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The mist around Lala: A return to Seferis's *Six nights on the Acropolis*

Nadia Charalambidou

In memory of Andronike

Seferis's novel *Six nights on the Acropolis* is not one of his most popular works. It has even been described as "a bad novel by a very good poet". I shall not enter into this kind of discussion, which entails a number of theoretical presuppositions about the nature of the novel in general. I would rather point out a very "modern" feature that characterizes it, namely its Barthian "scriptibility", that is the elusive and constantly transformative interplay of two of its main personae-signifiers, Salome and Lala, and the attendant indeterminacy of meaning of the novel as a whole, an indeterminacy that has proved a constant source of attraction for repeated readings.

In this paper we shall be mainly concerned with Lala, one of the two enigmatic female figures with whom the protagonist, Stratis, falls in love. He describes her as a young girl, not more than twenty two years of age. There is something "blurred" about her. According to Stratis, you feel that you need to remove a "mist" (αχλύ) "not only from the eyes but also from the body, if one believes that the body can see" (p. 40).

In the course of this paper I shall attempt to dispel some of Lala's mist, a process which will, I believe, provide a better understanding of the novel and a greater insight into Seferis's worldview and poetic work.

Let me remind you of the basic story. A group of friends, Stratis, Nikolas, Nondas, Kalliklis, Salome, Lala and Sphinga (Sphinx), decide to visit the Acropolis on six consecutive full moons to enjoy not only the view but also the benefits of the "magnetic" powers of the full moon in their communication with each other. The peculiar idea that the power of the moon facilitates communication refers to the literary, and not only

literary, tradition about the magic powers of the moon that has survived since antiquity and has been exploited and played upon by countless poets, dramatists and novelists, including Dante, Shakespeare and *par excellence* the Symbolists in the late nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth. I shall not go into detail about Seferis's use of the moon in this novel, as the subject has been explored in another paper.[1] Suffice it to say that Seferis does have the symbolist tradition in mind and in fact plays with it intertextually, particularly the Salome tradition, with special reference to Oscar Wilde's play *Salome*.

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During the visits to the Acropolis and the intervals between them, Stratis falls in love with Salome. The full moon meetings function as signposts for the progress of Stratis's love affair with Salome, and as occasions for its furtherance.

The first visit to the Acropolis marks the end of the group's introductory phase and the initial stage of Stratis and Salome's love affair. Coming down from the Acropolis, Salome gives Stratis the key to her apartment, a gesture that symbolizes the start of a far more involved and sexual phase in their affair. It also marks Stratis's first acquaintance with Lala, who is Salome's closest friend.

The second visit to the Acropolis accentuates the difficulties in Stratis and Salome's relationship. Since the first night on the Acropolis, Salome and Stratis have grown closer, despite Salome's attachment to Lala and Stratis's nostalgia for the love affair he had abroad a couple of years previously. However, Salome's late arrival on the appointed night, coupled with certain remarks made by Sphinga, makes Stratis doubt the

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[1] Nadia Charalambidou, "Μια εξερεύνηση γύρω από το φεγγάρι, τις *Έξι νύχτες στην Ακρόπολη* και την επικοινωνία: Μια περίπτωση διακειμενικότητας", *Πρακτικά Συμποσίου Σεφέρη (Αγία Νάπα, 14-16 Απριλίου 1988)* (Nicosia: Morfotiki Ypiresia Ypourgeiou Paideias kai Symvoulio Veltioseos Agias Napas 1991), pp. 79-147. All references to *Six nights on the Acropolis* in this paper are to the sixth impression (1993) of the first edition (Athens: Ermis 1974). All translations of quoted passages are mine.

sincerity of her feelings. After a bitter exchange they separate. In the meantime, Lala has taken advantage of Salome's absence to approach Stratis and to talk to him about herself.

The interval between the second and third nights on the Acropolis is the most difficult for Salome and Stratis's relationship. Stratis becomes infatuated with Salome, but she does not want to give her whole self to him (p. 113). He is jealous and they quarrel frequently. Salome goes away for a short holiday with Lala (p. 117). Stratis misses her terribly, but when he meets her on her return, remembering the pain he has experienced during their relationship, he gives back her key. When they go up the Acropolis with the rest of the group shortly afterwards in order to enjoy the full moon, he suffers a crisis. Feeling emotionally confused, he has a delirious outburst in which he babbles his own version of the biblical story of the beheading of John the Baptist at Salome's behest. According to Stratis, after the beheading, Salome felt perplexed as to what to do with John's head: it didn't easily fit amongst her other household decorations. At the end of his story, Stratis collapses, the group disperses, and Nikolas takes him home in a taxi.

However, this is not the end of Stratis's relationship with Salome. Sphinga, in her effort to prepare Lala for Longomanos (Λογκομάνος), the pompous poet she admires and is in love with, has made a plan to initiate her into sexual life through Stratis. Part of her plan is to expose Salome as being involved in a lesbian relationship with Lala, hoping to make Stratis disillusioned with Salome and more appreciative of Lala and her physical attractions. But her plan backfires. Stratis, as arranged by Sphinga, witnesses the almost lesbian encounter between Salome and Lala, but realises that Salome is deeply in love with him. So no sooner is the meeting over than Stratis goes to meet Salome. It is a Sunday, and they are finally together, wholly together. They go up the Acropolis at midday, the sun blazing on the dazzling white marble. Stratis feels that they have now reached total fulfilment: "For one dense moment, I was there and she was there. Whole, without anything left in the shadows" (p. 165). When they go to the Acropolis on the next full moon (Tuesday night), the moon does not look as impressively magical as it did before. "The round moon shone with a watery, easy light" (p. 166). It has been outshone by the sun.

Stratis feels Salome close to him, at one with him: "I felt that the thirst was not separating us any more. – Salome, this is the first time I've felt a human being beside me... a human being of my own race". At this very moment, Salome discloses to him that she is not called Salome, but Bilio (Μπίλιω) (p. 166). (This is a play on words, Μπίλιω-ήλιος; μπίλια is a small round ball, a marble, but also a reference to Malakasis's poem, "Το Μεσολογγίτικο".)[2]

Most of what we are told about the period up to the fifth full moon concerns Lala. After Lala's refusal to play along with Longomanos and her thwarting of his sexual demands when they pay him a visit, Sphinga makes a ritual robe for her (p. 195) and asks Stratis to accompany them to the Acropolis on a full moon. In the meantime Bilio goes to an island for a holiday.

When they go up the Acropolis, Sphinga ritually removes Lala's dress. Lala is taken aback. In the embarrassment that follows, they visit a brothel, and Stratis and Lala abandon Sphinga there. The night comes to a close in Lala's garden where she and Stratis make love under her walnut tree.

By the time the sixth full moon comes round, not only has the original group of friends dispersed, but Salome/Bilio is now dead. She died suddenly while on a visit to Athens, following a period of bliss with Stratis on the island. On the night of the full moon, Stratis and Lala place carnations in front of the Caryatids in her memory. Throughout the period following Bilio's death, Lala has stood by his side, substituting for Bilio, as if the two of them were interchangeable. In fact, a series of allusions suggests that Lala may in fact embody Bilio (pp. 236, 241, 250), culminating in Lala's explicit statement that "souls do sometimes abolish death and become flesh and lips again" (p. 252). This is in the final scene, which is narrated in a discourse that recalls descriptions of icons of the Resurrection and accounts of metaphysical or religious visions.

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[2] In the collection *Τα Μεσολογγίτικα* (1920, 1929?), in: *Τα άπαντα, Α, επιμέλεια Γ. Βαλέτα* (Athens: Alvin Redman 1964) pp. 211-12.

What does all this mean? Why is Salome so important to Stratis? And if she is so important how could she be replaced by someone else, Lala? And who is Lala? In what way can she replace Salome?

In a previous paper,[3] after examining the various characteristics that are attributed to them, I suggested that both personae function as multiple symbols; that is, they symbolize idealized feminine archetypes – Salome in her negative aspect the *femme fatale* and Lala the Holy Virgin/Virgin Mary or Heavenly Aphrodite – as well as poetic and existential or metaphysical ideals. I shall not deal here with all these symbolizations, but shall concentrate on one particular aspect, even though they are all interrelated.

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In order to understand Lala's significance, let us first see in what way Salome has helped Stratis.

During one of their conversations on the island, Stratis sums up how Salome-Bilio has helped him. He claims that she has helped him to find himself, to stop being a Narcissus (p. 228), to start believing in other human beings; and that she has helped him to bring his body and soul together (p. 231).

> Κοίταζα τον εαυτό μου, έψαχνα: ποιος είμαι; Προσπαθούσα να γυμνώσω την καρδιά μου όσο μπορούσα· να πάω πιο βαθιά, ακόμη πιο βαθιά. Στο τέλος δεν έβρισκα τίποτε άλλο παρά μια επιφάνεια ίσια, στρωτή, λεία, χωρίς καμιά προεξοχή όπου να μπορεί να σκαλώσει το μάτι. Το απόλυτο κενό και μια φοβερή διαύγεια του μυαλού. [...] Ξέρεις ποιος ήταν ο Νάρκισσος; Ένας άνθρωπος που έβλεπε τον εαυτό του να πνίγεται χωρίς να μπορεί να κινηθεί για να τον σώσει. [...] Προσπαθούσα να κρατηθώ από ένα αντικείμενο του εξωτερικού κόσμου, ένα οποιοδήποτε αντικείμενο, όσο μηδαμινό κι αν ήταν. Έπρεπε να αποκοπώ από το φοβερό *μέσα*, σαν τα μωρά.
>
> I looked at myself, searching: who am I? I tried to bare my heart as much as I could, to go deeper, ever deeper. In the end I found

[3] See n. 1.

> nothing but a straight surface, smooth, without any bulges to catch the eye. Absolute emptiness and a terrible clarity of mind. [...] Do you know who Narcissus was? A man who saw himself drowning and could not move to save himself. [...] I tried very hard to cling to an object from the external world, any object, however unimportant it was. I had to cut myself loose from the terrible *inside*, just like babies have to. (pp. 227-8)

This is not the first time that the reader learns of Stratis's psychological problems. But this is the most analytical explanation we get of them. On other occasions when he is upset, insecure and under great pressure, his psychological state is presented by internal focalisation, by means of mostly consonant psychonarration, in a discourse that reverberates with aquatic and marine imagery, for instance: "In the bus, in the evening, while I was looking at the new moon, I had the impression that I was being moved, together with other aquatic creatures inside an aquarium" (p. 115); "I told myself that we were all a sunken ship whose wreckage still affected the surface. [...] I realized that I alone, out of all the crew, must be the drowned sailor, lying amongst the huge white pebbles" (pp. 132-3).[4]

It is significant that the kind of discourse used to describe his emotional states, as well as the sea and water imagery used, recalls the manner in which Carl Jung describes what he calls the processes of "individuation" and "transformation" in his book *The Integration of the Personality* (1940),[5] a copy of which Seferis had in his library.

According to Jung, who believed in the importance of getting in touch with the unconscious:

> People generally believe that whoever descends into the unconscious lands himself in the oppressive confinement of egocentric objectivity and exposes himself in this blind alley to the attack of all the ferocious beasts the cavern of the psychic underworld is supposed to harbour. (p. 69)

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[4] The similarities of the marine and aquatic imagery to Laforgue's poetry are discussed in the article cited in n. 1.

[5] C.G. Jung, *The Integration of the Personality* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. 1940).

> The meeting with oneself is the meeting with one's shadow:[...] the shadow is a tight pass, a narrow door, whose painful constriction is spared to no one who climbs into the deep wellspring. *But one must learn to know oneself in order to know who one is.*
>
> For what comes after the door is, surprisingly enough, a boundless expanse full of unprecedented uncertainty, with apparently no inside and no outside, no above and no below, no here and no there, no mine and no thine, no good and no bad.
>
> It is the world of water, where everything living floats in suspension; where the kingdom of the sympathetic system of the soul of everything living begins; where I am inseparably this and that, and this and that are I; where I experience the other person in myself and the other, as myself, experiences me. (p. 70)

> [...] the unconscious is the wide world, and objectivity as open as the world. I am the object, even the subject of the object. (p. 70)

"The goal is illumination, whereby the initial situation is surmounted and a higher level is reached." According to Jung, "The development of personality is synonymous with an increase of awareness," and he suggests that "That is why, in mythology, the birth of the hero or the symbolic rebirth coincides with sunrise." "For the same reason," he claims, "most heroes are characterized by solar attributes, and the moment of the birth of their great personalities is called illumination," (p. 302) for the sun "is a symbol of the wellspring of life and of the final wholeness of man" (p. 122).

From the above it follows that it is not without significance that when Stratis and Bilio finally come together and they go up the Acropolis, at midday, with the sun blazing down on the white marble, Stratis experiences the strange feeling that "suddenly the marble swallowed all the light and tumbled down with it in absolute darkness":

> «Μα ποιος είμαι;» αναρωτήθηκα όπως μέσα σ' ένα όνειρο. Τότες ένας ήλιος τυφλωτικός άστραψε κρατώντας στα πλοκάμια του αυτή την αγάπη.
>
> "But who am I?", I wondered, as if in a dream. At that very moment a blinding sun flashed, holding their love in its tentacles. (p.168)

Significantly the imagery associated with Lala often refers to the semantic field of light, particularly the sun and the stars. It would seem, then, that if she represents an archetype, she stands for illumination and the final wholeness of human beings.

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Let us see in what ways she may function as an archetype. To begin with, how does Lala replace Salome? It is important to note that, even though Salome loves Stratis passionately, she feels that Lala is more suitable for him than herself. She tells him that Lala can give him far more than she can (p. 64) and wonders if she, Salome, is the right woman for him (p. 118).

Lala herself is eager to point out to Stratis that she understands him and that she can help him: when Stratis recites his poem on the Acropolis, "Lend me your ear and listen to the sounds that boil in a house full of darkness" (p. 54), she is the only one who has a favourable comment to make. She praises its imagery, imagery which she later uses to show Stratis that she identifies with the kind of existential or psychological experiences he is undergoing: "Last night I dreamt that I was *a house full of darkness*. That's all. I thought it might help you" (p. 80). Later on, she tells him that she has actually been through a time of absolute darkness herself, an experience which recalls Stratis's own period of darkness and loss of self. The way in which it is phrased suggests that for her too it was a period of questioning and psychological or spiritual self-awareness: "Do you know what it means to see yourself naked in a flood of thick darkness – your arms flung wide, but being unable to grab hold of anything?" (p. 241). She indicates that she also needs him to help her in some ways, for she feels the need to cling to something outside herself, to Stratis.

Stratis himself feels Lala as a help (p. 125), and she is only too willing to oblige whenever the occasion arises. When he says that he needs a tree, and that if a tree could be a woman, that is what he would have wanted (p. 127), she tells him that she has often thought of herself as a tree, a tree in pain (p. 127). Later on, when they finally make love on the night of the fifth full moon, she tells him that she is the woman whom Salome has offered him and that she may be the tree he has been looking for (p.

213). Significantly, after her return from the brothel where she has ritually offered herself for money, Stratis concludes that all the events that have taken place are as natural as the strong, deeply rooted trunk of a tree, and as the brightness of her face (p. 251). It is important to note in this respect that in Jungian psychology, the tree symbolises the archetype of the mother for the son, whose libido has the mother as object; it symbolises therefore a return to pre-conscious wholeness. Sometimes it symbolises the process of individuation, or the gradual ascent of individual development.

The symbolic language Lala uses and the experiences she alludes to – the experience of darkness, for instance, a kind of mystical κατάβασις εις άντρον (descent into a cave)[6] – have a lot in common with the Jungian discourse about the descent into the self as part of the process of inner development and the Jungian discourse about the *anima*. Such a perspective seems to clarify the way Stratis interprets certain incidents, as, for example, when he makes love with Lala on the beach on Bilio's island, when she is lying on the beach and he feels as though he is making love with the earth. According to Jung, the earth implies fertility and descent into the collective unconscious (p. 15).

Similarly, this perspective seems to provide an explanation for why the others find Lala's behaviour and appearance unusual, if not strange. She is described as being initially in a dormant state, "and you might say that she is still asleep" (p. 45), and emphasis is laid on the aura of strangeness that surrounds her (p. 162). Extraordinary as these states may appear to be, they share many similarities with the manner in which archetypes make their presence felt. According to Jung,

> archetypes seem to be functions of instincts which appear in a personal form when aroused from their dormant condition. But contrary to the functions attached to consciousness, they are always strangers in the conscious world. (p. 24)

They also "permeate the atmosphere with a feeling of uncanny foreboding".

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[6] See Jung, op. cit., p. 242.

A sense of strangeness surrounds many of the descriptions of Lala in terms that recall descriptions of statues, a kind of discourse that enhances the impression that she is not of this world and that she belongs to another dimension. Some of these descriptions echo passages from the *Greek Anthology* (for instance the depictions of Aphrodite by Christodorus of Thebes), or the Homeric Hymns – the *Hymn to Demeter* in particular. Others recall Platonic discourse: for example, the description of Lala on the Acropolis wearing the dress Sphinga has made for her:

> Η Λάλα κάθουνταν στη μέση· ο Στράτης την εκοίταζε μέσα στη συγκαταβατική νύχτα· τα μάτια της ήτανε στιλπνά, τα βαριά μαλλιά της ένα μουντό χρυσάφι. Μια άλλη δημιουργία από φτερούγες απαλές και δροσερό λινό τον εκέρδιζε.
>
> Lala was sitting in the middle, Stratis watching her in the acquiescent night. Her eyes were bright, her heavy hair a dull gold. He was being won over by another creation, one of soft wings and cool linen. (pp. 201-2)

and wearing the same dress later that night in her garden:

> Το φόρεμά της είχε γίνει ένα με το φως και κυλούσε μαζί του, γλείφοντας τα μέλη της. Ο κορμός έμοιαζε κιόλας ελεύθερος. Ανάμεσα στα γόνατα ένας καταρράχτης από φεγγάρι και λινό, κι έπειτα οι δροσερές πλάκες. Ο σεβασμός εκείνος που ένιωσε όταν η Λάλα ακούμπησε στην καρυδιά, φάνηκε και τον μαστίγωνε ως την ψυχή.
>
> Her dress had become one with the light and flowed with it, lapping her limbs. Her torso seemed free already. Between her knees a cascade of moonlight and linen, and then the cool paving slabs. The reverence he felt when Lala leaned back against the walnut tree appeared and scourged him to his very soul. (p. 212)

Stratis's reverence for her brings to mind the reverence a recent initiate feels when he beholds a godlike face or a physical form which truly reflects ideal beauty (*Phaedrus*, 251). The wings in the first passage recall the wings of the souls that

have tasted of divinity, as also the wings the initiate gradually grows through his love for the divine face.

It seems relevant here to correlate Salome's feeling that she has "lost her way" (p. 69) and her conviction that Lala is the better or the ideal lover for Stratis with the passage from *Phaedo*, 107-8, which Seferis translated in *Μεταγραφές*, to the effect that souls are led, once they are dead, by other souls, who function as guides towards Absolute Good. Souls that have sinned in some way feel they no longer know the way.

From this point of view, Lala may be viewed metaphorically as functioning as such a guide for Stratis: that is, in Jungian terminology, as a psychopomp, indicating or furthering Stratis's progress towards individuation.

Lala's platonic features enhance her status as an *anima* and remind us of Jung's allusions to the possible interrelations between his archetypes and the platonic εἶδη, the word archetype being, according to him, St Augustine's explanatory paraphrase of the Platonic εἶδος.[7] The ancient echoes do not detract in any way from Lala's status as a Jungian *anima*. Quite the opposite in fact. For, according to Jung,[8] in studying the psychic constituents of archetypes – that is, the imaginative material manifested through them – we find any number of archaic and "historical connections, contents and archetypal images that we call mythological themes", which "live or function in the deeper layers of the unconscious mind, in the phylogenetic substructures of the modern mind, the so-called collective unconscious"; and they strike us as strange because "they bring into our ephemeral consciousness an unknown life belonging to a remote past", that is the mind and feelings of our remote ancestors.

Knowing Seferis's desire for a language of common symbols, it is understandable that he would eagerly endorse in this novel the Jungian schema that presupposes belief in a universal consciousness and a collective unconscious. Jung's hypothesis of a universal similitude or identity of the basic structure of the human psyche, and his hypothesis of patterns, or archetypes common to the whole of humanity, provided Seferis with a schema according to which he could classify a number of

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[7] Op. cit., pp. 53, 82.
[8] Ibid., p. 24.

diachronic experiences he was interested in, experiences undergone by mystics and poets (Dante, St John of the Cross) and by ordinary mortals too, such as the stages of love, whether for a human or a divine being, the period of Darkness or mystical visions, or such phenomena as Adonis's and Christ's deaths. At the same time, this schema allowed him to express his strong belief in the identity of "time present and time past". It also explains why *Six nights on the Acropolis* reverberates with allusions to other stories, the story of Adonis, Christ's passion, Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Apuleius's *The Golden Ass*, and so on, giving the impression of one long story made out of many other stories, or one long story crossing the paths of many others.

According to this reading, *Six nights on the Acropolis* is the story of Stratis's process of individuation and transformation. The various references to stairs and staircases in the novel, and primarily to the marble steps up to the Acropolis, seem to subtly underline this aspect. They are not to be viewed as mere realistic elements of the setting. Rather, if we follow a Jungian interpretation, they seem to have a polysemous function indirectly symbolising both *ascent* and *descent*, that is, the stages of progress or lack of it (*stasis*?) in Stratis's process of individuation. Salome and Lala, then, represent amongst other things *animae* in Stratis's mind, Salome's *anima* gradually merging with Lala's during the battle between the conscious and unconscious elements of his psyche.

Lala, the woman surrounded by a mist, seems accordingly to stand for the "*veiled* woman" in the dream of one of Jung's patients,[9] who gradually uncovers her face, which, like Lala's once the mist has cleared, shines forth like the sun. For Jung this kind of apparition signifies that *solificatio* is being accomplished in the *anima*:

> This particular ritual denotes that present-day consciousness and the collective psyche are in the process of being linked, i.e., that a lightening of the unconscious is in preparation.

Lala's shining face seems therefore to denote that a process of illumination is taking place in Stratis's psyche.

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[9] Ibid., pp. 107-8.

Clearly, this process of illumination could be seen not merely as a stage in Stratis's progress to maturity, but also as a particularly apt metaphor for the process of poetic inspiration. Following this premise, Lala is the poetic idea, initially veiled in a mist, an idea that gradually becomes clearer and assumes through the poet's efforts a clearer and more concrete poetic form.

According to this interpretation, then, Seferis employs the Jungian analogy in order to express his ideas about the stages of poetic writing, stages that involve a period of creative darkness followed by illumination, in a manner similar to accounts of mystical illumination. Lala represents both a poetic idea and an ideal of the perfect poetic form by which a poet is inspired and towards which he also aspires.

Everyday spoken discourse in Modern Greek culture: indexing through performance

Alexandra Georgakopoulou

Abstract

This paper explores contemporary Greek conversational narratives in terms of their indexicality, namely, the ways in which they index or constitute social and cultural identities, roles, relationships, stances and activities in their contexts of occurrence. These are argued to be interrelated with the stories' performance which encapsulates a closed set of recurrent linguistic choices. The discussion focuses first on the main forms and functions of these performance devices and then on their role in the stories' indexicality. Specifically, it is shown how they index: (i) storytelling as a social and cultural activity, (ii) the storyteller as a figure projected by the story, a conversationalist and a social actor (with a gender identity), and (iii) the storyteller and audience alignments as part of the immediate conversational encounters as well as of larger social projects. The findings presented shed light on storytelling as a central mode of communication in Greeks' everyday interactions by addressing questions of primary importance for its understanding, such as: Why does storytelling play a dominant role in Greeks' conversations? How does its dramatic and involving style interact with this role? Which are the shared sociocultural codes most commonly invoked by the stories and how do they bear on the whole storytelling activity?

Introduction

Cross-linguistically, there is an increasing interest in the ways in which any text with its specific linguistic choices indexes or constitutes social and cultural identities, roles, relationships, stances and activities. This property of the linguistic construction of discourse, namely *indexicality*, is at the heart of sociolinguistic research on text-context interaction (see, for example, papers in Duranti and Goodwin 1992). The starting point of such research is that discourse construction is an essentially context-bound and interactively organized phenomenon which systematically varies across social occasions.

Discourse is thus defined as language in use, that is, not just as ways of speaking, but also as a mode of action in context. The notion of context in turn stands at the cutting edge of much contemporary research into the relation between language, culture and social organization. In simple terms, it is the environment in which linguistic material (a text) occurs: a world filled with people who have social, cultural and personal identities, knowledge, beliefs, goals and wants, and who interact with one another in various socioculturally defined situations. The indexing of context has mainly been explored in spoken discourse, particularly in narrative: viewed as an inexhaustible source for sociocultural data, everyday discourse frequently serves as a "window" onto a universe of linguistic forms that are both defined by and used to shape social activities and stances (e.g. Duranti and Goodwin 1992, Hill and Irvine 1993, Johnstone 1990, Stahl 1989). This preference is arguably attributable to the social and psycholinguistic primacy of spoken language which is produced and received in our everyday lives in massive quantities compared to written language. In particular, in cultures with strong ties with orality, this archetypal need for sharing experiences in spoken and, more specifically, narrative form is even more apparent. Hence the proliferation of research on the "breakthrough of cultural reality into personal reality" in the narratives of such cultures (e.g. Gee 1989, Hymes 1981).

In view of the above, this paper sets out to put in the limelight mundane and, in many ways, inglorious Greek texts such as everyday conversational narratives. It is rather significant that these texts come from a society which has been frequently alleged to exhibit a strong orality bias (e.g. Mackridge 1985, Sifianou 1989, Tannen 1980, Tziovas 1989). In the light of literature on spoken discourse, the assumption is that they are ideal research sites for indexicality. Furthermore, the need for such an investigation is apparent in view of the lack of systematic linguistic research on the text-context interaction in Greek spoken discourse. The aim of this paper is, thus, to shed light on the main mechanisms by which oral narratives interact as discourse with their context of occurrence. For this purpose, the conceptual tool of indexicality is chosen because of its association with latest advances in research on text-context interaction, which has been carried out within several major

disciplinary frameworks for a number of years (see discussions in Hanks 1992 and Ochs 1988, 1992).

According to current thinking, discourse is not a static reflection or mirror of a well-defined external context or "a world out there". Its linguistics invoke contexts but at the same time create, define or even redefine contexts. Text and context are ongoing dialogical processes which mutually feed into one another in a dynamic and complex relationship: texts enact activities, stances and shared codes as well as giving shape to and reconstituting them. Thus, rather than talking about contexts which determine the use of linguistic elements, it is more helpful to consider linguistic elements in discourse as indices of these contexts. Their indexing relation can be direct and communicated through their referential content as in the case of deictic expressions (e.g. I, he, she, here, there, now, then, etc.) which directly point to features of their surrounding context.[1] More commonly, it may be non-referential, non-exclusive and accomplished through a vast range of linguistic (e.g. syntactic, lexical, discoursal, etc.) devices. Furthermore, it can be a constitutive relationship (see Ochs 1992): this means that the indexing of certain contextual dimensions can be linked in a constitutive sense to the indexing of other dimensions (for example, tag questions may index a stance of uncertainty as well as the act of requesting confirmation; these two contextual features in turn may index female gender identity). Currently, research on indexicality is characterized by a move away from relating isolated linguistic forms to features of context towards specifying clusters of linguistic features or communicative styles as indices. The notion of *markedness* is a major guideline in the identification of such features. This means that indexicality is not viewed as an all-or-nothing matter, but as a distributional

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[1] The starting point for indexicality as an attempt to shed light on the relationship between text and context was linguistic deixis: it acts as a pointer to the surrounding context and its referents are constantly shifting as the relationship between utterance and context changes. The existence of deictic expressions within language poses with particular clarity the issue of how the analysis of language requires that features of context be taken into consideration (see Jarvella and Klein 1982, Silverstein 1976, 1985).

and probabilistic relationship which is associated with unmarked (i.e. frequent, expected, predictable) or marked (i.e. rare, unexpected) enactments of acts, stances and roles by linguistic features. The above assumptions form the background of this discussion, which aims at bringing to the fore certain recurrent and unmarked patterns of indexicality characteristic of Greek storytelling.

Data

The initial motivation for the data collection was the frequency and status of Greek conversational narratives as a communication mode. Stories seem to dominate conversational encounters and to entice both tellers and audiences. As Tannen (1989) has suggested, when heard by outsiders and non-Greeks, they come across as particularly dramatic, involving and enjoyable. On the grounds of their frequency and role in everyday interactions, the identification of appropriate contexts for the data collection was a straightforward procedure. Recordings of conversations and, consequently, stories which were embedded in them, took place in numerous informal contexts of interaction between intimates ranging from street-cafés, tavernas and beaches to gatherings in houses and car drives. A constant guideline was the pursuit of fairly relaxed environments in which the participants in the speech events know each other well. To an extent, this is a guarantee of as spontaneous and natural data as possible, bearing in mind that the tape-recorder intrusion cannot be totally eliminated in any real-world contexts. The ongoing data collection has led to thirty hours of recorded conversations, from which around 500 stories have been extracted. The majority of them are personal stories, involving the narrator's first-person account of a past (recent or not recent) experience. The narrators could be roughly characterized as (young or middle-aged) middle-class Athenians with University or college education. Thus, the stories are arguably stories from Greeks who would probably identify themselves as members of the mainstream or the silent majority.

The linguistics of performance

Qualitative and quantitative analyses of the data, which are beyond the scope of this discussion, brought to the fore a

constellation of linguistic devices that form the stories' building blocks of organization or discourse structuring. These devices (co-) occur in such highly patterned and predictable ways that they can be argued to precontextualize storytelling events: this means that on a distributional and probabilistic basis, they form part of the stories' generic schema, which covers the expectations about how they should be. They thus transcend the time of their utterance production and reception and constitute past and future storytelling events (for a discussion see Ochs 1992). From the point of view of their discourse function, they can be captured by the notion of *performance* devices (Wolfson 1982), that is, devices which key the stories as replayings of the events narrated and not as simple reports. When spoken discourse takes on the features of a performance, it becomes a form of artistry in which the teller assumes the responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative skill and effectiveness (see Bauman 1986, 1993). The data analysis suggested that in Greek stories this performance is based on the orchestration of the following devices:

(i) narrative (historic) present;
(ii) instances of (characters') direct speech/thoughts and dialogues, which if introduced by a quotative verb, are almost unexceptionally introduced by "λέω" (say and think);
(iii) *να* imperfect (narrative-specific structure in Greek) and less commonly imperfect;
(iv) deictic "τώρα" (now) for "then" and less commonly "εδώ" (here) for "there".

Of these devices, the narrative present and the direct quotations were also included in Tannen's list of features which contribute to involvement in Greek stories (1983). The list also comprised ellipsis, repetition and second person singular, which did not prove as salient in the data at hand. What needs to be stressed about the performance devices posited here is the pivotal role of narrative present and (characters') speech: the two devices form the stories' skeleton or backbone, a pattern into which the rest of the devices are intercalated (for a discussion see Georgakopoulou 1994a). It would not be an exaggeration to suggest that the Greek story essentially comprises action and

speech segments in narrative present which interact in various ways. By contrast, discussions of the two devices in the literature (a) do not report such a strong co-occurrence between them (e.g. Schiffrin 1981) and (b) report a much more restricted use of the narrative present, covering only one third of a story's action verbs (e.g. Fludernik 1991, Schiffrin 1981, Silva-Corvalan 1983). In view of this, their extensive occurrence and co-occurrence in Greek stories are both treated here as markers of a fully-fledged narrative performance. Similarly, Leith (1995), comparing Scottish folktales in terms of the use of historic present, claimed that for a narrative performance to be fully-fledged and sustained the historic present needs to form the norm in the narration. In the Greek stories, more overwhelming evidence for their full performances comes from the orchestration of the narrative present not only with other performance devices but also with certain structural features. These are essential components of the emerging performance and are listed below:

(i) Deep embedding of the stories into the conversational event, resulting in the lack of explicit prefaces and codas, the minimization of the initial orientation section (setting) and the quick passage into the story's complicating action.[2]
(ii) Minimal interruptions from the audience, except for supportive backchannelling. Challenges which seriously disrupt the storytelling activity are very rare.
(iii) Minimal external evaluation (term from Labov 1972), that is, suspension of the story's action by the narrator to refer explicitly to the story's point or the tellability of certain events (same finding in Tannen 1983). This is interconnected with the minimization of the explicit resolution of the complicating events. As a result, the joke-type ending with a punchline (usually in the form of direct speech) is very common.
(iv) Expressive phonology, imitations of (characters') voices, variations in pitch, loudness, stress and gestures.

The following story exemplifies the Greek narrative performance, as discussed so far. The story was told to a mixed

[2] For a discussion of these narrative structure categories see Labov 1972.

company of six people aged 25 during a New Year's Day gathering in a house in Athens. Takis starts teasing Kostas, who is a good friend and travel companion of his, by relating humorous incidents from their trips. Kostas is about to take revenge:[3]

(1) Τ: Τώρα Κώστα μπορείς να πάρεις ρεβάνς=
Κ: =Εγώ θα ντο ρίξω αλλού βέβαια:. Λοιπό:ν, ξεκινάμε πέρσι από Αθήνα για Κέρκυρα, πρώτο ταξίδι με μηχανές, και το πνεύμα της παρέας ήταν να πάμε τουριστικά. Λέμε .. άντε παιδιά, και τουριστικά, και να δούμε και. κανα τοπίο. Λοιπόν .. φεύγει ο κύριος από δω .. τουριστικό:τατα, αρχίζει εκατόν ογδόντα .. διακόσια στις στροφές, εμείς από πίσω είχαμε πετάξει μια γλώσσα ΤΟ:ση για να σε φτάσουμε, >κούραση ιδρώτας ξέρω γω<, χαμογελαστός αυτός, δεν γκουράστηκα καθόλου//
Μ: //κλασσι//κό
Κ: //λεμε κι εμείς με το Χρήστο, δε μπάει άλλο, κάτι πρέπει να ντου κάνουμε .. λέμε. Η(?)μαστε τώρα ο Χρήστος .. εγώ: .. ο Τάκης, κι ο Γιάννης συνοδηγός, >Τάκης Γιάννης οι γρήγοροι<, κι εμείς οι δυο οι αργοί δηλαδή:. Λοιπόν .. σταματάμε σε κάποια φάση, λέμε με το Χρήστο .. κάτι πρέπει να ντου κάνουμε, να ντη μπατήσει, θα ντου μιλήσουμε για ωραία τοπία, που Αποκλεί:εται να έχει δει, έτσι όπως πηγαίνει, θα ντου πω εγώ .. λέω .. γι αυτό το ωραίο ηλιοβασίλεμα, στο γεφυράκι από κάτω, λέει ο Χρήστος, θα ντου πω εγώ γι αυτή τη χρυσαφένια παραλία. Ξεκινάμε τώρα,

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[3] The transcript symbols used for the texts are as follows:
// indicates overlapping utterances, = indicates continuous utterances, : indicates extension or prolongation of a sound (:: denote longer extension), ; (? in the English text) indicates rising intonation, ! indicates animated tone, > < indicate delivery at a quicker pace than the surrounding talk, underlining is used for parts of utterances which are emphasized or stressed, (he he) indicates laughter, ( ) indicate editorial comments, capitals are used for talk that is spoken louder, a comma indicates a continuing intonation, and a full-stop a stopping fall in intonation, dots indicate intervals (adapted from Button and Lee 1987).

Of the above symbols, > <, :, underlining, dots and capitals are not used in the English translation of the stories.

του λέω εγώ, Χρήστο του λέω, το είδες αυτό το φοβερό ηλιοβασίλεμα: πετάγεται ο Τάκης, πού:; μου λέει, λέω σ'εκείνη τη γέφυρα, ο Γιάννης, ποιΑ: γέφυρα; εκεί που έγραφε μήκος .. οχτακόσια μέτρα; (he he) Εντω μεταξύ ... γελάμε εμείς με το Χρήστο, και πετάγεται ο Γιάννης καπάκι, το οποίο ήτανε χαρακτηριστικό, και λέει ποια:; μετά την αριστερή ανοιχτή στροφή; Οπότε την άλλη μέρα, τι μας κάνουνε; πλακώνονται εκατόν ογδόντα διακόσια, και να δείχνουνε κάτι ά:σχετα πράγματα, >κάτι βουνά:, κάτι καμένα δά:ση< πω:: πω::! φοβερό τοπίο κι αυτά=
A: =και καλά .. ότι το απολαμβάνα//νε
K: //να λένε κάτι άσχετα,
T: πω: πω: κάναμε, φοβερό:.
K: Τέλος πάντων .. τα ξαναπαίρνουμε με το Χρήστο, βγαίνουμε το βράδυ τώρα .. βόλτα στην Κέρκυρα, νύ:χτα τώρα, μιλάμε δύο η ώρα το βράδυ, πί:σσα σκοΤΑδι, δεν έβλεπες τίποτα, και να κάνει ο Χρήστος, πω: πω:! φοβερό, και να δείχνουμε τον ουρανό .. μέσα στο σκοτάδι, και να αναφωνούμε, πω: πω: (he he) Το ξεφτιλίσαμε τελεί:ως πια.

T: Now Kostas you can take revenge=
K: =I will get you, but not the way you think. So, last year we set off on a trip from Athens to Corfu, first road trip on the bikes, and the general feeling was that we'd go at a touring speed. So we say, touring speed guys, let's see some scenery too. This gent here gives new meaning to the word touring, he starts by taking turns, at a hundred and eighty or two hundred (kilometres), we were panting like this, trying to keep up with you, getting knackered, getting sweaty, he (was) smiling, (saying) I'm not tired at// all
M: // typical//
K: //so, Christos and I say, well we've had enough, we must do something, now there's me, Christos, Takis, and Giannis on the back, Takis and Giannis the quick ones, and us two the slow ones. So at some point we stop, Christos and I say, we must give him a lesson, we'll describe beautiful scenery, that he's sure to have missed, the way he's going, I say, I'll tell him about that beautiful sunset at that bridge, Christos says, I'll tell him about that golden beach. So we set off now, I say, Christos did you see that beautiful sunset? Takis goes, where? I say at that bridge, Giannis (says), where it had this road sign saying eight hundred metres long? (he he) Meanwhile Christos and I can't help

laughing, and Giannis adds, which was typical, which bridge? after the open left turn? So next day, what are they up to? They start going at a hundred and eighty, two hundred, and pointing at completely irrelevant spots, mountains, burnt forests, (saying) blimey, this is the view for you=
A: =as if they enjo//yed it
K: //talking rubbish,
T: we were going, blimey, isn't this fabulous!
K: Anyway, Christos and I become furious, (now) we all go out for a ride in Corfu that night, and it was dark now, two o'clock in the morning, pitch black, and we (were) showing the dark sky, and saying, wow, (he he) We really started going over the top then.

As we can see, the story immediately jumps into the action (*so we set off*); background information is strategically positioned at various points in the story later on. Throughout the complicating action, we find an overwhelming dominance of performance devices (signposted in the Greek text) which mostly follows the pattern: narrative present action – speech (e.g. *we set off ... we say*). This is enhanced by the use of the marker "now" (e.g. *so we set off now*) and of *να* imperfect in the story's climactic action (e.g. *showing irrelevant spots ... saying wow*). The narrative ends on its "high-point" with the addition of only one concluding phrase (*we really started going over the top then*). The evaluation of the events is thus deeply embedded in the drama which makes up for the lack of explicit encodings of the narrator's attitudes and emotions.

The patterns of (co-)occurrence of the above devices encapsulate the parameters of the "Greek" narrative performance in as much as they form a generic norm for storytelling in the community. As I have argued elsewhere (Georgakopoulou 1994b, 1995), functional linguistic analyses suggest that the essence of this performance is conveying a sense of proximity between the world of the story and the immediate conversational situation. There are numerous linguistic categories for encoding subjectivity and emotionality in language, such as categories related to assertiveness or non-assertiveness, certainty or doubt, positive or negative evaluation, intensity, quantity, etc. (see Besnier 1994, Caffi and Janney 1994). Among these, proximity is fundamental and has been widely attested in discourse. Proximity strategies

are related to far/near orientations, to the speaker's positioning towards the message and the participants. The commonest proximity markers are related to temporal deixis (e.g. use of tenses). This is evident in the Greek stories, too, by the strategic role of narrative present, "*να*" imperfect, imperfect and the deictic "now".

The claim that proximity strategies underlie the encoding of emotion and experiential subjectivity in the Greek narrative performances does not go so far as to exclude all other emotive devices from that process (e.g. intensity markers, emphatic particles, lexical repetition, evaluative lexical choices, etc.). This is not an all-or-nothing issue. However, proximal devices are clearly dominant, qualitatively and quantitatively, in the textual encoding of affect. As such, they are also the main devices in which the stories' participatory engagement is rooted. Since their discoursal role is to bring the events close to the speakers' and hearers' immediate situation, they are expected to set the pattern for the audience's participation in the story-telling: a participation which is reminiscent of that of audiences of theatrical performances, since it is connected with the ideas of proximity and visualization. The audience become involved in the narrative through the sense of co-witnessing the events with the narrator. This is the reason why, as suggested, serious disruptions of or challenges to the storytelling activity are very rare.

Contextualization cues of storytelling activities

The uncovery of the main devices of the communicative style of Greek stories is an indispensable step towards exploring the salient aspects of the stories' indexicality. The argument is that performance choices, being central to the organization of the storytelling activity, manage through their recurrence to evoke and encapsulate the stories' meaning, in the sense of sociocultural significance for storytellers and audiences. In Gumperz's terms (1992), they act as *contextualization cues*: this is a concept which has stemmed from research on indexicality. It embraces highly patterned linguistic choices which act as mediating devices in that they trigger to the addressees a certain set of sociocultural expectations, attitudes and social actions associated with the activity. At a global level, they signal what is to be expected

from the activity and help the addressees form predictions about its outcomes and the quality of interpersonal relationships in it.

At this level of indexing storytelling arenas as social activities, performance devices in Greek stories generally promote a solidarity ethos and a sense of bonding between tellers and listeners. As a result, they maximize the power of stories in conversations as devices for creating interactional allegiances between the participants and a widened base of support for the tellers' positions. This is mainly achieved by the *participation framework* invoked by performances, that is, the positions which storytellers and audiences may take in relation to what is said (Goffman 1981). First, the stories are so embedded in the conversations and so "proximal" that, though invoking a different participation framework from that of conversations, they are still perceived as very much part of the "here and now" of the conversational world. They are, therefore, powerful devices for affecting it. In addition, with their animation of (characters') voices and minimal narratorial interference, they allow a very safe and powerful position for the storyteller: a diffusion of the responsibility for attitudes and sentiments to two positions other than the storyteller, namely the author and the principal (idem). The author is that aspect of self responsible for the content of the talk and the principal is someone whose position is established by the words that are spoken, whose beliefs are told, who is committed to what is said. These are positions which can be manipulated in narrative production. In the case of Greek performances, the two capacities work in favour of the figure which is projected by the story and ultimately of the teller, freeing the speaker from sole responsibility for the truth and validity of the positions. Thus, if part of the stories' power as a genre is that the audience can gain an idealized view of the experience through the author and of the teller through the figure (Schiffrin 1990), in Greek stories this is used to its full potential. This kind of indexing through performance underlies the pivotal role of Greek storytelling in conversations for expressing views and opinions at the expense of expository discourse.

Example 2 below exemplifies this relationship between the participation framework of performances and the act of opinion-expressing. The story is typical of numerous stories in the data

which replace expository discourse. In this case, the conversation is about nudism on Greek beaches in a company of three men and four women. The storyteller, who gradually and discreetly supports the view that it is a healthy stance and should be allowed, relates the following incident before she expresses any of her views. The story, which only implicitly encodes her opinion on such a sensitive and taboo topic, is arguably a powerful device for achieving the audience's sympathetic alignment towards her view.

(2) Το άλλο στη Φολέ:γανδρο:, οι ντόπιοι είχαν ξεσηκωθεί, επειδή κάνανε οι ξένοι γυμνισμό, κι εκεί στην παραλία ... για να πλυθούμε, είχε ένα μεγάλο τεπόζιτο νερό, που έλεγε .. νερό μη πόσιμο, >το 'χαν για πότισμα ξέρω γω<. Τέλος πάντων ανοίξαμε εμείς εκεί, πλενόμαστε, ένας ξένος λοιπό:ν, δεν ξέρω τι ήταν αυτός .. Ολλανδός, ήταν ένας ξανθός εκεί, μακρύ μαλλί, κατεβάζει το μαγιό .. να πλυθεί. Αρχίζουνε λοιπόν .. απ' το απέναντι μπαλκόνι, βάλτο βρακί σου ρε, βάλτο βρακί σου ρε, βάλτο βρακί σου (he he) ΠΟΥ να καταλάβει ο άνθρωπος, κι ένας εκεί να απειλεί με μια μαγκούρα, βάλτο βρακί σου, ΝΤΡΟΠΗ ΣΟΥ ρε (he he), κι οι άλλοι να φωνάζουνε. Κάποια στιγμή .. λέει αυτός, τι μου φωνάζουν; μήπως λέει το νερό .. λέει το θέλουνε; επειδή ξοδεύουμε το νερό; όχι λέει ένας, το μαγιό, το μαγιό σου (whispers), α::! λέει (whispers), το μαγιό. Το φόρεσε τελικά.

This happened in Folegandros, the locals were up in arms, because of the nude tourists, and on the beach, there was a large water tank, for showers, and it said, don't drink this water, they had it for watering their plants, or I don't know what. So we used some to wash, and there was this tourist, probably Dutch, blonde guy, long hair, he pulls down his trunks to wash. So they start yelling, from a balcony opposite, oy put your pants on, put your pants on, put your pants on. How could he understand? And someone threatening him with his walking stick, put your pants on, shame on you, and the others shouting at him. At some point he says, why are they yelling at me, do they want to save the water? (whispers) it's your trunks, somebody tells him, it's your trunks, oh my trunks. And he finally pulled them back on.

While this is an eye-witness and not a personal story, the teller manipulates the participation framework to indirectly encode her view. She subverts the authors (people from the village whose voices she animates and imitates) and empathizes with the character of the tourist. The figure (the self of the narrator) is displayed by the story by means of ridiculing the islanders (as the authors and principals in the text). Meanwhile, the audience are lured into accepting the story-teller's view through enjoying the humorous delivery of the narrative events. The use of performance devices allows the narrator to internalize her point and let the events speak for themselves. The follow-up to the story by one of the conversationalists shows that the story's point has been communicated successfully:

εγώ .. ιστορίες που έχω ακούσει .. και κυκλοφορούσανε:, είναι ότι τους πετάγανε .. καρύδια, πέτρες ξέρω γω, τους πετροβολούσανε...

Well I've heard stories too, that they were throwing walnuts at them, stones, that they were stoning them...

In the next example, we have a slightly different participation framework. The narrator here happens to disagree with one of his conversationalists. His view is that looking for love and financial well-being in one's marriage is a feasible goal. But instead of expressing this in the form of an argument, he chooses to narrate the incident below:

(3) A: Κοίτα Νίκο, κι όλα δε μπορείς να ντα βρείς, πρέπει να βάλεις τις προτεραιότητές σου=
N: =αυτό δε μπορείς να ντο πεις. Εγώ είχα ένα φίλο, πολλά: χρόνια φίλος, και τόνειρό του, συζητάγαμε ξέρω γω, και μου λέει, καλός είν ο έρωτας .. μου λέει, αλλά καλό είναι και <u>το πακέτο</u> .. μου λέει να έχει, το Ντελόρ. (he he) Τέλος πάντων .. του λέω, όλα δε συμβαδίζουν Κωστάκη μου .. λέω, λίγο πολύ κάπου θα πέσεις έξω, ή στο χρήμα ή στην αγάπη. Μετά από καμιά βδομάδα μου λέει, ξέρεις κάτι, καλό καλό είναι μόνο το πακέτο, άμα έχεις το πακέτο, βρίσκεις την αγάπη .. μου κάνει. Ε πέρασε λίγος καιρός, γνωρίζει

μια κοπέλλα, >χωρίς να ξέρει τίποτα<, γνωριστήκανε, ξέρεις τυχαία, τελικά του βγήκε πλούσια! Παντρευτήκανε ωραία και καλά, ξανασυζητάμε μια φορά, μου λέει, αυτή είναι η επιτυχία μου λέει, και αγάπη και λεφτά.

A: Look Nikos, you can't have it all, you must get your priorities right=
N: you can't say this. I have a friend, I've known him for years, and his dream was, well we were talking once, and he tells me, love is good, but the package is good too, the Delors package. (he he) Well I tell him, you can't have your pie and eat it too Kostas, you will lose out somewhere, either in money or love. A week later he tells me, well you know something, only the package is good after all, if you have the package, you can have love too. Some time went by, he meets a girl, without knowing anything about her, they just met, accidentally, but it turns out she's loaded. They got married, we have another chat after that, this is success he tells me, love and money at the same time.

In this case, three capacities, namely the author, the figure and the principal encapsulated by the narrator's friend, work in favour of the teller's views and lend them validity: the friend's story is proof for the teller's opinion. Invoking such a participation framework by means of a story is chosen by the teller as a more powerful device than putting his views forth in the form of arguments.

Participation frameworks and storytellers' self-presentation

The above examples demonstrate that the relationship between the stories as performances and their participation frameworks indexes not only the role and status of storytelling in conversational contexts but also the storytellers' self-presentation. Self-presentation is an integral part of the stories' indexicality since it is at the heart of both the functions (purposes) of narrative communication and the construction of narrative worlds. Narratives are one of the most instrumental devices for social actors to pursue their agendas, achieve interactional ends and, generally, perform actions. One such action, central in the storytelling of numerous cultures, is that of self-enhancement (i.e. self-aggrandizement, self-foregrounding).

In Greek stories, it is intertwined with performed deliveries. First of all, the sense of proximity and dramatization make this inherently face-threatening act as little threatening as possible by securing the addressees' sympathetic alignment with the story's figure. The figure in turn presents the narrator in a positive light. Similarly, the dramatization of voices usually embeds the self-enhancement in the role of the author (i.e. characters in the story responsible for the talk) and not the storyteller.

This shifting of positions is very effective for self-presentation: it is, once again, through the capacity of the author and the principal that the teller's position is enhanced. More importantly, proximity underscores the current relevance of the self-enhancing events and situations: it allows their presentation not just as a part of a narrative world, a world which is gone and forgotten, but as an integral part of the conversational here and now. In this way, it helps the narrator as a conversationalist to forge alliances with the audience. The following brief story of self-enhancement will serve to illustrate the above:

(4) Ηρθανε σε μια φάση σεμάς κάτω .. κάτι άγγλοι, >ήτανε κανά πεντάρι άτομα<, και τώρα μας βρίσκουνε σε μια: κατάσταση εμά:ς, όπου έχουμε οργανώσει τραπέζι, τα πηρούνια σωρός εκεί .. σένα τραπέζι, τα μπριζολικά, τα κρέατα. Τους λέω εγώ, μη μας περνάνε εδώ .. λέω οι άνθρωποι, να ντους βάλουμε μια μπριζόλα να φάνε, ξεφτίλα είναι, ναι ρε λένε, καλά λες, ξεφτίλα λένε, να ντους βάλουμε. Κοιτάξτε .. τους λέω, ελάτε να φάμε, έχουμε μια συγκεντρωσούλα, κάθε Παρασκευή συνηθίζουμε να κάνουμε .. τέτοια, ξέρετε .. ντροπαλοί στην αρχή, μετά από δέκα λεπτά, αρχίζουνε >τις αγκαλιές τα φιλιά τις μπύρες χάινεκεν<, τύ::φλα, τύ::φλα. Μέχρι το άλλο βράδυ κοιμούνταν.

At some point some English people came down to us (i.e. the narrator's colleagues), they were around five people, and now they land on us having set the tables for lunch (the colleagues had organised a lunch party), heaps of cutlery at the tables there, steaks and meats, I tell them (his colleagues), we don't want the people getting the wrong idea about us (i.e. about our generosity),

> let's serve them some steaks, it wouldn't be on not to, they tell me, yeah you're right, it's not on, we'll give them some. I tell them (the English) look, why don't you join us, we have a bit of a gathering, we always have one on Fridays, at the beginning [they were] shy you know, ten minutes later, they start hugging and cuddling us and having Heineken beers, pissed, completely pissed. They were in bed after that for a whole day.

In simple terms, the self-enhancement of this example lies in invoking the values of hospitality and *filotimo*, stereotypes of the Greeks. Their manifestation is set in motion by the narrator's suggestion to his colleagues to treat the "foreigners" hospitably. These are presented as very grateful recipients of this hospitality: hesitant and shy at the beginning, as North Europeans stereotypically are, but later on warm recipients of the friendliness and hospitality, which was initiated by the narrator. The narrator here seems to be trying to cast a positive light on himself (as the story's figure) by means of strategically employing cultural stereotypes. This is characteristic of numerous stories in the data, that is, linking their tellers' presentation with a closed set of social actions, roles and attitudes. Such values have often been characterized in the literature as the stories' "cultural grammar" (Polanyi 1989). They can be abstracted from stories "by what was most interesting, storyworthy or compelling about their propositions; the culturally salient material generally agreed upon by members of the producer's culture to be self-evidently important and true" (6). They thus underlie the stories' point or tellability.

In the Greek stories, the list of tellable themes and topics in most cases invokes a set of values which could be characterized as "traditional". For instance, an overwhelming 80% of the personal stories are family-oriented stories: they narrate incidents concerning the narrators' (immediate) family and their point revolves around family life. This means that the experiences arising from it are projected as inscribing personal experience. Happiness or unhappiness within it are instrumental to the narrator's happiness or unhappiness respectively. In addition to this, there is a dominant tendency in the data to invoke kinship-oriented themes and, in particular, the distinction between in-group and out-group in various forms,

which are beyond the scope of this discussion. Here, it suffices to say that the in-group is almost unexceptionally conceptualized in terms of the narrator's immediate or extended family while the out-group is variable, shifting and dependent on the narrative context. The distinction between the two is normally invoked with the aim of strengthening and reaffirming the value system and identity of the in-group. If the above is combined with the social drama which the stories create through their constant animation of voices, we get an overall picture of an anti-personalist or highly interpersonal construction of meaning and conception of self in the stories.[4]

The above core elements of the stories' "cultural grammar" are particularly interesting for their role in indexing participant relations in conversational encounters.[5] They show how discoursal choices can invoke as well as be shaped by shared sociocultural codes; also, how this relationship can be turned to the service of social projects in which the participants of a speech event are engaged. A further illustration of this is the following extract from a female narrator's story about the purchase of a flat. In the context where the story was told, the narrator, who had recently bought a flat with her husband in a posh neighbourhood of Athens, was asked whether it was worth buying something so expensive. She immediately tells the story to justify and cast positive light on their choice:

(5) ... λοιπόν βλέπουμε εκεί .. την ώρα που φεύγαμε, μια .. αφοί Γκιώνη .. τάδε τηλέφωνο, το παίρνει ο Θωμάς, λέει αυτός, τούτη τη στιγμή δεν έχω .. λέει, αργεί να γίνει. Του λέει ο Θωμάς, παιδάκι μου, μήπως είσαι από το Κακούρι; λέει .. όχι, γιατί; γιατί εμείς είμαστε από κείνα τα μέρη, εμείς είμαστε από την

[4] For details on the encoding of an anti-personalist view of meaning in discourse and its association with speech animation see Duranti 1993.

[5] This indexicality is not reducible to sweeping cultural conclusions. Ethnographic studies have shown that Greek society is complex and questions widely held assumptions about the polarity between urban-rural or modern-traditional. Thus, it cannot be characterized with opposite poles of dichotomies such as traditional vs modern or collectivist vs independent (e.g. Faubion 1993, papers in Loizos and Papataxiarchis 1991).

> Αλωνίσταινα, του λέει αυτός, ΕΛΑ δω του λέει, είσαι σαβατογεννημένος, θα σε φτιάξω του λέει, έρχομαι του λέει ο Θωμάς. Σηκωνόμαστε και πάμε, ψάχνοντας τώρα, δύο η ώρα το μεσημέρι, πάμε, με το που το βλέπουμε το διαμέ:ρισμα, μείναμε, μείναμε. Λοιπό:ν του λέμε, σε δυο ώρες μπορούμε να:, κατά τις τέσσερις να το δούμε, γιατί να φέρουμε και τους δικούς μας. Φέρνουμε την κουνιάδα μου, έρχεται κι ο κουμπάρος μας ο Δημήτρης, και η αδερφή μου η Βάσω, με το που το είδανε αυτοί, λένε .. καθίστε κάτω και κλείστε το, τέτοια αυτή δε θα ξαναβρείτε ...
>
> ... so as we were leaving we see an ad for "Afoi Gioni", ring such-and-such a number, Thomas calls them up, he says, we haven't got anything at the moment, it's still in the pipeline. Thomas tells him, matey you ain't from Kakouri, he says no, why? 'cos we are from those parts, well we are from Alonistena he tells him, well come here, you were born "on a Saturday" (born lucky; blessed by the stars), I'll sort you out, I'm coming Thomas tells him. So we go down there, hunting around at two o'clock in the afternoon, when we laid eyes on the flat, we were gobsmacked, gobsmacked. So we tell him, can we in two hours, can we come back at four? we want to bring our relatives. So we take my sister-in-law with us, Dimitris our "koumbaros" (best man) comes along too, and my sister Vaso, when they saw it they tell us, sit tight and strike an offer, flats like this don't grow on trees ...

As in example 4, in the above extract too shared codes are strategically employed as vehicles for the narrator's self-presentation and as modes of action in the teller-audience interaction. It is interesting how the in-group agenda lurking beneath the events narrated serves this purpose. The narrator seems to be suggesting that it was because of her husband's common origin with the estate agent that they managed to purchase the flat. In view of the cultural codes that she assumes she shares with the addressees, the purchase is contextually cued as a successful and fortunate event. Additionally, a whole army of relatives including the *koumbaros* (best man) come to the flat as advisors on the purchase. The narrator's agenda when invoking such values is to diffuse responsibility for the purchase from her husband and herself to the social drama with relatives: these are the authors, responsible for the praise of the

flat. Their views are lent validity by their association with the symbolic and cultural capital of kinship values. The proof for this is that stories like (5) do not backfire in the contexts in which they occur. They are tellable as long as the audiences treat them as tellable.

Gendered aspects

The strategic use of sociocultural values, attitudes and stances is also evident in the communicative styles of self-presentation which index the storyteller's gender identity. In terms of the nature of indexing, this is a constitutive relationship. The linguistic features in question do not directly and exclusively index gender. They rather index stances and social acts, such as the ones discussed so far, which in turn help to constitute gender meanings. A first instance of how this takes place is the discourse style of verbal aggression and adversativeness. This is very much associated in the data with the male narrators' self-presentation. It suffices to mention that half of the stories from men revolve around the themes of contests and conflicts.[6] As for the rest, it is very common to find instances of disagreement and verbal aggression in the interactions which they encode. In some cases, the whole narrative takes the form of an incident involving an antagonistic verbal interaction or "duel", such as the example below:

(6) Μου λέει προχθές ο Τάσος ο Ρουμελιώτης, λες για λαγούς μου λέει, κάτι λέγαμε εκεί πέρα, αλλά δε θα ντον έχεις δει το λαγό πώς είναι, του λέω σε μένα τα λες αυτά ρε Ρουμελιώτη του λέω, πάμε στο σπίτι ρε του λέω, εκατό χιλιάδες εγώ .. του λέω, βάλε και δέκα εσύ του λέω, πάμε σπίτι, αν δεν έχω δύο ή τρεις του λέω, δε θυμάμαι καλά, δύο στάνταρτ του λέω, αν είναι κάτω από δύο χάνω τις εκατό χιλιάδες, αν είναι ένας του λέω, χάνω τις εκατό χιλιάδες, αν είναι δύο όμως, θα τις κερδίσω του λέω τις δέκα τις δικές σου. ΠΑμε ρε του λέω. Πού:: να τολμήσει ο Ρουμελιώτης να 'ρθει! Ελα ρε του λέω. Τους είχα

[6] The association of conflict and aggression with the discourse style of men is a common finding in the linguistics literature on gender differences (see e.g. Tannen 1993).

όμως εγώ τους δύο, προχθές έγινε αυτό. Που να 'ρθεί ο Τάσος.

Two days ago Tasos Roumeliotis tells me, you're talking about hares all the time he tells me (the narrator is a hunter), 'cos we had a discussion, but I bet you haven't even seen one, I tell him/ are you talking to me Roumeliotis, come on then, let's go to my place now, I bet a hundred thousand drachmas, you place a bet of ten, let's go to my place, where I keep two or three I tell him (hares that he had killed), I'm not sure, but it's minimum two, if it's less than two I'll give you a hundred thousand drachmas, but if it's two your ten thousand drachmas will be mine, let's go then I tell him. As if Roumeliotis would dare! Come on then, I say. But I was sure I had two (hares), this happened two days ago. As if Tasos would come.

The verbal confrontation is a necessary component of all contest and fight stories and normally precedes the physical part of the conflict, as illustrated in the short extract below:

(7) ... και παρεξηγείται ο κρητικός, ο κλασσικός κρητικός δηλαδή σε τέτοια μπαρ, θα σκοτώσω κανέναν βραδιάτικα σήμερα λέει. Τον γκοιτάω, δε θα 'σαι καλά του λέω, σε ποιον τό 'πες αυτό του λέω, στον αέρα του λέω, σε μένα του λέω, σε ποιον τό 'πες. Δίνει σύνθημα ο μάγκας ας πούμε και τα λοιπά, εμφανίζονται τέσσερις πέντε έτσι, εμείς την είχαμε πάρει χαμπάρι τη δουλειά ...

... and this Cretan gets annoyed, your typical Cretan who hangs around in the bars, I am gonna kill someone tonight he says. I look at him, you must be mad I tell him, who are you talking to I tell him, are you talking to the air I tell him, are you talking to me I tell him, who are you talking to. The toughie signals to his mates you know, four or five of them show up, we suspected this'd happen ...

Examples like (6) and (7) above verge on the grotesque in their depiction of conflicts, in that they blatantly invoke a spirit of machismo. Taking into account that such stories are not marginal but part of the repertoire of stories told by "educated" professional men, we could place them at the explicit end of the continuum of narratives which serve the male narrators' self-

presentation by means of a gendered agenda. As Shuman has suggested (1986), the major functions of fight stories are very often not representational: more stories are usually told than fights are fought. This is a very relevant argument for Greek men's fight stories and contests, which essentially function as attempts to shape potentials in the social arena in which their tellers operate. By invoking an agenda which is recognizably gendered and by drawing on gendered stereotypes, men storytellers promote their personal agendas in conversational contexts: they reassert and reaffirm their position, present themselves in a positive light, justify their actions, etc. As shown so far, the participation frameworks invoked through performances allow them to achieve this in the least face-threatening way. Hence, they "can get away" with such stories in mixed audiences.

On the whole, self-presentation in contest and fight stories is interrelated with the ways in which men storytellers build the audiences' sympathetic alignments towards them. As a rule, these are based on a male-associated solidarity and male-bonding ethos. This is particularly evident in the instances of "amicable" verbal aggression between friends which are very frequently encoded in men's stories. The extract below exemplifies this:

(8) ... μου λέει ο Γιάννης, έλα ρε τι κωλώνεις, πάμε από 'δώ, ρε Γιάννη του λέω ξέρω γω έτσι όπως είμαστε, με πάνινα αθλητικά παπούτσια, καλτσούλα .. μαγιό και τίποτα άλλο. Ξέρεις τώρα ιδρώτας, τον ιδρώτα της ζωής μας. Λέει .. σιγά ρε, τι κωλώ:νεις, κωλώνεις τώρα; δεν γκωλώνω ρε Γιάννη, αλλά είσαι σοβαρός τώ:ρα; Μου ανοίγει τη μπόρτα, άντε, άντε ρε φοβιτσιάρη μου λέει, μη γκωλώνεις ρε, τι κωλώνεις, μπες μέσα. Μπαίνω κι εγώ μέσα ...

... Giannis tells me, come on, what are you 'fraid of, let's go this way, I don't know Giannis I tell him, in this state, you know trunks, socks and trainers and nothing else. You know, a real sweat, completely soaked. Oh come on, whatcha 'fraid of, whatcha 'fraid of, no I'm not afraid Giannis, but I mean are you serious? He opens the door, come on he tells me, go on you wimp, don't be scared, why are you scared. So I enter...

This is a typical male interaction which involves a lot of joking and teasing as elements of a sociable disagreement before reaching agreement on a course of action. It can be argued that in these cases the discourse style of adversativeness and disagreement precipitates friendship, a sense of solidarity and bonding.[7] This can be aligned with Tannen and Kakava's (1992) finding that the Greek cultural style in conversations places more positive value on dynamic opposition which is essentially a form of sociability. On the basis of the sample of Greek stories, we could argue that this sociability is more associated with men storytellers' self-presentation and participant alignments in conversations.

By contrast to the above, women's storytelling as a rule exhibits a self-presentation which is based more on self-deprecation (self-effacing). This commonly takes the form of troubles-telling or stories of gaffes, embarrassments and fear. Such self-presentation, as in the case of men's stories, is constitutive of gender meanings. Once again, this indexicality is mediated by stances and acts which bear on the participation framework of conversations and the creation of participant alignments. As a result, it is rather inappropriate to view it as an exclusive and direct relation. This means that self-deprecation (i) is an unmarked but not unexceptional case in women's storytelling, (ii) can be found in men's storytelling as well and (iii) is not necessarily a direct index of women storytellers' gendered position in the society. The contextualization of self-deprecation suggests the multi-functionality of the choice. As is the case with men's self-presentation style, it, too, is associated with modes of strengthening solidarity and sociability between tellers and audiences in conversational arenas. Thus, in numerous cases, it is a vehicle for enhancing women storytellers' profile in the conversation. We can see how this is achieved in the following example:

(9) Εγώ μια φορά έτυχα σε ταξιτζή πορνοστάρ, τρεις η ώρα στο Χαλάνδρι .., ή στη Νέας Σμύρνης. Ε .. με συνοδεύει κάποιος στο ταξί, οπότε λέω εντάξει, θα

[7] For a discussion of how conflict and verbal aggression can precipitate solidarity in certain conversational contexts see Tannen 1993.

κάτσω μπροστά, δε μού 'κοψε ότι θα 'μαι μόνη μου, μίνι εγώ εν τω μεταξύ, καθότι μετά από δείπνο >δεν ξέρω κι εγώ τι<, ξεκινάμε εκεί, ανάβουμε τσιγάρο κι οι δύο, >πώς σε λένε τι κάνεις τι σπουδάζεις<, λέω εγώ .. θέατρο και κινηματογράφο, λέει.. α λέει .. έχω δουλέψει κι εγώ στο σινεμά. Τον γκοιτάζω καλά καλά, λέω στο σινεμά; τι κάνατε; λέει να, μια μέρα βάζω στο ταξί μου ένα ντύπο, ένα λέει καταπληκτικό σκηνοθέτη, ο οποίος μου ζήτησε να παίξω σε ταινία του, λέω εγώ τι σκηνοθέτης ήταν αυτός, ποιος σκηνοθέτης; τι ταινία; μου λέει, να μου λέει, να .. σε κάτι πορνοταινίες ήτανε. (he he) Τέλος πάντων, εγώ εκείνη την ώρα λέω, ωχ θεούλη μου που έμπλεξα:, εν τω μεταξύ εκείνη την ώρα πέφτει ΚΑΤΑΡΑΜΕΝΟ φανάρι, κόκκινο. Και μου κάνει έτσι μία, πιάνει γερά το μπούτι, και μου λέει, εγώ μου λέει είμαι πολύ γερός στον έρωτα, και ποια λέτε ήταν η απάντησή μου εκείνη τη στιγμή; μπρά::βο, μπρά::βο. (he he) Να μη μου κόψει να πω τίποτα άλλο! (he he). Τέλος πάντων .. εκεί λέω θα το παίξω παρθενόπη, και να του λέω, και ξέρετε έχω αργήσει, οι δικοί μου έχουνε ανησυχήσει πολύ, (he he) κι έχουν ανησυχήσει πά:ρα πολύ, και θα με περιμένουνε κι αυτά, και πρέπει να γυρίσω γρήγορα σπίτι, γιατί θα ειδοποιήσουν αστυνομίες, και να κάνω τέτοια. Με τα χίλια ζόρια φτάνω σπίτι μου, του λέω να με σταματήσει μια πολυκατοικία πριν, έτσι όπως έτρεμα από το φόβο μου, και μπαίνω στη διπλανή πολυκατοικία, και τον έβλεπα αυτόν με το ταξί εκεί πέρα, περί:μενα, περί:μενα, τσούκου τσούκου έφυγε αυτός, μετά πατάω κι εγώ μια τρεχάλα. Καλά μετά έκανα και νέα βλακεία, να πω όλη την ιστορία στους γονείς μου, οι οποίοι με κοιτάζανε στο έτσι.

I once chanced on a porn star cabby, at three o'clock in the morning in Halandri, or was it in Nea Smirni, a friend walked me to the taxi, so I say (to myself) fine I'll sit next to the driver, I didn't think that I'd be the only passenger, me wearing now a hot mini skirt, because I'd been to a dinner-party. So we set off, we both light a cigarette, what's your name, what do you do, what's your subject, I say I study theatre and film, he says I've worked in the film industry, I give him a good look, I say really? what did you do? he says one day I pick up this guy, a fantastic director, and he asked me to act in one of his movies, I say which director,

> which movie, well some porn flicks, well at that point I think oh my god, what have I got into, meanwhile the bloody light changes, red, and he does this to me, grabs my thigh tight, and tells me, I'm a real stud in bed, and what do you think I answer, good for you (he he), I can't believe I didn't come up with anything else (he he). Anyway at this point I decide to pretend I am pure as snow, I tell him my parents must be worried sick (he he), and they must be worried sick, and they'll be waiting for me, and I must go back home before they call the police (he he), and saying stuff like that. At last we manage to get home, I tell him to drop me off one block of flats before mine, I was so scared at that point, and I enter the building next door, and I could see him in the cab over there, and I waited and waited, a bit later he slowly pulled away, and I sprint off. Well then I put my foot in it once more, I told my parents what had happened, who were looking at me like this.

The example above is typical of many women's stories in the data which draw on gender stereotypes to construct the narrator's "figure" as a frightened creature, unable to defend or assert herself when confronted with difficult or embarrassing situations. In this case, the choice of self-presentation can be understood in the light of the context where the story was told. Self-deprecation, a tellable theme for a woman's storytelling, allowed the narrator to achieve a humorous and successful delivery judging from the audience's uptake and the fact that the story set the pattern for a whole storytelling round from the rest of the women in the company. This storytelling round changed the balance of the whole interaction which, up to that point, had been monopolized by the two men's storytelling. Furthermore, the self-deprecation of the story's figure ultimately served the self-enhancement of the storyteller in the conversational setting. This self-enhancement mainly relied on strategic recasting of gendered stereotypes and positions (e.g. taxi-driver flirts with female client, woman invokes the protection of her family when confronted with a man's advances, etc.).

While the discussion of this section has by no means exhausted the topic of the stories' indexing of gender, it has demonstrated how the tellers' self-presentation and their relationships with the audience in conversational contexts are shaped and mediated by social acts and stances larger than the

projects they are momentarily engaged in. In addition, it has shown how differences in men's and women's styles of self-presentation are preferential choices which achieve inter-actional goals for the social actors by drawing on culturally gendered positions.

Conclusion

This paper has focused on Greek conversational narratives, a discourse type which, though unsensational, is a central communication mode and at the heart of everyday interactions in Greece. The aim of shedding light on the indexicality of its main linguistic choices seemed timely in view of an apparent need to (i) investigate oral discourse types in the Greek "orality-biased" society and (ii) contribute to the growing body of sociolinguistic studies which are vital for establishing interpretative links between linguistic usage and sociocultural processes in Greece. The notion of indexicality was chosen as a conceptual tool for analyzing the social potential of discourse construction, in line with current thinking in research on text-context interaction. The starting point of the discussion was the finding that the essence of the Greek stories' textuality lies in the creation of a performance which is based on a specific set of linguistic devices. The argument was that these devices are essentially modes of action and strategies in their communicative contexts. As such, they index the roles and functions of the storytelling activity, the storytellers' sociocultural identities and their relationships with the audience. The above was mainly demonstrated through a focus on how performances serve the storytellers' self-presentation and, by implication, their alignments with the audiences. It was found that, in order to create sympathetic alignments with the audiences and a wide base of support for their views, storytellers capitalize on the participation frameworks which narrative performances create. In addition, they strategically employ social and cultural stereotypes which point to a kinship-oriented and interpersonal construal of meaning. These are also involved in a constitutive relationship with the storytellers' gender identity.

Since any text's indexicality is multi-faceted, the discussion has covered only salient indexing properties of the stories. Its aim was to show how new light can be shed on linguistic

strategies when they are linked to social and cultural projects. For the Greek stories, this meant that their performance choices are not just the sum of linguistic devices, the exponents of a dramatic style or even the intelligent choices of individual tellers. They are rather the main vehicles for the stories' indexing of their immediate and wider context. Furthermore, their patterning and un-markedness are not just an impressive stylistic statistic. They are also a key to the understanding of how performances systematically act as resources or contextualization cues for participants in their everyday interactions.

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Exploring the papers of the Scottish Philhellene Thomas Gordon (1788-1841)

Aglaia E. Kasdagli

This paper concerns the Greek War of Independence (1821-1828) and Thomas Gordon of Cairness. My account will take us from Buchan, in the north-east of Scotland, to Southern Greece and it will revolve round the papers of Thomas Gordon, a Scottish laird who appears to have been interested in intellectual pursuits as much as in action. An ardent, though critical and informed Philhellene, he was active in The Cause (as the Philhellenes termed it at the time) both in the field and from his beloved Buchan estate. Twice he went to Greece during the war, in 1821 and in 1826-27, taking part in two major military operations. After the liberation and until his death Gordon divided his time between Scotland and Greece. In Greece he systematically collected written documents and oral information from eye-witnesses about the war, and later on served in the army in various capacities. In Scotland he wrote his fine *History of the Greek Revolution*,[1] and it was also in Scotland that he died in 1841.

Gordon is not one of the best-known Philhellenes; surprisingly, he is not one of the best-known historians of the War of Independence either. I myself had only a vague recollection of Θωμάς Γόρδων from old-fashioned history textbooks. I was therefore intrigued when I heard that the Manuscript Collection of the Aberdeen University Library accommodates the papers of the Aberdeenshire Philhellene, and considerably excited when I realised that the material remains largely unknown and unexplored. It is hoped that this will

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[1] Thomas Gordon, *A History of the Greek Revolution*, 2 vols, Edinburgh 1832.

change once the descriptive catalogue of the collection which I have undertaken to prepare is ready.[2]

Thus it came about that some three years ago I began a systematic, if part-time, investigation of the Gordon papers and, by implication, of the period and events covered by them.[3] As I was soon to realise, despite the formidable mass of printed works on the War of Independence, there is a dearth of systematic and exhaustive studies that would allow a clear and consistent picture of facts and participants to emerge. Contemporary accounts tend to leave many gaps and are all too often heavily biased. Gordon's own judgement (in the preface to his history) is that momentary public interest "induced a number of persons hastily to publish what they had seen or heard in Greece" and that:

> of the forty authors whom the struggle in Greece has called forth, three or four alone have any claims to accuracy, and their labours were confined to short and isolated periods, and detached scenes of the war; neither are they always free from the influence of strong prejudices.

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[2] Selective use of the archive has been made by William St Clair, *That Greece might still be free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence*, London 1972, whom I thank for giving me a typescript of his unpublished "Thomas Gordon: *History of the Greek Revolution*, Introduction" [1970] and for an illuminating discussion we had on the subject. The material has also been consulted by F. Rosen, *Benson, Byron, and Greece: constitutionalism, nationalism and early liberal political thought*, Oxford 1992. Introductions to the collection have been written by Margaret Chapman, "Thomas Gordon of Cairness", *The Aberdeen University Review* 47 (1977-8) 238-48 (dealing with only the Greek papers) and by Aglaia E. Kasdagli, "The Papers of Thomas Gordon of Cairness (1788-1841)", *Northern Scotland* 14 (1994) 109-12. The preparation of the catalogue, which will make the material accessible to every interested scholar, was assisted in the early stages by the London Hellenic Foundation, and subsequently generously funded by the Bodosakis Foundation, Athens.

[3] My personal research has been facilitated by two research grants, one from the Alexander S. Onassis Foundation and one from the Ionian University. I am grateful to the Aberdeen University Library, and in particular to Mr Colin McLaren, Head of the Special Collections and University Archivist, for kind permission to quote from the Gordon papers and to all staff of the Special Collections for unstinted help.

Since then a huge corpus has been built up, of newly published primary material, monographs and more composite studies (of uneven quality). So much so that one cannot help sympathising with the remark made by a modern authority, of "a labyrinth from which one manages to emerge with great difficulty, if ever" and his complaint that "a scholar [of the period], while in the process of collecting, classifying, and re-working the material, and while attempting a synthesis of it, is often overcome by giddiness, fatigue and a sense of despair."[4]

After this gloomy preamble I had better attempt to conduct a guided tour of this new maze of primary sources. The archive of Thomas Gordon consists, roughly speaking, of two categories of documents. First – and most importantly – is correspondence and related documents, that is some of his own letters to various people and a much larger number (about seven hundred of them) addressed to him or to James Robertson, his friend and secretary of many years. By far the greatest part of the surviving correspondence is closely concerned with the affairs of Greece. The bulk of it is in English but there are also many letters in French, quite a few in Greek and some in Italian. Their senders include such well-known names as Mavrokordatos, Kolokotronis and Makriyannis, Philhellenes such as Frank Abney Hastings and the historian George Finlay, and many others whose involvement in The Cause is attested from other sources. Much of this material has an intrinsic interest in that it is raw, imparting the immediate reactions and impressions of people who participated in the events or at least observed them closely. In addition, one must always be on the look-out for a hitherto unknown detail about the period, which will add another missing piece to the jigsaw and revive some of its faded colour.

This is equally true for the second category of documents, consisting of sources that Gordon preserved or deliberately collected to use in the compilation of his *History*. It is an assortment of papers, ranging from circulars and orders issued by the Greek Provisional Government, to accounts of battles by eye-witnesses and log-books of vessels that took part in various naval campaigns. There are undoubtedly some treasures in the

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[4] A. E. Vakalopoulos, *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού*, Thessaloniki 1980, V, p. 16.

pile but it will take some time to list the material individually, compare it with published sources (some documents are copies and have already been published) and assess its value.[5]

One way to go through the archive is by relating the facts of Gordon's life as they are generally known and illuminating some of them with insights gleaned from his papers.

General Thomas Gordon was born (in 1788) on his father's estate of Cairness, some forty miles to the north of Aberdeen. He was the first and only surviving child of a family of long standing in the area, with substantial property in both Aberdeenshire and Jamaica. The family's local and overseas concerns are of interest in themselves and there is a mass of information about them in the collection of family manuscripts, spanning three centuries, of which Thomas's correspondence and documents concerning Greece are but a small part. These family papers too remain largely unexplored, but the brief examination I have made of them shows that they contain some information about Thomas's involvement in land-owning activities in Scotland, reflected, for example, in three sets of regulations for his tenants laid down in print by him. Nevertheless, legal and business documents concerning Georgia – the Jamaican estate – are for some reason very few for the specific period of Thomas's ownership, though it is obvious that, financially, the concern was very important to him: an indication of this are the frequent references to the fluctuating yields and prices of sugar from Georgia in the letters of Gordon's secretary.

I have been intrigued by the, to us, paradoxical phenomenon (which is, however, by no means confined to Gordon) of a man who would so generously support the struggle of the enslaved Greeks with money largely extracted through Jamaican slave labour. The only indication I have so far found that he was not insensible to the evils of slavery is in a letter – a model of theological cant – from Charles Gibbon, a close friend of his youth and at the time a newly-appointed minister:

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[5] An example of a hitherto unknown text from Gordon's papers is Miaoulis's biography, published by Aglaia Kasdagli, "Ο Ανδρέας Μιαούλης βιογραφούμενος από τον γιο του", *Μνήμων* 17 (1995) 163-74.

> At present you must not encourage those speculations respecting the emancipation of your slaves in the West Indies for many reasons. In an imperfect state like this there are many *irregularities* over which individual *public* virtue is of no avail [...] Providence has suffered things to be in such a state and our Saviour has been silent where in this *we* would consult his commands – but we are called upon to be kind and benevolent to those that are in *servitude* to us. – Order that your slaves be well treated and made as comfortable as possible [...] Avail yourself of a favourable change in the regulations of the legislature to give a greater compass to your benevolent desires...[6]

At the age of twelve the young Gordon was sent to Eton. His earliest surviving letter dates from that time and is addressed to this same friend Charles Gibbon, an Aberdeen merchant's son. His very first impressions on arriving at the new school make amusing reading:

> I have had two battles, in both of which I was victorious. One with a boy bigger than myself whom I easily licked; the other with a boy who first challenged me and then refused to fight. But I attacked and licked him. I like Eton very much [...] There are certain bounds which if any boy passes he is flogged. They are not flogged in the manner we supposed but kneel on a block. There is no caning. The rod is made of little twigs.[7]

There are several such letters to Gibbon, who apparently returned them to his friend in later years. From them we learn that the young Thomas was an avid reader and had already developed a deep interest in history: "I study [...] most part of the day and sometimes till late at night. I am reading Gibbon's Roman history. I am getting on with my own history and am collecting books for it."[8] He knew, however, how to enjoy a good life too. As Gibbon wrote when Thomas was still at school, "Indeed what with your fox hounds, hunting, leaping, laming

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[6] MS 1160/21, 9 Aug. 1810.
[7] MS 1160/21, 27 Nov. [1800].
[8] MS 1160/21, Aug. 1804.

blood-mares, I expect you will become an improved second edition of Squire Western."[9]

Eton was followed by a year at the Marischal College, Aberdeen, and then Oxford. University education, however, was not particularly demanding at the time, and Gordon soon found the opportunity to go abroad for the first time. Displaying a typically adventurous spirit, he went as far as Russia, travelling through Lithuania, Prussia, Poland and northern Germany. On his return to Oxford he had just completed his eighteenth year. Having been left an orphan at an early age and an heir to great wealth, he was nevertheless still dependent on his guardians for an allowance. "I can't say that I am stinted," he wrote to Charles Gibbon. "There are two or three points which I am a little anxious about, the principal of which are that I wish to go down to Scotland at Easter, and to go abroad next summer [...] I also want to buy another horse. I have no doubt that I shall carry all these points" – a statement he could undoubtedly have repeated many times in the course of his life.[10]

In the meantime he was very pleased with himself: "I have furnished myself with a French servant and an English hunter besides [...] and my library is pretty well stocked [...] I have begun to apply myself to the ancient authors by myself, knowing what pleasures the knowledge of them confers."[11] An inventory of his books, compiled soon after his death, shows that by the end of his life his library was indeed well stocked and that it contained not only a very good selection of Greek and Latin authors but also a great number of volumes that exhibit a characteristically wide variety of interests.[12] In addition to books concerning Greece and the War of Independence, Scotland and England, there are histories of Rome and the Ottoman Empire, of America, Poland, Hungary, Russia, Switzerland and Belgium, accounts of the French Revolution and the campaigns of

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[9] MS 1160/21, 17 Dec. 1805. Squire Western: a character in Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749).

[10] MS 1160/21, 25 Dec. 1806.

[11] MS 1160/21, 25 Dec. 1806.

[12] MS 1160/16/40, c. 1848, Catalogue of "Books in Library at Cairness House".

Napoleon and so on. He also displayed an interest in Byzantium rather unusual for his time.

His library further includes travel books, religious tracts and moral works, biographies, memoirs and letters. Literature is represented by, among others, Shakespeare, Cowper, Pope, Robert Burns and the collective works of Byron, twenty three volumes by Walter Scott and eleven by Swift. Finally, there is a miscellany of works, from Adam Smith's *The Wealth of the Nation* to philosophy, mechanics and astronomy. The telescope he established at Cairness later on and the diaries in which he recorded meticulous daily meteorological observations for years bear further evidence to the scientific turn of his mind.

For the time being, however, he was only nineteen and finding that study was not enough. He needed action too and after two years at Oxford he left to join the army as a cornet of the dragoons. He served in Edinburgh and Ireland (which he hated, finding the inhabitants vulgar and disagreeable) and briefly in England. Interesting information about this period of his life is gathered from letters sent to him by Mary Burnett, eldest daughter of an Aberdeenshire baronet, to whom Gordon was for a while secretly engaged. Her letters are long and full of solicitous care for Gordon's well-being and happiness; in one there is even a lock of sandy hair, but the tone is a model of propriety throughout.

Mary Burnett appears to have been a model young lady, but her all too conventional ideas were not calculated to appeal to a man like Gordon, constantly on the look-out for adventure and change. It seems likely that her solid advice, in true Jane Austen style, annoyed him rather than pleased him:

> Consider how much more usefully and happily you might pass your life in this country, where you would certainly have it in your power to do a great deal more good than fagging about with a regiment. It is a question worthy of consideration if a young man of property can be so properly employed in any situation than living on his own estate at least a part of the year!

She was unable to sympathise with Gordon's frustration at not being able to take part in warfare, then raging on the Continent, and teased him for craving the "honour of opposing the French in

Portugal", adding the dubious comfort: "I think you are much better vegetating in Ireland."[13]

Mary would undoubtedly have disapproved when twelve years later Gordon plunged into his Greek adventure, and, in view of that, it is perhaps just as well that the affair did not last long. Its end is noted by Gordon in his brief diary entries for the year 1809, from which we also learn something about the comforts and amusements that seem to have been an integral part of life at Cairness: shooting, fox-hunting, dining and drinking sessions with friends and riding excursions to Aberdeen, with more visiting, dining and dancing. A few penitent sentences sum up the upshot of all this:

> I begin to repent greatly of the affair which has happened between me and M.B. I fear it has produced great unhappiness to one party, and that certainly the party by far the least deserving it [...] I set up my heart on a pursuit which it would have been better for me either to have failed in or never to have attempted. I unfortunately succeeded.[14]

We do not know Mary's side of the story but the fact is that she died (at the age of seventy) unmarried.

For our present purposes the main interest of the correspondence lies in the light it throws on Gordon's character and early life. Through Mary's letters (and similar views echoed in the few contemporary letters by Charles Gibbon) we can form a pretty good idea of the conventions and ideology followed by the young members of "good society" in Aberdeen at the time and how untypical Gordon must have been. Notwithstanding this, however, he was never openly rebellious, partly because of his temperament and partly because a man of his independent means could afford to "carry his point" without being rebellious. In fact, he appears to have fitted well and to have been contented in the position he occupied and was well liked by all who came into contact with him, regardless of their situation or class. It is in this context that we should view the systematic attempts of members of the British establishment of

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[13] MS 1160/21, 4 May 1808 and 23 Sept. 1808.
[14] MS 1160/20/2, entries for Dec. 1809.

a later date to dissociate Gordon from what they considered sordid aspects of the Greek Revolution; or the comment of one of his friends that "nobody could be less of a revolutionary than Gordon." Revolutionary or not, he seems to have been in sympathy with the liberal movements of his time, of which the Greek war was one instance and the Spanish constitutional rebellion another. His views and actions were quite often outside the norms of his time and class, and he was systematic and persistent in the pursuit of these views.

The main obstacle to the fulfilment of Gordon's wish to go abroad was removed in December 1809, when the young man came of age. Shortly afterwards, he resigned his commission and started on his foreign travels that were to last for almost four years. Following a route similar to that taken by Byron a few months earlier, he travelled through the Mediterranean, stopping at Gibraltar, Malta, the Ionian Islands and the court of Ali Pasha in Yannina. From there he proceeded to Athens, where in October 1810 Byron also resided. There is no record of the two men having ever met and this is a little mystery (bringing to mind the similar case of Solomos and Kalvos), given that their paths ran parallel – apparently without ever crossing – on several occasions. They were born in the same year and both spent their childhood in Aberdeenshire. Nevertheless, Byron left for England when he was only ten; subsequently, whereas Gordon went to Eton and Oxford, Byron attended Harrow and Cambridge. In later years, when both men were closely involved in the Greek Revolution, they were never found in the country at the same time. Nevertheless it would have been almost impossible for two British travellers to miss each other in such a small place as Athens was in 1810 and it is very plausible that the encounter simply remained unrecorded because neither of them thought much of it at the time. The fame that *Childe Harold* brought to Byron was still to come, and it is probable that the "vulgar young man" travelling in grand style (as Lady Hester Stanhope uncharitably described Gordon when she met him in Asia Minor the following year[15]) had no appeal for the impecunious nobleman.

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[15] Quoted by St Clair in his "Introduction"; see n. 2.

From Athens Gordon made his way to Constantinople. While there, he successfully accomplished a mission entrusted to him by the British envoy: he carried vital intelligence to the Russians (then at war with the Ottoman Empire), crossing the Turkish lines in Turkish dress. In the course of his travels he had learned several Eastern languages – at least Russian, Turkish and Greek. His knowledge of Greek is rather difficult to assess but his use of original Greek sources shows a good command of the language.

During his two last years abroad Gordon took part in the campaigns against Napoleon, serving as an officer first in the Russian and then in the Hanoverian Army. By mid-1814 he was back in Scotland, but just twelve months later he was once more on the road, while war on the Continent was about to break out again. Gordon's desire of joining Wellington's army did not materialise, but even though the story told by Persat years later has no foundation, it is nevertheless suggestive of how people viewed Gordon – and how myths are created. According to Persat – a former Bonapartist soldier who had early decided to go to Greece – Gordon,

> a generous Philhellene [...] was a high-ranking officer of an English regiment of dragoons which my regiment had cut to pieces at Waterloo; but Colonel Gordon was not a man to bear a grudge; besides, the tide turned on that fatal day, and thus he was keen on offering me free passage to Greece.[16]

It is possible that Persat (who is in general factually accurate though wildly prejudiced) may simply have been alluding to Gordon's *former* regiment; but the story has been taken literally by later historians, and the battle of Waterloo often figures prominently in Gordon's life story.

The disappointed Gordon continued his travels further afield. He visited Vienna, Bucharest and Constantinople, where in 1816 he married Barbara Hanna, a young girl of Levantine origin, whose father was some sort of merchant or businessman in the City.

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[16] G. Schlumberger (ed.), *Mémoires du Commandant Persat, 1806 à 1844*, Paris 1910, p. 77.

For the next few years to the eve of the War of Independence little is known about Gordon's life, and for some reason hardly any letters survive from that period. We know almost nothing about his family life, apart from the fact that the couple did not produce any children (even though Gordon fathered an acknowledged illegitimate son by a local girl, who eventually succeeded him). Barbara evidently came from a cosmopolitan, if not educated, background; her father corresponded with Gordon in French and a later account claims that in preparation for her marriage she had been sent to school in England. However that may be, the two surviving early letters of hers to her husband are written in fluent English; they express conventional wifely sentiments, but even so one can discern that she rather resented being left alone in Scotland and that on such occasions she found winters at Cairness very dreary. When Gordon went to Greece in 1826-27 she accompanied him as far as the Ionian Islands and stayed there awaiting his return. From the accounts of her given by James Robertson, the loyal secretary who had also remained in Zakynthos, we get an uneasy feeling of frustration and of a marriage that had become conventional if not unhappy. Robertson's letters include almost formulaic reports on Mrs Gordon's pursuits – focusing on her poultry yard – and frequent headaches, invariably followed by news of Gordon's horse and hounds. A much later source, a woman who had known Barbara's niece and had inherited from her two miniatures of the Gordons as a young couple, says unequivocally that the marriage was not a happy one.[17] Nevertheless, Gordon seems to have been uniformly liberal towards Barbara too, and this is confirmed in the generous settlement he made her in his will.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Greek Revolution we find Gordon in Marseilles, ready to embark for Greece. In fact, he was one of the very first Europeans to volunteer his services. In his memoirs – discovered and published fifty years after his death – Persat describes how Gordon, at his own expense, chartered a ship, bought six pieces of cannon, arms and ammunition, took with him James Robertson, who had some expertise in artillery, and offered free passage to a number of Greek and foreign volunteers (p. 78).

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[17] MS 1160/21, [16 June] 1936. Marie Lyster to Charles Gordon.

Gordon's definite objective was to join Dimitrios Ypsilandis, then leader of the insurgent Greeks. He eventually found him outside Tripolitsa (present-day Tripoli) in the central Morea. The town of Tripolitsa was the most important fortress of the entire region and its siege by the Greeks had already been under way for some weeks. William Humphreys, another early British Philhellene, described Gordon's arrival in his journal as follows:

> The day after my arrival I was told there was a "Mylord Inglese" with a great number of Franks coming to the camp, and a general discharge of musketry soon after announced the arrival of the reinforcement. The Prince [Ypsilandis] sent one of his aides-de-camp and a horse to meet him. The "Mylord Inglese" I found to be a Mr Gordon [...] As the transactions in the Morea have been of so cruel and barbarous a nature as to call in question the character of those at all connected with them, I feel pleasure in having it in my power to assert the character of that gentleman to be that of the most humane. The liberal supplies of arms he brought with him [...] the example he himself gave of subordination, in which the Greeks were so lamentably deficient, his generosity and disinterestedness to them merited their gratitude, and it is only to be lamented they should have proved themselves so unworthy of his support and the enthusiasm he displayed for the cause of an oppressed nation, once so noble though now debased by slavery.[18]

I have quoted this passage at some length because it not only gives us a contemporary's view of Gordon, but also provides a typical sample of philhellenic (or so-called philhellenic) writing of the period. Every stereotype is there – and undoubtedly stereotypes usually do have a point: the insubordination and lack of discipline of the Greek irregulars, the stigma of ingratitude attached to the Greeks, the eagerness to absolve the Europeans of having participated in or condoned war atrocities (in particular those committed at Tripolitsa), and the association of the debased Greek character with tyranny and long oppression.

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[18] S. Linnér (ed.), *W.H. Humphreys' First Journal of the Greek War of Independence, July 1821-February 1822*, Stockholm 1967, pp. 33-4.

Gordon became Ypsilandis's Chief-of-Staff, and as such accompanied him on his futile march towards Patra, just at the moment that the imminent fall of Tripolitsa was certain. As Gordon says in his *History*, "in spite of the remonstrances of his friends, [Ypsilanti] persisted in so impolitic [...] a design" (I, p. 241). From the accounts of other Philhellenes present we know that the friendly remonstrances came from Gordon himself. This strictly neutral and detached way of presenting facts is a hallmark of his historical narrative throughout. As St Clair observes, "seldom has an author – particularly a soldier – been so self-effacing in describing events with which he was personally concerned."

His unacknowledged presence as an eye-witness is sometimes apparent in descriptions in which he lingers on detail and the assumed thoughts of those present. A typical example is the scene of Ypsilandis's (and his staff's) entry to Tripolitsa some days after the fall of the town:

> When, in the middle of October, Demetrius Ypsilanti, returning from his useless excursion to the north of the Morea, drew near Tripolitsa, he was saluted by discharges of cannon and small arms; and Colocotroni, and most of the other chiefs, mounted on fine steeds and decked out in gaudy apparel, which had lately belonged to the Turks, met and conducted him into the town [...] The streets presented a deplorable spectacle of half-burnt houses and dead bodies in a state of putrefaction, and as Ypsilanti rode slowly along, he encountered a striking example of the instability of worldly grandeur in the person of Kyamil Bey of Corinth, who, before the revolution one of the richest grandees of the empire, and distinguished by a noble and imposing form, now bowed before the Prince, a miserable captive, and implored his protection (I, p. 289).

Gordon left the Morea shortly after the fall of Tripolitsa, but, contrary to what was widely reported at the time and regularly repeated since, the reason that prompted him to go does not seem to have been his disgust with the atrocities committed by the Greeks, shocked though he had undoubtedly been by their intensity. Humphreys for one, who shared the adventure surrounding Gordon's departure and wrote about it soon

afterwards and who moreover was not particularly anxious to protect the good name of the Greeks, is categorical on this point:

> ...As it was necessary for Mr Gordon to go to Zante respecting his own affairs (for we were entirely cut off from any regular communication with the rest of Europe), his departure was at length resolved on. [....His] intended departure was much lamented by all the foreign officers as he was everything to us (p. 71).

It should be added that Humphreys remained in close contact with Gordon and always looked up to him, so it must be assumed that he offered the version of events that Gordon wished to make public.

Humphreys accompanied Gordon to the coast to bring back his horses. On the way the two men suffered a severe attack of fever; their condition deteriorated to such a degree that Humphreys too had to continue to Zante and eventually both convalescents returned to England.

The fall of Tripolitsa and the frenetic massacre and looting that followed had grievous implications for the Greek cause. Even leaving aside the passions that the incident unleashed within the army and among the leaders, there remains the impact that it had on public opinion abroad. The Greek Revolution had its fair share of acts of revenge and unspeakable cruelty by both sides, of reprisals and counter-reprisals, starting from the initial reaction of the Ottoman Government and the Muslim populace as the news of the insurrection spread and terminating only with the conclusion of the war. Such occurrences have always been the by-product of war by and large, and at the same time they have always been – and still are – powerful instruments of propaganda. Ordinary people can no more suppress their aversion to those specific atrocities brandished before their eyes than the perpetrators can control themselves; to be stirred, however, the genuine horror of public opinion still needs a vivid description, an eye-witness account (or, nowadays, televised coverage).

In the Greek War of Independence one such shock-trigger, which worked in favour of the Greeks, was the massacre of Chios (1822). Before that, and working towards the opposite

direction, was the capture of Tripolitsa and its aftermath. The copious literature that both produced provides fascinating material for the investigation of issues such as government politics, propaganda and humanitarianism; phenomena such as nationalism and patriotism, racial prejudice, religious fanaticism and cant; notions such as legitimacy, freedom and oppression. This material can teach us something about how one society judges other societies, how it sees itself and what is the interaction between self-image and the outside world.

These issues, focused on the case of Thomas Gordon – an outsider who was a close observer of the drama enacted – have interested me greatly for some time, and I propose to investigate them in some depth at a later stage. At present there is no sufficient hard evidence to present fully Gordon's attitude and actions and this means that conclusions about his reactions and how they might have changed over time are far from clear-cut. Gordon himself was remarkably reticent on this count and his alleged views were consciously manipulated for public consumption by friends and foes of the Greek struggle alike. He must have been under considerable pressure from both sides, and the fact that he allowed himself to be manipulated implies ambivalence on the matter. There are, however, examples of the way he chose to express his views in public. One instance from the war years appears in the proceedings of a "Meeting in Aid of Greece" which took place in Aberdeen in June 1823 and was reported in a London newspaper, where we read:

> Mr Gordon said, he would have here concluded, if he had not heard it said in certain quarters that the Greeks were as bad as the Turks, and that they had been guilty of many acts of perfidy and cruelty [...] But [...] it must be well known (said he) that, in a war of that description, when a whole country is attempted to be put to the sword, that the war cannot be carried on according to those nice feelings of honour which have always distinguished the troops and inhabitants of this country. [...The Greeks] were no common or ordinary sufferers [and] were [...] justly enraged at the conduct of the Turks, in putting to death, impaling, and burning their friends and relatives [...] Mr Gordon sat down amidst immense applaud.[19]

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[19] *Morning Chronicle*, London, 30 June 1823.

An appropriate conclusion to this particular discussion is to quote (in a rough translation of mine) some extracts of the sober account of the sack of Tripolitsa written by another contemporary historian – the Greek Spiridon Trikoupis, whose *History of the Greek Revolution* appeared some forty years after the events described here:

> A people throwing off a long-standing, heavy yoke always attacks its master in a savage manner. The armed people of Greece were even more unrestrained during those days, because there was no government, neither was pay given or provisions regularly distributed, nor did there seem to be any prospects for a secure future; there was neither punishment for indiscipline nor reward for restraint. For these reasons the day of the capture of the capital of the Peloponnese was a day of destruction, fire, looting and bloodshed. Men, women and children died indiscriminately, some of them being murdered, others thrown into the fires that appeared in the town, and others crushed under the roofs and floors of the burning houses; the thirst of revenge silenced the voice of nature. In the streets, in the squares, everywhere nothing was heard but the sound of sword and shootings, the noise made by houses collapsing into the flames, cries of rage and wails of the dying. In one word, the ground was strewn with bodies and those going about either on foot or on horseback could not help trodding on the dying or the dead. It seemed as if the Greeks wanted in a single day to take revenge for the injustices of four centuries. Within Tripolitsa there were also Jews, all of whom, on account of the maltreatment that the Christians of Constantinople and other places had suffered in the hands of their co-religionists, perished under the sword or the fire. [...]
>
> We do not intend to justify the Greek atrocities as deeds perpetrated by fellow-countrymen; we simply wish to point out that the history of all peoples, even the most civilised ones, includes acts of atrocity. Even in our times, when Jaffa was captured by the French, it was given to plundering and slaughtering for thirty hours, and all captives, of whom there were thousands, were put to the sword. More than that, in Jaffa these acts were perpetrated neither by subjected people against their oppressors, as was the case in Greece, nor against the leaders' will, as in Tripolitsa; they were implemented by order of

Napoleon himself who, according to Thiers, admitted that "in barbaric places one does as the barbarians do".[20]

Gordon returned to Scotland at the end of 1821 and did not go back to Greece until the middle of 1826, an occurrence for which we must be grateful today. Even a cursory look at his surviving correspondence from those years will convince the most sceptical reader that his interest in the fate of Greece was unwavering. And, luckily for us, it was constantly fed through a wide network of contacts, spreading through the insurgent regions of Greece, the Ionian Islands, France and England. Some of these people had received financial help from Gordon; many were invited to visit him in Scotland and stay with him at his magnificent mansion at Cairness, with its Egyptian-style billiard room, impressive library and extensive grounds. It is a high compliment to Gordon's hospitality and the comforts of his residence that one of his guests later referred to the "laughing" image of Cairness, a description one would not normally associate with the north-east of Scotland.[21]

The guest in question was a certain Dr Koutzofskis. His case, minor and inconsequential in itself, typifies some of the problems that a student of the period has to face and some basic weaknesses of the way that scholarship has developed; not least, it highlights the importance of going back to archival sources and examining them closely.

Koutzofskis was a Greek doctor living in Paris, where he was an active agent for the Greek cause. According to Persat, he was one of the eight young Greeks to whom Gordon had offered free passage on his way out to Greece. He is mentioned in contemporary accounts as one of the doctors fighting the epidemic that ravaged the Morea after the fall of Tripolitsa, and that was about all that was known about him up to now. He has been labelled a Polish Philhellene, even though none of his contemporaries seems to have made such a claim, while we have Persat's explicit evidence that he was a Greek, a fact confirmed in his own letters to Gordon. Without a shred of evidence, some-

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[20] Sp. Trikoupis, *Ιστορία της Ελληνικής Επαναστάσεως*, 4 vols, London 1854, II, pp. 100-2.

[21] MS 1160/21, 20 June 1824, Koutzofskis to Robertson.

body must have been carried away by his un-Greek name and decided he was a Pole. The unfounded supposition was taken up by later historians and the myth of the Polish doctor was firmly established.

In March 1823 the Greek Committee in aid of the insurgents (of which Gordon was a founding member) was founded in London. Some three months later its less famous counterpart was established in Aberdeen, Gordon being its leading spirit. According to the press report already mentioned,

> the resolutions set forth that the Greeks were now engaged in the third year of a war for the recovery of their liberty – that it was the duty of every Christian community to promote their success – and that a Committee be appointed to communicate with the London Committee, and to promote subscriptions.

Gordon had his own views about what the war effort needed most, and in the course of time devised various schemes aiming at the creation of a regular army and a corps of artillery force. On the latter plan he spent much time and thought and was quite willing to spend a great deal of money too, but his offer was overruled by the London Greek Committee. Nevertheless he donated to the Committee the equipment he had already bought and continued to have consultations with William Parry, the artillery expert whom he had engaged to organise the proposed corps. In the meantime he was also very near to accepting the command of the new expedition to Greece. But in the end, the command was rejected, the principal objections advanced by Gordon being the unwillingness of Greek fighters to accept any system of military organisation and follow European discipline and tactics, and the expulsion of Mavrokordatos's government, with which Gordon had been negotiating. A further obstruction was Gordon's suspicion of the war chiefs who dominated the scene; even so, there is evidence that a few months earlier he had tried to establish contact with Kolokotronis. In a letter (or rather an English translation of it) found among his papers, Gordon advises Kolokotronis to send deputies to England to communicate their wants and consult together and concludes:

> You will find me ready to serve you, and I only wait to receive your communications to contribute all my might towards it. Having no other desire than [...] to serve this sacred cause [...] I remain with all friendship, Your well-wisher and admirer.[22]

As already suggested, Gordon was not an unqualified admirer of Kolokotronis, but he was in a position to recognise his good points and was enough of a pragmatist to realise that the war chieftains held more real power than Mavrokordatos's ineffectual government.

The command that Gordon refused was accepted by Byron. William Parry – Gordon's protégé, who was to become Byron's closest companion in the poet's last days – has left a record of the high esteem in which Byron held not only Gordon's rejected plan for the artillery force, but also Gordon himself. Parry quotes Byron as saying:

> Gordon was a much wiser and more practical man than Stanhope [agent of the Greek Committee]. [... He] has been in Greece, and expended a large sum of money here. He bought his experience and knows the country. His plan was the one to have acted on; but his noble offer seems so far to have surpassed the notions and expectations of the Committee, that it staggered them. [...] If Mr Gordon's offer had been acted on, as it ought to have been [...] his exertions and mine would have effected everything, would have restored union here and have encouraged the friends of Greece at home.[23]

For his part, Gordon was not likely to bear with a man like Byron who (as his friend Trelawny said referring to exactly this period) "exhausted himself in planning, projecting, beginning, wishing, intending, postponing, regretting, and doing nothing."[24] In his *History*, Gordon's impatient comment is that "his lordship had finally determined on visiting Messalonghi [sic], but it was never easy to induce him to commence a journey, and he still delayed" (II, p. 105). Nevertheless, Gordon was equally quick in

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22 MS 1160/21, [5 March 1823].

23 William Parry, *The Last Days of Lord Byron*, London 1825, pp. 192-3.

24 [E.J. Trelawny], *Trelawny's Recollections of the Last Days of Shelley and Byron*, London 1906, p. 104.

acknowledging Byron's virtues and talents. The following passage says as much about the writer as about his subject; in fact, Gordon might have very well written it about himself:

> With admiral clearness of vision, [Byron] saw at once the delicacy of his position, the character of the people he was amongst, and the nature of their most urgent wants. Conceiving that the essential point was emancipating them from the Turks, and that this was to be done by promoting concord and improving their military organisation, he employed for those purposes all the influence of his name, talents and riches, and no crosses could make him swerve from the path he had marked out for himself (II, pp 107-108).

Gordon eventually reached Greece in May 1826. The description of his mission in his *History* is one of the very few occasions on which he felt obliged to refer to himself – and it is a cryptic reference, worth quoting: "The deputies of London having entrusted to an English Philhellene a sum of L.14,000 (the last sweepings of the second loan) with uncontrolled power of disposing of it, he arrived at Nauplia in May" (II, p. 299). It is just as well that this is not our only source for the period, or we would have remained forever in the dark with regard to the anonymous Philhellene.

Gordon arrived in Greece at a time that, following a disastrous civil war, Ibrahim's invasion and the fall of Mesolonghi, the Revolution had reached its most critical stage. Under the circumstances, his arrival was a real godsend. The fact that he was the bearer of a large sum of money, coupled with the fact of his personal wealth and generosity – well-known and appreciated in Greece – colours most of the correspondence of the period. For example, there were Mavrokordatos's proposals for Gordon to finance (and lead) an expedition for the recapturing of Mesolonghi; appeals – to all of which Gordon responded favourably – by Colonel Fabvier, for the support of the regular troops, Kolokotronis, for the provisioning of the Peloponnesian camp, and the Provisional Administration of Crete, for the upkeep of the Grambousa fortress. There were also petitions by needy individuals, from the persecuted family of Odysseas Androutsos to people asking

for help in order to send their children to study abroad. Many of these letters shed further light on well-known personalities or events of the war, while others give us a glimpse of the daily reactions and problems of ordinary people, such as the universal eagerness with which the arrival of Lord Cochrane had been anticipated, an eagerness that was to be repeatedly dampened before his eventual arrival in April 1827.

In the meantime, Gordon had become directly involved in the war – an event which inevitably covers an important section of his correspondence. At the beginning of 1827 he had been given the command of the Faliro expedition, whose purpose was the relief of the besieged citadel of Athens. This is perhaps the most rewarding part of the archive, even if fraught with chronological (due mostly to the indiscriminate use of the Julian and Gregorian calendars) and palaeographical difficulties.

Gordon's own account of his participation in the campaign of 1827 is, once more, self-effacing to the point of obscuring historical accuracy:

> [...] the corps of John Notaras, that of Makriyanni, the regulars and foreign auxiliaries, should land at port Phalerus, under the nose of Reshid Pasha: the latter delicate operation the Executive committed to a Philhellene, who received the temporary rank of brigadier (II, p. 378).

The contrast with Makriyannis's graphic description of the same episode is striking:

> At that time I met Gropius, the consul of Austria – he was my friend – and he says: "Where are you going Makriyannis, without any means of war against so great a Turkish force? [...] Now there's an Englishman called Gordon," says he, "who'll get you the stores for whatever it costs. If he puts down the money, would you have him as leader of this expedition?" "Go and tell this man." say I to Gropius, "that for the love of my country, whoever puts down the money can not only be the leader, but whenever he pees he can give me his pee to drink".[25]

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[25] The translation is based on Lidderdale: *The memoirs of General Makriyannis, 1797-1864*, ed. and transl. H.A. Lidderdale, foreword by C.M. Woodhouse, London 1966, pp. 120-1.

Just before starting on this new and dangerous venture, Gordon wrote to James Robertson a letter moving in its reserve on the prospect of accepting high responsibility and possibly death:

> On this expedition depends Athens! [...] I resign myself into the hands of God, on whom alone victory depends. All my worldly affairs are settled, and you and Mrs Gordon know all my wishes and intentions. I wish at times that you were with me, as I bear a heavy burthen and have no confidential friend; but it is perhaps better as it is [...] Adieu my dear Robertson; may God bless you.[26]

In the event his leadership did not last long. In a surviving letter to Makriyannis, Gordon explains that he resigned despite the good co-operation that the two had enjoyed, because his experience had been ignored and his advice had not been acted upon by their superiors.[27] Even though he returned to action for a while, in April 1827 he withdrew permanently because of his disagreement with Cochrane and Church, the new commanders-in-chief, with whom he was by no means the only one to be deeply dissatisfied. Hastings, for one, readily sympathised with Gordon and in his letters he is much more explicitly critical, making ironic comments on Cochrane's reputed genius which did not fit with the Admiral's inactivity in Greece, and being even more censorious with regard to Church, about whom he wrote: "I find the man such an insufferable, vain coxcomb person, made up every bit of him of gold lace, mustachios and froth, that I cannot live on terms with him."[28]

Gordon might well have been justified in his complaints against the two leaders, but it is likely that George Finlay was equally right in his assessment of Gordon's own leadership abilities. Though able to pay tribute to his strong points ("he knew the country, the people and the irregular troops as well as any man in Greece") Finlay's final verdict was that "Gordon was firm and sagacious, but he did not possess the activity and decision of character necessary to obtain commanding influence in

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[26] MS 1160/21, 16 Jan. 1827.

[27] I. Vlachoyannis (ed.), *Αρχείον του Στρατηγού Ιωάννου Μακρυγιάννη*, Athens 1907, p. 85.

[28] MS 1160/21, 12 Jan. 1828.

council, or to initiate daring measures in the field."[29] Be that as it may, the Faliro expedition was Gordon's last direct involvement in the war and soon afterwards he returned to Scotland.

With this, the second part of Gordon's correspondence (1821-1827, the years of the Revolution) also comes to an end. The third part, which covers the period up to his death (1828-1841), is much smaller, probably because he spent much of that time in Greece. From 1828 to 1831 he lived mainly in Argos and it was during this period that he did systematic research for his book and also devoted himself to archaeology, conducting a topographical investigation at Thermopylae, building up a collection of antiquities and excavating a site in Argos. At the time Gordon apparently planned to settle in that town, conveniently situated near Nafplion, capital of the young Greek state, and built a house there, mentioned with admiration by contemporary visitors and miraculously surviving to this day.

In 1831-3 Gordon was back at Cairness writing his *History of the Greek Revolution*, universally praised for its accuracy, objectivity and solid historical analysis. The letters from those years are not numerous and fall into two distinct categories. First, there are those dealing with Gordon's current concerns in Greece – which had taken a new form, that of investment: we see him looking for properties to buy, actually buying land in the Morea and on the outskirts of Athens and also becoming involved in money-lending activities. Secondly, there are letters dealing with news of Greek affairs, notably the policies and subsequently the assassination of President Kapodistrias. Most of these reports were written by George Finlay and Henry Robinson, Gordon's business agent in Patra. Like Gordon himself, both men belonged to the "English faction", accused of having actively supported opposition to Kapodistrias, if not fostered intrigues for his assassination. Their letters openly expose their views. Finlay was the more explicit of the two in his criticisms and had more than one sarcastic nickname for the President. On one occasion he described Kapodistrias's reactions as follows:

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[29] G. Finlay, *History of the Greek Revolution*, 2 vols, Edinburgh and London 1861, II, pp. 129 and 353.

> Grasset [a French Philhellene] has recovered [from] his keen encounter with the Pilot. [...] The Pilot, on Grasset's arriving at Poros, asked him the news from Egina [...] "None – but that all the people seem anxiously to look forward to the National Assembly." The Pilot became pea green and said "Very well, you [were] told to tell me so, I suppose you are quite right to do your duty and I'll try to do mine."[30]

In another letter, addressed to James Robertson, Finlay, who was very keen to obtain Greek citizenship, writes:

> The Prodromos is here – they say he is down in the mouth. [...] The constitution of Troezene made him what he is and gives me the right to be a Greek citizen. And yet the Jackanapes told me he did not think the nation had the power to make that law.[31]

Gordon returned to Greece in 1833 and for the next six years had a regular commission in the Greek army. He became general-in-chief of the Peloponnese and in 1835 he commanded a successful expedition to clear Northern Greece of brigands. When he resigned from the army he held the rank of major-general. In 1840 he visited Greece for the last time and the following year, shortly after his return to Cairness, he died of kidney failure at the age of 52.

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An appropriate conclusion to this account of Thomas Gordon's life would be a discussion of his personality. At present, however, there is insufficient evidence for a full portrait of the man. Having said that, I may add that my current investigations appear to be confirming in general terms the impression that his own writings and contemporary accounts convey: that he was a self-confident and practical man who stood on solid ground, who had strong views and the will to put them into practice; a measured and equitable person, generous and amiable but always restrained.

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[30] MS 1160/21, 18 Oct. [1828]. The nickname "Pilot" must be an allusion to Kapodistrias's title of "Κυβερνήτης".
[31] MS 1160/21, 24 Jan. 1830.

Finally, similar caution is needed for another interesting point of inquiry, regarding the complex motives behind Gordon's lifelong support for Greece and an accurate assessment of the role he played in the affairs of the country. Some Greek historians have been too ready to label him a spy, basing their allegations on no more damning evidence than the fact of his British origin and loyalties, sometimes compounded by reports of his horror at war atrocities. Something has already been said about his stance on this matter, but, before any hypothesis of this type can be profitably discussed, we need a great deal more hard evidence, and this entails laborious archival research and painstaking collation of all available information concerning Gordon's activities, contacts and writings.

For the time being, this tentative, selective and far from exhaustive presentation will have fulfilled its limited scope if it has offered some idea of this remarkable man, the exciting period in which he lived and what a mine of information his archive is. It will have achieved something more if it has also imparted something of my feeling that if historiography in the making is a safer and more comfortable option than history in the making, it can nevertheless be almost as challenging and fascinating.

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The sixteenth-century Cretan playwright Georgios Chortatsis as a parodist

Anastasia Markomihelaki

In 1993, a children's book by Eugene Trivizas was published in England, illustrated with vivid, colourful pictures by Helen Oxenbury, entitled *The Three Little Wolves and the Big Bad Pig*, a title that, needless to say, immediately recalls the universally known fairy-story *The Three Little Piglets and the Big Bad Wolf*; yet in the new tale things function in quite the opposite direction from that of the original story. In other words: "It was time for the three little wolves to go out into the world, so they set off and built themselves a splendid brick house." (As one can see, things start from where they ended up in the original story – i.e. from the brick house.) "But they hadn't reckoned on the big bad pig who soon came along and blew their house down." ("So he huffed and he puffed and he puffed and he huffed, but the house didn't fall down" is the phrase that we recognize as coming from the original story.)

> The little wolves retaliated by building a stronger house, but that didn't deter the pig, who resorted to ever more violent methods of demolition. It was only a chance encounter with a flamingo bird that put an end to hostilities in an entirely unexpected and satisfactory way.[1]

In fact, what happened is that after the failure of the strongest possible building materials used, the three little wolves decided to fall back on some rather unusual materials, provided by that flamingo bird: in their new house, "one wall was of marigolds, one wall of daffodils, one wall of pink roses and one wall of cherry blossom. The ceiling was made of sunflowers and the floor was a carpet of daisies." So, when the

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[1] The summary is taken from the cover of the book. See Trivizas and Oxenbury 1993.

big bad pig took a deep breath ready to huff and puff, he liked the scent of the flowers so much that "instead of huffing and puffing, he began to sniff." The result was that "his heart became tender and he realised how horrible he had been in the past. In other words, he became a big good pig. He started to sing and to dance the tarantella," eventually becoming very good friends with his previous victims.

So everything in the old fairy-tale (starting with its very title) has been reversed in the new one, and especially the end and the message of the original story.

Soon after its publication, Trivizas's *Three Little Wolves* became a best-selling book in both the UK and the USA, thus proving the popularity that a successful remaking (albeit in reverse) of a favourite story may acquire; proving, in other words, the popularity often achieved by literary *parody.*

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Parody in literature means the exaggerated imitation and modification of the form or content (subject-matter, syntax, vocabulary or style) of a given literary text; an imitation which aims at the double-edged task of reform and ridicule. By changing these characteristics of the parodied text, we usually end up with their reversal in the parody text; a reversal that usually constitutes a comic incongruity between the original and its parody.[2] The changes made to the parodied text may of course vary from parody to parody, as to their range and sort: they may be changes to the subject-matter, to the grammar or syntax, to the lexicon, or to metre and rhyme if we have a verse parody, etc. (Rose 1993: 47-8).

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In the last decades of Venetian rule in Crete, the island experienced a flourishing in letters and the arts, which has led scholars to talk of a "Great Age" as far as literature is concerned.

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[2] For these definitions of *Parody*, see the *Princeton Encyclopedia* 1986, s.v., and Rose 1993, ch. 1. "Ways of defining parody" (especially p. 45 for a summary of the whole discussion).

The period of flowering was marked by the presence of new genres, influenced by the Italian Renaissance. This influence was considerably promoted by the changes that took place in Cretan society over those years, changes that led to the forming of a prosperous and "clearly Greek" society, "mature enough to grasp the messages of the Renaissance movement" (Alexiou 1985: 49). Of that society the intellectuals formed a small but active part, and contributed to the lively cultural environment of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Cretan cities. Poets such as Georgios Chortatsis, Vitsentzos Kornaros and Markantonios Foskolos lived and wrote their works in the towns of Rethymno and Kastro (Iraklio). Among them, the first, Chortatsis, is generally considered the most influential and interesting playwright of the period. His three surviving plays are representative of the three genres of Renaissance drama: one tragedy, one comedy and one pastoral drama. In addition, there has also survived a number of interludes (*intermezzi*) written by him. Unfortunately, despite extensive research, scholars have not succeeded in identifying him with certainty, but on the evidence of his plays, he seems educated, having the culture of an Italian scholar.

Apart from Chortatsis's comedy, two more specimens of this genre have come down to us: the anonymous *Stathis*, and the one by M. Foskolos, entitled *Fortounatos*. All three of them, although clearly based on the Italian Renaissance *commedia erudita*, in using the same stock characters, intrigue and motifs in the plot, do not seem to have any specific model among the *erudita* plays.

The main common features in the plots of these three surviving Cretan comedies are: the pair of young lovers, who suffer because of the wish of the girl's parent to marry her off or simply to exploit her by giving her to some wealthy old man, and the discovery that one of the young lovers is in fact the long-lost child of a leading character in the play. Most of the easily-recognizable stock characters of the Italian *commedia erudita* are also to be found here: the hungry and gluttonous servants, the multilingual teacher, the silly enamoured old man, the braggart soldier and the avaricious match-makers.[3]

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[3] For a recent and informative introduction to the three comedies (playwrights, plot, characters, editions etc.), see Vincent 1991.

Recent research on the comedies has revealed and described a number of devices or modes in which the playwrights express the comic elements of their plays: in other words, the elements which give each comedy its particular comic stamp, and throw light on its possible dependence upon the Italian Renaissance theories of laughter and the ridiculous.[4]

Going from the most recent comedy to the oldest one – in order to conclude with Chortatsis's *Katsourbos*, the actual subject of this paper – I will begin with the comic modes of *Fortounatos* (dated 1655). In fact, this play does not reveal any specific laughter-provoking techniques, apart from the long lists of insulting and funny adjectives used for the harsh ridiculing of individual characters. The comedy also abounds in coprology and sexual innuendo, but there is no evidence that a conscious pattern of the use of the comic is followed.

On the other hand, the unknown poet of the comedy *Stathis* (dated at the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century) aims at the ridiculous in a more specific and conscious way, that is with the employment of purely comic rhetorical figures, and of the element of the unexpected. What, in addition, is more characteristic in *Stathis*, is that characters representing respected members of the family and society never become objects of ridicule, thus keeping the play in accordance with the theoretical instructions that harsh ridiculing should be reserved for heroes belonging to the lower classes.

Finally *Katsourbos* (Chortatsis's own comedy, dated in the last two decades of the sixteenth century) presents by far the most interesting and varied comic devices. The surprise resulting from an unexpected statement is the first such technique. But Chortatsis also emphasizes a series of techniques (apart from the abuse, indecent or silly utterances and slapstick jokes common to all comedies) which make his handling of the ridiculous more sophisticated than in the other two comic plays.

Katsourbos displays the best exploitation, among Cretan comedies, of rhetoric in the service of the ridiculous. In this comedy, we not only find those rhetorical figures prescribed by

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[4] For a detailed description of the comic in the Cretan comedies see Markomihelaki-Mintzas 1991: chapter 2, "Laughter", and Markomihelaki 1992.

the theorists as the most suitable for comedy, but we also encounter rhetorical figures which should belong to more sophisticated literary genres, and are used here exclusively in comic contexts. So figures like apostrophe, the sophisticated metaphor, or the rhetorical scheme of the monologue, normally belonging to tragedy, are used by Chortatsis in clearly comic environments, thus becoming even more laughable than the comic figures themselves.

There is finally a group of scenes, to which I will return later on, characterized by a subtle irony towards the prostitutes and match-makers of the play, where Chortatsis teaches morality (comedy's main aim according to Cinquecento theorists), through the reversal and ridiculing of what public opinion considers as proper and moral.

As I hope to have shown in this brief account of the modes of the comic in the Cretan comedies, there is a considerable degree of differentiation in the number and handling of, and in the importance given to, the comic elements from one comedy to another, starting with the sophisticated *Katsourbos* and ending with the cruder *Fortounatos*.

This paper aims to add to this discussion and description of the comic in the Cretan comedies one more dimension which has not been noticed so far: that of parody, which is to be found in the varied comic devices of *Katsourbos*, but not in the simpler treatment of the comic in *Stathis* and in *Fortounatos*.

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Katsourbos

Katsourbos is not of course exclusively a parody in itself. As it belongs to the Renaissance dramatic genre of comedy, it has to follow this genre's own rules and specific characteristics. Parody exists in this play only as an additional quality, introduced in order to embellish and enrich the comedy and to enhance its comic attributes.

Parody in *Katsourbos* functions in two ways. The first conforms with the earlier quoted definitions, as some parts of this comedy show "signals" of parodying another older, specific work of Cretan literature. This manner of parody is directed from one text to another. But there is also a treatment of parody by

Chortatsis which is directed from one part of the play to another: namely, there are speeches in the comedy which aim at parodying other serious speeches or utterances, by consciously using their syntax and style but for lower and ridiculous subjects. In other words, we have *Katsourbos* (the play) parodying *Katsourbos* (the play). And since parody means reversal, I will also reverse the above order and examine first the cases where Chortatsis parodies his own heroes, and then the case where he parodies the work of a literary antecedent of his.

A. Katsourbos *parodies* Katsourbos

Signals of parody are given from the very first verses of the comedy, and prevail in the whole of the first scene, reaching a climax towards the end of the dialogue between the enamoured young Master Nikolos and his gluttonous servant Katsarapos.

In the Appendix are printed: on the left-hand page the parodied utterances of Nikolos, and on the right the parody of these utterances. The correspondence between parodied and parodying verses is indicated by the numbers printed in bold. I offer the following comments on the examples:

1. Here we have Nikolos's love symptoms parodied by his servant, who is supposed to be in love with a "σκροφιά" (sow).
2. Notice the similar beginning of Nikolos's apostrophe and of his servant's parody: "Πρόβαλε (appear)...", as well as the rhyme "κερά μου - κοιλιά μου" (my lady – my belly), which parodies Nikolos's "κεράς μου - καρδιάς μου" (my lady – my heart); cf. the rhyme "κοιλιά μου - καρδιά μου" (my belly – my heart).
3. In addition to "πρόβαλε", other common or similar words or expressions in parodying and parodied verses are printed in italics. The parody becomes more acute at the end of the scene with the parallel distichs sung by master and servant, where the similar or common beginnings of the distichs emphasize the parody even more.

Yet some of Nikolos's utterances will be parodied in other scenes as well, not only by his servant, who has heard them, but also by his rival in love, the wealthy old man Armenis, who describes a series of love symptoms, quite inferior and unromantic in comparison to Nikolos's own love symptoms. In that case, only the audience is capable of getting the signal of the parody, which functions unbeknown to Armenis.

Note to the Appendix:

1. Instead of Nikolos's romantic symptoms, such as trembling, lamenting his fate, being in a state of vexation, Armenis experiences rather practical and everyday problems due to his love for the same girl: he cannot count his money properly, cannot get dressed properly, walks like a madman, talks like a stammerer, and – above all – he cannot eat and he cannot go to the lavatory even twice a week.

And whereas Armenis's parody belongs to the same act (first act) as that of Nikolos's parodied speeches, another parodic treatment of this latter hero will take place two acts later (Act 3, scene 3): Katsarapos will return on stage with a parody of the image of Venus and Cupid, used by Nikolos in the first scene of the play.

Note to the Appendix:

3. The favourite Renaissance image of the goddess of love and beauty "Αφροδίτη" and of her son "Έρως", is ridiculed in Katsarapos's mention of "Πισπορδίτη" (a play on the word "πορδή", fart) and her son, Hunger. In addition, the rhyme "Πισπορδίτης - ψειρίτης" can be said to act as a parodic play with the rhyme "Αφροδίτης - πετρίτης" of the Prologue, which refers to the same image of Venus and Cupid.

B. Katsourbos *parodies Sachlikis's* Advice to Frantziskis

After acquiring some familiarity with the literary production of Venetian Crete that preceded the "Great Age" of Cretan Renaissance literature, I noticed that, despite the major differences in their models, subject-matter, character, and style, one could still trace some common elements between works of the first and works of the second period of Cretan literature. Extensive comparisons between the three Renaissance comedies and those works of "early Cretan literature" with a comic or satirical tone or content,[5] led me eventually to the detection of striking similarities between the subject matter of some scenes of *Katsourbos* and the third part of an advisory poem, written at the end of the

[5] The course of these comparisons is described in the introduction to my article "Οι Συμβουλές του Φραντζισκή και η αντιστροφή τους" (in *Αφιέρωμα στον καθηγητή Ν.Μ. Παναγιωτάκη*, forthcoming). From this article I take section B (*Katsourbos* parodies the *Advice to Frantziskis*) of the present paper.

fourteenth century by the Cretan nobleman Stefanos Sachlikis, the earliest Cretan poet known to us from the Venetian period.

Sachlikis, consequently characterised as "the father of Cretan literature", "was born in Kastro around 1331. His parents were of Greek origin, but it is possible that they had become Roman Catholics. His father belonged to the well-to-do bourgeoisie of Kastro and had a fief of more than four and a half *serventarie* in different parts of Crete. His main activities were in leasing out land. He was also a member of the Senate." As is evidenced by his literary works as well as by the documents of that period in the Venetian Archive, Sachlikis lived an eventful life, which saw the loss of a large part of his fortune, and some period of imprisonment. The poet described his life in his verse Autobiography, in his didactic poems "On friends", "On jail" and the *Advice to Frantziskis*, and in his satirical poems on the prostitutes of Kastro, who were in fact responsible for many of his troubles.[6]

A common point of reference between *Katsourbos* and the satirical works of Sachlikis is to be found in the depiction of the prostitutes and the description of their world and life style. Four of Sachlikis's satirical poems are dedicated to their ridicule and castigation ("About the Whores", "The Council of the Whores", "The Tournament of the Whores" and the "Praise of Pothotsoutsounia"), while half of his didactic work *Advice* also refers to them. On the other hand, *Katsourbos* is the only one of the three comedies that contains four female characters engaged in some way in this job, Poulissena being the most representative of all.[7] By contrast, in *Stathis* and *Fortounatos*, the depiction of this category of women is far less shocking, and is confined simply to the role of lovers' go-between.

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[6] For the most recent and comprehensive introductory presentation of the life and works of S. Sachlikis, see A. van Gemert, "Literary Antecedents", in Holton 1991 (and especially the section "Stefanos Sachlikis", pp. 51-6), from where the quotation on Sachlikis's biography is taken.

[7] Poulissena is a widow and foster-mother of Kassandra, Nikolos's beloved. After the death of her husband, Poulissena, with the aid of two older women in the job (Arkolia and Anneza, both appearing in the play), chose this way of life in order to earn money and amuse herself. It seems that her maidservant Annousa is also engaged in the same job.

The differences between the depiction of whores in Sachlikis's clearly satirical songs and in his advisory poem are various: in the first poems (belonging to Sachlikis's first period of literary production) the language is more obscene and the depictions more realistic; satire is more acute, and personal, since the whores appear with their real names. On the contrary, in the *Advice to Frantziskis* (a work from the second period of his literary activity), the intensity is toned down, satire is reduced, and it is not personal, as the prostitutes appear anonymously; also, their manners and morals are depicted from some distance, since the aim of the poet here is to advise the young Frantziskis on the dangers he should avoid in life, and not to take revenge on any individual whore for what she did to him. From this point of view, the depiction of prostitutes in *Katsourbos* (realistic, but without real names, and bound by the conventions of Italian comedy) approaches Sachlikis's advisory poem rather than his vengeful, satirical ones. In addition, *Katsourbos* and the *Advice* share the same metre (iambic fifteen-syllable) and the same form of rhyme – since here for the first time Sachlikis uses couplet rhyme, which, compared with the satirical, sneering nature of the polystich of his first poems on whores, is quieter and more aloof (van Gemert 1991: 55).

Yet, as we shall see later on, the aim of the depiction differs considerably between *Katsourbos* and the *Advice*.

In the *Advice*, the poet advises Franziskis to avoid three bad habits and great dangers: the night life of the large town, gambling, and the "secret" whores (such as Chortatsis's heroine Poulissena to some degree). This third subject occupies exactly half of the total poem and examines a series of some seven individual subjects concerning the whores (vv. 225-403):[8]

- their ways of setting their cap at a man (229-42);
- their unfaithfulness to their lovers (231-62);
- their hypocritical behaviour towards the lovers (263-80);
- their habit of splitting on their lovers to the authorities of the town (281-324);

[8] The numbering corresponds to the text as edited by Vitti 1960 from the Neapolitan codex.

– their complaints that the lover compromised their reputation (325-46);
– the role of their mothers (345-71); and
– the venereal diseases that men may contract from them (372-9).

In the *Advice*, therefore, the whores' conduct is presented *by the poet* as *a danger to avoid*; the advice of the poet is directed *against* the whores.

In *Katsourbos*, on the contrary, things work quite the other way round; the point of view is completely reversed here: there is a group of scenes, interspersed in the acts of the play, where the prostitutes and match-makers *themselves* present their indecent manners as *a way of life worth following* (Scenes A.2, B.7, and C.5, 6, 7). More specifically:

– in scene A.2, Poulissena explains to her maidservant ways in which prostitutes should work, dwelling mainly on their hypocritical behaviour and the lies they should tell their lovers, a characteristic on which Sachlikis had insisted as well, but from the opposite point of view.
– in scene B.7, these explanations of Poulissena will become more systematic and will take the form of advice (but how different from the advice of Sachlikis!); the form of instruction by the old whore, Arkolia, to the younger one, Poulissena, now that the latter is about to introduce her foster-daughter to the job.

Arkolia gives Poulissena a series of pieces of advice, all of which have their *reversed* equivalent in the Sachlikian poem. (In the Appendix, parodied and parodying verses are again printed on facing pages. The exact correspondences are indicated by the numbers printed in bold. [9])

Yet apart from these similarities in the subject-matter discussed thus far, the two works examined here reveal also some similarities in style and vocabulary, which make even

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[9] Apart from the prostitutes' own views on their job and life style, there are also some more connections between the *Advice* and other parts of *Katsourbos*, such as the gifts and money that whores demand from their lovers (*Kats.* A 315-18 and *Adv.* 259-60, 306-7, and 354), and the hypocrisy of women, stressed by the servant Katsarapos (A 87-94).

more probable the connections between them, and the function of these connections in generating parody.

Common words in the two works are "ψόματα" and "κομπώματα" (lies and deception), as well as "σιργουλίσματα" and "μουτσουτσούνια", that is the mincing manner of the whores towards their lovers. The latter word appears exclusively in the two works examined here (*Adv.* 345, *Kats.* C 239), at least according to Kriaras's *Lexicon* (ΙΑ', p. 77). Common to both texts is the characterisation "πελελός" (crazy) (*Adv.* 237, 366, *Kats.* D 410) for the men who fall victim to these women, and also the whores' interest in their client's purse ("σακούλι") (*Adv.* 396, *Kats.* A 196). Finally, we find in both plays the standard rhyme "αλήθεια - παραμύθια" and the vivid description of the women's manners with the use of many verbs in the same verse (the "asyndeton" figure of speech: *Adv.* 322, *Kats.* C 313-16).

In addition, however, to all these similarities, we can also discern a parallelism in the composition of the examined extracts as a whole: what in fact happens in *Katsourbos* is that the hypocrisy of the whores and the deception of their lovers – the main danger that Sachlikis wanted Frantziskis to avoid – find here their practical application, from a reversed point of view, in the advice of Arkolia, and in the plan for the cheating of the ridiculous old lover Armenis.[10]

We have so far been talking about the reversal of the *Advice* subject-matter in the comedy *Katsourbos*, which shares common elements in style, vocabulary, metre and rhyme with the first text. Can we, consequently, talk of parody? Of the parodic use of the Sachlikian poem by a playwright who lived some two centuries later? Indeed, parts of the *Advice*, that is of a text written with a *serious* intention, are used in the comic context of another work, namely of a Renaissance comedy, written with a view to satire and ridicule. The ways in which we have seen Chortatsis using (as I believe) the *Advice* are compatible with the techniques of parody described by Fred W. Householder and M.A. Rose: from the types of parody explained by the first scholar, in *Katsourbos* we discern case "(3), where a writer

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[10] For borrowings of *Katsourbos* from Italian Renaissance comedies, concerning the depiction of the prostitutes, see Aposkiti 1994: 179-81, where the author examines the motif of the women's religiosity.

imitates (a) the sound and form of the original or (b) the general sense of he original" (Householder 1944: 6); from the changes "to the coherence of the text quoted", as classified by Margaret Rose, the Cretan comedy exhibits (1)(b), "changes to the message of the original, of a more ironic, or satiric and comic character" (Rose 1993: 37).

As far as we know, none of Sachlikis's works was ever published; they have come down to us in three manuscripts, all of them dated in the sixteenth century, the century in which Chortatsis lived and wrote his plays; it is probable that the Cretan playwright could have had access to Sachlikis's poems, unlike his wider audience who consequently may not have recognised in *Katsourbos* the original parodied text. Yet such a fact does not reduce the importance of the use of the *Advice* in the Cretan comedy: Chortatsis finds in this poem "ready-made" material for some of the scenes of his play: he finds the views of public opinion about the whores, expressed in rhyming couplets, in fifteen-syllable verses, divided into individual subjects, with specific figures of speech and characteristic words, and he – with his distinguished poetic genius – uses this opinion from a reverse point of view, by employing parody techiniques, in order to vary his comic elements even more.

However, Chortatsis's acquaintance with parody does not stop with *Katsourbos*; instances of parody are also to be found in the playwright's pastoral drama *Panoria*.

Panoria

Pastoral drama is an offshoot of the third genre of Italian Renaissance drama, that is of tragicomedy. Tragicomedy was born out of the need felt by some playwrights to free drama from the excesses of both tragedy and comedy, and to "prevent the listeners from falling into the excessive melancholy of tragedy or the excessive lewdness of comedy", as the genre's main defender, Giambattista Guarini, characteristically says (Sidnell 1991: 153). Consequently it takes from both these genres only those components which would not lead to any excess but "which can unite with decorum and verisimilitude in a single dramatic form" (Sidnell 1991: 159). So tragicomedy comprises serious personages, who encounter "danger but not death", and comic ones, who cause "laughter that is not lewd" (Sidnell 1991: 153).

Panoria, the only surviving Cretan pastoral drama in the Greek language,[11] appears to be a very well written play which consciously follows the rules of the genre as set forth by its main theoreticians G.G. Cinthio and G.B. Guarini.[12]

When examining parody in *Panoria*, we return to the first way in which parody was used by the poet in his comedy *Katsourbos*; in his pastoral we find again the parodic treatment of some serious characters' speeches by other heroes of a more comic nature.

In this play two young shepherds, the wealthy and handsome Gyparis and his friend Alexis, experience a desperate love for two beautiful young girls, Panoria and Athousa respectively, who are so busy hunting on the mountains that they turn down any proposal of marriage. The ugly old woman Frosini, an echo of the comedies' match-makers, promises to help the young shepherds, who also have the support of Panoria's father Giannoulis, in order to sway the girls' opinion, as will eventually happen with the help of the goddess Venus (Aphrodite). So, among the characters borrowed from tragedy we count the four young heroes (girls and boys), and among those who remind us of comic heroes, we number the aged Frosini and Giannoulis. And it is precisely the desperate monologues and dialogues of these enamoured men (belonging to the serious component of the play), that are parodied by the discussions of the elderly characters (discussions belonging to the comic component of the pastoral).

Panoria *parodies* Panoria

The only purely comic scene of *Panoria*, a dialogue between Giannoulis and Frosini, is placed right in the middle of the play and acts as comic relief between various sloppy dialogues on love and marriage: in fact, it is a "duet" of insults and abuse between the characters, which can function as a parody of the young shepherds' duet of laments, which took place earlier in the

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[11] One more specimen of Cretan pastoral drama has come down to us, Antonio Pandimo's *L'Amorosa Fede*, which is written in Italian. For an introduction to all surviving Cretan works of a pastoral character, see R. Bancroft-Marcus, "The pastoral mode", in Holton 1991: 79-102.

[12] For a fuller discussion of the relation of *Panoria* to the tragicomedy theories of the Cinquecento, see Markomihelaki, forthcoming.

play. In the Appendix, extracts from scene A.2 – with the laments of Gyparis and Alexis – and from the above-mentioned scene C.3 – which echoes the general "sound and form" of the previous one, but from a comic and ridiculing point of view – are printed on facing pages.

Some conclusions

Coming to the end of this search for traces of parody in the Chortatsian plays,[13] it is time to see whether the title given to this paper can be at all justified. Can the talented playwright Chortatsis also be characterised as a competent parodist? Yes, I would answer, since we saw him parodying both another artist's work and his own plays.

It is remarkable that he set out to reverse Sachlikis's serious advice on avoiding the indecent manners of the whores, and to turn it into advice on how to live as a "proper" and "decent" whore. It is even more remarkable that he parodies his own heroes and their speeches.

As to this latter kind of parody, it is worth mentioning that Chortatsis tends to parody only his enamoured young men (in both *Katsourbos* and *Panoria*) and their, usually boring, descriptions of love sufferings. In other words, he parodies only serious, and not funny, speeches and characters;[14] thus he is consciously aiming at lightening the serious-romantic components of these two plays in favour of their comic ones.

But once we have accepted Chortatsis in his new role, that of the parodist, the question which immediately follows is, "what kind of a parodist?" As Margaret Rose describes them, there have been in general two main theories about the nature of the attitude of the parodist to the text quoted: according to the first, the parodist's purpose is to mock the chosen text; and according to the second, the parodist is motivated by sympathy with the

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[13] It is of course self-evident why Chortatsis's third play, the tragedy *Erofili*, was excluded from this examination. Parody could never have a place in such a serious genre as tragedy.

[14] One could also assign to parody the comic misunderstandings of the Schoolmaster's Latin, but this is a device directly borrowed from the Italian *commedia erudita* and, consequently, it may not constitute a conscious exploitation of the possibilities of parody.

imitated text and he imitates it in order to write in its style (Rose 1993: 45-6), a motive which I take to be the case in Trivizas's *Three Little Wolves*.

I believe that both these attitudes can apply to Chortatsis's treatment of a parodied text: when he is parodying his own heroes' speeches, the motive is to ridicule them; when, on the other hand, he uses the *Advice to Frantziskis* as a source for his scenes with prostitutes, the motive is apparently the respectful acknowledgement of the help he received from this earlier text of his Cretan literary tradition.

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Yet talking about Chortatsis as a parodist, what, one might ask, were the readings and knowledge he could have had on the subject? Was parody in his plays a haphazard fact, owed to his talent and sense of the comic, or might it have some roots in the poet's theoretical readings? For, as deduced from previous research on the relation of *Katsourbos* and *Panoria* to the Cinquecento theories of drama, it is more than probable that Chortatsis really knew and applied in these plays specific theoretical principles.[15]

As far as I have been able to find out, it was only Julius Caesar Scaliger, among the Italian sixteenth-century theorists, who wrote specifically about parody, providing "one of the earliest influential 'modern' (in the sense of post-Renaissance) discussions" of this genre, in his *Poetices libri septem* of 1561. Scaliger devoted to the subject the chapter "Parodia" (p. 46 of the 1561 edition), and defined the term as "the inversion of another song which turns it into the ridiculous" (Rose 1993: 9 and 281), which is exactly what Chortatsis was doing with both an earlier didactic poem and the speeches of his own serious heroes.

Chortatsis, then, could have had at his disposal and used a theoretical discussion on parody, to be found in one of the more influential sixteenth-century Italian treatises on the theory of literature, thus revealing one more aspect of his versatile poetic personality.

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[15] On dramatic theory in *Katsourbos*, see Markomihelaki-Mintzas 1991, and on the relation of *Panoria* to theory, Markomihelaki, forthcoming.

APPENDIX: The examples

1. *KATSOURBOS*
A. *Katsourbos* parodies *Katsourbos*

SCENE A.1 *Nikolos*

1. Έ μας επά, Κατσάραπε, στο σπίτι τση *κεράς μου,*
κι *αν* ήξευρες πώς *άφτουσι τα φύλλα τση καρδιάς μου*
και πώς τρέμου τα μέλη μου, κρίνω πως μ' είχες κλαίγει
κι αλύπητη τη μοίρα μου κι *άπονην* είχες λέγει,
γιατί δε βλέπω *τά* 'μορφα και πλουμιστά της κάλλη
τη σκότιση να διώξουσι *του νου μου τη μεγάλη.*
Πού 'σαι, Κασσάντρα μου ακριβή, πού 'σαι και δεν προβαίνεις
να σβήσεις τση *καημένης μου καρδιάς τση πληγωμένης*
τη λαύρα κι όλους τσι καημούς μόνο με τη θωριά σου [...]
(A 1-99)

2. *Πρόβαλε* κορασίδα μου, πρόβαλε *να* σε δούσι
τ' αμμάτια μου του ταπεινού, *να* παρηγορηθούσι·
πρόβαλε, δώσ' τωνε το φως, *σαν* ήσου μαθημένη,
με τη γλυκειά σου τη θωριά, ψυχή μου αγαπημένη (A 13-16)

3. Αν ήξευρες τα πάθη μου και την πολλή μου αγάπη
κι *αν* έναι και κιαμιά φορά σ' είχε *δοξέψει*, αζάπη,
της *Αφροδίτης το παιδί*, φαρμάκιν είχες λέγει
λογιάζω πως το φαγητό, και πάντα σου είχες κλαίγει.
(A 49-52)
4. Καθώς θωρώ δεν *έγνωσες* ποτέ σου την αγάπη. (A 65)

5. *Με το γλυκύ* κιλαδισμό τον ήλιο προσκαλούσι
κάθε πουρνό όλα τα πουλιά *να* βγει *να* τόνε δούσι, (A 133-4)
να πάρου φως τ' αμμάτια τως και λάμψην από κείνο,
τα ταίρια τως για *να* μπορού *ν'* ανταμωθούσι, κρίνω. (A 137-8)
Γιαύτος με το τραγούδι μου κι εγώ, γλυκειά κερά μου,
σε κράζω *να* 'βγεις *να* σε δου τ' αμμάτια τα δικά μου.(A 141-2)

[(scene A.3) *Armenis*

1. Τούτος ο πόθος μού κρατεί *το νου διασκορπισμένο,*
σαν είναι των αγαφτικώ το φυσικό δοσμένο.
Μα τούτο δεν είν' τίβοτσι σιμά σε σφάλματα άλλα
οπού με κάνει ολημερνίς και κάνω πλιο μεγάλα.
Σφάνω τορνέσα όντε μετρώ, σκαρτσούνια μου δε δένω,
σαν αφορμάρης πορπατώ σ' τσι στράτες που παγαίνω,
την εμιλιάν οπού μιλώ καπακιστά τη βγάνω,
στην κεφαλή μου πα ξυστώ, κι εγώ τ' ατζί μου πιάνω·
κι εκείνο που 'ναι πλιότερο, δεν ημπορώ να φάγω,
μηδέ στη σέκια δυο φορές την εβδομάδα πάγω.
Τη νύχτα ψίχα δεν μπορώ μιαν ώρα να τα κλείσω
τ' αμμάτια μου να κοιμηθώ, θαμάζομαι, να ζήσω,
πώς ζω σε τόση παιδωμή. ... (A 253-265)]

Katsarapos

2. *Πρόβαλε,* ναίσκε, πρόβαλε, μηδέν αργείς, *κερά μου*
τούτα τα λόγια τ' άνοστα πώς τα μισά η *κοιλιά μου*
(A 17-18)

1. 3. Δοξεύγει μου καθημερνώς η πείνα την *κοιλιά μου*
κι η όρεξη του φαγητού μού σφάζει την *καρδιά μου.*
(A 53-4)

4. *Γνώθω τηνε* και *καίγει μου τα σωθικά* τ' αζάπη (A 66)
[...]
1. Και πώς σου φαίνεται η σκροφιά; Τούτή 'ναι που με σφάζει
τούτή 'ναι που με τυραννά και την *καρδιά μου βράζει,*
κι όντα τη δω, λουκάνικα κι απάκια λογαριάζω
κι από την τόση πεθυμιά κλαίγω κι αναστενάζω. (A 75-8)

5. *Με το* μοσκάτο *το γλυκύ* και μ' όμορφη λογάδα
κάθε πουρνό οι φρόνιμοι διώχνουσι την κρυάδα, (A 135-6)
να πάρουσι τα μέλη τως δύναμη, *να* βαστούσι
τσι κόπους και τσι λογισμούς οπού τσι τυραννούσι.(A 139-40)
Γιαύτος κι εγώ 'χα πεθυμιά σήμερο *να* 'χα χάρη
σ' *ένα* βουτσί *να* βρίσκουμου γή πούρι σε πιθάρι. (A 143-4)

[Prologue: Eros
Εμέ με κράζουν Έρωτα και γιο της *Αφροδίτης*,
οπού δοξεύγω τες καρδιές και κάνω σαν *πετρίτης* (Πρ.37-8)]

B. *Katsourbos* parodies Sachlikis's *Advice to Frantziskis*

Advice to Frantziskis (the poet)

1. Η πολιτική όντα γρικά ότι έχει να κερδέσει,
περιλαμπάνει σε σφικτά ώστε να σε ποδέσει (229-30)

Και όποιον ευρίσκει πελελόν και έχει να της χαρίζει,
με λόγια και κομπώματα σαν μύλον τον γυρίζει (237-8)

2. και αφ' ότις φα και γλείψει σε, τότε αποκουντουρίζει,
και άλλον ευρίσκει και τον τρω, και εσένα αποχωρίζει.
(231-2)

3. Η πολιτική, αν της δώσουσιν, μετά χαρά επαίρνει·
ως δια τα γρόσια η πολιτική κουλουμουντρά και γέρνει!
(239-40)

4. Ποτέ της η πολιτική εις ένα δεν ιστέκει·
ενός σακούλι κτάσσεται και άλλου γαϊτάνι πλέκει.
Τον έναν αποχαιρετά και άλλον περιλαμπάνει
[Έναν σου φαίνεται κρατεί και των παντών προδίδει].
(243-6, but also 251)

Scene C.3

3. *Ένα κοπέλι την καρδιά μού 'σφαξε την καημένη.*
ΝΙΚ. Σε ποια περιά και δε θωρώ αίμα ποσώς να βγαίνει;
- Μέσα την έχω την πληγή και πάγει στο *στομάχι*.
Οϊμένα ο κακόμοιρος, μάτια ας μην ήθελά 'χει!
ΝΙΚ. Ποιον ήτο το κοπέλι αυτό;
- Ο γιος της *Πισπορδίτης*!
ΝΙΚ. Ποιας Πισπορδίτης;
- Γείς γυμνός, κακός, (...) ψειρίτης.
[...] Μα στέκοντας και βλέποντας τα ξίγκια τα περίσσα
και τσ' ομορφιές οπού 'χασι, τα σάλια μού κινήσα,
γιατ' είδα δυο κομμάτια κριας όμορφα μέσα στ' άλλα,
τόσα παχιά, τόσα καλά, τόσα πολλά μεγάλα,
π' όλος εξαναστάθηκα, κι αυτό το κοπελάκι,
της Πισπορδίτης το παιδί, σύρνει το δοξαράκι
κι εις την *κοιλιά μ' εδόξεψε*, και λέγει μου: "δε γιαίνεις
ποτέ απ' αυτείνη την πληγή, καημένε, μα ποθαίνεις,
ανέν κι αυτά τα φαγητά δε φάγεις να χορτάσεις."
(C 51-6, 83-91)

Katsourbos (Arkolia)

1. Μα τούτο θέλω μοναχάς πάντα σου να θυμάσαι·
μ' όσους σου λάχου σπλαχνικιά, σα θέλει η τέχνη, να 'σαι
(B 321-2)
Κάνε καλή θωριά ολωνών, κι όσο μπορείς τούς γέλα,
με γκρίνια μην ιδεί κιανείς ποτέ σου την κοπέλα. (B 329-30)

2. κι όσο μπορείς αγαφτικούς την κάμε πάντα να 'χει
γιατί κακό με τους πολλούς δεν ημπορεί να λάχει. (B 331-2)

3. ουδέ 'ς τς αρχές σου να ζητάς τις πληρωμές μεγάλες,
να μη σου φεύγου σαν πουλιά να πηαίνουσι στις άλλες.
Κάλλιο το λίγο και συχνό γεμίζει το σακούλι,
και στη φτηνειά κατέχεις το το πως γλακούσιν ούλοι.
(B 325-8)
4. γιαύτος λωλάγρα την κρατώ και γι' αγνωσιά μεγάλη
όντες ακούσω πως κιαμιά κιανέναν αποβγάλει. (B 337-8)
Στην κάμαρα ας είν' ο είς κι άλλος εις την αυλή σου,
κι άλλος απ' όξω του στενού ... (B 343-4)
τα ρούχα σου κι αγαφτικούς πάντα να συχναλλάζεις,
όσο μπορείς στα βρόχια σου πλιότερους για να μπάζεις.
(B 371-2)

2. *PANORIA*
Panoria parodies *Panoria*

SCENE A.2

ΓΥΠ. [...] Γιατί θαρρώ δε βρίσκεται θεριό μηδεκιανένα,
να μηδέν κλάψει από καρδιάς περίσσα λυπημένα
γροικώντας τα περίσσα μου βάσανα και καημούς μου,
τα δάκρυα μου, τσι πόνους μου και τσ' αναστεναμούς μου.
ΑΛΕ. Εγώ 'μ', αδέρφι Γύπαρη, στα πάθη μαθημένος·
κι αν ήξερες τη σήμερον πώς βρίσκομ' ο καημένος,
χαρά 'χες πει την πρίκα σου σιμά στην εδική μου·
κι ήθελες το 'χει θάμασμα το πώς κρατεί η ζωή μου.
Τον ήλιον είδα να σταθεί χίλιες φορές γροικώντας
τα πάθη μου και να 'κλαψε τα δάκρυα μου θωρώντας.
ΓΥΠ. Εγώ δεν είδα να σταθεί τον ήλιο να μ' ακούσει,
μα είδα χαράκια και δεντρά πολλά ν' ανασπαστούσι,
να φεύγου για να μη γροικού τ' αναστενάματά μου
και την περίσσα λύπηση απόχω στην καρδιά μου. [...]
ΑΛΕ. Ελόγιασά το αληθινά πως λυγερής αγάπη
θε να 'ν' αιτιά του πόνου σου και του καημού σου, αζάπη. [...]
ΓΥΠ. Λόγιασε ποια 'γριότερη κι άπονη κορασίδα,
και ποια περηφανότερη γυρίζει επά στην 'Ιδα,
κι εκείνη 'ναι απού η μοίρα μου μου 'δωκε ν' αγαπήσω,
τα βάσανα του έρωτα μόνο για να γνωρίσω. [...]
Τέσσερις χρόνοι σήμερο περνούσι απού γυρεύγω
να τη μερώσω, μα θωρώ πως πλια την αγριεύγω.
Τα λόγια χάνω μοναχάς, κόπο και δούλεψή μου·
κι εις το 'στερο θέλει χαθεί του δόλιου κι η ζωή μου.
ΑΛΕ. [...] Κι έτσι μετά μου σήμερο κι εσύ παρηγορήσου,
γιατί 'ν' η τύχη μου κακή παρά την εδική σου.
Περίσσα καίγει μια φωτιά απού 'ναι κουκλωμένη
κι η γιαρρωστιά απού χώνεται τον άθρωπο αποθαίνει.
ΓΥΠ. Δίκιο δεν έχεις, φίλε μου, καθώς θωρώ, να λέγεις
πως είσαι κακορίζικος κι ωσάν εμέ να κλαίγεις,
γιατί τα μάτια σου, όντα θες, την κόρη σου θωρούσι
και δύνουνται τα κάλλη τση να σε παρηγορούσι. [...]
ΑΛΕ. Ανέναι και θωρώ τηνε, ανέναι κι ακλουθώ τση
και το τραγούδι τζη συχνιά και τσ' εμιλιές γροικώ τση,
σ' είντα 'φελούμαι ο ταπεινός δεν έχοντας ολπίδα
γλυκύ να κάμω ταίρι μου τούτη την κορασίδα; [...]
Τα δάση ετούτα ολημερνίς τα πάθη σου γροικούσι
και τα λαγκά την απονιά τση κόρης σου λαλούσι·
και μετά τούτο την καρδιά λιγάκι αλαφραίνεις
κι απού την πρίκα την πολλή του λογισμού σου βγαίνεις. [...]
ΓΥΠ. Πάθη ποτέ και κλάηματα, Αλέξη, δε μπορούσι
βάσανα να λιγάνουσι, μάλλιος αυτά γεννούσι
πλειότερα βάρη στην καρδιά.

SCENE C.3

ΓΙΑ. Ώστε απού να κρατεί τση γρες αδόντι στη μασέλα,
πάντα λογιάζει να 'ν' καλλιά παρά κιαμιά κοπέλα.
[...]
ΦΡΟ. Θαρρείς, κι ογιατ' εγέρασες κι εσύ και τσ' αταξάδες
δεν άφηκες τσι πρώτες σου, πως είν' ετσά κι οι γράδες;

ΓΙΑ. Καλέ, δεν είσαι τόσα γρε. Δε με περνάς ποτέ σου
τρεις χρόνους. Αλλά δείχνει σου κι απού την πορπατέ σου.

ΦΡΟ. Κι εσύ 'σαι πλειότερου καιρού παρ' άθρωπο στην Κρήτη·
και μηδεσκιάς στο στόμα σου δεν έχεις τραπεζίτη·
κι εμένα λέγεις πλια καιρού πως είμαι παρά σένα,
απού κρατού τ' αδόντια μου σα να 'σα σιδερένα;
[...]
ΓΙΑ. Ζιμιό άφησε τα βάσανα και πιάσ' τον πόθο πάλι
να δεις πώς ξανανιώνουσι τα πρωτινά σου κάλλη.

ΦΡΟ. Σαν ξεραθεί ο βασιλικός, Γιαννούλη, δε γυρίζει
στην πρώτη ντου ομορφιά ποτέ, καλά και να μυρίζει.

ΓΙΑ. Την αγκινάρα την ξερή εγώ 'δα να καρπίσει,
ωσά τζη βάλει την κοπρέ κιανείς να τη σκαλίσει.
[...]
ΦΡΟ. Η προκοσύνη σου η πολλή δείχνει σου εκ το ραβδί σου.
Έτοια δουλειά, βαριόμοιρε, δεν είναι για τ' ατζί σου.

ΓΙΑ. Μηδέ θωρείς τα γέρα μου, μη βλέπεις τα μαλλιά μου,
μα τήρηξε την όρεξη απ' έχω στην καρδιά μου.

ΦΡΟ. Οι γέροντες κατέχω το πως όρεξη τσι σέρνει,
μα τίβετας η μπόρεση να κάμου δε τζι φέρνει.

ΓΙΑ. Το κυπαρίσσι όσο γερά τόσον αδυνατεύγει
και το λιοντάρι πλειότερα στα γέρα του αγριεύγει.

ΦΡΟ. Κι άθρωπος όσον πλια γερά, χάνεται η δύναμή του
κι όσο λιγότερα μπορεί, πληθαίν' η γιόρεξή του.

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Memory and homelands: Vizyinos, Papadiamantis and geographical imagination

Robert Shannan Peckham

I *Introduction: nationalism as a territorial ideology*

If the resurgent nationalism that has swept through the Balkans and southeastern Europe has drawn attention to any single characteristic of nationalism it is surely this: the importance of geographical awareness. At a time when commentators were writing the obituary of nationalism, a nationalist upsurge has drawn attention back to the inseparable relationship between a people's territorial affiliations and a sense of national identity.

This paper is about the exploration of space and identity in the fiction of two Greek writers: Yeoryios Vizyinos and Alexandros Papadiamantis. The four texts discussed here were written and published between 1882 and 1895,[1] when nationalist ideologies had taken firm root in Europe. While there have been attempts to assess the influence of European currents of realism on Greek regional literature during this period, no systematic study has yet been made of the geographical preoccupations of Greek fiction in the context of a political ideology that self-consciously linked territory with national identity.

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate how Vizyinos and Papadiamantis explored popular spatial perceptions in their work, during a period when particular importance was attached to territorial definitions of the nation. In 1844 the politician Ioannis Kolettis had famously coined the term "Μεγάλη Ιδέα" when espousing the cause of integrating the Greek populated areas of the Near East within the frontiers of a Greek state.

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[1] The earliest text discussed is Vizyinos's "Αι συνέπειαι της παλαιάς ιστορίας" which was written after 1881 and probably in 1882. See Y. Vizyinos, *Νεοελληνικά διηγήματα*. Επιμέλεια Π. Μουλλάς (Athens: Ermis 1980), p. ριε'. The last text is "Ο Μοσκώβ-Σελήμ", which was published in the April/May 1895 issues of *Εστία*.

Throughout the nineteenth century this irredentist project remained the unifying ideology in Greece. As a form of nationalism it was an explicitly territorial ideology.

Challenging traditional readings of Papadiamantis which have tended to emphasize his conservative religious and literary convictions, I argue in this paper that Papadiamantis's fiction, no less than Vizyinos's, inquires into the coincidences and divergences between the frontiers of the nation-state as an integrating system and definitions of ethnic and cultural identities. In the process the texts shed light on the ideological presuppositions that underpin popular spatial perceptions and explore nationalism's "hegemonic interpretation of the nation" as "a means of imposing cultural homogeneity within the bounds of a given territory".[2]

Vizyinos and Papadiamantis, who for a time were classmates at the University of Athens, belonged to the new current of writing which developed in the 1880s. Ηθογραφία, as it is known, is undoubtedly one of the most controversial words in the Greek language. Broadly, the designation is taken to refer to a current of folkloric realism which drew its inspiration from similar tendencies in Europe and Russia, where "the urge to give solidity to [a] particular and differentiating 'spirit of the people'" led, not only to the collecting of folklore, but to the affirmation of distinct national literatures.[3] The preferred genre of ethographic writing was the short story which centred on descriptions of local, contemporary life, with particular attention paid to rustic manners and customs. Combining naturalism's penchant for documentation with the folklorist's mission to preserve rural traditions, the movement's nationalist aims were never far from the surface.[4]

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[2] R.J. Johnston, D.B. Knight and E. Kofman, "Nationalism, self-determination and the world political map: an introduction", in: *Nationalism, self-determination and political geography* (London: Croom Helm 1988), pp. 7, 10.

[3] Timothy Brennan, "The national longing for form", in: *Nation and narration*, ed. H.K. Bhabha (London: Routledge 1990), p. 53.

[4] For a discussion of folklore as a nationalist movement, see M. Herzfeld, *Ours once more: folklore, ideology and the making of modern Greece* (New York: Pella 1986).

Greek prose fiction in the 1880s and 1890s concentrated largely on evocations of Greek rural landscapes. "The common denominator of almost all the fiction published during the last two decades of the nineteenth century," writes Roderick Beaton, "is the detailed depiction of a small, more or less contemporary traditional community in its *physical setting* [my emphasis]."[5] Indeed, a central role was assigned to setting in ethographic literature, since the Greek landscape was conceived as a repository of Greek culture and an arsenal of national heirlooms. In a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, written in 1885, Vizyinos stressed the role of literature in keeping the Greek national identity alive in areas outside the Greek state.[6] He also emphasized the link between landscape and folklore when he requested information from the relevant Greek consulates about the geographical location of sites around which popular stories had accrued:

> ...are there any mountains, springs, streams, rivers, ravines and locations in general, or any natural phenomena such as strangely shaped rocks, caves, ancient trees etc. etc., the names of which are referred to by the local population in their folk-songs, folk-stories and legends? Are there any constructions such as castles, large bridges, ruined churches, ancient aqueducts, abandoned villages – remembered only by name – deserted cemeteries, and such things, which occupy a place in the popular belief of the local population?[7]

The list of natural phenomena singled out by Vizyinos reads like a thematic concordance to the work of Papadiamantis whose short stories focus on precisely such sites: ruined churches, springs, streams, strangely shaped rocks, the abandoned village,

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[5] *An introduction to modern Greek literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1994), p. 72.

[6] For a time Vizyinos participated in a government project to collect folkloric materials from the Greek communities of the Ottoman empire. See H. Andreadis, "Ο Γεώργιος Βιζυηνός ως πρόδρομος λαογράφος", *Αρχείον Θράκης* 181 (1975) 104-8.

[7] Quoted in K. Papathanasi-Mousiopoulou, *Λαογραφικές μαρτυρίες Γεωργίου Βιζυηνού* (Athens: n.p. 1982), pp. 14-17.

ravines, ancient trees and deserted cemeteries. Moreover, the political and determinist implications of this ethographic concern for landscape, which was value-laden and moralized, were noted by the political thinker and diarist Ion Dragoumis who observed in 1903: "Και το χώμα όμως και οι πέτρες βγάζουν πνεύματα και μόλις καθίσης σε τόπο ελληνικό δεν μπορείς να ζήσης ήσυχα από τα πνεύματα αν δεν γίνης Έλληνας."[8] For Dragoumis national traditions were environment-bound; the nation was an organic unit and Greek cultural identity could only be defined in the context of the Hellenic landscape in which it was rooted.

If one of the fundamental features of national identity is the existence of a shared historic territory, or homeland, common myths and historical memories,[9] then descriptions of the Greek landscape were conceived as an indispensable part of the nationalist project since the literary archaeology of the environment was one way of tapping into, and preserving, collective Greek memories. It was also, as Nikolaos Politis makes clear, one way of refuting the theories of Jacob P. Fallmerayer, who, half a century earlier, had drawn attention to the Slavic origin of place-names in Greece when arguing against the ethnic purity of the modern Greeks.[10] In short, the implicit project of ethographic writing was to demonstrate the historicity of the national territory, just as it reflected the territorialization of the nation's history.[11] The acquisition by Greece of Thessaly and

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[8] *Έργα Β': κοινωνικά - πολιτικά. Ο ελληνισμός μου και οι Έλληνες* (1903-1909). *Ελληνικός πολιτισμός* (1913) (Athens: n.p. 1927), p. 3.

[9] See A.D. Smith, *National identity* (Harmondsworth: Penguin 1991), p. 14 and *The ethnic origins of nations* (Oxford: Blackwell 1986), pp. 174-208. For a general discussion of the reciprocal relationship between landscape and national cultures, see S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (Harper Collins 1995).

[10] See N.G. Politis, *Μελέτη επί του βίου των νεωτέρων Ελλήνων*, vol. I, *Νεοελληνική μυθολογία* (Athens: Karl Wilberg and N.A. Nakis 1871), p. 3.

[11] This is a paraphrase of N. Poulantzas's assertion that a nation's unity is achieved through the "historicity of a territory and territorialisation of a history". See *State, power and socialism* (London: New Left Books 1978), p. 114.

the Arta region of Epirus in 1881 was another spur to folkloric literature which, as in Macedonia after 1913, was deployed to consolidate Greek national identity in the newly acquired territories by displaying the continuity of Hellenism over time and space.

An examination of the role of formal geographical and environmental culture in the promotion of Greek nationalism remains beyond the purview of the present discussion. Nevertheless, the importance attached to place in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century literature needs to be seen in the context of contemporary geographical preoccupations. The production of geographical knowledge in Europe, for example, was intimately bound up with military and governmental concerns. The proliferation of geographical schools in Britain, France, and after 1871 in Germany, underlines geography's role in the imperialist project.[12] Although the Ελληνική Γεωγραφική Εταιρεία was founded belatedly in 1901, and from 1904 published a short-lived *Γεωγραφικόν Δελτίον*, the political importance of geographical knowledge in Greece was widely appreciated. Newspapers and journals such as *Πανδώρα* and *Εστία* contained sections devoted to geographical themes. In his article "Περί της ωφελείας των γεωγραφικών επιστημών" published in *Εστία* in 1877, for example, the historian and geographer Antonios Miliarakis, a founding member of the Ιστορική και Εθνολογική Εταιρεία της Ελλάδος with Politis (1881), stressed the ideological role of geographical studies devoted to Greek lands still under Ottoman rule.[13] Such studies constituted a direct affirmation of what Yeoryios Drosinis, employing a geological metaphor, called "the granite-

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[12] For a discussion of the relationship between the rise of academic geography and imperialism, see F. Driver, "Geography's empires: histories of geographical knowledge", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 10 (1992) 23-40.

[13] See C. Koulouri, *Dimensions idéologiques de l'historicité en Grèce (1834-1914)* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang 1991), pp. 418-19. Miliarakis accompanied the committee sent to Preveza in 1879 by the Greek government to review Greece's frontiers and, together with Politis, was appointed to the commission in charge of reviewing the names of regional municipalities.

like foundations of [Greek] moral and spiritual superiority".[14] Similarly, a brief notice in *Εστία* on 9 February 1887 drew attention to the efflorescence of geographical societies in Europe and Russia, commenting on their political and economic role in promoting national interests.

From this perspective, Greek ethographic interest in place should be viewed in the light of the increased political importance attached to geography and to geographical knowledge during the 1880s and 1890s. Nationalist movements were active in Macedonia, as Greeks, Slavs and Turks jostled for supremacy. This territorial struggle over Macedonia led to the so-called "map mania" in Greece,[15] while towards the end of the century, and especially after the Greek defeat by the Ottomans in 1897, tensions began to show in Greece in the hitherto unquestioned coupling of nation and state; tensions which were forcefully expressed a little later in the writings of Dragoumis.

It is against this background, then, the increasingly political preoccupation with geography and the emphasis on place in the creation of a national culture, that I propose to examine two texts by Vizyinos, "Αι συνέπειαι της παλαιάς ιστορίας" and "Ο Μοσκώβ-Σελήμ", and two texts by Papadiamantis, "Ο Αμερικάνος" and "Βαρδιάνος στα σπόρκα". Both stories by Vizyinos take place outside the frontiers of the Greek state and yet, in each, the narrative subverts conceptions of nationalism as an ideology that requires the congruence of ethnic, cultural and political boundaries.[16] As in Papadiamantis's fiction, particular attention is paid in the texts to borders. In all four stories the national community as an organically defined, fixed and unequi-

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[14] Quoted in G. Augustinos, *Consciousness and history: nationalist critics of Greek society 1897-1914* (Boulder: East European Quarterly 1977), p. 30.

[15] See K.Th. Dimaras's account of the importance of ethnographic maps of Macedonia, and particularly of Kiepert's 1876 map, which was used by the delegates at the Congress of Berlin, *Κωνσταντίνος Παπαρρηγόπουλος: η εποχή, η ζωή του, το έργο του* (Athens: Morfotiko Idrima Ethnikis Trapezis 1986), pp. 335-51. For an analysis of the various controversial ethnographic maps of Macedonia produced during this period, see H.R. Wilkinson, *Maps and politics: a review of the ethnographic cartography of Macedonia* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 1951).

[16] See, in this context, E. Gellner's pertinent remarks in *Nations and nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell 1983), pp. 1-7.

vocal entity gives way to instability and heterogeneity through repeated acts of transgression. The exclusivity and authority of those "primordial" elements upon which nationalism is founded – such as race, language and cultural tradition – are thereby called into question.[17]

II *Vizyinos: the invention of homelands*

Appropriately for a writer whose work explores the reciprocity of place and identity, Vizyinos took his name from the village of Βιζώ or Βιζύη where he was born in Eastern Thrace, then a province of the Ottoman Empire. Of Vizyinos's six better known short stories, only two are set in areas other than his native Thrace and Constantinople; one is set aboard a ship between Greece and Italy and another, entitled "Αι συνέπειαι της παλαιάς ιστορίας", Vizyinos's longest text, takes place in Germany: first in Göttingen, where the author himself studied,[18] and later in the Harz mountains. Yet, although the setting is unfamiliar, this is a text which refers frequently to Greece since it concerns two Greek students who experience homesickness abroad.

The narrative centres on the experiences of a Greek student of psychology (who is also the narrator) at the University of Göttingen who is invited by his doctor to visit a mental asylum, where he meets one of the inmates, a beautiful young German girl. Later, in order to recuperate from an illness and to visit a compatriot from his school days who has been studying at Freiburg, the narrator travels to the Harz mountains. It is there that his mineralogist friend, Paschalis, who is gaining practical experience in the mines, relates the story of his love for a German girl called Klara whom he has nevertheless rejected. In Athens Paschalis had fallen in love with the daughter of his laundress who had treated him callously, walking off with a rival. This experience has left Paschalis with a feeling of self-disgust which prompts him to reject Klara, despite their mutual love. After his rejection, Klara goes mad in her despair. It dawns

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[17] See Johnston et al., "Nationalism, self-determination", p. 7.

[18] For a biographical discussion of Vizyinos, see V. Athanasopoulos, *Οι μύθοι της ζωής και του έργου του Γ. Βιζυηνού* (Athens: Kardamitsa 1992).

on the narrator that Paschalis's Klara and the beautiful inmate of the asylum are one and the same person. In the end Paschalis has a vision of the girl on the night she dies and later he himself suffers a fatal heart attack in the mine at Clausthal.

Such is the brief outline of the story and a paraphrase of Vizyinos's text reads like a subversion of Politis's prescriptions for a literature which was to consist "εις περιγραφήν σκηνών του βίου του ελληνικού λαού".[19] A fact that accounts in part, perhaps, for the text's critical neglect, although Vizyinos's description of the Harz mountains has often been praised.[20] True, the narrative contains numerous allusions to folklore and landscape, but the action takes place in Germany. Indeed, one of the conspicuous features of "Αι συνέπειαι της παλαιάς ιστορίας" is the way in which Germany is persistently juxtaposed to Greece.

In the beginning, Germany's inauspicious weather is compared with the temperate Greek climate. The narrator remarks on his fellow German students' tolerance for foreigners (188),[21] while Paschalis lauds "την φιλοξενίαν αυτών [of the Germans] προς τους αλλοδαπούς, ιδία προς τους Έλληνας συμπάθειαν" (229), and the doctor warns the narrator that the Harz mountains can be harmful "εις τους ξένους" (204). He adds that none of the Greeks he has ever known have been able to integrate fully into a foreign society; instead they create their own homeland, so to speak, when they go abroad:

> You can't be separated from one another, you can't forget that you're abroad. And when you're abroad, wherever you run into a fellow speaker of Greek, even if he's from the other end of the world, there is your fellow countryman, there in some sense is your fatherland. And so you make, as they say, "a village"...[22]

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[19] Quoted in P.D. Mastrodimitris (ed.), *Ο ζητιάνος του Καρκαβίτσα* (Athens: Kardamitsa 1985), p. 270.

[20] See, for example, A. Sahinis, *Παλαιότεροι πεζογράφοι* (Athens: Estia 1973), pp.174-6.

[21] All references are to Y.M. Vizyinos, *Τα διηγήματα.* ed. V. Athanasopoulos (Athens: Idrima Kosta ke Elenis Ourani 1991). Page references are given in brackets in the main text.

[22] Translations of Vizyinos into English are from W.F. Wyatt, *My mother's sin and other stories by Georgios Vizyenos* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England 1988), p. 113.

These notions of exclusion and foreignness are amplified in the description of the impregnable asylum (191) and by the young German girl who bawls at the Greek narrator, "ως εάν απετείνετο προς τους οροφύλακας της πατρίδος της" (200):

> "Shut the gates," she cried out like one in danger. "Throw the foreigners out and shut the gates!"[23]

Finally, the protagonists' shared memories of their lives in Athens and Paschalis's rejected love in Greece are pitted against their experiences in Germany.[24] Hence the story's title: the consequences of what happened in Athens unfold in Germany.

There is then, a noticeable tendency in Vizyinos's story to pit Germany and Germans against Greece and Greeks, thereby emphasizing the fact that the two protagonists are foreigners living outside their native country and cultural community. The doctor cites lines from Homer about the wandering Odysseus, again underlining the exiled status of the two Greek protagonists (188, 193).

Yet if Germany and Greece are contrasted they are also equated. At the beginning the narrator describes dusty and shabby Göttingen as Athens-like in the summer (187) and in the course of the narrative a paradoxical inversion takes place: the Germans turn out to be more Greek than the Greeks, and the Greeks more German than the Germans. "Ζήσε με τους Γερμανούς, ως Γερμανός" (205), admonishes the doctor, while the narrator, when recounting his trip with Paschalis to a beer house in Athens, asserts: "Μετ' ολίγον εμέλλομεν αμφότεροι να μεταβώμεν εις Γερμανίαν: να γείνωμεν Γερμανοί" (208). It is the German protagonists who quote Greek poetry and the Greek characters who recite German poetry. The doctor proclaims Homer's *Odyssey*, while, ironically, the insane German girl's song about the brook is of her own (that's to say Vizyinos's)

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[23] Ibid., p. 109.

[24] The juxtaposition Germany/Greece is further accentuated when Paschalis confides that Klara asked him to describe "τας σκηνάς του εθνικού ημών βίου". Ironically, Klara's request echoes, almost exactly, Politis's call for ethographic literature to devote itself "εις περιγραφήν σκηνών του βίου του ελληνικού λαού".

composition.[25] Paschalis and the narrator both declaim Goethe's celebrated "Über allen Gipfeln" in Greek (214, 261).[26]

The shadow of Goethe looms large in Vizyinos's text and, as Nietzsche observed, Goethe represents "not just a good and great man, but an entire culture".[27] Paschalis is linked to the German poet through his recitation of "Über allen Gipfeln", through his intimacy with the Harz mountains where, as he points out, the "Walpurgisnacht" scene in *Faust: part one* is set, and through his passion for geology.[28] Dressed in his leather mining apron Paschalis appears to the narrator "ως εν των αγαθοποιών εκείνων πλασμάτων της γερμανικής μυθολογίας, εις τας χείρας των οποίων υποτίθεται εμπεπιστευμένη η παραγωγή και η επιτήρησις των θησαυρών της γης" (220). Finally, Paschalis is compared explicitly to Wagner's dark-haired Flying Dutchman who is Klara's acknowledged ideal (231).

The conflation of German and Greek cultural identities continues when Goethe is characterized as Homeric (204). This comparison develops an earlier contrast between the Harz mountains, which Goethe climbed and which inspired some of his most famous verses, and Parnassus, the classical home of the Muses which is associated with the worship of Apollo. According to the doctor the ragged peaks of the German mountains are haunted by στρίγγλες and καλλικάντζαροι, traditional spirits in Greek folklore (204). Medieval German and Greek myths merge here with the spirits of Goethe's *Faust*, and the narrator notes that the calm of the mountains is a rare phenomenon in Germany (211). The Harz mountains are described by the narrator as a paradise, just as the German girl in the

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[25] See Wyatt, *My mother's sin*, p. 98.

[26] For an account of Vizyinos's engagement with Goethe's poem, see W.F. Wyatt, "Goethe's 'Wanderer's night song' in Vizyenos", *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 11 (1993) 97-105.

[27] Quoted in N. Boyle, *Goethe; the poet and the age Vol. 1: The poetry of desire (1749-1790)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1991), p. 6.

[28] The narrator notes that Paschalis owns a volume of Carl Vogt's *Geology*, which saw four editions between 1846 and 1879. On Goethe's interest in geology and his friendship with Johann Voigt, who was a student of the great geologist Werner at the Freiburg Mining Academy where Paschalis is a student, and with whom Goethe visited the Harz, see ibid., pp. 336, 347.

asylum sings Goethe's song from *Wilhelm Meister*, of longing for the paradisal Mediterranean, Greek landscape of lemons and oranges.[29] Moreover, the conflation of Homer and Goethe hints at the preoccupations of *Faust: part two* where Faust, in his quest for Helen, journeys to Greece like a philhellene scholar elucidating mythological characters from his reading of Homer.[30] Faust's union with Helen, moreover, represents a "symbolic synthesis of [their] cultures", of the classical and the Romantic: the assimilation of ancient Greece into modern Western culture.[31]

In suggesting differences between German and Greek cultural identities and then inverting them, Vizyinos engages here with the ideas of Goethe's friend, Herder, with whom he was certainly familiar after studying the history of philosophy in Germany. While Herder had condemned the coercive uniformity of the state, he had emphasized the importance of national character. According to Herder the nation was a community that drew its kinship from cultural affinities which were shaped by numerous factors including education, climate and geography.[32]

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[29] See, in this context, Beaton's remarks in "Realism and folklore in nineteenth-century Greek fiction", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 8 (1982/83) 116.

[30] See J.R. Williams, *Goethe's Faust* (London: Allen & Unwin 1988), p. 148.

[31] Ibid., p. 171. German unification in 1871 led to a spate of articles in Greek periodicals discussing German society and culture. On 1 November 1871 *Πανδώρα* ran an article discussing the legend of Faust, in which the author suggested that many of elements of the Faust legend were present in the Greek myths. Discussing Goethe's Faust he pointed out the importance of Homer. For an analysis of Goethe's engagement with Homer and the Greeks, see H. Trevelyan, *Goethe and the Greeks* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1941).

[32] Climate, as M. Alexiou notes, is a recurrent preoccupation in Vizyinos's story. See "Writing against silence: anthithesis and ekphrasis in the prose fiction of Georgios Vizyenos", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1993) 273. On the importance of "Klima" in Herder's thought, see I. Berlin, *Vico and Herder* (London: The Hogarth Press 1976), p. 148. Herder had argued that a country's "Klima" was a chief instrument in shaping its cultural history. Significantly, although Herder considered Homer to be the greatest Greek, he also argued that his greatness was confined to his language and locality. Herder's emphasis on environment was to influence, among

In Greece, one of the chief proponents of the determinist view of culture was the German educated Konstantinos Mitsopoulos, a founding member of the Ελληνική Γεωγραφική Εταιρεία, who, between 1888 and 1899, attempted to demonstrate the inter-relations betwen ancient Greek culture and the country's physical characteristics, echoing Jules Michelet's dictum "telle patrie, tel peuple".[33] Environmentalist preoccupations with climate and topography overlapped, here, with spatial concerns for borders and territorial attachment. In Vizyinos's story the relations between cultural community, climate and place are turned upside down, the text thereby focusing on the determinants of an individual's identity. Just as the mad girl in the asylum turns out to be Paschalis's beloved Klara, so Germans turn out to be sham Greeks and Greeks to be sham Germans in a "world of conflicting realities and merging identities".[34]

Vizyinos's text intimates that national cultures are not hermetically sealed and it is in this context that the analogy between Goethe and Homer assumes a new dimension. The German doctor's perpetual quoting and mispronouncing of Homer, while it suggests an idealist outsider's view of modern Greek culture, also hints at the importance of classical Greece within German culture. Just as Paschalis the Greek is the ideal of a

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others, the geographer Alexander Humboldt. On the impact of Herder on German representations of landscape, see T.F. Mitchell, *Art and science in German landscape painting 1770-1840* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1993), pp. 3-6.

[33] Quoted in C. Koulouri, *Ιστορία και γεωγραφία στα ελληνικά σχολεία (1834-1914): γνωστικό αντικείμενο και ιδεολογικές προεκτάσεις* (Athens: Yeniki Grammatia Neas Yeneas 1988), p. 66. Mitsopoulos studied geology, mineralogy and the natural sciences in Freiburg, like Vizyinos's protagonist Paschalis, in the early 1870s. He was the author of numerous articles and pamphlets, including a geological history of Greece (1901). For a discussion of the influence of Ratzel and Darwin on Mitsopoulos, see also Koulouri, *Dimensions idéologiques*, pp. 422-33.

[34] The quotation is from Beaton's introduction to Wyatt, *My mother's sin*, p. xii. The relationship explored by Vizyinos in this text between psychology and group identity again owes much to theories of social psychology, a discipline which, as Berlin has observed, Herder all but founded. See *Vico and Herder*, p. 147.

German woman, so Greece was a cultural ideal sought by German Romanticism. The repeated allusions to the Acropolis in Athens where Paschalis and the narrator studied further accentuate the connection. Thus, when Ludwig I of Bavaria commissioned a memorial to German heroes, known as the Walhalla, its name was borrowed from the paradise of heroes in northern mythology, but it was designed by Klenze along the lines of the Parthenon in Athens.[35] The "consequences of the old story" assume a cultural resonance here: the consequences of the cultural explosion which took place in ancient Athens unfold in early nineteenth-century German Romanticism where artists and poets immersed themselves in the ancient culture of Greece as much as they did in the golden age of German medievalism.

This exploration of Greekness and Germanness at the heart of Vizyinos's story undermines both the notion of an unambiguous national identity and the correlative foreignness expressed in the mad girl's allusion to border controls. Yet one of the ironies of the girl's plea to have the borders closed and the aliens ejected is the fact that she is speaking from within the confines of a mental asylum, cut off from the world outside. In other words, it is Klara, the archetypal German with her blond hair and blue eyes, who is ostracized, while the Greek remains inside. Indeed, the narrator's misunderstanding with the gatekeeper as he suspects that he is being admitted to the asylum as a patient draws attention to the dichotomy of inside and outside, as does the detail that the narrator and Paschalis are both τουρκομερίτες, like the Ottoman-born Vizyinos himself: Greeks from "enslaved" Hellenic lands outside the bounded territory of the Greek state (192, 206, 209).

Allusions to enclosed spaces pervade Vizyinos's narrative, most notably in the description of the asylum. Other notions of containment are conveyed in the description of the narrator's confinement indoors due to the bad weather in the Harz mountains. The narrator's confinement is further set off against Paschalis's incarceration in the depths of the mines.

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[35] Ludwig was the father of King Otto of Greece. The fact that the first ruling dynasty of Greece was German adds poignancy to the contrast between Germans and Greeks in Vizyinos's story.

The Harz mountains offer a contrast to the closed interior spaces in the text, just as the circumscribed domestic world in Goethe's *Faust* is pitted against a violent mountain imagery. Ideas of bounded space in the narrative are set in opposition to Romantic vistas of German wilderness. The asylum outside Göttingen is situated "επί τερπνοτάτου λόφου, εν μέσω χλωρών λειμώνων και σκιερών κήπων, παρέχον εις την όψιν του θεατού την υπέρ παν άλλο γραφικωτάτην περί την πόλιν ταύτην χωριογραφίαν" (189). Subsequently, the narrator alludes to the landscaped hill and describes the asylum as having a neo-Gothic façade (191) – an expression of Germany's Christian, northern heritage. The asylum is therefore a deliberately constructed landscape which contrasts to the wild mountain topography, which, with its rugged peaks and mist, connotes freedom and independence.

Yet the text emphasizes that the landscape of the Harz mountains is, in one sense, equally as engineered as the grounds of the Gothic mansion. The mountains are inseparable from a tradition of Romantic literature associated with Goethe. They are evocative of the towering, misty peaks of Caspar David Friedrich's landscapes. With their dense forests and storm-torn cliffs they are also emblematic of a militant chauvinism which drew on earlier Romantic literature, and particularly on Goethe, for its inspiration. The landscape is a place "of veneration and exaltation whose inner meanings can be fathomed only by the initiated" and it is ideologically associated with folklore and episodes from German cultural history.[36] Significantly, the narrative takes place in the 1870s, the decade of German unification, and the narrator comments on Bismarck's centralizing policies and his plans of transferring the mining academy in Clausthal to the Reich's newly established capital at Berlin (210). Ideas of containment reach their culmination in this allusion to the formation of the nation-state, which Anthony Giddens has aptly called "the pre-eminent power-container of the modern era".[37] The landscaped enclave of the Gothic asylum outside Göttingen is, the narrator notes, an "ίδρυμα της πρωσσικής κυβερνήσεως" (189).

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[36] Smith, *National identity*, p. 9.

[37] *The nation-state and violence* (Cambridge: Polity 1985), p. 120.

The lush, overtly poetic description of the Harz landscape draws attention to the text's rhetoricity, to the fact that landscape, here, is a literary construct and that territory has been internalized. The view of the mountains prompts Paschalis to recite Goethe's poem:

> Now we're not merely about to mimic foreign ways, to learn how the tragicomic scenes of German drunkenness are acted out, but to come to know the locations in which the most sober dramatist of this country imagined the most magical and extravagant scenes of *Faust*.[38]

Paschalis indicates the plateau of the Brocken Mountain where Goethe set the orgies and dances of the witches' Sabbath on "Walpurgisnacht" (216), just as he has previously pointed out the location of the inn under the peak where Goethe wrote "Über allen Gipfeln" (215). If the scenic beauty of the mountains inspires poetry, so, too, particular locations are named after fictive events. In front of the plateau Paschalis declares that there is a deep chasm "το οποίον και σήμερον ακόμη ονομάζεται: 'ο Λέβης των Στριγγλών'" (216). The inextricable relationship between landscape and literature is further developed through analogies of reading. Mining metaphors are employed in the text, for example, when the narrator digs out the meaning "ως εάν επρόκειτο ν' ανακαλύψη τα λεγόμενά μου υποκάτωθεν των ψηφίων του καθηγητού, ή εν αυτή τη υφή του χάρτου κεκρυμμένα" (248), suggesting both the stratified nature of language and the textual characteristics of the landscape. In the account of the multiple interpretations which the letter from Klara's relative to Paschalis informing him of the girl's madness, elicits, notions of interment and disinterment are extended to the sub-reading of a literary text. The narrator probes below the surfaces of the German language, just as Paschalis digs away in the subterranean shafts below the German landscape. In fact, Vizyinos exploits here the associations between geology, religious and political freedom and literature which were developed by Romantic writers and poets such as Novalis and Goethe who "saw the Wenerian

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[38] Wyatt, *My mother's sin*, p. 121.

account of the history of the earth as extending backwards in time the histories written by political and cultural historians".[39] "Aesthetic theory [thus] merged with cultural geography" and it was no coincidence, as Timothy Mitchell has shown, that the golden age of German Romanticism was also the golden age of geology and geographical discovery.[40] At the same time, the development of an organic concept of culture, which found expression during the last decades of the nineteenth century in folkloric studies, was stimulated by evolutionism in the natural sciences, and particularly, in geology. Just as fossils were employed as a means of reconstructing a geological history, so the study of folklore was conceived as a way of reconstructing an ancient cultural heritage. As Gillian Bennett has observed: "European folklore was to the history of human civilisation what the fossil record was to earth history".[41]

Landscape in Vizyinos's story displays a culture and becomes the symbolic expression of German cultural values.[42] If the hyperbolic description of the Harz mountains is reminiscent of

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[39] R. Laudan, *From mineralogy to geology: the foundations of a science, 1650-1830* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1987), pp. 111-12. D. Lowenthal draws attention to the way in which metaphors of excavating and disinterment were used during this period by Freud. See *The past is a foreign country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985), pp. 252-3. In Vizyinos's text the psychological dimension of the mining metaphors are drawn out, as when the narrator speaks of the "σκοτεινοί μυχοί του εγκεφάλου" (226). There is a latent pun in German between the toponym Harz and "Herz", meaning heart. The sardonic tale of Heine's descent into the mine and the association of the mine with dirt and women – it is called Caroline – (257) further underline the sexual and psychological aspects of the mining metaphor, as does Klara's description as a "θησαυρός" shut away inside her father's house (230). For an account of Vizyinos's own preoccupations with mining towards the end of his life, see Athanasopoulos, *Οι μύθοι*, pp. 26-7.

[40] Mitchell shows how the discovery of geological time interacted with Herder's concept of "Klima" and profoundly shaped German Romantic thought. See *Art and science*, pp. 2, 6.

[41] "Geologists and folklorists: cultural evolution and the 'science of folklore'", *Folklore* 105 (1994) 29.

[42] See D.W. Meinig (ed.), *The interpretation of ordinary landscapes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1979), p. 3.

Romantic literature's preoccupation with the hardy independence symbolized in mountain scenery, it also recalls the topophilic myths of the fatherland which pervade the histories of nation-states. For the German Romantics "the bonds between nature and the national character were perceived as [...] organically melded".[43] The irony of Vizyinos's text is that it should be Paschalis the Greek who is mining underneath the seams of the Romantic German landscape, highlighting in this way the Greek foundations of Romanticism. Indeed, while the earlier, neo-classical phase of nationalism had sought its models in Sparta, Athens and Rome, Romantic nationalism retained this admiration for the classical past.[44] Furthermore, Vizyinos's story is set in the 1870s, the decade in which the German archaeologist Schliemann, in his quest for the Homeric world, was excavating the Greek landscape and uncovering the cities of Mycenae and Troy.

"Αι συνέπειαι της παλαιάς ιστορίας" centres on the dichotomy of belonging and alienation. The text explores the relationship between cultural community and national identity by playing with stereotypes of Germanness and Greekness, figuratively undermining the absolute differences which these imply and calling into question the notion of cultural "purity".[45] Moreover, Vizyinos demonstrates how landscape functions as a means by which shared cultural values are consolidated and become intelligible. Paradoxically, while a nationalist German discourse manipulates the mythopoeic character of the territory it lays claim to, that discourse is itself shaped by a protracted engagement with a foreign, namely Greek, culture. As a contemporary American commentator observed, Greece for the Germans was used "as a stalking-horse for Teutonic psycho-

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[43] Mitchell, *Art and science*, p. 149.

[44] See J. Hutchinson and A.D. Smith (eds.), *Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1994), p. 5. For an interpretation of Vizyinos's story as an engagement with the rhetoric of Romanticism, see M. Chrysanthopoulos, *Γεώργιος Βιζυηνός: μεταξύ φαντασίας και μνήμης* (Athens: Estia 1994), pp. 89-109.

[45] As Alexiou points out, notions of purity recur in Vizyinos's text, often correspondingly linked to dirt and illness. See "Writing against silence", p. 272.

logy".[46] It should be noted in this context that while German folkloric studies (particularly the contribution of the brothers Grimm) were greatly influential in the development of Greek λαογραφία, ironically, Greek folklore was conceived as a response to the aspersions made against Greek racial continuity by Fallmerayer. These two contradictory influences are conspicuous in Politis's early study *Νεοελληνική μυθολογία* (1871), which is manifestly indebted to German scholarship – Politis himself having studied in Germany.[47]

Issues of national identity and landscape are also explored in Vizyinos's short story "Ο Μοσκώβ-Σελήμ". The narrative opens with a first hand account by a Greek about his meeting in Eastern Thrace with a Turk who is possessed of a passion for Russian culture. In fact, the narrator is momentarily deluded into thinking he is in Russia by the appearance of Moskov-Selim's log cabin and the surrounding landscape. The Turk himself appears dressed in Russian clothes and peppers his language with Russian words. This infatuation is all the more bizarre in the light of Turkey's historical antagonism for Russia. After this introduction, the majority of the story is taken up with the narrator's reporting of Moskov-Selim's biography: how he joined the army at 18 as a substitute for his cowardly brother, how he served his country in the Crimea (1854) and later in the Balkan uprisings (Herzegovina 1862, 1875), and finally, how he was captured by the Russians at the siege of Plevan (1877). During

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[46] J.J. Chapman, quoted in Herzfeld, *Ours once more*, p. 5.

[47] Among the influential German scholars of Greek culture, the importance of Johann Hahn should be stressed. See his *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: W. Engleman 1864). Rennel Rodd remarks of Hahn that he showed convincingly how many of the popular Greek tales "bear strong analogy to the German folkstory". See Rodd, *The customs and lore of modern Greece* (London: David Stott 1892), p.xiii. B. Olsen has further explored the German appropriation of the Greek tales translated by Hahn. See "Η γερμανοπρέπεια των ελληνικών παραμυθιών στη συλλογή του J.G. von Hahn", *Ελληνικά* 41 (1990) 79-93. On the dominant influence of German geology and Ritterian geography in Greece, see Koulouri, *Ιστορία και γεωγραφία*, p. 27 and *Dimensions idéologiques*, pp. 408-15. Thus, the Greek geographer Mitsopoulos studied geology and mineralogy in Germany (1869-1875), later becoming professor of Natural History at the University of Athens.

his captivity he learned to love and respect his former enemies, the Russians. Indeed, Moskov-Selim's treatment at the hands of the Russians is juxtaposed to his humiliation by his own countrymen on his release. The story ends with the news of Alexander of Battenberg's dethronement in Bulgaria (1886) and the Turk suffers a stroke on the news that the Russians are invading. Later, when the rumours are denied by the narrator, Moskov-Selim dies of a heart attack because of his joy. As the narrator remarks: "ο Τούρκος έμεινε Τούρκος" (386).

As in "Αι συνέπειαι της παλαιάς ιστορίας", "Ο Μοσκώβ-Σελήμ" focuses on the relationship between cultural community and national identity; about what does and does not constitute "our own".[48] It is set against a background of nationalist uprisings and of Turkish/Russian and Turkish/Greek hostilities. Narrated by a Greek about a Turk who imagines himself to be a Russian, the text centres on the environmentally determined nature of an individual's identity, as well as on the differences and congruities between national communities. As Moskov-Selim remarks to the Greek narrator: "δύο άνθρωποι μπορεί να είνε τόσο ξένοι μεταξύ τους, και όμως η ψυχαίς τους να είνε αδέλφια" (339). These themes of identification and variance are highlighted in the Greek narrator's preface where he notes that fanatical Turks will doubtless condemn Moskov-Selim for being a turn-coat (327). The narrator is also aware that his equally zealous nationalist compatriots will not understand why as a Greek author he has chosen to write about a Turk (327) – after all, we are far removed here from the scenes of national Greek life advocated by Politis.

A good deal of attention is paid in the beginning of the narrative to the landscape. When he first sees the location known as Kaïnartza, where Moskov-Selim lives, the Greek narrator imagines that he is in southern Russia, although he later admits to Moskov-Selim that he has never visited Russia (333). These are archetypical images of Russia; a caricature of a real landscape with rolling steppes and beech trees, an izba with a rising plume of smoke, a bubbling brook, and samovar (329-330). It is, in other words, Russia seen from the perspective

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[48] See Wyatt's comments on the story "Το αμάρτημα της μητρός μου" (1883), *My mother's sin*, p. 2.

of a non-Russian. As such it relates to the Greek description of the German landscape, or the German vision of Greece in "Αι συνέπειαι της παλαιάς ιστορίας".

Kaïnartza derives from the Turkish word for hot spring and the verdant spot is an oasis in the parched Thracian countryside (328). Here, again, as in the evocation of the Harz mountains, the exuberant, overtly poetic language draws attention to the literariness of the landscape; a fact which the narrator later admits when he acknowledges that his interpretation of the place was a momentary self-deception. The cabin is only a "προφανής απομίμησις" of a Russian dwelling (329):

> How could I have been so deceived yesterday evening? What does this charmingly musical, warm, sweet-smelling landscape have in common with the dumb, dry, gloomy scenes of northern climes?[49]

Although Moskov-Selim appears from his cottage dressed in Cossack boots and shouts greetings in Russian – convinced that the Greek narrator is in fact Russian – it transpires that Moskov-Selim is a local Turk who is considered mad by the local population (330). Madness here relates not only to the subversion of the boundaries which separate what is real from what is not, but also to the undermining of those differences which mark off one national community from the "other". The very name Moskov-Selim – or Selim the Moscovite – points to the character's equivocal national identity.

The ambiguous identity of the landscape is clearly linked to preconceptions about national differences, about what is or is not Greek, Turkish and Russian. This confusion acquires an added resonance in Eastern Thrace, a territory contested by Greeks, Turks and Bulgarians during this period, where territorial, ethnic and religious divides overlapped and conflicted. Furthermore, the duplicitous landscape is inextricably bound up, not only with Moskov-Selim's own paradoxical appearance, (with Russian buttons on his tunic and a tall Turkish fez), but with notions of individual identity. In recounting his life story, for example, Moskov-Selim explains how he was brought up in

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[49] Ibid., p. 194.

girl's clothing and confined with his mother in the harem (341-2). From the first paragraphs of Vizyinos's story when the narrator informs the reader that he is about to transgress the conventions of ethographic writing by discarding Greek themes and describing the life of a Turk, the text develops this notion of subverted or inverted boundaries which separate the most sacred areas: the real from the fantastic, the Greek from the Turk, the Turk from the Russian, woman from man.

Does Vizyinos's text amount, then, to a rejection of nationalism? This is one interpretation and may explain why the publication of "Ο Μοσκώβ-Σελήμ" was delayed until 1895, by which time Vizyinos had been admitted into the insane asylum at Dafni. If the narrative suggests that cultural differences are, in the final analysis, unbridgeable, it also hints at the fact that national identity is based upon a series of imagined differences. While many critics have noted the way in which Vizyinos takes up the challenge of realism in his fiction by questioning its conventions, a connection has rarely been drawn between this and his questioning of the assumptions of nationalist ideology. Instead of scenes of Greek life, Vizyinos's texts focus on disputed identities, while his protagonists, in their eccentricity, expose the fragility of shared conceptions of identity. The battle in the Balkans for national independence and the assertion of state frontiers which form the historical background to "Ο Μοσκώβ-Σελήμ" give an added dimension to the subversion of national identity and gender boundaries within the narrative.

The landscape at Kaïnartza which momentarily deceives the narrator is inextricably bound up with the history of Moskov-Selim. "Σε φαίνεται παράξενον", the Turk declares of his behaviour, "διότι δεν γνωρίζεις την ιστορία μου" (337). The Russian landscape similarly needs to be placed in the context of a story to be elucidated. In other words, landscape requires to be situated within an history if it is to be understood; as Marwyn Samuels has observed, landscapes too have their biographies.[50] This notion of the landscape's biography is intimated in the parable of the rocks which speak of their grief and thus become lighter, just as Moskov-Selim finds comfort in

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[50] See "The biography of landscape", in: Meinig, *The interpretation of ordinary landscapes*, pp. 51-88.

pouring out his own grief to the Greek narrator (339). We have returned, here, to that list of natural phenomena about which Vizyinos requested information in his letter to the Ministry: rocks and streams and bubbling springs. Back, too, to Dragoumis's defiant spirits which issue forth from the Greek land.

III *Papadiamantis: the unfenced vineyard*

I have concentrated in some detail on these two short stories by Vizyinos because they highlight, in a particularly striking way, the manner in which Vizyinos engaged with the nationalist preoccupations of ethographic writing: more particularly, the call for descriptions of national Greek life in a physical setting. In these texts, Vizyinos breaks down the generalized components of identity and setting to show how they are ideologically underpinned. What is perceived as natural turns out to be contingent and suffused with political purpose. At the same time, the questioning of those sacred boundaries which demarcate cultural identities also hints at the arbitrariness of spatial categories.

It is in this context that I wish to spend the final part of the present paper briefly considering two of Papadiamantis's stories: "Ο Αμερικάνος", published in 1891, and "Βαρδιάνος στα σπόρκα", which was actually subtitled "a novel" on its serial publication in 1893. My purpose is to offer readings of Papadiamantis's texts in the light of the questions raised in the previous discussion about the constitution of national identity.

Set in the 1870s, "Ο Αμερικάνος", which is a modern version of Odysseus's return to Ithaca, can be read as an epilogue to Vizyinos's "Αι συνέπειαι της παλαιάς ιστορίας". The narrative describes the return of a Greek islander after years of absence in America. Indeed, he has been living outside Greece for so long that he has forgotten most of his Greek, as well as his geographical knowledge of his homeland. None of the islanders recognize him, although it transpires that the "American" is looking for his fiancée whom he had promised to marry on his return and the story ends with their eventual reunion. The central irony in Papadiamantis's short story is thus the fact that the "American", referred to throughout as a stranger (ξένος), is in reality a "Greek". The text can be seen, in this way, as an exploration of the consequences of the loss of those two crucial

constituents of identity which Psycharis predicated in his work: language and geographical awareness.

"Γλώσσα και θρησκεία είναι τα κυριώτερα γνωρίσματα έθνους", Papadiamantis remarked in an essay entitled "Γλώσσα και κοινωνία" (1907).[51] In this article, Papadiamantis reflects upon the etymology and grammatical forms of specific words which appear in the contemporary Greek press and draws attention to the inconsistencies between colloquial and written Greek. As Yeoryios Valetas remarked, the 1907 treatise is evidence of Papadiamantis's engagement with the so-called language question and suggests the degree to which he had thought through his own linguistic position.[52] Drawing attention to the arrival of the international language of Esperanto in Greece, which claimed to reduce national languages "to the domestic and sentimental role of dialects",[53] Papadiamantis also focuses on the relationship between Greek and foreign languages. He illustrates his argument with the spatial metaphor of a closed building into which a foreign influence must inevitably infiltrate:

> If the door is closed, it will enter through the windows; if the windows are shut, it will come in through the chinks and crevices; if the crevices are filled up, it will enter unseen through the solid structure of the building (5.296).

The architectural image employed here, together with the notion of linguistic transgressions into the constructed space of a national language, finds its correlative not only in the images of architectural closure which abound in Papadiamantis's fiction, but in the numerous allusions to national boundaries. In fact, the uncompromising relationship between national frontiers and language asserted by Psycharis in *Το ταξίδι μου* (1888) stands at odds with the position adopted by Papadiamantis, that the

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[51] Papadiamantis, *Άπαντα* ed. N.D. Triantafillopoulos, vols. 1-5, (Athens: Domos 1988) 5, p. 290. Henceforth, volume and page numbers will be given in brackets in the main text.

[52] *Παπαδιαμάντης: η ζωή, το έργο, η εποχή του* (Athens: Sakalis 1955), p. 458.

[53] E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism since 1780: programme, myth, reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, revised ed. 1992), p. 38

Greek language should follow a middle course. In Papadiamantis's texts, moreover, the permeable nature of state borders is suggested, not only by the ease with which characters disappear over them, but by the absence of any clear-cut linguistic boundaries. The linguistic community is not contiguous with the frontiers of the nation-state. On the contrary, in a number of texts Papadiamantis indicates "that linguistic surfaces are in fact continuous, not subject to the kinds of breaks and discontinuities required for simple cartographic representation."[54]

The equivocal relationship between language, geography and the notion of origins is explored in some detail by Papadiamantis in "Ο Αμερικάνος". The preoccupation with linguistic comprehension occurs in the text's first paragraph, where Dimitris Berdes's shop is likened to a boat caught in a gale, while the crew give and take orders in an incomprehensible language. A few lines later, the narrator again focuses upon the truncated linguistic expressions used in the shop, when he remarks of Christos, Berdes's fifteen-year-old nephew and assistant:

> With an apron tied high over his chest, he kept yelling "Right Away!" in a number of different tones and pitches – a phrase that as time went on he managed to truncate to "Rightway," then to "Right" and finally to a simple "Ri!"[55]

The emphasis on linguistic unintelligibility and the corruption of standard Greek anticipates the arrival of the foreigner who speaks broken Greek and is virtually incomprehensible to the local islanders, who interject with both English and Italian words to make the foreigner understand. As Captain Yiannis explains to the gathering inside the café: "τα ολίγα λόγια που μου είπε ρωμέικα, τα είπε μ' έναν τρόπο δύσκολο και συλλογισμένο" (2.258). The foreigner's incongruent appearance is therefore matched by a linguistic ambiguity which prompts

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[54] P. Jackson, *Maps of meaning* (London: Routledge 1992), p. 156.

[55] Translations into English are from Alexandros Papadiamantis, *Tales from a Greek island*, trans. by E. Constantinides (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 1987), p. 153.

speculations about his national identity. "Μου φάνηκε", Captain Yiannis observes, "σαν Εγγλέζος, σαν Αμερικάνος, μα όχι πάλι σωστός Εγγλέζος ούτε σωστός Αμερικάνος" (2.258). The locals are unable to place the foreigner geographically, just as they find it difficult to interpret his language.

Geography and language are explicitly linked in "Ο Αμερικάνος". When the stranger is engaged in conversation by the islanders, he speaks in Greek, but incorporates two key English words in his sentences. "Ευχαριστώ, κύριοι," the foreigner remarks, "δεν είμαι να καθίσω να κάμω *τώκ*, και δύσκολο σ' εμένα να κάμω *τώκ* ρωμέικα" (2.260). On the second occasion, he declares: "Δεν κάθομαι, πάω να κάμω *γουώκ*, μα φέρω γύρω, πως το λέτε;" (2.261) There is a conspicuous connection in this text between "talk" and "walk"; between notions of linguistic and geographical disorientation. When the foreigner disembarks on the island, the narrator observes that he looks around "ως να μη εγνώριζε που ευρίσκετο" (2.259). The protagonist's inability to express himself in the native language is matched by his difficulty in locating himself geographically.

On one level, therefore, "Ο Αμερικάνος" can be read as "a modern-day recreation of Odysseus's return to his faithful Penelope".[56] From this perspective, it is a text that describes the return of the native and concentrates on the stripping off of the protagonists' sophisticated foreign ways back to his "origins". As the narrator remarks when describing the stranger:

> It would have been difficult to guess what latitude [κλίμα] or people [φυλή] claimed him. He seemed to have acquired, like a film over his face, a sort of mask from another part of the world, a mask of cultivation and good living under which his true origins were concealed. He walked hesitantly, glancing with uncertainty at the faces and objects around him, as if he were trying to get his bearings.[57]

The allusion here to environmental and racial differences is reminiscent of Vizyinos's "Αι συνέπειαι της παλαιάς ιστορίας", while the description of the American who turns out

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[56] Papadiamantis, *Tales from a Greek island*, p. xiii.
[57] Ibid., p. 154.

to be a local Greek, is strikingly reminiscent of Vizyinos's Russian who turns out to be a local Turk. In both cases the narratives explore the deceptiveness of the protagonist's appearance and raise larger questions about an individual's relationship to his cultural environment and homeland.

A summary of Papadiamantis's story as a retelling of the Odysseus myth therefore ignores the hesitancy of the narrator's pronouncements when alluding to the American's racial origins, as well as the repeated instances of linguistic and geographical confusion in the narrative. It is paradoxical, for example, that the locals inside the café are themselves not all indigenous. One of the three men described in the shop, Stoyiannis Dobros, is of Serbian-Macedonian descent. The repetition of the noun καταγωγή in the context of both the American, who is described repeatedly as a ξένος, and of the reveller in the shop, serves to undermine another tendency in the narrative to polarize the foreigner with the natives. Furthermore, it transpires that another ostensible native, the mayor's bailiff, Uncle Triantafillos, is not from the island either (2.270). An inversion therefore takes place in "Ο Αμερικάνος". It turns out that the outsider who speaks broken Greek is not an alien at all, and that the natives themselves, fluent in Greek, are not all natives. As intimated by the narratorial comments at the beginning of the text, the locals themselves often speak in a truncated idiom which parallels the professed foreigner's own broken Greek.

Language and geography are not clear-cut issues in Papadiamantis. On the contrary, his narratives often probe the tensions that result in a society characterized by geographic and linguistic diversity. Within the state, as described by Papadiamantis, the national language differs widely and, as in "Ο Αμερικάνος", the issues of idiolect and dialect raise questions about what constitutes standard, normative Greek, as well as about national identity.

Perhaps the most complex exploration of social boundaries in Papadiamantis, occurs in "Βαρδιάνος στα σπόρκα". Set against the backdrop of the 1865 cholera epidemic, the narrative hinges on the exploits of the female protagonist Skevo who illegally enters the quarantine, disguised as a man, in order to rescue her cholera-stricken son. If the cross-dressing here is reminiscent of Vizyinos's fiction, as in "Αι συνέπειαι της παλαιάς ιστορίας",

attention is paid to notions of containment, to metaphors of illness and purity and to distinctions of inside and outside.

The image of the quarantine is central in Papadiamantis's text. On the one hand, it represents the state's practical initiative to contain the plague. As the narrator remarks:

> Because the cholera was decimating the population in regions of Turkey, the Greek government had ordered a strict quarantine. Besides the existing lazaretto on the island, an extra makeshift lazaretto was ordered to be built on the deserted island of Tsoungria (2.562-563).

The confines of the quarantine mirror the rigid contours of the state with its national frontiers. It is thus ironic that the supervision of the quarantine's boundaries is in the hands of a foreign Bavarian doctor who speaks Greek only imperfectly.

The quarantine represents a cruel prison-like isolation for those afflicted, who are locked away and deprived of sufficient food. The narrator puns in this context on the literal and figurative connotations of the noun στενοχώρια, which connotes both confinement and anxiety (2.567). So miserable are conditions within the quarantine that the cholera victims break out and attempt a forced landing on Skiathos (2.628-32). This act of transgression is one of many in a novella which is characterized by the repeated subversion of both physical and social perimeters.

In the first place Skevo leaves her house and illicitly embarks for Tsoungria disguised as a guard, thereby subverting the codes which regulate admission to the quarantine. On the island, the monk Nikodimos gives up his hermitage to Skevo and her son, while he retires onto the mountain. The motif of the key recurs in this context, for before his departure, Nikodimos, in a symbolic gesture, presents Skevo with the key to the storeroom. Earlier, the narrator observes that before leaving her house Skevo is careful to bolt the door. On her return from the town, Skevo is devastated by the news that her son is suffering from cholera and the narrator inquires: "Πως ημπόρεσε να γυρίση το κλειδί εις την κλειδότρυπαν;" (2.576). Keys in Papadiamantis are important symbols for the control of boundaries

and if they stress the sanctity of the threshold, they also imply the possibility of violation from the outside.

Contending images of closure and accessibility are thus opposed throughout the text, just as exile on Tsoungria is compared to the dilapidated former lazar-house which has become redundant and exposed to the elements. "Βαρδιάνος στα σπόρκα" is structured around a series of evasions as Skevo eludes her female role as guardian of the house to dress as a man and become a guard in the quarantine. Similarly, the cholera victims escape from their quarantine, and Nikodimos withdraws from his hermitage.

The polysemous significance of boundaries is intimated by the narrator when he compares the East figuratively to a vineyard across which the epidemic is dispersed:

> Finally, 1865 came, and the cholera devastated the Near East, in all probability, as always, because of the muslim pilgrims to Mecca. [...] The poor, wretched East was even then, as it is now and always will be, from the geographical and the social, from the political and religious points of view, an unfenced vineyard. But Christ speaks about a time in the future when the master of the vineyards will come... (2.569)

Here, the colloquial expression, rendered into katharevousa ("άφρακτος αμπελών" [sic]), is employed as a metaphor for the vulnerability of the East which lacks any political, geographical, or religious coherence but is susceptible to whatever wind may be blowing at the time. In the final line of the passage the narrator further extends the trope by alluding to Christ's parable of the vineyard from Mark (12:1) and Luke (20:10) in which "a man planted a vineyard and put a wall round it, hewed out a winepress, and built a watch-tower". The parable prepares the way for a further metaphor when the paradise of Tsoungria is transformed into a living hell (2.571). The narrator here seizes upon the symbolic dimension of boundaries which he explores in a political and theologic context.

If "Βαρδιάνος στα σπόρκα" registers a series of transgressions across physical and social boundaries, there are frequent episodes in Papadiamantis's fiction when protagonists encroach on foreign territory. At the same time, the prospect of

an invariable, homogeneous national language in Papadiamantis's texts appears remote and absurd. In "Βαρδιάνος στα σπόρκα" notions of purity and pollution, as in "Αι συνέπειαι της παλαιάς ιστορίας", operate on a figurative level to undermine the idea of a bounded, inviolable community. Like the concept of the nation-state's exclusive, unequivocal frontiers, the notion of a linguistically defined and historically determined territory is inextricably bound up with the terrain of an imagined community.

IV *Conclusion*

Greece at the end of the nineteenth century was still in pursuit of a national identity. The principal ideology determining a writer's task was nationalism and, more particularly, the obligation to uncover the deep-rooted Hellenic tradition which lay dormant within the terrain of the Greek homeland. Ethographic prose fiction became a tool in the construction of a national identity and texts were read in this light.

This paper has attempted to show, however, how two Greek writers of the period, Vizyinos and Papadiamantis, did not simply reflect popular perceptions of space in their work. Instead, they attempted to explore the shifting associations and overlappings of nation, state and territory, highlighting the contradictions which nationalist ideologies "encounter in unifying what is within and distancing themselves from what is outside".[58] Their fiction violates and explores the conventional distinctions between what is inside and outside, to show that "what is thought of as external and internal is the product of a reciprocal process of constitution."[59] In failing to recognize the broader political and cultural context of their writing, critics have ignored what is perhaps their most important contribution and it is in the hope of an imminent re-evaluation that this paper is offered.

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[58] Johnston et al., "Nationalism, self-determination", p. 8.

[59] Derek Gregory, *Geographical imaginations* (Oxford: Blackwell 1994), p. 8.