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State, society and the religious "other" in nineteenth-century Greece

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Introduction

As with other nineteenth-century successor states in the Balkans, from its inception Greek polity was grounded on the principle of nation-building through the homogenization of the realm. In a generic sense, homogenization comprised a series of inter-connected processes aiming at reconfiguring political and civil authority along "national" lines in the name of the Eastern Orthodox Church of Christ and the *genos/ethnos*. Unsurprisingly, in the early days of the 1820s War of Independence, the exclusion of the religious "other" from the polity and society that the warring factions of the rebels envisaged went hand-in-hand with the victimization and discrimination of the indigenous Muslim and Jewish element and an innate suspicion and mistrust of the adherents of the Western Church.

As Great Power intervention became pivotal in securing a successful conclusion to the *agonas*, the practices associated with the exclusion of the religious "other" came to a halt. In their communication to Kapodistrias of the London Protocol of 3 February 1830, which provided for the establishment of an independent monarchical state and offered the crown to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the powers demanded that his government accept, immediately and unconditionally, that henceforth Greek Catholics would worship in full freedom, that their religious and educational establishments would remain intact, and that their clergymen would enjoy the same "duties, rights, and privileges" as hitherto. Eager to give Greece fresh evidence of their "sollicitude

bienveillance" and shield the nascent state from any mischief arising from the potential rivalry among people of different religious faiths, they also decreed that:

> All subjects of the new State, whatever their religion, will have access to all public institutions, functions and honours, and will be considered equal in all their religious, civil and political relations, regardless of differences in their religious beliefs.[1]

Kapodistrias's Senate, however, requested that the Powers clarify that the privileges bestowed upon the "Greeks of the Western Church" would not in any way impinge on the status of the Eastern Orthodox Church as the "established religion". Crucially, it also took exception to the principle of equality regardless of creed, specifically with regard to Muslims, and retorted that in such an eventuality "our independence" would be substantially qualified, rhetorically concluding: "And if so, what would the Greek have gained after nine years of bloody strife?" In response, on 1 July the powers confirmed that the "privileges" granted to Catholics would not "impose" any obligation that "might prejudicially affect the established church", clarifying that "equality of civil and political rights referred specially to [adherents of] the Christian Church".[2]

Christian Europe's alacrity in enshrining the rights of Christian Greek citizens only might be explained by the very small numbers of indigenous Muslims and Jews, mostly in Euboea, who had survived the turmoil of the *agonas* and had opted to stay put. Yet, subsequent international treaties pertinent to the cession of the Ionian Islands (1864) and Thessaly and part of Epirus (1881), while guaranteeing the religious, political and civil rights of all Christians and Muslims respectively, again failed to refer to the Jewish element by name, sizeable communities of which resided in the ceded regions. Whereas the 1881 treaty provided that all inhabitants of the ceded territories would "enjoy

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[1] Papers 1835: 186-90, 211-12.
[2] Protocols 1832: 104, 112.

the same civil and political rights as Hellenic subjects of origin", that of 1864 decreed that the "principle of entire civil and political equality between subjects belonging to different creeds", established by the London Protocol of 1830, "shall be likewise in force in the Ionian Islands". And yet, this principle related "specially" to adherents of the "Christian church". This "omission" squares well with the powers' unwillingness throughout the long nineteenth century to either issue "universal pronouncements [on] Jewish emancipation [or] elaborate specific minority rights", other than in instances of blatant discrimination against the Jewish element, as for example in Romania.[3]

Greece, of course, was no Romania. In fact, by appearing to make *jus soli* into the main attribute of Greek citizenship as early as 1835, it could be argued that the nascent state promoted Jewish emancipation in as much as it did not distinguish its citizens along ethno-religious lines. Yet what the 1835 Law on Citizenship and the 1856 Civil Law did was to guarantee would-be citizenship through the adoption of *jus sanguinis*. As the British Minister in Athens put it, "the principle embodied in these Laws with respect to Greek nationality [citizenship] is that it is derived from hereditary transmission and not as a rule from the fact of birth in the country"; a principle attested in article 3 of the constitutions of 1844 and 1864 ("citizens are those who have acquired or shall acquire the rights of citizenship according to the Laws of the State").[4]

Following a concise account on the politics of exclusion from within during the War of Independence, I will examine specific moments of the religious "other" in the lands that constituted the Greek state in the nineteenth century by focusing on one age-old and one newly-founded religious "other": Greek Jews and Greek Evangelicals. I will seek to address how these two groups were perceived on the one hand by a state that did not distinguish its citizens along ethno-religious lines and on the other by a society

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[3] Wagstaff 2002: 194, 271; Fink 2004: 37.

[4] Nikolopoulos and Kakoulidis 1859-62: I.364-6, III.316-25; Command Paper 1893: 62; Axelos 1972: 112, 128.

wherein the "established religion", to which the Greek nation "owe their political existence, what knowledge they possess, and the language of their ancestors", was inextricably "woven into the fabric of nationality".[5] Did the principle of religious tolerance, guaranteed in all revolutionary and post-revolutionary constitutions, hold sway at the state/local level? Did the victimization and fear of the religious "other" survive the War of Independence? The hypothesis that I wish to put forward is that at the turn of the century and before the population movements of the 1910s and the 1920s among certain circles of Greek Orthodox society the religious "other" was perceived as a potential enemy within.

The "wasteland and levelling" of Tripoli: Its precursors and legacies

The conceptual precursors of what can be conveniently referred to as the politics of exclusion from within are to be found in the provisional constitutions of the revolutionary period. Crucially, all four documents avoided using the term *ithageneia* (citizenship) prior to the conclusion of the war, decreeing that "all indigenous inhabitants of the Realm, who believe in Christ, are Greeks"; and, while "tolerating every other religion" before guaranteeing that "all can practise their religious faith without hindrance", declared as the *epikratousa thriskeia* (established religion) of the realm that of the Eastern Orthodox Church.[6]

The unmistakably religious dimension of the *agonas* was too strong to overcome; the inherent value of Ottoman "tyranny" as a source of unity, in what was otherwise a divided society, too tempting to resist. That in his proclamation on "Fight for Faith and Motherland" (February 1821) Alexandros Ypsilantis spoke of the "motherland" whereas in his "Appeal to the European Courts" (April 1821) Petrobey Mavromichalis confined himself to the plight of "unhappy" kin in his backyard might be seen as an early sign of the civil strife that was to dominate the struggle for independence, as evidence of an as yet disparate national com-

[5] Protocols 1832: 105; *Elpis* (15/27 July 1846) 1; Tuckerman 1878: 212.
[6] Daskalakis 1966-67: I.283, 294, 309-10, 401-2.

munity. Yet it should not belie the fact that for both men the overthrow of the "insufferable" and "insupportable" yoke was contingent upon the "purge" of indigenous Muslims.[7]

The potential exclusion of the Jewish element from the would-be new polity was grounded on a number of age-old perceptions, religious practices, socio-economic stereotypes and folkloric prejudices, not dissimilar to those found in "the civilized nations of Europe". These were articulated and circulated by a gamut of individuals of the pre-revolutionary period. For example, the monk and preacher Kosmas the Aetolian (ca.1714–79), who was canonized by the Greek Orthodox Church in 1961, is recorded as having commonly referred to them in his sermons as the "devil's offspring"; to have castigated their alleged avarice as a constant; and to have urged his audiences to avoid any contact with them, because:

> Those who mix with the Jews, buy and sell, what does this show us? It tell us that the Jews did well to kill the Prophets [...] did well and do well to defame our Christ and our Virgin Mary. They do well to muck us up and drink our blood. Why have I told you these things, my Christians? Not so that you kill and persecute the Jews, but that you pity them for leaving God and siding with the devil.

Lest I be accused of a "methodological flaw" here, let me argue that the fact that no manuscript penned by Kosmas himself has survived and that most of his recorded sermons date from after his death does not undermine the significance of this anti-Jewish discourse. The point here is not whether it can be reliably attributed to Kosmas but that it *has been* both by his generation and subsequent ones. For example, in a brief work on his life, edited by an archimandrite, Kosmas's anti-Jewish discourse is reproduced and his murder on the orders of the Ottoman authorities in southern Albania in 1779 is attributed to that "most cunning and most sacrilegious *genos* of the Christ-hating Jews".[8]

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[7] Daskalakis 1966-67: I.142-4, 147-8.
[8] Menounos n.d.: 243, 244; Martinos 1894: 25.

A more modern, albeit by default, depiction of the Jews, which did not centre on the archaic and superstitious notions of deicide and blood-libel, was put forward in the *Greek Nomarchy* (1806). In the course of his detailed censure of the "filthy and vulgar people of the Phanar", the anonymous author of this polemical tract maintained that their alleged subservience to the Ottomans denoted "their spineless and indeed Jewish heart", whereas in his equally vitriolic attack on the Greek Orthodox priesthood he noted that the stance of *ethelodoulia* (submission to the powers that be) that it had adopted and had been promoting was turning the faithful into a people without a *patrida*, "like the Jews" – a people whose religion had made them into "misanthropes".[9]

The portrayal of the Jews as a people with no motherland, so common and diachronic an image in Christian discourse, is insinuated in the discourse of Rigas Velestinlis. Whereas in his projected Greek Republic he provided for the free exercise of "every kind of religion, Christianity, Islam, Judaism, etc.", his revolutionary call, so powerfully articulated in his *Thourios* (1797), was not addressed to the Jewish element of the empire. Was this simply an oversight on his part? Can it be construed as an implicit admission that the age-old stateless Jews had forfeited their right to a free existence because of their alleged collaboration with – and acceptance of – the Ottoman status quo? Or was it the case that, lacking in bravery, they were hardly potential allies-in-revolt? In Rigas's Greek Republic religious tolerance was a given; but Jewish emancipation was probably not.[10]

In the event, Kosmas's admonition not to kill but to pity the Jews went unheeded. What undoubtedly led to their indiscriminate massacre in Vrachori and Tripoli in the early days of the War of Independence was the overt and voluntary siding of their co-religionists with the Ottoman authorities in Salonika against the Greek rebels and, primarily, the treatment meted out to the corpse

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[9] Anonymous 2006: 139, 140, 117, 149.
[10] Rigas 2000: 37, 33, 74-5.

of the hanged Ecumenical Patriarch Grigorios V on Easter Day 1821. Irrespective of whether poignant contemporary accounts can be taken at face value, the parallelism between the martyrdom of Grigorios and that of Christ was not lost on the Greeks. As the Reverend Thomas Smart Hughes put it, the desecration of the patriarch's body by the Jews was but the "consummation of ignominy [...] in the eyes of Christians". The narrative of evoking the image of the Jew as an "enemy" of the *genos* survived the test of time and has been explicitly articulated in various public fora: from the "fabricated" folk song of the 1860s, which equates the Jews with the Janissaries, to the proclamation of the National Student Union on the eve of the torching of the Jewish neighbourhood of Campbell in Salonika in 1931, wherein the desecration of the patriarch's body appears top of the long list of alleged defamations of Greek ideals and of the Greek *fyli* by the Jews.[11]

Indeed, the war cry "in the Morea shall no Turk be left / nor in the whole wide world" could equally apply in the case of the Jews, those "mythical evildoers". Following the fall of the Peloponnesian capital to the revolutionaries in early autumn 1821, a Greek from nearby Kalamata rejoiced at the fact that:

> [Our] enemies, almost to a man, have fallen to the sword [...] Those Turks, who continued to offer resistance, were burned alive in their dwellings. And, at last, Nemesis the avenger befell those godless Jews.

It seems that blanket massacres of Jewish civilians were the norm each time a besieged town fell to the rebels; similar was the plight of Muslims – combatants and civilians alike. As the Reverend John Hartley noted,

> "the sons of Isaac, and the sons of Ishmael, on [...] every occasion during the Greek Revolution, met with a common fate. [...] It may be remarked in general, that the Greek Revolution

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[11] Walsh 1836: 316-17; Efthymiou 2002: 42, note 25; Pierron 1996: 18; Hughes 1830: 294; Papatheodorou 2009: 254; *Makedonia* (24 June 1931) 1.

> has not left a single descendant of Abraham within the liberated territory."[12]

The "wasteland and levelling" of Tripoli, according to Aristotelis Valaoritis's 1872 composition, constitutes an instructive case in point: principally because of the sheer volume of slaughter and pillage, but also because of the explanations advanced by eminent figures of the War of Independence when accounting for such carnage. The passage below, by no means either random or atypical, epitomizes the revolutionaries' *raison d'être*:

> Wherever in the Peloponnese one went, one did not see but corpses [...]. The Greeks were accused of these atrocities; but as long they were to be liberated or constitute a state, their salvation dictated that they all covered their hands with the blood of their tyrants, so that they got used to killing the enemy [...]. They could only spare the women, children and the elderly; [...] in this way, they would demonstrate their humanity and hasten the fall of [Tripoli]. But what could prevent the Greeks from taking revenge for all the evils they had suffered even from these women, even from these children during the centuries and the passing-on of generations?[13]

Elpida Vogli has recently argued that the proposals and practices pertinent to the inclusion or exclusion of certain population groups from the would-be polity were conditioned by the pressing needs of a society at war – specifically, I hasten to add, in response to the massacres of thousands of Greek Orthodox civilians by the Ottomans and their Egyptian allies. As a physician and surgeon attached to the Greek forces put it:

> Whatever judgement may be pronounced on the conduct of the Greeks towards the Turks, one good consequence arose from their cruelties. A line of demarcation was [...] established between the two nations; a barrier of blood, which rendered all future approximation impossible.

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[12] Phillips 1897: 48; Efthymiou 2002: 41; Laios 1958: 248-9; Hartley 1831: 207-8.
[13] Valaoritis 1981: 183-91; Spiliadis 1851: 246-7.

In fact, the Third National Assembly in spring 1826 was quite explicit when passing a secret resolution on the morrow of Ibrahim Pasha's "barbarization project", which provided that the "Turks should neither [own] property nor [enjoy] permanent residence in Greece"; while six months later, the gazette of the provisional government implied that the Jews of the Ottoman Empire (and hence the Jews of the insurgent lands) were not worthy to enjoy the fruits of an enlightened polity partly because of the callousness of their religion. Of course, the exclusivity of such perceptions was not always manifested on the ground. In a small number of instances, the contribution of native Muslims (and Jews?) to the *agonas*, and/or their conversion to the "established religion" as *neofytoi* offered them not only membership of the new polity but also pecuniary compensation, principally in the form of land, in later decades.[14]

It would, however, be amiss not to consider that such perceptions have a historicity of their own, which cannot be merely explained in the context of an *ephemeral* "society at war". That much is also evident in the case of Greek Catholics. Six months after the promulgation of the Epidaurus constitution, the insurgents' eparch in Tinos noted that, as "brothers in Christ, we consider them Greeks [...] born of the same mother, breathing the same air [...], possessing the same rights and privileges", and called upon them to participate in the "sacred struggle" against the "barbarous tyrant". Yet, five and a half years later, Kapodistrias seemingly did not perceive them as a constituent part of the "Greek nation, which comprises those who since the fall of Constantinople have not stopped professing the Orthodox faith".[15]

The fact that very few of the eighteen thousand or so Greek Catholics responded to the sirens of ethno-religious nationalism emanating from the mainland was not lost on the insurgents. At the time, Dimitrios Ypsilantis called it an "unpardonable sin", a

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[14] Vogli 2007: 56; Millingen 1831: 166; Daskalakis 1966-67: II.505; *Geniki Efimeris* (25 August 1826) 543; *Efimeris tis Kyverniseos* 20 (1836) 81-3); Nikolopoulos and Kakoulidis 1859-62: II.886.
[15] AEP 1973: 566, 565; Kapodistrias 1841: 190.

view that permeates much of the subsequent historical narrative. For example, Spyridon Trikoupis, politician, diplomat and official historiographer of the War of Independence, maintained that they had chosen the Crescent instead of the Cross, slavery instead of freedom; and in a summative maxim, to which I shall return later, concluded thus:

> Fortunate is the nation that professes one dogma. Thank God, we possess such a providential thing, and cursed by the nation be the one who, for whatever reason, seeks by heteroreligious teaching or by any other means to contrive against the Greeks' unity of faith.

Admittedly, such a narrative also drew support from the age-old ingrained mistrust that existed between Orthodox and Catholic Greeks in the eastern Mediterranean, "an example of enduring hatred in human history", according to Braudel, and one which prompted the Reverend Josiah Brewer to write, somewhat over-optimistically, that "so strong is the hatred which the Greeks bear to the Catholics, that they almost love the Protestants in comparison."[16]

In demographic terms, the outcome of what the Greeks' "salvation dictated" was staggering (see Table 1). One cannot draw a distinction between heteroreligious who perished and heteroreligious and heterodox who migrated. And although these estimates and figures are neither complete nor to be taken at face value, in absolute terms they demonstrate a near-complete "homogenization" of the regions that by the end of the War of Independence came to comprise the Greek state.

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[16] Papadopoulos 1971a: 182; Trikoupis 1853: 185-6; Efthymiou 2003: 7; Missionary 1829: 359.

Table 1: Population estimates/figures by religion (1821–1907)[17]

Year	Orthodox	Catholics	Muslims	Jews	Evangelicals	Other	Total
1821	675,646	18,000	90,830	5,000			789,476
1832	712,608						712,608
1835		17,648					
1854							1,041,270
1862	1,086,900	9,358	198	354			1,096,810
1870	1,441,810	12,585	150	3,349			1,457,894
1879	1,635,698	14,677	146	3,246			1,653,767
1907	2,597,011 (98.67%)	23,261 (0.88%)	3,516 (0.13%)	6,127 (0.24%)	1,909 (0.07%)	128 (0.01%)	2,631,952

[17] Carabott 2005, and Ministry of the Interior 1909: 100-1.

The Greeks' "unity of faith": From Ionas King to that "most natural feeling"

In one of his first royal decrees as King of Greece, by the Grace of God, the Catholic Otto had promised to his Muslim subjects, who would opt to reside in "Our kingdom", due protection and "utmost liberty in performing their religious services", similar to that provided to all "Our subjects" irrespective of creed. Analogous pledges he had extended to Jewish notables who visited him in early 1833, assuring them that he considered his kingdom to be blessed and honoured to contain in its bosom the biblical race of Israel. Such official assurances were manifested in the appointment of a Greek Jew from Chalkis, Markos Vitalis, as royal tax collector in May 1833. But they seem to have had no perceptible effect on age-old superstitions around which collective beliefs on the religious "other" evolved. The US consul at Athens from late 1837 to 1842, while rejoicing "in the triumphs of the Greeks", could not "but sympathise" with the few remaining Muslim inhabitants of Chalkis, who were subjected to "humiliating insults to their nation and their religion", noting that Muslim "historical relics [...] have been most shockingly injured" at the hands of Christian bigots and spoilers. Roughly at the same time, a former member of the French Scientific Expedition to the Peloponnese opined that the "Greeks have a great dislike of the Jews". In Thebes such "dislike", underpinned by economic considerations, in early 1833 led the town's *demogerontia* to move the day of the local market from Sunday to Saturday as a means of driving out Jewish traders. Likewise, the predilection not to openly differentiate between Greek Orthodox and heteroreligious "subjects", overtly demonstrated by the fact that until 1846 the oath of allegiance to Otto was taken in the name of the Holy Trinity and the Bible, does not seem to have hindered a wide gamut of public expressions of anti-Jewish sentiments. These ranged from the bewilderment and concern that a local Greek expressed in late 1834 when finding out that the custom officer in Chalkis had appointed a Jew as guardsman of the custom house,

wondering how was it that a Greek possessing the same qualities as the Jew could not be found for such a mundane post among the "impoverished and honourable Greeks in our city"; to the razing to the ground by malicious elements of the ancient synagogue of Chalkis, with its rich store of manuscripts and books, in 1846; and, of course, to the Judas-effigy practice – at best a favourite pastime for "children of the rabble", at worst the focal point of the "annual persecution of the Jews by the Greeks".[18]

An official ban on the traditional burning of Judas effigies led to what is probably the most overt example of an anti-Jewish, and much more, "moment" in Greece prior to the notorious Corfu and Zante riots of 1891. It was ordered by the government out of deference to a member of the French branch of the Jewish banking family of the Rothschilds, who had just begun his visit to the capital as a guest of the Kolettis administration to renegotiate the terms of a number of loans that Greece had taken out. At the time, Athens did not boast an indigenous Jewish community, as all of the few Jewish residents of the capital were foreigners, principally from Bavaria, who had come to Greece with the entourage of Otto. One non-Bavarian Jew was a certain David Pacifico, a native of Gibraltar (hence a British subject). After acquiring Portuguese nationality in 1822, Pacifico was appointed Portuguese consul in Athens, taking up his post in 1839. Following his dismissal for financial irregularities in 1842, he was embroiled in an ongoing dispute with Otto and his government, which refused to compensate him for the appropriation of a plot of land near the palace that Pacifico had purchased in April 1843.[19]

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[18] Nikolopoulos and Kakoulidis 1859-62: I.7; Pierron 1996: 23; *Efimeris tis Kyverniseos* 17 (1833) 124; http://www.elia.org.gr/pages.fds?pagecode=17.04&langid=1; Perdicaris 1845: 108-11; Papadopoulos 1971b: 144; http://www.cohen.gr/newsite/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=912:2010-01-25-09-39-16&catid=35:jewdaism&Itemid=59; Nikolopoulos and Kakoulidis 1859-62: I.5, II.416; *Athina* (29 December 1834) 4; BFSP 1863: 386; *Elpis* (31 March 1847) 1; PD 1853: column 1776.

[19] Anonymous 1850a: 7; Molho 1953: 231-2; BFSP 1863: 342.

The physical maltreatment of Pacifico and his family and the despoliation of their house in central Athens on Easter Day (23 March/4 April 1847) were carried out by a crowd of some 300 to 400 people, the "wolves of our city". Religiously animated by the rumour, skilfully spread by the "scions of ministers and military officers" present at the scene, including the sons of the Minister of War Kitsos Tzavelas, that Pacifico had paid either the police or the church wardens to ban the burning of Judas effigies, the mob, shouting "death to the Jews", "battered down with large stones" the door of his house and, "swearing dreadfully", began beating its occupants, despoiling "every article of furniture", and robbing Pacifico of his jewels, candlesticks, gold and silver ornaments, diamonds, and money. "All this happened in the space of about an hour and a half, during which time neither the gendarmes nor the agents of police who were summoned, interfered to prevent the carrying off of the things of which I was robbed."[20]

The gist of Pacifico's narrative is corroborated both in the accounts of Athenian newspapers and by the proceedings of the Criminal Court in Athens in May, where three men were charged with conspiracy to violate the sanctuary of his house, causing damages thereto, and theft. Yet, the court discharged the defendants, "because none of the witnesses is really sure that they recognize any of the named accused, with the exception of one [witness...] and an accusation cannot be based on one witness alone" – thus giving added weight to Pacifico's early claim that he "could not find in Greece either a lawyer to defend a poor Jew like himself or a judge to uphold his rights". In his quest to find justice, he intensified his efforts to get the British government to intervene on his behalf. In the event, London connected the affair with other outstanding grudges it held against Athens and demanded compensation. The latter refused to give in, whereupon in early 1850 "Sheriff Palmerston, by the agency of his officer Parker, at the suit of Pacifico" forced the matter by blockading

[20] *Athina* (29 March 1847) 2; *Aion* (29 March 1847) 2; Taylor 2008: 3, 141, 142; Pacifico to Sir Edmund Lyons (7 April 1847), in BFSP 1863: 333-4; *Elpis* (31 March 1847) 1.

Piraeus, in what turned into an incident of blatant gun-boat diplomacy.[21]

The issue of whether, or to what extent, the treatment meted out to Pacifico by the Greek authorities was informed by the fact that he was a Jew, and a "foreign" one at that, is a multifaceted one. Although the British Minister at Athens, Sir Edmund Lyons, had first raised the issue of compensation with Kolettis three weeks after the events of Easter Day, it was the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the government of Kitsos Tzavelas who responded, as late as 8 January 1848, taking the line that Pacifico should pursue a civil claim for compensation. Unequivocally refuting the allegation the claimant had made that the "ministers of Otto are not enough advanced in civilization so as to understand the rights of men and the advantages of religious toleration", Georgios Glarakis argued that religious fanaticism was not enshrined "either in the laws or the mores of a country like Greece, which tolerates and protects the exercise of all denominations and all faiths". Pacifico, to whom Lyons forwarded Glarakis's letter, penned a long rejoinder, the gist of which centred on his belief that he had been attacked, victimized, discriminated against, and forced to stay indoors for fear of being assaulted by a lawless and superstitious populace because of his religious faith – concluding that, even if he were a Greek citizen, as an "Israelite", he would not enjoy the same rights as a Greek Orthodox citizen. Pacifico's wholesale refutation of Glarakis's response must have irritated the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, who questioned the claimant's state of mind. His rejoinder was described as one full of "extraneous expressions". "Jews have always been among us, and there are still in many parts of Greece", Konstantinos Kolokotronis maintained; he knew of no "acts of terror and barbarity committed by Greeks against the Israelites".

> But why then, one could ask, [did] the crime of 4 April [take place]? The answer is simple: some miserable scum of society,

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[21] Fleming 2006; BFSP 1863: 337; *Punch* 18 (1850) 140; Taylor 2008.

> prompted by the desire to plunder, attacked unexpectedly Pacifico's house and committed a robbery, as they could have done anywhere else.[22]

Kolokotronis's blunt answer runs contrary to all the available evidence, as even Greek officials admitted that the culprits, the "scum", were indeed motivated by religious "fervour". In all likelihood, their response(s) to Pacifico's allegations and claims for compensation were informed by the fact that he was Jewish; as George Finlay put it, "the cry was he is a Jew, let him go to the Greek tribunals". In tandem, of course, with the fact that he sought refuge in his British nationality, at a time when relations between Athens and London were at a low ebb, that his claims for compensation were over the top, that he was already embroiled in a tug-of-war with the authorities over the royal appropriation of his plot of land, and that he ticked yet another anti-Jewish-related stereotype, that of a "professed money-lender" – by his own admission, lending money "at higher interest to parties in Athens".[23]

In the aftermath of the Pacifico affair, the Judas-effigy practice was seemingly proscribed on the government's orders, though it hardly died out in areas with a visible Jewish presence, such as Chalkis. At the same time, a fair number of philo-Semitic articles appeared in a couple of learned journals of the kingdom. Offering an enlightened critique of anti-Jewish images worldwide, they were written in the spirit of highlighting the common threads running through the Greek and Jewish civilizations. Such narratives were of course in opposition to the ongoing dissemination of populist typecast notions of the "cursed" and "measly" Jews. Unsurprisingly, neither set of texts specifically referred to Greek Jews, whose limited visibility was hardly

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[22] Fleming 2008: 23-9; Pacifico to Lyons (8 October 1847), Glarakis to Lyons (8 January 1848), Pacifico to Lyons (24 January 1848) and Kolokotronis to Lyons (28 July 1848), in BFSP 1863: 337-8, 348, 352-67, 378-9.

[23] Praktika 1850: 58; Hussey 1995: 647; Christmas 1851: 295; Pacifico to Thomas Wyse (18 April 1850) in Command Paper 1850: 307.

conducive to raising "national passions"[24] amongst the guardians of the "Greeks' unity of faith". On the contrary, when the Autocephalous Church and influential segments of the Athenian Press felt that the established religion was undermined and/or threatened they both responded with alacrity.

The trials and tribulations of the Reverend Jonas King are a case in point. Ever since his appointment as the principal missionary within the nascent Greek state of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), King had been no stranger to controversy. His opening of an elementary school for boys and girls in Athens, with ABCFM funds and the backing of Kapodistrias in May 1831, was considered by the *Aiginaia* newspaper as evidence of American efforts to spread the light of civilization. But the welcoming of this and other similar educational initiatives undertaken by missionaries throughout the realm was not unconditional. King and his like were admonished to employ as teachers Greek Orthodox kin (*omogeneis*) with proven knowledge and experience of the state-designed curriculum, and to demonstrate to the world that "the only reason why they have set up schools in Greece is to raise Greeks according to the mores and customs of the motherland, not [according] to foreign and alien ones". In other words, missionary assistance in regenerating the country should neither undermine in any way the quintessential traditions of the *genos* nor be motivated by the desire to turn its youth into proselytes – an ulterior motive that the ABCFM publicly admitted it espoused thirty years later.[25]

This "savage, uncivilized [...] trafficker of his religion" was convicted by the Criminal Court of Athens in March 1852 under article 196 of the criminal code, which penalized with at least three months' imprisonment anyone who in public or through the written word "insults with contemptuous sneers or unfavourable

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[24] Baird 1856: 129; *Evripos* (27 March 1871) 1; Abatzopoulou 1998: 203; Anonymous 1850b; Koumanoudis 1851; Driault and Lhéritier 1925-26: 377.

[25] US Senate Executive Document 67 (1854); Repousis 2009; Andrianopoulos 2003: 85; Hamister 2000: 6.

expressions the doctrines, ordinances and customs of the Eastern Church or any other religion that exists with the consent of the Government". Prior to that, his unabated questioning of the doctrines of the established religion, both during the Sunday sermons he held at his house and in his numerous polemical tracts, had not gone unchallenged. The Holy Synod of the Autocephalous Church responded by bringing out its own rebuttal of his tracts, anathematizing him in August 1845 (as did the Ecumenical Patriarchate a month later), and, in tandem with a segment of the Athenian Press, urged the government to act. His 1852 trial took place amidst fresh allegations that ritualistic orgies were taking place in his house, and during a legal dispute over a plot of land he had purchased from a departing Muslim in the early 1830s, which the government wished to appropriate without offering him adequate compensation. Sentencing King to fifteen days' imprisonment and to expulsion "beyond the bounds of the kingdom", the court ruled that although the country's constitution safeguarded freedom of speech and tolerated foreign religions, "it does not allow the condemnation of the principles, customs, doctrines and ordinances" of the established one. Having called on the capital's *filochristoi* to attend en masse the trial of the "notorious pseudo-apostle", presumably to "encourage the judges to severity and to deter them from a cowardly complaisance", the *Aion* hailed the court's decision, arguing that the "insulted religion" had been avenged, the *genos* "vindicated in the eyes of Greeks living abroad", state and society demonstrating that they would not tolerate "such snakes and enemies of Orthodoxy" in their midst. Its rivals were far less circumspect in attacking King, noting that his persecution, which ran contrary to the principle of religious tolerance, was spearheaded by the country's God-fearing zealots, those "Tartuffian imposters".[26]

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[26] Makrygiannis 1983: 189; Malagradis 1926: 178; Miscellaneous 1859: 623-30, 630-5, 762; Tuckerman 1878: 214; Hamister 2000: 13–16; About 1855: 206; Baird 1856: 355; *Aion* (27 February 1852) 1; *Athina* (26 February 1852) 2; *Elpis* (1 March 1852) 2; *Efimeris tou Laou* (23 February 1852) 3.

Likewise, for a number of jurists and university professors it was not the alleged corruption of religious sentiments that was causing disquiet. Those who brought out a pamphlet entitled "Opinion of twelve lawyers" in the immediate aftermath of King's conviction in 1852 argued that the issue at hand was how in a secular state freedom of expression was stifled and the non-acceptance of the doctrines of the established religion considered a punishable crime. Their lingering questioning of article 1 of the 1844 constitution on the proscription of any "interference with the established religion" had already been raised in a candid critique by King's lawyer in 1846. In his "Petition" to the Supreme Court, Pavlos Kalligas, whose one and only novel *Thanos Vlekas* (1856) includes a character drawn upon King, maintained that the principle of religious tolerance was "the first basis of civilization, inseparable from liberty". To surrender that was tantamount to abandoning a cardinal Enlightenment principle. Without disputing the Holy Synod's right to warn its flock about the "miasma of heterodoxy", Kalligas concluded thus:

> Do we wish to put on trial and convict an heterodox, not for what he expressed but for what he might believe? [...] Let us not go back to the time when with chains and torture the Inquisition interfered in matters of conscience, in order to seize the secret of a victim's inner convictions as he took his last breath.

Unlike the discourse of the Holy Synod and a segment of the Athenian press, in the "Opinion" and the "Petition" Greek nationality is not conflated with the established religion; for example, Kalligas refers to the Holy Synod as the "sleepless guardian of the Church"[27] – not the nation. And in both a clear line is drawn as regards the remit of the spiritual and lay "guardians" of the nation. For Kalligas, the former had probably exceeded its bounds, the judicial branch of the latter undermining the principle of religious tolerance.

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[27] Miscellaneous 1859: 798; Kalligas 1899: 464, 471-2, 476.

Charles Tuckerman, US Minister Resident in Athens in the late 1860s-early 1870s, was spot on when maintaining that the King affair was "instituted out of deference to public opinion", and that King's sentence of imprisonment was not carried out on account of his being an US citizen; to which one should add that he had been appointed US consular agent in March 1851 and that his wife was a Greek originating from Smyrna. In fact, King resumed his preaching in 1854, following the revocation of his permanent exile by the Minister of Justice, before dying in Athens fifteen years later at the age of seventy-seven. Notwithstanding his ongoing tribulations with the religious and judicial authorities of his adopted country, his 1852 trial and (below the absolute minimum) sentencing should be seen as a show-case, designed to allay the fears of the "priestly [Russian] party"[28] and satisfy the scaremongering of both the Holy Synod and the populist segment of public opinion rather than as evidence of the secular state's intransigence and intolerance.

That much becomes evident when one considers that Michail Kalopothakis (1825–1911), a witness for the defence in King's trial and nephew of Petrobey Mavromichalis, six years later brought out a weekly newspaper (*Astir tis Anatolis*) in Athens with an unmistakable Protestant slant. This he followed up with his monthly *Efimeris ton Paidon* in 1868, a children's periodical with subventions from the Religious Tract Society of London and the Presbyterian Church of the US mission to Athens. Three years later he went on to establish the Greek Evangelical Church, endowing it with a place of worship opposite Hadrian's Arch in the capital.[29]

The responses to Kalopothakis's religious, educational and publishing activities were mixed. The secular state seemingly sanctioned them, and refused on a number of occasions to follow up the request of the Holy Synod to commence legal proceedings against him on account of his alleged promulgating of "heterodox

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[28] Tuckerman 1878: 215; Baird 1856: 367.
[29] Kyriakakis 1985: 11-17.

doctrines [...] for the purpose of proselytizing", as well as to ban religious books published by foreign Bible Societies and circulated by Kalopothakis and his agents on the grounds that "they were likely to entrap the simple-minded and interfere with their faith". But they were met with the disapproval, opposition, and scorn not only of the Holy Synod but also of intellectuals and a segment of public opinion. For example, in the first issue of its rival *Diaplasis ton Paidon* in 1879, with which generations of Greeks were brought up, the *Efimeris ton Paidon* was disdainfully characterized as an "insidious proselytizing organ of the heterodox missionaries"; and thirty-five years later, the demoticist novelist Galatia Kazantzaki, wife (at the time) of Nikos Kazantzakis, opined that it did not offer anything to children, "even from a national point of view", and maintained that never "did the word *Greece* appear in its columns".[30]

The "national" was foremost in the mind of the Holy Synod as well, when issuing at least four encyclicals in a little over thirteen years, the first of which, in March 1891, unequivocally accused the Greek Evangelicals of misconstruing and falsifying the Lord's word. In a subsequent encyclical, it warned of the risks that the Greek (Orthodox) youth ran by attending the schools and seminars of the Evangelicals, and expressed its hope that:

> The Greek Orthodox People will not only maintain our sacred religion unblemished and the ancestral manners and customs pure and intact [...] but will also take care of the schooling of its offspring according to our ecclesiastical and national traditions, through the prevalence of which every pious and valiant belief is developed, ensuring thus the happiness of our national and social life.[31]

What these encyclicals conveyed was a deep-seated concern lest, through their educational and publishing activities their preaching endeavours and their relative financial clout, in the long run the Evangelicals succeeded in making more heterodox out of

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[30] FRUS 1873: 246, 248; FRUS 1877: 309-11; Patsiou 1987: 94-6.
[31] Giannopoulos 1901: 402-5; ISEE 1955: 41, 55-6, 60-2.

Greek Orthodox citizens. They also sought to portray the country's Evangelicals as foreign "to our ecclesiastical and national traditions", thus questioning their right to self-identify as Greeks. In November 1895, in an incident akin to late twentieth-century practices vis-à-vis minority groups in Greek Macedonia and Thrace, the Archbishop of Athens and All Greece demanded that the police delete the adjective "Greek" from the sign "Greek Evangelical Church" that was placed on the façade of the Evangelicals' place of worship, for it "constituted proselytization and possible deception of the innocent passers-by". The police duly obliged, only for the sign to be reinstated in full a couple of weeks later after a ruling of the Ministry of the Interior that "Greek simply means that this Evangelical church is in Greece and comprises of Greeks. [...] Only those who gather within the church can undertake proselytism, not the sign itself."[32]

The incident in question admittedly shows that the secular state was determined to uphold the principle of religious tolerance. Yet, it was seemingly found wanting in safeguarding it against the actions of "pious Christians"[33] under the Holy Synod's spell. Thus, for example, in broad daylight on 14 February 1892 the Evangelical church in a suburb of Piraeus was targeted by an "impetuous mob" of some six thousand faithful. With shouts of "death to the dogs, the infidels, the exorcists" and "burn, like Judas, the Masons who want to Turkify us", they entered the building, maltreating and injuring in the process more than ten Evangelicals, including six women, before setting it on fire. "The persecution of Christians and their slaughtering in uncivilized China", opined the daily *To Asty*, "are nothing compared to yesterday's savage scenes and the physical assault of Evangelicals in civilized Piraeus". And with a degree of despair, it reported that on the morrow of the incident, despite the presence of a strong police force outside the scorched church, "remnants of the impetuous mob stoned a nearby house where a few Evangelicals

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[32] Kyriakakis 1985: 19-24.
[33] Douligeris 1892: v.

had taken shelter". Undeterred, four months later, the Holy Synod recommended to "all Orthodox Christians" a treatise by Archimandrite Panaretos Douligeris, which sought to refute the theological doctrines and practices of Kalopothakis's "pseudo-Evangelicals", who were accused of proselytism and, crucially, of betraying the principles of being Greek.[34]

The "wolves" of 1847, the "Tartuffian imposters" of 1852, the "pious Christians" of 1892 – all could be seen as agents (and guardians) of what Nikiforos Diamandouros has called Greece's "underdog culture", a major tenet of which was (is?) that "human and civil rights derive from the state itself and do not inhere directly in individuals". To these one should add the 1891 "bigoted Greeks of the lowest class" in Corfu. On the pretext of the discovery of the body of a young girl, allegedly the "victim of the diabolical fanaticism of the Jews", "our Ionian brethren" ran amok. Incited by religious fanaticism and age-old populist views on the bloodthirsty, inhumane and treacherous disposition of the Jews, as well as a desire to supplant local Jewish trading, scores of Greek Orthodox youths and adults ransacked the port-city's Jewish neighbourhoods and imposed a blockade, murdering in the process "at least half a dozen [...] unfortunate" Corfiot Jews in late April 1891. Troops from Patras were dispatched to re-establish law and order, the government publicly censured the rioters, and Britain, France and Austro-Hungary sent warships to the Ionian Sea. Such official manifestations of condemnation brought the siege to an end, but did little to halt the diffusion of anti-Jewish "activities" on the island of Zakynthos.[35]

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[34] *Akropolis* (3-4 February 1892) 2 and 3; *To Asty* (3-4 February 1892) 2 and 3; Douligeris 1892: iv-vi.

[35] Diamandouros 1994: 21; National Archives (London), F(oreign) O(ffice) 32/634: Consul Reade to Lord Salisbury (Corfu, 15 May 1891); Gennadius 1891; FO 32/626: Sir Edmund Monson to Salisbury (Athens, 20 and 27 April 1891); FO 32/627: Monson to Salisbury (2 May 1891). For a harrowing description of Jewish neighbourhoods at the time, replete with stereotypical images of its inhabitants with their "oblique glance, red lips, [and their] elongated and debauched nose", see Mitsakis 2006: 570-2.

Admittedly, the Corfu riots came on the heels of a well-documented local tradition of Greek antipathy at best, hatred at worse, vis-à-vis the Jews. The island's incorporation into the Greek state did indeed lead to the civil and political emancipation of those Corfiot Jews who chose to take up Greek citizenship (some 2,500 in 1867 out of an approximate total of 4,500). But contrary to the claim of the London *Jewish Chronicle* in 1875 that "there has been an extraordinary change in the popular sentiment towards the Jews; [whereas] not many years ago they were despised and persecuted, [now] they are respected", their being on a "par with their fellow citizens" was not looked upon favourably by the Greek Orthodox element. Jewish emancipation meant competition for public positions, trade and jobs, at a time when the *enosis* had brought about a decline in the port's growth – factors that were hardly conducive to the eradication of age-old prejudices, practices and mentalities. Though probably unduly exaggerative in its tone, four years after the Corfu riots the author of a front-page article in the Athens daily *Estia* poured scorn on the "equality" that the island's Israelites were said to enjoy, maintaining that "only as far as duties are concerned, they are veritable Greek citizens; when it comes to rights, the title Greek citizen is totally useless to them". This also helps to explain not only the decrease in the number of Corfiot Jews to 2,188 by 1907 but also the fact that the percentage of non-naturalized Corfiots (i.e. residents of the island who did not possess Greek citizenship) was the second largest in the country.[36]

What make the events of 1891 stand out from previous anti-Jewish incidents was the unmistakably *modern* rationale of the culprits, expressed by one their ring-leaders, Iakovos Polylas, thus:

> The disturbances, sooner or later, would have occurred. They are not something new. I had foreseen them a long time ago and I had said as much to the Jews I know. I told them repeatedly:

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[36] Kasimatis 1937; Karlafti-Mouratidi 2005: 467; Preschel 1984: 56, 82; Gekas 2004; Mavrogiannis 1895; Psallidas 1997: 24, fn. 26.

> beware, you have set your heads against us, you provoke us, you boast, you are behaving rudely towards the Christians. Beware, such behaviour will come to haunt you. They did not listen to me, they did not wish to listen to the voice of reason and what happened, happened. [...] Why should the Corfiot love the Jew? Why should he consider him his equal, his brother? They do not speak our language, they do not attend our schools, they do not consider Greece to be their motherland, [...] the money they earn from us they deposit in foreign banks. Despite all privileges, despite equality before the law, they continue to be foreigners, people in a foreign land. They are not Greeks [...] and they do not wish to be called Greeks. Taking advantage of the privileges [they enjoy], of the protection that over time governments have accorded them, they have become most insolent; they think that they rule over our island. They have isolated themselves. I-so-la-ted! Listen to me, [...] I do not consider anti-Semitism to be ridiculous, no I do not consider it ridiculous. It is a most natural feeling; it is the natural reaction of modern societies against the invasion, against the domination of the Jews. Listen to me, the Jew sucks up and does not give. He does not even have the quality of a leech, which after sucking blood spits it out! The people, in their practical wisdom, are aware of these things like nobody else. Religious reasons, political reasons drove them to this movement.[37]

As the multi-faceted dimensions of the Corfu riots have recently been the subject of scholarly works, I will not dwell further on these. Suffice it to note that interest in the country's Jews was evinced in the unprecedented number of publications on Jews in Greek lands disseminating anti-Semitic and philo-Semitic narratives, a year after the government had accorded the Jews of Athens the status of an *adelfotita* (brotherhood). Indeed, the visibility of Greek Israelites was further augmented when on 12/24 April 1891, in the midst of the Corfu riots, the Holy Synod for the first time issued an encyclical forbidding the public burning of a Judas effigy as a practice that "greatly insults our Jewish fellow-citizens and incites religious hatred".[38]

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[37] *Akropolis* (13 May 1891) 1.

[38] Gekas 2004; Liata 2006: 122ff.; *Efimeris tis Kyverniseos* 101 (4 May 1890); Giannopoulos 1901: 405-6.

Figure 1[39]

Epilogue

Admittedly anti-Semitism, that "most natural feeling", ushers us into modernity. An advertisement and two unsigned front-page leaders in the Athenian *Skrip* at the turn of the century are indicative of the new era. The former (see Figure 1), in an eerie manner reminiscent of Kosmas's sermons, asks the purchasing public not to have any financial dealings with Jews. Four years later, on the pretext of the alleged "virulent Jewish campaign against the Greek element in Romania", it was maintained that:

> We do not foster any anti-Semitic movement, nor is hospitable Greece conducive to it, but of course if the enlightened Israelites do not seek to put an end to such behaviour [...], the

[39] *Skrip* (31 December 1895/11 January 1896) 4.

> Jewish element that is protected by the existence of equality before the law will not continue to enjoy the privileges it has hitherto. [...] And we hope that the interested parties will see to this swiftly, because patience has its limits.

Though way off the mark, the leader is indicative of how for a section of the Athenian press equality before the law for the Israelites was perceived as an object of barter rather than a duty of a principled polity. Finally, in May 1904, and while a fresh plan for the colonization of Cyprus with Jews from Romania and Russia was on the cards, *Skrip* chastised the "machinations" of Baron Hirsch's Jewish Colonization Association, that "powerful" organization which "comprises Israelite kings of money world-wide". The carrying-out of such plans, it was noted with trepidation, would constitute a "hostile activity against the Greek people" of that "most Greek" island.[40]

Such turn-of-the-century views underpin a perception of the Jewish "other" that was no longer solely grounded upon archaic characteristics. To the diachronic hypostasis of the Christ-killer, bloodthirsty, usurer Jew, that of the antinational economic rival is given added weight. In an era where most issues were seen through the looking-glass of the "national", the antinational stance not only of the native "enlightened Israelites", but of the Jews worldwide, is elevated by certain Greek Orthodox circles to a main attribute of the "national enemy" imagery – at least a decade before the incorporation of the Jerusalem of the Balkans into the Greek state and the consolidation in the latter of what has been defined as "modern anti-Semitism".[41]

The concept of the enemy within did not apply solely to the Jewish "other". The ongoing demonizing of the Muslim "other" in textbooks and literary works was part of an age-old imagery. It fed on perceptions of implacable animosity that contributed to a substantial Muslim exodus from former Ottoman Thessaly

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[40] *Skrip* (14 June 1900) 1; *Empros* (16 June 1900) 1; *Skrip* (14 May 1904) 1.
[41] Margaritis 2005: 38.

following the region's cession, and was manifested on both sides of the divide in the island of Crete in the late 1890s, leading to a considerable migration of Turco-Cretans on the morrow of the establishment of the *Kritiki Politeia.* As for the Catholic "other", the extract that follows is indicative of how dangerous for Hellenism an elite member of the established religion's faithful considered (Greek) Catholicism to be:

> Hellenism and Orthodoxy are so intertwined that when even a shadow of the Latin appears, every Greek sentiment ceases to exist [...]. Unfortunately everywhere in Greece where Catholicism is to be found, the Greek *fronima* is not flourishing.[42]

I will end with an "aphorism", which to my mind encapsulates in no small degree Greek Orthodox perceptions of the religious "other" at the turn of the century. Penned by Archimandrite Timotheos, the spiritual mentor (*pnevmatikos*) of the "Royal Family of the Hellenes" in 1911, it reads thus:

> A Greek who is not a genuine Orthodox Christian, who is not a sincere friend of ancestral traditions, is and should be considered a traitor of the Greek motherland. Because it is impossible for a non-genuine Orthodox Christian to hold dear to his heart the enthusiasm for the ideal good and make a dash for self-sacrifice as regards the due observance of the Motherland's laws and the need to protect its sacred [principles]. This is the verdict of History and an undisputed precept of our experience.[43]

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[42] Carabott 2006; Sokolis 1908.
[43] Anastasiou 1911: v-vi.

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Does Greece have a foreign policy?

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Traditionally, the study of foreign policy is concerned with how and why a state conducts its external relations. Within the domestic arena, foreign policy analysis looks at decision-making processes and the factors which influence them, ranging from organisational to psychological explanations, including individual actors, groups, values and ideology. In the external arena, the study of foreign policy is concerned with the "milieu" within which states operate and which may influence their policies, as well as the goals that a state wishes to achieve through its policies. Geopolitics or a specific type of international system, bipolar or multipolar, for example, are said to influence what goals states set and how they want to achieve them. Bridging the domestic and external environment are the instruments which are available in the conduct of state foreign policy and the choice of the appropriate instruments to achieve a specific foreign policy goal. More recently, the rise of importance of the European Union as an international actor indicates that the domain of foreign policy is no longer exclusive to the state, even though it remains the primary actor of study.

This very brief explanation of foreign policy is necessary inasmuch as it shows that all states, as autonomous actors, either conduct their own foreign policy, or are affected by the foreign policy of other states and actors. States do not live in a vacuum; they have no choice but to interact at least with their immediate environment, if not with the broader international system. Even a "foreign policy passive" state interacts with its milieu. But this raises the question of whether an independent sovereign state, capable of autonomous action, can actually *not* have a foreign policy. Some states, such as Monaco or San Marino, have given

over the running of their foreign policy to a neighbouring guarantor (France or Italy). Others allow the international institution they are a member of – such as the EU – to take the lead in the conduct of foreign policy.

What this short essay wishes to examine is to what extent Greece has a foreign policy. In answering this rather provocative question, the initial consideration should be whether Greece actually needs a foreign policy (for reasons that will be explained). I will argue that, indeed, Greece does need a foreign policy, but for a variety of reasons in the last 5-7 years – with the odd period of exception – it has not had a foreign policy, at least not in a constructive, proactive sense of formulating policy through clearly denoted processes which develop achievable goals and match means to ends.

Does Greece need a foreign policy?

As we shall see in the next section, it could be said that in both past and present times Greece has not needed an independent foreign policy – or at least not an extensive one. But I would argue that, currently, Greece does need to have a foreign policy. The main reasons for this are obvious to all: as a state, Greece has a number of outstanding *ethnika themata* (national issues), which in part are destabilising and politically debilitating. In turn, these *ethnika themata* are also obvious to anyone with even the sketchiest knowledge of Greece's international relations. The three main outstanding sets of issues comprise relations with Turkey and with FYR Macedonia, and the "Cyprus problem". All of these are long-standing items topping the Greek foreign policy agenda; Turkey and Cyprus more long-standing than FYR Macedonia. Yet they remain unresolved and if progress were to be made in reaching solutions to the problems at the heart of these "conflicts", then Greece would divest itself of a terrific domestic and international political burden.

In the case of Turkey, the list of differences is long, well-known and centres on the so-called "Aegean disputes", as well as questions relating to minorities or the status of the Ecumenical

Patriarchate in Istanbul. The immanent threat of military confrontation – especially as the result of an accident – heightens the need to step up the pace of dialogue and resolution of outstanding issues. Similarly, in the case of FYR Macedonia, the name issue had been on the agenda since 1992, and is seemingly no closer to resolution. While the danger of a military crisis resulting from this dispute is minimal, the drain on Greece's political capital internationally is immense, and a resolution to the dispute would go a long way in restoring some diplomatic credit and credibility. In the case of Cyprus, the issue is somewhat different in that Greece is merely upholding the positions taken by the sovereign state of Cyprus in its international relations and the status of the political solutions possible on the divided island. A solution here would divest Greece of the need to provide unquestioning support for Cyprus, which comes sometimes at a high cost for Greece's broader international relations, and diminishes Greece's ability to act independently and in its own interests. Essentially, while these three issues are "live", they dominate the Greek foreign policy agenda, and are so emotionally driven that they dominate the domestic political scene as well. They almost provide a policy straitjacket, constraining Greece from moving beyond these problems, into a European mainstream of calmer waters and broader concerns. Furthermore, as they are still "live" as dominant agenda items, Greece *needs*, by default, a foreign policy to push forward, in terms of solutions to these problems.

When has Greece not needed a foreign policy?

There have been periods in the recent past where Greece has not needed a foreign policy, or at least not an active or extensive one, and where Greece's foreign policy interests have been guaranteed, shielded or best served by other actors or systemic factors internationally. In this section I will refer to the two cases of this which stand out. The first refers to the Cold War and the particular systemic context it provided for states like Greece to operate. The second refers to Greece's membership of the European Union

(EU) and the particular safeguards this provided for Greek foreign policy.

During the Cold War, Greece could, by and large, proceed with a minimalist foreign policy. On the broad issues and conflicts of the day, Greece was shielded by the specific character of the Cold War international system. The bipolar system of alliances and ideological camps which divided the world, perhaps artificially at times, provided a sense of certainty of purpose and a physical security which dominated all aspects of the state's international relations. All foreign policy was mediated through the lens of the Cold War. Greece was by definition part of the western bloc and by implication a democratic West, because of its anti-communism. In turn, "anti-communism", translating into "anti-Soviet dominated communist bloc" foreign policy, dominated the whole of Greece's foreign policy agenda.

On the one hand that static nature of the Cold War international system, because of its rigidity and the dominance of the superpowers (and the potential of a major confrontation ending in a nuclear disaster), did not allow for much action, movement and change through foreign policy initiatives. Greece, like many other states, was limited in the leeway it had for foreign policy action. And while on the one hand this specific international system could be seen as stifling, for the most part it provided a strong incentive and rationale for not having a foreign policy. The "Cold War" foreign policy – that is, policy towards the rival bloc – was dictated by your membership of the "West" and the dominance of the US in this system. At the same time, foreign policy on more regional or local issues, issues of immediate national interest, were dictated by the necessities of the Cold War. Therefore, by implication, in the few instances since the end of the Greek Civil War when Greece was faced, standing alone, with an immediate foreign policy dilemma, such as in 1974, it had to see the crisis not only as a bilateral one with Turkey, but as a multilateral one in the context of NATO. As such, the solutions were also sought in the context of this Cold War alliance and primarily through the guidance and mediation of the US (as senior partner).

There were exceptions to this constraint on foreign policy, this seeming lack of need for a foreign policy in the Cold War era. Konstantinos Karamanlis, in the late 1970s, for example, sought to better relations with states within the eastern bloc and especially those in the Balkans. Similarly, and more radically, Andreas Papandreou pursued what was a seemingly more "non-aligned" policy both in South-eastern Europe, the Middle East and beyond. But in both cases, and in different ways, the pursuit of these policies was still conducted within the narrower scope of the Cold War international system. In Karamanlis's case, there was no deviation from the "western line", merely a small variation on the theme carried out without criticism from allies and partners. In the case of Papandreou, the variation was much more significant, but it was highly rhetorical and served a highly populist domestic political agenda.

The second case illustrating the lack of need for Greek foreign policy is in the context of Greece's membership of the EU. Being part of this Union has resulted in the limitation on a need for foreign policy in two different ways. Firstly, in an institutional sense, being part of a Union of so many nation-states, who progressively have attempted to come up with the mechanisms to adopt joint positions and take joint actions in foreign affairs, that is who have attempted to create a common foreign policy, has provided a "shield" for countries like Greece. In effect, the Greek foreign policy interests have to a great extent been subsumed within the policy of this bigger political and economic entity. Decisions which can be made at the European level thus shielded Greece from taking unilateral action. Furthermore, decisions on broader international concerns on which Greece may not have a distinct position are also taken at the European level thus obviating the need to have a distinct foreign policy on these concerns. For example, Greece's policy on China or climate change, examples of these broader concerns mentioned earlier, will obviously be mediated by its membership of the EU: they are not vital, unilateral Greek concerns which necessitate a unilateral Greek policy.

A more conceptual understanding of the effects of membership of the EU on foreign policy (as well as all policy sectors) can be found in the academic literature on Europeanisation of foreign policy. This is a burgeoning literature which starts from the basic premise that membership of the EU results in policy adaptation and convergence among the member states. Through rationalist processes of repetitive bargaining within the EU decision-making structures, through more constructivist ideas of socialisation and social learning, and through normative convergence, member states move closer and closer together in policy terms until these policies become European policies: European policies emerge and thus Europeanisation is said to take place. This Europeanisation can take place as states adapt to the impact and influence of EU membership, but it can take place when a state projects its own narrower policy concerns onto the European level, where they become European policy. This is a long and contested discussion in the field of Europeanisation and foreign policy analysis which cannot be rehearsed at length here. Suffice it to say that Greece figures quite highly in this literature, as an EU member state which has converged to the European norm in both the style and content of it foreign policy (the example often used here is the general attitude towards the Western Balkans which shifted in the mid-1990s), and in the projections of its policy onto the European level where it has been adopted as a "European policy" (the case referred to here is that of Turkey and its candidacy for EU membership in the late 1990s). Here too there are notable exceptions, for example the case of FYR Macedonia and the blocking of its NATO membership by Greece, but more on this later.

Therefore, while it may seem outlandish to suggest that a modern European nation-state does not need a foreign policy, in the case of Greece there are at least two notable periods in which its foreign policy has been severely constrained, and its interests shielded and best guaranteed by membership in either a particular bloc in a specific international environment, or a specific international institution such as the EU.

When has Greece needed a foreign policy?

As a counterpoint to the previous section there are clear periods in the recent past in which Greece has been in need of a distinct foreign policy, primarily because of a changing international context and system.

The first challenge was provided by the end of the Cold War, which freed up the international order from the previous systemic constraints. While this provided many opportunities to overcome the stagnation of the bipolar era, it also brought with it great threats. In the case of Greece, the end of the Cold War brought with it geopolitical confusion and the questioning of its identity as a western state. If, as argued above, Greece's identity as a western state was dependent of on its membership of the western bloc in the post-Second World War period, then the end of the Cold War gave rise to questions as to where Greece belonged culturally and ideologically.

This was reinforced by the implications of Yugoslavia's collapse, and Greece's involvement in this collapse. On the one hand, throughout the wars in Croatia and Bosnia, Greece was seen to be siding with Serbia, which in turn was increasingly seen internationally as the aggressor and culprit for the wars. The point is that Greece had to have a foreign policy with respect to Yugoslavia's wars. This was a conflict on its border which had immediate consequences for its vital national interests in its neighbourhood. That Greece was not ready to construct a robust and convincing foreign policy, and that its foreign policy diverged from that of most of its partners, is not for discussion here. What is relevant is that the changing regional context necessitated a distinct Greek foreign policy which had not always been the case before. This, of course, is best exemplified by the emergence of the so-called "Macedonia issue", a product of Yugoslavia's collapse. There is no doubt that the creation of an independent "Republic of Macedonia" posed grave challenges (and potentially long-term threats to Greek interests. The Greek response and foreign policy to the creation of this state with this name is in some respects rational. In others, it went beyond the expected and

descended into a national paranoia which reinforced this questioning of Greece's cultural identity and political loyalties. The name is a problem; basing a twentieth-century foreign policy on Alexander the Great is less understandable. Nonetheless, the point is here that Greece did need a foreign policy both with respect to the challenge from Skopje and in relation to the general instability caused in the neighbourhood by Yugoslavia's wars. This is not the place to judge these policies. (There are other examples of why Greece has needed a foreign policy in the recent past – the rise in Turkey's strategic significance for instance – but the Balkan examples are the clearest and have the greatest implications.)

In short, the end of the Cold War removed the certainties in which Greek foreign policy was embedded for nearly four decades and necessitated the generation of unilateral positions on a range of issues. More specifically, this systemic change in conjunction with the events in the Balkans meant that Greece was, in a very short period of time, faced with the challenge of creating a raft of policy positions on questions of significant national interest: it needed a foreign policy.

Today: Greece needs but does not have a foreign policy

Today, as identified in the introductory section to this essay, Greece is in need of a foreign policy. In effect it does not have one. The main issues that dominate its foreign policy agenda remain static: Turkey, FYR Macedonia, Cyprus. There has been very little overt movement on these issues in the last decade despite some significant changes in circumstance: Turkey has opened its accession talks with the EU; FYR Macedonia is a candidate for EU Accession; and Cyprus has become a full member of the EU. It was hoped that these changes would have unlocked the doors for solutions to these central issues of Greek foreign policy, but they haven't. The EU, which has, to some extent, shielded Greek interests from being undermined by these issues has also not proved a strong enough incentive for those three states to be more amenable to long-term accommodations

with Greece or, in the case of Cyprus, to bring about an end to the island's division, which would have removed a thorn from the side of the Greek state.

While the reliance on EU influence, or the Europeanisation of these issues to put it a different way, has not resulted in the desired outcomes, Greece has not wanted – or has not been able – to create new policies to push the agenda forward. Consequently, today Greece does not really have a foreign policy. It has certain static foreign policy positions with respect to the *ethnika themata*, red lines and veto threats, but not really a foreign policy. If you ask policy-makers and diplomats what Greek foreign policy is with respect to FYR Macedonia, for example, you receive an answer full of what we do not accept and what will not happen, but little indication that there is forward thinking for novel means to achieve the desired ends.

Of course, the great sovereign debt crisis now overshadows all aspects of government policy including in the international sphere. Greece is now unable to act: it has no respect or credibility in the eyes of its partners and allies in Europe and the North Atlantic area and, even in the immediate neighbourhood of the Balkans, its ability to influence is not taken seriously because of the financial crisis. If diplomatically Greek has little or no international capital to bank, in terms of instruments too it is unable to act. The medium of the EU is now a weaker than ever instrument in the pursuit of goals. And whatever soft power Greece had regionally has now dissipated: it no longer even has the relative regional economic muscle it once had in the Balkans, which was seen as a great asset in the pursuit of regional diplomatic goals. Greece was once the great champion of EU enlargement to the Western Balkans. Now "Agenda 2014" under Greek leadership is a non-starter: neither Western Balkan states nor other EU members see Greece as a credible actor with the ability to deliver in this field. Of even greater concern is the fact that the debt/deficit crisis had not only weakened Greece's ability to act internationally but also made it potentially more vulnerable to rivals and other states with something to gain from its position of weakness. This has yet to

manifest itself in political terms but it would not surprise me if it occurred sooner rather than later.

Beyond the debt crisis there are two other main reasons why I think that Greece has not been able to have a forward-thinking foreign policy for the best part of a decade. The first is that there is no clear hierarchy or organisational pattern in terms of foreign policy decision-making. Power is concentrated in the hands of the Prime Minister and his personal office; the Foreign Ministry and especially the diplomatic service have been increasingly marginalised in terms of the design and execution of foreign policy. Consequently, decisions are made in the short term for the short term, with little or no continuity or longevity (apart from the red lines and veto points which remain constant), while foreign policy, like every other aspect of government policy in a democratic state, has to be debated publicly, come under scrutiny, and represent the national interest. But when foreign policy has become an instrument of populism and empty rhetoric pandering to nationalists, it serves no real purpose in achieving foreign policy goals in the longer term.

The second reason for the lack of foreign policy has to do with personality rather than organisational models of decision-making. The literature on foreign policy analysis places great value of the role of personality and leadership in the foreign policy domain. In the last seven years, leadership in the foreign policy field in Greece has been sorely missed. As the powers for foreign policy decision-making are centralised and revolve around the Prime Minister, one would look at the previous and current premierships for indications of whether personalities and leadership are important. In the Karamanlis government, it seemed that the Prime Minister was not interested in foreign policy. Despite some personalised efforts with his Turkish counterpart, there is little evidence that Karamanlis wished to pursue an active (let alone activist) foreign policy. This was also reflected in his initial appointment as Foreign Minister of Petros Moliviatis, an experienced diplomat with long-standing relations with the Karamanlis family, who was installed to ensure that foreign policy would not

harm the domestic political climate and turn public opinion against the government. It has to be said that the one period of a more highly visible and more proactive foreign policy occurred under the Foreign Ministry of Dora Bakogianni, who did not feel as constrained by the premiership of Kostas Karamanlis in trying to unlock some of the issues plaguing Greece.

The election of PASOK in 2009 did not result in a difference in the area of personality. Even though George Papandreou held the office of Foreign Minister alongside the Premiership, he did not have the time to deal with foreign policy because of the looming financial crisis. It was indicative that his deputy and ultimately successor, Dimitris Droutsas, was neither a PASOK MP, nor experienced in high-level diplomacy. It came as no surprise that he was replaced in the first Papandreou government reshuffle, having no party or public support, or from within the ministry he led. Essentially, if foreign policy *matters*, then personality and leadership, as well as strong processes of decision-making, are prerequisites. Of course, all of this has now been overshadowed by the ever-growing financial crisis.

Conclusion

Greece, like many small states, especially those that are EU members, may at times allow its foreign policy agenda to be guided by its institutional partners and "bigger states". I have argued here that Greece is in dire need of an active foreign policy to provide solutions for long-standing issues. At times in the past Greece may not have needed a foreign policy or else its foreign policy interests were shielded, if not promoted, by other actors or a specific kind of international system. It is of course easy to blame others for one's shortcomings. Therefore, I also argue that for a number of domestic reasons, Greece is both unable and unwilling to develop strong foreign policy positions. In addition, the current economic situation has rendered Greece's credibility insignificant and reduced its ability to act to a bare minimum. This does not bode well for the future of Greece's foreign policy agenda.

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The hidden logic of Greek tense and aspect

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1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to defend the ostensible oxymoron of a title attributing logic to Greek aspect: it will be argued that even though it is not at all obvious to either native or non-native speakers, this logic exists and can be revealed provided the factors that cloud the issue are removed. It will show that many of the difficulties faced by grammarians, linguists and non-native learners alike are due to the lack of a clear distinction of the grammatical categories involved.

The expression of time through the verb has been an object of study since the first grammars appeared. The western tradition, however, did not distinguish between what are now called tense and aspect until the middle of the nineteenth century. Even after the discovery that the category which figured so prominently in the Slavic languages played an equally important role in Greek and even after the accumulation of a massive amount of relevant studies, there is little consensus on its nature.[1] A comparison of studies with contradictory results often reveals that their authors have a different understanding of aspect. This lack of consensus may be part of the reason why it was not included in grammars until the middle of the twentieth century, while the first Greek school grammars to mention it appeared only very recently.

From the point of view of linguists, one positive result of this omission is that native speakers, being unaware of its existence,

[1] Binnick (1991) provides a clear picture of the variety of analyses and theoretical concepts.

have no preconceived ideas about aspect. Although – or perhaps because – there was never any normative interference, native speakers display practically no variation either in their use of aspect or in their grammaticality judgements.

The discussion which follows will attempt to clarify the differences between aspect and tense, as well as between aspect and Aktionsart, and reveal their points of convergence, based on the concepts of subjectivity and telicity. The insights gained through the theoretical analysis could have an indirect but positive effect on the teaching and hence the acquisition of Greek as a second language; the use of aspect is one of the most frequently quoted problems for non-native speakers. As Mackridge (1985: 102) puts it, "aspect is probably the most difficult concept for the learner of MG to master, and even those non-native speakers who can speak MG almost perfectly are often given away as foreigners by their mistakes in aspect".

2. Time

Time is a vital concept, not only in recent years, when it has become a valuable commodity, to be measured and allotted with precision to different tasks and priced accordingly, but throughout human history. It is important, however, to stress that it is just that: a concept. There is no concrete physical entity to which it corresponds, such as there is for the concept of space, for instance.[2]

Two sources of human experience contribute to our understanding of time. Life and its inevitable progression from birth to death provides us with a *linear* concept of time: we usually perceive it as a line extending infinitely towards the past and the future with the present at its centre:

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[2] These remarks relate exclusively to time as it is conceptualized and linguistically expressed by humans. This concept does not correspond to real time as understood in modern physics; suffice it to say that movement, which is so prominent in our conceptualization of time, is absent from the physical entity. For an extensive discussion see Jaszczolt 2009: 1-31.

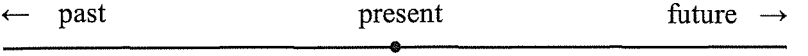

Figure 1: The axis of time

A less obvious but more primitive source for our concept of time is the regular repetition of certain phenomena (the cycles of day and night, the succession of the seasons etc.). We become aware of these long before we become aware of life and death, and they give us a sense of time moving in circles, repeated at regular intervals. This *cyclical* perception is reinforced by our sense of *rhythm*, which has its source in our earliest experiences: hearing our mother's and later feeling our own heartbeat.

All languages express time in their vocabulary, with expressions ranging from the vaguest (e.g. *in the past*), through fairly precise ones, (e.g. *last year* or *yesterday*), to the most precise (e.g. *3 nanoseconds before the explosion*). Many do so in their grammar as well, mostly through the verb. Grammatical expression usually involves the linear concept of time.[3]

3. Tense

Tense, the "grammaticalised expression of location in time" (Comrie 1985: 9), places events along the time axis, usually in respect to the present, i.e. the "now" of the speaker.

Tense is a ***deictic*** category and is therefore always defined in relation to something else; nevertheless, the term ***absolute tense*** is used when the point of reference is the present:

χτες *πήγα* στο θέατρο
"last night I went to the theatre" (past)

The term ***relative*** tense is reserved for time specified in respect to another event.

[3] There is some discussion in the literature on whether there are languages which code grammatically a cyclical rather than a linear conception of time; for an overview see Comrie 1985: 4-5.

περπατούσε/περπατάει/θα περπατήσει *τραγουδώντας*
"she walked/walks/will walk *singing*" (simultaneity)

The term ***absolute-relative*** tense is used when this second event is placed in respect to the speaker's present.

όταν έφτασε *είχαν φύγει*
"when he arrived they had left" (anteriority in the past)

The following table summarizes the means Greek has at its disposal for expressing temporal location:

	absolute [simple tenses]	absolute-relative: anteriority [perfect tenses]	relative: simultaneity/anteriority [converbs][4]
Present	Imperfective (Enestotas) *τρέχω*		Present *λύνοντας*
	?Perfective[5] *τρέξω*	?Present Perfect[6] *έχω τρέξει*	
Past	Imperfective (Paratatikos) *έτρεχα*		
	Perfective (Aorist) *έτρεξα*	Past Perfect *είχα τρέξει*	Perfect *έχοντας λύσει*
Future	Imperfective *θα τρέχω*		
	Perfective *θα τρέξω*	Future Perfect *θα έχω τρέξει*	

Table 1: Tense and the Greek verb

[4] Usually referred to as "participles" or "gerunds", but more accurately termed "converbs" or "verbal adverbs" (cf. Moser 2006).

[5] It is a matter of controversy in the literature whether this perfective form, always preceded by some kind of marker, is a (present) tense or not (cf.. for example, Holton, Mackridge and Philippaki-Warburton 1997, Klairis, Babiniotis et al. 2005).

[6] This is perhaps the most controversial part of this categorization. There is no doubt that the past and future perfect are tenses denoting anteriority in the past and the future respectively, but the idea that the present perfect does the same in the present is only argued in Moser (2003) and Moser and Bella (2003), on the basis of diachronic and synchronic data and using the concept of the present sphere as developed by Declerck

Tense is a very flexible category. It can be and is used to express all kinds of modality, such as the speaker's judgement of the truth of an utterance or of the degree of likelihood of a hypothesis, or the speaker's wishes, as well as politeness. It is a fascinating process, based mainly on metaphorical uses of temporal distance, which however is beyond the scope of this paper.[7]

4. Aspect

Aspect is concerned with the ***internal temporal constituency*** of situations, irrespective of their position on the time axis. This is the only point on which there is no controversy in the vast literature on the subject. One of the recurring issues is the necessity and indeed the possibility of drawing a distinction between a lexical and a grammatical category concerning the internal temporal constituency of situations.

It is my belief that the distinction is not only possible and useful, but necessary for an adequate analysis, since, as will be shown in section 6, the two categories interact in a systematic way.[8]

4.1 Aktionsart (lexical/situational aspect, actionality)

Situations, regardless of where they are placed on the time axis, occupy a space, i.e. a chunk of time, often with internal structure; hence they can be:

- durative (whether long- or short-lasting) or instantaneous *searching* vs. *finding*

(1981). This runs counter to the widespread idea that the perfect is an aspectual category, but it is compatible with Veloudis's (2003) analysis of the Greek perfect as denoting the notion of "givenness" in conversation.

[7] Fleischman (1989) gives a comprehensive account of the metaphorical uses of temporal distance; for a thorough discussion of non-temporal uses of tenses in Greek see Bella 2005.

[8] Very different views are held by proponents of both Formal Semantics (e.g. Verkuyl 1994, 1999) and Cognitive Linguistics (e.g. Langacker 1990, 2006 and Nikiforidou 2004 with respect to Greek).

- continuous or intermittent
  a continuously ringing bell vs. *a bell that rings every five seconds*
- homogeneous or consisting of clearly discernible phases
  walking on a treadmill for exercise vs. *walking from home to work*
- including an end point or open-ended
  painting a portrait vs. *being a painter by profession*

Of the various categorizations available in the literature, starting with the distinctions drawn by Aristotle in *Metaphysics* and *De Anima*, the most widely used is the one by Vendler (1967). Table 2 outlines the criteria on which it is based, namely telicity or terminativity (the inclusion of an end-point in the meaning of the verb) and divisibility into phases:

	[-PHASES]	[+PHASES]
[-TELIC]	**STATES**	**ACTIVITIES**
	sleep love be alive	run paint search
[+TELIC]	**ACHIEVEMENTS**	**ACCOMPLISHMENTS**
	die find recognize	run a mile paint a portrait read a book

Table 2: Vendler's categorization

Mourelatos's (1978) hierarchical categorization[9] ends up with the same four categories (Vendler's corresponding terms are provided in brackets).

[9] Mourelatos captures the strong intuition that the stative–non-stative opposition is more basic (see e.g. Dahl 1985: 28-9). He also associates verbal aspect with the noun feature of quantity, as does Verkuyl (e.g. 1993, 1999). Sasse (1991) adds a fifth category, that of inchoative

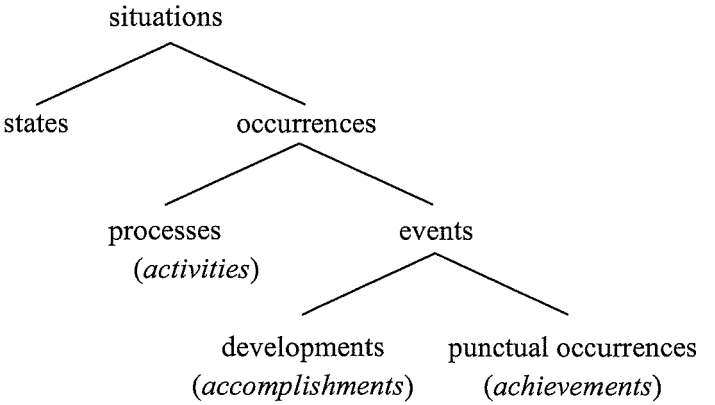

Figure 2: Mourelatos's categorization

The crucial fact about Aktionsart in respect to the matters at hand is that it is part of the inherent meaning of verbs, in other words an *objective* feature of the situations denoted by verbs.

4.2 Aspect (grammatical/viewpoint aspect)

Aspect, as understood here, is *subjective*, a matter of the speaker's choice.[10] It must be emphasized that this is not an uncontroversial view; in fact, even theoreticians who believe in the necessity of the aspect-Aktionsart distinction do not necessarily see subjectivity as their distinguishing feature (see e.g. Bache 1982).

Comrie (1976: 3) has supplied what is now considered the classic definition of aspect. Even though he himself does not place

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statives, i.e. stative verbs whose perfective forms mark the entry into the state (e.g. *αγαπούσα* "I loved" – *αγάπησα* "I fell in love"). While this group of verbs is particularly important for Greek, the event structure of inchoatives classifies them as achievements or accomplishments.

[10] Subjectivity is understood here in a way that is more similar to the usual meaning of the word rather than in the more technical sense of either Langacker (1990, 2006) or Traugott (2010). Aspect is seen here as subjective in the sense that it furnishes the speaker with a choice which does not affect the propositional content of the sentence (Moser, forthcoming).

much emphasis on the distinction of the grammatical and the lexical category, subjectivity surfaces in this definition:

> Aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.

The description of the two subdivisions of aspect, the perfective and the imperfective (ibid.: 4), leaves no doubt as to the subjective character of the entire category:

> Another way of explaining the difference between perfective and imperfective meaning is to say that the perfective looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation, whereas the imperfective looks at the situation from inside, and as such is crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation.

The perfective and the imperfective are expressed in Greek by the two stems of the verb, aorist (simple past) and present respectively.[11]

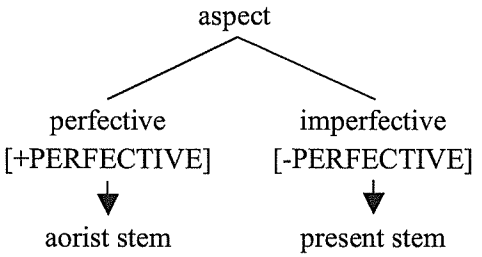

Figure 3: The basic aspectual opposition in Greek

Every form of the verb is marked for aspect. Binary pairs exist for both the past and the future, as well as for the subjunctive and

[11] Ancient Greek had three stems; the perfect stem was finally lost after the Koine period. Its loss is one of the main arguments in support of the claim in Moser (2008) that the Modern Greek perfect is a tense rather than an aspect and that the entire system has shifted from the expression of Aktionsart to that of aspect.

the imperative. Only the present is formed uniquely in the imperfective, although several analyses oppose it to the "dependent" perfective form, as shown in Table 1 above.

Comrie's (1976: 17) examples from both French and Classical Greek, which happens to be virtually identical to its Modern Greek equivalent, show clearly that the aspectual difference does not express any objective difference in the situation, but rather presents a different aspect, due to the different point of view (or vantage point) adopted by the speaker:

(1) εβασίλευε δέκα έτη – (1a) εβασίλευσε δέκα έτη
"He reigned$_{[\pm\text{PERFECTIVE}]}$ for ten years"

(2) il régn**ait** trente ans – (2a) il régn**a** trente ans
"He reigned$_{[\pm\text{PERFECTIVE}]}$ for 30 years"

(3) – Τι έκανες χτες;
"What did you do yesterday?"

(3a) – *Έγραφα* μια αναφορά
"I wrote$_{[-\text{PERFECTIVE}]}$ a report"

(3b) – *Έγραψα* μια αναφορά
"I wrote$_{[+\text{PERFECTIVE}]}$ a report"

There is undoubtedly a subtle difference in meaning in each version in both languages.[12] This difference, however, concerns the implicatures that arise and not the essential, truth-conditionally determined meaning of the statement. Thus, the imperfective versions would be more likely to be used by a speaker who would want to stress the long duration and/or the tediousness of the situation. But long or short duration, instantaneity, completion and non-completion are mere implicatures, i.e. inferences arising from the context and cancellable by it (Comrie 1976: 16-24). Thus, while (3b) strongly suggests that the report is finished at the time of utterance, the implicature can easily be cancelled, e.g. through the addition of something like "I wrote$_{[+\text{PERFECTIVE}]}$ a report for a

[12] There is also a difference between the two languages. French has virtually abolished the Passé Simple (perfective past) and replaced it, at least in spoken language, by the Passé Composé, which now functions both as a perfective past and a perfect.

while, but I found I could not concentrate properly, so I gave up. I'll finish it tonight."

The description of aspect so far shows that it is indeed subjective in the sense that it is a matter of *choice* on the part of the speaker, rather than being determined by the situation referred to. The literature on aspect, however, includes several different views. These are based on the universally acknowledged further subdivisions of aspect, which are shown in Figure 4, taken from Comrie (1976: 26).

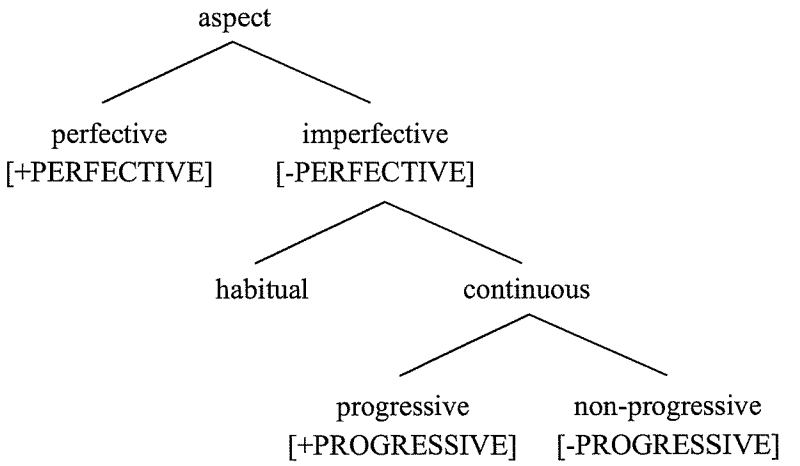

Figure 4: Classification of aspectual oppositions

Greek marks morphologically only the basic [±PERFECTIVE] opposition, but all other distinctions are semantically viable.

Bache (1982 and several other works) rightly points out that the only truly subjective subdivision is the first one, i.e. the [±PERFECTIVE] opposition. This is a very astute insight; while Bache's solution is a different definition of aspect, however, the solution proposed here is a re-categorization of the habitual and the progressive.

The discussion will start with the [±PROGRESSIVE] distinction, which is frequently equated to the [±PERFECTIVE] one, causing serious difficulties in second/foreign language acquisition.

Greek learners of English and English learners of Greek, for instance, tend to treat the imperfect and the past progressive on the one hand and the aorist and the simple past on the other as equivalent, with the result that they often produce unacceptable utterances, such as (4) and (5):

(4) *For as long as we were going to school, we were waking up at 6:30 every day
"Όσο πηγαίναμε$_{[-\text{PERFECTIVE}]}$ στο σχολείο, ξυπνούσαμε$_{[-\text{PERFECTIVE}]}$ στις 6.30 κάθε μέρα"

(5) *Το καλοκαίρι πήγα$_{[+\text{PERFECTIVE}]}$ κάθε μέρα για μπάνιο
"In the summer I went swimming every day"

The progressive, just as the imperfective, is defined as paying attention to the internal temporal constituency of the situation. Their crucial differences are that the progressive (a) cannot be used as a habitual and (b) is linked to the type of situation, i.e. to Aktionsart. As Comrie (1976: 35) puts it, "we can give the general definition of progressiveness as the combination of progressive meaning and non-stative meaning." It might be added that punctual situations (achievements) are equally incompatible with the progressive (**I am finding my pen*), thus confining its use to verbs with discernible phases. What this means is that, while for most situations there is a choice between progressive and non-progressive, there are limitations imposed by the objective temporal constituency of the situation; therefore, the progressive is not entirely subjective.

These rules can be and often are disregarded. The achievement verb "die", for instance, can be used in the progressive (*be dying*); however, in these cases the verb takes on a different meaning, comprising the process that leads up to the death and therefore effectively changing category and becoming an accomplishment.

States can also be flexible, without even involving a change in Aktionsart, but again there are subtle differences of meaning between utterances such as

(6) Oh, I love this!
(7) Oh, I am loving this!

Such uses, however, are in defiance of the rules, which they deliberately break in order to create an effect; this is a widespread practice of the speakers of any language and one that often leads to change. For the moment the English progressive, while undoubtedly aspectual, since it offers the speakers a choice in most cases, is not fully subjective. If the choice spreads to all types of Aktionsart it will become a continuous imperfective; at the current point in the history of the language the opposition holds between the progressive and all other types of aspect (non-progressive continuous, habitual and perfective), all of which are expressed by the non-progressive forms of the verb.

The habitual is used for situations which are repeated *regularly*, since, as Comrie (1976: 26-30) points out, simple repetition is not merely insufficient, but in fact rules out the habitual.[13] This is certainly true of Greek, where the imperfective is completely unacceptable in such contexts; compare (8) and (9) below:

(8) Πέρυσι το καλοκαίρι πήγα$_{[+PERFECTIVE]}$ /*πήγαινα$_{[-PERFECTIVE]}$ *30 φορές* για μπάνιο
"Last summer I went swimming 30 times"

(9) Πέρυσι το καλοκαίρι *πήγα/πήγαινα *κάθε μέρα* για μπάνιο
"Last summer I went (used to go) swimming every day"

What emerges from this discussion is that habituality is tied up with the objective nature of situations. In Greek, where the habitual is expressed by the imperfective, there is no choice whatsoever on the part of the speaker, since the imperfective is compulsory when there is objective habituality and impossible in cases of simple iterativity. English does offer a choice, but on a different level; the aspectual opposition between the progressive and the non-progressive means that the latter covers part of the continuous, the habitual and the perfective. It is only in the past that the language has at its disposal a specifically habitual form,

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[13] Comrie (ibid.) also points out that repetition is not even a necessary condition; this is undoubtedly true of the English "used to" construction (cf. sentences such as *This road used to be so quiet*), but it seems to be the result of an extension of its use rather than an inherent dimension of the habitual meaning.

and even there this form has been extended to cover continuous uses as well. In effect, therefore, the choice is between two imperfective alternatives, the "used to" habitual providing the explicit information that the non-progressive form is not a perfective. The fact remains that habituality is an objective feature of situations and therefore, under the definition adopted here, not an aspectual category at all. It could be said that habituality embodies the cyclical conception of time mentioned in Section 2.

It should be pointed out, nevertheless, that, while several languages have a separate habitual form, it is very common for habituality to be expressed via the imperfective. The explanation is simple: the event structure of situations which consist of clearly discernible phases (activities and accomplishments) can find an easy parallel in a series of identical situations repeated at regular intervals. It is easy for the phases of a situation to be visualized as separate events. Given that the imperfective is normally used when the speaker wishes to stress this type of internal temporal consistency, it is a small cognitive step that leads to its use as an expression of habituality.

* * *

The discussion so far indicates that, if aspect is understood as the grammatical expression of the [±PERFECTIVE] opposition, it can be distinguished from the category of Aktionsart on the basis of a binary feature [±SUBJECTIVITY]. A continuum could be postulated, in which Aktionsart would occupy the [-SUBJECTIVE] and aspect the [+SUBJECTIVE] end (Figure 5). The habitual and the progressive would then be intermediate categories, dependent on the objective nature of situations.

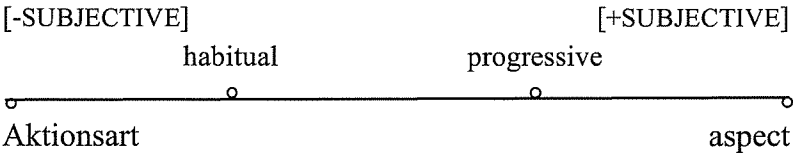

Figure 5: The Aktionsart–aspect continuum

All this leads to the conclusion that, with the exception of habitual situations, which demand the imperfective, the choice between the two aspects is free in Greek.

Nevertheless, according to grammars, teaching manuals and theoretical analyses, several restrictions seem to apply. The next section will look at precisely these restrictions, which, if real, pose serious problems for the subjectivity-based analysis proposed here.

5. Restrictions on the choice of aspect

5.1 Some gaps and other strange things in the verbal system

The first restriction arises from the fact that a small number of verbs do not have perfective forms. It is no coincidence that all these verbs denote states (*έχω* "have", *ξέρω* "know", *οφείλω, χρωστώ* "owe" etc.); the lack of lexical telicity (see Section 6) is what allows the absence of perfective forms. Since this asymmetry runs counter to the general tendency of the verbal system, suppletion or periphrasis step in to provide the lacking perfective (*αποκτώ* "acquire", *μαθαίνω* "learn", *δημιουργώ οφειλές/χρέη* "incur debts" etc.).

It follows, then, that the lack of perfective forms does not entail a lack of aspectual choice; it simply means that the perfective, since it is not morphologically available, has to be expressed in a different manner.

Interestingly, among the large number of state verbs that do have perfective forms many allow two different interpretations: they can either function as true perfectives (looking at the situ-

ation as a whole, ignoring its internal structure) or they can function as inchoatives, signalling the entry into the state:

(10) Κοιμήθηκαν τρεις ώρες
"they slept for three hours" (perfective)
(11) Κοιμήθηκαν στις τρεις
"they slept (= fell asleep) at three" (inchoative)

Again, this does not prove a lack of choice; the possibility of using either aspect is maintained (10 can also be expressed with the imperfective *κοιμόντουσαν*) but the perfective can also take on another meaning, effectively changing the Aktionsart of the verb by turning the state into an achievement.[14]

5.2 Adverbials

A more convincing set of restrictions concerns the incompatibility of many adverbials with one of the two aspects. It is very true that adverbials such as the ones in the left column of Table 3 combine only with the imperfective aspect, while those in the right column combine only with the perfective.

adverbials + imperfective	*adverbials + perfective*
συχνά "often", συνήθως "usually", πάντα/πάντοτε "always", πότε-πότε "now and then", ασταμάτητα "incessantly", κάθε βράδυ "every evening", όποτε "whenever" etc.	δύο, τρεις, τέσσερις φορές "twice, three, four times", επανειλημμένως "repeatedly", ξαφνικά "suddenly", μόλις "as soon as", ξανά "again" etc.

Table 3: Adverbials allowing only one of the aspects

It is also true, however, that adverbials themselves are a matter of choice. In normal usage, speakers do not build their sentences around an adverb; they choose their vantage point and then choose all the lexical items and grammatical constructions accordingly.

[14] In Moser 2008 it is argued that both these phenomena are remnants of earlier phases of the language, when the morphology expressed Aktionsart rather than aspect.

It should be added that all those which are incompatible with the perfective have a habitual meaning, which, as argued in 3.2, is imposed by the objective temporal structure of the situation. The adverbials on the right-hand side, on the other hand, can combine with the imperfective if the context allows a habitual meaning; in fact, their combination with the habitual *imposes* a habitual reading.

5.3 Verb complements

Verbal complements of the verb – mostly sentential in Greek, given the lack of infinitives – constitute one of the most problematic issues related to aspect, both for theoretical analyses and for learners. This is the domain where even the most accomplished non-native speaker is bound to be revealed sooner or later. Native speakers, who, unexpectedly, never disagree on their judgements on the grammaticality of this type of structure, are at a loss to give an explanation of why, for example, (12) is grammatical and (13) is not.

(12) Προτιμάω να διαβάζω$_{[-\text{PERFECTIVE}]}$ Βιολογία από το να δουλεύω στο εστιατόριο
"I prefer reading biology to working at the restaurant"

(13) *Θέλω να σπουδάζω$_{[-\text{PERFECTIVE}]}$ Βιολογία
"I want to study biology"

The explanation lies in telicity as defined in section 6 below. Lexical telicity or perfectivity (i.e. lexical or grammatical telicity; see Table 4) in the matrix clause entails perfectivity in the complement.

(14) Προσπάθησα να διαβάσω/*διαβάζω την «Άννα Καρένινα» στα Ρωσικά, αλλά δεν τα κατάφερα
"I tried to read *Anna Karenina* in Russian, but I couldn't"

(15) Αποφάσισε να ταξιδέψει για ένα χρόνο πριν πιάσει δουλειά
"She decided to travel for a year before starting to work"

However, most atelic verbs (certainly activities, but also states) tend to become telic when they acquire a complement, hence the unacceptability of (13).

The only exception is, predictably, habituality, which is regularly expressed through the imperfective; in fact, an imperfective complement usually imposes a habitual reading and all the imperfective sentences above would be acceptable if the context allowed them to be interpreted as habituals:[15]

(16) Προσπάθησα να διαβάζω κάθε μέρα δυο σελίδες από την «Άννα Καρένινα»
"I tried to read two pages from *Anna Karenina* each day"

There are only a few verbs which only accept imperfective complements: verbs of perception ("see", "hear", "feel"), because the senses only perceive what is in the process of happening, verbs of (permanent) knowledge or preferences ("know", "like") and "aspectual" verbs ("begin", "continue", "finish"), because they mark points along the development of a situation.

6. Aktionsart and aspect: affinity and interaction

The fact that Aktionsart and aspect were placed on a continuum in 4.3 above suggests that there is an affinity between them. This is indeed the case, as they both pertain to the internal temporal constituency of situations. Their common feature is [±TELICITY]. Telicity is understood here in a very abstract sense. In the case of Aktionsart it corresponds to reality, since the telic categories (accomplishments and achievements) contain an inherent end-point. In the case of aspect, telicity, embodied in the perfective, becomes entirely notional: independently of whether an end-point exists in reality, a perfective view of a situation, i.e. the selection of a vantage point affording a view of the situation as a whole, entails positing some notional boundary. In other words, telicity is objective in the case of Aktionsart and subjective in the case of aspect.

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[15] Example (12) is one of the rare occasions when a non-habitual imperfective complement is appropriate; it suggests that the sentence is uttered as a general statement, with the flavour of an "eternal truth", which is associated with both the present and the imperfective.

	[-SUBJECTIVE] (Aktionsart)	[+SUBJECTIVE] (aspect)
[+TELICITY]	achievements accomplishments	perfective
[-TELICITY]	states activities	imperfective

Table 4: Subjectivity and telicity in aspect and Aktionsart

It is cognitive affinity that allows the two categories to interact. Greek has one of the most highly grammaticalized aspectual systems: practically every verb in the language has both stems and a full set of forms in two symmetrical voices. Nevertheless, subtle differences in the meaning of the two aspects arise in combination with the different types of Aktionsart.

The shared telicity makes the perfective combine without difficulty with achievements and accomplishments, while atelicity makes the combination of the imperfective with the remaining two categories equally unproblematic.

It is the combination of atelic aspect and telic Aktionsart and vice versa which might be expected to present difficulties. As was seen in 5.1, however, the perfective is entirely compatible with states (example 10); it merely assumes an additional function, namely that of providing a corresponding inchoative predicate (example 11).

The imperfective, on the other hand, when used with accomplishments, which are telic but durative, simply foregrounds the process and its duration rather than the end-point:

(17) Σαν σήμερα πέρυσι σκαρφάλωνα στο βουνό
"A year ago today I was climbing the mountain"

The most problematic combination is that of the imperfective with achievements. It seems very difficult for speakers of Greek to perceive these instantaneous events as developing, since there is no process involved:

(18) Χτες βρήκα$_{[+\text{PERFECTIVE}]}$/*έβρισκα$_{[-\text{PERFECTIVE}]}$ το πορτοφόλι μου
"Yesterday I found my wallet"

It is, however, not impossible; in fact it is precisely in this combination that the independence of aspect from objective reality is most obvious. A punctual event can be seen as unfolding, i.e. as having duration, in order to be used as a backdrop to some other event:

(19) Τη στιγμή που έβρισκα το πορτοφόλι μου χτύπησε το κουδούνι
"The moment I found my wallet, the bell rang"

7. The perfect, subjectivity, tense and aspect

The perfect, as already mentioned in section 3, is the object of a long-standing debate concerning its classification as a tense or as an aspect. The concept of aspect as developed above has the advantage of excluding the perfect from the category aspect on the basis of clear criteria.

The Greek perfect can be replaced by the aorist in every one of its uses, with the exception (in the current Standard) of the experiential use:

(20) Έχω σπάσει/έσπασα το χέρι μου και πονάει
"I have broken my hand and it hurts"

(21) Έχω πάει/*πήγα στην Ιρλανδία, αλλά όχι στο Δουβλίνο[16]
"I have been to Ireland, but not to Dublin"

Even though the reverse does not hold (i.e. the perfect cannot always replace the aorist), the interchangeability of the two suggests that subjectivity is involved; the choice, however, does not concern the internal temporal constituency of a situation. The Greek perfect always refers to an event firmly placed at a moment anterior to the present, i.e. in the past.[17] Choosing the perfect instead of the aorist has the effect of including this past event in the sphere of the present, i.e. stressing or foregrounding its rele-

[16] The perfective (simple) past is perfectly acceptable if the sentence refers to a specific trip rather than the unspecified experience of having visited Ireland.

[17] It should be stressed that the Greek perfect does not have the cross-linguistic uses more closely connected to the present, i.e. *recent past* and *ongoing situation.*

vance for the current situation. Any event presented in the perfect remains a past event. This is the reason for its inclusion in the category of anterior tenses in Table 1, along with the unequivocal anteriority of its past and future counterparts, which historically precede the present perfect.[18]

8. Some practical guidelines

Subjectivity and telicity may work as theoretical tools, but they are hardly useful in the classroom or as a learning tool. The theoretical results reached, however, can serve as a basis on which to simplify the formidable task that non-native speakers seem to face when trying to learn Modern Greek. This section formulates some practical rules that learners may find helpful:

- Any regularly (habitually) repeated situation must be conveyed through the imperfective
- It is safe to use the perfective in all verb complements; it is almost always acceptable, even in the relatively rare occasions when the imperfective can be used. The only exceptions (verbs that only allow the imperfective) are:
  - verbs of perception (physical or mental): βλέπω "see", ακούω "hear", ξέρω "know" etc.
  - "aspectual verbs": αρχίζω "start", συνεχίζω "continue", σταματάω "stop" etc.
  - the verb μου αρέσει "like"
- The aorist can replace the perfect on almost every occasion, but the reverse is not true; when in doubt, always opt for the aorist.

9. Conclusion

The preceding discussion has attempted to show that a clear distinction between aspect and Aktionsart is crucial for understanding aspect in general, Greek aspect in particular and even

[18] More arguments in favour of this analysis can be found in Moser 2003 and Moser and Bella 2003.

tense and its relationship to aspect. The distinction drawn here was based on subjectivity in the sense of free choice with no effects on the propositional content of the sentence.

More precisely it was claimed that Aktionsart is objective in the sense that it reflects the inherent temporal constituency of the situation, while aspect is subjective in the sense that it expresses the point of view that the speaker chooses to adopt when describing a situation. Opting for [±SUBJECTIVITY] as the distinguishing feature of the two categories logically limits aspect to the basic [±PERFECTIVITY] opposition, assigning non-prototypical aspectual functions to the progressive and the habitual. It also excludes the perfect (a category notoriously difficult to classify) from the domain of aspect, placing it in the area of absolute-relative tense.

Finally, it was claimed that, while the theoretical discussion is of no use *per se* to learners of Greek, they can benefit indirectly from the clearer picture of the field that emerges through the analysis.

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Cavafy, photography and fetish

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Nowhere in his 154 acknowledged poems does C. P. Cavafy mention the word photography. In a 1906 note he describes the word "φωτογράφησις" as ugly, directly connecting it to the recording of immediate impressions: "Η περιγραφική ποίησις – ιστορικά γεγονότα, φωτογράφησις (τι άσχημη λέξις!) της φύσεως – ίσως είναι ασφαλής. Αλλά είναι μικρό και σαν ολιγόβιο πράγμα." A few lines above in the same note Cavafy makes a distinction that somehow clarifies the previous passage: "Κάθεσαι και γράφεις – εξ εικασίας/πολλάκις/ – δια αισθήσεις, και έπειτα αμφιβάλλεις με τον καιρό αν δεν επλανήθης."[1] Cavafy appreciates the contrast as lying between photography as a method of documentation, as an essentially realist medium, and the free application of creative faculties, sensory and imaginative, in generating poetry. This distinction chimes with a similar one made by Palamas in 1907 in the Preface to his *Ο Δωδεκάλογος του Γύφτου*:

> [...] η φωτογραφική, καθώς προχώρησε τόσο πολύ και μας γνώρισε στενώτερα με την αλήθεια, αναγκάζει τη δημιουργική τέχνη να ταμπουρώνεται πίσω από τους γιομάτους νόημα κύκλους των μορφών και των χρωμάτων, που είναι λάμψη όλα και μυστήριο· δηλονότι να τραβήξη ως εκεί που δε θα δύνεται να πάη καμιά φωτογραφία, οσοδήποτε τελειοποιημένη, κι αυτή ακόμα η πολύχρωμη.[2]

Versions of this paper were presented at the Modern Greek seminars in Cambridge and Oxford Universities in January and February 2011. I would like to thank the audiences for their comments and suggestions.

[1] G. P. Savvidis (ed), *Γ. Π. Καβάφη, Ανέκδοτα σημειώματα ποιητικής και ηθικής (1902-1911)* (Athens: Ermis 1983), p. 37

[2] Kostis Palamas, "Preface" to *Ο Δωδεκάλογος του Γύφτου*, in *Άπαντα*, Vol. III (Athens: Biris-Govostis n.d.), p. 297.

Whereas for Cavafy the distinction becomes somehow tantalizing, for Palamas photographic realism presents new opportunities for painting and poetry alike, offering liberation from the fetters of verisimilitude to allow them to expand into abstraction.[3]

In her discussion of photographic themes in Cavafy, Cornelia Tsakiridou points out the discrepancy between the poet's blunt rejection of photography in his 1906 note and his eventual appropriation of photographic techniques as a metaphor for the workings of memory.[4] Tsakiridou argues that for Cavafy, whose poetics depend on the constant and painstaking revision of drafts, the immediate and definitive arrest of images through the photographic lens was unthinkable. And yet Cavafy shows a profound photographic sensibility in many of his poems, such as "Του πλοίου" and "Ο καθρέπτης στην είσοδο", which capitalize on fixing memory as a permanent imprint either on a pencil sketch or on a mirror's surface. Tsakiridou accounts for this paradox as Cavafy's failure to understand his own poetics, and concludes that he would hardly write about photography in such a dismissive tone in 1930. I believe this cue requires a certain degree of revision.

Despite the fact that many of Cavafy's acknowledged poems display a photographic sensibility, as Tsakiridou claims, it is in the hidden or unpublished ones that he explicitly refers to the

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[3] By 1906 photography had already become a widespread everyday practice thanks to roll-film cameras, invented by Eastman Kodak in 1888. Pavlos Nirvanas, a keen journalist and photographer, notes that in 1906 "thousands of Kodak users roamed the streets of Athens documenting just about everything, animate or not." It was in 1906 that Nirvanas took the first photograph of Papadiamandis, an extremely reluctant sitter, with such a portable Kodak for the journal *Παναθήναια*. The image of the old, downcast-eyed Papadiamandis sitting with his hands crossed on his lap has since become iconic and has been reproduced countless times on book covers, sketches, paintings and engravings. See Pavlos Nirvanas, "Αλέξανδρος Παπαδιαμάντης", *Παναθήναια* 13 (1906) 7-13, and Eleni Papargyriou, "Το φωτογραφικό πορτραίτο του συγγραφέα", *Νέα Εστία* 1830 (February 2010) 339-59.

[4] Cornelia Tsakiridou, "The photographic dimension in some poems of C. P. Cavafy", *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 17.2 (1991) 87-95.

concept. The four poems that mention photographs, "Έτσι" (1913), "Ο δεμένος ώμος" (1919), "Απ' το συρτάρι" (1923), all collected in the volume *Κρυμμένα*, and "Η φωτογραφία" (1924), now included in the *Ατελή*,[5] were kept away from the public eye. In these poems Cavafy does not generically refer to photography, but to photographic portraits of young men. What I am suggesting is that there is a significant difference between poems that can be termed "photographic" because they treat themes that impinge on photographic theory and those that explicitly mention photographs, capitalizing on their visual material and their value as material objects. Photographs in these poems, and most certainly outside Cavafy's poetry too, are kept concealed, destined for private consumption, as indeed are the poems which contain them.

My discussion here will take two directions: one is concerned with the conditions of keeping and looking at the photograph, conditions conducive to the notion of fetish. Breaking into the scene through Freudian psychoanalysis, the term "fetish" acquired a central position in media discourses, undergoing a plethora of modalities: for Marxist thinkers like Benjamin "commodity fetishism is a way in which social relations between individuals are displaced into objects".[6] Further than this, in the 1980s the term signalled a humanist turn in media discourses, in addressing the perishable prominence of the human body, such as in the writings of Roland Barthes and Christian Metz.[7] The second direction is with regard to the photograph's social dimension and the archival mode of photography as a means of social control and sur-

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[5] C. P. Cavafy, *Κρυμμένα ποιήματα 1877;-1923*, ed. by G. P. Savvidis (Athens: Ikaros, 1993) and C. P. Cavafy, *Ατελή ποιήματα, 1918-1932*, ed. by Renata Lavagnini (Athens: Ikaros, 1994). All other poems quoted here originate in the one-volume standard edition of the 154 acknowledged poems by Ikaros.

[6] See David S. Ferris, "Phantasmagoria and commodity fetish", in his book *The Cambridge introduction to Walter Benjamin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2008), pp. 116-18.

[7] See Martin Jay, "The camera as memento mori: Barthes, Metz and the Cahiers du Cinema", in his book *Downcast eyes: the denigration of vision in twentieth-century French thought* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press 1994), pp. 435-91.

veillance. If in Cavafy's time homosexuality was constructed as deviance, as a form of social pathology, then photographs that imply homosexual relations may have worked as incriminating evidence that had to be concealed.

Cavafy's disparaging 1906 comment about photography does not betray a fault in his understanding of the medium or his own writing; his ambiguous stance should primarily be aligned with modernist discourses that question photography's mimetic qualities. Modernist thinkers from Baudelaire to Bergson and Benjamin organize their critique of photography on the common belief it arouses among viewers that "the camera's technical proficiency [...] can provide us with exact reproductions of the world."[8] At the same time these thinkers fully endorse the opportunities the new technical media present for the shaping of human perception. In "Little history of photography" (1931) Benjamin turns against the "modernity" of the photograph, favouring the singularity of the daguerreotype over the industrial reproducibility of the negative, Henry Fox Talbot's invention which inducted photography to the modern era. Contrary to the mass-reproduced prints of the modern era, Benjamin regards the daguerreotype's "aura" to be unique, because it is the direct result of a long exposure, the sitter's prolonged presence against the sensitized glass plate.[9] Benjamin's Marxist filtering questions the capitalist modality of modern reproduction techniques, which create infinite communities of looking and manipulate the observation of the body, equating it to a commodity and exposing it to public scrutiny. In eulogizing contemporary examples of photographers such as Atget and Sander, who created photographic images of a deeply humanist calibre, Benjamin makes clear that he does not generically reject photography, but sets out the

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[8] Eduardo Cadava, *Words of light: theses on the photography of history* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 92.

[9] Walter Benjamin, "Little history of photography", in *Selected Writings*, Vol. II, ed. by Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland and Gary Smith, trans. by Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter (Cambridge, Mass. and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press 1999), pp. 507-30.

conditions under which it can become a humanist art; creative over mimetic, pensive and personal over commercial, preferring time exposure over snapshot.[10] Cavafy's preoccupation with photography aligns itself with this rhetorical line, underpinning humanist potential over the commercial modalities of a realist art.

Cavafy's photographic sensibility in the four poems mentioned above concurs with the turn towards reconfiguring photography's contested realism as material authentication for the human body, as the body's touch on the printed matter, rather than scientific, indisputable, and therefore impersonal, testimony. The indexicality that Christian Metz, among others, ascribes to photography suggests that we do not cherish photographs of beloved ones because they are visually similar to them, but because they have materially attested to their presence.[11] This harks back to Roland Barthes's *Camera Lucida* (1980), the first text to humanize so emphatically photography's documentary evidence. Barthes revisits realism in photography, but dissociates it from mimesis and aesthetics. His rediscovered realism connects photography to human presence, the what-has-been, which readily authenticates itself: "photography's inimitable feature [(its noeme)] is that someone has seen the referent in *flesh and blood*."[12] Similarly to Cavafy, Barthes shows more interest in photographs than in

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[10] Among twentieth-century Greek poets, George Seferis also questioned photographic automatism. Seferis was inclined towards a more humanist notion of creativity, such as in painting, sculpture or dance, in art forms, in other words, where the body plays a primary role. But despite these objections, Seferis was a keen photographer, in the same way perhaps that Cavafy was a frequent sitter of photographic portraits. See Eleni Papargyriou, "Preliminary remarks on George Seferis' visual poetics", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 32.1 (2008) 80-103.

[11] Photography is "indexical, entailing a process of signification (semiosis) in which the signifier is bound to the referent not by a social convention (i.e. a symbol), not necessarily by some similarity (i.e. an icon), [or not just by similarity,] but by an actual contiguity or connection in the world – prints left on a special surface by a combination of light and chemical action." See Christian Metz, "Photography and fetish", *October* 34 (Autumn 1985) 81-90, p. 82.

[12] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, trans. by Richard Howard (London: Vintage 2000), p. 79.

photography and treats their observation as an act of love. Like Cavafy, the photographs he esteems most are those of beloved ones, which are closer to the observer's heart, and he ends up with an emotional phenomenology, with a subjective yet comprehensive outlook on photographic perception rather than an ontological explication.[13] In the second part of his essay he goes on to perform its phenomenological/personal cue, by discussing his attempts to rediscover his recently deceased mother in her photographs. He fails to recognize her in her most characteristic poses as either a frail old woman or a fashionable young lady. When he does find her it is in a photograph of her as a young girl, posing with her brother in the winter garden of their family home. The fact that Barthes rediscovers his mother in a photograph that depicts her in a fashion that could not possibly have been known to him disjoins the photograph from the referent, by underscoring the abolishment of physical similarity as a criterion for identification.

Because of its indexical tactility and its size – the photographic lexis is much smaller than the cinematic lexis and the look it prompts has no fixed duration – Metz connects photography to fetish. Many of Cavafy's poems feature a lingering look, with those revolving around reading being no exception. Equally, the four photography poems I am discussing here blend the referent with the moment of observation in an ultimate act of love: "Closer to pleasure than to science, the act of looking at a photograph [...] does not differentiate between a subject an image, but rather brings together 'two experiences: that of the observed subject and that of the subject observing'."[14]

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[13] His most memorable contribution to the study of the photographic text is the distinction between the *studium* and the *punctum*; he considers the first to be the visual material designed by the photographer, which is therefore directly recognizable by the spectator, and the latter the photograph's subconscious, a symptomatic plate of intricate detail that may prick the spectator in mysterious and unpredictable ways.

[14] Eduardo Cadava and Paola Cortes-Rocca, "Notes on love and photography", in: Geoffrey Batchen (ed.), *Photography degree zero:*

Freud described the fetish as an imaginary object, as "a substitute for the woman's (the mother's) penis that the little boy once believed in and – for reasons familiar to us – does not want to give up".[15] Metz further accredits the fetish with a protective function, treating it as an amulet that soothes and consoles individuals against the terrifying loss of loved ones: "The fetish always combines a double and contradictory function: on the side of metaphor, an inciting and encouraging one; and on the side of metonymy, an apotropaic one, that is, the averting of danger (thus involuntarily attesting a belief in it), the warding off of bad luck or the ordinary, permanent anxiety which sleeps (or suddenly wakes up) inside each of us."[16] Photographs are defined by absence; we look at photographs of those who are not there. The selective nature of the frame that includes one object while excluding others may further support this idea: the click of the camera button, the closing of the shutter, permanently fixing the on-frame while excluding the off-frame, "marks the space of an irreversible absence". The photograph, as a substitute for the beloved person, functions as consolation, whereas, at the same time, it accentuates the loss. Cavafy fetishizes similar artefacts to photographs which have touched a man's body in one way or another, such as sketches and letters, which bear tactile traces of the handwriting. Similarly to photographs, letters are taken out and read in solitude, then put back in their secret, hidden treasury.[17] And this act is to be repeatedly performed as a ritual. Perhaps it would not be unfair

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reflections on Roland Barthes's Camera Lucida (Cambridge Mass. and London: The MIT Press 2009), pp. 105-39, p. 111.

[15] Sigmund Freud, "Fetishism" in *The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol. XXI, trans. by James Strachey (London: Vintage 2001), pp. 147-57, pp. 152-3. An earlier treatment of the subject can be found in Freud's *Three essays on the theory of sexuality* in *The standard edition*, Vol. VII, pp. 125-245, particularly pp. 153-5.

[16] Metz, p. 86.

[17] See, for example, the line "Στα χέρια μου ένα γράμμα ξαναπήρα" from the poem "Εν εσπέρα" (1917) or the treatment of the pencil sketch in "Του πλοίου".

to consider Cavafy's poems, often disseminated in manuscript form, as fetishes, as an erotic act addressed to the recipient.

In the poem "Ετσι" the poetic subject (henceforth referred to as the narrator) looks closely at the pornographic photograph of a young man, sold clandestinely on the street, wondering how a dreamlike face like his ended up in such degrading circumstances:

> Στην άσεμνην αυτή φωτογραφία που κρυφά
> στον δρόμο (ο αστυνόμος να μη δει) πουλήθηκε,
> στην πορνικήν αυτή φωτογραφία
> πώς βρέθηκε τέτοιο ένα πρόσωπο
> του ονείρου· εδώ πώς βρέθηκες εσύ.
>
> Ποιος ξέρει τι ξευτελισμένη, πρόστυχη ζωή θα ζεις·
> τι απαίσιο θα 'ταν το περιβάλλον
> όταν θα στάθηκες να σε φωτογραφήσουν·
> τι ποταπή ψυχή θα είν' η δική σου.
> Μα μ' όλα αυτά, και πιότερα, για μένα μένεις
> το πρόσωπο του ονείρου, η μορφή
> για ελληνική ηδονή πλασμένη και δοσμένη —
> έτσι για μένα μένεις και σε λέγ' η ποίησίς μου.

On a first level, the narrator renounces the sordid pornographic context in which the photograph was taken and, in a bout of creative imagination, restores the sitter's image to the elevated aesthetic state of "ελληνική ηδονή". In his way, the narrator retouches the photograph; it works for him only after he has air-brushed the backdrop and purified it from the squalor of its pornographic use. As in the poem "Να μείνει" ("γρήγορο σάρκας γύμνωμα [...] τώρα ήλθε να μείνει μες στην ποίησιν αυτή"), the verb "μένεις'' in this poem's concluding line implies the permanent imprinting of the image on the personal plate of memory and, subsequently, on the collective plate of poetry.

Yet, who is the owner of the photograph? Who has bought it clandestinely on the street, avoiding the policeman's attention? Most likely the narrator; in the light of this, we no longer read the poem as a renunciation of pornography, but as play with the reader's expectations. The epithets modifying the photograph,

"άσεμνη" and "πορνική" should not be seen as essentially critical, but as echoing public Victorian and post-Victorian discourses on pornography, not necessarily endorsed by Cavafy. Cavafy seems to be more discomforted by the social circumstances that lead young (most likely working class) men to this kind of occupation. The epithets describing the life of the sitter, "ξευτελισμένη, πρόστυχη", perhaps implicate his concern about the sitter's poverty, not about the photograph, much less about its voyeuristic purposes, which in his ownership he tacitly accepts.

How does this photograph work as fetish? There are concurrent layers of secrecy: the clandestine nature of the transaction on the street; the private viewing at home, and then the narrator's elusiveness regarding the detail of its visual content. Under closer observation, what is said about the sitter's external appearance is next to nothing; "dreamlike" reveals something about the quality of the image but no concrete detail. Interestingly, Barthes does not show us the Winter Garden photograph either.[18] For him it is a personal fetish; we get its detailed description, but not the photograph itself, as happens with dozens of other images upon which he draws in his discussion. Cavafy is more secretive than Barthes, in that his description of the photograph in question is much more laconic. The photograph which would provide the visual detail that the poem intricately conceals, is absent, because we do not get the chance to actually "see" it.

Let us consider the information the photographic portrait would provide: a precise visual duplication of the sitter's facial features, his shape of face and colour of iris, his hairstyle, clothes and possibly bodily position. More importantly, it would provide a marker for identification and individuality; it would be *that* man, as opposed to any other. On the other hand, most of these visual specifications, the "represented objectivities", as Roman Ingarden would name them, are missing from the poetic text. If they were actually there, the text would look trite, loaded with superfluous

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[18] "I cannot reproduce the Winter Garden Photograph. It exists only for me. For you, it would be nothing but an indifferent picture, one of the thousand manifestations of the 'ordinary'" (Barthes, op. cit., p. 73).

clauses. But even the most tediously descriptive account would eventually fail to grasp the individuality of a man, which a photograph would easily and naturally render. But, however eloquent in its visual vocabulary, the photograph loses its indexical qualities when it is framed within the poetic text. In Cavafy's poetry it becomes further blunted, perhaps even suppressed, reduced to a series of general epithets. It is as if Cavafy strives to make the photograph unfaithful to itself; but it is through this unfaithfulness, the abolishment of mimesis, that the photograph remains most faithful to its true creative concept and recognition is most effectively achieved.

The comparison with painting is illuminating: the vagueness in rendering the male body in "Ετσι" can be juxtaposed to Cavafy's detailed description of a portrait in "Εικών εικοσιτριετούς νέου καμωμένη από φίλον του ομήλικα, ερασιτέχνη" (1928):[19]

Τελείωσε την εικόνα χθες μεσημέρι. Τώρα
λεπτομερώς την βλέπει. Τον έκαμε με γκρίζο
ρούχο ξεκουμπωμένο, γκρίζο βαθύ· χωρίς
γελέκι και κραβάτα. Μ' ένα τριανταφυλλί
πουκάμισο· ανοιγμένο, για να φανεί και κάτι
από την εμορφιά του στήθους, του λαιμού.
Το μέτωπο δεξιά ολόκληρο σχεδόν
σκεπάζουν τα μαλλιά του, τα ωραία του μαλλιά
(ως είναι η χτενισιά που προτιμά εφέτος).
Υπάρχει ο τόνος πλήρως ο ηδονιστικός
που θέλησε να βάλει σαν έκανε τα μάτια,
σαν έκανε τα χείλη ... Το στόμα του, τα χείλη
που για εκπληρώσεις είναι ερωτισμού εκλεκτού.

Contrary to the model in "Ετσι" the desired body described here is fictional; and since it is shielded behind its fictionality, created "εξ

[19] Panagiotis Roilos has recently discussed "ekphrasis" as a homotextual function in Cavafy; and yet he does not distinguish between painting and photography, a distinction which, in my view, is necessary. See Panagiotis Roilos, *C. P. Cavafy: the economics of metonymy* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 2009), p. 92.

εικασίας, δια αισθήσεις", Cavafy can be more explicit about the painting's visual content. By contrast, he says very little of the photograph, whose reality entails documentary evidence that reveals something about the life of its owner. This distinction turns out to be more a matter of social order than aesthetics; the photograph creates the homosexual body as a social construct. To this point I will come back.

The context of looking at the photograph in "Ετσι" is pivotal. Context here does not only entail the spatio-temporal conditions of individual observation, but also the implied communities of looking, formed on the basis of common assumptions which directly impact interpretation. Barthes claims that, contrary to the erotic photograph, the pornographic one has no *punctum*. In Victorian and post-Victorian times a pornographic photograph was not exactly made public, as, say, *The Sun*'s page 3 is today, but was supposed to circulate enough to be profitable. Contrary to that, the erotic photograph addresses the lover's gaze only. Cavafy's narrator transforms the pornographic photograph to an erotic one; as such, he protects it from intruding gazes, restoring it to personal secrecy.

The switch of viewing contexts is also thematized in the poem "Απ' το συρτάρι", which capitalizes on the alternation between hiding and revealing:

Εσκόπευα στης κάμαράς μου έναν τοίχο να την θέσω.

Αλλά την έβλαψεν η υγρασία του συρταριού.

Σε κάδρο δεν θα βάλω την φωτογραφία αυτή.

Έπρεπε πιο προσεκτικά να την φυλάξω.

Αυτά τα χείλη, αυτό το πρόσωπο —
α για μια μέρα μόνο, για μιαν ώρα
μόνο, να επέστρεφε το παρελθόν τους.

Σε κάδρο δεν θα βάλω την φωτογραφία αυτή.

Θα υποφέρω να την βλέπω έτσι βλαμμένη.

Άλλωστε, και βλαμμένη αν δεν ήταν,
θα μ' ενοχλούσε να προσέχω μη τυχόν καμιά
λέξις, κανένας τόνος της φωνής προδώσει —
αν με ρωτούσανε ποτέ γι' αυτήν.

The particular importance of the photograph is evoked in the middle section: "Αυτά τα χείλη, αυτό το πρόσωπο – / α για μια μέρα μόνο, για μιαν ώρα / μόνο, να επέστρεφε το παρελθόν τους." The narrator, again, is evasive regarding detail, and reveals no more than the beauty of the sitter's lips, the photograph's implied *punctum*. The material damage to the photograph points to the passage of time, to decay, mortality and death. The photographic paper, organic like the human body, ages too (like Dorian Gray's portrait).

The photograph freezes time, extracting it from a sequence of moments and preserving it like "a fly in amber".[20] The moment it depicts is unrepeatable, it has died forever as such, Barthes argues, equating photography to a kind of "thanatography". In reality, what changes is not the image, but the distance separating the image from the spectator's gaze. The photograph always speaks in present tenses, it always "is". But it points towards an expandable future, the I-will-be-looked-at, the countless unforeseeable moments of observation, unrepeatable even for a single spectator. The photograph crosses the distance and reaches out to our time. We do not return to the past, we have the past re-enacted for our sake, performed, in a sense, by the simple context of our looking at it. For Cavafy's narrator, looking at the photograph is traumatic because the material damage done to it points to the dangers posed to his own gaze, to the growing distance separating him from the photograph's present, as indicated in the telling future continuous tense in the line "Θα υποφέρω να την βλέπω έτσι βλαμμένη."

Memory in Cavafy is often described as return; his narrating subjects plead for the past to return, infinitely, pointing to the

[20] Metz (see n. 11) quoting Peter Wollen, p. 84.

projectile expansion of the present into the future. In the poem "Επέστρεφε" (1912) the narrator pleads for the beloved sensation to return; the emphasis on the adverb "frequently" makes up a vague, but prominent, future level: "Επέστρεφε συχνά και παίρνε με." More prominently, in "Γκρίζα" (1917), the moment of looking at a semi-precious stone evokes memory of a lover's eyes; the narrator addresses memory, imploring her to bring back the relics of love, like a photograph that has arrested the moment: "Και, μνήμη, ό,τι μπορείς από τον έρωτά μου αυτόν, / ό,τι μπορείς φέρε με πίσω απόψι." "Απ' το συρτάρι", however, is not a poem merely preoccupied with the workings of memory. The last section shifts the attention away from the photograph's attestation of the lover's material existence towards the photograph as incriminating evidence for the illicit homosexual affair: "Άλλωστε, και βλαμμένη αν δεν ήταν, / θα μ' ενοχλούσε να προσέχω μη τυχόν καμιά / λέξις, κανένας τόνος της φωνής προδώσει – / αν με ρωτούσανε ποτέ γι' αυτήν." The photograph's exposure on the wall would make it susceptible to public scrutiny, even if by "public" we mean Cavafy's close circle of family and friends. These constitute an interpretive community with different presumptions on morality and accepted social behaviour.

As Allan Sekula discusses in "The body and the archive", soon after the invention of photography in 1839 the police in various countries of the Western world embraced its techniques to create archives of criminals' images for indexical purposes.[21] Sekula explores the social conditions of this indexicality, tracing them to the bourgeois order "that depends upon the systematic defence of social relations based on private property, to the extent that the legal basis of the self lies in the model of property rights,

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[21] Sekula quotes Talbot's 1844 speculation in the photographic book *The pencil of nature*, noting on a calotype depicting several shelves bearing articles of china: "should a thief afterwards purloin the treasures – if the mute testimony of the picture were to be produced against him in court – it would certainly be evidence of a novel kind." Sekula observes that "Talbot lays claim to a new legalistic truth, the truth of an indexical rather than textual inventory." See Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive", *October* 39 (Winter 1986) 3-64, p. 6.

in what has been termed "possessive individualism", every proper portrait has its lurking, objectifying inverse in the files of the police."[22] These policing methods employing photographic techniques invented a more extensive "social body". Sekula does not discuss homosexuality, but as a form of penalized social behaviour it almost certainly had a place in the police archive of the deviant body.

Matt Cook observes that in the second half of the century the newly-established science of sexology provided the first investigations into homosexuality, employing both legal and medical techniques, and vocabulary, in an attempt to describe, understand and, ultimately, control homosexual practices.[23] Sexology, Cook claims, offered an apparatus of treatment around the perverted, accompanied, as Robert Nye puts it, by "a small army of medical and legal specialists devoted to studying, curing or punishing them".[24] In this context, sexology offered descriptions of the physiology of the homosexual man, defining a set of characteristics, or signs that point to femininity. In the questionnaire "Am I at all Uranian", published in 1909 in Xavier Mayne's (pseudonym of American writer Edward Prime-Stevenson) *The Intersexes*, we read criteria that indicate homosexual leanings such as "were your bones and joints large or small, was your chest broad or narrow,

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[22] Sekula, ibid. p. 7

[23] "Structures of criminal justice which policed homosexuality which were established in [the nineteenth century] were to endure at least until 1967" notes Cook, adding that between 1806 and 1900 8,921 men were indicted for sodomy, gross indecency or other "unnatural misdemeanours" in England and Wales, while, between 1806 and 1861, 404 men were sentenced to death; 56 of those were actually executed. See Matt Cook (ed), *A gay history of Great Britain* (Oxford: Greenwood World Publshing 2007), p. 107.

[24] Sexology's impact was not all negative. Dimitris Papanikolaou discusses it as a modernist discourse that contributed to the homosexual body's rise from obscurity, obtaining prominence in the social sphere: "«Η νέα φάσις του έρωτος»: ο νεοτερικός λόγος της σεξολογίας και ο Καβάφης", in *Πρακτικά της ΙΒ΄επιστημονικής συνάντησης του Τομέα Μεσαιωνικών και Νέων Ελληνικών Σπουδών αφιερωμένης στη μνήμη της Σοφίας Σκοπετέα* (Thessaloniki: Aristotle University Publication 2010), pp. 195-211.

was your wrist flat or round, were your fingers pointed or blunt, your skin soft or rough, your body 'odorific' or neutral smelling, could you whistle and sing easily and naturally."[25] Some of these are physiognomic traits that seek to typecast the body and predict social behaviour. Photography, and particularly the photographic portrait, used for physiognomic purposes, largely contributes to these categorizations. The body made public through photography is more easily observed, scrutinized and, ultimately, judged. At the same time, a bourgeois audience is formed around photographic representations of the homosexual man, as a public ready to tend its dismissive opinions and cement a code of morality based on the objectification of sexual difference.

The narrator in Cavafy's poem is not so much discomforted by these differences; what he cannot accept is the caution that would be required on his part should the nature of his relation to the young man on the photograph be queried. The imposition for him is, mainly, the change expected in his own moral code, which does not allow for truthfulness in linguistic terms. The extended "social body" of the man exposed in the photograph, would elicit an equal extension in the narrator's bodily conduct, and eventually, in his language. The oral caption with which he would accompany the photograph would not reflect the intimate sentiments shared by the two; it would be false and unfaithful to them.

Cavafy aspires for the homosexual body made public in the police archive to return to the private sphere of intimacy; he eventually returns the photograph to its natural, socially enclosed treasury, the drawer, reversing the social dimension of photography as documenting a certain type of pathology. The photograph, inscribed into the concept of a personal fetish, is reattached to the personal and intimate body, treasured in the private space of personal files, where its privacy can be protected from the mechanisms of public surveillance and control.

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[25] Quoted by Cook, op. cit., p. 137.

In "Ο δεμένος ώμος" the presence of the photograph is much more subtle and yet the photographic metaphor is much more blatant:

Είπε που χτύπησε σε τοίχον ή που έπεσε.
Μα πιθανόν η αιτία να 'ταν άλλη
του πληγωμένου και δεμένου ώμου.

Με μια κομμάτι βίαιη κίνησιν,
απ' ένα ράφι για να κατεβάσει κάτι
φωτογραφίες που ήθελε να δει από κοντά,
λύθηκεν ο επίδεσμος κ' έτρεξε λίγο αίμα.

Ξανάδεσα τον ώμο, και στο δέσιμο
αργούσα κάπως· γιατί δεν πονούσε,
και μ' άρεζε να βλέπω το αίμα. Πράγμα
του έρωτός μου το αίμα εκείνο ήταν.

Σαν έφυγε ηύρα στην καρέγλα εμπρός,
ένα κουρέλι ματωμένο, απ' τα πανιά,
κουρέλι που έμοιαζε για τα σκουπίδια κατ' ευθείαν·
και που στα χείλη μου το πήρα εγώ,
και που το φύλαξα ώρα πολλή —
το αίμα του έρωτος στα χείλη μου επάνω.

The pronounced homoerotic undertones of dressing the same-sex beloved's wound are well-known, from ancient depictions of Achilles nursing the wounded Patroclus to Alan Hollinghurst's 1988 gay novel *The swimming pool library*. In Cavafy's poem the photograph is mentioned almost parenthetically, as the object the wounded man is curious to see more closely. Yet the blood-stained bandage is essentially equated to the photograph: the blood is imprinted on the cloth like an image on sensitized paper; like a fussy photographer meticulously developing a negative, the narrator lingers while re-dressing the wound, enjoying the sight of the beloved man's blood. The speckled bandage left behind after he has gone is fetishistically treasured by the narrator as a material testimony of his bodily presence.

If we take the scene to be a photograph, its *punctum* is the re-opened wound (it surely is instructive that Barthes would describe the *punctum* in *Camera Lucida* as a "prick, as a mark made by a pointed instrument; a sting, speck, cut and a little hole").[26] The trace of blood on the bandage, the poem's photograph, works as a bodily imprint that testifies to the beloved's intimate history: then, in this room. Preserved as a fetishized keepsake the bandage protects the narrator against his loss, the beloved's exit from the intimate space of the room and perhaps out of his life too (we never really find out if desire has ever been fulfilled; the opening of the poem, which implies the wound was caused in a quarrel, perhaps an erotic one, suggests otherwise). Religious iconography may be at play here too; Thomas's verification of Christ's crucifixion by touching his wounds, or the martyrdom of St Sebastian, traditionally depicted as being tied to a post and shot with arrows.[27] But hints at Christian or ancient iconography, such as depictions of Achilles and Patroclus that I mentioned earlier, gloss over the essentially modern focus of imprinting, of photographically fixing the body permanently on a blank surface (in this context, perhaps reference to the shroud of Turin might be more relevant). It is no coincidence that the poem elicited two photographic renderings by gay photographers in recent years, by Duane Michals (2007) and Dimitris Yeros (2010), a fact which points to its photographic significance.[28]

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[26] Barthes, op. cit., p. 27.

[27] See also Martha Vassileiadi, "«Για τα σκουπίδια κατευθείαν»: νοσολογία, πάθη και πληγές κι ενσώματες ταυτότητες στον ερωτικό Καβάφη", in the electronic proceedings of the Fourth Symposium of the European Association for Modern Greek Studies (http://www.eens.org/EENS_congresses/2010/Vassiliadi_Martha.pdf, accessed 10 May 2011).

[28] Duane Michal's rendering is a photographic sequence, which appeared in his 2007 album *The adventures of Constantine Cavafy* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Twin Palms Publishers 2007), whereas Yeros's unique print inspired by the same poem appeared in the recent album *Shades of Love: photographs inspired by the poems of C. P. Cavafy* (San Rafael, California: Insight Editions 2010) which is an expansion of an earlier photographic project also based on Cavafy's poetry. Photographic renditions of literary works are rarely known to be successful, at least

Finally, the last of Cavafy's four photography poems, "Η φωτογραφία", again reconfigures the moment of looking at a past lover's old photograph, creating an opposition between the social and the private sphere:

> Βλέποντας την φωτογραφίαν ενός εταίρου του,
> τ' ωραίο νεανικό του πρόσωπο
> (χαμένο τώρα πια – είχε χρονολογία
> το ενενήντα δυο η φωτογραφία)
> του πρόσκαιρου τον ήλθεν η μελαγχολία.
> Μα τον παραμυθεί όπου τουλάχιστον
> δεν άφισε – δεν άφισαν καμιά κουτή ντροπή,
> τον έρωτά των να εμποδίσει ή ν' ασχημίσει.
> Των ηλιθίων τα «φαυλόβιοι», «πορνικοί»,
> η ερωτική αισθητική των δεν επρόσεξε ποτέ.

The paratextual evidence of the poem's date, August 1924, becomes involved in the main text as signalling the time of looking, separated by thirty-odd years from the date the image was taken, 1892; the latter is parenthetically stated in a distich that stands on a par with a photograph's legend. Described in, again, rather unspecific terms, the young lover's beauty comes to wound the spectator's old age. But, as in "Απ' το συρτάρι", the image of beauty soon crumbles before the social repercussions of the homosexual affair.

The poem works on the opposition between the social and the intimate spheres: the social sphere is represented in the snippets of public commentary, «φαυλόβιοι, πορνικοί», faithfully rendered within quotation marks; the intimate is implied within "ερωτική αισθητική", an elevated sensual perception that eliminates their

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since Julia Margaret Cameron's dubious 1874 undertaking to illustrate photographically Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*. Yeros interprets the poem tediously literally, with the bandaged back of a man almost filling out the whole frame. Michals, on the other hand, freely improvises on the scene adding legends to the photographs that make up the sequence. The distance he takes from the poem makes his interpretation more visually compelling than that of Yeros. On Michals's work on Cavafy see also his earlier album *Homage to Cavafy* (Danbury, Hampshire: Addison House 1978).

effect. The visual space of the photograph is subsequently divided into social critique and intimacy, private happiness that reacts to criticism with indifference. The faithful rendition of the public comment, a technique that had reached its peak five years earlier with the famous "πολυκαισαρίη" in Cavafy's 1919 poem "Καισαρίων", seen within a visual culture, is not simply linguistic, but functions as a kind of technical reproduction; the authenticated discourse rendered within quotation marks ensures that the framed words are a "photograph" of language.[29] This is a xeroxed sample of opposition, a second imaginary photograph that threatens the purity of the real one. In Benjamin, treatment of language is often paralleled with photographic reproduction: quotations and inscriptions in the photographic era should not just be treated in linguistic or intertextual terms, but as an act essentially qualified within the visual.

In "Η φωτογραφία" the lack of shame, the aesthetic perfection of the relationship, is a strong impulse to rekindle the mechanism of memory and re-enact the past for the sake of the present, transcending time as the distance separating the sitter's eyes from the eyes of the observer. It also restores language: the photograph works as consolation, in the fetish's most essential significance; the two lovers did not allow degrading comments on their homosexual relationship to spoil its aesthetics. Those who criticized them are called imbeciles: their comments are placed in quotations marks, as a speech act that does never take real effect.

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[29] The poem may be developing a stratagem also employed in the earlier poem "Σ' ένα βιβλίο παληό –", dated to 1922, where the reader is made to realize that the epithets used to describe this special kind of love, "ανώμαλες έλξεις, αναίσχυντα κρεββάτια", are not Cavafy's own, but echo society's perceptions of homosexuality.

The years 2009-11 at Cambridge

Students

In 2010 Richard Thompson graduated with a First in Part II of the Modern and Medieval Languages Tripos. He offered the two language papers and the oral in Modern Greek, a year abroad dissertation on the Language Question, and an optional dissertation on the writer Kostas Tachtsis, together with papers in Linguistics. Richard, who also achieved a First in Modern Greek in Part IA and a First in Part IB, was awarded the first Catherine Grigoriou-Theocarakis Prize for excellence in Modern Greek Studies (see below).

Matthew Jones was awarded a II.1 in Part IB. Three students took Part IA in Modern Greek: Grace Bayley, Lucy Kitching and Callum Humphries. Jesper Carlson was successful in the examination for the Certificate in Modern Greek and Katherine Poseidon for the Diploma.

Ten students took the paper "Introduction to Modern Greek language and culture" as part of their 2010 Tripos examinations: four were candidates for the Modern and Medieval Languages Tripos, five for the Classical Tripos, and one for the Education Tripos.

At postgraduate level, Stratos Myrogiannis and Foteini Lika were approved for the PhD during 2010. Stratos's dissertation is on "The emergence of a Greek identity (1700-1821)". Foteini's dissertation is entitled: "History, fiction and satire in Roidis's *Pope Joan*". Semele Assinder began research for a PhD on "Greece in British women's writing, 1866-1915" in October 2009. Eleni Lampaki, who was awarded the A. G. Leventis Foundation Studentship, began her doctoral research on a study of the manuscripts and printed tradition of the Cretan tragedy *Erofili.*

Andria Andreou and Xiaofan Amy Li took the Modern Greek module in the Lent Term 2010, as part of the MPhil in European Literature and Culture. The course, "Myth and history in Modern Greek literature", was co-ordinated by Dr Teresa Shawcross.

In 2010-11 there were no first-year undergraduates, as admissions to study Modern Greek for the Modern and Medieval Languages Tripos have been suspended. Second-year students Grace Bayley, Lucy Kitching and Callum Humphries were successful in Part IB and will spend their year abroad studying in Athens. The 2011 Catherine Grigoriou-Theocarakis Prize was awarded to Callum Humphries, who achieved a high II.1.

Three students took "Introduction to Modern Greek language and culture", two from Classics and one from MML. One of the classicists, Katie Taffler, achieved a First overall in Part II of the Classical Tripos.

Teaching staff

In 2009-10 Dr Regina Karousou-Fokas taught the full range of courses in Modern Greek language. Mr Nikos Papadogiannis gave lecture courses on "Introduction to Modern Greek history" and "Topics in Modern Greek history". Further teaching in language and literature was given by Dr Liana Giannakopoulou, Ms Foteini Lika, Dr Anthony Hirst, Mr Stratos Myrogiannis, Dr Teresa Shawcross and Dr Notis Toufexis.

In 2010-11 we welcomed a new language teacher seconded by the Greek Ministry of Education, Lifelong Learning and Religious Affairs, Dr Evangelia Ronga. Dr Ronga, who has a PhD in Marine Biology from the University of Liverpool, undertook a wide range of language teaching. Additional language teaching was given by Dr Regina Karousou-Fokas, thanks to a grant from the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation. Dr Karousou-Fokas also co-taught the paper on "The history and structure of Modern Greek", with Professor Holton. Additional teaching was provided by Dr Nikos Papadogiannis (Topics in Modern Greek history) and Dr Liana Giannakopoulou (Seferis and other topics). Dr Giannakopoulou's teaching contribution was recognised with the title of Affiliated Lecturer.

Visiting speakers

The 2009-10 programme of lectures by invited speakers was as follows:

22 October. Professor Dimitris Tziovas (University of Birmingham): *Post-classical memories: Modern Greek attitudes to Antiquity*

5 November. Dr Sheila Lecoeur (Imperial College London): *Mixed memories of occupation: The social impact of the Italian occupation of the Greek island of Syros, 1941-43*

12 November. Professor Peter Mackridge (St Cross College, Oxford): *The language question, diglossia and the origin of "Common Modern Greek"*

26 November. Sir Michael Llewellyn Smith: *Personality, family and charisma: the case of Venizelos*

29 April. Dr Eleni Yannakaki (University of Oxford): *Autobiography revisited: the recent rise of life-writing in Greece*

6 May. Dr Yannis Hamilakis (University of Southampton):*Dreaming ruins: antiquity, materiality and national imagination in Greece*

In 2010-11 this established series of lectures on Modern Greek themes ran for the thirtieth consecutive year. The programme was as follows:

14 October. Professor Steven Bowman (University of Cincinnati): *The agony of Greek Jews in World War II*

28 October. Professor David Ricks (King's College London): *Cavafy and the nineties*

18 November. Professor Amalia Moser (University of Athens): *The hidden logic of Greek tense and aspect*

25 November. Dr Philip Carabott (King's College London): *State, society and the religious "other" in nineteenth-century Greece*

27 January. Dr Eleni Papargyriou (King's College London): *Cavafy, photography and fetish*

17 February. Dr Renee Hirschon (St Peter's College, Oxford): *Creating a culture of uncertainty: time and resistance in Greek social life*

3 March. Dr Dimitris Papanikolaou (St Cross College, Oxford): *In search of the lost semi-colon: Greek poetry set to music (and how to read it)*

5 May. The writer Panos Karnezis introduced extracts from his work and answered questions

12 May. Dr Spyros Economides (London School of Economics): *Does Greece have a foreign policy?*

Graduate Seminar

The Graduate Seminar met on eight occasions during 2009-10 and heard papers by the following members and guest speakers: Andria Andreou, Semele Assinder, Rita Emmanouilidou (UCLA), Petros Karatsareas, Eleni Lampaki (two papers), Amy Li, and Christiana Mygdali (Oxford). During 2010-11 papers were given by Semele Assinder, Eleni Lampaki, Florentia Riga (University of Athens) and Dr Alfred Vincent (University of Sydney).

Alumni matters

Following the success of the Reunion Dinner for former students of Modern Greek, held at Selwyn College in May 2009, an informal gathering of alumni took place in London on 14 July 2011 and further such events are planned for 2011-12. Alumni are requested to provide the Modern Greek Section with their contact details, in order to receive invitations and regular updates.

Fundraising for Modern Greek

The future availability of Modern Greek at Cambridge remains uncertain. Admissions for the MML Tripos have been suspended, although certain undergraduate papers and MPhil options will continue to be available until 2013. The Modern Greek Section is working closely with the University's Development Office, and with the full support of the Faculty, to secure funding for one or two fully endowed teaching posts.

The Catherine Grigoriou-Theocarakis Fund and Prize

In 2009 the University was pleased to accept a generous benefaction of £100,000 from Dr Nikolaos Theocarakis, in memory of

his late wife Catherine Grigoriou-Theocarakis. Both Dr Theocarakis and his wife studied at Cambridge. Catherine, who died in 2009, was a member of Girton College. After studying French and Linguistics at the University of Athens, she came to Cambridge to take a postgraduate course in Strategic Studies and was awarded the MPhil in 1987. She was an exceptionally talented linguist and an accomplished poet in both Greek and English.

The Fund is intended to support the advancement of Modern Greek Studies, over a period of four to five years. This very welcome gift is being used primarily to support short-term teaching and research needs (including the Grammar of Medieval Greek), as well as funding travel and research grants for students. Part of the fund has been ring-fenced to establish a permanent undergraduate prize, to be awarded annually for excellence in Modern Greek Studies. The first recipient of the Catherine Grigoriou-Theocarakis Prize, in 2010, was Richard Thompson, of Churchill College. The 2011 prize was awarded to Callum Humphries, of Gonville and Caius College.

Activities of members of the Modern Greek Section

Professor David Holton gave lectures at King's College London (January 2010) and the University of Birmingham (March 2010). He was an invited participant in a conference on "The Greek language and language education", organized by Ministry of Education, in Thessaloniki (June 2010). He also chaired and introduced a special event on "The Siege of Candia (1648-1669): Art and life in 17th-century Crete" at King's College London in March 2011. Later that month he was one of the speakers at the annual "Voices from Greece" event at the University of East Anglia, which this year focused on Odysseas Elytis. He chaired the opening plenary session at the conference "Re-imagining the Past: Antiquity and Modern Greek Culture", at the University of Birmingham in June 2011. He has been elected Chairman of the Society for Modern Greek Studies for three years, from 1 January 2012. He has published:

(With Io Manolessou) "Medieval and Early Modern Greek", in: E. G. Bakker (ed.), *A Companion to the Ancient Greek language* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell 2010), pp. 539-63

"What is Medieval Greek? Some thoughts of a grammarian", *Scandinavian Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 4 (2010) 29-43

"The first Modern Greek printed book: *Apokopos* (1509)", *The Anglo-Hellenic Review* 42 (Autumn 2010) 16-19

Ms Marjolijne Janssen has come to the end of her contract as Research Associate for the Grammar of Medieval Greek, but will continue to work on the project. She gave a paper on the language and metre of the *Ptochoprodromic Poems* at King's College London in November 2009. In September 2010 she was elected Vice-President of the European Society for Modern Greek Studies for a period of four years.

Dr Liana Giannakopoulou, Affiliated Lecturer, has published *Ο Παρθενώνας στην ποίηση: μια ανθολογία* (Athens: ELIA 2009), and has other articles in press.

About the contributors

Philip Carabott taught modern and contemporary Greek history at King's College London from 1990 until 2011. He is currently based in Athens as an independent scholar.

Spyros Economides is Senior Lecturer in International Relations and European Politics in the European Institute at the London School of Economics, Co-ordinator of its research unit on South East Europe, "LSEE", and Deputy Director of the Hellenic Observatory. Dr Economides has been a Research Associate at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London and Specialist Adviser to the House of Lords EU Committee on its report "Responding to the Balkan challenge: The role of EU aid". His publications include: *UN Interventionism: 1991-2004* (edited with Mats Berdal, 2007); and *The Economic Factor in International Relations* (with Peter Wilson, 2001). He is currently writing on the EU's Balkan experience since 1991.

Amalia Moser is a Professor of Linguistics at the University of Athens. She studied at the Universities of Athens and Cambridge. Her research interests centre on tense and aspect, Historical Linguistics with emphasis on semantic change and grammaticalization. Her recent publications include a book, in Greek, on *Aspect and tense in the history of Greek* (Athens: Parousia 2009) and various articles and contributions to collective volumes. She is currently writing a book on Aspect, Aktionsart and category change in the history of Greek.

Eleni Papargyriou is Lecturer in Modern Greek Literature at King's College London. She has published a number of articles on intertextuality, translation, literary games, and the complex relationship between the literary text and the photographic image. She has recently published *Reading games in the Greek novel*

(Oxford: Legenda 2011). Dr Papargyriou co-organized the conference "Greek (Hi)stories through the lens: Photographs, photographers and their testimonies", which took place at King's College London in June 2011.