. 74).

51. The ‘Stellenkommentar’ lists, amongst other influences, the Greek magical ritual of match-making on Johannismacht (p. 1082, Anm. 470, 27ff.) the religious reverence for and the talking to weasels (p. 1084, Anm. 480, 10). We could add the description of the ritual rubbing of small children with salt, the placing of bread and a piece of wood in their cradles, the apotropaic use of garlic, etc. in *Die Irrungen*, pp. 479, 32-480, 5, as inspired by Sonnini, pp. 214-215.

52. ‘Nicht weit von Sifur, gegen das Ufer zu, entspringt in einem Felsen eine Quelle, deren Wasser lauwarm und von einem faden, äusserst widrigen Geschmack ist, in dieser natürlichen Apotheke holen die Griechen ihre Purgiermittel, denn einige Gläser von diesem Wasser wirken wie die beste Arznei’ (Sonnini 283).

53. ‘Der Prophet schnitzte hierauf ein kleines Männlein aus Korkholz, strich es mit Farben an, kleidete es auf eine Weise, die mir sehr possierlich vorkam, und versicherte, daß dies Männchen eben der Baron Theodor von S. sei, wiewohl in verjüngtem Maßstabe. Ich muß denn auch gestehen, daß, als ich Sie, mein wertgeschätzter Herr Baron, zum erstenmal zu sehen das Glück hatte, mir gleich das Korkmännchen vor Augen stand, es gibt nichts Täuschenderes. Derselbe holde schwärmerische Blick, der Ihre Augen beseelt’ (*Die Geheimnisse*, p. 545, 23-27). It has already been noted by Paul Sucher (*Les sources du merveilleux chez E. T. A. Hoffmann*, Paris 1912, p. 98) that Hoffmann found the use of the word *Teraphim* (actually an Old Testament term for pagan household gods as in, e.g., *Genesis* 31:19, 19:34-35) in l’Abbé de Villars de Montfaucon, *Le comte de Gabalis, ou entretiens sur les sciences secrètes*, Paris, 1670; Nouvelle édition, augmentée des *Génies assistants et des gnomes irréconciliables*, 2 vols., London, 1742, although according to

the latter these Teraphim are not golem-like creatures but enable someone to contact the elementary spirits: 'Le Teraphin des Juifs n'était que la cérémonie qu'il falloit observer pour ce commerce' (p. 87). The erroneous spelling of *Teraphin* with 'n' in Hoffmann is this time due to his source. For further details and references, see the 'Stellenkommentar', p. 1093-1094, Anm. 530, 18.

54. KB = Ludwig Koehler & Walter Baumgartner, *Hebraisches und aramaisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, 3rd ed., Leiden 1995-1996.

55. Jacob Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, 2nd ed., Berlin 1924. It should be noted that *sîphûr* (סיפור) represents the so-called 'scriptio plena' or 'full writing' of the word. In Ancient Hebrew, vowels were not written with the exception of long vowels, which could optionally be represented by the semi-vowels *waw* (ו) for *ô* and *û* and *yod* (י) for *ê* and *î*. The same word would read *siphur* (רפס) in 'scriptio defectiva' or 'defective writing'. The vocalization *siphur* instead of *sippur* is probably based on the erroneous interpretation of the unpointed Hebrew סיפור which could theoretically be read as *siphur* or *sippur*, the former on the analogy of the preceding *sepher* and *sephar*.

56. In Modern Hebrew the words still mean the same, cf. Šēmū'el Yōsef 'Agnōn, *Sepher, sōpher wē-sîppūr*, Yērūšalayim [5]738 [1978].

57. 'Il parle de la Cabbale sans avoir lu, nous le verrons, un seul Cabbaliste sérieux; il ne connaît pas même les ouvrages élémentaires, pas même Paracelse, ou Jean Bodin' (Sucher, p. 4). As his main source of information, Sucher mentions le comte de Gabalis and the compilation works of Wiegles and Bartolucci. Although Sucher is very negative about these works, Wiegles alone consisted of twenty volumes! We were able to consult the original Jo. Nicol. Martius, *Unterricht von der Wunderbaren Magie und derselben medicinischen Gebrauch auch von zauberischen und miraculösen Dingen ...* Leipzig 1719 (which contains no reference to the Kabbala), but not the massive expanded edition by Wiegles and Rosenthal, *Unterricht in der natürlichen Magie oder: Martius, Unterricht ...*, 20 vols., Berlin 1786-1805. An equally massive work is Bartolucci, referred to by Sucher as a 'Encyclopédie rabbinique' (p. 4). The full reference is Ivlius Bartoloccius de Celleno, *Bibliotheca magna Rabbinica, de scriptoribus et scriptis Hebraicis, ordine alphabetico Hebraice et Latine digestis*, Rome 1675-1694. In these 5 folio-volumes (predominantly filled with endless lists of names of authors and the titles of their works) Hoffmann would only have found references to works with the title word *Sippur*, translated into Latin as *narratio*.

58. Geoffrey Wigoder (ed.), *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Judaïsme*. Adapté en français sous la direction de Sylvie Anne Goldberg, avec la collaboration de Véronique Gillet, Arnaud Sérandour et Gabriël Raphaël Veyret, Paris, 1993 (Translation of: *The Encyclopedia of Judaism*, Jerusalem 1989), s.v. *Yetsirah Séfer*, 'Livre de la création' pp. 1202-1203; p. 1203: *the Book of Creation* was translated into Latin in 1552, by Guillaume Postel (1510-1581), the Christian Orientalist and mystic living in Paris. The Latin translation was printed in 1552, even before the first Hebrew text was printed in Mantua in 1562. This text was reprinted as *Sefer Jezirah*, Übersetzt und kommentiert von Guillaume Postel, Herausgegeben, eingeleitet und erläutert von Peter

Klein Wolf, Neudruck der Ausgabe Paris, 1552 (Clavis Pansophiae, 1), Stuttgart, 1994. A German translation only appeared in 1830 and 1894, a French in 1888, an English in 1873 and an Italian as late as 1923. This leaves Latin as the only possible language Hoffmann could have read the book in, but probably he knew the text or its contents, through his readings of secondary esoterical sources.

59. It may be noted that the Arabic cognate *sifr* (سفر) ‘book, writing’ is phonetically very similar to *s. ifr* (صفر) ‘zero, naught’, which was borrowed in English as *cipher* meaning both ‘zero’ and ‘code’ and in German as both *Ziffer* ‘number’ and *Chiffre* ‘code’. Hoffmann’s interest in kabbalistic numerology and his private use of *Chiffreschrift* in his diaries lend credibility to a multi- and cross-linguistic interpretation of the name Sifur.

60. ‘The ten primordial numbers are called *sephiroth* – a Hebrew noun, newly formed here, that bears no relation to the Greek word *sphaira*, but is derived from a Hebrew noun meaning “to count”’ (Gershom G. Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, Princeton 1987, p. 26 (Translation of: *Ursprung und Anfänge der Kabbala*, Berlin 1962). For discussions of date, origins and contents, see also §1.4: ‘The Book of Creation’, pp. 24-35.

61. Armand Abécassis & Georges Nataf (eds.), *Encyclopédie de la mystique juive*, Paris 1977, c. 582. For the evolution of the Golem-idea in Jewish intellectual history, see Gershom G. Scholem, *La Kabbale et sa symbolique* (Petite Bibliothèque Payot, 255), Paris 1975 (Translation of: *Zur Kabbala und ihrer Symbolik*, Zürich 1960): §5: ‘L’idée du golem dans ses rapports telluriques et magiques’, pp. 179-223, with specific reference to the role Hoffmann played in popularising the Golem-theme in European literature, p. 179, and to the role of the *Sepher Yetzirah*, pp. 187-209; ‘Ainsi, nous arrivons au texte qui a joué un si grand rôle dans l’idée du Golem: le livre *Jezira* (c’est-à-dire: “le livre de la création”)’ (p. 187).

62. Abécassis & Nataf, c. 580, quote the first chapters of this work in a French translation, with this pluriform transliteration (the radicals are written in capitals): *Le SeFeR YeTSiRaH*, Chap. I, MiCHNaH 1: ‘Par trente-deux voies merveilleuses de la Sagesse, YaH, YHWH, TseBa’oT, Dieu d’Israël, Dieu vivant, Roi du monde, Dieu ChaDDaY, miséricordieux, clément, exalté, élevé, demeurant dans l’éternité, dont le Nom est élevé et saint, grava et créa son monde avec trois modalités: SeFeR (livre), SePHaR (compte), SiPouR (conte).’

63. Wigoder s.v. *Yetsirah Séfer*, ‘Livre de la création’, pp. 1202-1203; ‘De nombreux commentateurs médiévaux s’en servaient pour aider leurs lecteurs à créer un golem’, p. 1202.

64. See, e.g., David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*. Oxford 1992, pp. 20-21, s.v. ‘Andrew’. Andrew is, together with John, also one of the key saints connected with Freemasonry. As we will argue in another article, it could also be a reference to the founder of Rosicrucianism: Johann Valentin Andreae (1586-1654) and to the symbolic role of the Saint Andrew’s cross in Rosicrucianism.

65. The word is frequently used instead of the Ancient Greek equivalent *túche* (LKN 1382 s.v. τύχη, cf. LSJ 1839 s.v.).

67. “Nein,” rief der Baron, indem seine Augen blitzten, “nein, mein geliebter Oheim! nicht in der ‘Sonne’, nein, in Patras geht das *Glück* meines Lebens auf, nur in Griechenland reicht das holde Engelsbild, die edle Jungfrau, mir *Glücklichen*, der so wie sie aus griechischem fürstlichem Stamm entsprossen, die Hand!” (*Die Irrungen*, p. 477, 27-32); ‘Nicht wie ein unbesonnener phantastischer Jüngling, sondern als ein Mann von Mut und Konsequenz handle ich daher, wenn ich mich stracks in den Wagen setze und in einem Strich fortreise bis nach Patras zum Herrn Andreas Condoguri, der mich, als ein artiger Mann, gewiß weiter becheiden wird. Das sehen Sie gewiß ein, bester Oheim, und trauen mir auch zu, daß ich das hohe, das höchste *Glück* meines Lebens zu erringen imstande sein werde’ (*Die Irrungen*, p. 480, 29-37); ‘Nun! - ich will dir und deinem konsequenten Beginnen gar nicht in den Weg treten, fahre ab nach Patras und grüße den Herrn Condoguri. Vielleicht ist dir die Reise recht gesund, vielleicht kommst du, schlagen dich nicht etwa die Türken tot, vernünftig wieder? Vergiß nicht, wenn du auf die Insel kommst, wo der gute Niesewurz wächst, davon tüchtigen und fleißigen Gebrauch zu machen. - *Glückliche* Reise!’ (*Die Irrungen*, p. 481, 10-17); ‘Schüttelten die ernsthaftesten sowie die leichtsinnigsten Männer dem Baron nicht wehmütig die Hand und sprachen: “Möge ich Sie gesund, froh und *glücklich* wiedersehen, bester Baron! - Sie machen eine schöne Reise!”’ (*Die Irrungen*, p. 482, 9-12); ‘*Glückseligster* aller Barone, ich merk es, fort geht’s nach Griechenland, aber gönnen Sie mir einige Augenblicke, um Ihnen noch einige wichtige Notizen, wie ich sie aus der Bartholdyschen Reise entnommen, aufzuschreiben zu weiterer Nachforschung’ (*Die Irrungen*, p. 482, 31-35); “Verhängnisvolles Blatt,” sprach er mit Pathos, “verhängnisvolles, jedoch teures liebes Blatt, du erschlossest mir das schönste Geheimnis meines Lebens! - Dir danke ich all mein Hoffen - Sehnen - mein ganzes *Glück*! - Anspruchslos - grau - löschpapieren - ja, ein wenig schmutzig, wie du dich gestaltetest, trägst du doch den Edelstein in dir, der mich so reich machte! - O Blatt, wie bist du doch ein Schatz, den ich ewig bewahren werde, o Blatt der Blätter!”’ (*Die Irrungen*, p. 483, 21-28).