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EUGENIA DRAKOPOULOU

(1959–2021)

In Memoriam

EUGENIA DRAKOPOULOU

(1959–2021)

“Research of this rare quality, which requires tracking and verifying thousands of footnotes, a constant vigilance when it comes to recent scholarly publications, as well as the ability to clearly formulate conclusions, calls for sharp tools of academic method and a sharp judgment, resilience in the quest for detail, and those rare qualities we attribute to a lucid mind,” wrote Manolis Hatzidakis in 1986, when recommending Eugenia Drakopoulou as a member of staff of the National Hellenic Research Foundation.

At the time Eugenia held a postgraduate degree from the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris and had already begun work, towards the end of 1984, on the research project “Greek painters after the Fall of Constantinople”, one of the research programmes of the Centre for Neohellenic Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation being supervised by Hatzidakis. At the same time, Eugenia worked on her doctoral dissertation, which was submitted to the University of Athens. The thesis addresses the history of Kastoria from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries based on inscriptions from the city’s churches. Kastoria remained for Eugenia a very dear place.

As a research associate at the Centre for Neohellenic Research, Eugenia began work – parallel to her main research on Greek painters – on the research programme “Travel literature on south-eastern Europe and the eastern Mediterranean, 15th–19th centuries” under the supervision of Loukia Droulia, the then director. Eugenia was responsible for making a registry of illustrations (that is, woodcuts) contained in the travelogues. Within the framework of that programme, in 1990 Eugenia directed a special project dealing with the digital storing of illustrations and, separately, dealt with illustrations concerning the island of Chios. She also took part in the research project “Mani: A cultural itinerary”, which dealt with travellers in Mani from the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries. She contributed data concerning the history and art of Kastoria from the twelfth to eighteenth centuries to

the research programme “Thracian e-treasure” and was responsible for documenting and publishing inscriptions from Kastoria within the framework of a research programme run by the Centre for Byzantine Research and the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts under the supervision of Nikos Oikonomides. In all cases, Eugenia’s research led to significant publications. In the meantime, after the successful completion of her PhD in 1992, she joined the research staff of the NHRF as a junior researcher. She thus devoted herself to the study of Greek painters after the Fall of Constantinople.

From 1996 onwards, Eugenia served as the supervisor of the programme “Religious Art, 15th–19th centuries”, expanding its scope. The aim of this research programme was “to recreate the Neohellenic and Orthodox art environment in the period from the Fall of Constantinople (1453) up to the emergence of the Greek state (1830)”. This meant placing not only the corpus of Greek painters under scrutiny, but also undertaking “the comparative study of Orthodox and Western artist workshops, and the study of the network of Greek artist workshops in Europe and its relation to the centres of migratory, ecclesiastical and economic policy”. Eugenia assumed diverse roles in order to promote the aims of the programme: she undertook the supervision and academic advice of research fellows, edited books and created digital databases (such as the collection “Greek painters after the Fall of Constantinople”, which forms part of the Pandektis database), attracted funding, organised conferences and participated in Greek and international programmes, often in collaboration with external academic institutions.

Eugenia took an active part in the life of our Institute and spoke with *parrhesia* and clarity concerning the various issues that arose, her criticism being robust and often harsh. As a member of the editorial board of *Historical Review/Revue Historique*, she contributed to journal’s international appeal. In the meantime, her career evolved steadily, and she was promoted to Associate Researcher in 2001 and to the position of Director of Studies in 2014.

An enquiring mind but also a restless spirit, Eugenia did not confine herself to the completion of her academic tasks. Open to the call of our times, an avid reader of literature and devoted listener of classical music, Eugenia adapted to contemporary debates and was eager to take advantage of what technology had to offer. Convinced that the work of a researcher should not solely address one’s particular interests but should rather communicate with developments in the social body and assume a role of national and social

significance, Eugenia often took the initiative to that end. Apart from her publications in the media that expressed her academic expertise, there were other initiatives: in September 2007 she organised the annual “Researchers’ Night” on “Arts and professions of the past through researchers’ eyes” and she contributed to a documentary entitled “Researchers retrieving, studying and saving works of art”. The books *Sailing in the Aegean with History at the Helm* and *Sailing in the Ionian with History at the Helm*, which she co-edited with Dimitris Dimitropoulos in 2015, brought together texts that oscillated between history and fiction. “In any case, the ultimate objective of our effort was not so much for readers to enrich their encyclopaedic knowledge as it was for them to catch a whiff of vibrant moments from the past, to absorb something of an era’s atmospheric quality.” In the same vein, Eugenia gladly participated in the NHRF’s educational activities, either as academic advisor or as a speaker contributing not only through the channel of her erudition but also by means of her imagination.

Eugenia’s last monograph, *Εικόνες του αγώνα των Ελλήνων στην ιστορική ζωγραφική της Ευρώπης (Images of the Greek struggle in European history painting)*, which appeared in the new series of the Institute for Historical Research titled “1821: Historical Library of the 1821 Greek Revolution”, testifies to her constant and vivid interest in art, that is, in art in all its manifestations. All of Eugenia’s colleagues benefited from her acute judgment when it came to choosing a cover or illustrations for a book. And we shall always remember her musical sensibility at an evening in 2014 devoted to the revolutionary movements in modern Europe, which took place within the framework of the NHRF’s educational activities.

Eugenia worked for 36 years in the premises of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, from 1984 to 2021, during which she developed and solidified her personality as a researcher, built friendships and interacted with her colleagues. We will cherish the memory of her elegant presence as well as her positive or critical comments directed towards us, the characteristic sound of her footsteps in the corridor when she returned to her office from the library, the lively discussions she engaged in on topics of academic and general interest and, of course, the spirit of collegiality and genuine humanism that she exemplified when some of us were going through our own difficulties.

This is why when passing by her office we find it so hard to look inside.

Special Section I / Section Spéciale I

MAD, BAD OR SAD? UNRULY PASSIONS AND ACTIONS IN MODERN GREECE

Introduction

More than a century ago, Dutch historian Johan Huizinga wrote, in a book that would become a bestseller, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* (1919): “One may well ask, ... is joyfulness and quiet happiness nowhere to be found? To be sure, the age left in its records more traces of its suffering than of its happiness. Its misfortunes became its history.”¹ Although Huizinga was referring to the Middle Ages, the authors of this special section, all modern historians, are quite familiar with the idea that available historical documents often chart human “misfortunes” rather than pleasure and happiness. From across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a period that roughly charts the chronological range of all articles in this section, available primary sources still provide ample information on what was forbidden, controlled or punished, sketching a vivid picture of modernity’s historical subjects being criminalised, punished, castigated and redeemed.² All five articles that follow revolve around “unruly” passions and “unnatural” actions in Greece, and belong to this long historical tradition of dealing with what different cultures in different times excluded from “normality”.³ They document how several public and private discourses attempted to express, decode, classify, punish, prevent or even cure a number of undesired social realities, such as

¹ Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 30.

² Tanya Evans makes a similar remark regarding the surviving historical evidence on sex and sexuality, noting that “it is much easier to discover how sexuality was represented rather than experienced, controlled rather than enjoyed. We will always know more about what was forbidden than what was not.” “Knowledge and Experience, 1750 to the Present,” in *The Routledge History of Sex and the Body in the West: 1500 to the Present*, ed. Sarah Toulalan and Kate Fisher (Abingdon: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 258.

³ Most authors in this special issue participated in the one-day conference “Pathological Emotions, Unruly Passions, Nineteenth–Twentieth Centuries”, co-organised by the Health History Network and the Department of History and Archaeology of the University of Athens in May 2019. Their initial papers were thoroughly revised, anonymously reviewed and resubmitted as full articles.

homicides, mental and sexual “abnormalities” or “dysfunctions”, and nervous and emotional “disorders”. In doing so, they detect human pathology across different theories and practices, based on specific biological, social and cultural assumptions, merging evaluations, hierarchies and moral judgments about individuals and their “nature”. This section also charts the gradual crystallisation of these ideas into scientific – psychiatric, forensic, legal and pedagogical – knowledge, and shows how and in what ways other discourses, such as those expressed by the dubitable “public opinion” or the historical subjects themselves, adjusted or deviated from the then scientific orthodoxies. Finally, most of the articles demonstrate the continuous efforts of state officials and other experts, mainly physicians, to establish themselves as important public actors and secure their expertise against their competitors.

In the opening article, “‘Medea’ in the Greek Courtroom: Contesting Insanity Among Jurists, Psychiatrists and the Public,” Efi Avdela deals with a crime that acquired “enlarged publicity” in 1961 in Athens, when Jane Brown, an American citizen, after killing her three children, unsuccessfully tried to commit suicide. In an act by definition incomprehensible as it contravened every known assumption on maternal instinct and maternal love, judges, juries, psychiatrists and the press debated a crucial question: was the accused mad or bad? As Avdela shows, both the judiciary and the press were immediately trapped in the “Medea narrative”, an interpretation of the triple homicide that prioritised feelings of revenge towards the defendant’s unfaithful husband, and refuted the many psychiatric diagnoses claiming she had at least diminished or even total lack of liability for her acts.

Remaining at the scene of sensational postwar murder cases, Despo Kritsotaki and Panagiotis Zestanakis, in their article “‘Pervert, Sadist, Voyeur and Necrophile’: Pathological Sexual Desire in the Case of the ‘Dragon of Sheikh Sou’, 1959–1963”, discuss an infamous case of a purported serial killer and rapist who was arrested, tried and found guilty for three criminal attacks in 1959, only to be executed a few years later, despite his claims of innocence. The authors highlight the representations of the “Dragon” in the press, as well as the forensic and psychiatric evaluations of him, to uncover the mediatisation and pathologisation of criminal and “perverted” sexuality.

Eleftheria Zei’s article, “The Ambiguous Construction of a Modern Melancholic Self: Evanthia Kairi’s Correspondence, 1814–1866,” brings us back to the early nineteenth century and the formation of the epistolary self of Evanthia Kairi. Intersecting Kairi’s melancholic autobiographical discourses with the core formative features of her life in their social and cultural specificity, Zei frames gloominess within a modern “active sensibility”, situated far from its pathological, medical perceptions. Instead, she analyses melancholy as a low emotion and a state

of mind attached to the formation of Kairi's *virtuous* individuality, highlighting her moral education, the complex emotional web of her family relations, her celibacy and solitude, which urged her to depict herself as a modern woman writer.

Despina Karakatsani and Pavlina Nikolopoulou, in their article "'Normal Children' and 'Sick Feelings' in Greek Pedagogical Discourse During the Interwar Period, 1911–1939," turn our attention to the distinct features of "normal" and "abnormal" emotions regarding childhood. Placing at the centre of their analysis the writings of Greek educators, especially the written work of Nikolaos Exarchopoulos, they present their recurrent efforts to regulate children's affective world and to distinguish desired emotional expressions from unwanted or dangerous ones. Emerging at, more or less, the same period with the science of eugenics, pedagogy undertook the crucial national task of teaching future citizens "how to feel".⁴

Finally, my own contribution, "Men of Disordered Passions in the Belle Époque of Neurasthenia," highlights the clinical picture of neurasthenic men on the eve of the twentieth century. Making use of the case notes of the neurologist-psychiatrist Simonidis Vlavianos, the article delineates how the national construct of neurasthenia that was formed prioritised men of unruly emotionality and disordered sexual practices, in order to correspond to both the social and cultural changes of the time and to the agenda of the neurologist-psychiatrists, who were seeking to establish themselves as important actors in the public scene.

Different periodisations and source materials produce different historical narratives. Within this special section there is a thick line separating the early nineteenth from the twentieth century, in which disorderly emotions were increasingly attached to psychosomatic illnesses and systematically explored as medical pathologies. Zei's article on Kairi's emotional discourses analyses female sadness and melancholy as core features of philosophical ideas nurtured in "enlightened" Europe, quite removed from the intense medicalisation that would later define them. Her case study, situated on the borderline between the early modern and modern periods, proposes a somehow "positive" reading of melancholy as the necessary emotional basis for the formation and reformation of a virtuous female self. Disorderly emotions were deemed to lose their fictitious aura and their intellectual connotations within the highly medicalised twentieth century, as the rest of the section's articles clearly illustrate. Although each twentieth-century contribution can be read in its own right, there are several strands that bind these articles together. In what follows, I will briefly highlight three of these intersections: the existence of distinct experts connected with

⁴ Ute Frevert et al., *Learning How to Feel: Children's Literature and Emotional Socialization, 1870–1970* (Oxford: University Press, 2014).

the regulation of human behaviour, the persistent recognition of pathological sexuality as a crucial social issue, and the quest to tame individual emotional expressions and behaviour.

The first essential matter that emerges from all articles dealing with the twentieth century is the strong presence of various experts exercising their “right to speak”. Four different case studies show that for the greater part of the century, established experts, the most striking examples being educators, jurists and penologists, continued to regulate the acceptable, “normal” or lawful behaviour in Greece. For example, from the nineteenth century, educational policymakers were responsible for the moral education of children, who constituted the most sensitive and amenable part of Greek society. The disciplinarian aspects of pedagogical ideas and practices were maintained throughout the following century and underwent significant changes in the interwar period. Drawing on the experimental findings of other disciplines, such as psychology, criminology and, especially, eugenics, educational policy was adapted once again to the needs of Greek nationalism. Determined to drastically limit children’s “abnormal” or “anomalous” behaviour, which was perceived as a threat to the nation’s future, educators sought to discover and implement in actual pedagogical practice the laws that determined the mental and physical health of children. As is shown, during the 1960s Greek jurists – members of a much older state institution – would steadily confront all the other specialties seeking the recognition of their expertise in the courts. Intense disputes between judges and psychiatrists were quite typical. Judges systematically refused to acknowledge psychiatrists’ expertise regarding the mental state, and thus the liability, of perpetrators in homicide cases. This is one of the existing examples that confirms the substantial difficulties the psychiatric profession faced in trying to establish its expertise in Greece. Although the post-war press systematically published medical (forensic and psychiatric) views on the “psychopathology of various criminals”, the role of forensic psychiatrists in the courts would remain limited. The efforts of psychiatrists to demarcate the field of their professional practice were long and persistent, but not always successful. After all, as the example of neurasthenic men testifies, they had been claiming their place as regulators over crucial issues of social life at least since the beginning of the twentieth century.

The second distinct theme that is explored across the same period concerns pathological sexual traits. Sexuality underwent significant changes everywhere in the Western world during the twentieth century, a period marked by the gradual and ambiguous liberalisation of sexual discourses and practices.⁵

⁵ Dagmar Herzog, *Sexuality in Europe: A Twentieth-Century History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1.

In Greece, as elsewhere, these developments were accompanied by intense frustrations and distinct reactions, articulated around the existing hierarchical gender and sexual relations.⁶ Kritsotaki and Zestanakis underline the rising visibility of women in the public sphere that accompanied increasing urbanisation, evident in the Greek cities in the late 1950s and early 1960s, that boosted public anxieties about sexuality. They discover traces of the emphasis placed on sex in the public, medical and judicial reactions to the case of the alleged “Dragon” of Sheikh Sou, Aristidis Pangratidis. Popular journalism, which also mediated the discourses of psychiatrists and forensic psychiatrists, prioritised the sexual dimensions of the crimes, and the “Dragon” soon acquired the characteristics of a perverted male sexuality. This pathological version of male extreme aggression remained both exceptional and marginal, and it was perceived as an expression of immorality rather than a clear indication of a mental illness. More than half a century earlier, milder versions of “abnormal” or “problematic” male sexuality would mainly concern private neurologist-psychiatrists, as the example of Simonidis Vlavianos illustrates. The “neurasthenic” men who visited his private office and clinic seeking treatment and cure were mainly showing symptoms associated with sexual excesses or deficiencies. These included practices long considered immoral and detrimental to mental and physical health, such as masturbation or excessive sexual activity, especially outside marriage, but also practices such as deficient or weak sexual desire and activity, considered equally harmful to individuals and the social order. Neurasthenia was clearly becoming a strategic field in which unacceptable versions of male sexuality were being methodically built. Even when sexuality is not the key theme under discussion, it remains somehow present, as the elephant in the room: it preoccupies interwar pedagogy in its concerns over the immoral habit of masturbation, and raises further suspicion about the accused Jane Brown due to her alleged hypersexuality.

One last key issue highlighted by the authors concerns disorderly emotions. The notion that emotions do have a history means their historical study has become a burgeoning field in modern research, placing them at the heart of “what it meant to be human” in culturally specific ways. As Rob Boddice recently put it, emotions “are part of cognitive processes, undergirding social relations, colouring in reasoned discourse and providing a sense of what hurts and what pleases, what feels good and bad, and what feels right and wrong”.⁷

⁶ Indicatively, see the different case studies for Greece included in Dimitra Vassiliadou and Glafki Gotsi, eds., *Ιστορίες για τη σεξουαλικότητα* (Athens: Themelio, 2020).

⁷ Rob Boddice, *The History of Emotions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 191.

Here, unruly emotions and morbid passions clearly intersect with the history of psychiatry. This strong connection stems from the common idea that mood disorders can impact the human mind, soul and body, and thus decisively determine individual behaviour. For example, among the most common causes of male neurasthenia in the beginning of the twentieth century in Greece were severe emotional traumas. The basic symptomatology of a typical “nervous man” included emotional expressions presumably incompatible with male individuality and nature, such as cowardice, fear, shyness or intense sadness expressed with outbreaks of weeping. A part of the medical treatment for neurasthenic men was targeted at the rational management of their emotional expressions. Similarly, according to the normative pedagogical thought of the interwar period, “neurasthenic” or “psychopathic” children could be understood through their assigned, “anomalous” emotions, such as jealousy, cruelty or hostility. One of the main scopes of children’s education was to fight hereditary predispositions responsible for the expression of disorderly emotions in childhood. Still, emotions pervaded the judicial management of crimes. Both “mental furore” and “fit of rage” were recognised by the Greek courts as factors that could contribute to a partial loss of liability, and therefore as mitigating circumstances in homicide cases. The public expression of emotions evoked in the courtrooms was reproduced in the press, as in the case of Jane Brown’s trial, with explicit references to the feelings of disgust and the emotional shock it provoked in “public opinion”. The law was steeped in emotions.

This special section brings together historians who have worked systematically in diverse topics, such as the history of crime and criminal justice, the history of pedagogical ideas, the history of emotions, the history of psychiatry, and the fields of auto/biographical research and media studies. In doing so, it benefits from the different layers of analysis and the methodological pluralism the authors put forward – press cuttings, clinical notes, scientific publications, trial documents, law and jurisprudence treatises, regulatory discourses and private letters – give tangible content to the concepts of “unruly passions” and “unnatural actions” and reveal how private and public actors acted to regulate them in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Greece.

Dimitra Vassiliadou
University of the Aegean

“MEDEA” IN THE GREEK COURTROOM: CONTESTING INSANITY
AMONG JURISTS, PSYCHIATRISTS AND THE PUBLIC

Efi Avdela

Abstract: This article focuses on the case of the young American woman who killed her three children in 1961 in Athens, attempted to commit suicide and was widely referred to as the “Medea of Kalamaki”. Its goal is to discuss the difficulties that psychiatrists faced in Greek courts to establish themselves as experts on matters pertaining to the mental condition of homicide offenders, and the constant calling into question of their expertise by the judiciary and the press alike. At the same time, the article argues that in the particular circumstances of 1960s Greece, press crime narratives brought forward a third factor involved in the controversy between the judiciary and the psychiatrists, namely “public opinion”, testifying to an “enlarged publicity”. Jane Brown’s two trials attest to the prevalence in both the judiciary and the press of the “Medea narrative” that refuted psychiatric diagnoses of diminished or even a total lack of liability for her acts.

Since the nineteenth century, the penal systems of most Western countries have made special provisions for perpetrators of homicides suffering from mental illness or those considered “insane”. Liability for one’s acts constituted the cornerstone of modern penal systems. When it was lacking, treatment was stipulated as preferable to punishment. However, as American forensic psychologist Charles Patrick Ewing attests, the insanity defence has long been considered “the most controversial doctrine in criminal law”.¹

At issue were two crucial aspects: who determined insanity and whether it was necessarily a total condition, or could also be partial or temporary. Though the roots of the insanity defence lie in the late nineteenth century, it was at the beginning of the twentieth century that fierce debates between jurists and psychiatrists raged over questions relating to whether and to what extent mental

* A first version of this article was presented at the workshop “Pathological Emotions, Disordered Passions (Nineteenth–Twentieth Centuries)”. Many thanks to Dimitra Vassiliadou for including my contribution in this special section. I am also grateful to professors Giorgos Alevizopoulos and Dimitris Ploumpidis for answering my questions and Kostis Gotsinas, Dimitra Lampropoulou, Akis Papataxiarchis, and the anonymous reviewers for their suggestions in earlier drafts.

¹ Charles Patrick Ewing, *Insanity, Murder, Madness, and the Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), xvii.

disorder precluded liability and who was qualified to make this assessment. According to French historian Marc Renneville, in France total insanity – “criminal folly”, as he calls it – dominated in the nineteenth century, while partial insanity – “the folly of crime” – was only instituted at the end of the twentieth. The acceptance of partial insanity by the courts as a mitigated circumstance involving diminished penal liability, and hence a lesser penalty, testified to the growing influence of psychiatrists, who maintained that mental alienation presented degrees and temporalities.² However, there were clear differences in the way “insanity” was understood by the judiciary and by psychiatric circles. Consequently, the twentieth century was marked by recurrent controversies between psychiatrists and jurists on this issue, characterised as “manifestations of rivalries between professional competences”.³

The Greek penal law, which became a feature of the legal system in the 1830s, stipulated degrees of mental disorder and, therefore, levels of liability. No psychiatric expertise was required until the new Penal Code of 1950. Henceforth the court retained its competence to judge the extent and quality of mental disorder, but psychiatric expertise was also required in some cases. This made heated confrontations between the judiciary and psychiatrists more commonplace within the courtroom. The crux of this debate, which reached its peak in the 1960s, revolved around the legal status of psychiatric expertise. Was psychiatric expertise legally binding? Could the court choose to either ignore or omit psychiatrists’ input? The controversy was closely related to the role of the jury, purportedly prone to clemency in cases of insanity and already under constant attack from the judiciary.

The dispute between judges and psychiatrists was regularly reproduced in the press, with journalists often taking the side of the judiciary. Journalists repeatedly castigated the supposed influence of psychiatric expertise on juries and what they perceived as their often lenient verdicts in similar cases. This was not a Greek

² Marc Renneville, *Crime et folie: Deux siècles d'enquêtes médicales et judiciaires* (Paris: Fayard, 2003). According to the author, “diminished liability” was instituted in the French penal code only in 1991 (430–31). For the case of Britain, the idea that those who “came under a temporary excitement of their senses ... should perhaps be afforded a partial defence ... did not fully come to partial fruition until the enactment of the Homicide Act 1957”. Samantha Pegg, “‘Madness is a Woman’: Constance Kent and Victorian Constructions of Female Insanity,” *Liverpool Law Review* 30 (2009): 208.

³ Renneville, *Crime et folie*, 11. See also Ewing, *Insanity, Murder, Madness, and the Law*, xi; Philip Bean, *Madness and Crime* (Cullompton: Willan, 2008), 128–29; Pegg, “‘Madness is a Woman,’” 208; Nicola Goc, *Women, Infanticide and the Press, 1822–1922: News Narratives in England and Australia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 10.

particularity. Many researchers have argued that the differences between legal and medical notions of mental disorder in homicide cases complicated the role of the jury. Juries relied on expert reports and various testimonies presented in court to reach their verdicts. However, according to British criminologist Samantha Pegg, “it was not the medical or the legal understanding of insanity but the social understanding of insanity that was exercised by the jury”.⁴ Most research reflects this view, with juries tending to reach the insanity verdict often, especially for crimes considered otherwise incomprehensible. In Greece, even before the 1960s, juries were regularly accused of delivering a judgement of “total confusion” too often.⁵

One of the most “incomprehensible” of crimes concern women who kill their children. Some research maintains that the courts consistently treat child killers differently depending on their sex and relationship to the child, and that in such cases juries are more likely to consider women as “mad” and men as “bad”.⁶ So does the press, which acts as a mediator between legal and medical “experts” and “public opinion”. Crime reports in the press represent a series of intertextual narratives, which address and codify a supposedly common system of values and norms, desires and emotions, and ideas of blame and liability.⁷ By mixing together facts and judgements, journalists construct narratives of the criminal case at hand, framing these as an objective reconstruction of the facts. At the same time, they often present themselves as recording the private views of the “common person” for the benefit of the wider public, creating a community that shares similar values and emotions with its readers.

The mother who kills her child is a particularly strong and contentious figure because she “challenges understandings of what it is to be a mother”.⁸ It is this crime which is considered “unnatural” par excellence. This is why it needs to be convincingly explained. To do so, journalists, as well as various judicial actors, draw on familiar cultural scripts to frame their approach and give the

⁴ Pegg, “Madness is a Woman,” 222.

⁵ For references to interwar cases, see Efi Avdela, “Δια λόγους τιμής”: Βία, συναισθήματα και αξίες στη μετεμφυλιακή Ελλάδα (Athens: Nefeli, 2002).

⁶ See Ania Wilczynski, *Child Homicide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); also Pegg, “Madness is a Woman,” 207, 215, 221; Michelle Oberman, “Mothers who Kill: Cross-Cultural Patterns in and Perspectives on Contemporary Maternal Filicide,” *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry* 26 (2003): 493.

⁷ Dominique Kalifa, *L’encre et le sang. Récits de crimes et société à la Belle Époque* (Paris: Fayard, 1995); Goc, *Women, Infanticide and the Press*, 1.

⁸ Bronwyn Naylor, “The ‘Bad Mother’ in Media and Legal Texts,” *Social Semiotics* 11, no. 2 (2001): 170.

case meaning. However, this approach often obscures differing interpretations from ever emerging. I will demonstrate these cultural framings with a 1961 case in Athens, where a young American woman sensationally killed her three children and was attributed the title of the “Medea of Kalamaki”. Jane Brown, wife of an American lieutenant who worked on the American base in Athens, strangled her three children and attempted to commit suicide. She was tried twice. The first time the jury adjudged that she executed the crime in a state of total confusion and acquitted her. The court decided that the verdict was misguided and Jane Brown was tried a second time. A new jury was subsequently formed, which reached the verdict that she was partially deprived of reason at the time of the crime. She was sentenced to 16 years’ imprisonment. Both trials were marked by fierce controversy between jurists and psychiatrists as to Jane Brown’s mental condition. The press followed the case closely, publishing lengthy daily reports, which took sides and provided divergent explanatory narratives. Alongside this, reports also highlighted the extraordinary levels of public interest and looked to intertwine this with popular views supposedly expressed during the hearings.⁹

What follows has two goals. The first, to discuss the difficulties faced by psychiatrists in their attempts to establish themselves as experts on matters pertaining to the mental condition of homicide offenders, and the judiciary’s and press’ constant disputing of their expertise. In the case in question, the main means through which psychiatric expertise was disputed was what I call the “Medea script”, the interpretation of the crime as an act of revenge, following the plot of Euripides’ homonymous tragedy. Against psychiatric diagnosis that argued Jane Brown was partially or even totally deprived of reason during her actions, she was accused by the judiciary and the press to have clearly planned and executed the crime in order to avenge her husband’s betrayal, subsequently suffering from some kind of mental disorder. Dominant in court as well as in the press, the “Medea script” allowed specific emphasis to be placed on particular elements of the Brown case that concurred with it – her foreignness, the relation that she herself drew between her act and her husband’s infidelity in the letter she addressed to him, and the murder of her own children. The horror that the

⁹ Jane Brown is a pseudonym, although her real name figures in the title of a number of publications and the press. In these cases, I have substituted the real name with the pseudonym in brackets. I had made references to this case in a different context in Efi Avdela, “Making Sense of ‘Hideous Crimes’: Homicide and the Cultural Reordering of Gendered Sociality in Post-Civil-War Greece,” in *Problems of Crime and Violence in Europe, 1780–2000: Essays in Criminal Justice*, ed. Efi Avdela, Shani D’Cruze and Judith Rowbotham (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2010), 281–310.

crime produced made the insanity verdict unacceptable. Hence the crucial role conferred on the jury and its choice between total and partial insanity.

Related to the first, the second goal of this article is to argue that in the particular social and political circumstances of 1960s Greece, press crime narratives regarding the mental condition of homicide perpetrators, represented here by Jane Brown’s case, highlighted how “public opinion” (*κοινή γνώμη*) – in the form of a “mass public sphere” – introduced a third factor that influenced the controversy between the judiciary and psychiatrists. In a period marked by rapid social, cultural, economic and political transformations, the press became a crucial component of what can be termed an “enlarged publicity”, indicating a much wider role than the Habermasian notion of “manipulative publicity” allows.¹⁰ Acting as both a mediator between the legal and the medical “experts” and as an advocate of “public opinion”, the press presented the Medea script as an obvious common ground, a cultural symbol, contrasting the foreign, unnatural and revengeful killing mother to the appalled, yet compassionate, Greek “public opinion”. In this context, the jury was given the contentious role of expressing and interpreting the latter’s will, rescuing Greek motherhood from defamation.

In the first part, I will present the provisions of the Greek penal law in relation to the mental state of offenders in homicide cases, and the part played by psychiatric expertise in them. In the second part, Jane Brown will be used as a case study to discuss and highlight the controversies that existed between legal and medical experts as to her motives and state of mind at the time of the crime, as well as to the debates around the role of the jury in settling the dispute. In the third part, I will focus on the press reports, highlighting the quasi-universal dominance of the Medea script. In doing this, I will observe the differences and similarities between the narratives that were constructed by a number of newspapers, analysing the links they forged between a particularly outraged and mobilised “public opinion” and the alien character of the crime in question. The analysis is based on seven Athenian newspapers, the records of the two trials, as well as legal texts and psychiatric dissertations.¹¹

Mental Disorder in the Greek Courtroom

Since its establishment in 1834, Greek penal law recognised the mental condition of an offender as a factor to be considered in the final verdict and sentencing.

¹⁰ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989).

¹¹ The Athenian dailies used here are the following: *Αθηναϊκή*, *Ακρόπολις*, *Απογευματινή*, *Βραδυνή*, *Έθνος*, *Ελευθερία* and *Τα Νέα*.

Depending on the intensity and the duration of the mental disorder at the moment of the crime, in other words, the degree of liability attributed to the offender, the penal law envisaged a reduced sentence or even acquittal. Drafted according to the Bavarian model, it differed from relevant stipulations of French and British penal law.¹² In his 1871 treatise *Interpretation of the Current Penal Law*, penologist Konstantinos N. Kostis listed four categories of offenders exempted from liability on the grounds of mental disorder: those who suffered from general or partial insanity, those who suffered from idiocy, those who lost the use of their reason because of age, and those who “executed the act in a condition of unjustified confusion of their senses or their mind, during which they could not be conscious of their act or of its punishable character”.¹³ When a homicide was committed in a state of instantaneous mental derangement it was termed manslaughter, distinguishing it from murder or premeditated homicide. Four conditions could cause momentary loss of control over of one’s acts: “mental furore” (*ψυχική παραφορά*), intoxication, a state of sleep and hallucinations.¹⁴ Kostis explained that “mental furore” was “the momentary overexcitement of one’s emotions, heightened to such degree as to remove one’s awareness of the attempted act”. Of the various degrees of “mental furore”, only the highest one excluded liability.¹⁵

According to the penal law, only the court was competent to judge the intensity and duration of the mental confusion that led to manslaughter, whether the act was perpetrated in a “mental furore” or other “psychic passion” (*ψυχικόν πάθος*), and to issue the appropriate verdict.¹⁶ However, the court could appeal to various experts in its search for the facts. Sources attest the presence of psychiatrists in homicide trials in the interwar period, but the frequency with which their expertise was solicited remains largely unknown.¹⁷ At any rate, in the

¹² See Dimitrios Antoniou, “La justice pénale en Grèce sous la monarchie absolue (1833–1843)” (PhD diss., École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris, 2016), 271; Konstantinos N. Kostis, *Ερμηνεία του εν Ελλάδι ισχύοντος Ποινικού Νόμου*, vol. 1 (Athens: Typ. Io. Angelopoulou, 1871), 275.

¹³ Kostis, *Ερμηνεία*, 274.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 285.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 285–86.

¹⁶ Konstantinos N. Kostis, *Ερμηνεία του εν Ελλάδι ισχύοντος Ποινικού Νόμου*, vol. 2 (Athens: Typ. Io. Angelopoulou, 1877), 288. Kostis discussed extensively why judges could not accept the opinion of “phrenologists” regarding the lack of liability in cases of crimes committed “under the influence of urges”. Kostis, *Ερμηνεία*, 1:278–79.

¹⁷ Forensic psychiatry was instituted as a section of the Laboratory of Pathological Anatomy and Histology, which was founded in 1888 and included forensic medicine and toxicology; it soon became autonomous. My thanks to Prof. Giorgos Alevizopoulos,

1940s forensic psychiatrists still invoked the terms of the Criminal Procedure Code regarding expert opinion as a means of proof in order to promote the necessity of their expertise in criminal cases.¹⁸

The new Penal Code of 1950 abolished the distinction between murder and manslaughter. In respect to mental disorder, the code postulated two possibilities: either non-liability in situations when the act was executed under “unwholesome derangement of mental function or derangement of reason, making it impossible for the offender to perceive the wrongful character of his or her deed and to act accordingly”; or reduced liability, when reason “was not totally lacking but was essentially diminished”.¹⁹ In the same spirit, “diminished liability” and, hence, a reduced sentence was envisaged for offenders who committed homicides “in a fit of rage” (*βρασμός ψυχικής ορμής*), a notion that replaced the previous “mental furore”. The decision to attribute a lack of or a diminished liability was taken by the court, namely the jury that answered the questions formulated by the judiciary. However, apparently rationalising existing practices,²⁰ psychiatric expertise was also stipulated, according to the case. In cases where the offender was judged to have had a complete lack of liability, but if it was considered that the offender constituted a threat to public safety, the law provided that he or she be committed to a psychiatric institution rather than a prison.²¹

The above shows that from an early stage, Greek penal law distinguished between varying degrees of mental disorder, between total and diminished mental confusion at the moment of the crime, as well as between general or

specialist in forensic psychiatry, for this information. Historian Thanos Varverakis has detected the first controversies between penal and medical experts in the 1880s around the issue of capital punishment. Thanos Varverakis, “Η ποινική δικαιοσύνη στην Ελλάδα στα τέλη του 19ου αιώνα: το παράδειγμα των θανατικών εκτελέσεων” (MA diss., University of Crete, 2020). In the interwar years the leading forensic psychiatrist was Konstantinos Ach. Mitaftsis, who appeared repeatedly in court. See Kostis Gotsinas, *Κοινωνικά δηλητήρια: Ιστορία των ναρκωτικών στην Ελλάδα (1875–1950)* (Athens: Crete University Press, 2021). My thanks to Dr Gotsinas for this information. See also Konstantinos Ach. Mitaftsis, “Ο ανθρωποκτόνος Δαμιανός Μαυρομμάτης ενώπιον του Κακουργιοδικείου Αθηνών από εγκληματοψυχοπαθολογικής απόψεως,” *Πρακτικά Ιατρικής Εταιρείας Αθηνών*, Session of 13 November 1937, 481–92.

¹⁸ Michael G. Stringaris, *Ψυχιατροδικαστική: Ψυχοβιολογική και ψυχοπαθολογική εγκληματολογία* (Athens: s.n., 1947), 388–404.

¹⁹ Articles 34 and 36, Law 1492, “Περί κυρώσεως του Ποινικού Κώδικος,” *Εφημερίς της Κυβερνήσεως*, A, no. 182, 17 August 1950 [henceforth PC 1950].

²⁰ My thanks to Professor Dimitris Ploumpidis for his suggestion on this point.

²¹ Konstantinos G. Gardikas, *Αι ειδικαί των εγκληματιών κατηγορίαι και η μεταχείρισις αυτών* (Athens: Nik. A. Sakkoulas, 1951), 18–20.

temporary insanity. These legal notions were crucial because they determined liability and subsequent sentencing. Total mental confusion could lead to a lack of liability and even an acquittal. Partial mental confusion could lead to diminished liability and a reduced sentence. Also, the legal notion of a “fit of rage”, which was not a medical term, was the main mitigating circumstance in verdicts of total or diminished mental confusion of the offender. It involved the admission of some degree of temporary mental disorder.²²

In the early 1960s a number of sensational homicide cases fuelled debates between jurists and psychiatrists regarding the mental condition of perpetrators of “hideous” homicides. Not only were the debates aired in the courts but they were also played out on the front pages of the national press. At issue was the question whether psychiatric expertise was binding and mandatory for the court’s verdict regarding the liability of a homicide offender. It was alleged that the expertise frequently had a misleading effect on the jury, making it both dubious and controversial. Psychiatrists were commonly called into court during cases where the defence claimed the offender was suffering from mental disorder, using this as a mitigating circumstance that needed to be certified by an impartial expert. However, in most homicide trials in which the perpetrator was acknowledged to have suffered from a momentary “fit of rage” that led to complete or temporary mental confusion, the court would issue a verdict without calling on psychiatric expertise. In these cases, the court would base its verdict on a variety of mitigating circumstances, including “improper behaviour on the part of the victim”, “rage or violent sorrow caused by an unjustified attack”, “the non-petty motives of the act”, for example in cases of “crimes of honour” and “crimes of passion”. With the limited intervention of medical experts and with much less developed and established fields of “psy” power-knowledge than in other European countries, the role of jurors in the Greek penal system took on greater importance. It was they who were called on to assess the mitigating circumstances put forward by the perpetrator.²³

In the 1950s the presence of psychiatrists in homicide trials remained unusual and was, for the most part, forcefully contested by both the judiciary and the press. The confrontation, which culminated in the early 1960s, became a matter of public concern through a number of sensational homicide trials in which the perpetrators were acquitted on grounds of temporary insanity. Part of the press blamed the

²² Article 299, PC 1950. Also, Georgios A. Vavaretos, *Ποινικός Νόμος: Κείμενον, εισηγητική έκθεση υπουργού Δικαιοσύνης, αιτιολογία συντακτικής επιτροπής, ερμηνεία, σχόλια, νομολογία υφ εκαστον αρθρον* (Athens: s.n., 1956).

²³ Efi Avdela, “Emotions on Trial: Judging Crimes of Honour in Post-Civil-War Greece,” *Crime, Histoire & Société/Crime, History & Societies* 10, no. 2 (2006): 39–40.

jury for this, and in several cases prosecutors asked judges to repeat the trial and declare these verdicts as misguided. The trials of criminals such as the “ogre of Amorgos”, who, in 1961, brutally slaughtered the daughter of his boss because she resisted his attempt to rape her; the Iranian army officer who in 1963 murdered his Greek fiancé, following their break up; the insane murderer who killed a woman he did not know on the street in 1964 because he hated all women, along with many other cases, covered the front pages of newspapers and dominated the headlines for many days.²⁴ Their trials attracted crowds of spectators and were set against a backdrop of contrasting sentimental public expressions of horror and sympathy towards the perpetrators. But cases such as these also generated heated debates as to the jurors’ verdict and to psychiatrists’ role in it, testifying to the “enlarged publicity” advocated by the press. The first case mentioned above culminated in two trials. In the first trial the defendant was found to have acted in a “fit of rage” and acquitted, while in the second he was sentenced to life imprisonment with no mitigating circumstances. The second offender was acquitted on the ground that he acted in a “fit of rage”, while the third was judged insane, acquitted and committed by the court to a public mental hospital.²⁵

It was in this context that the controversy around the “Brown case” took place. The case differed from all the others in many aspects: the perpetrator was a woman, foreign at that, and a mother who had killed her three children. Its identification with the Medea script was almost forc . Regardless of the reasons, there was no doubt that in order to have done such a terrible thing, she must have been somehow deranged. The question was whether this made her “insane”, and therefore nonliable, or whether she had to be punished, nonetheless.

A Crime Committed Due to Melancholia or Revenge?

As already mentioned, on 27 May 1961, Jane Brown, the 28-year-old wife of Lieutenant Jerry Brown, who was serving at the American base, strangled

²⁴ Avdela, “Making Sense of ‘Hideous Crimes’.”

²⁵ It is impossible to discuss these cases in more detail here. However, it should be noted that the verdict in each was closely related to the particular circumstances of the crime in question, the perpetrator’s personality and background history. In the case of the “Ogre of Amorgos”, in view the abhorring circumstances of the crime, the acquittal of the first trial created a public outrage, expressed in the press. In the case of the Iranian officer, his history of mental disorder due to a dramatic accident that caused his wife and son’s death, but also the fact that his victim was a “modern woman”, played a crucial role in the public’s sympathy. As for the third case, the offender’s history as an abandoned child and impotent man, and his appealing appearance provoked a wave of mainly female sympathy, which most of the press decried as “unhealthy”. See Avdela, “Making Sense of ‘Hideous Crimes’.”

her three children with a piece of silk cord while they slept at their home in Kalamaki, southern Athens. The children were aged just two, four and eight. Following their murder, she wrote a letter to her husband, castigating him for his adulterous and sinful behaviour. Next to the letter she left a Bible open on a chapter about adultery. Finally, she tried to kill herself with a knife. Her husband found her bleeding and his three lifeless children. The American authorities were called first, followed by the Greek ones. Jane Brown was admitted to hospital and was interrogated days later, having regained consciousness and recovered from her wounds. She justified her actions by claiming she was shocked to find photographic evidence of her husband's affair. Alone in Greece and after years of submitting to his violent behaviour, she maintained that she saw no other way out. Refusing to leave her beloved children behind to be raised by an adulteress, she decided they would have to die with her. Therefore, she denied that her intention was revenge. As the interrogations proceeded, it was found that the "third" woman was a Greek telephone operator at the American base. Jerry Brown had hired her to teach him Greek, which led to their affair.

The deeds, the settings and Jane Brown's statements made the case outrageous and incomprehensible. There were no prior indications that she suffered from insanity or that there were family problems. To their acquaintances and neighbours, the family seemed happy and Jane Brown was devoted to her children, whom she adored. She was, however, described by observers as a very private and religious person. Immediately psychiatric assistance was deemed necessary. The question, formulated by the press, was whether Jane Brown was "insane" or simply a vengeful betrayed woman, a "contemporary Medea", as they all called her. Everyone asked why she did not kill her husband instead and why she did not succeed in killing herself. She was examined by several psychiatrists at different moments, three Americans and four Greeks. Their diagnoses differed, but all concurred that she had at a certain time suffered from disturbance of her mental capacities.

Jane Brown's trial was set for September. The court was faced with a complex question: was the accused of a sound mind? If she was, she had executed her crime in cold blood and therefore should be subject to the rigours of the criminal law. If she was not of sound mind, her actions could be substantiated on account of a mental condition that led to her total loss of reason and then she could be acquitted. Consequently, psychiatric expertise became crucial.

Early on in the case, the authorities had called on two eminent psychiatrists to examine Jane Brown and compile an expert report. Konstantinos Konstantinidis, professor extraordinarius of psychiatry and neurology at the University of Athens, and Konstantinos Boukis, forensic psychiatrist and neurologist, met

with Jane Brown repeatedly before her trial. In their report they stated that a few days prior to the crime, when she realised her husband’s betrayal, she had entered a state of “psychogenic melancholia” (ψυχογενής μελαγχολία) or “melancholia by reaction” (μελαγχολική ψυχοπαθολογική αντίδρασις). She was in that state when she committed her crime, which was in fact an “enlarged suicide” (διευρυμένη αυτοκτονία), and had started to recover from it after her arrest. In their expert opinion, the main symptom of this condition was the idea and sincere intent to commit suicide. In her case, this idea was extended to include her beloved children, whom she was convinced would suffer were they left behind. Consequently, in their view, she committed the crime in a state of “diminished liability, because of the pathological condition of melancholia, caused by the derangement of her mental functions”.²⁶

The indictment opposed the psychiatric assessment of Jane Brown’s mental condition during the crime and insisted on her liability. According to the judges of the Court of Appeal, who composed the indictment, the crime was triggered by Jerry Brown’s behaviour in the previous six months and Jane Brown’s discovery of his girlfriend’s photo, and it was executed in cold blood as an act of revenge. In their view, its meticulous planning proved that she was in “a calm and normal condition” during the act. It was after she completed the crime and survived her attempted suicide – if it was genuine at all – that she realised the consequences of her actions and suffered from melancholia, from which she was gradually recovering. In other words, the indictment refuted the psychiatric opinion that Jane Brown’s loss of reason was the consequence of her mental condition *before* the crime, leading to a diminished liability, and maintained that, on the contrary, it was the consequence of her crime. Accordingly, she was charged with serious premeditated murder.²⁷

Not all psychiatrists agreed with the psychiatric expert report. Two additional opposing opinions were submitted during the two trials, one for the defence by Michael G. Stringaris, forensic psychiatrist and neurologist, and the other for

²⁶ In the Greek penal system, the expert reports were not included in criminal proceedings. We can only know their content from press reports. *Τα Νέα*, 4 August 1961; *Έθνος*, 2 September 1961, 1; *Βραδυνή*, 16 September 1961, 5; *Αθηναϊκή*, 23 September 1961. See also the testimonies of the two experts in General State Archives (GAK), Court Archives, Athens Mixed Jury and Judge Court, Athens Assessors’ Records and Judgements, nos 12–13, 23–24 September 1961 (henceforth: GAK Athens Assessors, I) and nos 30–36, 16–19 November 1961 (henceforth: GAK Athens Assessors, II). The psychiatric terminology of the sources is used here. However, it should be noted that psychiatric terminology is fluid and changes in relation to developments in the discipline.

²⁷ *Ακρόπολις*, 23 September 1961, 7, published long excerpts of the indictment. Also, *Τα Νέα*, 4 August 1961, and *Αθηναϊκή*, 23 September 1961.

the civil action by Charilaos Mikropoulos, psychiatrist. Both had examined the defendant at some point after the crime. The first advocated that Jane Brown suffered from “stupor”, “psychic anxiety and melancholia to the degree of stupor of the functions of thought and judgement” (*άγχος ψυχικόν και μελαγχολία μέχρις “αποκλεισμού” (Στούπορ) των λειτουργιών σκέψεως και κρίσεως*); consequently, he considered that she was in a state of total mental confusion during the crime and, therefore, totally lacking in liability.²⁸ The second was only summoned during the second trial. His diagnosis was that the defendant was not mentally retarded nor a psychopath, but had an immature personality with incomplete social adjustment. In his opinion, she killed her children in order to punish her husband and with the sincere intention of killing herself; she had her senses, she was conscious of her actions while committing the crime and was therefore liable.²⁹

These disagreements between psychiatrists weakened their position in court and made their terminology confusing to the judiciary, the jury and the public. This was further compounded when during the trial it was admitted that “the psychiatric discipline is still in its beginnings and a psychiatrist needs to observe a patient for a long time in order to be able to assess his [sic] psychological condition”.³⁰ On this ground the prosecutor repeatedly accused them of providing an ambiguous discourse. Following the first trial and Jane Brown’s acquittal, the confrontation between the judiciary and psychiatrists intensified, with the prosecution keen to avoid the second trial ending in a verdict of total mental confusion. It is, however, interesting to note the discrepancies between the indictment and the prosecution: for the first, Jane Brown was a cold-blooded killer, while the second accorded her in both trials the mitigating circumstance of a “fit of rage” and partial mental confusion.³¹ Be that as it may, three interrelated points stand out from the court records and the press reports: the resistance of the judiciary to accept psychiatric rationality as valid in a homicide case; the use of literature, myth and history as both counterarguments and evidence in court; and the widespread scepticism with which the institution of popular justice and the role of the jury were met by the judiciary and the press alike.

All of the surviving evidence – the press reports as well as psychiatric studies about the case – points to the fact that the judicial agents (prosecutor, judges,

²⁸ GAK, Athens Assessors, I, and GAK, Athens Assessors, II. Also, *Αθηναϊκή*, 23 September 1961.

²⁹ GAK, Athens Assessors, II and *Ελευθερία*, 19 November 1961, 11.

³⁰ Testimony of K. Boukis, in GAK, Athens Assessors, II.

³¹ *Αθηναϊκή*, 25 September 1961; *Έθνος*, 25 September 1961, 1, 8; *Ακρόπολις*, 19 November 1961, 8; *Έθνος*, 20 November 1961, 1, 6.

civil action lawyers), with the exception of the defence attorneys, distrusted the evidence put forward by the psychiatrists. In both trials, the prosecutor and the civil action lawyers did not hesitate to play one psychiatric opinion against the other. Additionally, they disagreed with the psychiatric diagnoses when they suggested the defendant was not liable for her actions – a view that was contrary to their own belief that the murders were an act of revenge.³² Melancholia was the consequence of the defendant’s crime, of her realising its enormity, they stated, and did not precede it. During the second trial, psychiatric rationality became the central point of contestation as the outcome hung in the balance. Faced with the risk of a renewed verdict of “total mental confusion”, distrust turned to overt rivalry and even hostility. The press conveyed this confrontation in vivid language: “Tough fight between prosecutor and psychiatrists” and “electric atmosphere in court”, “sharp altercations” and “violent battle of opinions”, “intense battle over the psychiatric report”, etc.³³

The prosecutor was most insistent on refuting the validity of psychiatric expertise, asserting that Jane Brown faked her suicide and only wanted to avenge her husband, even if the consequences were so terrible that she became temporarily deranged. The Medea script shaped his reasoning: a foreign mother had killed her children after finding out about her husband’s adulterous behaviour. This, and other literary or mythical accounts, offered him some sort of fictional explanation for her actions. Psychiatry, he suggested, could not settle this matter; it was a “discipline studying an immaterial world” that did not convince him. Drawing “lessons” from literature, history and mythology, he explained that in normal circumstances, a mother who killed her children was a common murderess. However, all circumstances were not the same. Women who perished with their children but were “imbued by noble values”, such as the Souliotisses, the women of Souli who chose to die with their children in order to save them and themselves from the Turks, differed radically from the “barbaric” bride of the ancient Greek king – Medea – who, like Jane Brown, was driven to her act by her terrible passion for revenge.³⁴ Likewise, Jane Brown’s attempted suicide was a faked one. In that she differed radically from Lucretia, who committed suicide out of shame, after her rape.³⁵ The prosecutor repeatedly stressed in both trials that like the tragic queen Medea, Jane Brown was not

³² *Βραδυνή*, 25 September 1961, 1, 7.

³³ *Βραδυνή*, 18 November 1961, 1; *Ακρόπολις*, 18 November 1961, 1; *Έθνος*, 18 November 1961, 1, respectively.

³⁴ *Έθνος*, 18 November 1961, 6.

³⁵ *Βραδυνή*, 18 November 1961, 7; *Έθνος*, 18 November 1961, 6; 18; *Ελευθερία*, 18 November 1961, 5; *Έθνος*, 20 November 1961, 6.

Greek but a foreigner. By killing her children, she had committed “one of the most horrible and rare crimes, similar to which can only be found in prehistoric times”. And as with Medea, the “child killer”, one could feel more pity for her than indignation. However, she had to be condemned so that “the world’s children be kept safe from slaughter”.³⁶ Hence his demand for a verdict that would find her guilty but would also recognise her partial mental confusion. He resumed his closing argument with Jason’s last words in Euripides’ *Medea*: “No Greek woman would have dared to do this.”³⁷ Not only was the use of literature, myth and history as counterarguments in the juridical debate never disputed in court, but – as it will be shown below – it abounded in the press as well. It was as if the Medea script, and especially her alterity – both as a non-Greek and as a momentarily deranged woman-mother – was the only means to make this horrible crime intelligible.³⁸ Otherwise it contradicted all accepted notions of womanhood and motherhood synonymous with the love and protection of a mother for her children. As the defence lawyer argued: “The mother who gives birth and raises her children with constant pain, care and risk, can she kill them if she is mentally sound? No, she cannot!”³⁹

In his discussion of the case, published some years later, Stringaris was the only one who vividly contested the “superficial comparisons and parallels with Medea, that is, between a myth and an unrepeatability”. He called them “unscientific” and insisted that they created a false and misleading sense of comprehension. He considered the “arbitrary interpretation of [Jane Brown’s] act by Media’s passion for revenge” to be most inadmissible and totally contrary to fact.⁴⁰

From a juridical point of view, the confrontation between the judiciary and psychiatrists concerned the central question: who had the ultimate responsibility to assess the offender’s mental condition? Had the judge the prerogative to disagree with the psychiatric diagnosis? Or would this amount to an “impermissible abuse of power”, as Stringaris claimed? In his words: “For the judge, psychiatric expertise has the binding importance of perfect evidence”. If the court continued to have doubts, it was possible to summon additional

³⁶ *Έθνος*, 25 September 1961, 8.

³⁷ *Ibid.*; *Αθηναϊκή*, 25 September 1961; *Έθνος*, 20 November 1961, 6.

³⁸ On alterity as an interpretive narrative for “hideous crimes”, see Avdela, “Making Sense of ‘Hideous Crimes’.”

³⁹ *Έθνος*, 25 September 1961, 8.

⁴⁰ Michael G. Stringaris, “Η περίπτωση [Brown] (παρρηρήσεις και συμπεράσματα από δύο δίκες),” *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς Σχολής Νομικών και Οικονομικών Επιστημών Αριστοτέλειου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης* 14 (1966): 482.

expert opinion.⁴¹ In fact, this is what happened, with the new psychiatric expert, Mikropoulos, taking a radically different position than his colleagues and stating that the defendant had full mental capacity during the act and, therefore, could be held liable for her acts.⁴²

Having been verbally attacked in court, the psychiatrists believed that the criticism they had received reflected an ignorance on the part of the judges: they were inadequately informed about scientific developments on issues concerning liability. This made psychiatric expertise even more necessary, as forensic psychiatrists insisted on their effort to promote their presence in penal cases. According to Stringaris, psychiatric expert reports were the quintessential scientific assessors in a criminal trial and, as such, were incontrovertible. In this specific case, in spite of the discrepancies among the various diagnoses in respect to Jane Brown’s mental condition, almost all psychiatrists who had examined her concurred that she was mentally disturbed during the crime and, therefore, was not fully conscious of its wrongful character. The testimony of the only psychiatrist who, summoned by the civil action as a supplementary expert during the second trial, declared that, in spite of her mental disturbance, Jane Brown was liable, was described by Stringaris – and the defence attorneys during the trial – as “a parody”.⁴³

The controversy did not solely concern the judiciary and the psychiatric experts. It concerned equally the jury, namely the popular judges. This was evident to everyone involved, the prosecutor, the attorneys for the defence and the civil action, the judges, but also the press. As representatives of the “common people”, the jurors were considered impressionable and their verdict unpredictable. Consequently, their existence was repeatedly questioned. After the Athenian jurors reached a majority verdict of total mental confusion in the first trial, the prosecutor asked the judges to invalidate it, arguing that “according to his information” the majority was narrow and that “three women jurors were adamantly in favour of acquittal and dragged with them two male jurors”.⁴⁴ Women jurors were still a relatively new feature in juries, having only

⁴¹ Stringaris, “Η περίπτωση [Brown],” 491.

⁴² GAK, Athens Assessors, II and *Ελευθερία*, 19 November 1961, 11.

⁴³ Stringaris, “Η περίπτωση [Brown],” 491. See also *Τα Νέα*, 5 June 1961, when, a few days after the crime, the daily sought the opinion of the old forensic psychiatrist and former director of the Judicial Psychiatry of Athens (Δικαστικό Ψυχιατρείο Αθηνών) Konstantinos Mitaftsis. Without examining Jane Brown, he declared that “the crime derived from the pathological mind of the child-killer; that Medea did not kill her children for revenge”, and that Jane Brown had no liability and should be admitted to a psychiatric facility.

⁴⁴ *Αθηναϊκή*, 25 September 1961.

been allowed to sit on them in 1953, and their presence was still a source of resentment for the judiciary. The outcome of the case did little to mitigate these feelings. Additionally, the president of the court stated that “in central Europe the institution of jurors has been abolished”.⁴⁵

Stringaris was also sceptical as to the capacity of the jurors to determine liability, since their more or less random composition made their verdict unpredictable. As he explained, in the first trial the majority of Athenian jurors were medical doctors and other scientists, who understood better and accepted psychiatric rationality, whereas in the second, held in a Piraeus court, they were less educated. More representative of “public opinion”, the latter were more influenced by the extraordinary social pressure to condemn Jane Brown for her crime. He defined “public opinion” as “the shocking impression that was produced in society by the horrible strangulation of three innocent beings, three small children, in their sleep, by their own mother ... Such were the intense emotions of the crowd that it demanded satisfaction with punishment as atonement.”⁴⁶ This “public opinion” exerted pressure on the jurors, but also on the judiciary and even on some psychiatrists through the irony and the ridicule that they repeatedly faced.

The Press as Advocate of “Public Opinion”

The Athenian press followed the Brown case extensively in all its stages – the crime, the first trial and the second trial. With lengthy front-page reports that continued inside, large photos with dramatic captions, bold headlines of various sizes, the presentations stressed the “enormous social content” that was attributed to the case and the “vivid emotion and the huge interest” that it was believed to have generated in “public opinion”.⁴⁷ In several newspapers the reports were bylined by known journalists, “special collaborators” of each daily. Their articles often contained very fictionalised melodramatic presentations, constructed narratives with supposedly detailed descriptions of places, acts and thoughts, as if the author – always a man – was himself a witness.⁴⁸ They were

⁴⁵ Ibid. It was a rare occurrence for a conservative judge in the early 1960s to admire whatsoever was happening in “central Europe”, meaning mostly communist countries. For the introduction of women jurors and the critique of the supposed leniency of juries, see Avdela, “*Δια λόγους τιμής*”, 166–75.

⁴⁶ Stringaris, “*Η περίπτωση [Brown]*”, 485, 487–88.

⁴⁷ *Τα Νέα*, 21 June 1961, and *Βραδυνή*, 16 November 1961, 1, respectively.

⁴⁸ Namely: Ilias Malatos (*Βραδυνή*), Nik. G. Stathatos (*Εθνος*), N.I. Marakis (*Τα Νέα*), (*Αθηναϊκή* and *Ακρόπολις*). N. Papadopoulos, E. Thomopoulos, and Ilias Malatos excelled in fictionalised narratives, but they were not alone.

accompanied by excerpts from the official texts – the psychiatric expert report, the indictment, etc. – and the court records. This was not a local particularity. According to Australian legal expert Bronwyn Naylor, press crime narratives

involve patching together and reworking of pre-existing texts – police reports, police press conferences, legal documents, various preliminary court appearances ... – and the trial itself: counsels’ packaging of the story in different ways, the witnesses’ evidence, the judge’s re-presentation of it ... Of course, the press also reports the trial as performance: how people looked, whether the accused wept or showed no emotion, who was there, how the jury responded.⁴⁹

Likewise in this case, the reports during the two trials gave detailed descriptions of the defendant’s appearance and attitude, of the behaviour of the various witnesses, of the public’s reactions, as if the trial, a public event by definition, was indeed a stage on which different actors performed their roles: the “heartless and apathetic” killing-mother, the “agonising” father, the “confusing” scientists, the “rational” prosecutor and the “passionate” audience.

With minor exceptions, all newspapers adopted the Medea script. Jane Brown was called alternatively the “Medea of Kalamaki”, “American Medea”, “Medea of the twentieth century”, “Medea in a modern variation”.⁵⁰ The crime was styled to be unprecedented in Greece. References to women child-killers in other countries, together with the constant mention of Jane Brown’s nationality, underlined the “foreign” character of her case. For some dailies she was “a raging mother who kills”, the “heartless, barbarian Medea”, “the worst criminal that humanity has given birth to”, “a perverted mother”. For others she was a miserable and crazy woman, “the American defendant, who in a fit of rage ceased to be the mother of her three children”.⁵¹ That the same journalists may in the past have more than once reported – often using the same rhetorical forms – on Greek cases of new-born infanticide, especially in the countryside, was temporarily set aside.⁵²

The question that arose over and over again was: “How is it possible for a woman, a mother who felt three times the breath of life stir in her entrails, to come to this point of degradation?”⁵³ The identification of Jane Brown with Medea provided an intelligible answer: they were both foreigners, imbued with mores

⁴⁹ Naylor, “The ‘Bad Mother’,” 157.

⁵⁰ Passim in all newspapers but *Ελευθερία*, with only one reference in *Έθνος*.

⁵¹ Respectively: *Βραδυνή*, 29 May 1961, 1; 30 May 1961, 7; *Αθηναϊκή*, 30 May 1961; *Έθνος*, 15 November 1961.

⁵² Avdela, “Making Sense of ‘Hideous Crimes’,” 312.

⁵³ *Βραδυνή*, 26 September 1961.

and ethics different from the “pure patriarchal Greek traditions”. Most journalists described Jane Brown as a fanatically religious individual, but framed as Medea some replaced those earlier observations. For them, she was now an over-sexualised being, inadmissible as this was for a married woman. She was even attributed a “manic thirst for carnal passion” that was “evident in her repeated births” (sic); her “dark erotism”, once unsatisfied and betrayed, led her to this terrible revenge.⁵⁴ At the same time, her evident apathy and frostiness in both trials, her expressionless and unemotional attitude – a sign of her pathology, according to the psychiatrists – were considered a common feature of “Northern peoples”, further underlying her foreignness. The apparent contradictions of the different journalistic accounts went unnoticed. It was repeatedly maintained that no Greek mother could remain so passive and apathetic after killing her three children. No Greek mother would have reacted to the infidelity and violent behaviour of her husband with such a horrible act. No Greek woman could tolerate such an abomination.⁵⁵ The crime was described to have particularly affected “Greek mothers”, who were said to have attended the trials in large numbers. There,

they were looking at [Jane] and their maternal instinct, deeply wounded by her unholy act, collided with the human emotion of clemency ... Yet as much as they wanted to behave humanely, as much as they tried to find a word, an excuse that would lighten her position, they could not.⁵⁶

The emphasis on the offender’s foreignness culminated after the unexpected verdict of the first trial. It even drove the journalist and playwright Alekos Lidorikis to pen a vignette, imploring the Greek authorities to hand Jane Brown over to American jurisdiction: “Ladies and gentlemen, [Jane Brown] does not belong to us! She has nothing to do with Greece nor with Greek justice ... She does not fit here ... Send the ‘Medea’ back to whence she came!”⁵⁷

This emphasis on Jane Brown’s alterity supported the press’ resistance to accepting the psychiatric opinion that her mental condition could have rendered her not altogether liable. To the question whether she was mad or evil, most journalists concurred that she was deranged in one way or other, but made clear from the outset that the court should not accept this as “a mitigating circumstance, as is often the case, for her terrible crime”.⁵⁸ This last point proved

⁵⁴ *Αθηναϊκή*, 30 May 1961.

⁵⁵ See especially *Βραδυνή* and *Αθηναϊκή* for such emotional formulations.

⁵⁶ *Βραδυνή*, 21 November 1961, 5.

⁵⁷ *Ακρόπολις*, 29 September 1961, 1, 7.

⁵⁸ *Βραδυνή*, 30 May 1961, 1.

decisive because immediately the press clarified, with more or less intensity, that “public opinion” would not accept a verdict of total insanity and acquittal. Jane Brown had to be somehow punished for her abominable act.

“Public opinion” was constantly evoked in the press narratives, with vivid descriptions that often conveyed a sense of corporeal presence: “crowds of people”, “congested courtroom”, people “in the corridors and outside the court”, expressing “strong emotion and immense interest”, “overflowing audience” defying “the law of overcrowding” were some of the expressions used to convey the great public interest in the case.⁵⁹ The “Greek mothers”, the numerous women who were said to comprise the majority of the court’s audience in both trials, the dense crowds described to have “flooded” the courtroom and gathered outside, the “people” avidly following the case, constituted in the press narratives a protagonist in its own right, next to those directly involved in the crime, along with the judicial agents and the psychiatric experts. Far from passive, this massive “public opinion” was highly expressive in public: it commented on the case and expressed its strong feelings about the defendant, the psychiatrists and the jurors. The performative aspects of the court trial accentuated the embodiment of “public opinion” in the press, and comments directed towards Jane Brown’s attitude and appearance reflected this. Her coldness and apathy, even indifference, was repeatedly compared with what was described as her prim sartorial choices, her jewellery, her manicured hands. The latter were said to have provoked indignation among women in the audience, purportedly heard to exclaim: “God, no! She takes care of her hands with which she strangled her own children!”⁶⁰ The first verdict of acquittal was said to have provoked “major surprise” and “indignation” in the audience and negative comments about the Athenian jurors, but also “a storm of criticism” in the general public. The second trial drew an even denser crowd, “silent and mute”, presented as relieved by the new verdict, which condemned Jane Brown but also recognised her “fit of rage” due to her husband’s adultery as a mitigating circumstance.⁶¹

“Public opinion” did not comprise only those attending the trials in person, but also the generic “people” who were moved and horrified by the case as it unfolded. Even when conceding that Jane Brown was somehow deranged, it was presented as demanding some sort of retribution for this “unnatural” crime. Stringaris acknowledged the pressure of “public opinion” as a crucial factor for

⁵⁹ See all of the above-mentioned reports.

⁶⁰ *Ακρόπολις*, 29 September 1961, 5.

⁶¹ Respectively: *Ακρόπολις*, 26 September 1961, 1; *Αθηνναϊκή*, 27 September 1961; 17 November 1961.

the invalidation of the first verdict and the condemnatory second one. In his words: “They generally blamed the psychiatrists for designating everyone as crazy, because no one could tolerate, in the midst of this generalised frenzy, the involvement of the cool scientific reflection.”⁶²

Of course, psychiatrists were not the only ones in the case with “scientific reflection”. There was also the judiciary, for the press an important barrier against the confusing psychiatrists and the easily misled jurors, ensuring that the “common sense of justice” would be respected. As *Βραδυνή*’s leading crime reporter put it after the outcome of the first trial:

Certainly, the mind of the jurors, these simple and mentally healthy individuals, with deeply rooted, pure patriarchal Greek traditions, could not possibly conceive and believe that a rational being could commit such a crime. And they gave their answer: “Yes, [Jane Brown] is guilty of homicide, but with the mitigating circumstance of total mental confusion. However, the dispassionate reasoning of the objective judges of Themis came to revoke their verdict. They thought differently. And with their decision to proclaim the verdict wrong, they gave them the answer: “Maybe you are wrong. Let us discuss the matter again...”⁶³

In other words, for part of the press “popular judges” could prove to be unworthy representatives of the “people”, misled, in spite of their sincere intentions, by confusing “experts”. Exerting pressure on the “rational” judiciary to bypass both and punish Jane Brown, journalists declared themselves exponents of “public opinion”, promoting it to the position of a decisive actor in the resolution of this social drama. “Public opinion” was presented as expressing the “common sense of justice” that the penal law and juries’ verdicts were supposed to satisfy.

Conclusion

The Brown case continued to provoke public interest long after Jane was condemned to 16 years’ imprisonment. In 1962 she was visited by Princess Marie Bonaparte, a French writer and psychoanalyst, closely connected with Sigmund Freud.⁶⁴ And in

⁶² Stringaris, “Η περίπτωση [Brown],” 488.

⁶³ *Βραδυνή*, 26 September 1961.

⁶⁴ *Τα Νέα*, 15 June 1962, 1, 7. Journalists Nikos Kakaounakis and Errikos Bartzinopoulos in their book, *Οι μεγάλες δίκες στην Ελλάδα* (Athens: s.n., 1971, 383), mention, without citing their sources, that Jane Brown was accorded a pardon two years after her conviction and left for the United States. They maintain that she later wrote a letter to her counsel, St.

1978, Jules Dassin used the case as the basis for his movie, *A Dream of Passion*, in which he identified her with Medea.⁶⁵

In the end, three different rationalities confronted each other in Jane Brown’s case – but also in other “unheard of” crimes tried in the same period: the penal, the psychiatric and the rationality of “public opinion” claimed by the press. The court, of course, is by definition a place of power, of preservation and reproduction of hegemonic values embedded in law. Whenever psychiatrists are summoned, it also becomes a site of conflict for hegemony between scientific rationalities. Yet, the narrations generated in court are varied and often opposing. Their interpretation is subject to negotiation at different levels: during the trial by the different participants, but also in its wider reception, through the audience and their reaction during the trial or in the press and its comments. The court narrations circulate in a variety of “publics” that perceive them in multiple ways, place them in different conceptual frameworks and, according to the historical context, appropriate or reject them. The different interpretations that are confronted during the trial are multiplied through their circulation and are related to other more general issues, such as – in our case – the administration of justice, the prerogatives of motherhood, the contribution of psychiatry, the content of Greek identity, the role of the jury, etc.⁶⁶

In the Brown case, there are few indications that the public interpretations varied in any significant way. The Medea script dominated. As a cultural symbol, it combined a positive Greekness from its ancient creator and a negative foreignness from the attributes of its homonymous heroine. It saved Greek motherhood, that is, proper motherhood as a core value of Greekness. So powerful was it that it made it impossible for psychiatrists to have their expertise accepted by either the judiciary and “public opinion”. The possibility that Jane Brown totally lacked her sense of reason during her crime generated disbelief and anxiety, with the psychiatrists’ discourse proving unintelligible. The sense of justice against the indefensible death of three small children at their mother’s hands prevailed over the acknowledgement of Jane Brown’s mental disease. Because the Brown case stirred up deeply rooted cultural norms and values, especially regarding motherhood and national identity, it became a public site. In other words, it acquired a wider meaning than its

Triandafyllou, saying that she was well and missed Greece and wished to visit it sometime in the future. I was unable to corroborate these claims.

⁶⁵ In the film, Melina Mercouri impersonates a famous Greek actress who, trying to play Medea convincingly, visits repeatedly in prison an American woman who had killed her three children out of revenge. Even today, a Google search of Jane Brown’s actual name in Greek produces some 582 results.

⁶⁶ Avdela, “Δια λόγους τιμής”, 99–100.

constituting facts. In the court, the confrontation between institutional discourses was, by definition, unequal and provoked loud reactions, with the “public” following the case – either present, as an audience, or absent, as readers – as a sort of spectator-witness of the drama. Through the Medea script, the press reports, but also the juridical approaches, imposed from the outset a rather univocal interpretation of Jane Brown’s crime to the watching public. In this framework, her silence and apathy were construed as indications of her foreignness and as proof of her cold-blooded satisfaction in her revenge; hence the possibility of acquittal on the grounds of insanity was refused. Her rejection as unnatural, alien and disturbingly feminine underlined her alterity from anything “Greek”. This way, the hegemonic values regarding femininity, motherhood and Greekness – central notions in Greek culture – were safeguarded. Only the mitigating circumstance of acting in a “fit of rage” that produced partial mental confusion was accepted because it did not preclude punishment, and it was a familiar variant in the Greek courts in cases of violent crimes of passion or honour, provoking vivid public emotions during this period.

These were times marked by what we called an “enlarged publicity”. In a period of increasing circulation and diversification of the daily press, rapid urban migration and massive mobilisation, when new political subjectivities were formed that provoked cultural anxieties, when the extreme poverty of the previous years seemed to have been left behind, and mass consumption and the cinema proposed new norms, “public opinion” was presented to be massively present and loquacious. In homicide cases involving violent emotions and murderous passions, such as Jane Brown’s and those referenced at the beginning of this article, the loud reactions in the courtroom; the letters written by admirers of the perpetrators; the expressions of support for the victims; and the abhorrence of the offenders all characterised the growing demand for a public discourse that captured the expectations and fears that had been generated by a rapidly changing world. Crowds packed the courtrooms in the 1960s, thirsty for fearmongering, revering those whose attitudes sounded familiar and intelligible, hating and abominating whatever was deemed “monstrous” and strange. Front-page headlines surrounded by big snapshots with lurid captions and sensational narrations placed private affairs in the public domain, enticing the public’s reactions. Demanding that Jane Brown be punished was in tune with the cheering that followed the acquittal of the Iranian officer, the paroxysm around the Athenian “psychopath murderer” or the “ogro-phobia” that swept the country.⁶⁷ However, it also differed from these cases in the fact

⁶⁷ Avdela, “Making Sense of ‘Hideous Crimes.’” See, in this volume, Despo Kritsotaki and Panagiotis Zestanakis, “‘Pervert, Sadist, Voyeur and Necrophile’: Pathological Sexual Desire in the Case of the Dragon of Sheikh Sou, 1959–1963.”

that she was a foreign woman, a mother who had killed her own children, in an outrageous affront to both motherhood and Greekness.

The “public opinion” that the press repeatedly evoked was elusive and hypothetical, a bodiless witness mediating between the crowds of attendees and a generally interested public, codifying values that were considered common. Gender relations and the place of women within the private and public setting were at the centre of anxieties generated by the surrounding cultural transformations. It was precisely as a process of mediation and codification that “public opinion” was framed as a “third” factor in the evolving relationship between judges and psychiatrists. In this process, issues of established consent were validated or questioned, politicising the growing and massive presence of “public opinion”. Although it is impossible at this point of the research to generalise, it becomes obvious that in order to understand what the constant invocation of “public opinion” meant during the 1960s, we need to place it in the context of the social and cultural transformations that were taking place, acknowledging that these were both deeply profound, but also ambiguous and fragile.

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“PERVERT, SADIST, VOYEUR AND NECROPHILE”: PATHOLOGICAL
SEXUAL DESIRE IN THE CASE OF THE “DRAGON OF SHEIKH SOU”,
1959–1963

Despo Kritsotaki and Panagiotis Zestanakis

Abstract: This article analyses the case of the “Dragon of Sheikh Sou”, the alleged perpetrator of four crimes committed in 1959 and 1963 in Thessaloniki, which terrified and fascinated the public, as a case study for the construction of “perverted” sexuality in Greece during this period. Combining journalistic and medical (forensic and psychiatric) accounts, it argues that sexual violence was turned into a central dimension of these crimes, as, within the sociocultural transformations of the time (mainly urbanisation and new gender roles), anxieties about sexuality intensified. The article concludes that in late-1950s and early-1960s Greece, “perverted” sexual desires remained more closely connected to vice than illness, and were understood as a male psychiatric pathology only to the degree that they could contribute to the normalisation of a supposedly “moderate” male sexual violence, but not to the extent that they required psychiatric treatment.

In early 1959, Thessaloniki, the second largest city in Greece, was shaken by three crimes.¹ In February, a boilermaker and his girlfriend were struck from behind with a rock in Sheikh Sou forest, on the city’s outskirts. Bleeding, the woman was sexually abused. The next morning, a boy playing in the area discovered the victims. As frost had mitigated the bleeding, the victims survived. A few days later, another crime took place in the remote area of Mikra, near the city’s airport.

* The title comes from “Ανώμαλος, σαδιστής, ηδονοβλεψίας και νεκρόφιλος είναι ο ‘Δράκος του Σέιχ-Σου’,” *Απογευματινή*, 16 December 1963. For a similar headline, see “Σαδισται και νεκρόφιλοι διέπραξαν το σκοτεινόν έγκλημα της Θεσσαλονίκης,” *Βραδυνή*, 9 March 1959. Panagiotis Zestanakis worked on this article during his time at the Institute for Media and Communication at Hamburg University, which was supported by the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, and Despo Kritsotaki, during her Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellowship at the National Institute of Health and Medical Research, Paris. Both authors would like to thank Alexandra Dimitrouka for her help in the General State Archives of Thessaloniki, Dimitra Vassiliadou for the opportunity to publish in this special issue, and the reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions.

¹ According to the general census, in 1961 Thessaloniki had 378,444 inhabitants and Athens 1,852,709. *Στατιστική Επετηρίς της Ελλάδος* (Athens: Ethniki Statistiki Ipiresia tis Ellados, 1970), 24.

The victims were also a couple: an army officer and his mistress. They were struck with rocks and the woman was raped. This time the victims died. Almost a month later, a woman (sometimes referred to as nurse, others as a midwife or seamstress) was murdered in the nurses' home of the municipal hospital in an inhabited area close to Sheikh Sou forest. While newspapers initially reported that she had been raped, it later emerged that this was not the case, possibly because another nurse had entered the home and disturbed the attacker. A period of widespread fear of future crimes followed.

These crimes were attributed to the same perpetrator, who became known as the "Dragon of Sheikh Sou". Some journalists, and occasionally the authorities, considered the possibility that there was more than one perpetrator.² However, the jargon of the time usually referred to "*the* Dragon", a term we adopt. Discussions on the "Dragon" gradually faded, until 1963, when a young man attacked a 12-year-old girl in an orphanage. Aristidis Pagratidis, a 22-year-old man from a working-class family, was arrested. He confessed to the three 1959 crimes and was sentenced to death in 1966. He was executed on 16 February 1968 by firing squad at Sheikh Sou forest, where the "Dragon" had committed the first crime nine years previously. His last words were that he was innocent and did not commit the three crimes in 1959.³ Indeed, the widespread suspicion that he was innocent has persisted to the present day. Journalists have investigated the case many times, especially after the 1974 political transition. The case has inspired novelists, filmmakers and playwrights.⁴ Historian Judith Walkowitz argues that Jack the Ripper (an unidentified serial killer who murdered at least five women in late-Victorian London) inspired many stories about his identity, while the meanings of the murders stimulated fantasies for a long time afterwards.⁵ In a sense, the "Dragon of Sheikh Sou" represents a similar

² Indicatively "Συνεκλόνησε την Θεσσαλονίκη το νέον αποτρόπαιον έγκλημα: Περισσότεροι του ενός δράσται," *Μακεδονία*, 8 March 1959.

³ "Ο Παγκρατίδης εξετελέσθη εις το Σείχ-Σου," *Μακεδονία*, 17 February 1968. This was one of the last executions in Greece. The final one took place in 1972 and the death penalty was abolished in 1975.

⁴ Kostas Papaioannou, *Ο δράκος του Σείχ Σου: Υπόθεση Παγκρατίδη* (Thessaloniki: MEDA, 1966), republished as *Ο "δράκος" του Σείχ Σου: Ένας αθώος στο απόσπασμα* (Athens: Pontiki, 1988); Kostas Tsarouchas, *Υπόθεση Παγκρατίδη: Αθώος ή ένοχος*; (Athens: Dodoni, 1989), republished as *Ο δράκος που διέφυγε... Υπόθεση Παγκρατίδη: Μια αστυνομική πλεκτάνη, μια δικαστική πλάνη, μια άδικη εκτέλεση* (Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 2006); *Υπόθεση Παγκρατίδη: Αθώος ή ένοχος*, dir. Dimitris Arvanitis (Athens: ERT, 1989); Thomas Korovinis, *Ο γύρος του θανάτου* (Athens: Agra, 2010); *Αρίστος*, dir. Yorgos Panagiotopoulos (Athens: Goo Theater Company, 2018–2019).

⁵ Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London: Virago, 1992), 3.

case, one that continues to attract interest due to the horrific nature of the crimes as well as the sense of wrongdoing and plotting. Many people never believed that Pagratidis was guilty, and stories about the real culprit's identity and motives have flourished in the intervening decades.⁶

In this article, we argue that sexual violence and “perversion” were turned into central dimensions of the crimes of the “Dragon of Sheikh Sou”. Therefore, the case of the latter can help us investigate criminal and “perverted” sexuality in late-1950s and early-1960s Greece, and claim that, although “perverted” sexuality was constructed as a male psychiatric problem, it remained closer to a vice than an illness. This corresponds to the assessment of anthropologist Kostas Yannakopoulos that homosexuality, which was also perceived as a sexual “perversion” during this period, was understood more as a vice than an illness, at least by the press and the judicial authorities in late-1950s Greece.⁷ The first part of the article focuses on representations of the “Dragon of Sheikh Sou” in the press, while the second examines the expert – forensic and psychiatric – understandings of criminal and “perverted” sexuality. The final part combines media and expert narratives, as the press – the main channel for the mediatisation of scientific discourse in this period – extensively exploited forensic and psychiatric understandings of “perverted” sexuality in building the persona of Pagratidis. We employ newspapers published in Thessaloniki and Athens, covering the political spectrum from the centre-left to the right: the main criteria for inclusion in our analysis were the length of the coverage of the crime and the extensive use of images, which helped the press construct their story. In tune with framing theory, we approach media discourses, along with the medical discourses they put forward, as interpretative schemes with which audiences interact: the mediatisation and pathologisation of criminal and “perverted” sexuality emerge as a reciprocal process conveying public assumptions and emotions about crime and sexuality.⁸

⁶ See Zoi Kyrogiorgiou, “Κλειστός φάκελος Παγκρατίδη: Ζει ακόμα ο πραγματικός δράκος του Σείχ-Σου;” *Status* (May 2004): 192–99. According to such a story, the real perpetrator originated from a rich Thessaloniki family, committed the first two crimes assisted by his chauffeur and left the city permanently after the 1959 crimes. See also Tsarouchas, *Υπόθεση Παγκρατίδη*, 482–86.

⁷ See Kostas Yannakopoulos, “Γνώση και εξουσία: Μυστικότητα, εννοιολογήσεις των ανδρικών ομοερωτικών σχέσεων και ένα (ομο)σεξουαλικό έγκλημα στη μεταπολεμική Αθήνα,” in *Ιστορίες για τη σεξουαλικότητα*, ed. Dimitra Vassiliadou and Glafki Gotsi (Athens: Themelio, 2020), 167–87.

⁸ Discussions on mediatisation have been often associated with the globalising media

Postwar Society and the Construction of “Perverted” Sexuality in the Press

Before the popularisation of television in the 1970s, newspapers and magazines, along with radio and cinema, formed what we now call the mediascape.⁹ Newspapers published lurid details of crimes, making extensive use of photographs with no consideration for personal data, to attract readers and transmit a tone of objectivity in the coverage. We do not perceive photography as an objective medium or, as photography studies scholars Robin Kelsey and Blake Stimson claim, as one entailing an “expressively rich (artistic) or ethically withheld (scientific) subjectivity”, but as part of the media discourses produced within a specific historical framework and as a medium servicing (to employ a later term) infotainment practices. The mediatisation of scientific discourses is also analysed within this assumption.¹⁰ Of course, we cannot approach visual documents as the then audiences interpreted them. However, combining the press with other sources, such as medical texts, we can explore the social and cultural parameters of the historical environment in which such information was produced and offered to readers, and propose potential interpretations of this material, simultaneously deconstructing media strategies. In Greece, as in many Western countries, popular journalism sought to inform and entertain

environment and the interweaving of media technologies in the formulation of communities. We employ the term to describe how media presented the crimes. See Herman Bausinger, “Media, Technology and Daily Life,” *Media, Culture and Society* 6, no. 4 (1984): 343–51. See also Nick Couldry and Andreas Hepp, “Conceptualizing Mediatization: Contexts, Traditions, Arguments,” *Communication Theory* 23, no. 3 (2013): 191–202. For framing theory, see Robert M. Entman, “Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm,” *Journal of Communication* 43, no. 4 (1993): 51–58; Stephan Reese, “The Framing Project: A Bridging Model for Media Research Revisited,” *Journal of Communication* 57, no. 1 (2007): 148–54.

⁹ Newspapers had more impact than what can be supposed by sales and their influence extended beyond literate audiences due to loud reading practices and images, at a time when limited literacy was still common, especially in rural areas and among the elderly population. According to the 1961 general census, 47.2% of the population had not finished elementary school (34.2% of men and 56.5% of women) and about one third of them (17.7%) were completely illiterate. For data on postwar illiteracy, see Anna Fragoudaki, “Η εκπαίδευση στη μεταπολεμική Ελλάδα,” Athens Social Atlas, <https://www.athenssocialatlas.gr>, December 2015.

¹⁰ Robin Kelsey and Blake Stimson, “Photography’s Double Index (a Short Story in Three Parts),” in *The Meaning of Photography*, ed. Robin Kelsey and Blake Stimson (Williamstown: Sterling and Francine Art Institute, 2008), xxi. This position reflects earlier works on the meaning of photography, arguing that the reception of photographs depends on the conditions in which they are read. See John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (London: Macmillan, 1988), 4.

audiences, creating suspense to increase sales.¹¹ This could be a significant motivation in the late 1950s and the early 1960s, a period when literacy was rising and newspaper sales were increasing.¹²

The “Dragon of Sheikh Sou” was ideal in this sense. His crimes appeared shockingly violent, especially within the context of postwar social change. Criminological research argues that the fear of crime intersects with the consequences of modernity and finds its social meaning among people’s sense of change and decay, optimism and foreboding in the neighbourhoods, towns, cities and wider political communities in which they live and move.¹³ In our case, fear was produced within transforming social conditions: the economy improved, living standards ameliorated and urbanisation progressed. The expanding cities encouraged anonymity and the emergence of new gender roles, with women gaining further public visibility.¹⁴ Women voted for the first

¹¹ Ray Surette, “Some Unpopular Thoughts about Popular Culture,” in *Popular Culture, Crime and Justice*, ed. Francie Y. Bailey and Donna C. Hale (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1997), xiv–xxiv (esp. xviii). Such practices have a long history going back at least to the early nineteenth century. Indicatively, in France the *Gazette des tribunaux* (launched in 1825 in Paris) systematically presented crimes, triggering emotions of insecurity among the public. Historian Louis Chevalier characterises such emotions as a “psychosis about crime” (psychose du crime). Louis Chevalier, *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses à Paris pendant la première moitié du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1984), 41. Such practices continued in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century: Dominique Califa, *L’encre et le sang: Récits de crimes et société à la Belle Époque* (Paris: Fayard, 1995). In the context of postwar Greece such attempts are shown in the novel by Yannis Maris, *Έγκλημα στα παρασκήνια* (Athens: Pechlivanidis, 1954), which was adapted into a homonymous film directed by Dinos Katsouridis (Damaskinos Michailidis and Techni AE, 1960).

¹² To provide some indicative quantitative data about sales in the examined period, *Απογευματινή* sold on average about 20,000 copies in the early 1950s and about 50,000 in the mid-1960s; *Καθημερινή* sold on average about 40,000 copies (about 30,000 in Athens) in the late 1950s. Dimitris Psychogios, *Τα έντυπα μέσα επικοινωνίας: Από τον πηλό στο δίκτυο* (Athens: Kastaniotis, 2004), 458 and 488, respectively.

¹³ Tim Hope and Richard Sparks, “Introduction: Risk, Insecurity and the Politics of Law and Order,” in *Crime, Risk and Insecurity*, ed. Tim Hope and Richard Sparks (London: Routledge, 2000), 5.

¹⁴ For postwar urbanisation, see Lila Leontidou, *The Mediterranean City in Transition: Social Change and Urban Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 127–71. According to historian Thomas Gallant, who has examined interconnections between the growth of Athens and the rise of crime in the late nineteenth century, urbanisation entailed mobility, especially the relocation of poor young single men (a group prone to violence) from rural areas to the capital. Thomas Gallant, “Murder in a Mediterranean City: Homicide Trends in Athens, 1850–1936,” *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 23, no. 2 (1997): 22–23.

time in the 1952 national elections, claimed more active roles in the economy and enrolled in universities in greater numbers.¹⁵ Such developments signified the growing mobility of women, especially in cities, a mobility presented as increasingly exposing women to danger, including sexual crime. Although cities were often portrayed in the media as more civilised and more easily surveyed than the countryside, metonymising expectations for a modern and less violent everyday life, the rising urban population, along with the anonymity of city life, was also viewed as facilitating criminal activity.¹⁶ After the crime in Mikra, an Athenian reporter argued: “Thessaloniki, like the capital [Athens], has thousands of inhabitants. It not unlikely that it hosts two or three such deviants.”¹⁷

Urbanisation was also connected with the transformation of cultural codes, which affected criminal activity as well. An example was the decline of “honour crimes”, which since the late 1950s were increasingly seen as pertaining to a rural framework of values, made to an extent obsolete by a new cultural context where sexuality was less rigidly regulated. Violent crimes against strangers appeared as a new kind of city-based criminality, which undermined the narrative of development and progress of the post-civil war state. Hence, this criminality was less easily understood, and was often approached as resulting from the criminal’s vicious or ill personality. Part of this new trend was the emergence of “dragons”, criminals who randomly attacked couples or women unknown to them, and were represented as “perverts” and mentally disturbed.¹⁸ Indeed, the

The relationship between urbanisation and higher crime rates in France and Germany has been explored by Howard Zehr, *Crime and the Development of Modern Society: Patterns of Criminality in Nineteenth Century Germany and France* (London: Croom Helm, 1976). For Zehr, urbanisation, industrialisation and higher criminality were interrelated, while the growth of crimes against property was greater than crimes against life.

¹⁵ Laura Maratou-Alipranti, “Female Roles,” in *Recent Social Trends in Greece, 1960–2000*, ed. Dimitris Charalambis, Laura Maratou-Alipranti and Andromachi Hadjiyanni (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2004), 119.

¹⁶ For the supposed rural population’s proneness to crime, see Efi Avdela, *Διά λόγους τιμής: Βία, συναισθήματα και αξίες στη μετεμφυλιακή Ελλάδα* (Athens: Nefeli, 2002), 194–97. On living conditions in the cities, see Efi Avdela, “*Νέοι εν κινδύνω*”: *Επιτήρηση, αναμόρφωση και δικαιοσύνη ανηλίκων μετά τον πόλεμο* (Athens: Polis, 2013), 278–303.

¹⁷ Ilias Malatos, “Ανώμαλος τύπος ο δράκος της Θεσσαλονίκης που εσκότωσε τον μαύρο αετό και τη φίλη του,” *Βραδυνή*, 10 March 1959.

¹⁸ Avdela, *Δια λόγους τιμής*, 32–33, 140–41, 189, 193 and 242; Efi Avdela, “Making Sense of ‘Hideous Crimes’: Homicide and the Cultural Reordering of Gendered Sociality in Post-Civil-War Greece,” in *Problems of Crime and Violence in Europe, 1780–2000: Essays in Criminal Justice*, ed. Efi Avdela, Shani D’Cruze and Judith Rowbotham (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2010), 281–310.

“Dragon of Sheikh Sou” was not the first to make the headlines. Crime reporters compared him to earlier notorious “dragons”, such as the one of Vouliagmeni (a seaside resort about 20 kilometres south of Athens), who had shot a couple in 1953, killing the man and injuring the woman. Identifying the city centre with safety and painting the suburbs as uncontrollable (an important distinction, as we will see), reporters argued that the victims’ decision to flirt in remote areas facilitated the perpetrators.¹⁹

Beyond such well-discussed cases, readers were occasionally informed about “perverts” and “dragons” who threatened couples usually in the suburbs.²⁰ From the beginning, the Sheikh Sou crime was attributed to a “dragon” who terrified couples in the area.²¹ According to one newspaper: “lately, in many isolated places ... attacks by perverts on love couples have been noted” but were not always reported to the police.²² Such narratives capitalised on the stereotype of linking remote areas with an increased possibility of sexual assault.²³ More importantly, they expressed the rising concerns about juvenile and extramarital sexuality, which were becoming more common and visible, as Greece reluctantly started to participate in the postwar sexual revolution.²⁴ However, the persisting

¹⁹ Malatos, “Ανώμαλος τύπος ο δράκος της Θεσσαλονίκης,” *The Dragon of Vouliagmeni* was sentenced to death in 1954.

²⁰ “Η αστυνομία της Θεσσαλονίκης πιστεύει ότι θα συλλάβη τον κακούργον,” *Καθημερινή*, 5 April 1959.

²¹ “Οι άγνωστοι εις το Σέιχ-Σου εθρυμμάτισαν τα κεφάλια ενός ζεύγους ερωτευμένων,” *Μακεδονία*, 20 February 1959. Some reports ascribed to the “dragon” two (less violent and without sexual assault) attacks with rocks against couples in Sheikh Sou in 1957 and 1958. See Lambros G. Koromilas, “Τα πέντε μυστηριώδη εγκλήματα που συνεκλόνησαν τη Θεσσαλονίκη,” *Μακεδονία*, 18 December 1963.

²² Malatos, “Ανώμαλος τύπος”; “Ανώμαλος, σαδιστής”; “Ο συλληφθείς δράκος του Σέιχ-Σου αναπαρέστησε πλήρως όλα τα εγκλήματα του,” *Απογευματινή*, 16 December 1963.

²³ This stereotype is not statistically corroborated, as such attacks often take place in central areas. Jaqueline Burgess, “But Is It Worth Taking the Risk? How Women Negotiate Access to Urban Woodland: A Case Study,” in *New Frontiers of Space, Bodies and Gender*, ed. Rosa Ainley (London: Routledge, 1998), 118. According to historian Joanna Bourke, the validity of this assumption varies in different national contexts. In the United States, sexual crime is seen as usually happening in cities, while in Australia in isolated places; Joanna Bourke, *Rape: A History from 1860 to the Present* (London: Virago, 2007), 130–31. In Greece, representations of sexual crimes in the press and beyond aligned generally with the Australian perception. Especially, in cinema, scenes of rape in urban woodland (parks, etc.) flourished after the political transition of 1974. See Panagiotis Zestanakis, “Historicizing Early 1980s Greek ‘Denunciation Movies,’” *Cultural History* 7, no. 1 (2018): 58.

²⁴ Claire Langhamer, *The English in Love: The Intimate Story of an Emotional Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 112.

connection of sexuality with marriage and the structure of the Greek family, where young and even middle-aged unmarried but also divorced people often lived with their parents, did not facilitate extramarital sexual intercourse at home, leading lovers to public, albeit secluded, spaces.²⁵ Infrastructures facilitating connections between the city centre and surrounding areas (for example, beaches), but also growing automobility, as in the case of the couple of the second crime (in Mikra), gave people the opportunity to reach remote “romantic” areas to make out.²⁶ This, however, led to worries about the control of these areas, especially after dark. The struggle of the authorities to supervise remote areas is eloquently visualised in a large photo published in *Μακεδονία* after the crime in Mikra depicting policemen and experts meticulously researching the crime scene (fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Policemen and experts at the scene of the crime in Mikra. *Μακεδονία*, 6 March 1959.

The cases of “dragon-type” criminality illustrate that the effort to control remote areas was linked to the effort to control sexuality. The spatial and sexual dimensions were central to and interconnected in how the media dealt with the “Dragon of Sheikh Sou” and attempted to attract readers. Journalists reported that the crimes had taken place in remote and unsupervised areas, idyllic and

²⁵ Indicatively, the female victim of the first crime, 33 years old and divorced, was living with her mother. “Σκοτεινόν παρέμεινε και χθες το διπλούν έγκλημα του Σείχ-Σου,” *Μακεδονία*, 21 February 1959. For the association between marriage and sexuality in Greece during the twentieth century, see Efi Avdela, Kostis Gotsinas, Despo Kritsotaki and Dimitra Vassiliadou, “From Virginity to Orgasm: Marriage and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Greece,” *Journal of Family History* 45, no. 3 (2020): 315–33.

²⁶ For the development of such infrastructures, see Sofia Alexia Papazafeiropoulou, “Το εθνικό οδικό δίκτυο κατά την περίοδο 1930–1980: Η κουλτούρα του αυτοκινήτου στην Ελλάδα” (PhD diss., National Technical University of Athens, 2015), 435–50.

popular among unmarried couples. Such areas can be understood as “islands of privacy” within public spaces, which, at the same time, permitted dragons to follow and attack couples, acting on their violent and “perverted” sexual desires.²⁷

From the outset, the press presented sexual “perversion” as the main motive for the crimes of the “Dragon of Sheikh Sou”, even though other rationales, such as theft or blackmail, were occasionally recognised.²⁸ The perpetrator(s) were described as “perverts”, mentally “abnormal”, “sadists” and “necrophiles” – as they assaulted an unconscious and likely dead women: “They tore the dress and the undergarment with unprecedented ferocity, removed the brassier and underpants and abused her while she was dying.”²⁹ It was also reported that “imprints of blooded lips were found on the woman’s body”, and the perpetrators were described as “vampires”, who drank blood from her wounds. Thus, it was concluded that the crime was clearly sexual.³⁰ The second and third crimes were attributed to the same criminal, because rocks were used and a dying woman was assaulted.³¹ Although in the third crime sexual assault was finally disproved, the effect of the press narratives that mapped the “Dragon’s” activity on the female victims’ bodies remained: they painted a lurid picture of uninhibited and morbid sexual violence referred to as abuse (*ασέλγεια*) or rape, symbolised with the ripping off of female clothing and underwear. In 1963, after the crime in the orphanage, the press sustained the “Dragon’s” portrayal as a wild beast, with wicked, dirty instincts and abyssal passions.³² The press narratives focused on the crime’s sexual aspect: the “human beast” tore the clothes off the “innocent little

²⁷ “Ανώμαλος, σαδιστής.” The term “islands of privacy” comes from sociologist Eva Illouz, *Consuming the Romantic Utopia: Love and the Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 56.

²⁸ “Ένας άνδρας και μια γυναίκα ανευρέθησαν βαρύτατα τραυματισμένοι εις το Σείχ-Σου,” *Φως Θεσσαλονίκης*, 20 February 1959; “Οι άγνωστοι εις το Σείχ-Σου.”

²⁹ “Έργον ψυχικός [sic] ανώμαλων είναι η δολοφονία του λοχαγού και της νέας,” *Φως Θεσσαλονίκης*, 8 March 1959; Ilias Malatos and St. Christodoulou, “Ένώ ο μαύρος αετός έπεφτε με πολτοποιημένο το κεφάλι οι κακούργοι έπιναν το αίμα της κρεουργημένης φίλης,” *Βραδυνή*, 9 March 1959.

³⁰ Malatos and Christodoulou, “Ένώ ο μαύρος αετός.” As already noted, some journalists suggested that the perpetrators were two or more. The permutation that the perpetrator was only one person actually prevailed after the third crime.

³¹ “Ο δράκος είχε εμφανισθή από της εσπέρας της Πέμπτης περίξ του δημοτικού νοσοκομείου,” *Φως Θεσσαλονίκης*, 5 April 1959; “Η αστυνομία Θεσσαλονίκης πιστεύει ότι θα συλλάβη τον κακούργον”; “Νέο διπλούν φρικιαστικόν έγκλημα εις Θεσσαλονίκην,” *Καθημερινή*, 8 March 1959.

³² “Δράκος εισήλθε την νύχτα.”

girl” and “rushed in a deranged way”, kissing and biting her.³³ As had happened in other national contexts in earlier times, such as late Victorian Britain and fin-de-siècle France, the press willingly published details of sexual crimes.³⁴ In the French and British context, such representations went against a climate of silence around sex. In postwar Greece the situation was more complicated: discussions about sex were still absent in the family and education, but bold sexual representations were not uncommon in the cultural industry (in cinema, for example), especially from the early 1960s.



Fig. 2. The wall of the municipal hospital, where the third crime took place. *Μακεδονία*, 5 April 1959.

³³ G. Vaxevanidis, “Νοσοκόμος ανεγνώρισε εις το πρόσωπον του δράστου της επιθέσεως εναντίον της νεαρής τροφίμου του ορφανοτροφείου της Θεσσαλονίκης τον ασύλληπτον ‘δράκον του Σείχ-Σου’,” and Vaxevanidis, “Σεξουαλικά ανώμαλος τύπος και τοξικομανής είναι ο συλληφθής δια την κακοποίησιν 12έτιδος νεανίδος,” *Απογευματινή*, 9 December 1963; “Ο ‘δράκος’ του ορφανοτροφείου της Θεσσαλονίκης είναι ο ίδιος με το φοβερό δράκο του Σείχ-Σου,” *Βραδυνή*, 9 December 1963.

³⁴ Elizabeth Pleck, *Domestic Tyranny: The Making of American Social Policy against Family Violence from Colonial Times to the Present* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 95, and Ann-Louise Shapiro, *Breaking the Codes: Female Criminality in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 11.

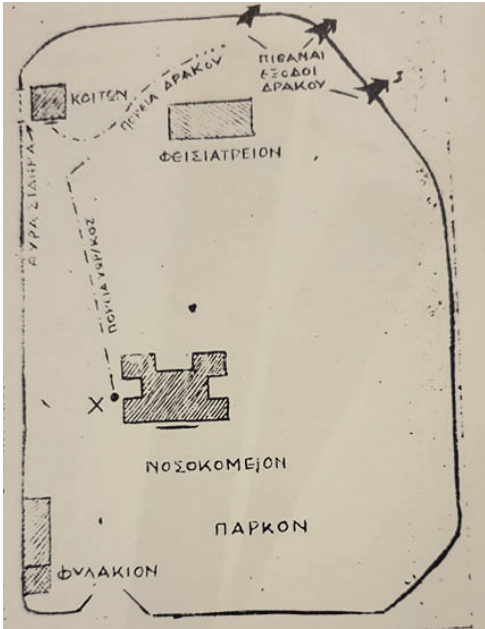


Fig. 3. Plan of the area around the municipal hospital, showing the itinerary of the “Dragon”. *Μακεδονία*, 4 April 1959.

A kind of panic, described in the press as “dragonphobia”, followed the third crime. Insecurity was triggered by hoaxers purporting that they had seen the “Dragon”, but mostly by the crime’s features: having taken place within the city, the third crime undermined the distinction between the dangerous outskirts and the safe centre, alarming the residents of both zones. *Μακεδονία* visualised the criminal’s ability to escape after having committed a crime inside a busy building in a residential area, publishing photos of the wall (the barrier between the public and the private space that the criminal easily outflanked) and a plan of the area of the hospital that

illustrated the “Dragon’s” itinerary inside the building in detail (see figures 2 and 3).³⁵ Such publications warned readers that they could not feel safe anywhere, not even in public buildings or in their houses. After this crime, citizens, particularly women, in Thessaloniki and other cities, including central areas of Athens, such as Agios Artemios, reported that they had encountered the “Dragon” or had been attacked by him.³⁶ On the outskirts of Thessaloniki, residents organised group patrols to protect themselves.³⁷ The authorities and the press usually disregarded these incidents, seeing them as signs of collective hysteria or figments of women’s imagination. Some articles even connected attacks by “dragons” with more trivial forms of delinquency preoccupying the public, such as teddyboyism,³⁸ or regarded

³⁵ “Ο δράκος ενεφανίσθη την νύκτα όπισθεν του δημοτικού νοσοκομείου βιάσας και φονεύσας μιαν αδελφή και επιχειρήσας να στραγγαλίση άλλην,” *Μακεδονία*, 4 April 1959; “Ο ασύλληπτος δράκος σκορπίζει πάλιν τρόμον,” *Μακεδονία*, 5 April 1959.

³⁶ “Η ασυδοσία των φημών φέρει τον δράκον εις τας Αθήνας, Κόρινθον και Μυτιλήνην,” *Μακεδονία*, 11 April 1959.

³⁷ “Ερημιά και φόβος εις τας ακραίας συνοικίας,” *Μακεδονία*, 5 April 1959.

³⁸ Ilias Malatos, “Αι επιθέσεις κατά γυναικών είναι νέα μορφή του τεντιμποϊσμού,”

the episodes as “usual” cases of harassment of women by acquaintances, and not by “dragons”.³⁹ This shows that the sexual assault of an adult woman by a man she knew was not necessarily recognised as a criminal act.⁴⁰ Strangers who followed women; who harassed them by assertively expressing their refuted love sentiments; who even attacked them, were not necessarily perceived by the press as “dragons”.⁴¹ They could be cheeky and get carried away “unconsciously”⁴² by their “sexual drive”,⁴³ but they were not necessarily “perverted”, as “dragons” were represented. In addition, the victims were not always innocent; some were of a “lively character”, usually meaning that they went out late at night or had a boyfriend.⁴⁴

Through such narratives, the press drew a line between “normal” and “abnormal” sexuality. Men were “normally” aggressive, driven by their sexual instincts, and women were inclined to resist them and usually managed to do so. Men crossed the line and reached the “abnormal” exactly at the point at which women could no longer resist their aggression. In other words, “normal” women could not resist “dragons”, as the latter transcended the “normally” violent male sexual desire and were transformed to “monsters”. This representation of the “dragon” set forth an understanding of sexually “perverted” men as “monsters”, calling to mind the primary identification of the rapist as a “monster” in other national contexts, such as in England.⁴⁵

Nevertheless, the boundary between “normal” and “pathological” sexual desire was hard to discern. It is telling that the press was sympathetic towards the unmarried couples who frequented isolated spots in the city outskirts, but

Βραδυνή, 17 April 1959; Alekos Sakellarios, “Το δρακάκι,” *Απογευματινή*, 11 April 1959.

³⁹ Ilias Malatos, “Φανταστικά ή σκηνοθετημένα αι επιθέσεις εναντίον γυναικών;” *Βραδυνή*, 20 April 1959.

⁴⁰ This resonates with research on the United States in the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries: See Stephen Robertson, “Seduction, Sexual Violence, and Marriage in New York City, 1886–1955,” *Law and History Review* 24, no. 2 (2006): 331–73.

⁴¹ “Δύο επιθέσεις αγνώστων το Σάββατον κατά γυναικών,” *Καθημερινή*, 14 April 1959.

⁴² “Ο δράκος της Θεσσαλονίκης... εις το Άργος,” *Βραδυνή*, 20 April 1959.

⁴³ Ioannis Voutsinas, “Επίθεσις εν μέση Ομονοία κατά της καλλιτέχνιδος του άσματος Σαμπρίνας,” *Βραδυνή*, 15 April 1959.

⁴⁴ “Δύο επιθέσεις αγνώστων;” Malatos, “Φανταστικά ή σκηνοθετημένα.” Certainly, the disbelief in women’s sexual assault accusations was not new. For relevant legal and forensic discussions in the first half of the twentieth century, see Dimitra Vassiliadou, “Κατεστραμμένα’ κορίτσια: Ηθική, γαμηλιότητα και δικαστική πρακτική στη νησιωτική Ελλάδα,” in *Ιστορίες για τη σεξουαλικότητα*, 103–22.

⁴⁵ Garthine Walker, “Everyman or a Monster? The Rapist in Early Modern England, c.1600–1750,” *History Workshop Journal* 76, no. 1 (2013): 5–31; Joanna Bourke, “Sexual Violence, Marital Guidance, and Victorian Bodies: An Aesthesiology,” *Victorian Studies* 50,

simultaneously channelled the message (usually implicitly) that “dragons” rightfully punished these couples for frequenting remote areas at night to satisfy their illicit passion. Although the couples’ sexuality was acceptable in comparison to that of the “dragons”, it was nonetheless borderline. Indicatively, the image of the victims of the second crime, who were involved in an extramarital relationship, were ambiguously constructed. The man, who worked in the army, a pillar of authority in the postwar state, was represented in a more positive light. His attempt to resist the “Dragon”, to protect himself and his mistress, corresponded to a brave masculinity and was highlighted by the press.⁴⁶ On the contrary, the woman was less favourably represented as morally unprincipled. A report said her room suggested she was a person interested in fashion and popular literature (issues identified with feminine birdbrains), who also had a suitcase full of romantic letters.⁴⁷ Similarly, *Βραδυνή* published a photo of the victim in a rather narcissistic pose, characterising her as “the fatal flirt of the captain” (fig. 4).⁴⁸ Here, tacitly, the press seemed to employ a media strategy, common since the late nineteenth century, to explain crimes (usually against women) through the actions and behaviour of the victims and not the attackers, by defining the violence of the latter not in the context of their experience but in that of the victims’ behaviour.⁴⁹

In spite of the grey areas between “normal”/acceptable and “abnormal”/unacceptable, “dragons” clearly represented the second: they were described as sexual “perverts” and dangerous “pathological types of rascal”,⁵⁰ who followed the “normal”, albeit illegal, couples, engaged in voyeurism and committed crimes, such as bodily harm, homicide, rape and sexual assault. Their sexual desire was clearly and extremely “perverted”, and could also be seen as pathological. To support this view, the press often invoked forensic medicine and psychiatry experts.

no. 3 (2008): 419–36; Georges Vigarello, *Ιστορία του βιασμού, 16ος–20ός αιώνας*, trans. Lia Voutsouroulou (Athens: Alexandria, 2001), 280–97.

⁴⁶ “Ο ίλαρχος επάλαισεν απεγνωσμένως με τους στυγερούς δράστας: Η νέα ενώ επιθυμεί ακόμη εβιάζετο υπό των κακούργων,” *Μακεδονία*, 8 March 1959.

⁴⁷ “Εις το δωμάτιόν της,” *Μακεδονία*, 8 March 1959.

⁴⁸ “Τα δύο θύματα των δολοφόνων της Θεσσαλονίκης,” *Βραδυνή*, 9 March 1959; “Η Ευδοξία Παλιογιάννη κατά τελευταίαν φωτογραφίαν της,” *Βραδυνή*, 10 March 1959.

⁴⁹ Joanne Jones, “‘She Resisted with All Her Might’: Sexual Violence against Women in Late Nineteenth-Century Manchester and the Local Press,” in *Everyday Violence in Britain, 1850–1950: Gender and Class*, ed. Shani D. Cruze (Harlow: Longman, 2000), 108.

⁵⁰ “Το άγριον έγκλημα της Βουλιαγμένης διέπραξε παθολογικός τύπος αλήτου;” *Ελευθερία*, 11 August 1953.



Fig. 4. The victim of the crime in Mikra. *Βραδυνή*, 10 March 1959.

Expert Views on “Perverted” Sexuality

The first expert implicated in the case of the “Dragon of Sheikh Sou” was Dimitris Kapsaskis.⁵¹ A respected scientist, Kapsaskis (1909–1993) had studied law and medicine in Athens and Paris and forensic medicine in London, Edinburgh, New York and Paris, and was appointed chief coroner of the Forensic Medical Service of Athens in 1957. Travelling from Athens to Thessaloniki to examine the crimes of 1959, Kapsaskis concluded that the perpetrator was a “true dragon”, a “vampire” and the number one public danger in Thessaloniki due to his cruelty

⁵¹ Other criminologists who worked on the case were Konstantinos Iliakis, professor of forensic medicine and toxicology at the University of Athens, and Dimitrios Rovithis, assistant professor of forensic medicine and toxicology at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

and sadism.⁵² He deemed the crimes, particularly the hideous ones, to be of the “classical sexual type”,⁵³ because there was no history between the perpetrator and the victims, no cause or pretext, such as revenge or hate.⁵⁴

As already noted, the lack of easily discernible motives was a central cause of anxiety and fascination about new forms of criminality in the late 1950s. But what did Kapsaskis mean by a “classical” type of sexual crimes? Following Western jurisprudence, Greek forensic medicine in the 1950s considered the penetration of the penis into the vagina as the only “normal” and non-delinquent sexual activity, provided that intercourse took place in a private space and the woman was an adult and fully conscious of her actions. Any other activity was criminal: rape, assault or sexual “perversion”. The latter included homosexuality, necrophilia, exhibitionism, sadism, masochism and nymphomania.⁵⁵ The definitions of criminal and “perverted” sexuality mostly referred to male sexual desires and activities, excluding homosexuality, which could be male or female, and nymphomania, which was female. Especially sexual violence was by definition male. For example, rape was defined as “the coercion of a female into extramarital intercourse through physical violence or by the threat of a great and immediate danger”.⁵⁶ As in many countries, in Greece it was rare before the 1970s for investigators to even consider the possibility of women exercising sexual violence.⁵⁷

Moving from forensic medicine to forensic psychiatry, the field of expertise that explored the link between criminality and insanity, sexual crimes were understood as being connected to mental illness. Although forensic psychiatry was still underdeveloped in Greece, and the role of forensic psychiatrists in courts was limited, forensic psychiatrists were supposed to attest whether a defendant was unaccountable due to a mental disorder and thus should be committed to a psychiatric rather than a penal institution.⁵⁸ Forensic psychiatrist Michael G. Stringaris (1903–1996) claimed that many crimes, especially crimes against life, were committed by mentally ill individuals, as their personality was

⁵² Malatos, “Ανώμαλος τύπος ο δράκος της Θεσσαλονίκης.”

⁵³ “Επικηρύχθησαν αντί 100.000 δρχ. έκαστος οι δολοφόνοι του λοχαγού Ραΐση και της νέας,” *Φως Θεσσαλονίκης*, 10 March 1959.

⁵⁴ “Θα είναι δύσκολος η διελεύκανσις του εγκλήματος,” *Καθημερινή*, 10 March 1959.

⁵⁵ Grigorios Katsas, *Στοιχεία Ιατροδικαστικής* (Athens: s.n., 1951), 2:21–34; Takis Nikolopoulos, *Σημειώσεις ιατροδικαστικής* (Athens: s.n., 1952), 134–44.

⁵⁶ As stated in the Penal Code of 1950, article 336, cited in Nikolakopoulos, *Ιατροδικαστική*, 138.

⁵⁷ Bourke, *Rape*, 214.

⁵⁸ For the development of forensic psychiatry in Greece, see Efi Avdela, “Medea’ in the Greek Courtroom: Contesting Insanity Among Jurists, Psychiatrists and the Public,” in this issue.

weakened and their impulses prevailed.⁵⁹ Stringaris also deemed it necessary to seek the opinion of an experienced forensic psychiatrist in cases of sexual “perversion”.⁶⁰ He understood the lack of control over an intense and “perverse” sexual impulse as a key factor in sexual crimes, and perceived sexual criminals as “individuals with sexual perversions, but mainly psychopaths and mentally retarded individuals with manifestations of primitive satisfaction of the instinct, manifestations that simultaneously constitute a criminal action”, such as rape and algolagnia.⁶¹

Such claims were based on a genealogy of psychiatric thought that identified exaggerated, uncontrolled and aberrant sexual desire of men as a mental disorder. In the West, this “psychiatrisation” of sexual behaviour was initiated in the late nineteenth century by psychiatrists who analysed sexual “deviations” or “perversions”, some of which had already been classified as crimes by national legal systems.⁶² Psychiatrists saw sexual “deviance” as common among the mentally ill, and argued that sexual criminals were “psychopathic personalities” and “sexual perverts”. A number of disorders for out-of-control male sexuality was described, from the nineteenth-century “erotomania” and “satyriasis” to the mid-twentieth-century “sexual psychopathy”.⁶³ While women had a share in sexual disorders, mainly when diagnosed as “nymphomaniac” or “hypersexual”, psychiatric understandings of sexual crimes focused on men.⁶⁴ In all these ways,

⁵⁹ Michael G. Stringaris, *Στοιχεία ψυχιατροδικαστικής* (Athens: s.n., 1959), 95; Stringaris, *Ψυχιατροδικαστική: ψυχοβιολογική και ψυχοπαθολογική εγκληματολογία* (Athens: s.n., 1947).

⁶⁰ Stringaris, *Στοιχεία ψυχιατροδικαστικής*, 30, 105–6.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 40. Stringaris defined as psychopaths those suffering not from mental illnesses, but from pathological mental reactions, which were not clearly demarcated from normal reactions. Algolagnia is the derivement of sexual pleasure from pain.

⁶² A key publication was Richard von Krafft-Ebing’s *Psychopathia Sexualis* in 1886. Psychiatry officially placed sexual deviations under its purview, including them in the disorders of character and personality of the International Classification of Diseases (ICD) only in 1948. See Tommy Dickinson et al., “‘Queer’ Treatments: Giving a Voice to Former Patients who Received Treatment for their ‘Sexual Deviations,’” *Journal of Clinical Nursing* 21, no. 9–10 (2012): 1345–54.

⁶³ Timothy Verhoeven, “Pathologizing Male Desire: Satyriasis, Masculinity, and Modern Civilization at the Fin de Siècle,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 24, no. 1 (2015): 25–45; Estelle B. Freedman, “‘Uncontrolled Desires’: The Response to the Sexual Psychopath, 1920–1960,” *Journal of American History* 74, no. 1 (1987): 83–106.

⁶⁴ Elizabeth Lunbeck, *The Psychiatric Persuasion: Knowledge, Gender and Power in Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 185–208; Janet Weston, *Medicine, the Penal System and Sexual Crimes in England, 1919–1960s: Diagnosing Deviance* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 39–58.

psychiatry influenced the identification of the rapist “as a discrete category of the human” in the late nineteenth century.⁶⁵

Following these developments, Greek psychiatrists classified sexual “perversions”, along with criminality and toxicomania, under personality disorders or psychopathy (diagnoses characterised by a lack of social adjustment, shallow social relationships, aggression and despondency) and asserted that sexual “perversions” and sexual crimes were manifested in individuals with psychopathic, neurotic or psychotic disturbances.⁶⁶ These trends were evident in the psychiatric handling of the “Dragon of Sheikh Sou”. Psychiatry entered the case after Pagratidis’ arrest in 1963, when Agapitos Diakogiannis, assistant professor of neurology and psychiatry at the University of Thessaloniki, examined the suspect. Although some newspapers reported that a team of psychiatrists would examine Pagratidis, Diakogiannis remained the only psychiatrist summoned in the case, and the press referred frequently to his opinion.⁶⁷ Early on Diakogiannis ascertained that Pagratidis was the dragon, describing him as an individual with “many abnormalities of the character and perversions”, including passive and active homosexuality, voyeurism, theft, alcoholism and hashish abuse.⁶⁸ But was he mentally ill? Although Diakogiannis initially stated that Pagratidis had a “split personality” – which implied a severe psychosis – he later proclaimed that he did not suffer from any psychosis, but only from a character and behaviour disorder.⁶⁹ Diakogiannis also excluded organic brain damage by ordering an electroencephalogram of Pagratidis, which he found normal.⁷⁰ Diakogiannis stated that Pagratidis was *compos mentis* and fully conscious of his actions. He was “just a psychopathic type” with “a sexual abnormal tendency”.⁷¹ In the trial, he testified that passive homosexuals like Pagratidis were psychopaths, socially unadjusted and their

⁶⁵ Bourke, *Rape*, 5–18.

⁶⁶ Fotis Skouras, *Σύγχρονος ψυχιατρική* (Athens: A. Karavias, 1952), 10; Panagiotis Sakellarios, “Ψυχανωμαλίες και τοξικομανίες,” in *Θέματα ψυχιατρικής*, ed. Kostas Stefanis et al. (Athens: Symmetria, 1991), 266–81.

⁶⁷ “Διχασμένην προσωπικότητα έχει ο δράκος του Σείχ-Σου απεφάνθη ο εξετάσας καθηγητής,” *Μεσημβρινή*, 16 December 1963.

⁶⁸ “Ο Παγκρατίδης κατόπιν εξαντλητικής ανακρίσεως ωμολόγησεν ότι είναι ο καταζητούμενος δράκος,” *Καθημερινή*, 15 December 1963; “Εκθεσις πραγματογνωμοσύνης ιατρού Διακογιάννη,” 18 December 1963 and the indictment of the case “Εφετών εν Θεσσαλονίκη αρ. 134,” 10 July 1965, General State Archives, Thessaloniki.

⁶⁹ “Διχασμένην προσωπικότητα έχει ο δράκος”; “Ο Παγκρατίδης ανήρθεσεν ενώπιον του εισαγγελέως ότι είναι ο δράκος του Σείχ-Σου,” *Καθημερινή*, 17 December 1963.

⁷⁰ “Εκθεσις πραγματογνωμοσύνης” and “Συμβούλιο Εφετών εν Θεσσαλονίκη αρ. 134.”

⁷¹ “Διχασμένην προσωπικότητα έχει ο δράκος.”

deviance was lifelong and incurable; they were hideous criminals who enjoyed crime.⁷²

The term “psychopath” that Diakogiannis employed brings to mind the “sexual psychopath”, a category constructed to deal with a perceived increase of sexual crimes in the United States from the late 1930s to the 1960s.⁷³ The “sexual psychopath” was a man unable to control his impulses – a constant feature of “pathological” sexuality.⁷⁴ In our case, the term was not used, possibly to avoid a lenient sentence for Pagratidis, since the “sexual psychopath” diagnosis could lead to a decision to place him in psychiatric treatment. On the other hand, the simple “psychopath” diagnosis meant he would receive the full punishment, on the basis that he was not insane.

Putting a Face to “Perverted” Sexuality: Pagratidis as a Model “Dragon”

Mental aberration – even with a low degree of psychopathy – was part of a more complex image of “perverted” sexual desire constructed when the “Dragon” became identified with Pagratidis. From then on journalists sketched the profile of the sexually “abnormal” type based on elements of Pagratidis’ life history, which were discovered with the help of acquaintances, officials and medical experts, even though Diakogiannis was the only physician who examined him. Thus, a complete picture of the sexual “pervert” was formed that combined social, psychological and moral features.

Pagratidis grew up in extreme poverty in a village during the Greek Civil War, when he witnessed the murder of his father. The family moved to Thessaloniki and resided in the humble district of Germanika in Ano Touba. The press presented him as illiterate and reserved, with a variety of vices: seemingly innocent tastes, like a liking for candy, pies and cinema during his childhood, were presented as evidence of his “perverted” desires, while his inability to obtain these things supposedly made him an unhappy and violent child. Once he even hit his mother because she did not give him money. He tortured animals and injured children with stones. He gradually became “perverse”, was arrested for theft and was committed to a reformatory.⁷⁵

After that, his life became “irregular”. He abandoned his family, did not have steady employment and did not serve in the army, as the military authorities

⁷² Tsarouchas, *Υπόθεση Παγκρατίδη*, 287.

⁷³ George Chauncey, “The Post-War Sex Crime Panic,” in *True Stories from the American Past*, ed. William Graebner (New York: McGraw Hill, 1993), 160–78.

⁷⁴ Freedman, “Uncontrolled Desires.”

⁷⁵ “Συμβούλιο Εφετών εν Θεσσαλονίκη αρ. 134”; “Εκθεσις πραγματογνωμοσύνης ιατρού

characterised him as “mentally abnormal”, a “psychopath” and a “drug addict”.⁷⁶ Furthermore, he committed thefts and other illegal acts and became known to the police as part of the city’s “underworld”, having contacts with “abnormal types”, such as criminals and “women of free morals”.⁷⁷ Some of his activities corresponded to those of the “poor devils” (*φτωχοδιάβολοι*), a category of petty criminals in the cities,⁷⁸ showing that, despite improving living standards, the Greek version of the swinging 1960s included significant poverty and inequality, as unemployment was substantial and the welfare state weak.⁷⁹

Yet, the image of Pagratidis as “perverted” was linked less to such minor crimes against property than to sexual crimes, associated with deviant performances of masculinity, homosexuality included. In the cities of the 1960s, homosexuality was not unknown among working-class men, whose passive homosexuality represented a disapproved performance of masculinity, while middle-class active homosexuals were more acceptable.⁸⁰ Pagratidis’ sexual identity was more complex. The journalists reported testimonies by his “underworld” friends that he was a “sexual pervert”, who satisfied his passion on girls, passive homosexuals and animals and that he had been sodomised first at the age of 14. He had sex for little money and socialised with “perverts” and prostitutes. He also spied on couples in parks and forests, sometimes blackmailing them for money.⁸¹ He was additionally presented as a necrophile: a prostitute claimed that once he paid her to have sex with him on a tombstone. In

Διακογιάννη”; “Ο Παγκρατίδης είναι ο δράκος;” *Θεσσαλονίκη*, 14 December 1963; “Ο δράκος αρνείται πάσαν σχέσιν με τον δολοφόνο του Σέιχ-Σου, περιπίπτει όμως σε αντιφάσεις,” *Μακεδονία*, 10 December 1963; “Ο Παγκρατίδης κατόπιν εξαντλητικής ανακρίσεως ωμολόγησεν.”

⁷⁶ “Ο ‘δράκος του ορφανοτροφείου’ ωμολόγησε την ενοχήν του. Ψυχικώς ανώμαλος τύπος,” *Βραδυνή*, 9 December 1963.

⁷⁷ “Συμβούλιο Εφετών εν Θεσσαλονίκη αρ. 134.”

⁷⁸ The term comes from Kostas Katsapis, *Οι καταραμένοι: Σπαράγματα κοινωνικής ιστορίας, αντίδοτο στη νοσταλγία του εξήντα* (Athens: Okto, 2019), 93–121.

⁷⁹ David Close, *Ελλάδα 1945–2004: Πολιτική, οικονομία, κοινωνία*, trans. Yorgos Mertikas (Thessaloniki: Thyrathen, 2006), 108, and Antonis Liakos, *Ο ελληνικός εικοστός αιώνας* (Athens: Polis, 2019), 360.

⁸⁰ Kostas Yannakopoulos, “Naked Piazza’: Male (Homo)sexualities, Masculinities and Consumer Cultures in Greece Since the 1960s,” in *Consumption and Gender in Southern Europe Since the Long Sixties*, ed. Kostis Kornetis, Eirini Kotsovili and Nikolaos Papadogiannis (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 174–78. Homosexuality was decriminalised in Greece in 1950, but intolerance towards homosexuals remained powerful at least until the 1980s.

⁸¹ “Η νοσοκόμος και η σύζυγος αξιωματικού αναγνωρίζουν ομοιότητας εις τον δράκον με τον φοβερών εγκληματιών του Σέιχ-Σου,” *Μακεδονία*, 10 December 1963; “Ο Παγκρατίδης κατόπιν εξαντλητικής ανακρίσεως ωμολόγησεν;” “Συμβούλιο Εφετών εν Θεσσαλονίκη αρ. 134.”

sum, he was “rotten”: “there was not a perversion that his body did not long for”.⁸² In general he was portrayed as cruel, twisted and abominable: after the attack in the orphanage, *Μακεδονία* described him as *βδελυρός*, a pejorative term describing a simultaneously dangerous and disgusting person, and attempted to visualise him as such. The first page hosted a photo of Pagratidis next to one of his young victim, juxtaposing his supposed ferocity to the “child’s” innocence (figs. 5 and 6).⁸³



Fig. 5. Aristidis Pagratidis. *Μακεδονία*, 8 December 1963.

⁸² “Ο δράκος αρνείται πεισμώνως να ομολογήσει πάσαν ενοχήν του δια τα παλαιά εγκλήματα του Σέιχ-Σου και Μίκρας,” *Θεσσαλονίκη*, 16 December 1963; “Ανώματος, σαδιστής.”

⁸³ “Δράκος εισήλθε την νύκτα εντός ορφανοτροφείου και επετέθη κατά παιδίσκης,” *Μακεδονία*, 8 December 1963.



Fig. 6. The victim of the crime at the orphanage. *Μακεδονία*, 8 December 1963.

Alongside the “lay” sources for Pagratidis’ sexual “perversion”, the press invoked the views of experts, “magistrates and criminologists”, who described him as a “fetishist”, namely “a pervert who is sexually aroused by the sight even of a woman’s object”.⁸⁴ A journalist reported that Konstantinos Iliakis, professor of forensic medicine and toxicology in the University of Athens (1945–1946 and 1959–1960), explained that the “Dragon” belonged to the “sadist necrophiles”, a category of very dangerous criminals who killed to satisfy their sick passion.⁸⁵ Such “perversions”, disgusting for “any normal human”, were presented in the press as part of a mental “abnormality”,⁸⁶ demonstrated by Pagratidis’ apathy, cold gaze and “stupid smile” under interrogation; by his bestial laughter, as he was being taken to the police station; and by the information that after the second crime, he went home, had dinner and slept.⁸⁷ In a nutshell, newspaper articles

⁸⁴ “Ο δράκος αρνείται πεισιμόνως.”

⁸⁵ “Ανώμαλος, σαδιστής.”

⁸⁶ “Εις τας φυλακάς μετήχθη αιτήσει των συνηγώρων ο φερόμενος ως δράκος,” *Μακεδονία*, 18 December 1963.

⁸⁷ “Εκθεσις πραγματογνωμοσύνης ιατρού Διακογιάννη”; “Συμβούλιο Εφετών εν Θεσσαλονίκη αρ. 134”; “Ανώμαλος, σαδιστής”; “Ο δράκος αναιρεί τώρα την ομολογία,” *Βραδυνή*, 17 December 1963; “Ο δράκος αρνείται πάσαν σχέσιν με τον δολοφόνον.”

depicted the full image of Pagratidis' "perverted" sexuality, underlining that the passion blurred his mind, making him rush to his victims; that the sudden and uncontrolled desire to satisfy his "abnormal urges" made him run "amok"; that he was devoid of reason, and lived only to kill and gratify his "perverted" sexual passions.⁸⁸

Conclusion: The Incomplete Psychiatrisation of Male Violent Desire

Although represented as practically deranged, Pagratidis was sentenced to death. As noted, Diakogiannis concluded that Pagratidis was a "simply perverted" criminal and was thus fully culpable and responsible for his actions.⁸⁹ Having been diagnosed as a "psychopath", Pagratidis could be considered to be of lessened mental capacity, but not of lessened accountability.⁹⁰ On the grounds of his alleged dangerousness and the severity of the crimes, no mitigating circumstances were taken into consideration. The defence argued that Pagratidis was sexually "peculiar" but not a hideous criminal, and that society was somehow responsible for the fact that he had grown up in such precarious conditions, but these arguments were rejected.⁹¹ The defence also contested Diakogiannis' scientific competence, arguing that he had not examined Pagratidis according to medical standards. For this reason, they asked for the opinion of more experts.⁹²

These requests were overruled. Drawing on Diakogiannis' report, the court condemned Pagratidis to death. This did not mean that the Greek judges generally trusted expert psychiatric testimonies; quite the opposite, they were sceptical towards them, even as seemingly irrational violent crimes increased and the explanation of mental illness and the role of forensic psychiatry became more relevant in the 1960s. Moreover, psychiatric opinion was not binding on judges, who often opposed psychiatrists on the issue of accountability, while the press and, likely, public opinion were negative towards psychiatric expertise in trials, as they worried it could lead to the acquittal of dangerous criminals.⁹³ In the case of the "Dragon of Sheikh Sou" this dimension was crucial, given that,

⁸⁸ "Ο συλληφθείς εν Θεσσαλονίκη κακοποιός αρνείται ότι έχει σχέσιν με τον 'δράκον' του Σείχ-Σου," *Καθημερινή*, 10 December 1963; "Ανώμαλος, σαδιστής."

⁸⁹ "Διχασμένην προσωπικότητα έχει ο δράκος."

⁹⁰ This view was voiced by Professor Konstantinos Iliakis, as cited in Tsarouchas, *Υπόθεση Παγκρατίδη*, 27. See also Stringaris, *Στοιχεία ψυχιατροδικαστικής*, 108.

⁹¹ Tsarouchas, *Υπόθεση Παγκρατίδη*, 446–54.

⁹² Papaioannou, *Ο 'δράκος' του Σείχ-Σου*, 143–50, 208.

⁹³ Avdela, "Making Sense of 'Hideous Crimes,'" Avdela, *Δια λόγους τιμής*, 160–61; Avdela, "'Medea' in the Greek Courtroom."

as we have seen, the crimes preoccupied the press for days on end and were presented in chilling detail, provoking fear in people who wished to see the “Dragon” in jail. The difficulty of forensic psychiatry to establish its credibility in courts was a transnational phenomenon. Although psychiatry became more respected in justice systems in the interwar period and even more in the postwar era, in practice the new experts faced difficulties in establishing their authority on sexual crimes and advocating a more therapeutic than penal approach.⁹⁴

Since forensic psychiatry was even less established in Greece, the judges accepted Diakogiannis’ opinion (a non-specialist in forensic psychiatry) not because they trusted psychiatric expertise but because his opinion assisted them in convicting Pagratidis. Journalistic research has claimed that the conviction was valuable for the authorities in Thessaloniki (especially the police) in that it helped them re-establish their reputation after their failure to find the culprit of the 1959 crimes and, furthermore, after the assassination of MP Grigoris Lambrakis, which had taken place only a few months before.⁹⁵ Apart from this contingent political need, we would argue that Pagratidis’ conviction served a social need: the need to locate “extreme” sexual violence in a singular “perverted” individual. In this way, “excessive” sexual violence was constructed as uncommon and different from “ordinary” and supposedly “normal” male sexual aggression. Therefore, similar to the “sexual psychopath” in the mid-twentieth-century United States, in Greece the category of the “dragon” contributed to the consolidation of the boundaries between acceptable and unacceptable sexual behaviour at a time of change in premarital sexuality and women’s roles.⁹⁶ However, despite this similarity to the “sexual psychopath”, the “dragon” was never completely psychiatrised. The case of the “Dragon of Sheikh Sou” exemplifies that he clearly represented an “extreme” and unacceptable side of male sexual violence, considered occasionally pathological, but mostly

⁹⁴ Freedman, “Uncontrolled Desires;” Janet Weston, “‘Prison Will not Cure a Sexual Perversion.’ Sexology, Forensic Psychiatry, and their Patients in Twentieth-Century Britain,” in *Crimes of Passion: Repräsentationen der Sexualpathologie im frühen 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Oliver Böni and Japhet Johnstone (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 344–67.

⁹⁵ See Tsarouchas, *Υπόθεση Παγκρατίδη*, 9. Lambrakis was a pacifist MP of the left-wing United Democratic Left party. He was murdered in May 1963 by right-wing extremists, who (protected by the police) had organised a counterdemonstration in the area where the murder took place. For Lambrakis’ life, see Evi Gkotzaridis, *A Pacifist’s Life and Death: Grigorios Lambrakis and Greece in the Long Shadow of Civil War* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2016). For his assassination, see Kostas Papaioannou, *Πολιτική δολοφονία. Υπόθεση Λαμπράκη* (Athens: To Pontiki, 1995).

⁹⁶ Freedman, “Uncontrolled Desires.”

vicious. As the press reports highlight, it was accepted that something was not “normal” with men like Pagratidis: they were blinded by passion and lust, driven by pathological sexual desire, unable to control their perverted impulses, bestial instincts and sadist appetites. But such perversions were seen as signs of reduced social adjustment and faulty character, not of illness. No psychological explanation of Pagratidis’ perversion was offered, emphasising, for example, a damaged or incomplete psychosexual development, a central aspect of the “sexual psychopath”, which would not have been hard to show in the case of a man with Pagratidis’ background.⁹⁷ The option of psychiatric treatment as an alternative to punishment was not considered. His diagnosis as a “psychopath” with a “perverted” personality and sexuality was used to eliminate the possibility of acquittal on the grounds of mental illness, and to ensure a harsh punishment, by proving his inability to repent and reform.

All in all, the “Dragon of Sheikh Sou” case shows that in 1950s and 1960s Greece the press played a significant role in the construction of sexual violence and “perversion”, capitalising to a great extent on the mediatisation of scientific (forensic and psychiatric) discourses. More specifically, our analysis illustrates that violent sexual desires were constructed as a male pathology to the degree that they could be placed on the margin of society and help normalise “moderate” male sexual violence, but not to the extent that they might be treated as a mental illness. It is therefore crucial to understand the case within the social and cultural transformations of the time. As urbanisation progressed and new gender and sexual attitudes were moulded, lay, expert and state anxieties about sexuality arose, which were accompanied by the intensification of attempts to control it. Such concerns certainly motivated the fascination with the “Dragon of Sheikh Sou” and his crimes.

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⁹⁷ Robertson, “Separating the Men.”

THE AMBIGUOUS CONSTRUCTION OF A MODERN MELANCHOLIC
SELF: EVANTHIA KAIRI'S CORRESPONDENCE, 1814–1866

Eleftheria Zei

Abstract: Evanthia Kairi was an author and literary woman who lived during the first half of the nineteenth century (1799–1868). She produced few literary works but left a rich correspondence covering the period from 1814 to 1866; most of her letters are addressed to her elder brother, the priest, philosopher and revolutionary Theophilos Kairis. Generally based on a nineteenth-century perception of melancholy as a romantic, dark, often pathological, condition, that related particularly to women, contemporary historiography considers her as an altogether idiosyncratic, solitary and melancholic intellectual. This article ventures to propose an anatomy of Kairi's melancholic discourse in the light of a modern "active sensibility", that is, as a procedure of construction and deconstruction of a modern *virtuous* self through different life narratives: her moral shaping and education in modern virtues, her strict and complex pattern of social and affective exchanges within the family and her language of solitariness.

Evanthia Kairi was an author and literary woman who lived during the first half of the nineteenth century (1799–1868). She did not publish many works: a theatrical play entitled *Νικήρατος*,¹ an ode to Metropolitan Dionysios of Ephesus,² two translations of eighteenth-century French works, the *Éloge de Marc Aurèle* by Antoine Léonard Thomas,³ and the *Conseils à ma fille* by Jean-

¹ *Νικήρατος: Δράμα εις τρεις πράξεις υπό ελληνίδος τινός συντεθέν* (Nafplion: Typ. tis Dioikiseos, 1826). See also Walter Puchner, "Νικήρατος," in *Ανθολογία νεοελληνικής δραματολογίας*, vol. 2/1, *Από την Επανάσταση του 1821 ως τη Μικρασιατική Καταστροφή* (Athens: National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation, 2006), 44–60; Dimitrios Spathis, "Παλαιά λογοτεχνικά κείμενα σε νέες εκδοτικές περιπέτειες," *Ο Ερασιστής* 25 (2005): 356–61; Evanthia Stivanaki, "Ο πατριωτικός 'Νικήρατος' της Ευανθίας Καΐρη," *Παράβασις* 3 (2000): 262–64; Maria Perlorentzou, "Το δράμα Νικήρατος και οι ιταλικές απηχήσεις του," in *Ευανθία Καΐρη: Διακόσια χρόνια από τη γέννησή της, 1799–1999* (Andros: Kaireios Library, 2000), 63–85.

² The poem concerns Dionysios' contribution to the Academy of Kydonies: Vassilis Panagiotopoulos, "Μια ωδή της Ευανθίας Καΐρη στον Εφέσσου Διονύσιο τον Καλλιάρχη," *Ο Ερασιστής* 1 (1963): 235–37.

³ Eighteenth-century poet and literary critic, renowned for his rhetoric elogiums (1732–1785). The French text of the *Éloge* was included in Adamantios Korais' edition of *Μάρκου Αντωνίνου Αυτοκράτορος των εις Εαυτόν Βιβλία IB': Ων προτέθειται το υπό Θωμά του ρήτορος*

Nicolas Bouilly,⁴ together with her famous two epistles, *To Women Philhellenes*⁵ of Europe and America, constitute the whole of her literary production. A number of her early translations, as well as another theatrical play,⁶ never reached publication, while she practically abandoned literary activity after the Greek Revolution. On the other hand, Kairi left a rich correspondence of 229 letters⁷ covering the period from 1814 to 1866, most of which are addressed to her elder brother Theophilus Kairis.⁸

Having attracted the attention of Greek historical literature on women since the late nineteenth century, and later of Greek Enlightenment studies

Γαλλιστί γεγραμμένον Εγκώμιον Μάρκου, φιλοτίμω δαπάνη των ομογενών Χίων (Paris: Typ. I.M. Everatou, 1816), which Korais himself had sent to Theophilus Kairis in February 1817. Evanthia's translation saw the light of day in Syros two years after Korais' death, in 1835.

⁴ J.N. Bouilly, *Conseils à ma fille* (Paris, 1811; London: Dulau, 1825), and Evanthia Kairi's translation: I.N. Βούλλος, *Συμβουλαί προς την θυγατέρα μου* (Kydonies: Typ. tis ton Kydonion Scholis, 1820).

⁵ "Προς τας Φιλελληνίδας" and "Προς τα Φιλελληνίδας των Ομοσπόνδων επαρχιών της Αμερικής, και ευεργέτιδας της πασχούσης Ελλάδος," *Αλληλογραφία Θεόφιλου Καΐρη*, vol. 2, *Επιστολαί Ευανθίας Καΐρη 1814-1866*, ed. Dimitrios I. Polemis (Andros: Kaireios Library, 1997), 54–61 and 91–93. On their English translation, see Loukia Droulia, "Η πρώτη δημοσίευση και μετάφραση των στροφών 151–158 του Σολωμικού Ύμνου," *Ο Εραμιστής* 12 (1975): 5–6.

⁶ Entitled *Ελλάς: Προσωποία* and probably written before 1839; Evanthia perhaps decided not to publish it because of its highly polemical tone: Dimitrios I. Polemis, "Άγνωστον έργον της Ευανθίας Καΐρη: Ή προσωποποία Ελλάς," *Πέταλον* 3 (1982): 69–80. The existence of another poem by Evanthia, suggested by Evgenios Kairis in one of his letters to her, has not been confirmed: Polemis, "Εκ του αρχείου του Θεοφίλου Καΐρη," *Ο Εραμιστής* 12 (1975): 222–24.

⁷ Published by Polemis, *Αλληλογραφία*, vol. 2, and vol. 4, *Επιστολαί προς Ευανθίαν Καΐρη 1815–1866* (Andros: Kaireios Library, 1999).

⁸ A philosopher of the "Greek Enlightenment", Kairis was known for his educational work in Kydonies and in Smyrna in the prerevolutionary period, his active participation in the 1821 Revolution, and later for the establishment of an orphanage in Andros (1835), in which he applied novel pedagogical methods. Kairis was particularly famous for his opposition to the Othonian government and the Greek Church, as he had introduced a religious doctrine called theosebism, largely influenced by French deism, for which he was persecuted, exiled and imprisoned, where he died. A short selection from the large bibliography on Theophilus Kairis includes: Dimitrios Paschalis, *Θεόφιλος Καΐρης* (Athens: Estia, 1928); Giannis Karas, ed., *Πανελλήνιο Συμπόσιο "Θεόφιλος Καΐρης"* (Athens: Gutenberg, 1988); Karas, *Θεόφιλος Καΐρης: Ο επιστήμονας, ο φιλόσοφος, ο αιρετικός, μια εξέχουσα μορφή των νεοελληνικών γραμμάτων* (Athens: Gutenberg, 2013); Panagiota Kazolea-Tavoulari, *Θεόφιλος Καΐρης: Από τη φιλοσοφική ψυχολογία στη θεοσεβική ηθική* (Athens: Typothito, 2005); Manolis Rassoulis, *Ο μεγάλος αιρετικός: Θεόφιλος Καΐρης* (Athens: Ianos, 2008); Vassileios Kyrkos,

and the history of women,⁹ Kairi's literary oeuvre has been studied as a rare, gendered contribution to the Greek Enlightenment. Her correspondence, on the contrary, was either dismissed as a specimen of lower literary value,¹⁰ or studied in an attempt to understand her personality, shadowed as it were by her close relationship with Theophilos, a subject which twentieth-century historical literature has particularly dwelt upon.¹¹

In fact, an apparent discrepancy can be observed between Kairi's literary works and her private correspondence. Although in her theatrical plays and her epistles *To Women Philhellenes*, for instance, as well as in several of her letters,¹² she demonstrates her fervent support for women's education, the revolution and the nation, in her correspondence with Theophilos from 1823 Evanthia gradually distances herself from the revolutionary, social, and political events of her time, expressing a lack of public awareness and starting to question the main principles of her education, such as the duty to her homeland (*πατρίς*) and the freedom of the mind, while she manifests an excessive sensibility to small, everyday misfortunes. The discrepancy in the content is also reflected in the discrepancy of literary styles: the elaborate, archaic or enthusiastic language of her early letters is replaced by the exuberance of sorrowful terms in her writings to Theophilos, while after the revolution her letters become shorter, and, especially after her

ed., *Θεόφιλος Καΐρης: Αναψηλαφώντας τον βίο του και ξαναδιαβάζοντας το έργο του* (Andros: Etaireia Andrin Epistimonon, 2014). Theophilos Kairis' correspondence has been published by Dimitrios I. Polemis, *Αλληλογραφία Θεόφιλου Καΐρη*, 7 vols (Andros: Kaireios Library, 1997–2003).

⁹ Evdokia Olympitou, *Μπουμπουλίνα, Καΐρη, Μαυρογένους: Οι γυναίκες του Αγώνα* (Athens: Ta Nea, 2019), where the writer includes all previous bibliography on Evanthia Kairi. See, in particular, Koula Xiradaki, *Ευανθία Καΐρη (1799–1866): Η πρώτη Ελληνίδα που κατέκτησε τη μόρφωση* (Athens: s.n., 1956); Sophia Denissi, "Η Ευανθία Καΐρη και το έργο της στο πλαίσιο της γυναικείας δημιουργίας της εποχής της," in *Ευανθία Καΐρη: Διακόσια χρόνια από τη γέννησή της*, 27–43; Eirini Rizaki, *Οι "Γράφουσες Ελληνίδες": Σημειώσεις για τη γυναικεία λογοσύνη του 19ου αιώνα* (Athens: Katarti, 2007), 134–44.

¹⁰ Dimtrios I. Polemis, "Η αλληλογραφία του Θεόφιλου Καΐρη με την αδελφή του Ευανθία," *Ο Εραμιστής* 19 (1993): 275–96.

¹¹ Aikaterini Koumariou, "Το σύνδρομο της 'αδελφικής φιλίας': ένας σκόλιος δρόμος," in *Ευανθία Καΐρη: Διακόσια χρόνια από τη γέννησή της*, 97–104; Kyriakos Deloroulos, "'Υγίαινε, αγαπητέ και περιπόθητε αδελφέ...': απόπειρα προσωπογράφησης της Ευανθίας Καΐρη μέσα από τις επιστολές της," in *Ευανθία Καΐρη: Διακόσια χρόνια από τη γέννησή της*, 105–24.

¹² To Adamantios Korais, to Leontios Kampanis, even to her brother Evgenios, or in answer to an unknown female friend's letter, which probably concerned the rights of the inhabitants [refugees?] of Kydonies and Moschonissia: *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:88–89, December 1827.

brother's death, her narrative gradually acquires a more detached, matter-of-fact or formal style. Only in her letters to Spyridon Glafkopidis – a disciple of Theophilos who was convicted and imprisoned along with him – does she manifest some traces of melancholic discourse, strung together with her narrative of her disputes with the Greek government and the serious financial problems she faced after the revolution.

This switching between a “public” and “private” discourse has escaped contemporary historiography, which tends to classify her in the category of an altogether solitary, idiosyncratic intellectual.¹³ One could, of course, argue that in her melancholic discourse Evanthia goes through the whole spectrum of cyclothymic symptoms embedded in modern pathological melancholia, ranging from restlessness, anxiety and fear, to sadness, inertia and lack of interest, a cluster of symptoms which until the early twentieth century defined successive attempts to be understood and encompassed in a variety of medicinal and psychological terms.¹⁴ Her letters, nevertheless, contain no insinuation whatsoever of a medical history associated with her melancholic outbursts. Instead, she attributes her mood swings not only to her particular misfortunes, but also to the intellectual and social context in which she finds herself attached, and which causes her unhappiness.

Recently the question has been raised whether her melancholy could be integrated in a general pattern of nineteenth-century romantic reaction to post-revolutionary changes,¹⁵ particularly affecting the women of the revolution, as it is also met in the writings of other contemporary women, such as Elissavet Moutzan-Martinengou, or Manto Mavrogenous, although they do not offer as rich a documentary material as Evanthia Kairi's correspondence.¹⁶ Expanding

¹³ Dimitrios Paschalis, *Εβανθία Καΐρη (1799–1866)* (Athens: Estia, 1929), 32–33. In one of his earlier publications concerning her correspondence with Theophilos, Dimitrios Polemis criticises her detachment as a typical specimen of female indifference to politics and of inconsequence towards her greater “national” debt as an intellectual. He described her as a self-centred woman unsuited to an intellectual career, obsessed by her elder brother, by whose philosophical work she was diminished, brooding over her celibacy and solitude: Polemis, “Η αλληλογραφία,” 275–96.

¹⁴ Such as eighteenth-century *hypochondria* and *hysteria*, nineteenth-century *neurasthenia* and *depression*, or early twentieth-century *periodic psychoses* and *manic-depressive psychoses* (under the influence of psychoanalysis): Jennifer Raden, *Moody Minds Distempered: Essays on Melancholy and Depression* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 58–72.

¹⁵ For a general perception of melancholy as a nineteenth-century romantic, dark reaction to modernity, see also Michael Löwy and Robert Sayre, *Εξέγερση και μελαγχολία: Ο Ρομαντισμός στους αντίποδες της νεωτερικότητας* (Athens: Enallaktikes, 1992).

¹⁶ Olympitou, *Οι γυναίκες του Αγώνα*.

on this path and attempting to historicise Evanthia's melancholy, I propose to venture an anatomy of her melancholic discourse as an ambiguous procedure of construction of a modern intellectual self, through three different life narratives:¹⁷ her female enlightened education as a scholar immersed in moral, civic and patriotic values, such as national duty; her social and emotional relations in a strict, gendered hierarchy of siblings; and, finally, through her narrative of solitariness.

Melancholy and the Modern Scholar

The indirect contestation of Freud's famous essay on *Mourning and Melancholia*¹⁸ by Benjamin's work *The Origin of German Tragic Drama* opened a historiographical debate on melancholy as a historical condition of loss.¹⁹ Only quite recently has the Enlightenment been studied as a culture of a dynamic conception of melancholy, a state of mind endeavouring to cope with violent social and intellectual changes, not only by resigning and brooding in morbid thoughts and emotions but, also, even mainly by criticising and coming to grips with modern realities.²⁰ It was Denis

¹⁷ On exploring private correspondence before and after Foucault's influence (as life narratives, as construction of the *self* and the *other*, as a relation between different systems of consciousness: words and reality, presence and absence, public and private), see Dimitra Vassiliadou, "Auto/Pathographies in situ: 'Dying of Melancholy' in Nineteenth-Century Greece," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Auto/Biography*, ed. Julie M. Parsons and Anne Chappell (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 210–13, with an extensive bibliography; Vassiliadou, "Επίμετρο. Επιστολογραφία: Μια άλλη αφήγηση του πραγματικού," *Στον τροπικό της γραφής: Οικογενειακοί δεσμοί και συναισθήματα στην αστική Ελλάδα 1850–1930* (Athens: Gutenberg, 2018), 211–61. On the contribution of female correspondence to the construction of an eighteenth-century female self, see, in particular, Dena D. Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).

¹⁸ Sigmund Freud, "Mourning and Melancholia," *The Standard Edition of the Complete Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. James Strachy (1917; London: Hogarth, 1953–1974), 14:243–58.

¹⁹ Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. John Osborne (1928; London: New Left Books, 1977). For baroque tragedy in particular, and the relation between loss, loyalty and the betrayal of the beloved object, see Ilit Ferber, "Melancholy Philosophy: Freud and Benjamin," *Erea* 4, no. 1 (2006): <https://doi.org/10.4000/erea.413>. On philosophical melancholy, see also Hagi Kenaan and Ilit Ferber, eds., *Philosophy's Moods: The Affective Grounds of Thinking* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011), pt. 3, "Melancholy", 51–101, and pt. 4, "Anxiety, and 141–56.

²⁰ The first to point out the lack of cultural, social or political approaches of modern *melancholia* in contemporary historiography was G.S. Rousseau, "Psychology," in *The Ferment of Knowledge: Studies in the Historiography of Eighteenth-Century Science*, ed. G.S. Rousseau and Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 205.

Diderot who distinguished active from inactive sensibility (*sensibilité active* and *sensibilité inerte*), the former inextricably connected with morality and *virtue*, and particularly expressed by the shedding of tears.²¹ At the very heart of the Enlightenment scientific distinctions, the disease of *melancholia* is turned into a general culture of virtuous *sensibility*,²² which seeks comfort or appeasement, often in religion,²³ rather than a bodily cure. Opposed to the inactiveness and isolation of the humanistic “melancholia of scholars”,²⁴ an early modern perception of

²¹ But which often acquires an equally negative aspect with that of the inactive sensibility: Marco Menin, “Les larmes de Suzanne: La sensibilité entre moralité et pathologie dans *La Religieuse* de Diderot,” *Recherches sur Diderot et l’Encyclopédie* 51 (2016): 25–28. Besides, if one reads through the lines of Carl Becker, Diderot himself seems to offer the perfect example of the modern melancholic scholar: Carl Becker, “The Dilemma of Diderot,” *Philosophical Review* 24, no. 1 (1915): 54–71.

²² On the eighteenth-century associations of *sensibility*, *sentiment* and the notion of *soul*, see John Mullan, “Hypochondria and Hysteria: Sensibility and the Physicians,” *Eighteenth Century* 25, no. 2 (1984): 141–74; Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Roy Porter, “The Rage of Party: A Glorious Revolution in English Psychiatry?,” *Medical History* 27 (1983): 35–50. Still Rousseau holds the eighteenth-century conception of the “soul” responsible for nineteenth- and early twentieth-century dichotomies between body and mind: G.S. Rousseau, *The Languages of Psyche: Mind and Body in Enlightenment Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991). See the elaboration of the historiographical concept in the context of the French *Histoire des sensibilités*, inaugurated by Lucien Febvre’s article “La sensibilité et l’histoire: Comment reconstituer la vie affective d’autrefois?,” *Annales d’histoire sociale* 3, no. 1–2 (1941): 5–20. Besides, the *Encyclopaedia* makes the distinction between melancholy as a sentiment, as a moral (theological) and as a medicinal concept, to which Diderot devotes the majority of pages: “Mélancholie,” *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres* (Neufchatel: Samuel Faulche, 1765), 307–11. See also Philippe Huneman, “Les théories de l’économie animale et l’émergence de la psychiatrie de l’Encyclopédie à l’aliénisme,” *Psychiatrie sciences humaines neurosciences (PSN)* 2 (2004): 47–60.

²³ Jeremy Schmidt, *Melancholy and the Care of the Soul: Religion, Moral Philosophy and Madness in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

²⁴ Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford: Henry Cripps, 1621), 4 vols. Here we refer to the edition of the Ex-Classics Project, 2009. On his social approach, see also Alexandra Rassidakis, *Περί μελαγχολίας* (Athens: Kichli, 2012), 129–54. What Burton calls “the misery of Scholars” (*Anatomy of Melancholy*), Marcilius Cagnatus (professor of medicine at the university of Rome, 1543–1612) classifies “melancholia” as one of the five most common maladies, almost inseparable from students: *De sanitate tuenda. [Liber Secundo]: De Arte Gymnastica* (Padua: Franciscum Bolzettam, 1605), 155–56. On the melancholy of the early modern intellectual, see also Nikos Karapidakis, “Κατάθλιψη και μελαγχολία: Τα Έρωτήματα και Αποκρίσεις Ξένου και Αλήθειας’ του Λεονάρδου Ντελλαπόρτα,” *Τα Ιστορικά* 47 (2007):

intellectuality,²⁵ late seventeenth and eighteenth-century English and French conceptualisations of *anxiety* (*inquiétude*) elaborated on socially active versions of melancholy, which would play the role of “universal incitements” in social systems, curbing great passions by legal or moral codes, such as those torn apart by religious oppositions, or oppressed by modern absolute monarchies: John Locke’s *desire* and *uneasiness*,²⁶ the *ennui*, so dreaded though by Condillac,²⁷ or the *impatience* of the English, which, according to Montesquieu, risks becoming the national *spleen*, “*la maladie anglaise*”, if not properly used,²⁸ all the above

275–315, who approaches Dellaporta’s poem both as a philosophical treatise upon melancholy and as a staging of a melancholic intellectuality.

²⁵ See also the debate on the ambiguous theme of the “melancholic genius”: scholars’ melancholy, if tempered, could produce an uncommon level of wit, wisdom and creativity, rising above mainstream *melancholia*: Michael A. Screech, *Montaigne and Melancholy: The Wisdom of the Essays* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000). It dates back to the famous pseudo-Aristotelian problem, which influenced medieval and early modern European philosophy and medicine: Aristotle, *Μελαγχολία και ιδιοφυΐα: Το 301ο πρόβλημα*, trans. Aloe Sideri (Athens: Agra, 2001). See also Noel L. Brann, *The Debate over the Origin of Genius During the Italian Renaissance: The Theories of Supernatural Frenzy and Natural Melancholy in Accord and Conflict on the Threshold of the Scientific Revolution* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), according to which it was Marcilio Ficino who reconciled the negative and positive aspects of the “melancholic intellectual” in early modern society. Winfried Schleiner, in his *Melancholy, Genius and Utopia in the Renaissance* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harassowitz, 1991), observes a gradual transition in early modern thought from the positive reception of the melancholic genius to its regarding as a disorder of a suffering imagination.

²⁶ John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding and a Treatise on the Conduct of the Understanding* (1690; Pittsburgh: C.H. Kay, 1847), 149–65.

²⁷ L’Abbé de Condillac, *Traité des sensations, à Madame la Comtesse de Vassé*, vol. 1 (1754; London: Barrois/Didot, 1788), 34–35. As Paul Hazard had already pointed out in the 1940s: *La Pensée Européenne au XVIIe siècle: de Montesquieu à Lessing* (Paris: Boivin, 1946), 362–63.

²⁸ Which Montesquieu attributes to the English climate as well as to the English economic and social system based on private interest: *L’esprit des lois*, book 19, chap. 27. See also Diego Vernazza, “Montesquieu et la problématique de l’inquiétude,” in *(Re)Lire l’Esprit des Lois: Études réunies*, ed. Catherine Volpilhac-Augier and Luigi Delia (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2014), 33–45. It appears that a new melancholic vocabulary is introduced through a French eighteenth-century literature concerning England; on the eighteenth-century French terminology of English melancholy (*mélancolie*, *tristesse*, *ennui*), see also Jeffrey Hopes, “‘La Maladie anglaise’ in French Eighteenth-Century Writing: From Stereotype to Individuation,” *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 44, no. 2 (2011): 109–32. Cecil A. Moore has characterised the English eighteenth century as the “Age of Melancholy” because of the constantly recurrent theme of melancholy in its poetry and the statistics of suicide in the country: *Backgrounds of English Literature, 1700–1760* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1953), 179–238. On a distinct female current in eighteenth-century English literary melancholic trends: Sabine

intellectual and emotional trends being par excellence assimilated and promoted by the “modern scholar”, a theme which would only start to include women scholars.²⁹ Hence the association of modern melancholy with social or political upheavals, such as the French Revolution, explored by recent historiography;³⁰ or its connection with a modern civic gendered education, which I venture to approach here, in the case of young Evanthia’s intellectual and moral education.

Learning the “Duty to her Homeland”

In 1808 Evanthia’s mother, Assimina Kampanaki (or Kampani), migrated for unknown reasons from the island of Andros to Kydonies (Ayvalik), on the eastern Aegean coast, with her two younger daughters, Evanthia and Sophia.³¹ They would live with her mother’s brother Sophronios Kampanakis, who served as vicar there, and her brother Theophilos, at the time director and teacher of the Academy of Kydonies.

Before 1821, Kydonies had developed into an important commercial and educational centre, due to a flourishing Greek Orthodox urban milieu, which enjoyed special privileges from the Ottoman administration as well as quasi-independence from the ecclesiastical centres of the eastern coast.³² Before the destruction of the city by the Ottomans in 1822, progressive educational and

Blackmore, “‘To Pictur’d Regions and Imagin’d Worlds’: Female Melancholic Writing and the Poems of Mary Leapor,” in *The Literature of Melancholia*, ed. Martin Middeke and Christina Wald (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 67–85.

²⁹ See also the exclusion of female genius and the adoption of male metaphors by groundbreaking early modern women literary writers: Anne Julia Zwierlein, “Male Pregnancies, Virgin Births, Monsters of the Mind: Early Modern Melancholia and (Cross-) Gendered Constructions of Creativity,” in Middeke and Wald, *Literature of Melancholia*, 35–49; Anne C. Vila, “‘Ambiguous Beings’: Marginality, Melancholy, and the *Femme Savante*,” in *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, ed. Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 53–69.

³⁰ As for instance in eighteenth-century “drastic descriptions” of the French revolutionary events: Peter Fritzsche, “The Melancholy of History: The French Revolution and European Historiography,” in Middeke and Wald, *Literature of Melancholia*, 116–29.

³¹ According to the only surviving letter by Evanthia from before 1814: Dimitrios I. Polemis, “Σημειώματα,” *Πέταλον* 3 (1982): 208–9.

³² On the history of the city until its destruction, see the extended information given by M.C.D. Raffanel (attached to the French consulate in Smyrna and “eyewitness to the principal events”), *Histoire des événements de la Grèce depuis les premiers troubles jusqu’à ce jour* (Paris: Dondey-Dupré, 1822), 193–202. For an earlier bibliography: Georgios Sakkaris, *Ιστορία των Κυδωνιών*, 3rd ed. (Athens: Syllogos pros Diadosin Ofelimon Vivlion, 2005); Ioannis N. Karaplias, *Ιστορία των Κυδωνιών*, 2 vols. (Athens: Typ. Ger. S. Christou, 1949–1950). See

intellectual circles revolved around the Academy of Kydonies and important scholars of the Greek Enlightenment, such as Benjamin of Lesbos (1798–1812) and Theophilos Kairis (1812–1821), fervently supported by Adamantios Korais, but constantly hindered by the conservative ecclesiastical circles of Constantinople.³³

Through Theophilos and his relations with the academy, 15-year-old Evanthia³⁴ entered the educated circles of the city. Although contemporary sources report that female social life and behaviour in Kydonies was limited,³⁵ it seems that Evanthia participated to a certain degree in social life as she befriended the Chatzianargyros family of city notables, in particular their daughters, and received the visits of the well-known publisher Ambroise Firmin-Didot,³⁶ a friend of Theophilos. She took courses in philosophy and mathematics, both subjects taught by her brother in the academy. Although recent bibliography has shown that sciences were less perceived as a male domain in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century than nowadays,³⁷ Evanthia still represents a rare, uncommon female presence in a traditionally male world of knowledge.³⁸ Her education in languages³⁹ – ancient Greek, Italian and French – came in handy

also Ioanna Petropoulou, “Τύρω από την ιστοριογραφία των Κυδωνιών,” *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 3 (1982): 231–41.

³³ Roxane D. Argyropoulos and Paschalis M. Kitromilides, “Ο Διαφωτισμός στον χώρο της Αιολίδας,” in *Μυτιλήνη και Αϊβαλί (Κυδωνίες): Μια αμφίδρομη σχέση στο βορειοανατολικό Αιγαίο*, ed. Paschalis M. Kitromilides and Panagiotis Michailaris (Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2007), 61–68.

³⁴ She herself gives her age in her letter to Korais: *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:15, Andros, 2 August 1814.

³⁵ Where women were reported to leave the house only once a year: Ambroise Firmin Didot, *Notes d'un voyage fait dans le Levant en 1816 et 1817* (Paris: Didot, [1826]), 376.

³⁶ Who stands in awe of young Evanthia's exceptional education: *Ibid.*, 375.

³⁷ Gila C. Leder, “Gender and Mathematics Education: An Overview,” in *Compendium for Early Career Researchers in Mathematics Education*, ed. Norma Presmeg and Gabriele Kaiser (Cham: Springer, 2019), 289–90.

³⁸ Paschalis M. Kitromilides, “The Enlightenment and Womanhood: Cultural Change and the Politics of Exclusion,” *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 1 (1983): 39–41. For the influence of Enlightenment educational theories concerning the Greek state's attitude towards female education during the postrevolutionary period, see also Eleni Fournaraki, *Εκπαίδευση και αγωγή των κοριτσιών: Ελληνικοί προβληματισμοί (1830–1910): Ένα ανθολόγιο* (Athens: Historical Archive of Greek Youth, 1987), 13–17.

³⁹ Sophia Denissi also attributes her education in languages and literature to an end-of-century Phanariot culture in Kydonies, which encouraged public appearance of women: “The Greek Enlightenment and the Changing of the Cultural Status of Women,” *Comparaison* 12 (2001): 43.

for her translation exercises: it was through translation, the particular vehicle of European Enlightenment ideas in the Ottoman Empire,⁴⁰ that her elderly mentor, Korais, wished to shape her into a modern scholar of the Enlightenment, capable of passing her knowledge on to other women, independent of their social status, and to promote female education in the Greek “nation”.⁴¹

In order to fulfil this elevated task, Evanthia should acquire the “art of living” (*τέχνη του βίου*), that is, the virtues of *modesty* and *decency*, by reading classic philosophy (Socrates and Plutarch), and the French and English moral literature of her time.⁴² She therefore launched into the translation of Madame Guizot’s *Contes*,⁴³ but her elderly mentor soon changed his mind, fearing that Guizot’s work might be difficult for the young scholar, unfamiliar with French customs, to understand.⁴⁴ Korais proposed instead the *A Father’s Legacy to his Daughters* by John Gregory (1774)⁴⁵ and the *De l’éducation des filles* by L’abbé de Fénelon (1681).⁴⁶ Her first

⁴⁰ Alexandra Sfoini, *Ξένοι συγγραφείς μεταφρασμένοι ελληνικά 1700–1832: Ιστορική προσέγγιση του ελληνικού μεταφραστικού φαινομένου* (Athens: Institute of Historical Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2019); Anna Tabaki, “Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός: Η διαμεσολάβηση του μεταφραστικού εγχειρήματος,” in *Στέφανος: Αφιέρωμα στον Βάλτερ Πούχνερ*, ed. Iossif Vivilakis (Athens: Ergo, 2007), 1227–39.

⁴¹ Anna Tabaki, “Η οπτική του Κοραή για τη λογοτεχνία και το θέατρο,” *Παράβασις* 2 (1998): 94 [the same article is also in Tabaki, *Περί Νεοελληνικού Διαφωτισμού: Ρεύματα ιδεών και διάυλοι επικοινωνίας με τη δυτική σκέψη* (Athens: Ergo, 2004), 183–211]. See also Dimitrios I. Polemis, ed., *Αλληλογραφία Θεόφιλου Καΐρη*, vol. 1, *Επιστολαί Θεόφιλου Καΐρη 1814–1839* (Andros: Kaireios Library, 1994), 15–20: Korais’ letters to Evanthia and Theophilos of 16/28 January 1815 and 7/10 June 1819.

⁴² Denissi, “Greek Enlightenment,” 44.

⁴³ Pauline de Meulan, married to François Guizot, historian and politician. The full title was: *Les enfants: contes à l’usage de la jeunesse* (ca. 1820); she has published several *Contes* during the nineteenth century. See also Robin Bates, “Madame Guizot and Monsieur Guizot: Domestic Pedagogy and the Post-Revolutionary Order in France, 1807–1830,” *Modern Intellectual History* 8, no. 1 (2011): 31–59.

⁴⁴ Adamantios Korais, *Αλληλογραφία*, vol. 3, *1810–1816* (Athens: Omilos Meletis Neollinikou Diaforismou, 1979), 372–73: letter to Theophilos Kairis, 28 January 1815.

⁴⁵ Eighteenth-century Scottish physician and moralist (1724–1773); see also Mary Catherine Moran, “Between the Savage and the Civil: Dr John Gregory’s Natural History of Femininity,” in Knott and Taylor, *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, 8–29. Related to the development of a European upper-class bourgeoisie, an important part of this moral literature concerned women’s education, a theme also treated in women literary authors of the period: Jessica R. Evans, “Female Roles and Moral Education in Maria Edgeworth’s Works” (PhD diss., Middle Tennessee State University, 2013).

⁴⁶ A late seventeenth-century French theologian, royal tutor and early reformer of political ideas (1651–1715). Adamantios Korais, *Αλληλογραφία*, 3:273, 376–80. Theophilos

published translation is that of the *Éloge de Marc-Aurèle* by Antoine Léonard Thomas, proposed again by Korais. *Marc-Aurèle* would be followed by the translation of Jean-Nicolas Bouilly's *Conseils à ma fille*; according to Evanthia, it was Korais again who had sent the *Conseils* to her along with other French works; she had read the book in 1819 and decided to translate it "for her own benefit".⁴⁷

One of the common threads in the three oeuvres of Fenelon, Gregory and Bouilly that was important for the scholarly shaping of young Evanthia is the education of young girls in the duty to their country. Eighteenth-century middle and upper *bourgeois* ethics⁴⁸ had introduced a novel kind of gendered virtue, that of civic *duty* and *consequence*, which women owed as much to their countries as to their families.⁴⁹ Fenelon, in the late seventeenth century, advises a formal organised "instruction of women in their duties", not only to become appropriate mothers and household mistresses, but also

advised her against the publication of her translation, because he feared conservative reactions.

⁴⁷ See her introduction to Bouilly, *Συμβουλαί προς την θυγατέρα μου*, η' [viii].

⁴⁸ On the moral aspect of education in women of the inferior classes, see Deborah Simonton, "The Education and Training of Eighteenth-Century English Girls, with Special References to Working Classes" (PhD diss., University of Southern Denmark, 1988). Nineteenth-century "popular education" of women opened the debate between class and gender in education: see, for instance, the articles by Keith Flett (Sex or Class: The Education of Working-Class Women, 1800–1870"), June Purvis ("We Can No Longer Pretend that Sex Stratification Does Not Exist, Nor That It Exists But Is Unimportant" (M. Eichler)) and Meg Gomersall ("Woman's Work and Education in Lancashire, 1800–1870: A Response to Keith Flett") in *History of Education* 18, no. 2 (1989).

⁴⁹ See Andreas Hellerstedt's introduction, in Hellerstedt, ed., *Virtue Ethics and Education from Late Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), 19–27. Ethics which were primarily introduced by male thinkers: Sylvana Tomaselli, "Civilization, Patriotism and Enlightened Histories of Woman?," in Knott and Taylor, *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, 117–35. According to Caroline Franklin, the rise of nationalism in France and Britain after the war in 1793 reversed attitudes towards women's patriotism in both countries: the Jacobin administration in France and Pitt's Tory government in England underlined the masculinisation of patriotism and political virtues: Franklin, "Romantic Patriotism as Feminist Critique of Empire: Helen Maria Williams, Sydney Owenson and Germaine de Staël," in Knott and Taylor, *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, 551–64. Early nineteenth-century Greek moral education presented two main trends, one religiously biased, recommending a strict canonisation of women's moral behaviour, and the other, often translated from its European correspondents, introducing practical rules of "social behaviour" (*χρηστοθήθειες*): Anna Matthaïou, *Οικογένεια και σεξουαλικότητα μεταξύ παράδοσης και νεωτερικότητας: Ελληνικές μαρτυρίες 17ος–19ος αιώνας* (Athens: Melissa, 2019), 152–90.

to contribute to the “strength and the felicity of their country” through the – moderate – satisfaction of their intellectual quests.⁵⁰ Addressing his daughter Flavie, Bouilly revives the classical ideal of female patriotism as an extension of patriarchal devotion, in the person of medieval Télésile, who stands up against Charles the Bold to protect her country and her father;⁵¹ while Gregory insinuates the existence of a “patriotic duty”, urging women to be married “for the good of the public”, which nevertheless he is not patriotic enough to wish for his own daughters.⁵² This new recommended array of female civic duties reproduced the male civic duties praised in Thomas’ *Éloge* on Emperor Marcus Aurelius (AD 121–180): the study of “male philosophy”, which fought against human degradation by tyranny, the virtues of bravery and sageness in war, of frugality in life, of truth and faithfulness in friendship, of firmness and justice in mind.⁵³

Thus, under the awed shadow of Korais, and not without the consent of Theophilos, 15-year-old Evanthia was systematically trained in the principles and rhetoric of a modern *duty to the “homeland”*, as reflected for instance in her epistles *To Women Philhellenes*, or in her introduction to *Νικήρατος*,⁵⁴ entitled “Προς τας Ελληνίδας”. Although she followed contemporary patterns of female education, as we will also see below, she is supposed to assume the duties of a male Enlightenment scholar: a merged gender intellectual and moral shaping, clearly invested in the main characters of her play, Nikiratos himself and his daughter Cleonike,⁵⁵ which could account for a gender-indistinct, certainly

⁵⁰ François de Fénelon, *De l’éducation des filles* (Paris: P. Aubouin 1687), chap. 11.

⁵¹ John Gregory, *A Father’s Legacy to his Daughters* (Dublin: Thomas Ewing & Caleb Jenkin, 1774), 62–63.

⁵² Bouilly, *Conseils à ma fille*, 176–87.

⁵³ Antoine Léonard Thomas, *Essai sur les éloges, suivi par l’Éloge de Marc-Aurèle* (Toulouse: Vieusseux, 1819), 2:233–39. Besides, Marcus Aurelius’ *Meditations* is the treatise par excellence on the duties of the ideal man of government which has strongly influenced modern European philosophical thought.

⁵⁴ Where she refers to her “great debt” towards the nation that urged her hand to write this play: *Νικήρατος*, 9.

⁵⁵ Probably modelled on Evanthia’s early readings, that is on the personality of Télésile in de Bouilly’s *Conseils* and in her own translation: *Συμβουλαί προς την θυγατέρα μου: Θυγατρὸς ηρωισμός*, 121–36; or on Marcus Aurelius himself. Besides, Theophilos himself should serve her as the perfect model of the philosopher who fights for his country: Theophilos Kairis, *Το ημερολόγιο του Ολύμπου*, ed. Dimitris Kyrtatas (Athens: Gutenberg, 2021). Evanthia Stivanaki underlines the autobiographical aspects of *Νικήρατος*: “Ο πατριωτικός ‘Νικήρατος’ της Ευανθίας Καίρη,” 262–64; Dimitrios Spathis, on the other hand, sustains that the play is more important for its novel romantic dramatisation of historical events in Messolonghi,

bodiless discourse of melancholy in her private correspondence, as opposed to her language of female patriotism in her public epistles.⁵⁶

A Melancholy that Questions Everything

In 1820 Evanthia's mother died of illness. In 1821 the revolution broke out in Kydonies, which was soon destroyed by the Ottoman forces. Evanthia, her uncle Sophronios and her godmother Anneza Smyrnaïou, whom she had invited over from Andros in 1819⁵⁷ – her youngest sister Sophia must have died before 1821 – sought refuge on the island of Psara, and from there went to Andros, where she remained until the summer of 1824. Then she followed the family of her younger brother Dimitrios (Dimitrakis) to Syros, where she settled for the next 15 years.⁵⁸ In the summer of 1839 she returned once again to Andros, where she would live for the rest of her life, refusing to travel because of her deep fear of the sea.⁵⁹

In her letters to Theophilos during the early years of her stay in Andros (1821–1824), she adopts the patriotic enthusiastic discourse of her literary works. In 1822 she rejoices that her brother is fulfilling “the debt to the common homeland (*πατρίδα*)”, which he himself has taught her, along with the duty to sacrifice one's life for its freedom,⁶⁰ and in 1823 she is happy to hear that “the affairs of the nation (*γένος*)” have started to look up.⁶¹ Since 1823, though, her language of duty gradually gives way to a discourse of frustration and protest against this “debt” which takes her brother away from her and stalls his letters.

as well as its bold political criticism, than its autobiographical references: Spathis, “Παλαιά λογοτεχνικά κείμενα,” 356–61.

⁵⁶ And which distinguishes Evanthia's public patriotism from the end-of-century female nationalist narratives, such as Kalliroe Parren's, investing in class distinctions and in a female, motherly morality, superior to that of men: Efi Avdela and Angelika Psarra, “Engendering ‘Greekness’: Women's Emancipation and Irredentist Politics in Nineteenth-Century Greece,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 20, no. 1 (2005): 67–79.

⁵⁷ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:17–18, Kydonies, 20 April 1819.

⁵⁸ The island of Syros served as a current destination of refugees and merchants from the Aegean: Angeliki Fenerli, “Νέα στοιχεία για την πρώτη εγκατάσταση των προσφύγων στην Ερμούπολη,” in *Σύρος και Ερμούπολη: Συμβολές στην ιστορία του νησιού 15ος–20ός αι.*, ed. Christina Agriantoni and Dimitris Dimitropoulos (Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2008), 77–86, and Christos Loukos, “Μερικές επισημάνσεις για τους κατοίκους της Ερμούπολης τον 19ο αιώνα: γεωγραφική προέλευση, εγκατάσταση στο χώρο, επαγγέλματα, κοινωνικές σχέσεις,” in Agriantoni and Dimitropoulos, *Σύρος και Ερμούπολη*, 105–25.

⁵⁹ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:287, Andros, 8 June 1865.

⁶⁰ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:18–19, Andros, July 1822.

⁶¹ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:25–26, Andros, 15 May 1823.

“Taught to tell the truth,” she confesses that the view of the Ottoman fleet in the Aegean causes her less sorrow than the thought that she might not see him again;⁶² she “sheds burning tears” because she has spent a whole year away from him, without seeing him and without his guidance, until her melancholic outburst, in which she relegates patriotic duty to the freedom of the mind:

You will tell me again, dear brother, that for the sake of the country’s freedom we should suffer a great deal. Yes, I think that I can suffer the greatest misfortunes one can imagine for my country’s love, but when the thought enters my mind that I cannot enjoy the real freedom of the mind, indispensable to the freedom of the body, because he who taught me this freedom is away, then my grief becomes immense.⁶³

Until 1824 her classical education served her more as a pretext to hide from historical reality than to participate in it. In 1823 she wrote to Theophilos: “I have long started to read the *Peloponnesian War* [by Thucydides] in order to forget the current one,” and she loses herself in reverie of the classical landscape of Attica, the Persian Wars and the prison of Socrates, which her brother describes to her after his visit.⁶⁴ Events such as the enemy Ottoman fleet’s presence in the Aegean or even the destruction of the island of Chios attract her attention only because her brother asks her to report on them. “I wonder, my brother, why you ask me to keep a diary of whatever unusual events would happen in this place, for I have lived here for more than two years now and I have seen or heard nothing which merits inquiring about,” she wrote to Theophilos from Andros on 26 June 1823.⁶⁵ And yet a series of severe tax riots had broken out on the island during the summer of 1822, dividing the local society and pitching the local against the revolutionary authorities,⁶⁶ to which she devotes no more than a short laconic reference, in relation again to Theophilos.⁶⁷ Later, she would appear equally unaware of the rivalries between the inhabitants of Syros and the refugees from the eastern Mediterranean coast (Smyrna, Kydonies) and the Aegean, established

⁶² *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:27, Andros, 2 June 1823.

⁶³ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:32, Andros, 19 September 1823.

⁶⁴ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:28–30 and 30–32, Andros, 26 June and 19 September 1823.

⁶⁵ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:29, Andros, 26 June 1823.

⁶⁶ Dimitris Dimitropoulos, *Τρεις Φιλικοί, έπαρχοι στην Άνδρο: Από το επαναστατικό σχέδιο στην κρατική διοίκηση (1822–1825)* (Athens: Institute of Historical Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2020), 61–102.

⁶⁷ She fears that his [re-]election as representative of Andros in the National Assembly will bring trouble, because of the dissensions (*διχοστασίαι*) in the island: *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:33–35, 2 May 1824; On the re-election of Theophilos: *Αλληλογραφία*, 1: 88–89; Dimitropoulos, *Τρεις Φιλικοί*, 103.

on the littoral zone of the island, where the new port-city of Ermoupoli was to be created; and yet she had lived among them for 15 years. Besides, she constantly flees reality by returning to the delights of the nature and rural life.

During her stay in Syros with Dimitrios' family, Evanthia would finally give way to a permanent discourse of gloom: "in Andros my sorrow was great, here it is lethal".⁶⁸ The terms *despondency* (*αθυμία*), *sorrow* (or grief, *θλίψις*) and *sadness* (*λύπη*) are to be found practically in every letter along with a tearful⁶⁹ and sighful vocabulary, while the language of *patriotic duty* has been almost abandoned entirely. The main reasons she gives for her grief is the absence, the damaged health, and the political misfortunes of her brother. She constantly regrets his physical absence, imposed on her by his duties to the revolution and the political reality of their time; but she regrets even more what she takes as long silences to her letters, which she certainly attributes to the difficulties of correspondence during the revolution and to her brother's heavy schedule of activities, but which are beginning to feel like betrayals:

Through Giannakis' letters to Dimitrios I hear that you are keeping well in your health; from those who arrive here, that you have started teaching; but from my dear brother not a single letter about his wished-for health, not an answer to my own letter; for which my sorrow has no end, and I worry about him. If ever, loved brother, I thought that I received no letters from you because you had no time to write, I cannot do so anymore, no matter how much I try.⁷⁰

In fact, their correspondence, scarce during the revolution, intensifies from 1835 only to become rare again after 1840, during Theophilos' travels in Europe (in France and England); it finally ends in 1844, when Theophilos also establishes himself in Andros.⁷¹

In Syros Evanthia gives free vent to a deep growing general discomfort: against her intellectual shaping (perhaps also against the brother that had shaped her), which tied her down to an austere, virtuous and dutiful self through the most sublime bond, the "debt to freedom and the nation"; against her own overwrought sensibility: addressing Theophilos in 1836, she regrets

⁶⁸ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:37, Syros, 13 October 1824.

⁶⁹ On the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century "discours larmoyant" and its communicative functions: Anne Vincent-Buffault, *Histoire des larmes: XVIIIe-XIXe siècles* (Marseille: Rivages, 1986), where the writer describes the transition from the tearful discourse for a generalised virtue, indispensable to moral education, to crying over individual fates. See also Tom Lutz, *Crying: The Natural and Cultural History of Tears* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999).

⁷⁰ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:186, Syros, 15 March 1838.

⁷¹ Polemis, "Η αλληλογραφία," 280–87.

that she will never reach the level of happiness of those who, like her brother, do not feel sorrow at inadvertent human misfortunes, and are not “dominated by passions”;⁷² for she herself “frets and feels sad at the slightest mishap”.⁷³ Finally, in an enigmatic passage of a letter addressed to the wife of her printer Konstantinos Tombras,⁷⁴ she lashes out against “society” which constantly causes her unhappiness, despite the sacrifices of freedom and the many sacred duties she suffers for its sake.⁷⁵ What is this “society” she revolts against?

A Local Declining Aristocracy: Depressive Celibacies and Overwhelming Patriarchies

Evanthia was born into the Kairis family through her father and into the Kampanis house through her mother. Both her parents belonged to the ancient aristocracy of Andros, which suffered the economic and social repercussions of the revolutionary and postrevolutionary period. While Dimitrios’ commercial enterprises⁷⁶ seem to have flourished during the revolution, the postrevolutionary period brought about the deterioration of his economic situation and the severe financial problems with which his family was confronted, along with Evanthia: a common fate for small merchant enterprises, which could not survive recurrent crises in the Aegean and could not compete with the strategies of larger commercial companies established in Ermoupoli in the 1830s.⁷⁷ Economic deterioration provoked a collective melancholic ambiance in the island, which

⁷² One of the prevalent modern ideas about women’s education is that it should be controlled by reason, emotions being dangerous to their individual and family happiness, an idea shared by both male and female authors of eighteenth-century literature: Michèle Cohen, “Gender and ‘Method’ in Eighteenth-Century English Education,” *History of Education* 33, no. 5 (2004): 585–95.

⁷³ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:116, Syros, 31 January 1836.

⁷⁴ On Tombras, see Philippos I. Iliou, *Από την αλληλογραφία του Κοραή, ανέκδοτα και ξεχασμένα γράμματα* (Athens: s.n., 1953), 122.

⁷⁵ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:97–98, ca. 1834.

⁷⁶ Evanthia’s father, Nikolaos Tommazos Kairis, ran a commercial enterprise, which was passed down to her younger brother Dimitrios: Dimitrios Polemis, “Καίρικά οικογενειακά έγγραφα,” *Πέταλον* 4 (1984): 6.

⁷⁷ Particular the Chiote companies: Gelina Harlaftis, *Ιστορία της ελληνόκτητης ναυτιλίας, 19ος–20ός αιώνας* (Athens: Nefeli, 2001), 152. Besides, the gradual deterioration of transit commerce and of the international role of Ermoupoli in the second half of the nineteenth century led local entrepreneurs to invest in industry and the local market: Christina Agriantoni, “Προσαρμογές του επιχειρηματικού κόσμου της Ερμούπολης στο δεύτερο μισό του 19ου αιώνα,” in Agriantoni and Dimitropoulos, *Σύρος και Ερμούπολη*, 143–53.

influenced Evanthia: “The only news to be heard now in Syros are the failures of companies, companies of friends, of acquaintances, of strangers,” Evanthia wrote in 1837, seeking her brother’s comfort.⁷⁸

These insular aristocracies, which had replaced the ancient Latin aristocracy in their feudal estates from the seventeenth century,⁷⁹ generally preserved the ancient system of primogeniture. Firstborns, both male and female, had priority in the distribution of patrimonial property, while younger children were often left with little or no property at all. Consequently, younger daughters could remain unmarried because they had no dowry, obliged to attach themselves to the firstborn’s household as guests or auxiliaries, while younger sons were forced to migrate and make their fortune elsewhere.⁸⁰ Presumably intended to compensate for the division and deterioration of properties by maintaining ancient social privileges,⁸¹ these forced-celibacy systems had important demographic, economic and social implications. On the other hand, they constructed particular patriarchal relations, especially among siblings,⁸² and

⁷⁸ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:166, Syros, 8 July 1837.

⁷⁹ Elias Kolovos, *Όπου ήν κήπος. Η μεσογειακή νησιωτική οικονομία της Άνδρου σύμφωνα με το οθωμανικό κτηματολόγιο* (Heraklion: Crete University Press, 2017), 46–47; see also Paschalis, *Εβανθία Καΐρη*, 6.

⁸⁰ European historiography, on the other hand, has shown that as intellectual careers were often forced on the younger male members of early modern feudal aristocracy, this compulsory *scholarship* often generated feelings of bitterness and frustration, which added to the general modern stereotype of the melancholic intellectual: Marie-Christine Vinet, “De l’économie de la mélancolie du scholar: Figures du pharmakon chez Robert Burton” (MA diss., University of Montreal, 2017), 64–65. It is interesting to note here that male celibacy in the Kairis and the Kampanis branches, on the contrary, seemed to observe birth order, since it was the corollary of ecclesiastical and intellectual careers of their male firstborn members.

⁸¹ Based largely on dowry arrangements and marital strategies, these politics of inheritance favoured female over male primogeniture rights, thus developing a prestigious milieu of well-to-do testators and heiresses in the Aegean, who preserved the memory of their ancient, “feudal” distinction even when they had lost their real economic and social power after the revolution: Eleftheria Zéi, “Dotations des filles, dotations des fils et transformations sociales dans l’Archipel grec au XVIIIe siècle: premières hypothèses,” *Annales de Démographie Historique* (forthcoming).

⁸² Bernard Vernier, *Η κοινωνική γένεση των αισθημάτων: Πρωτότοκοι και υστερότοκοι στην Κάρπαθο*, trans. Evgenia Tselenti, ed. Evthymios Papataxiarchis (Athens: Alexandria, 2001), 157–217. Originally published as *La genèse sociale des sentiments: Aînés et cadets dans l’île grecque de Karpathos* (Paris: EHESS, 1991). Although the system of primogeniture seems to have been abandoned on Andros by the early nineteenth century, relevant practices did not cease to exist, as for instance in the village of Ammolochos, in the northern part of the island, according to the inquiry conducted in 1833 by the Greek Ministry of Justice: Georg Ludwig von Maurer, *Das*

are supposed to have developed melancholic gendered subjects,⁸³ a context in which Evanthia's celibacy ought to be considered.

The social circumstances of Evanthia's celibacy are obscure. Was it a forced celibacy, because she was deprived of a dowry, being the youngest child of the Kairis family?⁸⁴ Polemis refers to the possibility of a broken promise of marriage, based on a letter from Theophilos to Evanthia in 1835.⁸⁵ On the other hand, a nineteenth-century literary tradition represented her as a handsome gifted woman who turned down numerous, socially important offers of marriage.⁸⁶

Primogeniture and forced-celibacy practices bring out relations between siblings. The study of siblings has very recently acquired an autonomous importance in the history of modern middle- and upper-class families, reflected in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literature,⁸⁷ and particularly for the history of what Leonore Davidoff calls the "long families" of the late eighteenth century,⁸⁸ as was the case of the Kairis and Kampanis houses, which branched

griechische Volk in öffentlicher, kirchlicher und privat-rechtlicher Beziehung vor und nach dem Freiheitskampfe bis zum 31 Juli 1831 (Heidelberg: Mohr, 1835), here from the Greek edition: *Ο ελληνικός λαός: Δημόσιο, ιδιωτικό και εκκλησιαστικό δίκαιο από την έναρξη του αγώνα για την ανεξαρτησία ως την 31η Ιουλίου 1834*, ed. Tasos Vournas (Athens: Tolidis, 1976), 109–10, 150; Dimitrios Paschalis, *Νομικά έθιμα της νήσου Άνδρου, ήτοι τοπικά εν Άνδρω συνήθειαι περί του οικογενειακού και του κληρονομικού δικαίου, εμπορικών συμβάσεων, αγροτικών εκμισθώσεων κλπ.*, (Andros: s.n., 1925), 154–57. On the other hand, the revolution has generally upset patterns of marriage and celibacy in the islands: Matthaïou, *Οικογένεια και σεξουαλικότητα*, 226–27.

⁸³ Different feudal norms of forced virginity, religious or secular, and marriage regulations, are considered to have particularly afflicted early modern youth with melancholy, have been related to the development of European urban societies: Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, I 3: 4, 342–43. See also the religious melancholy ("mélancolie religieuse"), introduced by Diderot one century later, which would menace young female religious devotees: Menin, "Les larmes de Suzanne," 29.

⁸⁴ She appears to be belatedly provided in Theophilos' testament, in which he leaves her his part of the patrimonial fortune after his death; his testament is currently on display in the Kaireios Library, in Andros.

⁸⁵ *Αλληλογραφία*, 4: letter n. 53.

⁸⁶ Dimitrios S. Balanos, "Εβανθία Καΐρη (1799–1866)," *Ημερολόγιον της Μεγάλης Ελλάδος*, vol. 6 (Athens: I.N. Sideris, 1927), 373 (based on Dora d'Istria's portrait of Evanthia: Dora d'Istria, *Les femmes en Orient*, vol. 1, *La péninsule orientale* (Zurich: Meyer & Zeller, 1859), 371–73).

⁸⁷ Valerie Sanders introduces the term of nineteenth-century "sibling culture": *The Brother–Sister Culture in Nineteenth-Century Literature: From Austen to Wolf* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).

⁸⁸ Leonore Davidoff, *Thicker than Water: Siblings and their Relations, 1780–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

out in several islands of the Greek archipelago.⁸⁹ These dispersed families, which constituted large, complex and all-encompassing webs of kinship,⁹⁰ also functioned as economic, social and cultural networks which were often held together by “close marriages”, sibling intimacy or incest.⁹¹ Such networks often kept siblings unknown to each other for quite long stretches of time: Evanthia met her 15-year-old brother Theophilos probably for the first time in her life upon arriving in Kydonies.⁹² On the other hand, in his pioneering work on the construction of social emotions in the islands, Bernard Vernier had already studied love among siblings in primogeniture systems as a social performance of authority and submission.⁹³

If the commercialisation of Andros’ aristocracy had reduced the economic effects of firstborn rights after the revolution, it had nevertheless retained their social and symbolic performance. Birth order defined a ranking of reference: in Evanthia’s correspondence, the whole family “paid” or “addressed respects” (*προσκυνοῦσι, προσαγορεύουσι*) to Theophilos, as well as to his uncle Sophronios, while Evgenios, Ioassaf, Dimitrios, Maria, Laskaro and Evanthia⁹⁴ were “embraced” (*ασπαζόμεθα*). Especially in a family without parents – Evanthia’s father has died in 1794, and her mother in 1820 – the firstborn exercised, even remotely, a patriarchal authority over the family and property affairs and arrangements: Evanthia never ceases to inform Theophilos on the other members of the family, on the commercial affairs and gains of the youngest, Dimitrios, on the financial problems which pile up after the revolution, and to which Theophilos is often called on to give advice or remedy. Birth order defines the hierarchisation of responsibilities and roles towards the female and younger members of the

⁸⁹ Eleftheria Zei, “New Perspectives in Local Politics before and during the Greek Revolution: Consular Institutions in the Greek Archipelago (Late Eighteenth–Early Nineteenth Century),” in Elias Kolovos and Dimitris Kousouris, eds., *The Greek Revolution of 1821 in the Age of Revolutions* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming), 230.

⁹⁰ Eleanor Gordon, review of *Thicker than Water: Siblings and their Relations, 1780–1920*, by Leonore Davidoff, *Reviews in History*, no. 1362, <https://reviews.history.ac.uk/review/1362>, accessed 28 June 2021.

⁹¹ The study of eighteenth-century incest, in particular, offers a key to understand modern family in its social and cultural context: Seth J. Denbo, “Speaking Relatively: A History of Incest and the Family in Eighteenth-Century England” (PhD diss., University of Warwick, 2011).

⁹² Olympitou, *Οι γυναίκες του Αγώνα*.

⁹³ Vernier, *Η κοινωνική γένεση των αισθημάτων*, 299–306.

⁹⁴ Evanthia was the third sister, but from 1821 onwards she was the youngest of all, since the fourth and youngest sister had died earlier in Kydonies: Polemis, “Καϊρικά οικογενειακά έγγραφα,” 6.

family. The duty to marry a sister or a niece⁹⁵ falls on the eldest brother, which, when “unaccomplished”, causes a heavy emotional burden, as in the case of Theophilos’ duty to marry off Evanthia;⁹⁶ the lodging and subsistence of a celibate sister depends on the only married brother, as he inherited the patrimonial commercial business. In a parentless family, finally, the eldest brother also acts as a substitute father, a model of relationship which, in Evanthia’s case, is enforced by a quite current eighteenth-century discursive pattern of father-to-daughter education.⁹⁷ Until 1831 Evanthia addresses her brother Theophilos as “brother and master” (διδάσκαλε), looks up to him “for his virtue and his wisdom”,⁹⁸ and devotes her time to his scientific and philosophical interests,⁹⁹ while he closely inspects her lectures. It is only after 1835, when Evanthia has reached 36 years of age, that she ventures to break the father/master-daughter/disciple pattern, and to acknowledge the brother–sister relationship by addressing Theophilos as “dear and much missed brother” (αγαπητέ και περιπόθητε αδελφέ).¹⁰⁰ Theophilos himself will always address her as “dear Evanthia”.¹⁰¹

This belated transition from brotherly authority to sibling’s relationship, which coincides chronologically with the climax of her melancholic discourse, as shown above, also marks the construction of Evanthia’s belated and ambiguous womanhood.¹⁰² While intellectual adulthood appeared as Evanthia’s unique

⁹⁵ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:160, Syros, 13 March 1837.

⁹⁶ Theophilos wrote to her from Paris (5 September 1842): “How much would it lift the burden of gloom (αθυμία) that depresses me, if I could fulfil my debt to my beloved sister.” Polemis, “Η αλληλογραφία,” 292.

⁹⁷ Revived in Gregory’s and Bouilly’s texts, mentioned above, which young Evanthia is given to read and translate by her elder mentor Korais; besides, the latter addresses her as “my beloved daughter Evanthia”, or “beloved little daughter” (φιλη θυγάτηρ-φιλον θυγάτριον): *Αλληλογραφία*, 1:15–18, 16/18 January 1815, and sends her “fatherly embraces”: Paschalis, *Εβανθία Καίρη*, 11–12, while she styles him “most respected father”: *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:15, 2 August 1814. A pattern which reproduces an early modern patriarchal model of young girls’ upbringing, reinforced by the Reformation: Adroniki Dialeti, “Ο ιππότης, ο ιερέας και ο πατριάρχης: Όψεις του ανδρισμού στη μεσαιωνική και πρόωμη νεότερη Ευρώπη,” in *Το φύλο στην ιστορία: Αποτιμήσεις και παραδείγματα*, ed. Glafki Gotsi, Adroniki Dialeti and Eleni Fournaraki (Athens: Asini, 2015), 218.

⁹⁸ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:26, Andros, 15 May 1823.

⁹⁹ Roy MacLeod and Russell Moseley, “Fathers and Daughters: Reflections on Women, Science and Victorian Cambridge,” *History of Education* 8, no. 4 (1979): 321–33.

¹⁰⁰ A pattern and a reference which she also observes in her relation with Spyridon Glafkopidis, some 20 years younger than her.

¹⁰¹ Polemis, “Η αλληλογραφία,” 289.

¹⁰² On the cultural, historical and social construction of female youth in early modern Europe: Elisabeth S. Cohen and Margaret Reeves, eds., *The Youth of Early Modern Women*

premature achievement,¹⁰³ she never fulfilled the primary structural conditions of womanhood in a prerevolutionary insular society: normative discourses of adulthood in different insular and continental regions of the Ottoman Empire¹⁰⁴ connected womanhood with the right to receive patrimonial property and get married. She would have to create a modern female adulthood through a long, solitary and subjective procedure, through her education and her private teaching.¹⁰⁵

Finally, was Evanthia's celibacy due to the devotion to her brother as an asexual, moral and emotional substitution of a husband–wife relationship?¹⁰⁶ If this aspect of her relationship with Theophilos has been of focus in the Greek bibliography,¹⁰⁷ perhaps it should not be considered independently of the secular and religious context of morality in which she was shaped. Besides her early virtuous education described above, she had apparently assimilated the principles of Theophilos' religious doctrine of theosebism (θεοσέβεια), a mixture of theology, science and ethics,¹⁰⁸ which permitted marriage only among disciples. In the rare occasions in which she refers to those principles in her letters, she seems familiar with them;¹⁰⁹ besides, she read the third volume of Louis Cousin-Despréaux's *Les leçons de la nature*,¹¹⁰ sent to her by her brother,

(Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), 11-31; see also José Gentil Da Silva, “Η ιστορικότητα της παιδικής ηλικίας και της νεότητας στην πρόσφατη ιστορική παραγωγή,” in *Ιστορικότητα της παιδικής ηλικίας και της νεότητας*, 2 vols. (Athens: Historical Archive of Greek Youth, 1986), 37–78.

¹⁰³ Paschalis, *Εβανθία Καΐρη*, 15

¹⁰⁴ Matthaiou, *Οικογένεια και σεξουαλικότητα*, 145–46.

¹⁰⁵ See also the procedure of constructing a female, autonomous self through the discourse of female teachers in the Ottoman Empire: Maria Preka, *Δασκάλες στα χρόνια του αλυτρωτισμού: Μικρές ιστορίες, μεγάλες περιπλανήσεις* (Athens: Hellenic Open University Press, forthcoming).

¹⁰⁶ See the spectre of a relevant problematic and bibliography in Dimitra Vassiliadou, “Love in Families,” in *A Cultural History of Love in the Age of Industry*, ed. Sonya Lipsett-Rivera (London: Bloomsbury, forthcoming), 12–13.

¹⁰⁷ See the interpretation of Evanthia's relationship with her brother by Delopoulos, “Υγίαινε, αγαπητέ και περιπόθητε αδελφέ.”

¹⁰⁸ Theophilos Kairis, *Γνωστική: Στοιχεία φιλοσοφίας*, intro. Niketas Siniouoglou (Athens: Evrasia, 2008); Kazolea-Tavoulari, *Θεόφιλος Καΐρης*.

¹⁰⁹ She is also reported to have been buried with a civil ceremony, in accordance with the precepts of theosebism: I.P. Z[ografos], “Θεόφιλος Καΐρης,” *Μικρασιατικών Ημερολόγιον έτος 1911* (Samos: Typ. Mikrasiatikou, 1911), 376.

¹¹⁰ Louis Cousin-Despréaux, *Les leçons de la nature ou l'histoire naturelle, la physique et la chimie, présentée à l'esprit et au coeur* (Lyon: Perisse, 1829). She mentions it in *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:128, Syros, 26 March 1836.

an oeuvre which strongly reflects Kairis' system of everyday morality, serving as a bridge which connects the soul to the human body and its natural functions. Consequently, her allusions to the "freedom of the body"¹¹¹ seem to be made more in the context of an enlightened virtuous discourse than in a literal somatic framework, which, in any case, would be contrary to her moral education. Had she come in contact, through her Enlightenment readings, with early modern medicinal literature, establishing the biological relation between forced celibacy and female *melancholia*,¹¹² or with early nineteenth-century psychiatric literature on women's melancholy,¹¹³ we know nothing of it as yet. Evanthia's only bodily effusion in her letters are her ever-flowing tears of sorrow, an ungendered expression, besides, which befits the modern scholar, as shown above.

Evanthia's discourse is ambiguous when relating her celibacy to her melancholic turns. Indifferent though she appears towards her marital status during her youth, she does not fail to express a certain regret for her celibacy after the revolution, while at the same time she declares herself to be conscious of the fact that marriage does not necessarily constitute a way to happiness.¹¹⁴ Besides, she has learnt from her early education that "living in happiness" (*ευδαιμόνως*) in the "Enlightenment" context is primarily achieved through intellectual and moral exercises,¹¹⁵ while, in a letter to her niece Evanthia, she criticises rich and ostentatious weddings, which "make the sorrow of the parents and the joy of the merchants".¹¹⁶

Under the above overwhelming intellectual and social patriarchy, which, even when craved for, crushes her in its embrace, Evanthia is attached to her

¹¹¹ See above, 22.

¹¹² Which treated "female melancholia" as a particular disease, originating in menstrual disorders and the reproductive functions of the female body; see, for instance, the works of Luis Mercado (a Spanish royal physician), *Gynaeciorum libri IIII* (1586), Rodrigo de Castro Lusitano (a Portuguese-Jewish physician), *Universa muliebrium morborum medicina* (1603) and Guillaume de Baillou, *De virginum et mulierum morbis liber* (1643).

¹¹³ On the biological interpretation of female *melancholia* in nineteenth-century medicinal literature, see the rich bibliography on the subject: Dimitra Vassiliadou, *Στον τροπικό της γραφής*; Vassiliadou, "Auto/pathographies in situ," 213–15. Evanthia should be familiar, though, with her brother's theory on the role of the brain and the neurological system on human cognitive functions and conscience, included in his philosophical oeuvre.

¹¹⁴ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:176–77, 225–26, Syros, 26 September 1837, and Andros, 17 November 1842.

¹¹⁵ Korais, for instance, points out to her that it is impossible to live in happiness without virtue: *Αλληλογραφία*, 1:16, 16/28 January 1815.

¹¹⁶ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:253, Andros, 5 November 1860. Yet, she supports and recommends the matchmaking between Glafkopidis and her brother's Dimitrios sister-in-law, Katingo Bisti.

brother Dimitrios' household, in the patrimonial house he probably inherited, and later to his new place of establishment in Syros. Yet she would have preferred to live with Theophilos in a place of "their own", when in 1824 she was invited to Nafplion to teach the children of the president of the National Assembly:¹¹⁷ that would be her conception of "independence", but her plans soon fail, owing to a typhoid epidemic in the city.¹¹⁸ In 1844 Theophilos returned to Andros; yet he did not lodge with his sister. He spent his days and nights in the orphanage, where he resumed his teaching.¹¹⁹ But the Greek state and the Ministry of Justice took up his persecution on the grounds of his philosophical doctrine and teaching, and a court in Syros sentences him to prison, where he died in 1853. After the death of Dimitrios in 1861, Evanthia lived alone in the patrimonial house in Chora, where she probably gave private courses to young girls, as she did in Syros.¹²⁰ Yet, she was finally obliged to cease her educational activity by order of the authorities on the grounds that she had no official permission to teach, besides the fact that Andros was not deprived of a public school for girls.¹²¹

A Language of Solitude Amid Fully Inhabited Spaces: The Construction of a Modern Woman Writer

Evanthia does not lead a solitary life; far from it. She admits spending her days with a full household of uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, spiritual kin and a small but faithful selection of family "friends", such as the family of the merchant Dimitros Zeis, and the daughters of the Kydonies notable Chatziathanassiou, who had moved to the Cyclades after the destruction of their city. In their company she often passes her evenings and goes on excursions in their country estates; in

¹¹⁷ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:38, Syros, 13 October 1824.

¹¹⁸ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:39, Syros, 24 October 1824.

¹¹⁹ Polemis, "Η αλληλογραφία."

¹²⁰ She probably has never served publicly as a teacher in schools for girls: Sidiroula Ziogou-Karastergiou, *Η μέση εκπαίδευση των κοριτσιών στην Ελλάδα (1830–1893)* (Athens: Historical Archive of Greek Youth, 1986), 44.

¹²¹ See the letter of Andros mayor M. Birikos (1865): *Αλληλογραφία*, 4:140, Andros, 16 September 1865. It is suggested that the real reason of this prohibition appears to have been the authorities' concern that Evanthia would convert her pupils to her brother's heretical ideas: Olympitou, *Οι γυναίκες του Αγώνα*. On the other hand, this enforcement could also reflect a mid-century effort by the Greek state for the reformation of women's education and the professionalisation of women teachers: Fournaraki, *Εκπαίδευση και αγωγή των κοριτσιών*, 24–29; Alexandra Lambraki-Paganou, "Η εκπαίδευση των Ελληνίδων κατά την Οθωνική περίοδο" (PhD diss., National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 1988), 131.

Syros she goes twice to a ballroom dance¹²² – besides, she loves the spectacle of dancing,¹²³ although she finds peasant dances tasteless and graceless.¹²⁴ She has a restricted but uncontested circle of public male contacts: in 1825 she visits the Mavrokordatos family in Syros,¹²⁵ in 1827 she meets with the Protestant cleric John Hartley, when he comes to visit in Syros, and in 1828 with the American philhellene Henry Post, who lives on the island.¹²⁶ She corresponds with Georgios Laskaridis,¹²⁷ the publisher Ambroise-Firmin Didot, Adamantios Korais, while she addresses King Otto, a circle covering a large geographical span, from the Aegean islands (Andros, Syros, Santorini, Naxos, Aegina, Hydra) and the continent (Nafplion, Tripolitsa) to Paris, Marseille, London and Manchester.

Judging from her correspondence, as well as from the signatures at the end of her two epistles to *To Women Philhellenes*,¹²⁸ she also influenced an all but insignificant female circle, including women from the Aegean islands,¹²⁹ Athens, Salona (Amfissa) and Livadia, who are also her readers. Finally, she probably participated in the religious sociability of theosebism, as she kept frequent contact with her brother's disciples after his death.¹³⁰

And yet Evanthia has always described herself to Theophilos as leading a solitary and secluded existence after her return from Kydonies. Her language of solitariness, although a common literary topos, could also describe a breach of social and gendered norms in a small insular society: cohabitation and female

¹²² *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:72–73, Syros, 24 November 1825.

¹²³ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:44–45, Syros, 24 November 1824.

¹²⁴ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:34, Andros, 2 May 1824.

¹²⁵ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:70, Syros, 11 October 1825.

¹²⁶ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:84–85, Syros, 12 November 1827, where she refers to Hartley as “the American priest”; Polemis, “Ο Θεόφιλος Καΐρης και οι προτεστάνται μισσιονάριοι εις το Αιγαίον,” *Πέταλον* 4 (1984): 83, 92. On the penetration of Protestant philhellenes in the islands and the relevant bibliography, see also Maria Christina Chatziioannou, *Στη δίνη της Χιακής καταστροφής (1822): Διασταυρούμενες ιστορίες και συλλογική ταυτότητα* (Athens: Institute of Historical Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2021), 35–44.

¹²⁷ A member of an important commercial house of Chios: Gelina Harlaftis, “Το επιχειρηματικό δίκτυο των Ελλήνων της διασποράς: Η ‘χιώτικη φάση’ (1830–1860),” *Μνήμων* 15 (1993): 69–119.

¹²⁸ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:54–61, Nafplion, 17 April 1861, and 91–93, Syros, 13 August 1828.

¹²⁹ As, for instance, the letter sent by Alexandra N. Kaloudi from the island of Kea shows: *Αλληλογραφία*, 1:29–30, 12/24 April 1833.

¹³⁰ *Αλληλογραφία*, 4:40.

socialisation, male solitude and sleepless nights.¹³¹ Evanthia prefers to write her letters in the quiet solitude of the night, when “everyone in the house is asleep” and the moon brings peace to her restless mind,¹³² when she can imagine the presence of an absent correspondent.¹³³ It is particularly by appropriating the solitude of the night that she can really imagine a self of her own, outside the imposed contexts of education and family, that she can re-create herself as a woman writer.

It would seem that correspondence for Evanthia is a pretext. It appears that she usually made several undated drafts of her letters before sending them, a few of which were probably never sent.¹³⁴ Besides, she did not sign her publications: was this anonymity a nineteenth-century female literary pattern of self-effacement,¹³⁵ or was it her way of deconstructing and reconstructing herself? One thing is for sure, what really impassions her is the very act of writing, which she stages carefully, lying in wait for the appropriate hour of the night, imagining postures, gestures, pictures and thoughts that will accompany it. It is through the act and its gestures, perhaps as much as through the text itself, that she finally reconstructs a female intellectual self of her own. In 1825 she wrote to Theophilos: “You know that I find great pleasure to take the pen in my hands and imagine that I write, to imagine that I never stop writing if I have anything to write, and I wish there were some way to expose what I imagine when I write.”¹³⁶

Conclusion

In this article I have tried to approach Evanthia Kairi’s melancholic turn in her discourse, as manifested in her correspondence with her elder brother Theophilos during the Greek Revolution and until his death in 1853. I ventured to analyse her melancholic discourse as a complex and gendered ambiguous procedure of self-construction, as a culture of “active sensibility” related to the modelling of the “modern scholar”, particularly promoted by the French and English “Enlightenment”, through which she has been shaped by her famous scholarly mentors, Adamantios Korais and Theophilos Kairis. Against the

¹³¹ Eleftheria Zei, “Όψεις της νύχτας,” in *Ελλάδα της θάλασσας*, ed. Spyros I. Asdrachas, Anastasios Tzamtzis and Gelina Harlaftis (Athens: Melissa, 2004), 87–92.

¹³² *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:28, Andros, 26 June 1823.

¹³³ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:295, to an unknown recipient (after 1850).

¹³⁴ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:11.

¹³⁵ Rizaki, *Οι “Γράφουσες Ελληνίδες”*, 144.

¹³⁶ *Αλληλογραφία*, 2:64, Syros, 18 August 1825.

background of the hardships of the revolution and of an inimical Greek state, this procedure unfolds through different life narratives. Both her scholarly education on Enlightenment patriotic virtues, such as freedom and the duty towards one's homeland/nation, and her patriarchal, socially overwhelming sibling relations, were developed within two strict, normalising intellectual and social frameworks, which could account for her language of restlessness, anxiety, protest and depression. It is finally through her individualisation of melancholic seclusion and the female appropriation of solitariness that she appears to create her self-image as a modern woman writer, sitting alone, bent over her writing in the small hours of the night.

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“NORMAL CHILDREN” AND “SICK FEELINGS” IN GREEK PEDAGOGICAL DISCOURSE DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD, 1911–1939

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Abstract: In the early twentieth century, pedagogy, both as theory and practice, was revisited under the influence of two important reform movements. Pedagogy, a newly emerging discipline, established itself as an academic field and placed children, and their needs and experiences, at the core of its research. In Greece, the attempt to study the physical and mental development of children was closely linked with the attainment of national goals. This article looks into the attempt of interwar Greek educators to delineate and demarcate “normality” and “morbidity” with regard to the development and expression of feelings during childhood. We examine how contemporary sociopolitical conditions, as well as eugenics, influenced not only the scientific discourse on “pathological” emotions but also the ways a new signification model of “normal” and “anomalous” child emotions impacted public discourse on education and the development of the educational system in Greece.

Pedagogy: A “National Science” at the University of Athens

In 1923, the only chair of pedagogy in Greece set up the Laboratory of Experimental Pedagogy in Athens with the aim to serve, according to Nikolaos Exarchopoulos, holder of the chair, the attempts to establish a “Greek pedagogy”. Exarchopoulos aspired to develop a pedagogical system that was adjusted to the needs of Greek children that would also serve the nation’s needs. He believed that such a system should be founded on the knowledge of the distinctive physical and mental faculties of the Greek “race” and that pedagogy, a recently established science in Greece, ought to rest on extensive pedagogical research; the latter would provide the scientific knowledge about the physical and mental condition of Greek children as well as their most significant qualities.

Our contribution looks into the attempts by Exarchopoulos and other interwar Greek educators to delineate and demarcate “normality” and “morbidity” with regard to the development and expression of emotions during childhood. We examine how contemporary sociopolitical conditions and eugenic theory influenced the pedagogical discourse on “pathological” emotions as well as the attempts to define “normal” and “abnormal” childrens’ feelings.

In the 1910s, an interclass alliance, with the urban business class in charge, which retained a stronghold among the lower middle class as well as the landless farmers, stepped up demands for urban modernisation and political change. This alliance found in Eleftherios Venizelos its political advocate.¹ In 1911, Venizelos proceeded to amend the constitution, introducing changes to tertiary education as well. In this regard, a new charter of the University of Athens was endorsed, signalling the gradual dominance of expertise at the institution. The turn to expertise, apart from the university's effort to follow closely international scientific developments, was linked with the state's choice to strengthen certain branches of economic life² and organise a modern administrative infrastructure along the Western model.³

The University of Athens, the country's sole university until 1926, was the only field wherein scientific discourse developed and spread during the interwar period; besides, it contributed significantly to the emergence and development of new scientific fields in the university, among them pedagogy.⁴ Professors who held the newly established chairs competed with one another for the recognition of the new fields and the demarcation of their boundaries;⁵ at the same time, they attempted to introduce new disciplines within the ideological context of the university.

Since its inception, the university had acquired an explicitly political and national character, and as an autonomous carrier of ideology it was linked with the spread of national ideology and the raising of national awareness.⁶ Under its influence, scientists from different fields sought to establish, each in their own area of expertise, a "national science", which was expected to serve national goals. As a result, an alliance of fields, among them the new discipline of pedagogy, was established with the main aim to forge and protect national identity.⁷

It was not a coincidence that the chair of pedagogy was re-established, after breaking away from philosophy, at an historic juncture when the need to

¹ George Th. Mavrogordatos, "Βενιζελισμός και αστικός εκσυγχρονισμός," in *Βενιζελισμός και αστικός εκσυγχρονισμός*, ed. George Mavrogordatos and Christos Hadziiossif (Heraklion: Crete University Press, 1988), 11.

² Kostas Gavroglou, Vangelis Karamanolakis and Chaido Barkoula, *Το Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών (1837–1937) και η ιστορία του* (Heraklion: Crete University Press, 2014), 27.

³ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 233–36.

⁵ Efi Avdela, "Εισαγωγή: Η ανεξίτηλη διαφορά: λόγοι για τη φυλή στην Ελλάδα," in *Φυλετικές θεωρίες στην Ελλάδα*, ed. Efi Avdela et al. (Heraklion: Crete University Press, 2017), 39.

⁶ Constantinos Th. Dimaras, "Ιδεολογήματα στην αφετηρία του ελληνικού Πανεπιστημίου," in *Πανεπιστήμιο: Ιδεολογία και παιδεία. Ιστορική διάσταση και προοπτικές* (Athens: Istoriko Archeio Ellinikis Neolaias, 1989), 1:43–54.

⁷ Eynthymios Papataxiarchis, "Μεταμορφώσεις του ανθρωπολογικού φυλετισμού: οργανικές μεταφορές και ανθρωπολογικός λόγος στη μεσοπολεμική Ελλάδα," in Avdela et al., *Φυλετικές θεωρίες στην Ελλάδα*, 56.

reconstruct and strengthen the state mechanism was put forward; in this way, the state would attain its national goals, whether these were territorial claims in the Ottoman Empire or the country’s reconstruction following the Greco–Turkish War of 1922 and the demise of the Great Idea.

Pedagogy was called on to propose rational and effective educational practices, which were to be implemented in schools across the country. These practices were expected to contribute to the assimilation of the national ideology; the instruction of a citizen who would be useful to themselves and their nation; the internalisation of a common culture, which teachers, trained in the same curricula, language and morals, were responsible for instilling in children,⁸ conveying to them a sense of citizenship, their differences notwithstanding.⁹ The education of the national state wished to offer its future citizens a common framework of concepts and references so as to foster communication and draw a line between acceptable and nonacceptable attitudes and behaviours. It was expected that children would be instructed to distinguish which sensitivities ranked high in the scale of social acceptability; which feelings were acceptable to display; which ones were considered “normal” or “pathological”; which emotional reactions were deemed desirable and were expected to manifest themselves; and which ones were seen as morbid and thus were rejected. It was a preliminary instruction of the children’s emotional world.¹⁰

A Positivist Scientific Model for the Exploration of a Child’s “Nature”

In the context of early twentieth-century Greek nationalism, Exarchopoulos aspired to set up a pedagogical system based on international pedagogical movements yet adapted to the needs of Greek children and intended to serve national goals. Such a system, he believed, was to be founded on the in-depth knowledge of the distinctive physical and mental traits of the Greek race, and the new science of pedagogy in Greece was to be founded on extensive research which would provide the scientific knowledge about the physical and mental condition of Greek children as well as their most eminent features. The establishment of the Laboratory of Experimental Pedagogy, almost ten years after the establishment of the chair, served the creation of such a “national science”.

⁸ Nikolaos Exarchopoulos, *Ποίος τις πρέπει να είναι ο διδάσκαλος* (Athens: Avgi Apostolopoulou, 1907), 139, 150.

⁹ Nikolaos Exarchopoulos, *Εισαγωγή εις την Παιδαγωγικήν* (Athens: D. and P. Dimitrakos, 1923), 215–16.

¹⁰ Ute Frevert, “Le genre et l’histoire: l’exemple de la honte,” in *Histoire des Émotions: De la fin du XIXe siècle à nos jours*, ed. Alain Corbain, Jean-Jacques Courtine and Georges Vigarello (Paris: Seuil, 2017), 98–116.

In the early twentieth century, the wish to approach pedagogical issues scientifically resulted in various research movements converging on a movement that aspired to combine various studies on children, carried out by different scientific fields, and incorporate them into a positivist scientific model, thus setting up a complete science of the child: paedology.¹¹ The request for a complete knowledge of a child's nature and life, which led to the birth of the new science, was not made by researchers that focused primarily on the child, namely by education researchers; instead, it was made by those working in the fields of medicine, criminology, physiology, biology and ethnology who had studied various aspects of children's reality, albeit through their distinctive scientific lenses.¹² The paedology movement, which attempted to study the biological, psychological and social dimensions of the child, finally evolved into an autonomous discipline.¹³ It held up research methods employed in the positive sciences as the absolute model for researchers to adhere to.¹⁴ They aspired to measure every aspect of the educational procedure with the use of quantitative research methods, and express the results in figures whose subjectivity could not be disputed. Quantitative research methods were idealised,¹⁵ as it was thought that positivist knowledge would lead to a "subjective" and "neutral" scientific truth.¹⁶

At the beginning of the twentieth century, laboratories of psychology and pedagogy in Europe and North America laid the foundations for the development of experimental pedagogy and developed guidelines that educational research would follow for decades. Many other countries also instituted laboratories.¹⁷ The experimental studies carried out in these laboratories were based on an exclusively empirical, quantitative method. Ernst Meumann (1862–1915) and Wilhelm August Lay (1862–1926) in Germany formulated extensive pedagogical theories based on this method.¹⁸

¹¹ Maurice Debesse and Gaston Mialaret, *Traité des sciences pédagogiques* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1971), 2:368–69.

¹² Edouard Claparède, *Psychologie de l'enfant et pédagogie expérimentale* (Geneva: Kündig, 1916), 42.

¹³ Marc Depaepe, "Η πειραματική έρευνα στην εκπαίδευση," in *Εισαγωγή στις επιστήμες της εκπαίδευσης*, ed. Rita Hofstetter and Bernard Schneuwly (Athens: Metaixmio, 2004), 49.

¹⁴ Vassiliki Theodorou and Despina Karakatsani, *Ιατρική επίβλεψη και κοινωνική πρόνοια για το παιδί τις πρώτες δεκαετίες του 20ού αιώνα* (Athens: Dionikos, 2010), 115, 171.

¹⁵ Emmanouil Lambadarios, *Παιδολογία και σχολική υγιεινή* (Athens: Ethniko Typografeio, 1916), 6–7.

¹⁶ Roger Cousinet, *Η νέα αγωγή*, trans. G.A. Vasdeki (Athens: ΕΣΕΒ, 1956), 68–69.

¹⁷ Claparède, *Psychologie de l'enfant*, 46–97.

¹⁸ Albert Reble, *Ιστορία της Παιδαγωγικής*, trans. Theofanis Chatzistefanidis and Sofia Chatzistefanidi (Athens: Papadimas, 1996), 538.

Nikolaos Exarchopoulos (1874–1960), the most important educator among those who held the chair of pedagogy at the University of Athens in the twentieth century, but also Dimitris Glinos (1882–1943), Exarchopoulos’ greatest opponent with regard to Greek interwar educational policy, were among the important Greek scientists influenced by Meumann’s work.¹⁹ These two scholars shaped the course of interwar educational reform. Their well-documented dispute over the issue of language, the pedagogical school of thinking and political references reflect the dichotomy of Greek pedagogical and educational thinking in the early twentieth century. Despite their deep disagreement over issues of educational policy, when the formulation of a valid pedagogical theory was at stake, their views converged; indeed, the influence of the scientific movement that sought to found pedagogy on positivism,²⁰ a movement widely embraced by Greek educators during this period, was discernible in their discourse.

Our study focuses mainly on Exarchopoulos, who was appointed to the country’s first chair of pedagogy in 1912 and held it for more than 30 years, exerting great influence on pedagogical theory and practice, and on the development of pedagogical studies, in Greece. He was mostly concerned with the scientificity of the new field. He sought to establish pedagogy in academia as an autonomous science, on a par with other disciplines. His aim was to establish in Greece an objective science with regard to its research methods, and therefore reliable in terms of its research findings. Influenced by the movements of experimental pedagogy and paedology, he set up the Laboratory of Experimental Pedagogy, the Experimental School and the training course for in-service public teachers; all three institutions facilitated the chair of pedagogy in its attempt to produce scientific pedagogical knowledge and contributed towards enhancing the prestige of the new science. These institutions remained in place for many years, with some of them surviving to this day.²¹

¹⁹ Dimitris Glinos, a fervent advocate of the demotic language, was one of the pioneers in the educational reforms of 1913 and 1917 in Greece which attempted to establish demotic as the language of education. Glinos was long-standing key figure in the Committee for Education (Εκπαιδευτικός Όμιλος) since 1911. In 1936, he was elected a Communist Party MP. During the German occupation, he actively participated in the establishment of the National Liberation Front (EAM). Philippos Iliou, ed. *Δημήτρης Γληνός: Άπαντα* (Athens: Themelio, 1983).

²⁰ Information about his views on the production of valid pedagogical knowledge was derived from the notes he made for the courses of pedagogy he offered in the school for in-service secondary teacher training; he served as its director from 1912 to 1916. For these notes, see Glinos’ Archive. We also used published sources from Iliou, *Δημήτρης Γληνός*.

²¹ Pavlina Nikolopoulou, “Η πορεία του επιστημονικού κλάδου της Παιδαγωγικής προς την αυτονομία και οι διαδικασίες εδραίωσης του στο ακαδημαϊκό πεδίο: Το παράδειγμα

In the context of the rationalistic regeneration of the world, as envisioned by the rising urban class, notwithstanding the classicist tradition of the Faculty of Philosophy, the conditions for the development of the positivist model of science, as reflected in Experimental Pedagogy, were favourable at the University of Athens. Besides, during this period, the positivist trends in the study and research of other scientific fields, already established or in the process of being established at the University of Athens, were strengthened.²² During the same period, in parallel with Exarchopoulos, Theofilos Voreas, professor of philosophy, set up a new institution at the University of Athens – the Laboratory of Experimental Psychology – which was linked with new psychology subjects and tutorials introduced to the syllabus.²³ Ever since their undergraduate years, the two professors had followed parallel scientific careers, adopted positivism and collaborated so as to lay the foundations for the subjects of pedagogy and psychology in Greek academia.²⁴

Exarchopoulos believed the greatest accomplishments of the pedagogical movement in the early twentieth century were the development of new scientific research methods; and the shift in the emphasis of pedagogical thinking and research. Observation and experiments were at the time the main scientific research methods, and the child was placed at the centre of research in new pedagogy. He believed that the experimental study of the mental and physical “nature” of the child, as well as the conditions under which the child worked, would produce scientific knowledge; in turn, this knowledge would lead to the solving of pedagogical problems; to this end, he deemed the contribution of paedology to be crucial.

According to Exarchopoulos, research on the child’s physical and mental development attempted to define the stages of the child’s development and the course it took at each stage; the distinctive features of each stage and their differences; the laws that governed the course of natural development; the course of the physical development of the child as a whole, and the course of the development of separate organs and physiological functions; the relationship between physical and mental development; that is, the relationship between

του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών” (PhD diss., National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 2014), 107–11.

²² Giorgos Paschos, “Η πολιτειολογική σκέψη στην Ελλάδα κατά την περίοδο 1930–35: Α.Ι. Σβώλος, Η.Γ. Κυριακόπουλος, Δ.Σ. Βεζανής,” in Mavrogordatos and Hadziiosif, *Βενιζελισμός και αστικός εκσυγχρονισμός*, 345–68.

²³ Gavroglou, Karamanolakis and Barkoula, *Το Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών*, 236.

²⁴ Theofilos Voreas, “Λόγος περί του έργου του Νικολάου Εξαρχόπουλου,” *Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών* 4 (1929): 137.

the development of the physical organs, the physiological functions and the mental capacities; and the way “mental capacities” such as sensory perception, observation, associations, imagination, memory, cognition, language, attention, emotions, will, etc., developed. The research attempted to define the onset of each function, its course of development, its intensity at each age stage as well as the time when each mental skill appeared at its most intense; the interdependence and interaction between the various mental abilities; the “normal” child type at each age stage; possible observable deviations from the “normal type”, especially from the two main types; that is, “above” and “below normal” deviation.²⁵ According to the reports on the pedagogical research carried out on children of both sexes across the age spectrum from various social classes and diverse family backgrounds from 1923 to 1938, which Exarchopoulos submitted to the Academy of Athens in his capacity as the laboratory’s director, first on the tenth and later on the fifteenth anniversary of the laboratory’s operation, there were 94,394 measurements conducted on 8,706 children whose age spanned from birth to 22 years. The measurements were carried out at the Laboratory of Experimental Pedagogy as well as at selected schools of various types. One of the aims of these measurements was to draw up model tables of averages to present the “normal scale” of various physical dimensions and mental functions.²⁶

In 1932, Exarchopoulos published a book on the mental particularities of children. In it, he argued that a new scientific discipline, *a new science*, had emerged a few years before: “the Psychology of individual differences”. Compared to “the General Psychology”, which investigated mental phenomena with the aim to discover the general laws that regulated human mental functions common to all people, the new discipline explored the differences and particularities in the mental life of individuals and groups as well as the factors that contributed to their development. According to his writings, this change of direction in psychological research expressed the wish to regulate social life on the basis of scientific findings. The progress of positive sciences resulted in a radical change in the conditions of both social and individual life, and raised optimistic expectations that the findings of other sciences could further contribute to the efficient regulation of social relations. The general international trend towards the study of individual

²⁵ Nikolaos Exarchopoulos, *Σωματολογία του παιδός* (Athens: D. and P. Dimitrakos, 1928), 12–14.

²⁶ Nikolaos Exarchopoulos, “Επιστημονικά έρευναι γενόμεναι εν τω εργαστηρίω πειραματικής παιδαγωγικής του πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών κατά τα πρώτα δέκα έτη από της ιδρύσεως αυτού 1923–1933,” *Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών* 9 (1934): 8–45; Exarchopoulos, *Επιστημονικά έρευναι εν τω εργαστηρίω πειραματικής Παιδαγωγικής του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών κατά τα 15 πρώτα έτη της λειτουργίας αυτού, 1923–1938* (Athens: s.n., 1938).

mental differences and the adjustment of the school workload to the individuality of each pupil, were closely linked, he noted, with the belief that knowledge of the individuality of each person, as well as of their distinctive capacities and skills, would allow them to direct themselves towards, and take up in the working and social fields, a position for which they were competent. This, in turn, would contribute to the more effective regulation of social life.²⁷

As the Swiss psychologist and neurologist Edouard Claparède (1873–1940) noted, illness, imbalance and the abnormal function of the mental mechanism offered scientists better insight into the normal condition. Discovering the changes brought about in the individual's mental state by the *paralysis of any function*, researchers were able to gain better insights into the way this function impacted the mental state and into the importance this function held for it.²⁸

Twenty years later, Exarchopoulos himself noted that during the interwar period the study of children's mental deviations lagged behind in countries under authoritarian regimes due to their unwillingness to deal with the welfare of children who suffered physically or mentally; they were mostly interested and invested all their energy in healthy children, *the naturally able-bodied*, who could prove useful for society in the long run.²⁹ In this context, he added that during the first years of the laboratory's operation – especially from 1924 to 1928 – research on the mental development of Greek children turned to the study of cognitive skills;³⁰ it was only later, during the last years of his academic career, that he started looking into the “emotional life”.³¹

His discourse to describe deviation is revealing. Any child that deviated in any of their physical or mental functions from the median, devised as a result of measurements and statistics, any child that fell at the high or low end of the scale, was not characterised as normal, but as *abnormal*, as *anomalous*.

Deviation from what was defined as the *normal mental condition* was characterised as a *mental anomaly* and could appear in all aspects of a child's mental life; in cognition, emotions, impulses and will, as well as in its moral and social tendencies. The terminology used to denote deviation is characteristic. The children were *burdened with anomalies*, displayed *child perversions*, their *mental development*

²⁷ Nikolaos Exarchopoulos, *Ψυχικά διαφοραί των παιδων και η διάγνωσις αυτών* (Athens: Dimitrakos, 1932), 2–3.

²⁸ Nikolaos Exarchopoulos, *Ψυχικά ανωμαλίας των παιδων* (Athens: Apostoliki Diakonia, 1953), 15.

²⁹ Exarchopoulos, *Ψυχικά ανωμαλίας*, 2.

³⁰ Nikolaos Exarchopoulos, “Η έννοια της νοημοσύνης,” *Πρακτικά Ακαδημίας Αθηνών* 6 (1931): 1.

³¹ Exarchopoulos, *Επιστημονικά έρευναι*, 5.

was incomplete, and they were ill.³² The child’s mental condition was mediated through the specific social conceptual framework and was signified accordingly. Deviation was temporally and spatially defined and was socially determined.³³

Pedagogy and the “Refinement of the Human Race”

Exarchopoulos noted that during the interwar years the tendency to achieve social prosperity and accomplish societal cultural goals on the basis of scientific findings spread fast. Knowledge of the laws that governed mental life was considered to be essential to gain deep insights into, assess and direct, with the aid of scientific psychology, human action in various fields of everyday life in the *right direction*.³⁴

According to him, World War I made it clear that if states were to survive, they had to use all the mental moral and financial capacities existent in each nation. Each individual had to be used in the area in which they were most competent so as to reach their full potential; at the same time, opportunities should open up for those with special competences, that is, for the excellent.³⁵ Those with mental and physical defects were presented as a threat to society and the Greek nation. Exarchopoulos believed that a race needed healthy newborns in order to remain strong and robust. The quality, rather than the number, of offspring was crucial for the preservation of racial robustness.³⁶

In his discourse, as well as in that of other disciplines in interwar Greece, race was signified within the nation, which lay at the very heart of the ideology and culture; it was through them that the race entered scientific discourse.³⁷ Racial theories were incorporated into nationalism and were put directly or indirectly in its service, a fact that defined their acceptable content and political impact.³⁸

Exarchopoulos problematised the biogenetic parameters of the behaviour of the individual. For example, he perceived education had the capacity to contribute towards shaping desirable hereditary predispositions and traits in students. As such, it was a powerful instrument. These predispositions could be passed down from generation to generation; as a result, individuals whose inherent characteristics could make them more susceptible to the impact of

³² Exarchopoulos, *Ψυχικά ανωμαλίες*, 1–5.

³³ Frevert, “Le genre et l’histoire,” 100.

³⁴ Exarchopoulos, *Ψυχικά διαφορές*, 4.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 13–14.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 278.

³⁷ Papataxiarchis, *Μεταμορφώσεις του ανθρωπολογικού φυλετισμού*, 57.

³⁸ Avdela, “Εισαγωγή. Η ανεξίτηλη διαφορά,” 39.

education were to be created in the long run. In this way, he believed that education could contribute to the improvement of the human race.³⁹

The above view represents a misconception of the theory of evolution, which supported that acquired characteristics, developed during one's own life as a result of one's experiences, could be passed down to the next generation. Since the end of the nineteenth century, this view had gained currency in other scientific fields, such as criminology, and it was considered the main reason for the display of criminal behaviour.⁴⁰ In Exarchopoulos' case, this misleading reading of evolutionary theory led to an optimistic perception of the power of education.

Closely related with pedagogy, the new science of eugenics also aimed to improve the human race, Exarchopoulos noted in 1932. Like pedagogy, eugenics attempted to combat the physical and mental defects of the individual. In contrast to pedagogy, eugenics took preventive action. It attempted to stop the transference of hereditary defects to the young generation. Exarchopoulos referred to the positive effect that eugenics could have on the practice of education and argued that if the purpose of education is to guide the innate predispositions of the individual in socially desirable directions, eugenics could assist in intervening directly in the "nature" of the individual and ensuring that only socially acceptable characteristics are inherited. That is, to eliminate, with the help of eugenics, the socially unacceptable innate predispositions of individuals. Thus the task of education would be made immeasurably easier as the predispositions of children would now lead by their nature to the qualities and characteristics that society as a whole wanted its members to have. Such an approach would be "the most important step towards improving the young generation and in turn the human race as a whole".⁴¹

In the wake of World War I, the effort to set up eugenics as an autonomous scientific field was gradually abandoned internationally; yet eugenics gained access to the discourse and research programmes of other disciplines.⁴² The University of Athens, where science, state administration and sociopolitical movements interacted, was an ideal access point for eugenics and allowed it to gain legitimisation. The mobility which characterised university studies, which was directed to a great extent towards Germany during this period, contributed to the

³⁹ Exarchopoulos, *Εισαγωγή*, 260–68.

⁴⁰ Efi Avdela, "Φυλετισμός και Ευγονική στην συγκρότηση της ελληνικής εγκληματολογίας: η περίπτωση του Κωνσταντίνου Γαρδίκου," in Avdela et al., *Φυλετικές θεωρίες στην Ελλάδα*, 147.

⁴¹ Exarchopoulos, *Ψυχικά διαφοραί*, 77.

⁴² Sevasti Trubeta, "Η επίδραση της φυλετικής υγιεινής στην Ιατρική Σχολή του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών κατά το Μεσοπόλεμο," in Avdela et al., *Φυλετικές θεωρίες στην Ελλάδα*, 102.

spread of racial hygiene ideas from the German-speaking world to Greece. Their impact, however, was closely connected with the special conditions and power balance within the University of Athens and in no case was it a direct transference of the German model.⁴³ Both before and after the war, a milder version of eugenics, with an emphasis on the social welfare and hygiene of a backward population, was implemented in Greece, where even at the best of times state infrastructure was poor.⁴⁴ In our opinion, the relation of pedagogy with interwar eugenics in the University of Athens should be placed in this context. At the same time, it was linked with Greek nationalism; Exarchopoulos himself, as holder of the chair, contributed to the formulation and promotion of nationalism.

The nation had to be protected from “any anomalous individuals”; science, with its scientific methods and medical terms, could help describe and diagnose the deviants stigmatised as dangerous and antisocial. According to Exarchopoulos, the state had to take action and adopt special measures to protect society from the danger these individuals represented; they were not to be left to develop according to their natural predispositions without appropriate instruction. Exarchopoulos suggested measures be taken to improve birth conditions; therefore, only those who were both physically and mentally healthy would be allowed to give birth.

To protect society from *any kind of anomalous individuals*,⁴⁵ it was imperative that measures be taken to hinder the birth of the latter. The hygiene of hereditary predispositions existent in genitor cells examined the reasons that led to the decline of genitor cells and looked for ways to prevent the reproduction of hereditarily defective individuals; at the same time, it would assist the reproduction of healthy predisposition carriers.⁴⁶

According to Exarchopoulos, the child’s various cognitive and mental capacities, its *distinctive* abilities and deviations, were to a great extent hereditary, the outcome of inherent predispositions. Mental heredity, he supported, was not limited to cognition but extended to emotions. These were determined to a great extent, though not absolutely, by biology. An individual inherited predispositions, not qualities, and therefore there was scope for environmental influence. Hence, the importance of the child’s education. However, heredity determined the general outline of the individual’s mental characteristics, the

⁴³ Ibid., 105.

⁴⁴ Giorgos Kokkinos and Markos Karasarinis, “Μεταμορφώσεις του ευγονικού λόγου στην Ελλάδα: Από τον Ιωάννη Κούμαρη και τον Δημοσθένη Ελευθεριάδη στον Νικόλαο Λούρο,” in Avdela et al., *Φυλετικές θεωρίες στην Ελλάδα*, 143.

⁴⁵ Exarchopoulos, *Ψυχικά ανομαλίας*, 278.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 279.

extremes and the extent to which the environment could overcome hereditary predispositions.⁴⁷

Child Neuropaths and Psychopaths

What were the types of *mental anomalies* in children? The diversity of deviation was wide, Exarchopoulos noted, and deviation appeared in many combinations and to different degrees. He stressed that the child was a developing human being; therefore, determining whether *an anomalous symptom* that appeared at a certain age was parodic and whether it signified the onset of the development of a pathological personality was far from easy.

With the exemption of the extreme cases of psychopaths or the mentally retarded interned in institutions, Exarchopoulos classified the cases of the mentally ill that were receptive to education as follows: 1) anomalies in certain mental functions, 2) defective function of either one or more senses, 3) language anomalies, 4) retardation of various degrees and types, 5) psychopathy of various degrees and types, 6) moral paranoia or moral insanity, 7) neurasthenia, 8) mobility anomalies, 9) epilepsy, 10) hysteria, 11) abandoned children corrupted due to neglect or in danger of corruption (the morally weak, the morally defective, the socially indifferent, anti-socials).⁴⁸

According to him, many of these disorders were accompanied by morbid emotions. Hence, mania or epilepsy resulted in the *communication of cunning instincts* which led the individual to crime; this was why many criminals had a family background of such disorders. Individuals with *mild retardation*, which was noticeable in puberty, usually manifested emotions such as malice, revenge and weak feelings of friendship, love, gratitude, altruism, shyness and remorse. It was also common for these children to display a tendency towards immoral actions and the premature onset of the sexual drive, to engage in masturbation and to sexually assault members of the opposite sex.⁴⁹

The most serious version of retardation, that is *congenital retardation*, he noted, could be identified at the beginning of an individual's life. It was a hereditary disease wherein the brain's normal development was disrupted on account of the parents suffering from neuropathy, epilepsy, dementia praecox or hebephrenia, and chronic paranoia. He stressed that *disease is always passed down from one generation to the other*.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Exarchopoulos, *Ψυχικαί διαφοραί*, 59.

⁴⁸ Exarchopoulos, *Ψυχικαί ανωμαλίες*, 7–9.

⁴⁹ Exarchopoulos, *Ψυχικαί διαφοραί*, 64.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 72.

Children suffering from “neuropathy” or “psychopathy” formed an important group of children who *displayed anomalous emotions*. With regard to the terms employed, in no case can we be certain today about their exact content, what meaning was invested in them, and to what extent they referred to the same situations and diseases described by those terms today. For instance, the term “neurasthenia” is less used today than in the early twentieth century; also, we are not sure whether the term “psychopathy” had its contemporary meaning and by no means is it employed light-heartedly nowadays to refer to childhood problems. Certainly, language does not depict reality passively; it actively shapes what it describes. Presenting it in one way or another, it somehow constructs it, and therefore the signification of a term is not only a matter for an individual writer. Words and concepts deployed in pedagogical discourse are perceived within a specific framework of common concepts and references that presuppose it. They operate within a social conceptual framework and characterise practices which are more or less socially recognised.⁵¹ In this sense, terminology employed by interwar educators reflects mainly the social and scientific limitations of their era.

The lack of a national psychiatry school during this period illustrates the extent of the difficulties faced by educators who sought to approach concepts that denoted deviation from what was defined as “normalcy”; pathological make-up and morbid behaviour. The more profound the lack of a scientific psychiatric community which would promote its own views on mental disorders or combine and adjust foreign ideas and discoveries to the Greek social reality, the more important their attempts to determine the “normal” and the “anomalous” in the development of the human mental make-up; to define the content of basic terms and concepts employed for the description of any behaviour characterised as “pathological”; and to formulate theories of the mental human functions. During the period under study, the practice of psychiatry was far from widespread. The rudimentary organisation of public psychiatry started in the 1930s and it was only in 1936, towards the end of the interwar period, that the Neurological and Psychiatric Association of Athens was established.⁵²

In many countries in Europe and America, social hygiene movements were to emerge in the early twentieth century and expand during the interwar period. Childhood lent itself to the research of mental hygiene, psychiatry and social work, which led to the establishment of instruction clinics for children;

⁵¹ Frevert, “Le genre et l’histoire,” 99.

⁵² Dimitris N. Ploumbidis, *Ιστορία της ψυχιατρικής στην Ελλάδα* (Athens: Exantas, 1995), 130–31.

these clinics undertook therapeutical work for various problems of personality, behaviour and relationships.⁵³

Seemingly, these movements were not as influential in Greece in so far that neither instruction clinics nor a mental hygiene organisation were set up. Some ideas from the mental hygiene movement can be traced in the contemporary pedagogical discourse; it is also indicative that the Greek Association of Mental Hygiene, presided over by Exarchopoulos, was established in 1940. The association was short-lived – in fact, it was discontinued due to the outbreak of war – and it did not resume operations in the postwar era.⁵⁴

In general, important psychological movements such as psychoanalysis became known in Greece first as pedagogical and later as psychological or psychiatric discourses. Scientists interested in the improvement of pedagogical practice publicised these discourses. Until the mid-1930s, education was the only field that dealt systematically with Freudian theory; thus, Freudian theory was perceived, at least initially, as a philosophical and pedagogical text.⁵⁵ Psychoanalytical theories were initially publicised through essays about their implementation in educational settings, a fact that contributed to their demedicalisation.⁵⁶

A year after the establishment of the Neurological and Psychiatric Association in 1937, the Model Special School was set up in Athens under the directorship of Rosa Imvrioti (1898–1977), an eminent pioneer educator, who was socially and politically engaged and had actively participated in the wartime resistance movement. She and Exarchopoulos stood at the opposite ends of the ideological spectrum. Her book, characteristically entitled *Anomalous and retarded children*, published in 1939, illustrated her thoughts and results from the first year of the school's operation. She mentioned the difficulties faced by the scientific community in coining commonly acceptable terms and drawing classifications which would define the “anomalous” child and its “pathological” behaviour.

As already mentioned, the classification we accepted and which is common is not based on strictly objective scientific criteria. Were someone to read the numerous long studies on this issue, they would be lost in the vagueness and subjectivity characteristic of

⁵³ Despo Kritsotaki, *Ψυχική υγιεινή για παιδιά και νέους* in Avdela et al., *Μορφές δημόσιας κοινωνικότητας στην Ελλάδα του εικοστού αιώνα* (Rethymo: University of Crete, 2015), 20.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁵⁵ Lena Atzina, *Η μακρά εισαγωγή της ψυχανάλυσης στην Ελλάδα* (Athens: Exantas, 2004), 21.

⁵⁶ Panagiota Kazolea-Tavoulari, *Η ιστορία της Ψυχολογίας στην Ελλάδα* (Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 2002), 141–48.

such classifications. Doctors, psychologists, educators, sociologists, departing from different perspectives and different scientific interests, drew classifications which were at times simply descriptive, at times symptomatic and at times social. In fact, it is really difficult to reach a classification of the mental anomalies which would reflect the facts.⁵⁷

In her attempt to describe “neuropathy” and “psychopathy”, she refers to disorders of emotion and will, and describes children who had a “normal” – according to the psychometric tests used at the time – intelligence. Imvrioti does not define the concept of “disorder” but describes the behaviour of children which she considers to deviate from the “normal manifestations of that age” and which are usually connected, in her view, to the emotions and will of those children.⁵⁸

The era of neuropathy (1880–1914) was actually the period when scientific psychology developed; it is characteristic that none of its pioneers were able to ignore the issues raised by the occurrence of symptoms described as “neuropathy”, irrespective of the different ways they chose to address them both theoretically and therapeutically.⁵⁹

Greek educators such as Exarchopoulos and Imvrioti who wished to address pedagogical issues in a scientific way dealt with child “neuropathy”; it is interesting that despite departing from different, indeed opposite, political and ideological perspectives on issues of educational policy, they did approach and perceive this child “disease” in much the same way. Neuropathy was perceived as a disease characterised by physical morbid symptoms manifested in speech, writing, mobility, the nervous system and the senses.⁶⁰ It was mostly a medical problem which drew the interest of educators to the extent that it was accompanied by morbid mental conditions. As a result, these children were hot-tempered, capricious, restless, indecisive and bad-mannered.⁶¹

The vagueness and confusion in the definition and understanding of “pathological” mental conditions were evident in the quest for the reasons of neuropathy. Neuropathy was mainly perceived as a biogenetic, hereditary problem; environmental and social influences on the onset and development of the “disease” were also taken into account. The attempt to define the way and

⁵⁷ Roza Imvrioti, *Ανώμαλα και καθυστερημένα παιδιά* (Athens: Elliniki Ekdotiki Etaireia, 1939), 9.

⁵⁸ Imvrioti, *Ανώμαλα και καθυστερημένα παιδιά*, 33.

⁵⁹ Castel Pierre-Henri, “Le cas de la dépression,” in *Histoire des émotions*, vol. 3, *De la fin du XIXe siècle à nos jours*, ed. Jean-Jacques Courtine (Paris: Seuil, 2017), 326–42.

⁶⁰ Imvrioti, *Ανώμαλα και καθυστερημένα παιδιά*, 34–35.

⁶¹ Nikolaos Exarchopoulos, *Η νευροπάθεια κατά την παιδική ηλικία* (Athens: s.n., 1954), 13.

the extent of the interaction between heredity and the environment – an issue of great interest to pedagogy as it was connected with the wider questioning of the power and the limits of education – was evident in Exarchopoulos' and Imvrioti's discourse. Yet, their response to this issue remained mostly descriptive and case-study related, and they were far from offering a balanced approach to the problem. Their difficulties were typical of the problems encountered in other scientific fields during the interwar period. It is revealing that in their attempt to determine "neuropathy", which more often than not was taken as *evidence for degeneration caused by central damage*, they used the psychiatric term "degeneration".⁶² Yet, this term was vague and could not strengthen their efforts to provide accurate, scientific answers to pedagogical issues. Although it was a term which by modern standards accommodated a wide array of diseases, it was employed to a great extent by interwar Greek doctors and jurists; as a result its use raises philosophical and ideological objections.⁶³

Psychopathy was described as a mental condition in which though intelligence was normal, emotions and sexual desires lay in the threshold between the normal and the pathological. *Defective* hereditary predispositions existed in this case, leading to deviation from the normal median, yet without straying too far from it. Imvrioti adopted the view of the Swiss educator Heinrich Hanselmann (1885–1960) – considered one of the most important representatives of special and therapeutical education in the twentieth century – that the most characteristic feature of psychopaths was *imbalance, the lack of symmetry*. Man does not develop all the "sides" of his personality in a harmonious way. There is disharmony in the development of his intelligence, emotion, will and ability to act, but this disharmony does not lead the individual to behaviours that would place him outside the social body.⁶⁴

According to Exarchopoulos, psychopaths were characterised by extreme feelings and serious emotional imbalance with frequent and abrupt mood swings. Anger and fear were the two dominant emotions in these children; they also had a weak will which manifested itself as *complete lack of coherence* in their decisions and actions. They were characterised by *immoral indifference*; that is, they were lacking in emotions such as decency, dutifulness and responsibility, and displayed cunning and hypocrisy, cruelty and weakness to express friendly feelings, and a strong tendency towards material pleasures and theft. However, some young psychopaths stood at the other end of the spectrum and were marked

⁶² Imvrioti, *Ανώμαλα και καθυστερημένα παιδιά*, 38.

⁶³ Ploumbidis, *Ιστορία της ψυχιατρικής*, 187–88.

⁶⁴ Heinrich Hanselmann, *Einführung in die Heilpädagogik* (Leipzig: Rotapfel, 1933), 276.

out for their shyness, veracity to the extent of fanaticism, extreme scrupulousness and love for order, and religiousness. A large number of children and youngsters who resisted the impact of education and found it difficult to adapt themselves to the social dictates of education were, Exarchopoulos argued, psychopaths. Yet, not all of them, as he felt appropriate to clarify.⁶⁵

Concluding Remarks

Ever since the Enlightenment when Jean-Jacques Rousseau criticised his era and its culture, and elevated emotions to an ultimate value, thus clashing with the pragmatic thought of the era of Rationalism, emotions have been a basic conceptual category in the pedagogical agenda. The need to formulate a scientific pedagogical theory led to the emergence of the discipline of pedagogy in the nineteenth century and posed the problem of valid qualitative scientific pedagogical research. In response to this issue, the paedology movement, which adopted a positivist scientific model, was established in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Under its influence, scientists attempted, with the aid of analytical methods, to study the child’s “nature”, its physical but also its emotional development.

In interwar Greece, leading educators were influenced by the paedology movement, among them Nikolaos Exarchopoulos, who aspired to lay in the University of Athens the foundations of pedagogy as a “national science”, which would provide, with the aid of experimental methods, valid knowledge about the distinctive physical and mental traits of Greek children. His attempts, along with those of other Greek educators, to define the categories of “normal” and “deviant” in the development and behaviour of children, the ahistorical perspective they often adopted, which naturalised culture impulsively, biologised class privilege and moral principles or sex roles, along with the terminology they adopted, provide us with invaluable information about contemporaneous scientific social and cultural views as to what was considered normal or pathological and, therefore, as to what were the limits of tolerance and acceptance of the environment; limits that determined the chances to adapt and function smoothly in the interwar milieu.

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⁶⁵ Exarchopoulos, *Ψυχικά ανομαλίες*, 278.

MEN OF DISORDERED PASSIONS IN THE BELLE ÉPOQUE OF NEURASTHENIA

Dimitra Vassiliadou

Abstract: Drawing on the surviving case notes of the neurologist-psychiatrist Simonidis Vlavianos from the first five years of his private practice (1903–1907), this article charts how a national variation of neurasthenia crystallised in early twentieth-century Greece. As documented by Vlavianos’ case records – texts that combine medical discourse with first-person accounts of illness – neurasthenia acquired masculine, albeit cross-class characteristics, and placed a strong emphasis on pathological sexual practices and disordered emotionality. It argues that the key to understanding the sexualisation of the ailment lies in the quest of neurologist-psychiatrists to be recognised as important public actors at a time of rapid transformation, both in Greek society and in their own profession. One of the ways to achieve this goal was to face and treat the challenges, frustrations and fears that the increasing visibility of sexuality imposed on public institutions, authorities and individuals.

In 1878, in a letter addressed to his wife, renowned Greek poet Aristotelis Valaoritis complained about a cold that was afflicting him, but also about his doctor’s diagnosis. The latter was confident that Aristotelis was suffering from a brand-new disease called “neuropathy”. As Valaoritis explained in his letter,

Alvanitis [his physician] has become unbearable, he is acting like anything but a doctor; he is even unwilling to place a poultice on me. He claims that this is predominantly nerves, and it will go away on its own. Ever since I made the mistake of giving him Bouchut’s monograph *Du nervosisme* to read,¹ he sees nothing else in front of him but nervosisms. Is it ophthalmia you are suffering from? It is nerves. Is it diarrhoea? Nerves. Is it rheumatism? Nerves. Is it chilblains? Nerves.²

With not a hint of irony, a few years later, Valaoritis would systematically employ the term “nerves” to describe his ongoing mental state. Yet, at the time, he still

¹ Valaoritis refers to one of the early works on the topic, written by the French physician Eugène Bouchut (1818–1891) a couple of decades before the popular publications of his American colleague George Miller Beard, the godfather of neurasthenia. Eugène Bouchut, *De l’État nerveux aigu et chronique, ou nervosisme* (Paris: J.B. Baillière, 1860).

² Aristotelis Valaoritis to his wife Eloiza, Lefkada, 9 April 1878, Valaoritis Family Archives, Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive/Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece, 6.5.

jibed at neuropathy's broad nosology as it pieced together a number of diverse ailments, attributing them to some vague irregularity of the nervous system. He was not yet aware that neurasthenia would soon become epidemic in the Western world and identified as a serious medical condition that needed prevention, specialised treatment and cure. This article attempts to place the Greek case in the existing historiographies of the disorder, and examines what the specific diagnosis meant in the actual medical practice in early twentieth-century Greece, during neurasthenia's global heyday. In order to do so, it capitalises on the surviving case notes of 59 men diagnosed as neurasthenics by Simonidis Vlavianos during the first five years (1903–1907) of his long medical career.³ The material comes from the Maison de Santé Clinic of Nervous Disorders, which he owned at the time, as well as his private practice.

Patient notes can offer a rare glimpse into day-to-day clinical practices that differ from the medical theories proposed in professional publications. Sufferers' stories provide a unique opportunity to observe how the medical theory of each historical moment was practiced, since medical theories and actual practices – with the plural tense being more appropriate here – did not necessarily overlap. Case notes were, more or less, standardised texts, systematically produced by the medical bureaucracy as far back as the mid-nineteenth century. As tools of neurological-psychiatric practice, they documented each disorder while recording the patients' "abnormal" behaviours, physical reactions, mental and emotional states.⁴ Even so, case notes are texts produced through the encounter of physicians and their clients. The power relations and hierarchies between the two have been explored in various ways by a number of studies, with doctors being steadily seen as the strong pole of the relationship. Physicians formulated the questions asked, kept selective notes from their conversations with the patients – and occasionally paraphrased their answers – came up with the diagnoses

³ I am indebted to Professor Dimitris Ploumpidis, who out of genuine generosity gave me full access to this valuable material. This work would simply not exist without his constant support.

⁴ On medical case files and their uses, see Guenter B. Risse and John Harley Warner, "Reconstructing Clinical Activities: Patient Records in Medical History," *Social History of Medicine* 5, no. 2 (1992): 183–205; Jonathan Andrews, "Case Notes, Case Histories, and the Patient's Experience of Insanity at Gartnavel Royal Asylum, Glasgow, in the Nineteenth Century," *Social History of Medicine* 11, no. 2 (1998): 255–81; Hazel Morrison, "Constructing Patient Stories: 'Dynamic' Case Notes and Clinical Encounters at Glasgow's Gartnavel Mental Hospital, 1921–32," *Medical History* 60, no. 1 (2016): 67–86; Despo Kritsotaki, "Ψυχική ασθένεια και ψυχιατρική νοσηλεία: Κοινωνικές προσλήψεις και λειτουργίες της ψυχιατρικής και των ψυχιατρικών ιδρυμάτων στην Ελλάδα και τη Σκωτία των αρχών του 20ού αιώνα" (PhD diss., University of Crete, 2009), 33–35.

and suggested treatments. Still, even in these highly mediated documents, a trace of the patients themselves survives. Suffering, flesh-and-blood individuals emerge in the case files, providing information about their own emotional worlds and lives, explaining their ailments and the causes behind them, expressing assessments for their physicians and the therapies they prescribed. The material also testifies that the patients' voices and the doctors' views were sometimes distinct and even opposing, and therefore case notes contribute to the long-standing historical debate on the extent to which the existing medical categories formed the pathological experience of each historical period.⁵

Vlavianos' case notes are thus understood as texts that combine medical discourse and first-person accounts of illness, but also as documents that both echoed and affected the wider social and cultural dynamics of the time. In what follows, based on this material, I show how a national variation of neurasthenia crystallised in early twentieth-century Greece, acquired masculine, albeit cross-class characteristics, while placing a strong emphasis on pathological sexual practices. I argue that this specific version of neurasthenia was directly linked to the professional aspirations of Greek psychiatrists at the time, their readiness to recognise pathological sexuality as an important field of their individual and collective action, and as an opportunity to present themselves as regulators of important issues of social and family life. The first part of the article summarises the existing Western historiographies of neurasthenia, highlighting the analogies and discrepancies across different national cases. It then focuses on Vlavianos' patient notes, sketching what it meant to be a patient suffering from nerves in early twentieth-century Greece in actual medical practice. The final section analyses two important features of Vlavianos' neurasthenic patients: disordered emotionality and pathological sexuality; not only because both proved to be the most persistent symptoms that "nervous men" developed, but, even more so, because they were thought of as direct threats to basic components of the masculine identity of the time – men's sexual competence and the rational management of their emotions.

Historiographies of Neurasthenia

Thanks to the voluminous studies of medical historians, we are well aware that the concept of nerves underwent multiple reconceptualisations throughout its

⁵ For an anthropological approach to depression in modern Greece that challenges the intersection between medical and lay discourses, see Athena Peglidou, "Έν-σarkώσεις του ψυχικού πόνου: Σώμα, ψυχή και νεύρα σε μια 'γυναικεία' διαταραχή," in *Ανθρωπολογικές και κοινωνιολογικές προσεγγίσεις της υγείας*, ed. Charalambos Ekonomou and Manos Spyridakis (Athens: I. Sideris, 2012), 265–84.

long history.⁶ The obscurity and fluidity of the term in the professional and lay imagination produced a set of shifting biological, physical, psychological, moral and social perceptions of the ailment. Early on, researchers admitted that nerves functioned as “an excellent barometer of social concerns and emotional styles” at different times and places.⁷ As for neurasthenia, the term the American physician and electrotherapist George Miller Beard initiated in 1869 to describe the causes, symptoms and effects that modern times inflicted on the nerves of his contemporary Americans, it was rather a neologism applied to an already known clinical entity; namely, a combination of symptoms that denoted the lack of nerve force. Apart from the term, Beard’s contribution to the medical concept was its popularisation and description as a psychosomatic, culture-related ailment.⁸ He portrayed nervelessness as a purely American disease of male brainworkers in the prime of life, between 25 and 50 years old, and associated nerves exhaustion to the frantic pace of urban everyday life.⁹ Neurasthenia was believed to be a disease of modern civilisation, and nerves a part of the body mechanics with a fixed load of energy. The most virile individuals ran the risk of nervous exhaustion, due to the hard, relentless, and competitive working habits, and the almost constant fear of financial failure.

Research has shown, however, that during the disorder’s global golden age – roughly between 1880 and the end of the First World War – neurasthenia and its gender, class and age correlations displayed many national variations. The diverse geographies of “shattered nerves” were attributed to the shifted realities of the fin-de-siècle Western world and the national specificities of the medical practice. Beyond what professional publications suggested about the class, gender and age ratio of neurasthenia, clinical practices often deviated from neurological theories. In Britain, for example, as far back as the mid-nineteenth century, the notion of a nervous man challenged the then masculine ideal, which combined good morals and physical strength. Weak nerves was also adding to the peril of the feminisation of the male, and testified to a man’s inability to perform his public and private

⁶ Dona L. Davis and Setha Low, *Gender, Health, and Illness: The Case of Nerves* (New York: Hemisphere, 1989).

⁷ Dona L. Davis, “George Beard and Lydia Pinkham: Gender, Class, and Nerves in Late 19th Century America,” *Health Care for Women International* 10, no. 2–3 (1989): 93–94.

⁸ Susan E. Cayleff, “‘Prisoners of Their Own Feebleness’: Women, Nerves and Western Medicine. A Historical Overview,” *Social Science & Medicine* 26, no. 12 (1988): 1203.

⁹ Beard further developed his medical theory the following years in two consecutive monographs: George M. Beard, *A Practical Treatise on Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia)* (New York: William Wood, 1880), and Beard, *American Nervousness, Its Causes and Consequences; A Supplement to Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia)* (New York: Putnam, 1881).

duties. By the end of the century, male neuropathy in Britain was equated to the lack of self-control and, for that reason, soon became totally unacceptable.¹⁰ Statistical data from a national hospital for poor patients revealed that neurasthenia, from 1870 up to 1932, afflicted both the upper and the working classes, men and women alike.¹¹ In Germany, where notions of degeneration were particularly intense, the diagnosis of neurasthenia applied to both genders and all social groups, although neurasthenic men with sexual deficiencies or problems formed the majority of the patients. German health professionals systematically dealt with male patients who confessed their sexual problems and/or pathologies – such as premature ejaculation, spermatorrhoea or masturbation – and gradually claimed an advisory role in the public sphere with regards to the management of “proper” sexuality in everyday life.¹² Contrary, in the US, the Netherlands and Britain degeneration theory played an insignificant role in the diagnosis of neurasthenia.¹³ The language of degeneration was, however, strong in France. During the Third Republic most sufferers were men and since the concept of national decline was crucial, national recovery – and that of nerves – was intensively associated with physical virility and the culture of sport.¹⁴ Dutch patients were mostly upper- and middle-class men, wealthy enough to face the costs of the specialised treatment. Finally, in Sweden, at the end of the nineteenth century, neurasthenia was already the most popular diagnosis among a number of neuroses and a cross-class disease, afflicting both urban and rural strata.¹⁵

In spite of these national specificities, some features of neurasthenia seem to overlap.¹⁶ Firstly, the disorder was everywhere associated with urbanisation and the erratic rhythms of modern life. Whereas it began as a disease of the educated elites, it was gradually and selectively democratised and desocialised. Secondly, at

¹⁰ Janet Oppenheim, *“Shattered Nerves”*: *Doctors, Patients, and Depression in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 147–51.

¹¹ Ruth E. Taylor, “Death of Neurasthenia and Its Psychological Reincarnation: A Study of Neurasthenia at the National Hospital for the Relief and Cure of the Paralysed and Epileptic, Queen Square, London, 1870–1932,” *British Journal of Psychiatry* 179, no. 6 (2001): 550–57.

¹² Doris Kaufmann, “Neurasthenia in Wilhelmine Germany: Culture, Sexuality, and the Demands of Nature,” in *Cultures of Neurasthenia: From Beard to the First World War*, ed. Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra and Roy Porter (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 161–76.

¹³ Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra, “Introduction,” in Gijswijt-Hofstra and Porter, *Cultures of Neurasthenia*, 20–21.

¹⁴ Robert A. Nye, “Degeneration, Neurasthenia and the Culture of Sport in Belle Époque France,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 17, no. 1 (1982): 51–68.

¹⁵ Petteri Pietikainen, *Neurosis and Modernity: The Age of Nervousness in Sweden* (Boston: Brill, 2007), 101–5.

¹⁶ For all that follows, Gijswijt-Hofstra, “Introduction.”

the beginning of the twentieth century, a clear transition from somatic to psychic notions of the disease occurred, which eventually led to the replacement of the idiom of neurasthenia with the phraseology of neurosis and psychoneurosis. The third shift, during more or less the same period, concerned its nosology. Initially, neurasthenia was thought of as the outcome of nervous exhaustion, only to later be considered as the aftermath of over-stimulated nerves. Being unable to control oneself was no longer thought of as a consequence of neurosis, but as its main cause. The diagnostic popularity of the disease started to fade almost everywhere in the aftermath of the First World War, and eventually the term “neurasthenia” was restricted to the description of a specific ailment – namely abnormal fatigue – although the language of nerves remained strong in several national lay vocabularies. With the emergence of war neurosis and PTSD in shell-shocked soldiers,¹⁷ the large pool of neurasthenia’s symptoms, and especially its previous organic aetiology, were unfavoured by psychiatrists, who started to delve into psychodynamic theories. Neurasthenia was no longer in vogue.

But what do we actually know with regard to the popularity of neurasthenia in twentieth-century Greece? The few existing statistics sketch a rather diverse picture; thus, it remains unclear how often doctors officially diagnosed their clients as neurasthenics. For example, up to 1940 just one patient in “neurasthenic condition” was admitted to the Dromokaiteio Psychiatric Hospital, to be released 11 days after, since “his admission was not justified”.¹⁸ In the Corfu Asylum, established as early as 1838, the diagnosis was equally tardive and rare.¹⁹ In the Eginitieio Neurological and Psychiatric Hospital, on the contrary, which had a distinct neurological orientation, neurasthenia was

¹⁷ The enormous literature on shell shock includes Ben Shephard, *A War of Nerves: Soldiers and Psychiatrists in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); Fiona Reid, *Broken Men: Shell Shock, Treatment and Recovery in Britain, 1914–1930* (London: Continuum, 2014). See also Vlavianos’ article on Greek neurasthenic soldiers after the bitter national defeat of the 1897 war with the Ottoman Empire. He links soldiers’ nervous breakdown with cases of desertion and disobedience to superior officers, Simonidis Vlavianos, “Νευρασθένεια και στρατιωτική θητεία,” *Ψυχιατρική και Νευρολογική Επιθεώρησης* 5, no. 5 (1907): 129–32.

¹⁸ According to my own research of the hospital’s archives. See Dromokaiteio Psychiatric Hospital, Patient’s Notes 1940, case no 51: 30. In a 20 percent sample of all admissions to the Dromokaiteio (1901–1985), neurasthenia appears only once (1941, male), Dimitrios Ploumpidis et al., “Εισαγωγές ασθενών στο Δρομοκαΐτειο Ψυχιατρικό Νοσοκομείο 1901–1985,” *Ψυχιατρική* 24, no. 3 (2013): 177.

¹⁹ Diagnosed in 22 out of the total 3,500 patients from 1939 to 1970, Ioannis Triantafylloudis, “Δημογραφική αποτύπωση των νοσηλευθέντων στο Ψυχιατρικό Νοσοκομείο Κέρκυρας (1838–2000)” (PhD diss., Ionian University, 2017).

more common during the first two decades of the twentieth century, diagnosed mainly in middle-class professionals.²⁰ Despo Kritsotaki has argued that in early twentieth-century Greece, psychiatric practice, as exercised in large institutions, could not serve the aspirations of the psychiatric profession “as a bearer and guardian of individual and national health, morality and progress, nor the opening of psychiatry to the nervous, mild and borderline disorders”. It still concerned mainly the neurologists, private practice and small private clinics.²¹ Vlavianos’ patient notes seem to confirm this hypothesis. Between 1903 and 1907, he diagnosed 59 individuals with neurasthenia: 50 men who visited his private office – some just once, others dozens of times²² – and another 9 male patients hospitalised for several months in his clinic.²³ In the early years of his career, he supported the idea that the “disease of the century” afflicted the body, emotions and actions of his male patients. The diagnosis of neurasthenia was critical, since it challenged wider medical and cultural assumptions of the period concerning masculine identity: men, the prime subjects of rationalism and action, could well be plagued by excess emotionality and severe loss of their energy. Besides middle-class professionals, which were more or less the Western norm, Vlavianos also diagnosed neurasthenia in other social strata, particularly in working-class and petit-bourgeois men, from both urban and rural areas. Moreover, he emphatically associated neurasthenia with sexuality. As the following will show, these three aspects of his diagnoses (the perception of neurasthenia as a male disorder, the cross-class notion and the linkage with disordered sexual practices) were interconnected, and the one steadily fed into the other. Echoing broader concerns about the social body in Greece in a historical moment of rapid transformation, as well as the uneasiness of the Greek psychiatric world with regard to the present and the future of its specialty, the early national version of neurasthenia was highly sexualised.

²⁰ Kritsotaki, “Ψυχική ασθένεια και ψυχιατρική νοσηλεία,” 223–33.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 253–54.

²² As was the case of 39-year-old Thrasylvoulos, who holds the record of 53 therapeutic sessions in Vlavianos’ office, Patients’ Notes, Simonidis Vlavianos’ Office (OPN) 3 (1903–4): 163–64.

²³ Out of the 271 patients (22 percent) of my sample, which includes “neurasthenic”, “hysteric” and melancholic” men and women that sought his advice across the five-year period. The case of Meletakou private clinic, albeit for a later period, does not confirm this pattern. The diagnosis of neurasthenia is marginal, with only four cases in the 1940s. See Nikolaos Balatsos, “Ιστορία της ψυχιατρικής στην Ελλάδα: Μια μελέτη των εισαγωγών των ασθενών στην ιδιωτική ψυχιατρική κλινική Μελετάκου (1940–1950)” (Undergraduate paper, University of Athens, 2013), 41. My thanks to Professor Dimitris Ploumpidis for this information.

Simonidis Vlavianos and his Practice

An over-zealous and highly active neurologist-psychiatrist – or phrenologist, as he sometimes preferred to call himself – Simonidis Vlavianos (1873–1946) completed his specialty training in Paris and his residency in two highly celebrated Parisian psychiatric-neurological clinics: the Sainte-Anne asylum and the Salpêtrière, at a time when the latter was marked by the recent legacy of the most famed French neurologist of the nineteenth century, Jean-Martin Charcot (1825–1893).²⁴ Upon his return to Greece, Vlavianos started to methodically build his medical career. In 1902, he published the *Ψυχιατρική και Νευρολογική Επιθεώρησις*, the first medical journal of its kind in Greece, and two years later he established the Maison de Santé, the very first Greek private neurological facility at Patisia, then remote area of Athens.²⁵ Vlavianos was also the publisher of the *Ιατρική Εφημερίδα* (1928–1940), the founder of the Association of Private Clinic Owners, and the president of the Athens Medical Association for a number of years.²⁶ He was clearly a man of action, who successfully met the challenges of his time and his profession, incorporated the existing European novelties of neurological-psychiatric clinical practice,²⁷ and assertively claimed recognition as a specialist in mild “disorders of the nervous system” within a medical field that had not yet crystallised. Vlavianos often named the physicians his clients first consulted, and their “mistaken” or “unsuitable” diagnoses and treatments, targeting those he considered his rivals, especially the biggest name of the period, Michael Katsaras, professor of neurology and psychiatry at the Athens Medical School.²⁸ In order to

²⁴ It is worth mentioning that other Greek psychiatrist-neurologists, such as Michael Katsaras, Panayiotis Kokkoris and Ioannis Foustanos, were trained in the same institutions.

²⁵ In 1907 the Maison de Santé relocated to new facilities at an even remoter location, on Kyprou Street (L. Libert, “Les aliénés en Grèce: Considérations générales,” *Les aliénés en orient (Grèce, Empire Ottoman, Egypte). L’Informateur des aliénistes et neurologistes (Supplément de l’Encéphale)*, vol. 7 (1912): 301–2). Vlavianos remained in charge of the hospital until 1918, whereupon he began renting his establishments to other psychiatrists. The medical records of Vlavianos’ practice after 1907 are, to this day, missing.

²⁶ For Vlavianos and his clinics, see Dimitris N. Ploumpidis, *Ιστορία της ψυχιατρικής στην Ελλάδα: Θεσμοί, ιδρύματα και κοινωνικό πλαίσιο, 1850–1920* (Thessaloniki: Synchrona Themata/Triapsis Logos, 1989), 211–17, here 217; “Οργανισμός του Νοσοκομείου Νευρικών Νοσημάτων Maison de Santé Σ.Γ. Βλαβιανού,” *Ψυχιατρική και Νευρολογική Επιθεώρησις* 3, no. 1 (1904): 29–32.

²⁷ Ploumpidis, *Ιστορία της ψυχιατρικής*, 216.

²⁸ Indicatively: Patients’ Notes, Simonidis Vlavianos’ Clinic (CPN) 1 (1904–5): 281; CPN 2 (1905–6): 354–55; CPN 3 (1906): 114.

realise his ambition, he repeatedly published flattering texts about his own medical skills, his clinic and private office, sometimes written anonymously by himself, but also by fellow physicians and journalists.²⁹

Vlavianos would use all possible means to make his expertise and the “pioneering” – as he claimed – medical approach of the conditions he treated known, publishing lengthy advertisements, first and foremost in his own journal. Although in these adverts he claimed he could cure a number of different diseases, the case files of his early practice reveal that he mainly diagnosed and treated three specific disorders, along with their variations: melancholia, hysteria and neurasthenia.³⁰ Equally clear were the engendered aspects of his diagnoses. The total of 271 cases of my sample testify that Vlavianos recognised melancholia as a disorder to which both genders were prone,³¹ hysteria as a female malady,³² and neurasthenia as a male affliction. In doing so, he was attuning himself to the norm. Despite contemporary treatises that allowed for the possibility of hysterical men³³ and neuropathic women,³⁴ Vlavianos’ medical practice confirmed what international scholarship has repeatedly testified for the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: the methodical construction of hysterical women and

²⁹ Simonidis Vlavianos, “Η κλιματοθεραπεία,” *Ψυχιατρική και Νευρολογική Επιθεώρησις* 4, no. 2 (1905): 35–41; Vlavianos, “Το λαϊκόν ηλεκτροθεραπευτήριόν μου,” *Ψυχιατρική και Νευρολογική Επιθεώρησις* 3, no. 8 (1905): 225–31; Vlavianos, “Νοσοκομείον Νευρικών Νοσημάτων (Maison de Santé) εν Πατησίοις Αθηνών,” *Ημερολόγιον Σκόκου* (1906): 81–85; G.L. Zografos, “Μία επίσκεψις εις το Νοσοκομείον Νευρικών Νοσημάτων του κ. Σ.Γ. Βλαβιανού: Νευρασθένειαι και Ψυχασθένειαι,” *Ψυχιατρική και Νευρολογική Επιθεώρησις* 5, no. 4 (1906): 97–101; Antonios Th. Spiliotopoulos, “Ιστορία της ιατρικής: Πρόοδοι της επιστήμης εν Ελλάδι,” *Ψυχιατρική και Νευρολογική Επιθεώρησις* 7, no. 1 (1909): 27–29; Libert, “Les aliénés en Grèce,” 283–302.

³⁰ He regularly advertised a “special cure for neurasthenia and hystericism”. See for instance, *Ψυχιατρική και Νευρολογική Επιθεώρησις* 3, no 3 (1904): 97, back cover.

³¹ On first-person accounts of melancholic women in the final decades of the nineteenth century, see Dimitra Vassiliadou, “Auto/Pathographies in situ: ‘Dying of Melancholy’ in Nineteenth-Century Greece,” in *The Palgrave Handbook of Auto/Biography*, ed. Julie M. Parsons and Anne Chappell (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 207–27.

³² The feminisation of hysteria is also obvious in his article “Η ψυχολογία των υστερικών υπό κοινωνικήν και εγκλιματολογικήν έποψιν,” *Ψυχιατρική και Νευρολογική Επιθεώρησις* 5, no. 1 (1906): 1–9.

³³ Including some by Charcot himself, who was the initiator of female hysteria. Mark S. Micale, “Charcot and the Idea of Hysteria in the Male: Gender, Mental Science, and Medical Diagnosis in Late Nineteenth-Century France,” *Medical History* 34, no. 4 (1990): 363–411.

³⁴ Adrien Proust and Gilbert Ballet, *L’hygiène du neurasthénique* (Paris: Masson, 1897), 65–67, 158–70.

neurasthenic men by contemporary medical and lay discourses alike.³⁵ He diagnosed as neurasthenics exclusively men in their prime,³⁶ between the ages of 20 and 40, often unwed, both from urban and rural areas of Greece and the Ottoman Empire. The geographical diversity of his clientele probably echoed the relative lack of specialised neurologist-psychiatrists at the time, the poor reputation of public institutions as treatment facilities,³⁷ but also the effectiveness of Vlavianos' professional networking and name. He was already promoting himself as a new man of science, perfectly equipped to treat modernity's nervous disorders, strengthening, thus, the endeavours of Greek psychiatrists to enhance their public role at the beginning of the long road – as has been argued – towards establishing their discipline.³⁸

Nervous Men

Edward Shorter noted a few years ago that “nervous illness was like a bucket of water: it is pointless to draw lines in it or make sharp demarcations. All the domains flooded together.”³⁹ It is true that nerves, neurasthenia, melancholia and hysteria were not conceived at the time as entirely distinct illnesses by doctors, social commentators and sufferers themselves. This ambiguity affected the diagnostic accuracy of mental health professionals, whereas the symptoms the patients' reported and the treatment their doctors' suggested often overlapped in several different diagnoses.⁴⁰ For many Greek writers,

³⁵ Indicatively: Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, “The Hysterical Woman: Sex Roles and Role Conflict in 19th-Century America,” *Social Research* 39, no. 4 (1972): 652–78; Kaufmann, “Neurasthenia in Wilhelmine Germany.” In the following decades the concept of nerves would be “democratised” to include both men and women. Especially for Greece and the lay language of nerves in rural communities, see Mari H. Clark, “Nevra in a Greek Village: Idiom, Metaphor, Symptom or Disorder?” *Health Care for Women International* 10, no. 2–3 (1989): 195–218.

³⁶ Vlavianos' neurasthenic patients were all male, with the sole exemption of a female patient, he diagnosed with hystero-neurasthenia.

³⁷ Ploumpidis, *Ιστορία της ψυχιατρικής*, 209.

³⁸ Lena Atzina, *Η μακρά εισαγωγή της ψυχανάλυσης στην Ελλάδα: Ψυχαναλυτές, ιατρικοί θεσμοί και κοινωνικές προσλήψεις (1910–1990)* (Athens: Exandas, 2004), 98–134.

³⁹ Edward Shorter, *How Everyone Became Depressed: The Rise and Fall of the Nervous Breakdown* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), Kindle.

⁴⁰ An overview of the symptoms of nerves in nineteenth-century psychiatry includes *ibid.*, 11–12; Cayleff, “Prisoners of Their Own Feebleness,” 1203; Davis, “George Beard and Lydia Pinkham,” 101–3. In contemporary Greek medical texts: S. Zografidis, “Η ψυχική κατάσταση των νευρασθενικών,” *Ιατρική Πρόοδος* 30 (1900): 303; Simonidis Vlavianos, “Διαφορική διάγνωσης νευρασθενείας και γενικής παραλύσεως μετά πρωτοτύπων κλινικών

commentators or translators of foreign medical texts, neurasthenia was a modern disease that mainly affected active professionals and intellectuals, a condition worsened by somatic fatigue and extreme abuse.⁴¹ Michael Katsaras, head of the Eginiteio Hospital, acknowledged three main types of neurasthenia (hereditary, acquired and traumatic, with the last two being curable), considered to be the main causes of the disorder all physiological, moral and mental traumas, and prioritised male sufferers of productive age.⁴² Vlavianos, on the other hand, was confident that the whole nation was plagued by the “disease of the century”, listing a number of physical and mental characteristics of the Greek population, from nervous dyspepsia to their “querulous personality”, to prove the veracity of his claims.⁴³

Although the distinction between neurology and psychiatry in fin-de-siècle Greece was not yet clear,⁴⁴ nervous patients were not considered psychotic, but neurologically afflicted individuals, that exhibited milder or more serious mental, emotional and physical symptoms. These included fatigue, melancholy, anxiety, irritability and a myriad of diffused somatic manifestations without a reasonable cause. Psychiatric symptoms, such as mild anxiety and depression, were clustered with others, purely physiological, such as fatigue, dizziness, dyspepsia and constipation. There was no single case that combined everything and it was not unusual for someone to be considered a nervous patient without exhibiting any mental symptoms. Neurasthenia, a dysfunction or weakness of the nerves, was no exception to this rule. As an umbrella concept, feeble nerves brought together a set of heterogeneous, perplexing and slippery disorders, and formed a large pool of psychiatric and physiological symptoms. Vlavianos’ notes confirm the unlimited symptomatology of his nervous patients: they

παρατηρήσεων,” *Ψυχιατρική και Νευρολογική Επιθεώρησης* 2, no. 2 (1904–3): 132–35, 165–69, 199–204, 356–60; Michael K. Katsaras, *Παθολογία των νεύρων και ψυχιατρική: Νευρώσεις, νευρίτιδες, νευραλγία, περιφερικά παραλύσεις*, vol. 3 (Athens: Estia, 1903), 291–300.

⁴¹ Chr. Gardikas, “Η νευρασθένεια ή η ασθένεια του αιώνος (μετάφρασις εκ του ιταλικού),” *Η Φύσις* 10, no. 1 (1909): 17–18; Diavatis [Ioannis Kondylakis], “Η ασθένεια του αιώνος,” *Εμπρός*, 26 August 1908; Diavatis [Ioannis Kondylakis], “Υπερτροφία ζωής,” *Εμπρός*, 13 July 1901; “Η νευρασθένεια – Η εξήγησις της νόσου – Πόθεν προέρχεται,” *Η Νίκη* 1, no. 43 (1914): 11–12; Dimitrios N. Zorbas, “Η νευρασθένεια,” *Επιστημονική Ηχώ* 4 (1910): 6–7.

⁴² Katsaras, *Παθολογία των νεύρων και ψυχιατρική*, 3:297–300; Kritsotaki, “Ψυχική ασθένεια και ψυχιατρική νοσηλεία,” 230–33.

⁴³ Simonidis Vlavianos, “Η εθνική νευρασθένεια,” *Ψυχιατρική και Νευρολογική Επιθεώρησης* 6, no. 1 (1907): 3–5.

⁴⁴ In Greece, as elsewhere at the turn of the twentieth century, the boundaries between neurology and psychiatry were still blurred, Kritsotaki, “Ψυχική ασθένεια και ψυχιατρική νοσηλεία,” 40–43. Surprisingly enough, it remained a single medical specialty up to 1981.

often expressed disordered emotions, such as anxiety, melancholy, feelings of futility, agony of impending insanity, anger, fear, boredom, loathing; they also complained of somatic irritations, such as fatigue, insomnia, weakness, pains, dizziness, heart palpitations, dyspepsia, numbness and weight loss. The case of 25-year-old cigarette worker Stavros was quite typical. When he first visited Vlavianos' treatment room, in the spring of 1905, he was suffering from head numbness, insomnia, fear, anxiety, a slow heart rate, a tremor in his hands and feet, and constant nervous shaking. He worried that eventually he would go mad, and expressed acute agoraphobia, social isolation, melancholy and sorrow.⁴⁵ Another 25-year-old neurasthenic, a fruit seller this time, also exemplified a number of symptoms: unhappiness, ruthlessness, hypochondriasis, dizziness, insomnia, exhaustion, constipation, back pain and headaches. He was furious, short-tempered and aggressive, and although he acknowledged that his personality had changed, he questioned his physician and the treatment he proposed.⁴⁶ Neurasthenic men emerge in the primary sources as hesitant, indecisive, frightened, helpless, melancholic, gutless and misty. The pathological representations of the male body and soul openly challenged the masculine ideal of the period, as the opposite and effeminate version of the unyielding, rational and strong male that nature and God created.⁴⁷ There was no doubt that nerve exhaustion deprived men of their most crucial physical and mental qualities; not least, their notorious self-mastery and rationality.

Equally destructive to the nervous system were the abrupt and strong emotions. The prevailing ideas of the time underlined middle-class refinement and the ability of bourgeois men to tame extreme emotionality. This did not usually apply to the lower classes, who were thought to be deprived of self-control, and who tended to shamelessly express their emotions with loud laughter, cries and outbursts of anger. Yet, controlling one's inner feelings was not always possible, even for the most composed individuals.⁴⁸ All affective activities, severe emotional traumas, everyday sorrows of family life, as well as fear, excessive ambition and romantic love, could overwhelm the nervous system and turn men into nervous wrecks.⁴⁹

At times, neurasthenics surfaced in the source material as individuals with a stained genetic inheritance: a "hysterical" mother or sister,⁵⁰ a "nervous and

⁴⁵ OPN 4 (1905): 79.

⁴⁶ CPN 3 (1906): 264–65.

⁴⁷ Oppenheim, *Shattered Nerves*, 141.

⁴⁸ Davis, "George Beard and Lydia Pinkham," 104.

⁴⁹ Katsaras, *Παθολογία των νεύρων και ψυχιατρική*, 3:298.

⁵⁰ OPN 1 (1904): 295.

irritable” uncle,⁵¹ an “idiotic” brother,⁵² an “alcoholic and delirious” father⁵³ – such backgrounds appear time and again, echoing the silent influence of the biological, hereditary and neurological notions of degeneration theory, already popular among Greek physicians.⁵⁴ Thirty years later, when the idea of eugenics became widespread among the Greek medical world,⁵⁵ Vlavianos would extend the diagnosis of neurasthenia to women, and explicitly included degeneration in its main causes.⁵⁶

In both lay and professional health care beliefs, in international and Greek literature alike, the influence of Beard, who first systematised the aetiology of neurasthenia, was obvious. Many of his colleagues, while acknowledging the disorder as a cross-class and cross-gender ailment, also referred to professional men in the big cities as key sufferers. The statistics cited in the French bestseller *L'hygiène du neurasthénique*, first published in 1897 and translated into Greek

⁵¹ CPN 4 (1907): 231.

⁵² CPN 3 (1906): 264.

⁵³ CPN 2 (1905): 11.

⁵⁴ See his references to degeneration stigmas of hysterical patients, Vlavianos, “Η ψυχολογία των υστερικών”; On the theory and practice of degeneration in European and Greek psychiatry, see Thanasis Karavatos, “Ο έρωτας στα χρόνια της θεωρίας του εκφυλισμού,” *Oanagnostis.gr*, <https://bit.ly/3HD9Gtk>, accessed 29 May 2020; Vangelis Karamanolakis, “Το Δρομοκαϊτείο φρενοκομείο: 1887–1903: Όψεις της εγκατάστασης ενός ιδρυματικού θεσμού,” *Μνήμων* 20 (1998): 55–56; For proponents of the degeneration theory, degeneration could be a cause for all mental troubles as well, Kritsotaki, “Ψυχική ασθένεια και ψυχιατρική νοσηλεία,” 199–203, where “degenerate” patients, mainly “psychotics”, treated in the Dromokaiteio and Eginiteio hospitals are similarly explored.

⁵⁵ Sevasti Trubeta, “Η επίδραση της φυλετικής υγιεινής στην Ιατρική Σχολή του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών κατά τον Μεσοπόλεμο,” in *Φυλετικές θεωρίες στην Ελλάδα. Προσλήψεις και χρήσεις στις επιστήμες, την πολιτική, τη λογοτεχνία και την ιστορία της τέχνης κατά τον 19ο και τον 20ό αιώνα*, ed. Efi Avdela et al. (Heraklion: Crete University Press, 2017), 99–127. Unfortunately, I was unable to benefit from Giorgos Kokkinos’ novel findings in his recent book, “Άξια” και “ανάξια” ζωή: *Ευγονική, εκφυλισμός, βιοπολιτική. Ο γιατρός στο ρόλο του κοινωνικού θεραπευτή και του εθνικού αναμορφωτή* (Athens: Taxidestis, 2021), since it was published when this paper was already at its final proofreading stage. Kokkinos’ research expands on many themes that are mentioned here, including eugenics, degeneration, venereal diseases and “pathological” sexuality, across the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

⁵⁶ Th. Drakos, “Μέσα σε ελάχιστα χρόνια δεκαπλασιάσθηκαν οι νευροπαθείς, θύματα της σκληράς μεταπολεμικής βιοπάλης, των συγκινήσεων, των ναρκωτικών και του εκφυλισμού: Το μεγαλύτερο ποσοστόν μεταξύ των γυναικών. Τι λέει ο κ. Βλαβιανός,” *Ελεύθερος Άνθρωπος*, 24–25 August 1936.

in 1902,⁵⁷ speak for themselves. According to its authors, physicians Adrien Proust and Gilbert Ballet, the numbers showed “the extreme rarity of neurosis among the working classes, and its almost sole restriction to the advanced social strata, such to the world of affairs and to the liberal professions; in other words, to the social groups regularly subjected to routine mental activity.”⁵⁸ Katsaras also favoured taking mental, emotional and physical strain as the primary cause of neurasthenia, and admitted its frequency in brain workers, such as scientists, accountants, writers or students. He explicitly stated that it was those types of people who were plagued by the disorder, without however excluding hard-working manual workers as potential patients. In a racial wording, he attributed the increased rates of neurasthenia among Jews and Anglo-Saxons to the same cause: mental exhaustion.⁵⁹ In medical literature, thus, neurasthenia was mainly a disease of the wealthy and educated men, who were believed to be, evolutionarily speaking, far more developed and thus had sensitive nerves. Still, Vlavianos’ practice rather refuted this popular medical theory, revealing that the relation between medical theories and medical practices was far from straightforward.

*Traumatic and Sexual Neurasthenia*⁶⁰

Despite the above-mentioned beliefs in social Darwinism, and the promotion of the middle- and upper-class theory of neurasthenia, Greek patients appear to be much more diverse and inclusive. Along with the usual suspects, professionals, doctors, merchants, tutors, students, and civil servants, Vlavianos’ clients included a great number of men from the working-class and petty-bourgeois ranks, such as cigarette rollers, pitchmen, greengrocers, farmers, shoemakers, metalworkers, tailors and unskilled manual laborers. The cross-class aspect of his clientele in both his clinic and his private office is unmissable, since private

⁵⁷ Proust and Ballet, *L'hygiène du neurasthénique*. Adrien Proust (1834–1903), was General Inspector of Hygienic Services, professor at the Medical School of Paris, and father of the novelist Marcel Proust. His colleague, Gilbert Ballet, was Charcot’s clinical director at La Salpêtrière hospital (Deborah Jenson, “Adrien and Marcel Proust: Fathering Neurasthenic Memory,” in *Being Contemporary: French Literature, Culture, and Politics Today*, ed. Lia Nicole Brozgal and Sara Kippur (Liverpool University Press, 2016), 364.) The Greek edition appeared in 1902, translated by the don of the Athens Medical School, Orestis Dalezios. In his half-page introduction, Dalezios refers to the book’s usefulness for his neurasthenic fellow physicians, who, according to his own estimations, “were not few at all”. In the references that follow, I quote from the Greek edition.

⁵⁸ Proust and Ballet, *L'hygiène du neurasthénique*, 11.

⁵⁹ Katsaras, *Παθολογία των νεύρων και ψυχιατρική*, 3:297.

⁶⁰ Both traumatic and sexual neurasthenia are my own terms.

clinics and practices elsewhere had been mostly associated with middle and upper strata. The social characteristics of Vlavianos' patients seem to form the beginning of a pattern that continues to this day, whereby patients, even of limited means, turn to private doctors and clinics in their first attempt to deal with their illness, and continue to attend them until their family funds are exhausted.⁶¹ Be as it may, the firm devotion to the middle-class ideal of relentless mental work was for Vlavianos simply one of the causes of neurasthenia – it was explicitly mentioned in 6 out of the 59 patient stories. For example, 25-year-old greengrocer Thanasis was hospitalised in the summer of 1906 and fully recovered two months later. An immigrant in New York at the age of 19, he first worked in a hotel for 15 hours a day, and soon after in a tobacco factory. Upon his return to Athens, he started to trade groceries, but because of his labouring “greed” he ended up working 12 hours every day. Pretty fast, he felt he had a reduced ability to work and showed signs of general exhaustion, with pains all over his body, mental anguish and despair. Thanasis, although not a middle-class man, was certainly a workaholic.⁶² Similarly, 62-year-old priest and farmer Antonios from Amorgos island, some eight years earlier, felt unable to work due to physical exhaustion. After consulting the famous physicians Michael Katsaras and Antonios Mavrakakis, he overcame the pains, fears and melancholy that overwhelmed him. But later, he returned to his previous condition, and was admitted to Vlavianos' clinic for two weeks. He was unable to bear even the slightest inconvenience at work, and he could not read for more than a quarter of an hour without feeling immediately increased pressure on his stomach, major exhaustion and lethargy. Antonios attributed his illness to his professional strains and the devastating emotions he felt time and again since his early childhood. Vlavianos had the exact same opinion, and diagnosed “neurasthenia due to overwork”.⁶³

More frequent causes of neurasthenia spoke of the emotional traumas – “moral traumas” (*ηθικοί τραυματισμοί*) are the exact terms used by Vlavianos – linked to life events, as Antonios' story above suggests. The language of “shattered nerves” was attributed by many patients to their moral sufferings: illnesses and deaths of loved ones, unfortunate love affairs, failed matchmaking, and financial and professional hardships were also identified by health professionals as factors that brutally attacked the nervous system. A 52-year-old doctor from Kassos island, who suddenly lost his precious 20-year-old son, was admitted

⁶¹ My thanks to Dr Despo Kritsotaki for her suggestion on this point.

⁶² CPN 3 (1906): 264–65.

⁶³ CPN 1 (1904–5): 281–83.

to the clinic in tears, with stomach aches, expressing deep sadness, pain and unrelenting melancholy. His moral suffering was so severe that he used to stare at his son's picture, reciting poems, weeping and grieving for his loss. Vlavianos acknowledged his acute trauma and mourning, and diagnosed "idiosyncratic neurasthenia".⁶⁴ The 39-year-old tinsmith Dimitris voluntarily admitted himself to the *Maison de Santé*. He was irritable, furious, angry, grumpy and experienced outbreaks of weeping. According to his own descriptions, his condition was due to his severe financial and emotional hardships, especially his broken engagement.⁶⁵ Similarly broken-hearted was the 25-year-old law graduate Manolis, who had been in love with an older woman for a number of years. Apart from his mother's constant nagging about his affair, he was also facing a number of other obstacles, all of which caused intense emotional reactions, palpitations, nervousness, etc.⁶⁶

Other patients, such as Georgios, a 35-year-old cooper from Crete, were prone to suicidal thoughts and tendencies. Georgios was suffering from chronic gloom, which he linked to the deep sorrows he experienced during the course of his life. Nearly a month into his treatment at the clinic, he stated that if he did not get well pretty soon, he would get himself killed. Soon after his refusal to go on with his treatment, and as he was about to leave the clinic, he escaped the attention of his nurse and drank a bottle of nitric acid, only to die four months later from a perforated stomach ulcer.⁶⁷ Neurasthenia was, in fact, noted in the contemporary forensic records as a cause of suicide. For instance, out of a total of 20 suicidal incidents that reached the Forensic Laboratory of the Athens Medical School in the late 1920s and were examined by medical professionals, three were attributed to "neurasthenia" and one to "melancholy".⁶⁸ Neurasthenia (or the more generic term "nerves") was also regularly recorded in the early-twentieth-century dailies as one of the most common reasons for attempted suicide. Ioannis Kondylakis, a famous contemporary writer, sneered at all the "neurasthenia dramas" that inundated the newspapers, noting that men prone to suicide were altogether "insane" and by no means simply "nervous".⁶⁹ Another neurasthenic,

⁶⁴ CPN 3 (1906): 112–14.

⁶⁵ CPN 2 (1905): 242–45.

⁶⁶ OPN 3 (1903–4): 88.

⁶⁷ CPN 3 (1906): 310–11.

⁶⁸ See "Ιατροδικαστικά εκθέσεις," vol. 4, 1927 and 1930, Forensic and Toxicology Laboratory Archive, Medical School of Athens.

⁶⁹ Diavatis [Kondylakis], "Η ασθένεια του αιώνας." In his recent PhD thesis on suicides in postwar Greece, the first systematic research on the subject, Christos Stefanopoulos uncovers a plethora of references to neurasthenia as a major cause of suicide in the newspapers of

the 24-year-old carpenter Michalis, was quite desperate. Convinced that he was suffering from a severe and incurable disease, he tried to kill himself twice – first by stabbing himself with a knife, and then by falling off the deck of a ship – but failed both times.⁷⁰ Manolis, a 35-year-old judge from Crete, deeply devoted to his professional career and, according to Vlavianos, a “typical neurasthenic”, had gone through myriad emotional turbulences in his life, including a traumatic war experience during his participation in the 1897 Cretan Revolution. He became a hypochondriac, oversensitive and desperate man, filled with fears of death and failure. Just as he was leaving Vlavianos’ clinic, after a month’s rest and treatment, he pointed a gun at his chest and committed suicide.⁷¹

Most neurasthenics thus appear to be men who worked harder than they could bear, broke under the pressure of professional and family duties, or were repeatedly exposed to devastating emotions and traumatic experiences. However, on the eve of the twentieth century, the most persistent symptom and/or cause linked to men’s nervous exhaustion – the boundaries between the two remain blurred – was what was then labelled as pathological or problematic sexuality. The following examples, out of the many similar patients’ stories, affirm the variety of sexual dysfunctions, which Vlavianos recognised as signs of “shattered nerves” under the generic diagnosis of neurasthenia.⁷² A 24-year-old carpenter, Michalis was treated at the clinic for four consecutive months. From a very young age he used to sexually satisfy himself, up until the day he became a devoted Christian and started restraining from the “corruptive act” of masturbation.

the 1950s, and also traces the transition from the vocabulary of nerves to the vocabulary of schizophrenia during the following decade. Christos Stefanopoulos, “Ερμηνείες θανάτου, αφηγήσεις ζωής: Η κοινωνική πρακτική της αυτοκτονίας στη μετεμφυλιακή Ελλάδα, 1949–1967” (PhD diss., Panteion University, 2020), 160–71. “Mental problems” were also recorded as a common cause for suicidal men in the dailies of nineteenth-century Ermoupoli: Yiannis Gonatidis, “Έλαβα υπ’ όψιν την αγάπην του θανάτου: Αυτόχειρες στην Ερμούπολη τον 19ο αιώνα,” *Μνήμων* 36 (2017–18): 177.

⁷⁰ CPN 2 (1905): 2–3.

⁷¹ CPN 3 (1906): 1–4b.

⁷² In a few cases he would add “spermatorrhoea” or “sexual [γενετήσια] incompetence” in his main diagnoses, but usually he was recording simply “neurasthenia”. Patients with intense symptomatology of “sexual” neurasthenia: OPN 1 (1904): 209–10; OPN 1 (1904): 248; OPN 1 (1904): 259–60; OPN 1 (1904): 269–70; OPN 1 (1904): 295–96; OPN 1 (1904): 313–14; OPN 1 (1904): 353; OPN 1 (1904): 363–64; OPN 3 (1903–4): 88; OPN 3 (1903–4): 152; OPN 3 (1903–4): 304; OPN 3 (1903–4): 403; OPN 4 (1905): 109–11; OPN 4 (1905): 149–50, 427–28; OPN 4 (1905): 314, 446, 956; CPN 2 (1905): 161–65; CPN 2 (1905–6): 242–45; CPN 2 (1905–6): 351–57; CPN 3 (1905–6): 1–7; CPN 3 (1905–6): 264–65; CPN 3 (1905–6): 310–11 recto; CPN 3 (1905–6): 372.

He was determined to remain a virgin until his wedding day, since according to his – and widely held – religious beliefs, extramarital sex was sinful. Vlavianos stated that, since Michalis was failing to release his sexual energy, frustrated by religious norms that were still strong, he had wet dreams at least twice a week, a dysfunction that was terribly exhausting on his nerves.⁷³ The 44-year-old farmer Panayiotis, also unmarried, a keen masturbator from a very young age and with chronic gonorrhoea, felt, as he said, no pleasure during intercourse. For the previous 15 years, he had been suffering from spermatorrhoea every single night, with or without an erection. He was “mentally exhausted. Unable, as he mentions, to think. Feels extremely weak.”⁷⁴ Alexandros, a 27-year-old philology graduate, combined all “bad” habits: he masturbated frequently, suffered from wet dreams and spermatorrhoea, was a regular client of brothels, where he often had sex twice a day, and he had repeatedly contracted gonorrhoea. He was no longer able to study, due to dizziness, vertigo and mental burnout. Apart from being a neurasthenic, Alexandros was also a typical male “nymphomaniac”, unable to control his excessive sexual drive.⁷⁵ Another student, of law this time, engaged in sexual play without full intercourse with the girl he loved, almost every day, for four years. Pathologically jealous, however, he ended up sexually impotent. Intercourse with his fiancée had been long impossible. His memory weakened, and so did his concentration and awareness.⁷⁶

Vlavianos’ diagnosis of “sexual” neurasthenia was not of course an original contribution to medical theory since it was already known as a subcategory of the disorder.⁷⁷ In Katsaras’ medical handbook, which drew heavily on the French literature,⁷⁸ it was briefly described as a form of neurasthenia based on a specific cluster of symptoms. Sexual disorders were common in the clinical picture of the ailment; for example, decreased sexual desire, incomplete or total lack of erection, or premature ejaculation. Spermatorrhoea also appeared at times. Katsaras, however, did not include sexual dysfunctions in the main symptoms of neurasthenia. He only proposed that sexual excesses, like all abuse, could harm the nervous system.⁷⁹

⁷³ CPN 3 (1905–6): 1–7.

⁷⁴ OPN 1 (1904): 259–60.

⁷⁵ OPN 3 (1903–4): 304.

⁷⁶ OPN 4 (1905): 149–50.

⁷⁷ Beard published an entire treatise on the subject: George M. Beard, *Sexual Neurasthenia [Nervous Exhaustion]: Its Hygiene, Causes, Symptoms and Treatment. With a Chapter on Diet for the Nervous*, ed. A.D. Rockwell, 5th ed. (New York: E.B. Treat, 1900).

⁷⁸ See, for instance, Proust and Ballet, *L’hygiène du neurasthénique*, 26, 61–62, 67–69, 170–74.

⁷⁹ Katsaras, *Παθολογία των νεύρων και ψυχιατρική*, 3:295, 298, 300.

Conclusions: A Self-Fulfilling Prophecy

Despite the rather minor position that sexual neurasthenia held in Greek professional publications, Vlavianos' actual practice gathered many cases of related symptomatology and often prioritised the specific version of the disorder, albeit without clearly naming it. The emphasis he placed on pathological sexuality as a firm backdrop to the clinical picture of "nervous" patients is unmissable, as it firmly placed neurologist-psychiatrists within the dominant social values, cultural norms and collective anxieties of their times. For their own part, neurologist-psychiatrists followed and fed the widespread idea that individuals who deviated from sexual norms would sooner or later suffer from a real or an imaginary disease. Neurasthenia was one of them. In this light, it was not just a diagnostic category, but a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The key to understanding the sexualisation of the ailment, documented by Vlavianos' case records, lies then in the quest of neurologist-psychiatrists for recognition as important public actors at a time of rapid transformation both within Greek society and in their own profession.⁸⁰ One of the ways to achieve this goal was to face and treat the challenges, frustrations and fears that the increasing visibility of sexuality imposed on public institutions, authorities and individuals. The escalated prominence of sexuality in early twentieth-century Greece is confirmed by the proliferation of the relevant private and public discourses, and the underlying expansion of sexual knowledge and experience, especially among men.⁸¹ Since all men were immersed in a culture that recognised their sexual energy as a persistent drive that required release, and celebrated the gendered double standard of sexual morality, it was socially acceptable for men to be initiated into the world of carnal knowledge and somatic pleasure long before their marriage.⁸² While sexuality was gradually becoming an arena of scientific observation and professional competition,⁸³ normative, prescriptive

⁸⁰ For the intersection of the scientific, ideological, and political orientations of Greek psychiatrists with the perceptions and concerns of their own time, and how these affected the medical theories and diagnostic practices, see Kritsotaki, "Ψυχική ασθένεια και ψυχιατρική νοσηλεία," 251–54.

⁸¹ Avdela et al., "From Virginité to Orgasm: Marriage and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Greece," *Journal of Family History* 45, no. 3 (2020): 317–22.

⁸² Dimitra Vassiliadou, "Η σιωπή, ο φόβος, η σαγήνη: Γράφοντας τον σεξουαλικό εαυτό στα τέλη του 19ου αιώνα," in *Ανδρισμοί: Αναπαραστάσεις, υποκείμενα και πρακτικές από τη μεσαιωνική μέχρι τη σύγχρονη περίοδο*, ed. Dimitra Vassiliadou et al. (Athens: Gutenberg, 2019), 105–32.

⁸³ For a brief historiographical survey of the male body as a site of sexuality and pathology, see Dimitra Vassiliadou et al., "Ανδρισμοί και ιστορία: η ιστοριογραφία μιας σχέσης," in Vassiliadou, *Ανδρισμοί*, 93–97.

and medical literature was concerned with the sexual practices and the emotional and physical health of men who abstained from the sexual normality of conjugal life, but was also concerned about the sexual performance of married men. Contemporary commentators targeted especially one of the most “horrific” and “deviant” but also extremely prominent practices, masturbation. After all, many of the diseases that were thought to be the result of intense self-satisfaction practices overlapped with the clinical picture of neurasthenia.⁸⁴ The second domain of public interest with regard to morality and public health were venereal diseases, especially syphilis, which had been considered a sign of a “dangerous sexuality” since the nineteenth century.⁸⁵ Overstimulation and excessive sexuality were deemed to be absolutely immoral, dangerous, even abnormal, yet sexual impotency and total abstinence were equally unwelcome. Within this climate, neurologist-psychiatrists, in their private practices, started to actively engage in the mechanisms that studied and treated sexuality. It was an open and disputed field where many different medical specialties claimed expertise: beyond the physicians involved, such as general practitioners, dermatologists, venereologists, gynaecologists, obstetricians and endocrinologists, there were the long-established disciplinarians of sexual mores: clergymen, educators, social hygienists and moralists of all kinds.⁸⁶ The time was not yet ripe for sexologists, the new experts on “sexual science”. They would appear later, in the interwar period, and establish their distinct professional position in Greece only after the Second World War.⁸⁷

Neurasthenia increasingly became a strategic arena for psychiatrists, in which dysfunctional or abnormal versions of masculinity with a specific focus on sexuality emerged. And it was precisely the emphasis on sexuality that was responsible for the profound class diversity of neurasthenic patients in Greece. At a time of escalated urbanisation and industrialisation, sex, no matter by whom, when and how it was practiced, and regardless of what it meant to different social actors, was above all a common human experience that

⁸⁴ Kostis Gotsinas, “Μήπως γιατρέ είμαι ανώμαλος τύπος; Οι μεταβαλλόμενοι επιστημονικοί λόγοι για τον αυνανισμό και οι προσλήψεις τους στην Ελλάδα (1900–1970),” in *Ιστορίες για τη σεξουαλικότητα*, ed. Dimitra Vassiliadou and Glafki Gotsi (Athens: Themelio, 2020), 59–80.

⁸⁵ Vassiliki Theodorou and Christos Loukos, “Οικεία βουλήσει και καθ’ υπόδειξιν προσελθούσες: Από τα μητρώα ασθενών του Νοσοκομείου Συγγρού στις σεξουαλικές συμπεριφορές ανδρών και γυναικών τη δεκαετία του 1930,” in Vassiliadou and Gotsi, *Ιστορίες για τη σεξουαλικότητα*, 37–58. Kokkinos, “Αξία” και ανάξια” ζωή, 287–479.

⁸⁶ Avdela et al., “From Virginity to Orgasm,” 330, n. 33.

⁸⁷ Gotsinas, “Μήπως γιατρέ είμαι ανώμαλος τύπος;”

needed to be evaluated, classified and regulated. Extremely stigmatised sexual practices like masturbation, problems such as spermatorrhoea, wet dreams and decreased sexual satisfaction, or dysfunctions such as premature ejaculation and impotence, were already attributed to the overstimulation or exhaustion of the nerves. They were also considered capable of causing deep sadness, fear and insecurity. Besides, for several physicians, it was precisely the disordered emotional state of unruly sexuality that eventually led to neurasthenia.

The meeting and interaction of physicians and sufferers reaching out for medical help was crucial, as the patients' concept of themselves was changing through the patient–doctor encounter and the narration of their disorders. While describing their psychosomatic disturbances and anxieties, they were also prioritising their sexual “experiences”, “problems”, “anomalies” or “deficiencies” – all those terms regularly surface in the case notes. Their narrations were filled with details of their sexual practices since puberty, often with a heavy sense of sin and suffering, filled with shame, anxiety and fear.⁸⁸ Engaging in sexual practices was for these men equally an attraction and a trial, an act of pleasure and a vice.⁸⁹ For Vlavianos, it was evident that “nervous” men systematically violated their sexual economy, and failed to balance the production and consumption of their sexual energy: masturbators from their early years, they were prone to extreme sexual behaviour and hypersexuality, or, on the opposite scale, were sexually lymphatic, ailed by mild or serious venereal diseases, repeatedly exposed to the pseudo-disease of spermatorrhoea, doomed to impotency or frigidity. Neurasthenic men, no matter if they worked with their hands or their minds, regardless of whether they originated from the diversified middle and working classes or from the rural populations now flowing in massive numbers to the big cities, were all well-deserving of their neurasthenia.

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⁸⁸ The emphasis placed on sexuality by Vlavianos, in spite of his “French” medical training, bears a great resemblance to the practices of German physicians treating neurasthenia at more or less the same period. See Kaufmann, “Neurasthenia in Wilhelmine Germany”; Joachim Radkau, “The Neurasthenic Experience in Imperial Germany: Expeditions into Patient Records and Side-Looks Upon General History,” in Gijswijt-Hofstra and Porter, *Cultures of Neurasthenia*, 199–218.

⁸⁹ For subjective understandings of pleasure and shame with regard to male extramarital sexual practices, see Vassiliadou, “Η σιωπή, ο φόβος, η σαγήνη.”

Special Section II / Section Spéciale II

PHILHELLENISM AND IDENTITIES

Introduction

Philhellenism has been one of the research fields of the Institute of Historical Research since its very creation. The relevant inquiries were initiated in 1960 by Loukia Droulia (1931–2019), who devoted much of her work on the issue, dedicated her thesis to it (1974) and compiled the bibliography of philhellenism, which remains the basic research tool for studies on the subject (1st ed. 1974; 2nd rev. ed. 2017). Therefore, it was due and expected that philhellenism would form part of the Institute's academic activities during the bicentenary of the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence (1821). In October 2021 in Athens, the Institute organised an international conference on “National Movements and Philhellenism”, the proceedings of which are due to be published in Greek in 2022.

The four articles that compose the second Special Section of the 2021 issue of *The Historical Review / La Revue Historique* were first presented at this conference and their publication herein may serve as an introduction to the forthcoming volume. Written by experts from Italy, France and Poland, who are also dear friends and collaborators of the Institute, they cover some of the multifold interfaces between philhellenism, liberalism and the shaping of identities in nineteenth-century Europe. The first one, by Denys Barau, focuses on the French diplomat Abbé de Pradt and his vision of the emerging Greek national state as a rampart of Western Europe against Russian expansion. The next two, by Antonio D'Alessandri and Maria Kalinowska, explore the impact of philhellenic notions on the shaping of Italian and Polish national discourses and patriotic imaginary, while the last one, by Ewa Róża Janion, investigates the locus of the liberation of Greece as an Enlightenment utopia of national and gender emancipation in the poems of Józef Dunin Borkowski.

WHAT INDEPENDENCE FOR GREECE?
ABBÉ DE PRADT'S POINT OF VIEW

Denys Barau

Abstract: In numerous writings published between 1821 and 1828, Abbé de Pradt approached the questions concerning Greece's future independence from two quite different, if not completely opposite, points of view. On the one hand, he argued that Greece could and should achieve its independence by its own efforts, without the intervention of any foreign power, and that consequently it should also be entirely free to choose its own institutions. But, on the other hand, he wanted to emphasise the benefit that Europe could gain from this independence by making Greece play the role of a barrier against the expansion of Russian power. And this strategic role implied another principle for defining the territory and political regime of the new state. We shall see how, as the situation evolved, this second logic prevailed over the first.

A Significant Contribution

The whole action of the philhellenes was aimed at helping the Greeks to conquer their independence. But what did this word independence mean? What territory, what population, what political regime? Would the Greeks win it by themselves, or through the intervention by the powers that be? Such issues could have jeopardised the fragile unity of often ideologically very heterogeneous Greek committees, particularly in Paris, and as an institution they avoided tackling them head on. On the other hand, the publicists did not refrain from doing so on a personal basis. Among them, Abbé Dominique de Pradt first attracts attention by the size of his contribution: eight titles, a little over 800 pages, between January 1822 and January 1829 – for most of the war. Most of the other authors were satisfied with occasional contributions. He was, indeed, a prolix and prolific author: writing no less than 38 books in the 15 years of the Restoration, on current political issues (the Jesuits, *le milliard des émigrés*), with a predilection for diplomatic congresses and international politics. He specialised in Spanish American revolutions. He was criticised for repeating himself, for writing too quickly on subjects he knew little about, but even his detractors recognised his capacity for quasi-prophetic forecasting, while at the same time

enjoying catching him out.¹ If a royalist journalist mocked those who, taking him for an oracle, were “always waiting until he had spoken to know what they [had] to say”,² it was also because this influence was a liberal one. Liberal, however, he had only become so at the Restoration. Deputy of the clergy at the *Etats-Généraux*, he was very much on the right wing in the Constituent Assembly, had emigrated in 1792 to Belgium, then to Hamburg; when he returned to France, his wit seduced Napoleon, who made him his ordinary chaplain, appointed him bishop of Poitiers, then archbishop of Malines, and entrusted him with some diplomatic missions. The most important of these, in 1812 in Warsaw, which was strategic at the time of the war in Russia, earned him disgrace: he avenged himself by writing a narrative about it that was his greatest bestseller,³ and by participating in 1814, with Talleyrand, in the negotiations that led to the return of the Bourbons, before joining the liberal opposition, and in 1820, being the hero of a spectacular press trial.⁴

So, he was a prominent figure, and one can be sure that his writings on Greece had readers. A likely indication of a wide audience is that each of these eight books was reviewed in at least two newspapers or reviews, often more, up to six for the best recorded title in 1826, at the height of the philhellenic mobilisation. Always very extensive, sometimes extending over two issues, the reviews were generally negative in the royalist newspapers, and frankly laudatory in the liberal organs. It is true that only three were devoted exclusively to Greece: *De la Grèce dans ses rapports avec l'Europe*, in March 1822; *L'Europe par rapport à la Grèce et à la réformation de la Turquie*, in November 1826; *De l'intervention armée pour la pacification de la Grèce*, in January 1828. In three books, it was connected with other issues: an *Aperçu sur la Grèce* was appended to *Parallèle de la puissance anglaise et russe* in April 1823; it was compared to the author's favourite cause in *Vrai système de l'Europe relativement à l'Amérique et à la Grèce* in April 1825, and linked to another problem close to his heart in January 1829 in *Du système permanent de l'Europe à l'égard de la Russie et des affaires de l'Orient*. Finally, the Greek event was the subject of important developments in two books devoted more generally to international political current affairs:

¹ The geographer Conrad Malte-Brun, for example, was astonished that he had “succeeded in guessing fairly accurately the fate of peoples without taking too much trouble to get to know them” (*Journal des débats*, 1 December 1826).

² *La Gazette de France*, 23 February 1824.

³ Dominique de Pradt, *Histoire de l'ambassade dans le grand-duché de Varsovie en 1812* (Paris: Pillet, 1815).

⁴ About abbé de Pradt, see Jean Moins, “Les idées politiques de l'abbé de Pradt,” *Revue de la Haute-Auvergne* 38 (1962–1963): 17–47, 105–30, 183–209, 269–95.

L'Europe et l'Amérique en 1821 (January 1822) and *L'Europe et l'Amérique en 1822 et 1823* (February 1824). These titles, which, with one exception, always include the word Europe, are indicative of the international political perspective from which de Pradt approached the Greek event. But, as we shall see, he always made this diplomatic approach coexist with a conception of the Greek cause that he gave as reflecting the views of the Greeks themselves; he mixed in at a certain point a perspective that we could refer to as humanitarian. Three largely opposing logics, difficult to conciliate: we will try to understand under what conditions and in what ways they have nevertheless been associated in this series of books.

The Importance of Overcoming by Oneself

Like all other philhellènes, de Pradt first had to justify an insurrection that the sovereigns had condemned from the outset at the Congress of Laibach. His argument was fixed from the very first text and repeated with sometimes significant variations from one book to the next until 1826. Starting from the principle that it was useless to invoke “fantastic causes” – conspiracies – where “natural causes” were sufficient,⁵ he endeavoured to show that there was only a reaction to the oppression suffered, according to “the nature of things” (an expression which he used frequently like a leitmotiv in his writings): the Greeks sought to free themselves from the sufferings of a life that was only “permitted, as to animals, as to plants ... not because of any right, but by the calculation that there is more to be gained by preserving than by destroying”,⁶ a life that was imposed on them by Turks, who had constantly “camped” in Greece as conquerors, according to the expression introduced by Louis de Bonald.⁷ So, it was not a conflict between a people and their government, as in the Italian and Spanish revolutions, but between two foreign peoples. Sometimes de Pradt attributed their separation to the Turks, to their religion and customs which, refusing any mixture, had prevented a fusion between the conquered people and the conquering people, of which history could offer examples. Sometimes he saw “the principle ... in the very violence that made the separation possible” and he invoked the Polish example to affirm that “nationality always protests against its erasure; it always lives in the depths of

⁵ Dominique de Pradt, *De la Grèce dans ses rapports avec l'Europe* (Paris: Béchét aîné, 1821), 28–29.

⁶ Dominique de Pradt, *L'Europe par rapport à la Grèce et à la réformation de la Turquie* (Paris: Béchét aîné, 1826), 24.

⁷ *Journal des débats*, 20 September 1821.

hearts and is ready to claim its rights”.⁸ But Greece had disappeared long before the Ottomans, already under “the alternately fierce, superstitious and sophistical yoke of the emperors of Constantinople”.⁹ And the persistence of this people whose destiny had been “most likely to erase a national character” was more a matter of wonder than of the simple “nature of things”. It should be noted, however, that this reference to nationality appears only in the 1824 book and that de Pradt nowhere seeks to identify the Greeks as a particular population, for example ethnically or linguistically, or to associate them with a well-defined territory.

De Pradt put forward, with much more confidence and insistence, another justification, the strongest in his opinion: the superiority of the Greeks over the Turks. From a quantitative point of view, it was not in the “nature of things” that the former, who were more numerous, were dominated by the latter, who were less so. While he was not too concerned to base this application of the majority principle on facts, he gave much more importance to the qualitative side of the argument: it was not natural for the more civilised Greeks to remain under the yoke of the barbaric Turks. That was all the more true because the gap between the two peoples was widening and, at the same time, deepening. The religion and customs of the Turks, which inspired them with a proud refusal to imitate, isolated them and reduced them to immobility. The Greeks, on the contrary, were making progress by opening up to the world. Since the 1770s, they had developed their navy and their trade; the enrichment had made education possible.¹⁰ Now, “in the state of modern societies, all power can only be measured by degrees of civilisation”,¹¹ which give priority in trade and education to the military force that had once enabled the Ottoman conquest. Greece still needed “the feeling of its superiority” to rise up. It had acquired this through its openness to the world, its trading houses established in the various ports of Europe, its young people studying in France, England or Germany. In this way, the Greek Revolution was born of a “universal movement”, drawing its strength from “broad communications” at a time when “every principle, every movement carries with it a character and an effect of generality”: a “reformation” or “social revolution” begun three centuries earlier and which, “for some years now ... redoubled in

⁸ Dominique de Pradt, *L'Europe et l'Amérique en 1822 et 1823* (Paris: Béchét aîné, 1824), 179–80.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 209.

¹⁰ Without quoting him, de Pradt was echoing the analysis of Adamantios Korais in his *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce, lu à la Société des Observateurs de l'Homme le 16 nivôse an XI* (Paris: s.n., [1803].)

¹¹ *De la Grèce*, 20.

strength and speed”.¹² De Pradt still saw it as the effect of “the nature of things”, rather than the work of history, which he sometimes invoked as an instance of judgement, but not as an acting power; understood in this way, at any rate, the Greek event would have been decidedly beyond the reach of any imaginable plot.

As part of a general movement that was “the work of nature”, this revolution was not only legitimate in law, it could only be victorious in fact. Of course, the forces were very unequal, but as with the Swiss, the Dutch and the Americans at the beginning, these “struggles of organised force against weakness left to its own devices, its own inexperience, its own inner disorders”¹³ had all come to triumph thanks to the unsuspected moral resources that the nobility of the goal and the “greatness of the ordeal” revealed in the heart of man.¹⁴ But this heroic resort could only reverse the balance of power if certain pitfalls were avoided: the insubordination of “egalitarian” combatants, the “particular ambition of the chiefs”,¹⁵ the corruption inherited from the Turks. Despite these appropriate warnings, de Pradt does not seem to have really taken measure of the persistent difficulties of military organisation, nor of the seriousness of factional struggles. From book to book, he reported only a series of successes, like so many new proofs given on the military field of their superiority; each campaign announcing for the following one the final victory. So, it was a victory that the Greeks could and should win by their own strength. The point was fundamental: “a people that wants to be free must be free by itself; if it cannot do so, it is never really free, nor worthy of being free”.¹⁶

He also wrote: “what would be the point of Greece’s independence if it did not use the right it confers on it to choose its own government?”¹⁷ Besides, it would not have to “answer to anyone”¹⁸ since it had acquired this right without the help of any power. So, de Pradt had first taken note of a republican choice despite “the dangers [it] could bring to him”.¹⁹ Then, changing his mind, he judged that this serious decision, which would commit the future of the new state, should only be taken once victory had been achieved, as the “crowning

¹² Dominique de Pradt, *Vrai système de l’Europe relativement à l’Amérique et à la Grèce* (Paris: Béchét aîné, 1825), 12 and 14.

¹³ *L’Europe et l’Amérique*, 177.

¹⁴ *De la Grèce*, 102.

¹⁵ *L’Europe et l’Amérique*, 176.

¹⁶ *Vrai système de l’Europe*, 248.

¹⁷ *L’Europe par rapport à la Grèce*, 195.

¹⁸ Dominique de Pradt, *Parallèle de la puissance anglaise et russe relativement à l’Europe, suivi d’un aperçu sur la Grèce* (Paris: Béchét aîné, 1823), 241.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

achievement” of the struggle. Of course, it would only belong to the “spirit of discernment and wisdom” of the Greeks, but to enlighten it, he “offered them tribute [of his reflections]”.²⁰ The two possible forms of government being only different means of “procuring for society the greatest amount of happiness”,²¹ they had to be assessed according to their appropriateness to the state of society: monarchy was suitable for “societies too little advanced to govern themselves”, republic for “a state of general enlightenment”.²² The latter was, therefore, only one possible option, and de Pradt advised against it, but, as we shall see, for other reasons. A supporter since 1790 of a separation between the spiritual and the temporal, he also warned the Greeks against the excessive weight that could be given to the clergy because of its role in the war.²³

Intervention by the Powers: From Opposition to Acceptance

All this argumentation presupposed a fight between two protagonists, which would take place without any external intervention. Nothing was less certain, however, and de Pradt, who considered himself a specialist in international relations, knew it well: “Greece is threatened by its neighbours almost as much as by its enemies”.²⁴ It was, first, under the guise of neutrality, “signs of disfavour” from the “European coalition”: the supply of arms to the Turks, obstacles to the departure of volunteers, nonrespect of the maritime blockade, the refusal to recognise Greek funds, and, above all in Austria, a malicious official press.²⁵ All these obstacles did not compromise the victory of the Greeks; it would have been so if the Holy Alliance had intervened against them as in Italy or Spain. Dreading it, de Pradt long fought against the principle. He argued that the republican regime adopted by the Greeks was not in itself a threat, that it could not be opposed to a model of government valid for all mankind.²⁶ He argued that, given the national character of this revolution, intervention would be a precedent for other cases such as Poland and Norway,²⁷ paving the way to endless violence. Not to mention the problematic alternative of the consequences of the intervention: to return Greece to its oppressors and make the Holy Alliance seem incompatible

²⁰ *L'Europe par rapport à la Grèce*, 198.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 203.

²² *Vrai système de l'Europe*, 301.

²³ *L'Europe par rapport à la Grèce*, 40–45.

²⁴ *Vrai système de l'Europe*, 2.

²⁵ *De la Grèce*, 85; *Vrai système de l'Europe*, 229.

²⁶ *Parallèle de la puissance anglaise et russe*, 244–45.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 245–47.

with liberty, “even the most legitimate in its principle, the most irreproachable in its effects”? To conquer it, but to do what with it, for whose benefit?²⁸ In short, political expediency, as well as legal principles, dictated a strict nonintervention, which was by the way defended by the British cabinet.

The rule was valid in both directions: the excellence of the Greek cause did not justify an exception in their favour.²⁹ Moreover, they had not asked for it at least until 1825, and de Pradt had even congratulated them on having been abandoned by Russia: “Russian assistance would have brought Russian plans, Russian troops, Russian leaders, we would have wanted to act with Russian clocks and have a Russian result.”³⁰ And at the same time, he had opposed the idea defended by many of a joint Anglo-Russian intervention, the divergent interests of the two powers, and above all the incompatibility between a “movement towards liberty” and “the march and [the] combinations of the cabinets”.³¹ Protecting the Greeks from the damage of foreign aid, nonintervention thus preserved the possibility of a victory by their own forces and of true independence.

Yet already in 1822, de Pradt had suggested that its debt to classical Greece perhaps demanded from Europe more than true neutrality.³² But in 1826, he no longer questioned it in the name of the identity of the protagonists; he clearly challenged it, because of the atrocious way in which this “from citizen to citizen” war was taking place, in which the “hideous reprisals” of the Greeks responded to the “horrific barbarities” of the Turks.³³ These, in Chios, Psara and Messolonghi, seemed to him to take a systematic turn which made the prospect of the extermination of the Greeks, or even “of all the Christian populations spread over the surface of Turkey”,³⁴ probable, whereas that of their victory by their own means became less credible with the reconquest of the Peloponnese by the Egyptians. And then the mobilisation of European opinion on the subject was at its height; it was moved by the “dreadful scenes that soiled Greece” and “before asking for its triumph ... asked that its life”.³⁵ This priority of the humanitarian imperative had to be imposed on governments that always “need the opinion of the people”.³⁶ Moreover, putting an end to the corrupting spectacle of such

²⁸ *L'Europe et l'Amérique*, 203.

²⁹ *L'Europe par rapport à la Grèce*, 68–69.

³⁰ *Parallèle de la puissance anglaise et russe*, 252.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 242.

³² *De la Grèce*, 84–85.

³³ *Parallèle de la puissance anglaise et russe*, 225–26.

³⁴ *L'Europe par rapport à la Grèce*, 186–87.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 78

³⁶ *De la Grèce*, 95.

“horrible abuses” was a “law of public honesty” that bound states even more than individuals, because of their “greater responsibility”.³⁷

The “great European powers”³⁸ – Britain, France and Russia – had not always been insensitive to the “cries of the victims”.³⁹ De Pradt recognised this, sometimes gave examples of it,⁴⁰ and when they decided to put an end to the hostilities,⁴¹ he approved them, “time having proved that, equal in weakness, [the combatants] could only end up exterminating each other without having the means to overcome themselves”.⁴² It was no longer a question of saving Greece so that it could win, but of saving it because it had not been able to win. The Abbé’s prediction had turned out to be false, but he did not give up his system: He adapted a “protectorate of humanity”,⁴³ the work of civilisation, which he praised as disinterested, impartial and pacifying. It was disinterested simply because of the alliance: England and France, too far away to have territorial ambitions in the region, would counterbalance those of Russia. There could be some divergences in the future, but the initiative had the merit of establishing a balance of power. Praised as a novelty in diplomatic practice, this “imperative mediation”⁴⁴ with the threat of intervention seemed to him to be adapted to a situation where there was no common ground between the two sides, where one side was asking for mediation and the other one was refusing it, and where only one side was held responsible for the atrocity of the war. But how could one speak of impartiality when one was seeking above all to protect one side from the violence of the other? De Pradt went even further: he called, after Navarin, for an armed intervention on land to replace an ineffective naval blockade,⁴⁵ and even asked that the Greeks be encouraged to use it to push their military advantage.⁴⁶ According to him, the action of the powers would only be pacifying if it made a Greek victory possible.

³⁷ *L’Europe par rapport à la Grèce*, 79.

³⁸ Dominique de Pradt, *De l’intervention armée pour la pacification de la Grèce* (Paris: Pichon-Béchet, 1828) 15.

³⁹ *De la Grèce*, 40.

⁴⁰ *Vrai système de l’Europe*, 238.

⁴¹ On the genesis of this decision, see Edouard Driault and Michel Lhéritier, *Histoire diplomatique de la Grèce de 1821 à nos jours*, vol. 1 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1925).

⁴² *De l’intervention armée*, 38.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 61–66, 112–13.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 115.

A Bulwark Against the Russian Threat

De Pradt therefore adhered to this “protectorate of humanity” as he had opposed any external intervention: in the interest of the Greeks. But if he was so concerned about their victory, it was also because he wanted to make their cause a “European cause”.⁴⁷ He had indeed questioned from the outset how Greeks should “be placed in Europe so that its introduction into Europe would not be harmful to it, but would also be useful to it, by incorporating the interests of this new member of Europe with the older ones.”⁴⁸

Arising in a troubled time, the Greek Uprising was first perceived as a threat. Although Tsar Alexander I had condemned it, it was expected that it would lead to a war with the Turks with an unpredictable outcome, which, if it became widespread, would jeopardise the system of alliances that was supposed to guarantee the European balance. De Pradt also feared this war, but considered it dangerous for another reason: the incoherent political “conformation” of the continent, resulting from the Congress of Vienna, with its extreme disproportion between states. The small ones were too numerous, were a waste of strength and had to guard against the appetites of their neighbours. They were all reduced to taking the defensive against the two “colossuses” that dominated Europe: England at sea and Russia on land.⁴⁹ The latter, “a giant of frightening stature”, had been progressing for a century in all fields and “was disturbing the thought of the future”.⁵⁰ Its territorial expansion, slowed down by the wisdom of the emperor, would not fail to resume, carried by the power of the people, which is “always on the move”.⁵¹ And all the other states, once united against Napoleon, now had to determine themselves in relation to this new threat.

The Greek affair was all the more favourable to Russian ambitions as the main force of the empire was moving south and would not fail to “make its way to the lands where both sun and gold shine”: the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.⁵² This would be the beginning of a “general invasion” that de Pradt predicted as “imminent”, especially if “unexpected events” came “to hasten the development of what lies in the nature of things”.⁵³ The “perfect concert”⁵⁴ between England

⁴⁷ *De la Grèce*, vi.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 44–52.

⁵⁰ *Parallèle de la puissance anglaise et russe*, 217–18.

⁵¹ *L'Europe et l'Amérique*, 215.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 217.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Parallèle de la puissance anglaise et russe*, 232

and Austria would not be enough to cope with it. Unable to oppose it on their own, one as a maritime power, the other being bound by treaty to Russia,⁵⁵ they had relied on Turkey; its impotence in the face of the Greek insurrection, which had forced it to call on the Egyptians for help, and the defeat at Navarino showed that it was no longer up to the task, despite too partial attempts at reform which were too partial, such as the disbanding of the Janissaries in June 1826.⁵⁶ Canning's England had taken note of this by recognising the Greek blockade in March 1825; de Pradt understood this gesture as a rally to his other main idea (along with that of winning by one's own forces): to oppose the Russian threat, instead of a stagnant Turkey, Greece with "a beautiful, numerous and growing population, arms hardened by a very hard struggle, a renewed spirit and a complete harmony with everything that exists in Europe".⁵⁷ In addition to the strategic gain, there would be an advance in civilisation, lighting "a torch in the sight of Asia",⁵⁸ providing outlets for European industry and offering "posts to fill [for] worried minds".⁵⁹

However, always hostile to the Greeks, the Austrians saw them, on the contrary, as natural allies of the Russians because of their religion. The former archbishop responded to them by devoting an entire chapter to minimising the religious dimension of the uprising.⁶⁰ The Greeks, he also said, had only turned to Russia because of their common enemy and because they had been "neglected by the whole world".⁶¹ Once the situation has changed, this alliance of pure interest would no longer be necessary; a common Greek-Turkish front against the Russians would even be imaginable.⁶² As for those who doubted the capacity of the Greeks to play this role of bulwark, he replied that there was no other choice than between the Turks, condemned to immobility by their religion and their morals, and the Greeks, in whom, on the contrary, the natural perfectibility of men could act freely.⁶³ Under the leadership of wise men, their divisions would be healed,⁶⁴ "raised to the dignity and consistency of a great state", Greece would

⁵⁵ *L'Europe et l'Amérique*, 187.

⁵⁶ De Pradt spent almost a quarter of *L'Europe par rapport à la Grèce et à la réformation de la Turquie* (90–149) demonstrating the insufficiency of this reform.

⁵⁷ *De la Grèce*, 72.

⁵⁸ *L'Europe par rapport à la Grèce*, 26–45.

⁵⁹ *De la Grèce*, 57–58.

⁶⁰ *L'Europe par rapport à la Grèce*, 26–45.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 174–75.

⁶² *Vrai système de l'Europe*, 223; *De l'intervention armée*, 95.

⁶³ *De l'intervention armée*, 100–1.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 101.

take on “all the manner of being of it” as “the brigands of Romulus” or, more recently, the Americans had done.⁶⁵

“A great state,” first of all by its size: the whole of Turkey in Europe. Because this conquest was within the reach of the Greeks as the natural outcome of their fight⁶⁶ and because Europe “aspiring to greatness” would applaud it,⁶⁷ but above all because it was the condition for Greece to play its role as a bulwark. With a compact territory, “covered by two seas and islands of easy defence”, with the “imposing barrier” of the Danube as its “only front of attack”,⁶⁸ the country would be “both unassailable by others and unable to attack them”.⁶⁹ Moldavia and Wallachia would not be included; freed from Ottoman suzerainty, they could be shared, as compensation, between Austria and Russia, if “the principle of their constant opposition” was not affected.⁷⁰ In contrast, it was essential to the success of the Greek Revolution that Constantinople be part of it. Not as a city to be conquered, but as the access route of the Turks to the European continent, which had to be taken away from them in order to end the war. He was convinced that it would be destroyed before it was abandoned, and he did not regret this. With it would disappear the memory of all the oppressors of Greece, Byzantines and Ottomans alike. Where once had been the centre of an empire, there would now be only a ruin and a border.⁷¹

The diversity of the populations living in this vast territory did not concern de Pradt too much. Of these “races of savage, bitter men, accustomed to governing themselves in small associations”,⁷² he named only a few – Albanians, Serbs, Bosnians, Croats – without any further details, linguistic or ethnic, on their differences, which he put on the same level as the regional differences between the Greeks: Rumeliots, Moreots, Hydriots.⁷³ He noted above all their military capabilities, “warriors from generation to generation, able to provide a good army fund”.⁷⁴ Although hardened, these peoples were “not well trained in civil discipline”: their divisions could even be exploited by the Russians.⁷⁵ A common bond was

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 102; *Parallèle de la puissance anglaise et russe*, 270.

⁶⁶ *Parallèle de la puissance anglaise et russe*, 213–16; *Vrai système de l'Europe*, 267–68.

⁶⁷ *De l'intervention armée*, 119.

⁶⁸ *L'Europe et l'Amérique*, 218–19.

⁶⁹ *Vrai système de l'Europe*, 268.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 261.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 250–51; *L'Europe et l'Amérique*, 219–20.

⁷² *De la Grèce*, 76.

⁷³ *L'Europe par rapport à la Grèce*, 187.

⁷⁴ *De la Grèce*, 76.

⁷⁵ *L'Europe par rapport à la Grèce*, 217, 222.

therefore needed “to hold all the parts together and prevent them from diverging, in order to return to the old separation”.⁷⁶ Of both forms of government, monarchy would, by its nature, be better able to resist attempts at division.⁷⁷ Moreover, the Greeks had to consider beyond their “radical right” to choose their institutions, “the opportunity of its exercise”. Faced with the hostility of the powers, to adopt a republican regime would be like committing suicide. On the contrary, Greece would be adopted by Europe if it overcame its aversion to monarchy and chose the government that was “the most established” there – constitutional monarchy – a representative government, a “the thing of the time” which allowed “to be governed without loss of dignity and liberty”.⁷⁸ As for the king, he should not be designated according to personal or dynastic ambitions. And in fact, he would be more to be pitied than envied: seated “on a throne that has emerged from the fire of a revolution”, he would have to face “immense difficulties”.⁷⁹

In Conclusion

For itself, Greece could and should conquer its independence by its own efforts; in the interests of Europe, it could and should act as a barrier to Russian expansion. Two key ideas clearly asserted, but de Pradt does not seem to have perceived how contradictory the underlying logics were: the desire for national independence and the mechanics of international balances. And in the end, the second prevailed over the first, at least on such essential points as the territory and institutions of the future state. Yet confidence in the ability of the Greeks to achieve their independence on their own had been the cornerstone of a system that was jeopardised when the situation on the ground made this form of victory less and less likely. The ambiguities of our author’s adherence to the “protectorate of humanity” supported by the Anglo–French–Russian triple alliance betray his embarrassment. Moreover, the Greece almost reduced to the Peloponnese that the allies imagined, as well as the one they agreed on in March 1829, was very far from the great state that he had advocated. Indeed, de Pradt did not comment on this outcome, nor on the difficulties encountered by Russia in defeating Turkey, which belied once again his predictions.⁸⁰

Largely speculative, supported by philosophical or ideological conceptions that would deserve further investigation than the few indications we have

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 217.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 222.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 230, 232, 234.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 250–51.

⁸⁰ Having broken with the liberals in 1828, de Pradt joined the legitimist camp after 1830.

given of it,⁸¹ Abbé de Pradt's system thus represents a variant of philhellenic discourse which, mixing forecast and prescription, placed the main emphasis on the political, or even geopolitical, register of the Greek cause, leaving only a secondary, occasional place to the humanitarian dimension or to the reference to the classical heritage. As for its religious dimension, his political concerns led him to explicitly reduce its significance, or to denounce certain possible effects. This overall economy made the singularity of a discourse in which we find many motifs present in the writings of other publicists. And even one of its two main ideas, that of the barrier to Russian expansion.⁸² Like other philhellenes too, he sought through his books to sway public opinion in order to influence government policy by virtue of what he called "the duty of remonstrance".⁸³ Their common effort was no doubt not for nothing in the decision of the Powers to intervene, which made it possible to integrate an independent Greece into Europe, but not exactly as de Pradt had advocated, nor in the way he had planned.

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In his penultimate work in 1836 (*Question de l'Orient sous les rapports généraux et particuliers* [Paris: Roret, 1836]), he was to declare this fear of the Russian threat was in vain, against which he called again in 1828, in *Du système permanent de l'Europe à l'égard de la Russie et des affaires de l'Orient* [Paris: Pichon et Didier, 1828], for a coalition of all Europe – a coalition of the same kind that he had advocated in 1798 against revolutionary France in his first book on international politics published in the Hamburg emigration, *Antidote au Congrès de Radstadt ou plan d'un nouvel équilibre de l'Europe* (London: s.n., 1798).

⁸¹ Some elements of this can be found in the above-mentioned study by Mions.

⁸² It was defended, in particular, by Sismondi, but in a very different way, more concerned with the sovereignty of the future state and, above all, much more attentive to the realities on the ground. Moreover, his contribution to philhellenism is comparable to that of de Pradt, in that it also took the form of a series of publications, though over a shorter period (between 1825 and 1829), and in the more concise form of review or newspaper articles. On this subject, may I take the liberty to refer to my study: "Penser dans l'actualité: Sismondi à propos de la guerre d'indépendance de la Grèce," *Langages, Politique, Histoire: Avec Jean-Claude Zancarini*, ed. Romain Descendre and Jean-Louis Fournel (Lyon: ENS, 2015).

⁸³ *Vrai système de l'Europe*, 4.

THE ITALIAN NATIONAL DISCOURSE AND THE GREEK REVOLUTION:
POLITICS, LITERATURE, ART, 1821–1847

Antonio D'Alessandri

Abstract: The article investigates the relations between the Italian national discourse during the Risorgimento and the Greek Revolution, from its outbreak to the eve of the European revolutions of 1848. It proposes some general remarks in an attempt to suggest possible points of interpretation of this relation in light of recent historiography. During the period in question, a specific public discourse about Italian national identity was developed in order to create a community of individuals. Within this debate, it is possible to find many references to the Greek experience: from the enthusiasm of the 1820s to the more thoughtful meditations in the two following decades. Political thinkers, writers and artists were deeply impressed by the Greek events. So they used them to find suggestions, examples and possibly models to shape Italian national identity and to prepare the future national revolution.

This article deals with the relations between the so-called Italian national discourse and the Greek Revolution, from its outbreak to the eve of the European revolutions of 1848. During this period, Greece became an early nation-state while Italy remained divided into multiple local entities. It proposes some general remarks in an attempt to suggest some possible points of interpretation of this relation in light of some recent research.

As the new historiography on the Italian Risorgimento has revealed, during the first half of the nineteenth century, a specific public discourse about Italian national identity was developed in order to create a community of individuals united in a common national family. The literary and artistic production created a specific mythology, a symbology and an historical reconstruction of the Italian nation.¹ This national discourse was not something artificial or invented, as many scholars have pointed out, in reference to Benedict Anderson's famous work *Imagined Communities*. The words, symbols and figures of this discourse already existed and came from quite different contexts. Greece and philhellenism were an example of this, as will be demonstrated below.

¹ Alberto Mario Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento: Parentela, santità e onore alle origini dell'Italia unita* (Turin: Einaudi, 2011), 30.

Philhellenism was one of the ideals of the Italian Risorgimento, even if it was not the principal one. Greece and the Greek struggle for liberty and independence represented a model of sorts for the Italian patriotic movement.² The Italian case is particularly interesting because “philhellenism did not ... lose its force once the Kingdom of the Hellenes had come into being”³ and it continued to be used throughout the nineteenth century, even after the Italian unification during the 1860s. On the contrary, in other countries philhellenism lost its strength after the formation of Greece at the beginning of the 1830s. However, it must be noticed that philhellenic feelings cyclically returned in the public debate of other European countries too, when a specific political and cultural situation rekindled sympathy and interest towards Greece. This is the case of British philhellenism during the First World War.⁴

As in other parts of Europe, Italian philhellenism appeared in the second half of the eighteenth century. The events of the Russo–Turkish wars and the attention to classical culture, encouraged by a new season of large archaeological campaigns in southern Italy, were the main motivations for this sympathy and curiosity towards the Hellenic world. The growing demand for information about Greece gave birth to quite a large amount of historical, political, literary and archaeological publications. This also stimulated a considerable stream of travellers to Greece and the related publications of travel accounts.⁵ This earliest discovery of modern Greece by the European and Italian public shaped an initial profile of philhellenism. It varied from disappointment to commiseration for the bad situation of the Greek people compared to the greatness of his ancient past. In this period, the prevailing feeling was a sceptical disenchantment with the ability and effective will of modern Greeks to free themselves from their rulers.⁶

In the post-Napoleonic period things started to change. Italian philhellenism slowly became a positive and sympathetic attitude, generated by Romantic culture

² Antonis Liakos, *L'unificazione italiana e la Grande idea: Ideologia e azione dei movimenti nazionali in Italia e in Grecia, 1859–1871* (Florence: Aletheia, 1995), 23.

³ Gilles Pécout, “Philhellenism in Italy: Political Friendship and the Italian Volunteers in the Mediterranean in the Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 9, no. 4 (2004): 406.

⁴ See Slobodan G. Markovich, “Eleftherios Venizelos, British Public Opinion and the Climax of Anglo-Hellenism (1915–1920),” *Balkanica* 49 (2018): 125–55.

⁵ Andrea Giovanni Noto, *La ricezione del Risorgimento greco in Italia (1770–1844): Tra idealità filelleniche, stereotipi e Realpolitik* (Rome: Nuova Cultura, 2015), 71.

⁶ Arnaldo Di Benedetto, “Le rovine d’Atene: Letteratura filellenica in Italia tra Sette e Ottocento,” *Italica*, 76, no. 3 (1999): 336.

and nationalist ideas. In this regard, it can be said that a key role was played by Lord Byron and his poem “Child Harold’s Pilgrimage”, written between 1812 and 1818. This work was essential for the development of European philhellenism but also for the awareness of the Italian question among the international public. Byron expressed sympathy for both for Greeks and Italians and he emotionally juxtaposed the two problems.⁷

In this context a great role was played by the events of Parga in 1819. That story struck the imagination of many writers, artists and intellectuals. The poet Ugo Foscolo wrote that “the free and Christian Parga is now a stronghold of criminals, renegades and slaves”. This sentence and other parts of Foscolo’s writing demonstrate the most relevant topics of Italian philhellenism which would later become part of the national discourse: the opposition between liberty and slavery, civilisation and brutality, East and West, Christianity and Islam to demonstrate the degree of civilisation and readiness for freedom of Mediterranean populations and claim the Italian nation’s “rightful” place in Europe.⁸ In 1949, the Italian philosopher Benedetto Croce wrote that Foscolo wanted to base Parga’s rights in the idea of the law of nations.⁹

After the outbreak of the insurrection in 1821, Italian philhellenism became widespread. It would be impossible to go into great detail here, but a few examples from both the ideological and material levels follow.

Regarding the ideological level, the case of the young Cesare Balbo, later a well-known historian and politician, is worthy of mention. In 1821 he penned an essay about the Greek revolt that underlined the uniqueness of the event, compared to the ongoing movements in Spain, Piedmont and Naples. He argued that the Hellenic movement was a mass one, affected by the contrast between different religions, fighting for a just cause against the bad Ottoman administration.¹⁰

In 1823, the romantic Italian poet Giovanni Berchet took up the aforementioned history of Parga. In his poem, “I profughi di Parga”, Parga’s

⁷ Alberto Mario Banti, ed., *Nel nome dell’Italia. Il Risorgimento nelle testimonianze, nei documenti e nelle immagini* (Rome: Laterza, 2010), 124–25.

⁸ Fabiana Viglione, “The Sale of Parga in the Nationalist Imaginary of 19th Century Italy: 1819–1858” (PhD diss., University of Connecticut, 2017), <https://opencommons.uconn.edu/dissertations/1560>.

⁹ Di Benedetto, “Le rovine d’Atene,” 344; see also Benedetto Croce, “Il libro inglese del Foscolo sulla cessione di Parga alla Turchia,” *Quaderni della critica*, no. 1 (1949): 20–32.

¹⁰ See Maria Avetta, *Uno scritto inedito di Cesare Balbo sull’insurrezione greca del 1821* (Turin: Bocca, 1913) (offprint from *Il Risorgimento italiano* 6 (1913)).

fate was compared to that of other oppressed nations such as Italy.¹¹ The story of Parga's exiled inhabitants was taken as a mirror of the general condition of the European exiles from many other countries. The people of Parga brought away a piece of their land. The separation of the exiles from their homeland reveals another relevant topic of national discourse in general: the strong link between the nation and the land, which became something deeply felt by the Italian national movement. Shortly after the publication of Berchet's poem, the well-known Italian painter Francesco Hayez sought to depict the scene of Parga's refugees during their sad separation from the country.¹² The famous painting was finished in 1831 and was shown for the first time at the Brera Academy in Milan, at that time under Austrian administration.

The cultural review *Antologia*, published in Florence from 1821 to 1832, also played an important role in Italian philhellenism. It published many articles and analyses of the Greek Revolution, many of which also contained the above-mentioned topics of Italian philhellenism. The issue of the freedom and independence of peoples was seen not only as a Greek one but also as an Italian and European one. *Antologia's* liberal authors considered the Greeks as a kindred people, who represented the fate of Italy too.¹³

The *Antologia* is also relevant to the material level of analysis: the concrete help and engagement provided by Italians. The director of the publication, Giovan Pietro Vieusseux, coordinated the network of the relief committees founded in Tuscany, which were centred around the port city of Livorno. These committees sent all kinds of help: from weapons to money and much more.¹⁴

Volunteers were another type of real support for the Greek Revolution. Most of them were exiles after the end of the liberal movements in Italy during 1821. They "dream that the struggle for Italian independence and for an Italian constitution could somehow be carried on from abroad".¹⁵ The most famous of them was the Count of Santa Rosa, who participated in the liberal movement

¹¹ Maurizio Isabella, *Risorgimento in esilio: L'internazionale liberale e l'età delle rivoluzioni* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2011), 98–99.

¹² Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento*, 70–71.

¹³ Cosimo Ceccuti, "Il filellenismo dell'Antologia (1821/1832)," in *Risorgimento greco e filellenismo italiano. Lotte, cultura, arte*, ed. Francesco Guida, Enrica Lucarelli and Caterina Spetsieri Beschi (Rome: Edizioni del Sole, 1986), 92. See also Ceccuti's larger study "Risorgimento greco e filellenismo nel mondo dell'Antologia," in *Indipendenza e unità nazionale in Italia ed in Grecia* (Florence: Olschki, 1987), 79–131.

¹⁴ Ceccuti, "Il filellenismo dell'Antologia," 92.

¹⁵ William St Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence* (1972; Cambridge: Open Book, 2008), 251.

in the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia. He fled to Greece and died in battle in 1825. After his death, the European philhellenic public started to see him as one of the most famous icons of European philhellenism, and second only to Lord Byron.¹⁶ This gave a strong boost to the Italian Risorgimento too, because it clearly established a link between the Italian question and the most popular national movement of Europe in that period. Santa Rosa's death in Greece was proof of the peculiarity of Italian philhellenism, which was founded on the close relations between these two national questions and the idea of the Greek Revolution as a continuation and a part of the Italian one, taking place within the broad framework of an international European fight for liberty.¹⁷

As Gilles Pécout has pointed out, in the volunteers' experience, the "image of Mediterranean friendship was also influential. However, Greece brought an additional dimension: the idea of friendship born out of a common civilization."¹⁸ The two kindred peoples inherited a common civilisation, seen as a strong legitimisation of their struggle for liberty and independence.

Regarding the meaning of the relation between the ancient past and the modern events, it is essential to recall the thought of the Italian revolutionary Giuseppe Mazzini. Historians have investigated the importance of Greek civilisation and history, underlining the significance of Hellenic culture and the events of the revolution in the formation of Mazzini's thought. According to him, modern Greece was a nation that carried out a process of liberation from foreign domination that represented a moral model for the whole of Europe. This is the only way the ancient past could speak to contemporaries and spur them into action. The young Mazzini thus made the transition from a literary and romantic vision of Greece (typical of a great part of philhellenism) to an ethical-political one. Moreover, Mazzini saw in the Hellenic war of liberation a model for the revolution in Italy from two points of view: the conspiratorial network and the guerrilla strategy necessary to carry out insurrectionist projects.¹⁹

All these aspects became an important feature of pamphlets, books, paintings and many other cultural expressions during the following decades, even after the birth of the Greek state. However, the concrete support to Greece came to an end

¹⁶ Isabella, *Risorgimento in esilio*, 110 and 114.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 120.

¹⁸ Gilles Pécout, "The International Armed Volunteers: Pilgrims of a Transnational Risorgimento," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 14, no. 4 (2009): 419.

¹⁹ Giuseppe Monsagrati, "Mito e realtà della Grecia nella formazione intellettuale di Giuseppe Mazzini," in *Studi balcanici*, ed. Francesco Guida and Luisa Valmarin (Rome: Carucci, 1989), 168–69.

in the early 1830s. But, as has been already mentioned, cultural and ideological philhellenism persisted, later to become a form of political engagement, especially from around the end of the century up to the Balkan Wars.²⁰

After the enthusiasm of the 1820s, a more thoughtful meditation developed in following two decades. Political thinkers, writers and artists were still deeply impressed by the memories of the Greek events, so they used them to find suggestions, examples and possible models to shape Italian national identity and to prepare the future national revolution.

The case of philhellenism in Italian art is particularly interesting. While in France the events of the Greek Revolution were very popular during the 1820s, in Italy an authentic wave of passion for modern Greece started in 1831 (with Hayez's aforementioned painting of Parga) and lasted around 30 years. Many years later, Hayez wrote in his memoirs that Italy saw itself in the history of neighbouring Greece.²¹ During this period, the Risorgimento entered its crucial phase and the celebration of the Hellenic struggles had great value as an ethical model. Philhellenic art in Italy (above all in Milan and Venice) contributed to the preparation of minds and forces for the struggle for national independence. The existing philhellenic feelings from earlier years spread out from the confines of Italian cultural circles. Thanks to the visual arts, but also to theatre and melodrama, images, moments, feelings and values started to circulate among a wider public, contributing to the consolidation of the national discourse.

The extent of this panorama would suggest a choral unity of sorts in the way Greece was viewed. However, there were also other points of view. The moderate Massimo d'Azeglio, a novelist, painter and one of the most prominent statesmen of the Kingdom of Sardinia, saw the Greek events in a different light. In 1846, he wrote a book (*Degli ultimi casi di Romagna*) dedicated to the insurrections that broke out the previous year in Romagna against papal rule. The work contains some comparative considerations about Spain, Italy and Greece. He attached great importance to the role of the Great Powers in resolving the Greek War of Independence. Unlike Mazzini, D'Azeglio, as a moderate thinker, had no confidence that guerrilla warfare could be applied to the Italian case. In Greece the revolutionary guerrilla uprisings against regular armies had been made possible by the

²⁰ See for example the aforementioned study by Pécout "Philhellenism in Italy," and Francesco Guida, "L'ultima spedizione garibaldina in Grecia (1912)," in *Indipendenza e unità nazionale in Italia ed in Grecia*, 191–220.

²¹ Caterina Spetsieri Beschi, "Il filellenismo italiano nelle arti figurative," in *Risorgimento greco e filellenismo italiano*, 121, 123.

geographical environment and historical traditions. Nothing similar could be accomplished in Italy and the events which had occurred in Romagna had been inopportune, dangerous and harmful to the success of the national cause.²² The antirevolutionary argument began to circulate among Italian patriots, paving the way to what would occur after the revolutions of 1848, when the moderate way became prevalent.

Therefore, the formation of the ideological paradigm of the Italian Risorgimento was a mixed process, built on the basis of multiple international influences and experiences. The Greek Revolution was one of them and it was probably one of the most powerful.

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²² Giuseppe Talamo, "D'Azeglio e Mazzini: Riflessioni sulla guerra d'indipendenza greca," in *Risorgimento greco e filellenismo italiano*, 105–7.

THE NATIONAL AND UNIVERSAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 1821 GREEK REVOLUTION: THE PERSPECTIVE OF POLISH ROMANTIC PHILHELLENES

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Abstract: From the perspective of Polish Romantic poets such as Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki and Cyprian Norwid, the 1821 Greek Revolution was not merely a war for Greek freedom, but also had a more universal significance for other nations across Europe. In Polish poetic philhellenism, the uprising was seen as a great transnational war of common European values, a battle both for the freedom of individual nations as well for respect for every human being and the continuity of European culture.

It was not only Shelley who wrote that “We are all Greeks” (“Hellas”, 1821). This famous assertion obviously has a universal dimension, as it points to what Europe owes to ancient Greece: things Greek are the source of things European – in the sense of the best features of Europeanness (democracy and the achievements of Greek arts, philosophy and theatre).

However, this statement also has a particular, national meaning: it opens the way for individual modern European nations to trace themselves back to the history and culture of Greece. Thus, Greece has provided nations with a language to express their own particular histories. Of course, this oft-repeated assertion consequently also implies a philhellenic identification with the independence drive of the modern Greeks.

The parallel between Greece and its history and the modern European nations was referenced many times and in different ways in nineteenth-century European culture. The parallels between the history of Greece and the history of Poland were also a recurring theme of Polish Romantic literature.¹ For the Polish Romantics, the direct impulse for the production of this historiosophical parallel most certainly came from the 1821 Greek Uprising, although we also need to remember the permanent and strong presence of the ancient cultural code in Polish national identity.

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¹ See Maria Kalinowska, “Waning Worlds and Budding Hopes: Anti-idyllic Visions on Antiquity in Polish Romanticism,” *Classical Receptions Journal* 5, no. 3 (2013): 320–35.

The Greece–Poland parallel assumed various forms in Polish Romanticism: for example, it was drawn between Poland and ancient Sparta (Juliusz Słowacki’s drama *Agesilaus*) or ancient Athens (Cyprian Norwid’s *Tyrtaeus*, in which a small state stands up to the violence of a bigger aggressor). The Romantics almost always found a direct impulse for this universal reflection on the flourishing and waning of states, and also entire cultural formations, in the uprising. The participants of the 1821 Greek Revolution, together with figures from ancient Greece and its myths, formed a “chain of freedom heroes” who fascinated Polish and European Romantics.

A special form of the Greek–Polish Romantic parallel emerged from the juxtaposition of the Greek Uprising with the Polish uprisings. It might be more appropriate to use the plural for both – the Greek and Polish *uprisings* – because Słowacki, for example, drew on the events of the Greek rebellion of 1770, although it was actually the 1821 Uprising that inspired him, and in fact his poem “Lambro” is about the situation of his nineteenth-century contemporaries.

For the Poles, the nineteenth century was an age of national uprisings – failed ones unfortunately, though full of victorious battles and heroic figures. These rebellions are part of a sequence of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Polish national insurrections, one of the most tragic being the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, which ended in the complete destruction of Warsaw by Nazi Germany. As an aside, the nineteenth century in Polish culture was also the time when the most brilliant literature was produced.

The juxtaposition of the Greek and Polish national liberation movements may well have been the Greek–Polish Romantic parallel that caused the Poles most pain. It was painful for two reasons: for the contrast between victory and defeat, and for the reflection on the experience of bondage.

The 1821 Revolution gave the Poles hope – hope that Poland would regain its independence, not in a short-term political way but in the sphere of moral ideas and in terms of the ethicisation of international relations. It is important to emphasise this aspect of ethicisation, of establishing political relations on clearly ethical foundations. As he travelled across the newly liberated Greece (1836), Słowacki, one of the two most important Polish poets, recalled the depictions of Greek heroes from his readings as a youth, such as Botsaris, Kanaris and Miaoulis.² He described them as his existential models, as examples of heroism and the chivalric ethos. Thus, here is another aspect of the Polish Romantics’ thinking about the Greek insurgents: as models of action in history, but also simply as role models.

² For Słowacki’s travels, see slowacki.al.uw.edu.pl.

The 1821 Revolution thus appears in Polish Romanticism in at least three dimensions:³ first, a broad philhellenic and Byronian perspective; Byron was one of the most important figures for Polish Romanticism, deeply assimilated by Polish culture; second, a universal dimension – through a connection with ancient models; third, as a mask for Polish independence aspirations and as a context for reflecting on the Polish uprisings.

In Polish circumstances, the theme of the 1821 Revolution is a painful summons to reflect on the failures of the nineteenth-century Polish uprisings, inspiring a bitter settling of accounts with the defeat of successive national rebellions.

The Poles showed no lack of dedication and heroism towards their national cause; in fact, they showed more than enough. In this sense, Botsaris, Kanaris and Miaoulis always had their Polish equivalents, both in Polish literature and in Polish reality, but the final outcome of the Greek Revolution – regained independence – turned out to be a desired but unattainable goal for the Poles in the nineteenth century. The Greeks' victory continued to contrast with the Poles' defeat.

Polish Romantic poetry shows us different versions of such mutually reflected images of Greek and Polish rebellions and, more broadly, Polish and Greek independence aspirations (including covertly speaking about contemporary Polish and Greek circumstances through the mask of Greek history from the early centuries of the Common Era, when Greece was subordinated to Roman imperial rule). Let us look at just a few examples from Słowacki's oeuvre. His poem "Lambro" refers to the Greek events of 1770, and his hero is loosely based on Lambros Katsonis. However, as already mentioned, this work was directly inspired by the events of the 1821 Greek Revolution and the 1830 Polish November Uprising. This Byronic poem is about the experience of defeat – that of the Greeks in 1770 and of the Poles in 1831 – but it goes beyond the national specifics, containing questions about ethics in politics and about the experience of bondage. First and foremost, however, it is also an image of the European nineteenth century, marked by doubt, weariness and "powerless efforts".

As has already been mentioned, Słowacki's poem "Podróż do Ziemi Świętej z Neapolu" (The journey to the Holy Land from Naples), written mainly in Greece, on Syros during his journey to Greece, Egypt and the Holy Land (1836–1837),

³ On Polish philhellenism, see Małgorzata Borowska, Maria Kalinowska, Jarosław Ławski and Katarzyna Tomaszuk, eds., *Filhellenizm w Polsce: Rekonesans* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2007); Małgorzata Borowska, Maria Kalinowska and Katarzyna Tomaszuk, eds., *Filhellenizm w Polsce: Wybrane tematy* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2012).

conveys important images of the Greek Revolution. In one excerpt, the traveller-narrator, having visited Kanaris (a fact), recalls how he read about the heroes of the Greek Uprising in his youth and dreamed of similar deeds, treating the biographies of Tzavelas, Botsaris and Miaoulis as his role models. The poem is full of references to Greek insurrectionary battles and contains what is probably a complete repertoire of philhellenic themes, which are conveyed with great respect and admiration: from the Ypsilantis brothers, through numerous allusions to the 1821 Revolution's legendary fighters, to places described with great respect and tenderness, like Messolonghi, which in the poetic logic is close to Lepanto. One of the hills protecting Messolonghi is likened to a pyramid: "Before the country gained renown, / The great God predicted it and raised a monument."⁴

In Słowacki's description, the shared cause of enslaved European nations' independence acquires a sacred aspect, a kind of absolute value, an idea bringing together nations that have experienced bondage. Such is the case, for example, in this excerpt from the description of the meeting with Kanaris:

Looking at the eyes filled with lightning,
At the bronze forehead of the king of flames,
I asked him about the secret he knew,
For he had pushed away the tombstones himself
From the tomb of the deeply sleeping homeland:
He must know the remedies – for he knows all the scars.⁵

Słowacki's travel writing about Greece is simultaneously marked by an elusive and puzzling melancholy, created by the internal state of the pilgrim – the Polish political émigré who knows he will never return to his homeland – and by his thoughts, difficult to put into words, on the situation of not just his own enslaved native country, but also other countries that have long been in bondage.

The Greek journey also inspired Słowacki to write the poem "Agamemnon's Tomb", which has shaped the imagination of several generations of Poles. Here, we see yet another version of thinking that merged the Polish uprising with the Greek independence struggle. The failure of the November Uprising of 1830–1831 is compared to Chaeronea. The traveller-narrator does not have the

⁴ Juliusz Słowacki, "Podróż do Ziemi Świętej z Neapolu," in Maria Kalinowska, *Juliusza Słowackiego "Podróż do Ziemi Świętej z Neapolu": Glosy* (Gdańsk: Słowo/obraz terytoria, 2011), 215, canto 4, 149–50. Original quote: "Nim się ten kraj wślawił, / Bóg wielki przeczul i pomnik postawił."

⁵ *Ibid.*, 224, canto 5, 13–18. Original quote: "Patrząc na oczy pełne błyskawicy, / Na czoło króla płomieni – brązowe, / Pytałem znanej mu już tajemnicy, / Bo sam odwał kamienie grobowe / Z grobu uśpionej głęboko ojczyzny; / Musi znać leki – bo zna wszystkie blizny."

courage to stop at the Pass of Thermopylae: “I will not stand there before the spirit of Greece – / No, I would die first rather than go there in chains.”⁶ The failure of the November Uprising is juxtaposed with the heroism of Leonidas and the Spartans, but there is also a clear undercurrent to the recent victorious Greek Revolution. Thus, Słowacki speaks of the “spirit of Greece”, which in this case means identifying the Greek idea with freedom, or aspirations for freedom.

These works by Słowacki appeared at the peak of the development of Polish Romanticism. But Polish writers and thinkers would long continue to refer to the Greek Revolution in their work. The work of Cyprian Norwid is particularly important in this respect, in particular a lecture he delivered in 1875, after the end of the Polish Romantic period. It concerns a talk delivered to Polish political émigrés in Paris on the 12th anniversary of the outbreak of the 1863 uprising.⁷ It is important to point out that nineteenth-century Polish culture is punctuated by the dates of uprisings against the partitioning powers, especially Russia; the 1863 insurrection, known as the January Uprising, which was the most Romantic and the most tragic and traumatic, brought a final end to the Romantic period in Polish literature.

Whereas the 1830 Uprising involved fighting by regular Polish troops who rebelled against the Russian authorities, the one in 1863 (when both the Polish army and the Polish state had definitively ceased to exist, and the martial law that the Russians had imposed in Warsaw had been in force for over a quarter of a century) was a rebellion of young people who were inadequately armed and conducted guerrilla warfare in the forests. It ended in hangings, Siberian exile, ruthless and brutal Russian repression, turning into a national trauma felt by several successive generations.

For greater clarity, it is worth discussing the work of Norwid (1821–1883) in a little more detail. A poet, painter and thinker; a Romantic, but one who went beyond Romanticism, a precursor of modern poetry, he lived and worked in Paris. To this day, he has a separate and extremely important place in Polish culture. A great patriot, yet an opponent of premature national uprisings and revolutionary actions; in this he differed from most Polish Romantics, although he was also an admirer of Byron (like all the Polish Romantics). We should also

⁶ Juliusz Słowacki, “Agamemnon’s Tomb” (Grób Agamemnona) (1839), trans. Catherine O’Neil, in *Poland’s Angry Romantic: Two Poems and a Play by Juliusz Słowacki*, ed. Peter Cochran, Bill Johnston, Mirosława Modrzewska and Catherine O’Neil (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009), 161.

⁷ Cyprian Norwid, “W rocznicę Powstania Styczniowego” [Mowa wygłoszona 22 stycznia 1875 r. w Czytelni Polskiej w Paryżu], in Juliusz W. Gomulicki, ed., *Pisma wszystkie*, vol. 7/2, *Proza* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1973), 95–102.

add that Norwid was a philhellene, a great enthusiast of Greece, both ancient and modern. In his most wonderful expressions referring to Hellas, he called Greek culture “the talisman of nations”,⁸ and also a mystical bread that is shared, like communion, by nations.

Considered a fascinating but difficult, poet and philosopher of history, at the 1875 Paris commemoration of the anniversary of the January Uprising Norwid devoted as much attention to that uprising as he did to the 1821 Greek Revolution, which had occurred five decades earlier. His lecture has a very elaborate, complicated structure as well as a parabolic aspect, combining a commentary on current political facts with an attempt to identify more general historical laws and regularities.

Once again, we have here the Romantic Polish–Greek parallel, and once again it is applied to the matter of the uprisings. The parallel between the fates of the Greek and Polish nations is defined by a similar rhythm of heroic deeds and destruction stemming from bondage, including the spiritual kind that causes a nation’s “historical nonexistence”, an interruption in its history.

It should be stressed that this is a very bitter lesson, a very harsh and painful diagnosis of the situation of subdued nations that have experienced bondage and are trying to regain their freedom. But it is also a bitter vision of the condition of Europe, showing it to be capable of great enthusiasm for the cause of enslaved nations but incapable of moving beyond a superficial rapture, often guided by appearances and commercial benefits.

The issue of national uprisings is also Europe’s business, according to Norwid. Even if Europe is politically incapable of resolving them, national uprisings always pose new questions about European values.

Norwid’s entire lecture is built on the simultaneous comparison of insurrections, Polish and Greek, but in a very new and special way, concentrating not on insurrectionary operations but on bondage, which is equivalent to “historical nonexistence”. There are two elements in this juxtaposition: the consequences of bondage, and treating national insurrections as a European matter. What are the consequences of the “historical nonexistence” of enslaved nations, and how does Europe treat those nations?

Norwid’s discussion focuses on the consequences of long-term national bondage, which plunge nations into “historical nonexistence”. In the Polish situation this means, above all, the loss of state institutions and the destruction

⁸ Cyprian Norwid, List do Wojciecha Grzymały [Paris, 1852] [Letter to Wojciech Grzymała], in Gomulicki, *Pisma wszystkie*, vol. 8, *Listy* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1971), 175.

of the nation's overt social, political and cultural life. Norwid considered the nation's spiritual rebirth through the revival of public life to be the most urgent task of the Polish intelligentsia.

"Historical nonexistence" and the consequences of bondage and, on the other hand, "European friendliness" and raptures built on a fragile foundation of stereotypes and an unrealistic diagnosis of the situation of enslaved nations – these are the real topics of the lecture. A great patriot who deeply respected national tradition, Norwid was also a very harsh critic of Polish society as being branded by bondage. His deep sensitivity to the consequences of Poland's bondage enabled him to see some significant dangers in Greece's situation. And vice versa: the situation of Greece emerging from bondage enabled him to notice the dangers for Poland.

Norwid's lecture represents one of Polish literature's most beautiful praises of philhellenism as selfless enthusiasm for the Greek cause, and also European literature's most beautiful accounts of the Greeks' insurrectionary achievements. According to Norwid, the Greeks responded in full to the image anticipated by European philhellenism, the image

that Europe had intended ... the athletic heroism shown by them and the leaders of this movement equalled or surpassed the ancient gestures. The death of Botsaris, the fall of Messolonghi, the massacre at Chios ... The Greeks ... from the start of their uprising displayed both their old valour, marked by semi-divine rays, and all the things that long historical nonexistence imposes on peoples.

Then Norwid lists the faults of enslaved nations (by the way, he "endowed" Polish society with an even longer list of national faults and inadequacies of social life): "disobedience, mutual disrespect of leaders and their fickleness, were present equally with a pathos very similar to the great Homer's," as he writes about Greece.

In this lecture, philhellenism is thus shown in a tension between the ideal and the complicated reality of the societies of Western Europe, as well as Greece in the process of its liberation. In fact, philhellenism in this text is a great ideal project for both Greece and Europe, originating from the Greek tradition precisely. But it also involves imposing a single tradition, a single image on Greece, instead of *reading* Greece's true and deep identity. "The great ... heroism of the ancient men" is all very well, but you also need "the power of daily and lasting endurance". Europe's philhellenic fascination with 1820s Greece also appears in the writings of Norwid – the great philhellene and admirer of Byron – in two contrasting ways. There is the traditional depiction of philhellenism as bright, noble and selfless, but there is also a darker view of it – as a "philo-clamour" (*filo-wrzask*), a superficial materialistic

movement that treats Greece instrumentally. Yet is it still possible to refer to this second view as philhellenism, one might ask?

Norwid's speech in a Polish reading room for political émigrés in Paris has an unexpected ending. This is yet another instance in Polish Romanticism when the favourite character of philhellenes, Markos Botsaris, appears. He is described as passing on his testament, namely his wish and command (in the original) for his son to receive an education and (in Norwid's version) for his son and his nation to learn to read the historical truth. The knowledge about Botsaris is mediated through a modern Greek song that Norwid translated and exploits like a parable to portray Botsaris both as a hero of battle and as a teacher of the nation who recommends "bold awareness stemming from the complete *reading* of historical truth".⁹ Introducing this theme, Norwid seems to be strongly encouraging heroic nations that suffer the consequences of "historical nonexistence" to search for their own truth about their own fate, their own identity, to go beyond any imposed stereotypes.

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⁹ See Michał Kuziak, "Epimenides – W rocznicę powstania styczniowego: Norwid o pułapkach dyskursu filhelleńskiego," in Borowska et al., *Filhellenizm w Polsce*, 257–68; Zofia Dambek-Giallelis, "'Bystro czytać w dziejach,' czyli o pewnym wystąpieniu Norwida w rocznicę Powstania Styczniowego," *Studia Norwidiana* 33 (2015): 192–216.

LITERARY OUTLOOKS ON WOMEN IMPLICATED IN THE GREEK
REVOLUTION: THE CASE OF JÓZEF DUNIN-BORKOWSKI'S
PHILHELLENIC POEMS

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Abstract: This article analyses the philhellenic poems of Polish romantic poet Józef Dunin-Borkowski with the focus on gender representation. It discusses the four roles envisaged by Dunin-Borkowski for women: as war casualties, soldiers' lovers, sexual slaves of the enemy and heroines taking part in armed combat. It argues that Dunin-Borkowski casts a vision of femininity that is different from the parlour or domestic model, subordinated to the cause of the homeland's freedom. The Greek woman in his oeuvre is often an autonomous individual, actively involved in public affairs, while Greece is presented as an Enlightenment utopia, a project of universal emancipation and also of women's freedom. Therefore, Dunin-Borkowski's poems can be read as an attempt to formulate a modern image of emancipation in the contexts of debates on democracy, slavery and women's liberation.

The juvenile poems of Józef Dunin-Borkowski count as an important example of Polish literary philhellenism. Even though they speak about an armed conflict, a theme usually associated with masculinity, there is a remarkable women's presence in them. This article focuses on Dunin-Borkowski's constructions of gender, especially in relation to categories such as sacrifice, pleasure (*jouissance*) and freedom. After providing some information about the poet, the article offers some general remarks about Dunin-Borkowski's philhellenic poetry before going on to analyse the terms on which Dunin-Borkowski envisages women taking part in the independence movement. The argument shows that freedom – the main concept at stake in this poetry – is understood according to the Enlightenment tradition as free artistic creation, production of knowledge and participation in culture. Moreover, in several poems women are cast as rightful subjects who fight for liberty and are entitled to enjoy their freedom. Yet, when the poet speaks about women's liberty, the latter often gains a bodily,

* The major parts of the article and all poetic excerpts were translated from Polish into English by Joanna Dutkiewicz.

intimate dimension; it means avoidance of being objects of captivity and sexual abuse. As a result, the image of sexual enslavement plays an important role in the rhetoric of these poems; it reflects voyeuristic desires and legitimates fantasies on vengeance.

Józef Dunin-Borkowski (1809–1843) was a Polish scholar and poet affiliated with Lvov, a less well-known centre of Polish Romantic culture, remaining in the shadow of Vilnius and Warsaw. From 1827 to 1829, during a stay in Czerniowce/Chernivtsi in Bukovina, Dunin-Borkowski met some members of local Greek diaspora and – as his biographers state – “took the Greek cause to heart”.¹ The majority of the 20 poems analysed below were most likely written in this period, making them the work of a poet not yet 20 years old. Dunin-Borkowski later also became a Hellenic philologist, an expert on Greek literature and culture, which he studied with Konstantinos Koumas in Vienna. According to an account of the poet’s friend August Bielowski, Dunin-Borkowski’s poems were supposedly known in Greece, though this has not been confirmed. A member of the Ziewonia poetry group, which gathered several Polish patriots and democrats from Galicia, Dunin-Borkowski was interested in Slavic folklore and local history, which inspired his national ideas.² Dunin-Borkowski’s Romantic interest in folk traditions, and to some extent maybe also his democratic views, find a reflection in his philhellenic poetry.

In this article, a poem is classified as philhellenic when it clearly references modern Greek culture and the Greek Revolution. It is important to mention that Dunin-Borkowski’s philhellenic output is subordinated to the persuasive function, its perception of morality is black and white, and roles are clearly defined. This may be exemplified by the poem “Sekos”, which refers to a heroic episode from the revolution. When a Greek fighter sets fire to an ammunition depot, it is obvious that all his compatriots go to heaven while the Turkish corpses are torn apart by vultures. Thus, in these poems there is no room for dilemmas and aporias, and the entire system of values is subordinated to the

¹ August Bielowski, “Żywot Józefa hr. Dunina-Borkowskiego,” in Józef Dunin-Borkowski, *Pisma*, vol. 1 (Lwów: Nakładem Kajetana Jabłońskiego, 1856), xii. For further information on Dunin-Borkowski’s biography, see Oktawiusz Jurewicz, “Z recepcji kultury nowogreckiej w Polsce: Józef Dunin-Borkowski,” *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, no. 1 (1965): 117–43; Stefan Treugutt, “Józef Dunin-Borkowski,” in *Literatura krajowa w okresie romantyzmu 1831–1863*, ed. Maria Janion, Bogdan Zakrzewski and Maria Dernałowicz (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1975), 1:543–68.

² The poetics and political ideas of the Ziewonia group are discussed in Marta Pruszczyńska, *Ziewonia: Romantyczna grupa literacka* (Zielona Góra: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego, 2002).

idea of freedom for the homeland. Since the ethical dilemmas connected with conspiracy and armed conflicts are a recurring motif in the Polish patriotic poetry of this time, Anna Opacka argues convincingly that their absence in Dunin-Borkowski's philhellenic poems may prove that they result from a genuine fascination with the Greek cause, and thus do not constitute an indirect strategy to speak about the situation in Poland.³ Yet, this article stresses that Dunin-Borkowski's oeuvre is in any case embedded in Polish complexes linked to the lack of statehood and that this connection is visible in his attitude to the relations between masculinity and femininity.

It was noted that in the nineteenth-century Polish gender paradigm, masculinity is fulfilled in the public sphere, in access to power and in the ideal of personal and political freedom.⁴ To these, one may add the right to education, free creation and participation in culture, all of which are important to Dunin-Borkowski. However, Polish men were deprived of these fundamental indicators of masculinity when Polish lands were invaded, partitioned and occupied by neighbouring states. For Dunin-Borkowski, the Greek uprising is the space where this complex plays out and is resolved through triumph in battle. Women play an important role in this process, not only with their sacrifice as war victims, innocently killed or enslaved by the enemy, but also as lovers of soldiers, who possess the means to regulate men's behaviour. They are also involved actively in the battle, this time proposing an alternative model of femininity that transgresses the typical gender roles.

When women are portrayed as casualties, their death demands vengeance and motivates men to fight. This is the image presented in the poem "Ptaszek" (The little bird), in which a bird's "virgin voice" tells Greek men about the death of women in flames, in order to persuade them to attack the enemy. (Dunin-Borkowski's frequent talking-bird motif originates in a Greek folk song and testifies to his interest in folklore and oral traditions.).

Like terrible flashes of lightning
I saw you, maidens,
In flames beneath a cloud.
I watched teary-eyed
...

³ Anna Opacka, *Trwanie i zmienność. Romantyczne ślady oralności* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 1998), 40.

⁴ Filip Mazurkiewicz, *Siła i słabość: Studium upadku męskiej hegemonii w Polsce* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego; Warsaw: IBL, 2019).

Listen, palikars!
 The dead want sacrifice,
 The Turkish throngs
 Are sitting down to feast,
 Assail them all together
 And with fire and iron,
 Then use the blood drawn by the sword
 To write Souli's story
 For the enemy and for the world.⁵

Since femininity was stereotypically associated with innocence, virtue and a peaceable disposition, the victimisation of women was an effective rhetorical strategy, legitimising the necessity of war and mobilising men to fight. The image of women as innocent victims thus surfaces regularly in the philhellenic works of various authors, both in literature and art: poetry and iconography related to the history of Souli exemplify this phenomenon. It is significant that in Dunin-Borkowski's poem, the sacrifice of women is sense-building, that is, it serves as a reason to recount history and lend it meaning. In this sense, it plays an important role on the path to victory.

Yet, in Dunin-Borkowski's philhellenic poetry women are most often depicted as fighters' lovers, while *rozkosz* – a noun that may be rendered in English as “(sexual) pleasure”, “delight” or “bliss” – recurs regularly in many poems. In Polish dictionaries of the early nineteenth century, *rozkosz* is defined, first, as “any pleasure at the highest level” and, second, as “carnality, voluptuousness”.⁶ This focus on (sexual) pleasure encourages the scholar to describe the dynamic of erotic relations between the two genders as presented by Dunin-Borkowski with psychoanalytic terminology. Thus, the understanding of pleasure/bliss employed in this article is close to the Lacanian *jouissance*, that is, not just sexual arousal and orgasm, but also satisfaction from possessing and using things whose character is not necessarily directly linked to sex.

A scenario of symbolic castration and the related economy of pleasure unfolds in the poem “Pożegnanie palikara” (Farewell to a palikar), which fulfils the topos of a soldier's parting with his lover. The woman in the poem cannot be an object of desire because the man enslaved by the invaders has, at the same time, been deprived of his masculinity and condemned to impotence, to sexual

⁵ Dunin-Borkowski, *Pisma*, 1:108.

⁶ Interestingly, many examples given by the dictionary stress the moral ambiguity and danger pleasure may pose. See Samuel Bogumił Linde, *Słownik języka polskiego* (Warsaw: Drukarnia XX Piarów, 1812), 5:85–86.

frustration. In the first verses, the subject reveals that political bondage makes him transfer his desire to the accumulated phallic attributes of masculinity: sabre, shotgun and sword, which are in fact personified and want to fight, just like their “master”. (“My sword desires battle / As much as I desire victory.”)⁷ Not until he regains his freedom (= phallus, also in the Lacanian sense, since freedom is the condition sine qua non of masculinity) will he be able to desire a woman.

Fare you well black eyes,
Your brightness is not for me today,
Where blood flows in a stream
The sabre’s glint will be my delight.⁸

Importantly, the lover herself also regulates access to pleasure: her love is a reward for a victorious battle and is only possible once she has inspected the scars that are signs of valour, that is, evidence of escape from the state of castration, of fulfilling the condition of masculinity. In the lover’s behaviour anticipated by the poem’s subject, the phrase “cannot love a Greek woman” signifies not only the subject’s impotence, but also the fact that a Greek woman would not accept such love, that she is the one who sets the standards of masculinity for her lover.

Then you will weave wedding roses,
Seeing glorious scars in the chest –
He who does not love his country
Cannot love a Greek woman.⁹

Generating masculinity by branding the body with scars and wounds is the central theme of the masochistic libidinal economy of these poems. “Let us kiss his sweet, dear scars for the last time,” say the fellow soldiers in “Pieśń pogrzebna palikarowi” (Funeral song for a palikar). For Dunin-Borkowski, there is no masculinity without scars; masculinity is not given, it has to be won, and the only path to this goal is the marking of the body. A scar becomes a sign of action, of completing a masculine rite of passage, of acquiring potency, a phallus. Also the Greek woman – the subject of the eponymous “Greczynka” (The Greek woman) – associates her pleasure with looking at male scars, and this gives her erotic fulfilment; it is the highest stage in the gradation of pleasure.

⁷ Dunin-Borkowski, *Pisma*, 1:127

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, 128.

When I see him, my heart beats harder
 And my aroused blood doubles its eagerness;
 Ah! how wondrous that he only lives
 For the homeland and for glory.

...

When he stands next to me, I stand blushing
 Feeling previously unknown bliss,
 When he clasps me to his bosom
 I float to the heavens.

When he tells me how he loves his country,
 How he values his brothers' happiness over his life,
 When he shows me his glorious scar
 I am enraptured.¹⁰

The Greek woman fully identifies with the cause, the struggle for national independence; even her pleasure is patriotic, completely subordinated to the phallic economy, colonised by the idea of the homeland and described using male-centric language. The subject's pleasure is also conditional on the man's military triumph; the poem does not envision the attainment of pleasure with someone who has lost the fight, as the only alternative to victory is death. "For we have vowed to die in glory or win," says "Pieśń pogrzebna palikarowi".¹¹ Pleasure is thus a union of the female subject and the homeland – this is probably how we are meant to understand the rules of unequal exchange in the poem's final lines: "I am prepared to do anything for thee, / For thou will do a great deal for us."¹² The "us" here is the homeland and women considered together, their "liberation" being a condition of pleasure.

"Pieśń pogrzebna palikarowi" also turns to fellow fighters, incorporating the theme of unity with other men into the erotic script ("Soon, soon my friends / We will be amid the battle's thunder / I shall strew the road / to my lover's house with Turks").¹³ Indeed, the subject desires community with other men, which precedes and is a condition of a relationship with a woman. Male homosocial desires are fulfilled most completely through unity in battle. This is the image presented in a verse of the poem "Do Greków" (To the Greeks), which is a call to armed action. The metaphors of this verse (knot, heart, bonding, love) invoke those related to marriage. At the same time, the shield

¹⁰ Ibid., 114–15.

¹¹ Ibid., 130.

¹² Ibid., 115.

¹³ Ibid., 128.

and armour are obvious references to the (medieval) world of knighthood and the Romantic ideas associated with it: nobleness and fidelity. The brotherhood of the fighters not only ensures victory in battle here, but also cements the nation's unity.

May the agreeable knot of unity
Bond everyone's hearts together,
With such a shield, with such armour
No powers can defeat you.
Brotherly love works miracles,
It unites ghosts with the living,
Binds howling peoples together
And turns one man into a hundred.¹⁴

The community of fighters finds its extension in unity in death, which constitutes an act of joining the fallen brothers, the model figure among them being Leonidas ("Onwards, to Leonidas!" cries a Greek warrior in the poem "Sekos" before suicidally blowing up the monastery). Another means of fulfilling male unity is coexistence in memory, its main depositaries also being fighting men, as portrayed in "Pieśń pogrzebna palikarowi" ("Thy memory will not be lost among us for ever and ever", but also: "We take you, dead corpses, we take you as witnesses" – charting the continuum of masculinity from the ancient chiefs, through fallen friends, to a future of remembrance and deeds).¹⁵ Death in battle is bliss ("The deathbed is paradise / Death is bliss – and scars are sweet" ("Do Greków");¹⁶ actually, the very status of death is questioned, as brotherhood in arms ensures continuance in the memory of one's fellow fighters.

Thus, Dunin-Borkowski's philhellenic poetry abolishes the dilemma of choosing between what is private and what is public; it identifies the woman with the homeland, and either subordinates sexual pleasure to the idea of freedom or identifies it with the fulfilment of male homosocial desire, fighting and death ("Death for freedom is bliss," says the subject to his lover in "Piosnka" (The song).¹⁷ Although suspended until the time of military triumph, pleasure is a very important element at stake in this poetry. Its literal, vivid, sometimes even physiological portrayal in "Greczynka" is especially worth noting. Contrary to conservative discourses' typical rejection of this kind of motivation in favour of

¹⁴ Ibid., 111.

¹⁵ Ibid., 130.

¹⁶ Ibid., 112.

¹⁷ Ibid., 107.

promoting the notion of duty or a rhetoric of martyrdom and sacrifice, in this case pleasure remains a major source of motivation.

As mentioned earlier, pleasure is conditional on freedom. Most often, Dunin-Borkowski understands the latter according to the optimism of Enlightenment ideas, as being inextricably linked with reason. In the poet's approach, "bondage emerges from the bosom of ignorance" ("Hymn do wskrzesiciela Grecji" [Hymn to the resurrector of Greece])¹⁸ and freedom is the road to creating philosophy and poetry, which are the ultimate elements at stake in these poems. They express faith in the era of light, faith that enlightened reason will bring progress and the liberation of humanity. The poem "Na Korayisa" (On Korais) includes the figure of the Enlightenment scholar, the intellectual responsible for educating the people; "Do Greków" has the subject drawing personal pleasure from "pacifist" reading, which is contrasted with weaponry. Free Greeks turn to Homer, that is, an oeuvre interpreted as the universal heritage of the whole world and not easily reducible to national particularisms.

When you end your glorious battles,
Edification will shine agreeably
And, having been silent so many years,
Hippocrene's springs will gush.
And, crowned with nine stars,
Parnassus will sparkle constantly;
Xenophons and Zenos
Will open Minerva's school.

...

Let our ship sail forth then
We shall go without armour, without steel
And in the land of free Greeks
We shall read Homer.¹⁹

In other poems, freedom remains an abstract ideal, a sublime value *in se*, a primary object of desire, which does not require definition. However, the notion of freedom may gain another dimension when it refers to women; in this case it also means freedom from captivity and sexual slavery. The image of enslaved women constitutes an important theme of philhellenic and Oriental literature and art, the most important examples being perhaps the paintings of Eugène Delacroix, famous for their rhetorical importance, on the one hand, and

¹⁸ Ibid., 103.

¹⁹ Ibid., 113.

voyeuristic potential, on the other. In Dunin-Borkowski's poetry, the mentions of miseries of an enslaved woman precede and justify detailed descriptions of vengeance performed by a Greek on a Turkish abductor.

This economy of pleasure is visible in "Pogrzeb beja" (The bey's funeral) – a piece written several years after the other philhellenic poems.²⁰ This ballad presents a Greek brigand observing from concealment as jackals tear apart the dead body of a bey (Turkish chieftain) defeated by the Greeks. Carrion-feeders carry out the klepht's revenge for the abduction of women, whose fate is recounted from a strongly masculine viewpoint: the woman is not so much an autonomous person as an "embellishment of holidays and feasts" and, differently than in Dunin-Borkowski's other poems, she does not exist outside her association with a man. By abducting women, the bey deprived the Greeks of their jouissance (the possibility of gaining pleasure from ownership), and this is essentially what the klepht wants to avenge.

Feeding on coerced embraces,
You seized our sisters, and daughters and wives,
To be slaughtered like animals.
Your every kiss poured venom into their souls.
Brother jackals, on to your meal!
We celebrate a Turkish feast.²¹

However, the bey's body has many feminine features: it is described as soft and plump. The avenging jackals, penetrating it with their teeth, "have their way" with the corpse, they violate it. Devouring, consuming, digesting is a sign of the enemy's annihilation and a figure of the ultimate triumph. The poem ends with an extensive, multiverse image of a cannibalistic fantasy, the projection of a sadistic desire (blending libido with aggression) to incorporate, to take possession of the enemy.

All in a line, plunge into his tasty body,
All your teeth, and your whole jaws,
Gnaw the bones, chew the meat;
He has a sweet heart and a lecherous bosom,
A string of pearls behind his lips' snowy rose,

²⁰ Unlike other philhellenic poems that remained in the manuscript, "Pogrzeb beja" was published in the first number of the annual *Ziemia* in Lvov in 1834. Its significant difference from other philhellenic poems may be explained by the fact that it was written after the collapse of the November Uprising (1831), when the last remains of political freedom of Polish gentry were lost and which therefore represented a turning point in Polish political and cultural life.

²¹ Dunin-Borkowski, *Pisma*, 1:156.

And stars behind black lashes.
 The jackals growl, ripping the heart to pieces,
 and break the ribs, sucking the brain from the skull
 They divide the face into minute scraps,
 And split the pieces of head so greedily,
 That they have awakened the rooks and the owls
 With eyes like diamonds.²²

The frenzy of this spectacle in a night-time forest setting shows the wild – literally – pleasure of revenge, of regaining masculinity and sexual fulfilment. Although this poem essentially repeats the same script of the phallic economy – castration–fight–pleasure – it is the only work featuring bliss that is colonised, vampiric, situated outside the community, morality and homeland. Similar imagery is found in other poems as well. “Pieśń pogrzebna palikarowi”, imbued with exalted patriotism, ends with the slightly surprising image of the victors’ banquet and drinking from the skulls of enemies; the talking forms in “Kacandonis” (Katsantonis) are the ravens flocking to feast on the bodies of Turks killed in battle. This cannibalistic fantasy contrasts with the civilised ideals of the Enlightenment and creates a Romantic crack in the rational ideology of Dunin-Borkowski’s philhellenic work.

The poet does not envisage an analogical type of jouissance for women. Female pleasure in this poetry cannot be placed outside the phallic order, it is always subordinated to the cause. Yet, Dunin-Borkowski stresses women’s autonomy, their influence on the course of history and the importance of their freedom. Two women who took part in the uprising actively and not symbolically are featured. The first one is Princess Elisabeth Ypsilanti, who apparently offered her valuables to support the Greek army (“Na księżniczkę Ipsilandis” [On Princess Ypsilanti]). The other is Laskarina Bouboulina, the eponymous heroine of the poem “Bouboulina”. Both testify to the Polish poet’s interest in the alternative gentry femininity that oversteps privacy, and both are connected with the Enlightenment’s liberal project embedded in these poems. Interestingly, Dunin-Borkowski links his vision of the Greek Revolution with female bravery also in the poem “Pielgrzym” (Pilgrim), where the subject declares to be dreaming about free Greece while lying on the tomb of Wanda – a Polish legendary heroine.²³

²² Ibid., 156–57.

²³ There are other juvenile poems of Dunin-Borkowski on female bravery, such as “Na mogiłę Wandy” (On Wanda’s Tomb) and “Trembowła” (Terebovlia).

The poem dedicated to Elisabeth Ypsilanti implies the conscious participation of women in the national idea: as autonomous individuals with free will, who dispose of their wealth rationally and at their own discretion. The princess's gesture builds a different kind of femininity from the sentimental parlour model: devoid of trinkets, ascetic, dedicated to the cause. The princess gives up the attributes of her status, beauty and aristocratic femininity out of voluntary solidarity with the oppressed. The poem also highlights the woman's agency – the fact that she can influence history by her actions, as the princess's deed was to find many followers.

When bondage darkens freedom's golden day,
What are pearls and bright gems then?
An intrusive light that shamefully illuminates
The trivial wealth of some, and the fetters of others.
Thus said the maiden with a Greek heart.²⁴

The epigram devoted to Ypsilanti is worth interpreting against the background of Enlightenment universalism. Dunin-Borkowski does not problematise the issue of women's freedom; perhaps, like some of the more progressive liberals of the Enlightenment, he assumes that liberating a nation from foreign bondage and the triumph of reason stemming directly from this fact will also cause women – automatically, so to speak – to gain freedom. He designs female subjects who are fully “mature” (in the sense that Enlightenment rhetoric placed emphasis on growing out of and leaving behind the state of childhood) for emancipation. According to *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, the main criterion in the development of an acting subject is resistance, self-control and, above all, sacrifice.²⁵ Odysseus is a prefiguration of the ego when he renounces pleasure, that is, lying in Circe's bed, eating the lotus flower and the cattle of Helios. In this context, the sale of jewellery would mean renouncing a vision of carefree but objectified femininity in favour of the constitution of an autonomous self – “self-authorisation” to emancipation, to becoming a rightful, rational acting subject.

Whereas Ypsilanti suggests a correction to the model of femininity, Bouboulina, by getting involved directly in military operations and displaying qualities such as ambition, strength, ruthlessness and courage, clearly transgresses nineteenth-century gender norms. It is worth pointing out that female fighters are mentioned in other elements of Dunin-Borkowski's oeuvre: he translated a

²⁴ Dunin-Borkowski, *Pisma*, 1:125.

²⁵ I refer to the chapter “Odysseus or Myth and Enlightenment,” in Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 36–62.

song about the valiant Moscho Tzavela of Souli into Polish, and mentions the valour of women twice in other works.

In formal terms, the poem devoted to Bouboulina seems one of the most interesting in Dunin-Borkowski's collection, and also appears to be more carefully worked out than some of his other pieces. It comprises six hendecasyllabic octaves with a regular and original rhyme structure (abbacdd). The poem features a dialogue (the voices are those of Bouboulina, Turks and nature), while the "narrator" addressing the lyrical heroes and the poem's readers offers a running commentary (in the present tense) on the battle. This lends the poem dramatic, pompous character.

The fight against the Turks has a cosmic dimension here. Bouboulina mobilises not only other fighters but also the forces of nature, of which she becomes the personification to some extent ("Like a sea storm, terrible and silent / Opposite the enemy Bouboulina stands", "Like a meteor she passes in the distance").²⁶ It is not irrelevant that her name thunders to the Polish ear, thus corresponding to the image of a sea storm, and this is why it is repeated many times in the poem. Together with rolls of thunder and the roar of waves, it creates the poem's sound.

The hour has struck for a new expedition,
 A knightly ship floats on the water,
 A woman stands on the ship's prow,
 But tremble, enemies, it is Bouboulina!
 The sea thundered, the waves roared,
 The rumble carries across the foamy plain
 And hill says to hill, rock says to rock:
 It's Bouboulina – Bouboulina sailing forth.²⁷

The hyperbolisation, the bird's-eye depiction of the battle, and the descriptions of meteorological phenomena serve to portray Bouboulina as an allegory or a goddess (of vengeance, destruction, death: "she rushes like a vulture", "strikes, and drowns, and burns down", "takes away life"). Furthermore, the Greek virgin hero does not so much lead the troops, who are a co-actor in the military operations, as she herself is the exclusive creator of victory, while her armour is a reference to the world of the knighthood myth, and maybe also to the legend of Joan of Arc. Such a presentation embedded in the tradition of female allegories distances the depiction from historical reality.

²⁶ Dunin-Borkowski, *Pisma*, 1:117.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 116.

Her war attire gleams like a star,
She holds a lightning-shaped sword in her hand,
And in the dark night of her brow and eyes
A fiery thunderbolt hurls vengeful arrows.²⁸

The heroine's sex is underlined many times – not only her bodily form, but also her gender role, for example in threats like “I'll make your bed at the bottom of the sea” or “here, feed on the salty water”,²⁹ which the woman warrior addresses to the enemy, invoking the relationship between femininity and household chores and food preparation. An important element of tension in the poem is provided by the contrast between what is expected of a woman and Bouboulina's actual stance (“Does Bouboulina tremble? She does not tremble but rushes / like a vulture”).³⁰ The drama is also built through contrasting the free individual (Bouboulina) and the enslaved crowd of Turks, “servants of a tyrant”. The heroine's freedom is underlined several times, and seems to function as a kind of paradox – the poem plays with the reader's expectations, according to which the woman will neither be fully free nor capable of defeating the invading army.

It is worth looking at the way gender and freedom are understood here. The heroine is free because, contrary to the Turks, she is not a despot's subject. The poem also seems to suggest that her actions – fighting for her country's freedom – in themselves give her the status of a free individual. Furthermore, contrary to Turkish women, Bouboulina is not a concubine in a harem (““What, a woman, a dependent of the harem, / Would dare?”” the Turks say).³¹ The poem thus supports the view about Eastern women being subordinated to men, and Eastern men always ready to enslave women: “Go on, man, do it our way!”³² the Turks cry, and since we are talking about a harem, a space that is much eroticised in the Polish imagination, this has to be an allusion to the heroine's subjugation through sex/rape. Bouboulina is thus also free in the sense that she is not subordinate to male strangers.³³

²⁸ Ibid., 117.

²⁹ Ibid., 117–18.

³⁰ Ibid., 116.

³¹ Ibid., 117.

³² Ibid.

³³ A similar image of a Turk enslaving a foreign, this time Slavic, woman is presented in the poem “Turczyk” (Turk), about a young girl abducted during a Turkish raid on the Ukrainian town of Sniatyn. It confirms Dunin-Borkowski's interest in the question of European women's sexual slavery in the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, the poem connects Dunin-Borkowski's philhellenic works to the Polish experience of *jasyr* – captivity by Turks and Tatars.

The philhellenic poems do not enable us to say whether Dunin-Borkowski foresaw women's participation in the enlightened reason that would come after liberation. However, since the opponents of women's emancipation in that period explained female subordination with women's mental and physical disability (women as being incapable of rationality and physically too weak), the construction of a narrative about a woman warrior could be an argument in support of his positing some form of citizenship, that is, incorporating women into the public order and making them the subjects of universal laws. Naturally, in the Enlightenment paradigm women are tasked with becoming equal to men, not demanding a model of alternative humanity – the phallic, authoritarian Bouboulina might be an expression of this.

It is worth mentioning the practical aspect of the legend of Bouboulina. Historians note that, together with Joan of Arc, she was a role model for Polish insurgent Emilia Plater, who in turn inspired successive generations of female soldiers. In 1911 the left-leaning historian Bolesław Limanowski underlined the doubly emancipatory aspect of both women's activity: "When they fought, men – she [Plater] said – fulfilled their duty; Bouboulina did more than that, because she fought not only with the enemy but also with opinion."³⁴ In recent years, feminists and lesbians have been standing up for Emilia Plater and her story, underlining her gender nonconformity, which was previously effectively erased by historians.³⁵

The fighting and free Greece from Dunin-Borkowski's oeuvre, however, bears no relation to reality; it remains an ideal and distant world. I would like to treat this narrative also as a utopia, understood as a tool enabling us to think about radical social change. Thus, imagining the struggle for Greece's independence enabled Dunin-Borkowski to imagine an enlightened world of freedom in which women participate in a project of universal emancipation: making a sense-building sacrifice, regulating men's actions as distributors of their pleasure, and acting autonomously in the public sphere. As such, they are also free in the sense that no one rules over them, they are not subject to anyone's power. However, the poet fails to notice the patriarchal structures that are part of the state or family order. Nor does he criticise the phallogocentric order of culture, which represses femininity, gives privilege to things masculine and considers them to be universal.

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³⁴ Bolesław Limanowski, *Szermierze wolności* (Kraków: Spółka nakładowa Książka, 1911), 8.

³⁵ Alicja Kusiak, "Narodowa pamięć historyczna a historia kobiet," in *Polka: Medium, cień, wyobrażenie* (Warsaw: Centrum Sztuki Współczesnej Zamek Ujazdowski w Warszawie, 2005), 516.

Articles

UN HOMME DES LUMIÈRES NÉOHELLÉNIQUES: L'IDENTITÉ COMPLEXE DE L'ATHÉNIEN PANAYOTIS CODRICA (1762–1827)

Alexandra Sfoini

RÉSUMÉ: Panayotis Codrica naquit à Athènes et entama une carrière de secrétaire à Constantinople, puis dans les Principautés danubiennes et fut plus tard employé au Ministère des Affaires étrangères à Paris. Dans l'entourage des princes Phanariotes, il s'imprégna de l'éducation des Lumières européennes et s'impliqua activement dans le mouvement des Lumières néohelléniques. Il aborda aussi la question controversée de la corruption de la langue par rapport à son modèle antique, et il prit position en faveur de la langue des "nobles", soutenue par le système de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique et politique de la nation grecque. Codrica réunissait tous les attributs qui lui permettaient de s'intégrer aux élites administratives de l'Empire ottoman et de la France, et il participa aussi à l'érudition éclairée de son temps tout en forgeant une identité complexe.

Dans l'article "Homme" de l'*Encyclopédie* de Diderot et d'Alembert, une nouvelle perception de l'homme est exprimée: *C'est un être sentant, réfléchissant, pensant, qui se promène librement sur la surface de la terre...* Créature naturelle et libre, maître de son destin, rationnel et perfectible, l'homme émerge de son immaturité spirituelle, défie les autorités établies et fait partie d'une nouvelle société où la hiérarchie est organisée suivant le contrat social et sert le bien commun.¹

Dans le monde grec sous domination ottomane depuis 1453, la remise en question de la direction spirituelle absolue de l'Église marque le début de la rupture avec l'aristotélisme, l'éveil et la maturation de la conscience à travers les idées des Lumières européennes qui répondent aux nouveaux groupes et aux nouvelles demandes sociales. Les Lumières néohelléniques, qui remontent au début du XVIIIe siècle, parviennent à leur apogée dans les années 1774–1821, et sont divisées en trois périodes correspondant aux étapes des Lumières françaises:

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¹ Michel Vovelle, "Introduction," dans *L'homme des Lumières*, dir. Michel Vovelle (Paris: Seuil, 1996), 9.

Voltaire, *Encyclopédie*, Idéologues.² Dans ce cadre intellectuel général, dont les déterminants fondamentaux sont la sécularisation progressive de la société et la formation de l'esprit libéral, le type de l'homme des Lumières évolue, provenant de toutes les couches sociales, à savoir de la noblesse, du clergé, de l'érudition, bien que prévale l'exemple du commerçant en tant que porteur d'une nouvelle conscience. De toute évidence, ils ne constituent pas une seule personne et, pour revenir à leur physionomie commune, il est besoin d'une grande abstraction. Il est donc nécessaire d'étudier les cas et les manifestations contradictoires qui enrichissent en nuances le tableau général.

Un cas intéressant pour cette étude est celui de Panayotis Codrica, un homme qui réunissait tous les attributs qui lui permettaient de s'intégrer aux élites administratives de l'Empire ottoman: la naissance, le talent, le mérite, l'éducation et l'aisance financière.³

Codrica, né à Athènes en 1762, avait le privilège d'appartenir à une ancienne famille noble de la ville, particulièrement en vue du fait que sa mère descendait de la famille des Cantzillieri. Plus tard, il portera avec fierté le surnom de Chancelier et il se vantera des noms byzantins que ses origines rassemblent, ceux de Chalkondyli, Palaiologo et Gaspari. Il apparaît qu'il avait déjà reçu une bonne éducation à Athènes, ville qui jouissait à l'époque d'un ascendant politique héréditaire et qui, quoique "barbarisée" par la conquête ottomane, conservait quelques traces du prestige du passé.⁴ Cet Athénien prometteur quitta le foyer paternel à l'âge de seize ans, et, suivant le courant de l'époque, se dirigea vers la capitale de l'Empire ottoman; il continua peut-être ses études à Constantinople, parce que très vite il fut nommé secrétaire du patriarche de Jérusalem puis, plus tard, au poste de premier secrétaire au service du prince phanariote Michel Soutzo.⁵

Étant donné que Codrica était intégré au milieu des notables grecs du quartier du Phanar de Constantinople, et à cause de leur rôle important à cette époque, nous proposons de donner un bref aperçu historique des Phanariotes.⁶

² C.Th. Dimaras, *La Grèce au temps des Lumières* (Genève: Droz, 1969); Dimaras, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός* (Athènes: Ermis, 1985).

³ Alexandra Sfoini, "Φωτισμένες αυθεντίες σε γραφειοκρατικά περιβάλλοντα: Ο Παναγιώτης Κοδρικάς και η γλώσσα των ευγενών," *Τα Ιστορικά* 59 (2013): 325–62.

⁴ Loukia Droulia, "Ο Σρον και οι άλλοι ξένοι στην Αθήνα, 17ος αιώνας," *Εποχές* 38 (1966): 80–100.

⁵ C.Th. Dimaras, "Προτομή του Κοδρικάς," *Φροντίσματα, Πρώτο μέρος, Από την Αναγέννηση στον Διαφωτισμό* (Athènes: s.n., 1962), 67–88.

⁶ Sur les Phanariotes, voir entre autres *Symposium, l'Époque Phanariote, À la mémoire de Cléobule Tsourkas, 21–25 octobre 1970* (Salonique: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1974);

Derniers descendants de l'ancienne noblesse byzantine,⁷ et plus tard riches commerçants ou hommes de lettres, les Phanariotes avaient formé une nouvelle classe dominante parmi les Grecs et avaient occupé les offices les plus hauts du Patriarcat et de la Sublime Porte en introduisant une nouvelle idéologie dans la société grecque soumise aux Ottomans.⁸ Instruits et polyglottes, parce qu'ils avaient gagné la confiance des Ottomans et parce qu'il était interdit aux musulmans d'apprendre des langues étrangères, ils accédèrent aux principales charges de la diplomatie ottomane, comme celles de drogman de la flotte, qui était l'intermédiaire entre le sultan et ses sujets conquis, ainsi que celle de grand drogman, qui était chargé des relations diplomatiques.⁹ Mais leur plus grande réussite fut le privilège d'être nommés dès le début du XVIIIe siècle gouverneurs des deux Principautés danubiennes, la Valachie et la Moldavie.¹⁰ Cela impliquait une attitude particulière et une distinction sociale. Par la suite, l'autorité des Phanariotes s'établit, leur mentalité, attitude et tenue s'adaptèrent à la nouvelle réalité. La cérémonie de nomination et l'étiquette de la cour des hospodars étaient véritablement princières et leurs droits dignes de leur titre, ainsi que le décrit en 1904 Eugène Rizo-Rangabé, qui était le descendant d'une famille phanariote, dans son *Livre d'or de la noblesse Phanariote*:

De facto les princes de Valachie et de Moldavie jouissaient de toutes les prérogatives de la souveraineté absolue. Ils étaient officiellement et avec grande pompe sacrés et oints Princes par le Patriarche de Constantinople dans la grande Eglise du Patriarcat. Ils tenaient une brillante cour, ils avaient une armée indigène, faisaient la guerre et la paix avec les pays voisins, promulguaient des lois, avaient le droit de vie et de mort sur leurs sujets et ils étaient représentés à Constantinople par un vrai Agent

Andrei Pippidi, "Phanar, Phanariotes, phanarotisme," *Hommes et idées du Sud-Est européen à l'aube de l'âge moderne* (Bucarest: Academiei România; Paris: CNRS, 1980), 341–50; Pippidi, *Byzantins, Ottomans, Roumains: Le Sud-Est européen entre l'héritage impérial et les influences occidentales* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006).

⁷ Nicolae Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance* (Bucarest: Association Internationale d'Études du Sud-Est Européen, Comité National Roumain, 1971).

⁸ Dimitris Apostolopoulos, *Η εμφάνιση της Σχολής του Φυσικού Δικαίου στην "Τουρκοκρατούμενη" ελληνική κοινωνία: Η ανάγκη μιας νέας Ιδεολογίας* (Athènes: s.n., 1980).

⁹ Le drogman est un "lettré de formation occidentale, humaniste et polyglotte, chargé de hautes responsabilités politiques", voir Andrei Pippidi, "Quelques drogman de Constantinople au XVIIe siècle," *Hommes et idées du Sud-Est européen*, 134.

¹⁰ Pour le régime des Phanariotes dans les pays roumains, voir Radu Florescu, "The Phanariot Regime in the Danubian Principalities," *Balkan Studies* 9, no. 2 (1968): 301–18; Dan Berindei, "Fanariotische Herrscher und Rumänische Boyaren in den Rumänischen Fürstentümern (1711–1821)," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 23, no. 4 (1984): 313–26.

Diplomatique ou Représentant. Tous ces droits. Reconnus par les traités cités plus haut, n'ont jamais été contestés par les Turcs.¹¹

Les Phanariotes, tout en acceptant la légitimité ottomane, étaient en même temps polyglottes et cosmopolites, et jouaient le rôle de médiateurs culturels entre l'Occident et l'Empire ottoman. Pendant l'époque dite phanariote, une intense activité culturelle se développa dans les pays roumains et la propagation des idées des Lumières y atteignit son apogée. Les cours princières aspiraient à être des miniatures des cours occidentales, avec de riches bibliothèques, des professeurs de français et des traductions d'œuvres européennes en grec, souvent par l'intermédiaire du français. Suivant le modèle du despotisme éclairé, les princes grecs modernisèrent la législation, se préoccupèrent sérieusement de l'enseignement et fondèrent plusieurs écoles, grecques et roumaines.¹²

Malgré les défauts de cette classe comme l'amour du pouvoir, l'arrogance, le climat d'intrigue, de haine, de soupçon qui régnait entre eux,¹³ les archontes du Phanar étaient plus ou moins hommes de culture et amis du progrès, fort influencés par la pensée philosophique et pédagogique des Lumières.¹⁴ L'élément grec se répandit partout et en ce temps-là le grec était la *lingua franca* entre les pays des Balkans: le grec ancien destiné à l'enseignement supérieur et le grec moderne au commerce. Parallèlement, la langue française, jusqu'ici langue diplomatique, commençait à s'imposer comme moyen de transmission de la pensée européenne. L'imprimerie à l'époque phanariote publiait surtout les principales œuvres européennes qui étaient traduites en grec ou en roumain, tandis que la majorité des imprimés de l'époque pré-phanariote avaient un contenu religieux dogmatique. Les premiers parchemins de la seconde moitié du

¹¹ [Eugène Rizo-Rangabé], *Livre d'Or de la Noblesse Phanariote en Grèce, en Roumanie et en Turquie par un Phanariote* (Athènes: S. C. Vlastos, 1892), vii.

¹² Sur la fondation des écoles, voir Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, *Les Académies princières de Bucarest et de Jassy et leurs professeurs* (Salonique: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1974); Camariano-Cioran, "Écoles grecques dans les principautés danubiennes au temps des Phanariotes," dans *Symposium*, 49–56.

¹³ C. Handjeri a laissé un souvenir méprisable, celui d'un tyran exploitant ses sujets, évoqué dans les rapports des voyageurs étrangers séjournant dans les principautés, voir Paul Cernovodeanu, "Les voyageurs français devant les réalités roumaines," *Annales Historiques de la Révolution française* 48 (1976): 455.

¹⁴ Sur l'œuvre sociale et culturelle des Phanariotes dans les Principautés, voir Ieronymos Constantinidis, *To εκπολιτιστικόν έργον των Φαναριωτών ηγεμόνων εις τας Παραδουνάβιας Ηγεμονίας Βλαχίας και της Μολδαβίας* (Istanbul: Tsitouris, 1949); Ekkehard Völk, "Die griechische Kultur in der Moldau während der Phanariotenzeit (1711–1821)," *Süd-Ost Forschungen* 26 (1967): 102–39; Pan J. Zepos, "La politique sociale des princes phanariotes," *Balkan Studies* 10, no. 1 (1969–1970): 81–90.

XVIII^e siècle adressés aux écoles conseillaient l'étude des sciences au lieu de celle de la religion.¹⁵ Dans le domaine législatif, les Phanariotes avaient conservé une partie du droit coutumier roumain, mais ils étaient principalement influencés par la pensée juridique romaine sur laquelle est basé le droit byzantin, qui fut utilisé comme source; en même temps, un grand nombre d'institutions s'orientaient vers les nouvelles idées des encyclopédistes et favorisaient des réformes sociales. Constantin Mavrocordato (1711–1769) fut le premier à lutter pour l'abolition du servage dans les Principautés.¹⁶ Il faut noter aussi que c'est de la Moldovalachie que jaillit la première étincelle de la Révolution de 1821.¹⁷

Il est donc clair que les Phanariotes, pendant le temps où Codrica était à leur service, appartenaient aux couches progressistes de la société grecque. Ils étaient dignitaires au nom du sultan, mais pas très fidèles, conscients d'être les successeurs de l'Empire byzantin et surtout les héritiers de l'Antiquité classique ce qui les habilitait à créer un royaume suivant le modèle européen, gouverné dans l'esprit de la doctrine du despotisme éclairé,¹⁸ ce qui était une attitude qu'ils appliquaient aux pays roumains.

La vie de Codrica à Constantinople et dans les Principautés coïncide avec la période que l'histoire européenne appelle "la fin du siècle des Lumières" et avec la Révolution française. Dans l'espace grec, c'est à cette époque, après le traité de Koutchouk-Kaïnardji (1774),¹⁹ que l'on aperçoit les premiers résultats de l'influence des Lumières dans la vie économique, politique et intellectuelle de la nation hellénique. L'esprit des Lumières atteignit son apogée seulement au début du XIX^e siècle, avant la Révolution de 1821, alors que l'Europe passait au romantisme. Ainsi, pour la période qui nous intéresse, c'est-à-dire de 1774 jusqu'à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, les changements sont profonds dans tous les domaines de la vie humaine. Citons-en quelques-uns: la prospérité due au commerce et à la marine marchande, le vaste intérêt pour l'enseignement, l'imprimerie, l'étude, l'exigence

¹⁵ Stefan Barsanescu, "La pensée pédagogique du siècle des Lumières d'après les parchemins princiers de la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle destinés aux écoles: Sa genèse," dans *Symposium*, 57–60.

¹⁶ Florin Constantiniu, "Constantin Mavrocordato et l'abolition du servage en Valachie et en Moldavie," dans *Symposium*, 377–84.

¹⁷ Apostolos Daskalakis, "Les Phanariotes et la révolution grecque de 1821," dans *Symposium*, 75.

¹⁸ François Bluche, *Le despotisme éclairé* (Paris: Hachette, 1969).

¹⁹ Le traité de Koutchouk-Kaïnardji était surtout l'œuvre du grand drogman Alexandre Ypsilanti, voir Démètre Skarl. Soutzo, "Les familles princières grecques de Valachie et de Moldavie," dans *Symposium*, 230. Sur ce traité voir aussi Robert Mantran, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman* (Paris: Fayard, 1989), 269–70.

d'un niveau de vie plus élevé, la vertu civique à la place de la vertu religieuse. Les Phanariotes furent – outre les commerçants – les porteurs de la pensée européenne et de tout changement de la nation. Le sentiment national, culturel et politique est stimulé par le savant Phanariote Dimitrios Katartzis, qui cultive vers 1790 un climat d'encyclopédisme dans son entourage, auquel participe également Codrica.²⁰

Au cours des cinq années où il reste dans les Principautés, Codrica acquiert de bonnes connaissances de la philosophie et de la littérature des Lumières. En 1794, il traduit en grec l'ouvrage de Fontenelle *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* (1686),²¹ qui représente la vision cosmographique européenne du XVIIe siècle, mais qui pour le monde grec est presque un acte subversif.²² Sous l'influence de l'encyclopédisme français et dans le climat du despotisme éclairé, Codrica sépare la théologie de la science tout en défendant la liberté de celle-ci. Ouvert aux nouveaux courants, comme le montrent les notes de bas de page tirées de l'*Encyclopédie méthodique*, il modernise le dispositif scientifique en passant du système copernicien au système newtonien.²³

Il relie également les lois de la gravité au magnétisme animal, en soutenant fortement la théorie du mesmérisme. Le mesmérisme est connu à l'intelligenza grecque comme une nouvelle mode médicale qui défie le *status quo* entre science et religion. En effet, son ami Constantin Stamatis écrit en 1788 de Paris à Codrica “sur le magnétisme bestiaire”, tandis que l'érudit Daniel Philippides écrit en 1794 à Barbier de Bocage sur l'utilisation du magnétisme dans la lutte contre la peste. L'Église orthodoxe est embarrassée car certaines cérémonies religieuses, telles que l'exorcisme utilisé au traitement des crises épileptiques et démoniaques, sont ridiculisées par cette nouvelle théorie.²⁴

²⁰ Dimitrios Katartzis, *Δοκίμια*, éd. C. Th. Dimaras (Athènes: Ermis, 1974), ιγ'.

²¹ *Ομιλίες περί πληθύος κόσμων του κυρίου Φοντενέλ ... μεταφρασθείσαι από της γαλλικής Διαλέκτου εις την καθ' ημάς απλήν Ρωμαϊκήν γλώσσαν και υποσημειωθείσαι παρά Παναγιωτάκη Καγγελαρίου Κοδρικά του εξ Αθηνών* (Vienne: G. Ventotis, 1794).

²² Panayotis Kondylis, “Το ηλιοκεντρικό σύστημα και η πληθός των κόσμων,” *Ο Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός και οι φιλοσοφικές ιδέες* (Athènes: Themelio, 1988), 109–28.

²³ Alexandra Sfoini, “Το μεταφραστικό έργο του Κοδρικά: *Ομιλίες περί πληθύος κόσμων του κυρίου Φοντενέλ*,” dans *Ο Ελληνικός Κόσμος ανάμεσα στην Ανατολή και τη Δύση 1453–1981*, t. 1, éd. Asterios Argyriou, Konstantinos A. Dimadis et Anastasia-Danaï Lazaridou (Athènes: Ellinika Grammata, 1999), 327–38. Voir aussi Lucia Marcheselli-Loukas, “Οι σημειώσεις του Π. Κοδρικά στη μετάφραση του Fontenelle,” dans Argyriou, Dimadis et Lazaridou, *Ο Ελληνικός Κόσμος*, 249–60; Vivi Perraky, “Le Phanariote Kodrika et sa traduction grecque de Fontenelle,” *Revue Fontenelle* 5 (2007): 93–108.

²⁴ Mesmer, malgré les éléments mystiques de sa théorie, n'était pas un charlatan, il pouvait même être considéré comme un pionnier de la médecine. Sa théorie controversée avait été influencée par les idées de liberté et d'égalité correspondant à la position de l'homme

Codrica provoque ainsi la réaction du Patriarcat, qui condamne la traduction comme étant une déviation de la philosophie aristotélicienne. Le point de vue officiel de l'Église contre le transfert en grec des "théories pernicieuses" des "modernistes" et des "nombreux mondes de nouveaux philosophes" sera exprimé en 1797 par Sergios Makraios, aristotélicien traditionnel, professeur des sciences à l'École du patriarcat, qui s'opposera aux adeptes de Copernic dans une trilogie dédiée au patriarche Anthime de Jérusalem.²⁵ Codrica commentera dans une lettre à Stamatias les réactions de "l'Inquisition barbare des Grecs" envers sa traduction.²⁶

À cette époque, au cours de laquelle les Phanariotes professent le renouveau, Codrica est initié à tous les aspects de la culture phanariote. Il exprime sa curiosité intellectuelle, l'amour de la lecture et commence à écrire. Tout d'abord les *Éphémérides* (depuis 1787), un genre usité dans le milieu phanariote,²⁷ qui s'adapte aux tonalités personnelles du journal intime et à une langue qui préserve de nombreux éléments de la langue parlée et de la mentalité cosmopolite phanariote;²⁸ il y révèle un talent littéraire qui n'eut pas de suite.²⁹ Ses poèmes lyriques sur le thème de l'amour, qui appartiennent de même à une habitude phanariote, ne sont pas particulièrement réussis. En 1791, dans les Principautés danubiennes, imitant les libelles de l'Église et le style phanariote, il compose un

dans le système d'harmonie avec la nature, elle était largement connue en France en 1780 et organisée comme les loges maçonniques. Voir Robert Darnton, *Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968); Vassilios B. Makridis, "Ζωικός μαγνητισμός (Mesmerismus) και Ορθόδοξη Εκκλησία την περίοδο του (νεο)ελληνικού Διαφωτισμού," dans *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός: Απόπειρα μιας νέας ερευνητικής συγκομιδής* (Kozani: Institut du livre et de la lecture, 1999), 231–98.

²⁵ Vasilios N. Makrides, *Die religiöse Kritik am kopernikanischen Weltbild in Griechenland zwischen 1794 bis 1821: Aspekte griechisch-orthodoxer Apologetik angesichts naturwissenschaftlicher Fortschritte* (Berne: Peter Lang, 1995), 95 sqq. Pour une critique ultérieure (1809), quand la théorie du système solaire avait déjà prévalu, voir Giorgos Papagiorgiou, *Ένα αγνοημένο χειρόγραφο χριστιανικής αστρονομίας: Το "Τρόπαιον κατά των Κοπερνικανών" του Γρηγοράσκου Μπαλανίδη* (Ioannina: Université d'Ioannina, 1994).

²⁶ Aikaterini Koumariou et Dimitris Angelatos, "Αρχείο Κοδρικά," *Τετράδια Εργασίας* 11 (1987): 24.

²⁷ Voir l'introduction d'Alkis Angelou, Panayotis Codrica, *Εφημερίδες*, éd. Alkis Angelou (Athènes: Ermis, 1991), 22*–30*.

²⁸ Alexandra Sphini, "Langue et mentalités au Phanar (XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles): D'après les "Éphémérides" de P. Codrica et d'autres textes du milieu phanariote" (PhD diss., Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 1991).

²⁹ Selon Alkis Angelou, la description est serrée, rapide, elle use de l'asyndète, son style est un jeu de contrastes, de satire et d'ironie, voir Codrica, *Εφημερίδες*, 39*–40*.

pamphlet contre son ancien maître, le drogman Kostakis Hantzeris, intitulé “Miroir en épée” (*Ξιφηφορικός καθρέπτης*).³⁰

Codrica est séduit par le mode de vie phanariote, luxueux, quelque peu oisif et frivole, condamné par les moralistes, et par l’aisance “des gens du monde et de l’esprit”, les Européens qu’il fréquente à Constantinople et dans les Principautés. Les mœurs de Paris, où le bon goût poussait les nobles à une morale contraire à la vertu prisée de la bourgeoisie, s’étaient transmises à la Russie et à la Transylvanie (apparemment aussi aux Principautés).³¹ Dans son journal, Codrica confie sa vie amoureuse, assez intense, quelque peu libertine, qui l’aurait probablement mis en opposition avec les moralistes qui condamnaient la corruption des mœurs dans les Principautés, s’il ne louait pas l’amour avec le style sublime d’une “âme sensible”.³² Son amour pour une dame de l’aristocratie de Jassy est raconté dans son journal intime dans un style orné d’emprunts à la littérature grecque ancienne et entaché d’une dose de mélancolie:

je menai une vie d’excès jusqu’au moment où le brillant amour toucha mon cœur, tout d’abord sous la forme d’une allusion très simple et très tendre à sa mère, qui vivait encore ... beaucoup [de femmes] furent invitées, et certaines étaient belles, dont Aphrodite, radieuse comme la déesse ... c’est alors le seul temps de douce adoration et de vie heureuse que j’aie vécu tout au long de ma triste vie.³³

Ses contacts au Phanar – comme avec Mme Tyaniti, la célèbre “coccona Mane”, qui semble avoir entretenu un salon littéraire à Stavrodromi, le quartier des ambassades–,³⁴ lui semblent provinciaux quelques années après. Lorsqu’il rend visite à ses proches à Athènes en 1790, ceux-ci l’accueillent “avec une grande joie et une grande jubilation”, et remarque avec étonnement: “ils nous servirent à une table commune, et je m’en étonnai grandement, car d’ordinaire seuls les hommes s’y assoient ensemble, sans aucune des femmes de la famille”.³⁵

³⁰ Ibid., 53*–56*, 201–11.

³¹ François Bluche, *La noblesse française au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1973, 71).

³² Sa sensibilité excessive lui vaudra beaucoup d’ennuis au cours de sa vie, ainsi qu’il l’admet lui-même: “Cette instabilité causée par une extrême exacerbation des sens m’a très souvent nui sur nombre de sujets,” voir Codrica, *Εφημερίδες*, 59, 107. Sur la sensibilité, voir Gerhard Sauder, “Sensibilité,” *Dictionnaire européen des Lumières*, dir. Michel Delon (Paris: PUF, 1997), 1131–37; Alain Corbin, dir., *Histoire des émotions*, t. 2, *Des Lumières à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 2016).

³³ Παναγιώτης Κοδρικιάς, *Εφημερίδες*, 88, 90.

³⁴ Alkis Angelou, “Η μαντάμ Τυανίτη,” *Ελληνικά* 44 (1994): 369–98.

³⁵ Codrica, *Εφημερίδες*, 9. Les femmes mangeaient avec leur mari quand elles étaient seules mais portaient quand elles recevaient des visites. Les enfants mangeaient séparément.

Lors de sa dernière visite, en 1797, il caractérise Athènes avec une charge aussi émotionnelle que celle de ses ancêtres, parlant de la “jadis glorieuse Attique”.³⁶

Un fait intéressant est que les champs lexicaux de son journal intime révèlent qu’il met l’accent sur les valeurs de la civilité; ensuite vient l’éducation et en troisième position seulement la sagesse. C’est la première fois que dans un journal la valeur de la sagesse cède le pas à la civilité, qui en outre est connotée d’une façon nouvelle et prend le sens de mondanité. La qualification qui montre l’esprit mondain et cosmopolite dans le journal de Codrica est l’adjectif grec “κόσμιος” (du mot “κόσμος” qui signifie “monde”), associé au mot “esprit” qui est la traduction de l’expression française “homme d’esprit”. Attiré par l’esprit libre des “gens du monde”, qui sont à la pointe de ces valeurs sociales, Codrica tente de transmettre des connaissances aux “nobles” Phanariotes, semblables aux “gens du monde” de la fin du XVIIe siècle, que Fontenelle cherchait à toucher. La mondanité est aussi associée par Codrica, de façon plus traditionnelle, à la sagesse et à la douceur de l’homme honnête. Le caractère honnête se présente comme aimable, gracieux, doux et complaisant, courtois, obligeant, hospitalier et humain. La civilité est attribuée à l’âme, mais aussi aux manières et aux sentiments. Donc l’esprit et la mondanité vont de concert avec l’humanité et cernent le caractère de l’homme civil.³⁷

La participation à la vie mondaine exige un niveau de fortune. Les activités économiques de Codrica ne sont pas connues directement, mais il apparaît qu’il dispose de grandes sommes, qu’il prête de l’argent et qu’il combine commerce, usure et affermage des revenus.³⁸ Cependant, l’enrichissement de Codrica, quel qu’il fût, n’était pas spectaculaire. Quelques années plus tard, en 1796, ses finances ne sont pas particulièrement prospères: bien qu’il puisse donner à son frère de l’argent pour faire du commerce et prêter des sommes à ses compatriotes, il semble payer une dette paternelle. La même année, il est informé de la mort de son père et il est obligé de chercher un colocataire dans la ville parmi les Phanariotes, car il ne peut pas louer de maison séparée. Il n’a jamais semblé être devenu riche. Plus tard à Paris, en 1819, désirant une maison confortable, il est

Seulement pendant les fêtes aurait lieu un festin de famille, voir Dimitrios Gr. Kambouroglou, *Ιστορία των Αθηναίων*, t. 3 (Athènes: Typ. A Papageorgiou, 1889), 8. Les mœurs épicuriennes musulmanes veulent que les hommes et les femmes mangent à part, voir Suraiya Faroqhi, *Kultur und Alltag im Osmanischen Reich: Vom Mittelalter bis zum Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Beck, 1995), 246.

³⁶ Codrica, *Εφημερίδες*, 140–41.

³⁷ Sphini, “Langue et mentalités au Phanar,” 275–79.

³⁸ Spyros I. Asdrachas, “Στρατηγική των κεφαλαίων και γραφειοκρατικές λειτουργίες: Μια περίπτωση μίσθωσης προσόδων στα 1790,” *Ο Εραμιστής* 11 (1974): 160–74.

contrarié par les exigences de sa propriétaire. Son revenu, cependant, semble assez élevé car il est suffisamment à l'aise pour pouvoir aider ses amis et leur prêter de l'argent.³⁹

Pourtant il laisse percer un certain mépris pour le métier des commerçants, qu'il appelle "épiciers". Pour lui, comme pour l'élite phanariote, les épiciers sont des gens sales qui ne s'occupent que des comptes du marché, donc triviaux. Néanmoins l'attitude de Codrica envers l'argent est ambiguë. Il aime les dépenses ostentatoires, comme, par exemple, faire des cadeaux luxueux ou donner de grandes gratifications aux serviteurs des hôtes étrangers. Par contre, il n'aime pas dépenser son argent sans raison, par exemple perdre aux cartes ou louer une maison très chère. Cette attitude dénote un esprit d'économie, qui montre un respect des valeurs bourgeoises d'épargne, de modestie et de retenue, qui n'appartient pas à la vie des archontes du Phanar, auxquels il attribue la valeur de la noblesse.⁴⁰

Codrica devient un expert des questions de politique européenne et de diplomatie.⁴¹ Cela lui sera particulièrement utile dans sa future carrière. En juillet 1795, il retourne à Constantinople, où, après beaucoup d'efforts, il réussit à être nommé premier interprète de l'ambassade ottomane désignée pour la France. Ici commence un nouveau chapitre de sa vie. Il restera en France quand son ambassadeur, avec qui d'ailleurs il n'avait plus de bonne relation, et qu'il considérait comme "barbare",⁴² se verra contraint de quitter le pays lors de la campagne d'Égypte (1798–1801), pays dont le sultan réclamait la souveraineté. À Paris, où il demeurera jusqu'à sa mort en 1827, il s'applique à ses devoirs professionnels de traducteur au Ministère des Affaires étrangères et à sa vie familiale et sociale (il a un fils et il fréquente les salons de madame de Staël et de madame de Genlis) et il jouit d'une renommée publique. Boissonnade note que Codrica "par l'élégance de son esprit et la politesse de son goût fait honneur à

³⁹ Phaidon Bouboulidis, "Ανέκδοτοι επιστολαί του Παν. Κοδρικά προς τον Δημ. Ποστολάκα," *Αποθήκευση Αποτελέσματος Επιστημονική Επετηρίς της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών* 21 (1970–1971): 39–95.

⁴⁰ Sphini, "Langue et mentalités au Phanar," 280, 288–91.

⁴¹ Il correspond au nom du prince Michel Soutso avec son ami Constantin Stamatis, installé à Paris, et il est informé sur les derniers événements de la Révolution française, voir Panayotis Michailaris, éd., *Επιστολές του Κωνσταντίνου Σταμάτη προς τον Παναγιώτη Κοδρικά για τη Γαλλική Επανάσταση: Ιανουάριος 1793*, préface Émile Legrand (Athènes: Ideogramma, 2002).

⁴² Alexandra Sfoini, "Από τη 'βάρβαρη' Ασία στη 'φωτισμένη' Ευρώπη: Το οδοιπορικό του Π. Κοδρικά," *Μνήμη Εύης Ολυμπίου: Τοπικές κοινωνίες στον θαλάσσιο και ορεινό χώρο στα νότια Βαλκάνια, 18ος–19ος αι.* (Corfou: Département d'Histoire de l'Université Ionienne, 2014), 277–92.

l'ancienne Athènes”, tandis que la revue *L'Alchymiste littéraire* écrit en 1801 de l'interprète de l'ambassadeur ottoman: “il a beaucoup d'esprit, il est très instruit. Il parle le français avec facilité, avec grâce, il fait de jolis vers”.⁴³ En même temps, il suit la vie politique et intellectuelle de sa nation et intervient lorsqu'il le juge nécessaire en rédigeant des brochures anonymes sur la Révolution grecque de 1821, dans lesquelles il associe le patriotisme à ses ambitions politiques toujours actives. Ceci est illustré par la réponse aux accusations du “mishellène” Bartholdy et par une note inachevée sur une publication anonyme hostile à la Révolution grecque.⁴⁴ Dans ses rapports administratifs relatifs à l'Empire ottoman et à la question grecque (1806),⁴⁵ contournant les instructions de Hauterive, il expose son point de vue et propose des solutions qui montrent sa préférence pour les Français, – d'ailleurs, il suit leur politique –, son amour de sa patrie et son aversion pour les Turcs, insistant sur la nécessité de la réforme de leur système administratif théocratique et despotique. Il est contre le démembrement de l'Empire ottoman, qui favoriserait la Russie, et il opte pour sa division en deux parties, l'une asiatique sous domination ottomane, l'autre autonome, européenne, toutes deux sous la haute souveraineté de l'empereur français, auquel il adresse des louanges.⁴⁶

Plus tard, à l'époque de Restauration,⁴⁷ il intervient par des rapports et des lettres aux souverains de la France et de l'Angleterre, au tsar Alexandre Ier et au gouverneur de la Grèce Kapodistrias, ainsi que par des pamphlets anonymes sur le cas grec, influencés par la rhétorique philhellène et conservatrice de la Restauration:⁴⁸ la Révolution grecque, le plus important fait du siècle, est distincte de la Révolution des Jacobins et des Carbonari, car elle vise à libérer

⁴³ Pour les commentaires des hellénistes dans la presse française, certains négatifs, voir Georges Tolia, *La médaille et la rouille: L'image de la Grèce moderne dans la presse littéraire parisienne (1794–1815)* (Paris: Kaufmann; Athènes: Hatier. 1997), 389–96.

⁴⁴ Koumariou et Angelatos, “Αρχείο Κοδρικά,” 38. Voir aussi Jean Dimakis, *P. Codrica et la question d'Orient sous l'Empire français et la Restauration* (Paris: Jean Maisonneuve; Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1986), 106–7.

⁴⁵ Les archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères français contiennent plusieurs références de Codrica à l'Empire ottoman, commandées pour la plupart par d'Hauterive, qui les utilisa pour écrire ses propres rapports à Napoléon, voir Dimakis, *P. Codrica et la question d'Orient*, 15 sqq.

⁴⁶ Dans ses archives se trouve un poème dans lequel il compare Napoléon à Zeus, et le qualifie d’“espoir des Grecs” et de “vainqueur des barbares”, voir Jean Dimakis, “Δύο πολιτικά στιχουργήματα του Παναγιώτη Κοδρικά,” *Ο Εραμιστής* 10 (1972): 33–39.

⁴⁷ Dimakis, *P. Codrica et la question d'Orient*, 51 sqq.

⁴⁸ Alexandra Sfoini, “Η ρητορική του φιλελληνισμού στην Επανάσταση του 1821: Τα γαλλικά φυλλάδια,” *Φιλελληνισμός: Το ενδιαφέρον για την Ελλάδα και τους Έλληνες από*

un peuple chrétien réduit en esclavage, descendant d'ancêtres célèbres par leur civilisation, de la tyrannie ottomane barbare, et non pas à renverser l'ordre établi et à imposer l'anarchie. Codrica soutient le projet d'expulsion des Ottomans de l'Europe chrétienne et civilisée et les droits naturels des Grecs à la liberté nationale. Hauterive (dans une note manuscrite adressée au ministère des Affaires étrangères) commente que de tels arguments sont conformes aux termes de l'humanité mais manquent de fondements politiques, et sont donc indignes d'être publiés.⁴⁹

Il adresse aussi anonymement des pamphlets sur la Révolution grecque (1822, 1824), qui tentent d'influencer la politique française en faveur des revendications des Grecs insurgés, tout en conseillant le gouverneur grec Alexandre Mavrocordato, à qui il adresse les "Observations sur l'ordre administratif national",⁵⁰ où il lui propose diplomatiquement de ne pas privilégier les idées libérales, mais uniquement de libérer les Grecs des Turcs, d'agir suivant les principes de la civilisation et de lutter contre le despotisme; il lui recommande également d'éviter les atrocités contre les Turcs et de ne pas imiter leur barbarie. Combinant l'amour de la patrie – sans doute réfutant systématiquement tout commentaire sur la turcophilie⁵¹ – avec ses ambitions politiques, il n'a pas évité la critique ironique de son adversaire Adamance Coray, l'éminent érudit grec séjournant à Paris, et sa nomination de représentant de la Grèce à Paris a été finalement empêchée en 1825. Toutefois, Codrica, défiant le dicton italien "altri tempi, altre cure", ne soutient plus l'exemple des Principautés comme étant la solution politique appropriée au cas de la Grèce, mais, conformément aux propos de Mavrocordato, il prône l'indépendance de l'État grec. Dans sa deuxième brochure anonyme (*Lettre messénienne*, 1824), il note qu'en Grèce les nobles en tant que classe distincte n'existent pas, tout en critiquant sévèrement les Phanariotes et les Boyards: ils sont, selon lui, un

το 1821 ως σήμερα, dir. Anna Mandilara, Georgios Nikolaou, Lampros Flitouris et Nikolaos Anastasopoulos (Athènes: Irodotos, 2015), 45–67.

⁴⁹ Hauterive a rédigé un mémorandum en faveur des Grecs en 1818, ainsi qu'au congrès de Vérone (1822), ce qui prouve qu'il est un analyste expérimenté en matière de questions politiques concernant les révolutions et le concept de souveraineté populaire, voir Artaud de Montor, *Histoire de la vie et des travaux politiques du comte d'Hauterive* (Paris: Adrien Le Clere, 1839), 467–68.

⁵⁰ Dimakis, P. *Codrica et la question d'Orient*, 78 sqq.

⁵¹ Dans son pamphlet *Lettre à Mme la comtesse de Genlis* (1825), il répond à l'accusation sans fondement d'un éditeur français, influencé par le différend avec Coray, selon laquelle il avait écrit en faveur des Turcs et contre les Grecs, voir Dimakis, P. *Codrica et la question d'Orient*, 104–10.

produit de la domination ottomane et le patriarche est un esclave qui conseille l'asservissement. Dans son dernier essai (*Tableau synoptique de l'administration turque suivant les principes de la religion mahométane qui en est la base*, 1827),⁵² il analyse le fonctionnement de l'État ottoman en tant que monarchie théocratique absolue dotée d'une loi fondamentale puisée dans le Coran et sans noblesse héréditaire: les offices constituent une distinction individuelle dans la hiérarchie politique.⁵³ Il souligne que le mahométisme repose sur les mêmes principes que le jacobinisme, exprimant son aversion pour les deux "dogmes désastreux" qui incarnent l'égalité et la fraternité (de la religion ou des intérêts). Il est favorable à la monarchie constitutionnelle, tout en essayant de rapprocher la Grèce de la France.

Pendant cette période, Codrica, participant à la discussion sur la future langue littéraire grecque, acquerra une renommée publique. Dans son livre *Étude du dialecte grec commun* (édité à Paris en 1818), il vise à soutenir la langue écrite de l'élite phanariote et du Patriarcat en tant que langue commune de la nation. Malgré sa charge idéologique intense, l'étude est le premier effort systématique de retracer l'histoire de la langue grecque, de l'antiquité à la domination ottomane. Dans la préface, Codrica écrit:

C'est un style général et commun de notre Dialecte National anobli. Le manient d'ordinaire tous les nobles, ceux qui, de par leur apprentissage des usages et leur éducation, ont exercé leur Langue natale de leurs pères ... Tous ceux qui composent la partie saine de la Nation ... Il s'agit donc des us principaux de notre Nation, et pas seulement de deux ou trois petits mots gréco-barbares.⁵⁴

Prenant position en faveur de la langue de "la partie saine de la Nation" ou des "nobles" instruits, c'est-à-dire toute la hiérarchie ecclésiastique et politique, il apparaît comme un apologiste du *statu quo* social. Le soutien d'une langue formée par les élites sociales, son pouvoir et son prestige font référence à

⁵² Ibid. 109 sqq.

⁵³ Cf. la référence de Voltaire: "Les Turcs sont libres, mais ils n'ont chez eux aucune distinction de noblesse. Ils ne connaissent de supériorité que celle des emplois." *Essai sur les mœurs*, 1756, chap. XCIII (État de la Grèce sous le joug des Turcs). Voir aussi Halil Inalcik, *Η Οθωμανική αυτοκρατορία: Η κλασική εποχή, 1300-1600*, traduction Mihalis Kokolakis (Athènes: Alexandria, 1995), 201.

⁵⁴ *Μελέτη της Κοινής Ελληνικής Διαλέκτου παρά Παναγιωτάκη Καγκελλαρίου Κοδρικά του εξ Αθηνών πρώην μεγάλου Γραμματικού της Αυθεντίας Βλαχίας και Μολδαβίας, εκδοθείσα φιλοτίμω δαπάνη των ευγενών και φιλογενών κυρίων Αλεξάνδρου Πατρινού και αδελφών Ποστόλακα, τόμος Α' (Paris: J. M. Eberhart, 1818), νβ, οδ.*

Vaugelas et au modèle des monarchies occidentales – en particulier la France.⁵⁵ En même temps, le Patriarcat, qui a accueilli favorablement l'*Étude*, désapprouve à nouveau les philosophes des Lumières. L'*Étude* et plusieurs autres écrits de l'époque reflètent la controverse linguistique entre les érudits grecs et le mènent à une dispute avec Coray.⁵⁶ Apparemment, la comparaison avec Coray se fait aux dépens de "l'amateur" des lettres, comme l'a décrit C. Th. Dimaras.⁵⁷ En dépit des jugements flatteurs des hellénistes français sur sa personnalité, qui le rapprochent de son type préféré, le philosophe voltairien, homme du monde pourvu des charmes du bel esprit, ni son œuvre publiée ni son œuvre inédite ne sont comparables à l'œuvre de Coray.

En guise de conclusion, on pourrait dire que Codrica a traversé l'histoire comme partisan de la langue d'un groupe social établi, celui des Phanariotes et du Patriarcat, et que c'est à partir de cette position qu'il a été le principal opposant à Adamance Coray et aux érudits grecs de son cercle, liés plutôt à la classe des commerçants. Pourtant, il ne s'agit pas d'un portrait typique du noble. Dignitaire au service des cours princières, il était en même temps un homme de lettres, un encyclopédiste, qui, dans le sens voltairien du terme, avait de l'esprit et prenait plaisir aux charmes de la conversation et de la sociabilité mondaine très largement féminine. De plus, il a participé à la dynamique qui visait à l'édification intellectuelle du nouvel homme des Lumières.

Appartenant au début à l'avant-garde éclairée et attiré par les nouvelles valeurs, il s'est trouvé à la fin en décalage avec son époque, luttant pour la préservation de droits anciens, comme le personnage décrit par Lucien Febvre.⁵⁸ En défendant la classe phanariote, dont la réceptivité à la pensée moderne ne dépassait pas le cadre du despotisme éclairé, il a vécu un retournement à l'égard de cette même modernité. Il apparaît alors que l'extraction noble de Codrica, alliée à son éducation guidée par les Lumières, ainsi que ses contacts avec la hiérarchie politique, ont forgé au fond sa vision du monde et son identité complexe.

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⁵⁵ Marc Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence: Rhétorique est "res literaria" de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique* (Genève: Droz, 1980), 619, 648–49.

⁵⁶ Apostolos B. Daskalakis, *Κοραΐς και Κοδρικάς: Η μεγάλη φιλολογική διαμάχη των Ελλήνων, 1815–1821. Εν παραρτήματι τα κείμενα της διαμάχης* (Athènes: s.n., 1966), 42.

⁵⁷ Dimaras, "Προτομή του Κοδρικά," 81.

⁵⁸ Pierre Serna, "Le noble," dans Vovelle, *L'homme des Lumières*, 40.

FUNERARY MONUMENTS OF 1821 REVOLUTIONARIES IN ATHENS
FIRST CEMETERY

Dimitris Pavlopoulos, Georgia Antonopoulou and Michael Giochalias

ABSTRACT: Previously inaccessible archival sources, as well as in situ observation, provide useful information on the corpus of funerary monuments of 1821 Revolution figures in Athens First Cemetery. These spatially dispersed monuments are mostly unknown. Being both works of art and bearers of historical contexts and narratives, they reflect the beliefs and trends of nineteenth-century Greek society. The fighters have become interlocutors with the ancient predecessors, thus dictating to the collective consciousness and subconsciousness the historical necessity of continuity and of the mission entailed in it. Within the context of the fluctuating geography and anthropogeography of Athens First Cemetery, and under the pressure of its permanent usage, issues of collective memory and preservation have emerged. Consequently, the practices of the local authorities in this regard constitute an interesting field of research.

This article focuses on the grave monuments of the fighters of the Greek War of Independence, as well as of thinkers and intellectuals who, by means of their writings, contributed to the making of the collective memory during the period of the Greek Revolution. The issues it examines are the location and identification of the funerary monuments of 1821 revolutionary figures, the consideration of them through the history of art and, finally, the investigation of the perception of memory and how it is managed. The secondary issues it raises converge on the general question: How is 1821 recounted in Athens' major necropolis? The article forms part of the research project entitled "Burial monuments in the First Cemetery of Athens: Warriors' tombs–Authors' tombs".¹

The research was based primarily on observation and inventorying in situ. The limitations on this endeavour were the immense extent of the First Cemetery, the absence of information points and markers and, finally, difficulty of access. Nearly all monuments that fall into the period under consideration were studied in order to ascertain the "identities" of those warriors, whose

¹ This research is co-financed by Greece and the European Union (European Social Fund–ESF) through the Operational Programme "Human Resources Development, Education and Lifelong Learning, 2014–2020" in the context of the project "Burial Monuments at the First Cemetery of Athens: Warriors' Tombs–Authors' Tombs" (MIS 5048128).

funerary monuments have gone largely unnoticed, at least in the context of the history of funerary art. The inscriptions on the tombs served as a guide in this endeavour: names, dates of birth and death, and epigrams proved to be notable testimonies and, in some cases, enriched our knowledge. However, many funerary monuments lack detailed inscriptions. Research in those cases was aided primarily by comparisons with similar funerary monuments, in terms of type and style, and also by bibliographic and archival research.

Valuable information was extracted from the Municipality of Athens Archives although they have not been systematically maintained. Records from the nineteenth century are missing. The existing records have suffered significant damage, most notably due to the removal or loss of pages due to their continuous use for official purposes, as well as improper handling, storage and safekeeping.

Moreover, while cemetery registers and account books mention the number of the invoice and the name of the person liable for the grave costs, they lack other data such as the dead person's capacity, or, in some cases, the place, year and date of death. Also, there is no reference to artistic matters, such as the date of erection of the monument or the name of the sculptor or workshop that carried it out. Therefore, the study of the cemetery archives required a combinative approach that included the general deeds, the grave registers (chronological as well as alphabetical ones) and the files relating to family tombs. The latter form the bulk of the available documentation.

The decisions of Athens Municipal Council regarding honorary burials, concessions for "the right of use", "recognition of a family tomb" and other administrative acts were also researched and indexed. Their study leads to conclusions as to how these fighters have been remembered. It also highlights the initiatives for the preservation of burial monuments belonging to prominent personalities. Finally, the regulations governing the functioning of the First Cemetery proved crucial in understanding the burial, use and reuse procedures.

The Surviving Funerary Monuments

The research has identified a plethora of graves of the period under consideration that belong to military leaders, members of the Sacred Band and the Philiki Etaireia, as well as thinkers, intellectuals, doctors and politicians. In the majority of cases, the warriors saw multifaceted action during the revolution, thus contributing to the struggle and its memory from several points of view. Examples include Ioannis Makriyannis; Theoklitos Farmakidis, a scholar, notable representative of the Greek Enlightenment, warrior and cleric); Dimitrios Kallifronas, a warrior, MP and mayor of Athens; and Georgios Kozakis-Typaldos from Kefalonia, a doctor, scholar, warrior and member of the Philiki Etaireia.

The surviving tombs of 1820s revolutionary figures in Athens First Cemetery are those of: Georgios Ainian (1.15),² Ioannis Anagnostou (5.25), Odysseus Androutsos (1.159), Georgios Antonopoulos (4.174), Onoufrios Apostolidis (1.298), Athanasios Argyropoulos (4.484), Vassileios I. Benizelos (1.237 A), Dimitrios Notis Botsaris (5.422), Georgios Boukouris (Chrysinas) (1.134), Ioannis G. Boukouris (1.134), Zenovios Charmolaos (4.371), Christodoulos Chatzipetros (4.62), Richard Church (2.28), Antonios Delenardos (7.150), Anagnostis Deliyannis (5.116), Panagos Deliyannis (1.110), Georgios I. Dyovouniotis (4.141), Theoklitos Farmakidis (4.539), Angelos Gerondas (1.76), Nikolaos Th. Ghikas (1.403), Panayotis Giatrakos (1.195), Georgios Glarakis (4.143), Stylianos Her. Gonatas (5.695), Dimitrios Kallifronas (4.583), Andrzej Kallinski (4.77), Konstantinos Kanaris (2.15), Alexandros Kantakouzenos (5.848), Georgios Karatzas (2.100), Ioannis Klimakas (1.28), Kosmas Kokkidis (1.229), Ioannis Kolettis (2.30 A), Ioannis Th. Kolokotronis (4.200), Konstantinos Kolokotronis (Kollinos) (4.130), Theodoros Kolokotronis (4.200), Andreas Koromilas (4.197), Kyriakos Koumbaris (4.161), Nikolaos I. Koutsoyannis (5.805), Georgios Kozakis-Typaldos (1.222), Konstantinos Kriaris or Benis (4.495), Dimitrios I. Kriezis (5.649), Georgios Lassanis (1.27 A), Triantafyllos Lazaretos (5.449), Konstantinos Levidis (1.290), Frangiskos I. Libritis (4.486), Athanasios Lidorikis (1.138), Ioannis Loris (5.137), Andreas Louriotis (1.466), Ioannis Makriyannis (1.25), Alexandros Mavrocordatos (1.293), Vassos Brajević Mavrovouniotis (2.32), Spyridon Melios (Spyromelios) (1.226 A), Dimitrios Mentzelidis (7.64), Andreas Metaxas (1.155), Artemios Michos (4.179), Zachos Milios (7.615), Nikolaos Mykonios (5.208), Konstantinos I. Negrís (4.184), Michail Oikonomou (2.536), Ioannis O. Olympios (5.269), Andronikos Paikos (10.68), Rigas Palamidis (1.124), Panourgias (Gero-Panourgias) (4.92), Nakos Panourgias (4.92), Tzamalás Papakostas (1.28), Ioannis Paparrigopoulos (1.125), Panayotis K. Peniatis (5.359), Stylianos Peroglou (4.149), Anargyros Petrakis (4.172), Efstratios Pissas (1.369), Nikolaos Poniropoulos (4.146), Panos Rangos (1.265), Friedrich Eduard von Rheineck (4.483), Anastasios Rombotsis (2.386), Michail I. Schinas (1.278), Panayotis Sekeris (7.273), Amvrosios Skaramangas (5.259), Panayis Skouzes (1.353), Ioannis Somakis (1.26), Georgios Stavrou (1.130), Georgios K. Tissamenos (1.93), Michail Tolmidis (5.113), Heinrich Treiber (4.354), Spyridon Trikoupi (5.896), Kitsos Tzavellas (2.30), Vassiliki Tzavella (2.30), Athanasios K. Valtinos (1.27), Georgios Valtinos (1.26), Domna

² The position of each tomb in the cemetery is provided in parenthesis. The first number represents the section of the cemetery, while the second, after the full stop, the number of the tomb.

Vizvizi (8.406), Antonios Visvizi (8.406), Nikolaos A. Votsis (5.918), Dimitrios Voulgaris (4.167), Michail Vouzakis (1.196), Christos S. Vyzantios (2.135), Richard von Wissel (2.82), Emmanouil Xanthos (4.160), Andreas Zaimis (1.127 B) and Georgios Chr. Zalokostas (1.379).

Our research has revealed unfortunate losses, such as the grave of Niketas Stamatelopoulos (Nikitaras), which no longer exists. We can safely assume that other graves of revolutionary personalities have been lost as well. They were never identified as such so the need to preserve them was not obvious.

Some graves have undergone alterations in respect to their form or their extent, while others may even bear a completely different name. Finally, a particular category are the funerary monuments which have survived as cenotaphs because the remains they contained were removed for reinterment elsewhere, usually in the birthplace of the deceased. Notable cases are those of Odysseus Androutsos and General Theodoros Kolokotronis; the remains of the former were reinterred in Preveza in 1967 and the latter in Tripoli in 1930.³

Typology, Symbols, Epigrams

Given the lack of nineteenth-century documentation, as well as the continuous usage of the cemetery, changes is inevitable; thus, we cannot say with certainty what the grave monuments originally looked like in each case.

Considering the Christian tradition, which had already humbly shaped the burial typology, we assume that the graves of the warriors, in particular those from the mid-nineteenth century, around the church of St. Lazarus, were utterly plain in form. A Christian memorial, bearing the symbol of the cross, seems to have been either a conscious choice or the result of necessity in most cases. This consideration is reinforced not only by the austere attitude and way of life of the 1821 warriors, or the religious ethics of the era, but also by the poverty and anonymity that many suffered towards the end of their lives. The wooden crosses placed on the ground at the Trikoupis tomb, for example, are an aesthetic choice, which was followed by his descendants. On the other hand, Nikitaras died very poor. Although the funeral of the deceased received the highest state honours,⁴ his family's financial status precluded the construction of a monumental grave.

³ Cadastral and Property Records of Athens First Cemetery/Family Tombs/F: A/1/159 and A/4/200.

⁴ Programme for the transfer to his burial place of Major General and Senator Niketas Stamatelopoulos (Nikitaras), 25 September 1849, Benaki Museum, IA 831/11/89. Tassos Sakellariopoulos and Maria Dimitriadou, eds., *1821 Before and After* (Athens: Benaki Museum; Bank of Greece; National Bank of Greece; Alpha Bank, 2021), 820. Published in conjunction

This may also justify the fact that his tomb, which probably had an unpretending, inconspicuous form, was “lost” over time.

Nikitaras’ case recalls the speech of the writer Georgios Tertsetis, “Περί αθανασίας της ψυχής”, which he delivered in the Greek Parliament on 28 March 1848: “Go to Athens cemetery! Not a single white marble there covers the remains of Zaimis and Kolokotronis! If the undertaker dies tomorrow, we will certainly lose every bit of dust that was left from their burial.”⁵ The poet Achilleas Paraschos made similar comments, in a rather literary way, on the occasion of the burial of Ioannis (Gennaios) Kolokotronis.⁶ He remarked that the tombs of the Greek War of Independence fighters were “unobtrusive”, in striking contrast to the pompous burial monuments of other prominent personalities (politicians and benefactors). Paraschos characteristically stated: “Αν μανσωλεία γύρω σας πομπώδη θεωρήτε, κανείς Τοσίτσας υπ’ αυτά ή άλλος τις θα κείται. Ο Βάσος, ο Πετρόμπεης και του Μοριά ο Γέρωσ δεν έχουν τάφους ... αφανείς υπνώττουν κατά μέρος” (if you see a pompous mausoleum around you, it may belong to Tositsas or someone else. Vassos, Petrobey and Kolokotronis do not have such graves ... they sleep aside unnoticed). His elegy conveyed the overall impression that the revolutionary fighters did not receive what they deserved from the state.

Widespread sculptural types and decorative motifs were later applied selectively, following the blossoming of neohellenic art, especially funerary art, the predominance of the neoclassical idiom and, certainly, in proportion to the financial status of the family of the deceased, as mentioned above. The cemetery gradually acquired a monumental character, like corresponding European ones. Importantly, the municipal authority also sought this status.

The grave monuments of the struggle that survive today at Athens First Cemetery form a panorama of types and motifs of neohellenic funerary sculpture while also reflecting its evolution. The graves are situated in a place of remembrance, which at the same time entails religious characteristics and connotations, where the present, past and eternity meet; they make tangible visual and spoken narratives which collaborate in building up the manner we perceive historicity and temporality.

with an exhibition of the same title, organised by and presented at the Benaki Museum, 3 March–7 November 2021.

⁵ Dinos Konomos, *Ο Γεώργιος Τερτσέτης και τα ευρισκόμενα έργα του* (Athens: Hellenic Parliament Library, 1984), 358.

⁶ Achilleas Paraschos, “Ελεγείον εις τον στρατηγόν Γενναίον Θ. Κολοκοτρώνην (αφιερούται τω προσφιλεί αυτού αδελφώ Πάνω Θ. Κολοκοτρώνη) υπό Αχιλλέως Παράσχου,” *Αιών*, 27 May 1868.

Since the cemetery opened, plain grave slabs and crosses have been used in all sorts of monuments, irrespective of their size or form. The grave of Michail Schinas (1.278), intellectual and warrior, bears a slab with a characteristic decoration of the second half of the nineteenth century: its perimeter is ornamented with secondary motifs, either carved in low relief or incised; the top bears a cross and the base a lamp.⁷ The gravestone of the warrior Athanasios Lidorikis (1.138) follows a slightly different decorative manner, with details incised so smoothly that they appear to have been painted rather than carved.



Fig. 1. Unknown, Funerary monument of Triantafyllos Lazaretos, †1884, marble.

The open scroll is another form similar to the funerary slab, particularly when it is carved upright on the ground: relevant examples are the monuments of Panayotis Sekeris (7.273), a member of the Philiki Etaireia, the military officer Andrzej Kallinski (4.77), and Triantafyllos Lazaretos (5.449, figure 1), warrior and politician. Later, in the twentieth century the grave slab was used to cover an undecorated built niche; alternatively, it may be placed vertically to serve as finial of the niche, as for example the monument of the Cretan warrior Konstantinos Kriaris (4.495).

The sarcophagus is one of the most ancient grave types and saw broad dissemination and use over time in the West since the Roman era.⁸ In most of the

⁷ The first methodical record of the sculptures of Athens First Cemetery, specifically of those of the first department, was realised by Helen Angelomatis-Tsougarakis and Despoina Tsouklidou-Penna, in *Μητρώον Α΄ Νεκροταφείου Αθηνών: Α΄ Ζώνη-Ιον Τμήμα* (Athens: Municipality of Athens, 1972). For the tomb of Michail Schinas: 237–38.

⁸ For the sarcophagus funerary type, see Paul Arthur Memmesheimer, “Das klassizistische Grabmal: Eine Typologie” (PhD diss., University of Bonn, 1969), 78; Stelios Lydakis, *Η νεοελληνική γλυπτική: Ιστορία-τυπολογία-λεξικό Γλυπτών* (Athens: Melissa, 1981), 226–28; Dora Markatou, Efthymia Mavromichali and Dimitris Pavlopoulos, *Νεοελληνική ταφική*

warrior monuments, however, this type forms essentially a sub-type of the grave slab. The grave slabs previously positioned on the ground as autonomous funerary monuments, now serve as the covers of the plain sarcophagi of the poet and fighter Georgios Zalokostas⁹ (1.379) and of Ioannis Boukouris (Chrysinas)¹⁰ (1.134) – both works by sculptor Iakovos Malakates – of Athanasios Valtinos¹¹ (1.27), Michail Tolmidis (5.113) and Ioannis Kolettis¹² (2.30 A). The exception to this rule is the sarcophagus of Georgios Glarakis (4.143, figure 2): it rests on a tall pedestal, its sides ending in pediments and the corners mounted by marble acroteria, thus acquiring a monumental character.

Alike the grave slab, the cross appears in different versions in accordance with the era. Simple marble crosses lie on the graves of the fighters Ioannis Somakis and Georgios Valtinos (1.26), Rigas Palamidis (1.124) and Charmolaos Zenovios (4.371). There are cases where efforts have been made to invest the primary form with an artistic status. A relevant example is the



Fig. 2. Unknown, Funerary monument of Georgios Glarakis, †1855, marble.

γλυπτική: Αρχές 19ου Αιώνα–1940 (Athens: Panayotis and Effie Michelis Foundation, 2015), 115–16.

⁹ Angelomatis-Tsougarakis and Tsouklidou-Penna, *Μητρώων Α΄ Νεκροταφείου Αθηνών*, 324–35; Chrysanthos Christou and Myrto Koumvakali-Anastasiadi, *Νεοελληνική γλυπτική: 1800–1940* (Athens: Commercial Bank of Greece, 1982), 194; Olga Ziro, “Το επιτύμβιο ανάγλυφο στη νεοελληνική γλυπτική (1830–1900): Η αφήγηση των μορφών” (PhD diss., National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 2014), 458.

¹⁰ Angelomatis-Tsougarakis and Tsouklidou-Penna, *Μητρώων Α΄ Νεκροταφείου Αθηνών*, 112; Christou and Koumvakali-Anastasiadi, *Νεοελληνική γλυπτική*, 194.

¹¹ Angelomatis-Tsougarakis and Tsouklidou-Penna, *Μητρώων Α΄ Νεκροταφείου Αθηνών*, 23.

¹² Maro Kardamitsi-Adami and Maria Daniil, *Το Α΄ Κοιμητήριο της Αθήνας: Οδηγός των μνημείων και της ιστορίας του* (Athens: Olkos, 2017), 47.

monument of General Artemis Michos: the base bears a lamp in relief; the surface of the cross underwent further carving with the addition of ornamental rays at the intersection of the bars. This effort eventually led to the creation of “the wooden cross”, where the artist imitates the texture of wood, as we can see, for example, in the graves of Panos Rangos (1.265) and of Antonios and Domna Visvzizis (8.406). The sub-type of the cross resting on an artificial rock, to which belong the graves of Georgios Ainian (1.15, figure 3), Ioannis Klimakas (1.26), Angelos Gerontas (1.76) and Emmanouil Xanthos (4.160), also became popular.

The type of the grave stele topped by a palmette or a gable thrives in the First Cemetery. Although there are earlier examples in European neoclassicism, it seems that in the context of the early modern era the Greek stele was inspired

rather directly by antiquity¹³ but without ignoring the European trends.



Fig. 3. Unknown, Funerary monument of Georgios Ainian, †1843, marble.

Stelae of the palmette type with their slender shafts, such as those of Admiral Nikolaos Votsis (5.918), Ioannis Paparrigopoulos (1.125), Vassileios I. Benizelos (1.237 A), the Doumas family, which also bears the name of Georgios K. Tissamenos (1.93) incorporate the accomplishments of the skilled neohellenic masters. Their palmettes, free or framed, gabled or stylised, are skilfully carved, drawing inspiration directly from the ancient Greek prototypes.¹⁴

The gabled stele also becomes slender and is surmounted by a projected pediment topped by fully carved acroteria, in contrast to their European parallels. Characteristic is the comparison

¹³ For the neohellenic stele, see Markatou, Mavromichali and Pavlopoulos, *Νεοελληνική ταφική γλυπτική*, 114–15.

¹⁴ Stelios Lydakakis, “Νεοελληνικές επιτάφιας ανθεμωτές στήλες,” *Ελληνικό Μάρμαρο* (January–February 1979), 27.

between the monument of General Friedrich Eduard von Rheineck (4.483, figure 4), with the tombstones of Theodoros Louriotis¹⁵ (1.466) (the oeuvre of Georgios Fytalis), Konstantinos Levidis (1.290), Richard von Wissel¹⁶ (2.82) and Amvrosios



Fig. 4. Unknown, Funerary monument of Friedrich Eduard von Rheineck, †1854, marble.

¹⁵ Angelomatis-Tsougarakis and Tsouklidou-Penna, *Μητρώον Α΄ Νεκροταφείου Αθηνών*, 400–1; Tony Spiteris, *Τρεις αιώνες νεοελληνικής τέχνης, 1660–1967* (Athens: Papyros, 1979), 224; Christou and Koumvakali-Anastasiadi, *Νεοελληνική γλυπτική*, 44, 198; Ziro, “Το επιτύμβιο ανάγλυφο στη νεοελληνική γλυπτική,” 128, 456; Markatou, Mavromichali and Pavlopoulos, *Νεοελληνική ταφική γλυπτική*, 139–40.

¹⁶ Scant documentary evidence exists on Richard von Wissel. In 1895, a journal said he was of Bavarian extraction who came to Greece with Charles Nicolas Fabvier to fight in the 1821 Revolution (*Ποικίλη Στοά* 11 (1895): 387–89; see also 177 for a lithograph). However, Christos Evangelatos claimed he was an artillery officer from Hannover who died in 1849. See *Οι Φιλέλληνες: Εξ επισήμων αρχείων και εγκύρων πηγών* (Athens: Typ. Kleisiouni, 1938). His headstone states he continued his military career in Greece under King Otto. He married a Greek woman, Lambrini (d. March 1896), and they had three known children: Xenofon (1837–1872), Afroditi (1843–1891) and Pinelopi (d. 1919).

Skaramangas (5.259): the former draws its origins possibly from a Western prototype, as the shaft increases in width, while the acroteria are stylised.

The pillar, a type of gravestone similar to the stele, is equally popular. The Malakates brothers choose to carve the pillar on the funerary monument of Odysseus Androutsos (1.159). The sculptor Dimitrios Philippotis gives another, more monumental version of it in the grave of General Richard Church¹⁷ (2.28, figure 5), while a very popular complex consists of the combination of the pillar with a vessel serving as finial, such as on the graves of Onoufrios Apostolidis (1.298) and General Efstratios Pissas (1.369).

There are other cases where the pillar's shaft reduces in height and becomes larger and voluminous to resemble an altar. Sometimes it serves as a base supporting a marble vessel, such as on the monuments of Nakos Panourgias (4.92) and Georgios Valtinos (1.26, figure 6), or, more rarely, it bears ornamentation of



Fig. 5. Demetrios Philippotis, Funerary monument of Richard Church, †1873, marble.



Fig. 6. Unknown, Funerary monument of Georgios Valtinos, †1837, marble.

¹⁷ Efthymia Mavromichali, “Ο γλύπτης Δημήτριος Φιλιππότης και η εποχή του” (PhD diss., Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1999), 58–60, 189, 192, 195–97, 270–71, 301–2.

a cyma and finial with a palmette, as on the monument of Alexandros Katakouzenos (5.848, figure 7).

The commemorative column belongs to the same decorative group:¹⁸ a representative example from the workshop of the Malakates brothers is the grave of Kyriakos Koumbaris¹⁹ (4.161), member of the Philiki Etaireia, which bears a votive plain column cut on the upper part, to symbolise the end of life.

The obelisk was a grave marker used by the ancient Egyptians, whence it passed into Western art via the Romans. During the Renaissance and Baroque periods, the obelisk was encountered again in art and finally acquired a funerary character in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe.²⁰ In Greece, however, it is rare. One

of the most impressive examples in the context under consideration is the monument of the family of Georgios Karatzas (2.100, figure 8), a general of 1821. In contrast to the latter, the monument of Panayotis Giatrakos (1.195), although humbler in scale, shows respect for its wider setting.

Following ancient practices, the bust in its various forms, either sculpted or carved in relief, or used as a finial for stelae and pillars, is a very much preferred funerary monument type.²¹ The Fytalis brothers provide a typical picture of academic neoclassicism in the monuments of Andreas Metaxas²²



Fig. 7. Unknown, Funerary monument of Alexandros Kantakouzenos, †1841, marble.

¹⁸ Stelios Lydakis, *Μια πολύτιμη γλυπτοθήκη: Το Α΄ Νεκροταφείο Αθηνών* (Athens: Melissa, 2017), 34; Markatou, Mavromichali and Pavlopoulos, *Νεοελληνική ταφική γλυπτική*, 115.

¹⁹ Christou and Koumvakali-Anastasiadi, *Νεοελληνική γλυπτική*, 29–30, 194; Ziro, “Το επιτύμβιο ανάγλυφο στη νεοελληνική γλυπτική,” 76, 125, 132, 183, 459; Markatou, Mavromichali and Pavlopoulos, *Νεοελληνική ταφική γλυπτική*, 142–43; Lydakis, *Μια πολύτιμη γλυπτοθήκη*, 20.

²⁰ Memmesheimer, “Das klassizistische Grabmal,” 127; Lydakis, *Μια πολύτιμη γλυπτοθήκη*, 33–34; Markatou, Mavromichali and Pavlopoulos, *Νεοελληνική ταφική γλυπτική*, 118.

²¹ Lydakis, *Μια πολύτιμη γλυπτοθήκη*, 38–39.

²² Christou and Koumvakali-Anastasiadi, *Νεοελληνική γλυπτική*, 198; Dimitris

(1.155), a member of the Philiki Etaireia, and of the fighters Georgios Antonopoulos²³ (4.174, figure 9) and Andronikos Paikos (10.68, figure 10): on the one hand, the physiognomy of the deceased is rendered with a certain accuracy; however, their facial features are stylised, having been viewed through the spirit of an archaic idealism: for example, the contemporary costume is combined with a gown; alternatively, sometimes the latter replaces the former; In cases, garments disappear altogether with the intention to display a heroic nudity. Examples with those features include in the monuments of Alexandros Mavrokordatos (1.293, figure 11) and Friedrich Eduard von Rheineck (4.483).



Fig. 8. Unknown, Funerary monument of Georgios Karatzas, †1882, marble.



Fig. 9. Lazaros Fytalis, Funerary monument of Georgios Antonopoulos, 1866, marble.

Pavlopoulos, *Ζητήματα νεοελληνικής γλυπτικής* (Athens: self-pub., 1998), 132, 134; Markatou, Mavromichali and Pavlopoulos, *Νεοελληνική ταφική γλυπτική*, 148–49.

²³ Fotos Giofyllis, *Ιστορία της νεοελληνικής τέχνης (ζωγραφικής, γλυπτικής, χαρακτικής, αρχιτεκτονικής και διακοσμητικής), 1821–1941* (Athens: To Elliniko Vivlio, 1962), 249.



Fig. 10. Lazaros Fytalis, Funerary monument of Andronikos Paikos, †1880, marble.



Fig. 11. Unknown, Funerary monument of Alexandros Mavrokordatos, †1865, marble.

Opposite in terms of style are the busts of Dimitrios Voulgaris (4.167, figure 12) by Georgios Vroutos, and Dimitrios Kallifronas (4.583, figure 13) by Georgios Papayannis, which are characterised by a near photographic realism, evident as much in the facial features as in the depiction of the outfit. Both Voulgaris and Kallifronas are depicted exactly as they have been “imprinted” in the collective memory. Their sculptural portraits are identical to their painted or engraved ones. The same is the case with the portrait of Paikos.²⁴ The garment has also a dominant role. Paikos is represented in a Western-type costume, which references his political career. Voulgaris is attributed wearing a “tzoube” (τζουμπέ), a long robe that went down to the ankles, which earned him the nickname “Tzoubis”.²⁵ Kallifronas, who bore the nickname “Fustaneloforos”, is depicted in a fustanella and a fez.²⁶ We

²⁴ For the sketch of Andronikos Paikos, see *Ποικίλη Στοά* 1 (1881): 208–9.

²⁵ For the sketch of Demetrios Voulgaris, see *Εθνικόν Ημερολόγιον* 2, no. 1 (1862): 70.

²⁶ For the portrait of Demetrios Kallifronas, see Ioannis Paraskevoopoulos, *Οι Δήμαρχοι των Αθηνών, 1835–1907: Μετά προεισαγωγής περί δημογεροντίας* (Athens: Typ. Rouftani-Papageorgiou, 1907), 105.



Fig. 12. Georgios Vrontos, Funerary monument of Demetrios Voulgaris, †1877, marble.



Fig. 13. Georgios Papayannis, Funerary monument of Demetrios Kallifronas, †1897, marble.

also see the traditional fustanella in the portrait of the fighter Athanasios Argyropoulos (4.484).²⁷

Busts in relief are slightly projecting figures found usually within a carved background. Monuments such as that of Georgios Stavrou (1.130), with the face in profile within a medal, imitate Roman portraits. The same arrangement is followed in the case of Richard Church (2.28), by Dimitrios Philippotis. On the contrary, the double prosopography in relief of the fighter Panayotis K. Peniatas and his wife, Aikaterini I. Stini (5.359), by Georgios Papayannis, and those of Michail Vouzikis (1.196) and Richard von Wissel (2.82), are sternly frontal and profoundly descriptive without any sign of idealism or even heroisation.

²⁷ Due to the simplicity of both the form of the portrait and the sword on the base, it is assumed to have been constructed at a later time in the context of the creation of the family tomb, where many of Argyropoulos' descendants rest.



Fig. 14. Unknown, Funerary monument of Kitsos Tzavellas, †1855, marble.



Fig. 15. Detail of the funerary monument of Kitsos Tzavellas.

Fully modelled sculpted figures are rarer. The monument of Kitsos Tzavelas (2.30, figures 14 and 15) is ornamented with a mourning figure which embraces the cross of martyrdom. The most renowned figure, however, is undoubtedly that of Theodoros Kolokotronis (4.200), made in 1995 by the sculptor Georgios Georgiou.

Beyond secondary or symbolic motifs, entire representations or even complex narrative scenes are very frequent on all types of monuments. For example, on the slab of the sarcophagus covering the grave of Georgios Zalokostas (1.379), Iakovos Malakates carved a composition of a lyre and a tree, in order to highlight the poetic side of the fighter.²⁸ The same sculptor recalled the *dexiosis* theme on the grave of Georgios Kozakis Typaldos (1.222) entering into direct dialogue with ancient Greek funerary sculpture.²⁹

²⁸ Sandra Berresford, *Italian Memorial Sculpture, 1820–1940: A Legacy of Love* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2004), 128–36; Markatou, Mavromichali and Pavlopoulos, *Νεοελληνική ταφική γλυπτική*, 114.

²⁹ Markatou, Mavromichali and Pavlopoulos, *Νεοελληνική ταφική γλυπτική*, 156.



Fig. 16. Iakovos Malakates, Funerary monument of Kyriakos Koumbaris, 1859, marble.



Fig. 17. Georgios Fytalis, Funerary monument of Theodoros Louriotis, 1856, marble.

One theme that, however, appears largely frequently – not only in the context under consideration but by and large in funerary monuments – is that of the mourning spirit, which is based on European neoclassical funerary sculpture.³⁰ The mourning spirit appears in several versions in the graves of Nakos Panourgias (4.92), Kyriakos Koumbaris (4.161, figure 16), Konstantinos Negris (4.184)³¹ and Theodoros Louriotis (1.466, figure 17).

Finally, wealthy families frequently chose architectural types that led to the creation of grandiose sepulchral monuments. Frequently they take the form of a temple, thus imitating relevant originals from the antiquity. The monument of

³⁰ Dimitris Pavlopoulos, *Από τον Ιερό Λόχο στον Κωνσταντίνο ΙΒ΄: Νεότερα αθηναϊκά γλυπτά* (Athens: Gutenberg, 2020), 33–34.

³¹ Christou and Koumvakali-Anastasiadi, *Νεοελληνική γλυπτική*, 44–45, 198; Miltiadis Papanikolaou, *Ιστορία της τέχνης στην Ελλάδα*, vol. 2, *Ζωγραφική και γλυπτική του 19ου αιώνα* (Athens: Vaniyas, 2002), 115–18; Ziro, “Το επιτύμβιο ανάγλυφο στη νεοελληνική Γλυπτική,” 61, 79, 132, 143, 481.

Ioannis Somakis (1.26), of relatively small dimensions and with a shallow cella, stands between a temple and a stele. Similar to that is the monument of the Panagos Deliyannis family (1.110); the latter, however, adopts a rather more Byzantine form visible in the capitals of the plain half-columns and the arch; The monument of Konstantinos Negris (4.184, figure 18), oeuvre of the Fytalis brothers, stands out with its circular plan and massive size, being one step before the transition to the fully developed architectural type of the temple-shrine.

The type of the fully developed sepulchral temple draws its origins from the Heroa of antiquity and the shrines erected over the graves of the Christian saints.³² The “eternal dwelling place” in these instances is literally well said, as the monuments are real edifices. The simplest form

of this type is represented by the grave monument of General Vassos (2.32); a simple, undecorated structure in antae with a narrow cella. Also, that of Georgios Stavrou (1.130) is of the same size but certainly more elaborated. One of the most immaculate constructions is that of General Ioannis Makriyannis (1.25): the ionic temple with a porch framed by two columns. This monument integrates other subsidiary types, such as the bust and the pillar, while in the interior, among the wealth of carved busts within medals, we find one of the very few painted ensembles in the cemetery. The architectural type does not necessarily follow neoclassicism; it may well take completely different forms: the monument of Dimitrios Mentzelidis (7.64), with the characteristic rubble masonry, bears witness to that.

The examination of the typology of the warrior monuments in the majority of cases bears witness to the effort to put forth a direct link with antiquity. The language of symbols also heads intentionally in the same direction. The



Fig. 18. Lazaros Fytalis, Funerary monument of Konstantinos Negris, †1880, marble.

³² Memmesheimer, “Das klassizistische Grabmal,” 171; Markatou, Mavromichali and Pavlopoulos, *Νεοελληνική ταφική γλυπτική*, 116.

lamp has been linked with afterlife since antiquity, as it was used during the nocturnal funerary procession of the body.³³ The butterfly–soul appears in Hellenistic funerary art and thrived during the Roman era.³⁴ The torch always had a central place in funerary rituals, chthonic rites and ancient beliefs; once held by Persephone, it served to light her descent to the dark realm of the underworld, whereas in neohellenic art its symbolic meaning is inverted and is depicted unlit to symbolise the end of life.³⁵ Similar in meaning is the motif of the falling garment, symbolising the sepulchral shroud. The wreath and the garland decorated the bases of sepulchral columns, recalling the custom of offering flowers to the deceased on the last day of the Roman feast of Parentalia. The marble wreath carved on the Ara Pacis altar has ever since been the prototype for the later executions of this component.³⁶

A recurring feature that appears as a leitmotiv particularly in the warrior graves is the heraldic composition of chariots and banners, which derives from the ancient custom of placing objects relevant to the job or the actions of the deceased on the grave. This motif, which has continued to the present in the graves of military officers, links the warriors of consecutive struggles.

In respect to the narrative scenes, the theme of the dexiosis³⁷ bears witness to the impression created by the discovery of the ancient cemetery of Kerameikos³⁸ in Athens during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The discovery impacted on the iconographic model of the neohellenic sculptors by enhancing it with new motifs and compositions.

The mourning spirit, as a conception or idea of a winged figure linked to death, is already found in Homer and in the Theogony of Hesiod; Thanatos (Death), and his twin brother, Hypnos (Somnus–Sleep) are sons of Nyx (Night)

³³ Donna C. Kurtz and John Boardman, *Έθιμα ταφής στον αρχαίο ελληνικό κόσμο*, trans. Ourania Vizyinou and Theodoros Xenos (Athens: Kardamitsas, 2011), 136; George Siettos, *Νεκρικά ήθη και έθιμα* (Athens: Kyveli, 1997), 224.

³⁴ For the connection between the soul and the butterfly, as observed not only in the ancient Greek–Roman world but in cultures worldwide as well, see Georgios Dimitrokalis, *Η ψυχή-πεταλούδα* (Athens: self-pub., 1993).

³⁵ Evrydiki Antzoulou–Retsila, *Μνήμης τεκμήρια* (Athens: Papazisis, 2004), 169.

³⁶ Irene Papageorgiou, entries 32 and 33, in *Επέκεινα: Ο θάνατος και η μεταθανάτια ζωή στην αρχαία Ελλάδα*, ed. Nicholas Chr. Stampolidis and Stavroula Oikonomou (Athens: Museum of Cycladic Art, 2014), 95–96.

³⁷ Markatou, Mavromichali and Pavlopoulos, *Νεοελληνική ταφική γλυπτική*, 156.

³⁸ Angeliki Kokkou, *Η μέριμνα για τις αρχαιότητες στην Ελλάδα και τα πρώτα μουσεία* (Athens: Kapon, 1977), 270; Eleni S. Banou and Leonidas S. Bournias, *Κεραμεικός* (Athens: John S. Latsis Foundation, 2015), 20–23.

and Erebus (Darkness). They are described as winged spirits.³⁹ The mourning spirit appears first on funerary art during the Roman era; its final form, which we come across at the cemetery in various versions, originates in the work of Antonio Canova.

Finally, the speech epigrams – in many cases scripted by Philippos Ioannou, scholar and professor of the University of Athens – assist the endeavour;⁴⁰ “γλύπτες ποιούσιν” (sculptors *fecerunt*), “αγωνιστές λύσαντες πατρώαν βαρβάρου τυρρανίδος, τελεύουσιν” (after setting their fatherland free from barbarian tyranny, the fighters perish), “οικείοι τεύκτουσιν τοδ’άγαλμα πολλής τε στοργής μνήμα και ευσεβίης” (this memorial statue was erected by the family with much affection and reverence), “Ελλάς πενθεί μιν πάσα καποδύρεται” (Greece grieves and mourns). Many of the funerary epigrams of distinguished dead are included in Philippos Ioannou’s book *Φιλολογικά Πάρεργα* (1865 and 1874).

Most of the fighters’ sepulchral monuments reveal in every respect – be it the epigram or at the typological or symbolic levels – the predominant ideology during the first decades of the newly established Greek state and its society. New Greece was born as a direct successor of ancient Greece. The presence of the ancient Greek example is strong in funerary art as well. Thus, the fighter is associated with the hoplite, new glory with the ancient *kleos* (glory), and the River Ilissos with the Kerameikos. Even the fustanella, the sword or the pistol is combined with classic, ancient types, as it was noted earlier in relation to the Voulgaris, Kallifronas and Vouzikis monuments.

In none of the tombs is there a depiction of the struggle itself: neither snapshots of battles, nor narrative scenes, such as those on the equestrian statue of General Theodoros Kolokotronis in the centre of Athens.⁴¹ It has to be taken into consideration that they are not monuments in the public space of Athens, erected on institutional initiative or funded by public subscription. They are private tombs in the necropolis of the Greek capital, where religion, silence, mourning and peace after death prevail. Being material reference points, to which the relationship of the family with its deceased is transferred, they serve primarily family ancestral memory. What is depicted, in sculptural, linguistic or

³⁹ Athanasios P. Papadopoulos, *Οι λαϊκές περί θανάτου δοξασίες και τα ταφικά έθιμα των Ελλήνων από τον Όμηρο μέχρι σήμερα: Μεταθανάτιες αντιλήψεις και τελετουργίες στον αρχαίο ελληνικό κόσμο και τα επιβιώματά τους στη χριστιανική πραγματικότητα* (Athens: Erodios, 2007); 79, Peter Higgs, lemma 76, in Stampolidis and Oikonomou, *Επέκεινα*, 153.

⁴⁰ Markatou, Mavromichali and Pavlopoulos, *Νεοελληνική ταφική γλυπτική*, 121–26.

⁴¹ For the equestrian statue of General Theodoros Kolokotronis, see Zetta Antonopoulou, *Τα γλυπτά της Αθήνας: Υπαίθρια γλυπτική 1834–2004* (Athens: Potamos, 2003), 51–55; Pavlopoulos, *Από τον Ιερό Λόχο στον Κωνσταντίνο ΙΒ΄*, 189–207.

architectural form, is the importance of each individual and their contribution, the way their family wants them to be remembered. Within this context, they follow the prevailing typology of neohellenic funerary art.

Finally, it should be noted that the burial monument covers the body which they honour. The “essence” was underground, in the fustanella, the weapons, the medals and the flag that accompanied the deceased. A moving document of this practice is a picture captured by Spyros Kallivokas, which depicts the dead body of the Greek War of Independence fighter Vassilios Ath. Petmezas in Aigio, in 1872.⁴² This is exactly what the verse of the poet Achilleas Paraschos deals with: “κάθε σταυρός καλύπτει φουστανέλλαν ... την γραίαν φέρουν σπάθην των και κάτω των μνημείων. Δεν αφαιρεί ο θάνατος το ξίφος των ανδρείων”⁴³ (every cross covers a fustanella ... they carry their olden sword under their monument. Death does not take away the sword from the braves ones).

Collective Ancestral Memory and its Management

Conferring state honours on the deceased includes the funeral, then the interment and, in some cases, the recovery of remains; in the interim, commemoration ceremonies are held. Those steps form the formal public policy of memory. This article does not treat in detail the funerary ceremonies; suffice it to say that when they were grandiose, included pomp and ceremony, involved the public and were held at public expense, they were considered as exalting commemorations.

In the church, as well as at the grave, dignified, romantic and touching eulogies were offered, by Panayotis Soutsos, Neophytos Vamvas, Konstantinos Oikonomou as well as by other scholars and orators.⁴⁴ They connected with antiquity and, at the same time, worked on the triptych “hero’s identity–memory of 1821–national identity”. The dead and his deeds find their parallel in antiquity, in Achilles, Pericles, Cynaegirus, and in Thermopylae, while there is always a reference to the Bible.

⁴² Spyridon Kalyvokas, “Death Portrait of the Greek War of Independence Fighter Vasilis Ath. Petmezas”, 1872, albumen print, N.E. Tolis collection, as published in Sakellaropoulos and Dimitriadou, *1821 Before and After*, 827.

⁴³ Achilleus Paraschos, “Ελεγείον εις τον στρατηγόν Γενναίον Κολοκοτρώνη.”

⁴⁴ Indicative examples are “Λόγος επιτάφιος Γεωργίου Τερτσέτου επί τω Γενναίω Κολοκοτρώνη, εκφωνηθείς εν τω Νεκροταφείω Αθηνών” and “Λόγος επιτάφιος εκφωνηθείς εν τω Νεκροταφείω Αθηνών επί τω Γενναίω Κολοκοτρώνη, υπό Τιμολέοντος Ι. Φιλήμονος τη 24 Μαΐου 1868,” *Αιών*, 27 May 1868; “Νικολάου Ι. Σαριπόλου, Λόγος εκφωνηθείς την 24 Μαΐου 1868, εν τω ναώ της Μητροπόλεως Αθηνών, εις την κηδείαν του αιδιμίου αντιστρατήγου Ιωάννου Θ. Κολοκοτρώνη,” *Αιών*, 30 May 1868.

As far as the local authority is concerned, it is a strict rule of the municipal cemetery to concede space for honorary interments to distinguished persons of national significance who offered their services or even their life to the nation. As can be inferred from the surviving minutes of Athens Municipal Council, this was indeed the practice for many fighters of the Greek War of Independence who were buried in the First Cemetery. In addition, there was provision for the reinterment in the capital of the remains of fighters who had been buried elsewhere, followed by the construction of a mausoleum in their memory. Thus, in 1879, Angelos Vlachos, an Athens city councillor, proposed the honorary reinterment of the remains of the hero Georgios Karaiskakis. His proposal came at the same time a public subscription was underway for the erection of the hero's statue in Athens. Similarly, in 1895 there was a decision to erect a sepulchral monument to Prince Ypsilantis, as his heirs had expressed interest in reintering him in the First Cemetery.⁴⁵ None of the above decisions were implemented.

Additionally, it is worth noting that many times the honorary distinction was conceded to descendants, a gesture that served equally the family and collective ancestral memory. A representative example was the offering in 1911 of a free burial place to the son of Panayotis Papatsonis, Konstantinos. Athens Municipal Council recognised the great service and sacrifices of the Papatsonis family during the struggle of 1821.⁴⁶ For the municipality, the memory of the struggle was of immense significance, proved – among other things – by the fact that some streets of the First Cemetery were named after the fighters, for example Kolokotronis Street⁴⁷ and the like. The pillar-marker in the junction of Trikoupis and Koumbaris streets bears witness to this practice.

For some fighters the recognition and the honours came at the request of their family, who had to remind the city council of the sacrifices of their dead for the nation. The examples of Michail Tolmidis, Antonios Reveliotis and Anastasios Rombotsis are indicative.⁴⁸ For some others, recognition arrived later, hence the offering of an honorary grave for their remains. The case of Antonios Delenardos, who died in 1897, serves as an example; in 1901, at the request of his daughter, Christina, the city council honoured him as being one of the last fighters of the War of Independence, who had received the silver medal

⁴⁵ Minutes of Athens Municipal Council, 24 April 1895, decision no. 2373. Cadastral and Property Records of Athens First Cemetery/Family Tombs/F: A/1/214.

⁴⁶ Minutes of Athens Municipal Council, 4 November 1911, decision no. 1747.

⁴⁷ Minutes of Athens Municipal Council, 5 October 1893, decision no. 1604. Cadastral and Property Records of Athens First Cemetery/Registry books, 1893–1896.

⁴⁸ Minutes of Athens Municipal Council, 14 June 1886, decision no. 1527; 7 December 1912, decision no. 2083.

of bravery. However, after his death, he bequeathed to his children nothing else but dignified poverty.⁴⁹

There have been several cases of honorary recognition ever since. They took place during the 1930s or a bit earlier. Our view is that they accompanied the celebrations for the centenary of the revolution and the initiatives Athens Mayor Spyros Merkouris took to highlight the fighters' monuments. During the same time the monuments were inventoried, the grave cadastre was brought up to date and finances were brought under control.

The inventory process revealed cases where descendants had failed to meet the financial obligations to maintain plots. Moreover, it showed that some family graves were being used without evidence that approval had been granted. Either the relevant nineteenth-century archives had been lost or the approval was not registered properly in the first place. How can one explain the lack of evidence for the precise burial place of Nikitaras or of Theodoros Kolokotronis, whose death had moved the entire nation?

By way of legalising plot titles, it was decided that the burial had taken place as was required; therefore the tribute to the deceased was offered posthumously. Characteristic cases are those of Konstantinos Kanaris, General Makriyannis, Rigas Palamidis and Kitsos Tzavelas.⁵⁰ On the other hand, the tomb of Philiki Etaireia founding member Emmanouil Xanthos was recognised as an honorary monument in 1950, almost a century after his death.⁵¹

However, errors were unavoidable. The continuous usage of the cemetery has exacted the necessary "concessions" as the burial ground seeks to serve the needs of the expanding – in terms population as well as space – city. Frequent victims of this practice are family tombs where there are no longer descendants. As a consequence, they came under municipal control. The family tomb of Spyridon Melios (1.226 A) is no longer visible. Melios left no descendants, so the financial obligations for his grave were not met. Eventually, in 1975 it was conceded for the honorary burial of the poet Kostas Varnalis.⁵² The remains of the general remain in the grave and "converse" with those of the poet. The original form of Melios' grave – fortunately – is described in full detail in Helen Angelomatis-Tsougarakis and Despoina Tsouklidou-Penna's book *Μητρώον Α'*

⁴⁹ Minutes of Athens Municipal Council, 5 July 1901, decision no. 1514.

⁵⁰ Minutes of Athens Municipal Council, 6 November 1930, decision no. 1305; 6 November 1931, decision no. 1298 and 1300. For the tomb of Kitsos Tzavellas: Cadastral and Property Records of Athens First Cemetery/Family Tombs/F: A/2/30.

⁵¹ Minutes of Athens Municipal Council, 20 November 1950, decision no. 1093.

⁵² Minutes of Athens Municipal Council, 20 December 1974, decision no. 1060. Cadastral and Property Records of Athens First Cemetery/Family Tombs/F: A/1/226A.

Νεκροταφείου Αθηνών: Α Ζώνη-Ιον Τμήμα. Similarly, the grave of the fighter Andreas Zaimis was conceded rather unintentionally for another burial.⁵³ Later, in order to restore his memory, it was decided that another plot would be provided next to the church of St. Lazarus. There lies his tombstone with the laconic inscription “Andreas Zaimis”. Recent years have seen a serious effort at documentation, which hopefully will contribute to the rescue and maintenance of the funerary monuments.

Their preservation is also a matter of the utmost importance. Some later owners dramatically changed the form of the monument. In the case of the tomb of Nikolaos Poniropoulos, for example, the monument was initially a stele. Later, a large, overground crypt was erected and the stele was placed on top of it, stripping it of all sense of measurement and proportion (the ancient Greek *μέτρον*). Others have been abandoned to the ravages of time and environment. Some have suffered significant damage, which has altered their very existence. The bust of Andronikos Paikos, the oeuvre of Fytalis brothers, lies on the ground, as an indifferent element of the past. The cross on Panayotis Sekeres’ grave fell down decades ago. The monument of Anastasios Robotsis has collapsed. The need for their maintenance and restoration is imperative.

Therefore, the oscillation between the private and the public, which is inherent in the cemetery, as has been pointed out, concerns not only the construction of the monument, its materiality and its symbolism, but also its preservation. It generally concerns memory itself, the private and the collective. Especially in the case of historical figures, collective memory is fulfilled through the practices of commemoration in their last residence. Their grave therefore becomes a reference point for institutional memorial ceremonies, in addition to the familiar ones and, thus, the private character becomes quasi-collective.

Commemorations, ceremonies and wreath laying are actions that take place at funerary monuments, particularly on annual anniversaries. Most characteristic is the ceremony that took place in the cemetery on 25 March 1921, in the context of the celebration of the centenary. Innumerable people in procession laid wreaths on the heroes’ tombs.⁵⁴

Beyond the public commemorations, which were more frequent in the past, individual ones also occur in the necropolis. They are spontaneous, genuine expressions of homage displaying gratitude and reverence to the tombs of

⁵³ Cadastral and Property Records of Athens First Cemetery/Family Tombs/F: 2/11 and A/1/127A. Minutes of Athens Municipal Council, 28 February 1980, decision no. 140.

⁵⁴ “Η επέτειος της Εθνικής Εορτής,” *Εμπρός*, 25 March 1921; “Αι τριήμεραι εθνικαί εορταί δια την συμπλήρωσιν της Εκατονταετηρίδος της Ελληνικής Ανεξαρτησίας,” *Πατρίς*, 25 March 1921; “Μεταμεσημβριαν εις τους τάφους των Ελευθερωτών. Η τελετή του Νεκροταφείου,”

the ancestors and their sacred remains. The Greek flag and the fresh flowers on the cenotaph of Odysseus Androutsos are only a small piece of evidence today. In parallel, visitors lay flowers daily on the grave of General Theodoros Kolokotronis, which is also a cenotaph.

The latter one, an absolute landmark in Athens First Cemetery, is in fact a late twentieth-century composition, an example of how a private grave has become a public monument. The initiative for its erection came from the Pangortynian Union. In fact, it is an amalgamation of the tombs where Theodoros, Ioannis (Gennaios) and Panos Kolokotronis, as well as their descendants, were buried. In the centre, among crosses and inscriptions, a seated marble statue of the ancestor of all, General Theodoros Kolokotronis, proudly expresses not only family but also national memory. Although the sculptural performance is not recognised as particularly successful, the importance of the statue's existence for the sense of the public is superior to any aesthetic and artistic value.

In conclusion, the surviving context of graves of the fighters of the Greek War of Independence situated in Athens First Cemetery – dispersed in various locations – allows for combinative and comparative considerations of artistic, social and historical terms. After having made clear the inherent contradiction that exists in a funerary monument – sternly private, but also public; introverted while extroverted – the graves of the revolutionary figures are regarded, on the one hand, as masterpieces of art while, on the other, as bearers of historical contexts, microhistories and embodied narratives, as mirrors of beliefs and trends of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Greek society. The fighters of the revolution are heroes – interlocutors of the ancient ancestors, dictating to the collective consciousness and subconsciousness the historical necessity of continuity and of the mission entailed in it. Within the context of the fluctuating geography and anthropogeography of Athens First Cemetery, and under the pressure of the permanent usage and the passage of time, one thing has not always attracted the necessary attention and, consecutively, perpetuation: the retention of memory, of tribute and of the moral-national debt. There are graves that no longer exist; on the other hand, apart from the graves of popular personalities that are still without markers, we have discovered monuments for which no mention, bibliographical or any other kind, exists whatsoever; they are long forgotten in a place of remembrance par excellence.

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Εμπρός, 26 March 1921; See also Christina Koulouri, *Φουστανέλες και χλαμύδες: Ιστορική μνήμη και εθνική ταυτότητα 1821–1930* (Athens: Alexandria, 2020), 491–92.

THE GREEK COMMUNITY'S CONTRIBUTION TO BATUM'S
POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE, 1860s–1900s

Eka Tchkoïdze

ABSTRACT: Many aspects relating to the Greek diaspora in the Russian Empire from the eighteenth to the first quarter of the twentieth centuries have been researched in detail. Nevertheless, some pieces in this mosaic are less well known. Batum is one of them. Having first settled there in the 1850s, the Greeks of Batum are one of the largest and oldest minorities in the city. As such, they witnessed its transformation from Ottoman to Russian rule and from a small littoral village to a big, charming and cosmopolitan port-city. Batum's Greeks were actively involved in all spheres of city life, especially in entrepreneurship and politics. This article focuses on the oil and oil-related business activities in which the Greeks were especially successful. Some Greeks were prominent in the town's life, serving as councillors. The article reveals that the Greeks of Batum had a high educational and cultural level and made a significant contribution to the city's development. At the same time, they kept their Greek identity, supporting both the Greek church and schools in Batum.

The integration of the Black Sea port-cities into the Mediterranean and global economic realm became increasingly evident during the long nineteenth century. In the first half of the century, Odessa enjoyed prominence in commercial transactions with the major Mediterranean ports of Marseille and Trieste. However, the rapid technological, institutional, economic and political evolution during the second half of the century brought new structural changes in the pattern of economic development of the Black Sea port-cities.¹

Among the Black Sea port-cities, Batum was a special case. Massive quantities of black gold – petroleum – from the shores of the Caspian Sea found

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¹ Maria Christina Chatziioannou and Apostolos Delis, "Introduction," in *Linkages of the Black Sea with the West: Navigation, Trade and Immigration*, ed. Maria Christina Chatziioannou and Apostolos Delis (Rethymno: Centre of Maritime History, Institute for Mediterranean Studies–Foundation of Research and Technology, 2020), v.

their way to the world through Batum. As a result, from the 1860s to the 1910s, Russia became the world's largest grain producer and world's largest producer of petroleum.²

Odessa and Trabzon were among the first port-cities to flourish; Batum and others (such as Constanța, Varna, Zonguldak, Samsun) would follow.³ After becoming a part of the Russian Empire in 1878, Batum's potential was quickly recognised by the government, which constructed maritime infrastructure, making it into the most important port in the South Caucasus. Its importance lay in the fact that it had the safest harbour along the coast from Kerch to Sinop.⁴

Batum before 1878

The year 1878 is a watershed in Batum's history. Due to the victory of the Russian Empire in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, the region moved from Ottoman to Russian rule.⁵ Its strategic importance was first recognised by the British. In 1835 they appointed James Brant as vice-consul in the Pashalik of Trebizond, an extremely large area which included the small port of Batum and the adjoining area of Adjara. Brant, the first Briton to have visited Batum according to the British archives, provided a detailed description of the area. Batum was “at present one of so little importance as a trading mart that no respectable British merchant would think of going there”.⁶ However, the British were the first to establish a consulate in Batum.⁷ The first British consul, Frederick Guarracino, arrived on 24 April 1840. By late 1844 he had requested a transfer, citing the difficulty of living there: “No other European had ever resided

² Gelina Harlaftis, “As an Introduction: Black Sea History and the Black Sea Project,” in *Between Grain and Oil from the Azov to Caucasus: The Port-cities of the Eastern Coast of the Black Sea, Late 18th–Early 20th Century*, ed. Gelina Harlaftis, Victoria Konstantinova, Igor Lyman, Anna Sydorenko and Eka Tchkoïdze (Rethymno: Institute for Mediterranean Studies–Foundation of Research and Technology, 2020), xi–xii.

³ Eyüp Özveren, “A Framework for the Study of the Black Sea World, 1789–1915,” *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 20, no. 1 (1997): 94.

⁴ Gelina Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-owned Shipping: The Making of an International Tramp Fleet, 1830 to the Present Day* (London: Routledge, 1996), 84.

⁵ For a general overview of the region's history within the Ottoman Empire and how it became a subject of Russian interests, see Eka Tchkoïdze, “Oil and Soil: The Role of Batoum's Economic Development in Shaping of Geopolitical Significance of the Caucasus,” in Harlaftis et al., *Between Grain and Oil*, 467–71.

⁶ Hugo Greenhalgh, *Adjara and the Russian Empire, 1830–1878*, research by Robert L. Jarman (London: Archival Publications International, 2003), 3–4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 181.

at Batoum before me, and the place being wholly inhabited by a population of bigoted Mussulmans I met with considerable difficulties and inconvenience in reconciling them to my presence here.”⁸

William Gifford Palgrave (1826–1888), a well-known English priest and traveller, in 1866 entered the British Foreign Office and was appointed consul in Sukhum-Kale (nowadays Sukhumi, western Georgia). His first report, written in January 1868, was a general review of the Province of Trebizond as a whole, describing in detail all the major towns. Batoum's development since the first British reports in the 1830s was remarkable.⁹ According to Palgrave,

Batoum stands on the western side of an excellent harbour, the third in goodness on the Black Sea, Sebastopol being the first, and Sinope the second ... So complete, however, is the shelter afforded by the lighthouse point on the western side, and the opposite point, called “Serey”, on the eastern, that no wind has any serious effect within the haven. The anchorage is good, and the dimensions of the harbour admit of about twenty large vessels riding here in security. The town of Batoum was till recently little more than a Lazistan coast hamlet, mainly tenanted by fishermen and smugglers. But many circumstances have caused it a rapid increase, and are still causing ... The market place contains nearly 150 shops, and 50 more, lately built, stand in the neighbourhood of the quay.¹⁰

After the Crimean War (1854), the British consuls saw Batoum as the key port on the Asian side of the Black Sea, situated as it was the Turkish border with Russia.¹¹ From that point it became of special importance for the Russian Empire as well.¹²

Greeks in Batoum

The Russo–Turkish wars of the nineteenth century stimulated continuous waves of Greek immigrants to southern Russia. In this regard, the war of 1828–1829 was a special case.¹³ This process became even more acute after the last war in 1877–1878. The third Pontic stage of the resettlement of the Greeks took

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid., 470, doc. no. 104.

¹⁰ Ibid., 534–35.

¹¹ Ibid., 469.

¹² A trade route through Batoum would have been in competition with the Trabzon–Erzurum–Tabriz transit route between England and Persia. Malkhaz Sioridze, *დასავლეთ სუბპროვინცია* 125 (Batumi: Batumi State University, 2003), 37.

¹³ Grigorios P. Tilikidis, *Οι Καυκάσιοι Έλληνες προ και μετά την ρωσικήν επανάστασιν* (Athens: Typ. A. Frantzeskani kai A. Kaitatzi, 1921), 5.

on the character of a mass exodus in 1877–1884. After the Russian–Ottoman War of 1877–1878, up to 17,000 Pontic Greeks moved to the Terek region, in the Stavropol governorate, Sukhumi military district, Batum Oblast and Baku governorate.¹⁴ This exodus was systematically supported by the Russian authorities, since they were keen to strengthen the Christian element in their newly acquired territories. Thus, the Greeks and Armenians were mostly welcomed in this process, which lasted until the First World War.¹⁵

The Greek population in Russia before 1914 was estimated at about 600,000, of which 270,000 lived along the eastern coast of the Black Sea from Novorossisk to Batum.¹⁶ By 1919 an estimated 112,850 had settled in Georgia alone, which hosted the biggest amount of Greeks in the whole Caucasus.

Specifically, in Batum, the location of an ancient Greek colony called Vathys (Βαθύς) or Vathyn Limena (Βαθύν Λιμένα), the Greeks, mainly itinerant craftsmen and small traders, began to appear around 1850.¹⁷ Ioannis Kalfoglou wrote that the Greeks started to arrive in Batum in 1846 and had settled in five surrounding villages by 1884.¹⁸ Palgrave, in his aforementioned report (dated 1868), wrote:

¹⁴ Stavris Parastatov, “Cultural Exchange in the Black Sea Region: Greek Migration to the Russian Empire in the 19th Century,” in *Institution Building and Research under Foreign Domination: Europe and the Black Sea Region (Early 19th–Early 20th Centuries)*, ed. Iakovos D. Michailidis and Giorgos Antoniou (Thessaloniki: Epikentro, 2019), 32.

¹⁵ Eleftherios Charatsidis, “Υπερκαυκάσια,” in *Οι Έλληνες στη Διασπορά 15ος–21ος αι.*, ed. Ioannis K. Hassiotis, Olga Katsiardi-Hering and Evrydiki A. Abatzi (Athens: Hellenic Parliament, 2006), 203.

¹⁶ Harlaftis, *History of Greek-owned Shipping*, 7–8.

¹⁷ Artemis Xanthopoulou-Kyriakou, “Μεταναστεύσεις των Ελλήνων στον Καύκασο κατά τον 19ο αιώνα,” *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 10 (1993): 127.

¹⁸ Ioannis Kalfoglou, *Οι Έλληνες εν Καυκάσω: Ιστορικών δοκίμιον* (Athens: Typ. tis Avgis, 1908), 105–6. Ioannis Kalfoglou (1871–1931), a writer and journalist, was born in Chrysopolis (Üsküdar) in Pontus. At the end of the nineteenth century, he moved to Batum, for unknown reasons. After the Sovietisation of Georgia (1921), he settled in Constantinople. *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του Ποντιακού Ελληνισμού (Ιστορία–Λαογραφία–Πολιτισμός)*, 12 vols. (Thessaloniki: Malliaris, 2007), 4:205. In 1918 in Batum he published a valuable work: *Ιστορία της εν Βατούμ ελληνικής κοινότητας* (Batum: Typ. S. Ch. Galinou, 1918). It contains 82 pages with documents about the Greek community in Batum, as well as city’s history written by himself. The book was published to support the schools of the Greek community of Batum. This article relies extensively on this unique volume.

The present town census gives – 4,500 Mahometans;¹⁹ 340 Greeks; 120 Armenians: making a total of 4,970 townfolk ... The “Greeks” here resident are of that ambiguous description common in the ports of the Black Sea; they are chiefly small victuallers, or retail spirit sellers. The Armenians of Batoum are a recent colony; they come from the inlands about Erzeroum.²⁰

According to this note, the Greeks were one of the oldest and largest minorities in Batum.²¹ After Batum's reintegration with Georgia, these statistics stayed the same. A Russian journalist and war correspondent, A. Frenkel, said that in 1879 the Georgian population numbered 7,200 (1,200 families), Armenians 120 (20 families), Greeks 210 (36 families), Circassians 600 (100 families).²² Another source puts the number of Greeks at 635 persons (111 families; 75 bachelors) in the same period.²³

The major number of Pontic Greeks settled in Adjara were from Asia Minor, particularly Santa (nowadays Dumanli), the village in the alpine zone, as well as the city of Trabzon and the provinces of Rize, Patsa, Ordu, Giresun and Samsun.²⁴ Trabzon always enjoyed special ties with Batum. For the Greek merchants who settled in Central Asia, the usual route started from Trabzon, went to Batum by ship, and then from there to Baku by road or, after its construction in 1871, railway.²⁵

Before the imperial census of 1897, the information about Batum's population came from private sources. For example, N.M. Dakishevich, in 1890 in his book *Батум* (Batum), mentions that the population of 14,500 inhabitants was comprised of two categories: Russian-subjects and foreigners. There were 510 Greeks in the first category and 174 in the second.²⁶ Probably those 174 Greeks

¹⁹ He later explains whom he means: “Turkish, Laz, Georgian, Circassian, Abkhazian.” Greenhalgh, *Adjara and the Russian Empire, 1830–1878*, 535.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ There are some travelers who described very vividly their impressions especially for Batum's Greeks. A well-known biologist Dr. E. Ericsson should be mentioned in this regard. His work contains broad references to his dialogues with the local Greeks. He underlines twice that only the Greeks ate seafood in Batum and even small Greek children were able to fish. E. Ericsson, “Из воспоминаний о Батуме и его окрестностях,” *Естествознание и География* 6 (1899): 3.

²² A. Frenkel, *Очерки Чурук-Су и Ватума* (Tbilisi: s.n., 1879), 11.

²³ Xanthopoulou-Kyriakou, “Μεταναστεύσεις των Ελλήνων,” 127.

²⁴ Charatsidis, “Υπερκαυκασία,” 205; see also Marine Giorgadze, “Pontic Greeks in Adjara: Photo Histories,” *Σημειολογία–Semiotics Scientific Journal* 17 (2017): 43.

²⁵ Vlasis Agtzidis, *Παρευξείνιος διασπορά: Οι ελληνικές εγκαταστάσεις στις βορειοανατολικές περιοχές του Ευξείνου Πόντου* (Thessaloniki: Adelfon Kyriakidi, 2001), 51.

²⁶ N.M. Dakishevich, *Батум* (Tbilisi: s.n., 1890), 1–2.

were recent settlers and had not received official recognition, such as in the form of citizenship. Archival material reveals that in 1881, 253 Greek households (2,107 persons) were settled in the whole region.²⁷

In 1885, the military governor of Batum district wrote that a big group of Greeks (without indicating their number) had arrived in Batum from Constantinople. They had no accommodation and Batum's authorities had no means to offer them shelter. The governor asked the viceroy of the Caucasus to help them.²⁸ The viceroy's office sent an official reply some weeks later. According to this document, Greeks had provided the Russians with considerable help. As Russia needed a population it could trust, the viceroy asked the governor to do his best and to help them to settle in Batum and its vicinities.²⁹ In addition to the obvious political benefits of settling new Russian lands with trustworthy coreligionists, Greek settlers turned out to be the most socially dynamic ethnic group in the region, which revived the Black Sea economy, raising it to a fundamentally new level of development. The Greeks brought to the region a modern model of entrepreneurship, commercial navigation, representing a bridge between local producers and Western consumers.³⁰

According to the Russian imperial census of 1897, the number of Greeks of Batum was 2,764 (from a total of 28,508 inhabitants); in 1917 their number had grown to 4,008 (out of 35,048); in 1918 to 4,878 (out of 35,375); in 1920 to 8,598 (out of 45,446). Generally, they ranked in fourth place after Russians, Georgians and Armenians.³¹ For 1907, Kalfoglou, who had moved from Trabzon to Batum, provides the official statistics: 2,730 Greeks in Batum, plus 1,878 in the surrounding five villages, as well as his own estimation of 3,500 in Batum and 2,152 in the villages.³²

²⁷ N. Mgeladze and T. Putkaradze, "მოსახლეობის დინამიკა, ეთნოკონფესიური და სოციალური სტრუქტურა," in სამხრეთ-დასავლეთ საქართველოს ისტორიის ნარკვევები: აჭარა, vol. 3, ბათუმის ოლქი (1877–1920) (Batumi: Shota Rustaveli State University, 2008), 86.

²⁸ Otar Gogolishvili, "რამდენიმე საარქივო დოკუმენტი ბერძნების შესახებ ბათუმის ოლქში," *სემიოტიკა–Semiotics Scientific Journal* 16, no. 2 (2016): 77. The letter, kept in the Central State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg (fund 1213, inventory 14, file 445, 123–26), was published recently.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 78.

³⁰ Parastatov, "Cultural Exchange," 32.

³¹ This data is taken from archival material which was published in "ბათუმის მოსახლეობის ზრდა ეროვნული შემადგენლობის მიხედვით," *არხეიონი–Archeion* 2 (2011): 114–15; see also, Xanthopoulou-Kyriakou, "Μεταναστεύσεις των Ελλήνων," 170.

³² Kalfoglou, *Οι Έλληνες εν Καυκάσω*, 11.

The Greek community of Batum was like other communities in the Austro-Hungarian and Russian economic centres in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At the heart of the community lay the church, religion being central to the cohesion of the group as it offered social philanthropy to the weaker members.³³ The district where St. Nicholas' Greek church stood was called Urumta Mehele (Urum district) in the 1850s and 1860s, because its residents were Greeks.³⁴ After 1878 it was called Greek Street (Russian: Греческая улица [Grecheskaya ulitsa]; Georgian: ბერძნის ქუჩა [Berdznis qucha]). Nowadays it bears the name King Parnavaz.³⁵ The church became a centre of their national activity. It was built in 1865 and it is regarded the first stone building and the first Christian church in Batum. The church's rich history is well documented. Its ktetors, benefactors, servants and other Greeks associated with it are deserving of research in their own right.

In addition to their religious identity, the Greeks brought with them an educational culture. They opened primary schools that taught through the medium of Greek, Sunday schools, centres of folk art, etc., in their new places of residence.³⁶ It is also worth mentioning that among the different migratory waves of Greeks to different parts of Georgia in different periods, the Greeks of Batum and the wider Adjara region mostly retained the Greek language and traditions. They were also most educated and quite advanced culturally.³⁷

Batum after its Reintegration with Georgia (1878): An Overview

The last Russo-Turkish War in 1877–1878 had a profound effect on Batum and Adjara. More than three centuries of Adjarian subjection to the Ottomans came to an end and the whole region rejoined Georgia – but as part of the Russian Empire.³⁸ In the 1870s there was virtually no commerce like in other parts of

³³ Maria Christina Chatziioannou, "Greek Merchant Networks in the Age of Empires (1770–1870)," in *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks: Four Centuries of History*, ed. Ina Baghdiantz-McCabe, Gelina Harlaftis and Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou (Oxford: Berg, 2005), 377.

³⁴ Giorgadze, "Pontic Greeks," 45.

³⁵ It was very common to name the streets like this in the Russian Empire. The same happened in Tbilisi, where there was also a Greek Street. Sokratis Angelidis, *Ο Ελληνομώδης της Τιφλίδας* (Thessaloniki: Art of Text, 2003), 22. It still bears the same name.

³⁶ Parastatov, "Cultural Exchange," 32.

³⁷ Irine Garakanidze, "საქართველოში ბერძენთა გადმოსახლეობის ისტორია (მე-18-20 სს.)," in *ბერძნები საქართველოში*, ed. Rismag Gordeziani (Tbilisi: Tbilisi State University, 1990), 67.

³⁸ Greenhalgh, *Adjara and the Russian Empire, 1830–1878*, 587.

the Black Sea.³⁹ Its growth was almost exclusively due to the increasing export of petroleum from Baku.⁴⁰ The rising importance of oil,⁴¹ in connection with the establishment of railway lines,⁴² turned Batum into the most important port-city of the southeastern Black Sea coast, overtaking adjacent Trabzon, which was the traditional seaport of the area. Political decisions, then, affected the growth of the population of the port-cities.⁴³

After the 1880s, due to the growing world demand for petroleum, Batum was included on a large number of shipping routes that encompassed the main ports of the north-eastern Mediterranean.⁴⁴ Baku's oil was also introduced to Trieste via Batumi in the 1880s and, from there, distributed all over the known world.⁴⁵ The prosperity resulting from Batum's great economic development brought benefits for the inhabitants as well. One of the biggest changes happened this period, specifically in 1890, was the upgrading the British vice-consulate in Batum to a full consulate.⁴⁶

Greek Economic Activities in Batum: Oil and Oil-Related Greek Entrepreneurs

Batum became the oil-export gateway for Baku oil after the completion of the Baku–Batum railway network in the 1880s and the construction of the Baku–Batum pipeline, which ensured the systematic transportation of Baku oil to the world market. It immediately attracted internationally known entrepreneurs like the Swedish Nobels, the French financier Alphonse de Rothschild, the Armenian

³⁹ Harlaftis, *History of Greek-owned Shipping*, 7.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁴¹ It is worth mentioning that by the beginning of the twentieth century, Russia became the world's leading oil extractor. However, it was not able to retain this position and was overtaken by the United States. Boris Ananich, "The Russian Economy and Banking System," in *The Cambridge History of Russia*, vol. 2, *Imperial Russia, 1689–1917*, ed. Dominic Lieven (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 415.

⁴² Georgia's railway network should be examined as a part of Russia's intensive railway-building campaign, which started after 1861 and reached its peak between 1895 and 1899. Russia entered the twentieth century with the second longest railway system in the world, 40 percent of which had been laid in the 1890s. *Ibid.*, 416.

⁴³ Harlaftis, "As an Introduction," xiv.

⁴⁴ Harlaftis, *History of Greek-owned Shipping*, 85.

⁴⁵ Maria Christina Chatziioannou, "The Port of Trieste and the Black Sea Economic Challenges," in Chatziioannou and Delis, *Linkages of the Black Sea with the West*, 53.

⁴⁶ Hugo Greenhalgh, *Adjara and the Russian Empire, 1878–1917*, research by Robert L. Jarman (London: Archival Publications International, 2003), 195).

Alexander Mantashev⁴⁷ and the lesser-known Greeks Sideridis and Arvanitidis.⁴⁸ The latter two were the most important Greek oil exporters and shipowners trading in Batum. Both were established in Constantinople, from where they financed a large number of Greek purchases of steamships.⁴⁹ However, only scant archival material exists on them.

After foreign investors were officially allowed to have businesses in Batum in 1886, new perspectives opened up to the world's greatest entrepreneurs. In 1889, Sideridis established in Batum an oil tin can factory and three large petroleum storage tanks. The majority of workers employed by Sideridis were Greek. He provided them with extensive supports, including free accommodation. The Greeks were very good craftsmen: in the morning they would work in Sideridis' factories and in the afternoon they would engage in their handicraft. By the end of the nineteenth century, Batum's Greeks had managed to build approximately 30 houses,⁵⁰ two baths and many shops for themselves.⁵¹

In a volume of documents relating to oil production in Russia from 1883 to 1914, only one document (no. 49) refers to Sideridis' business activity. On 27 May 1895, the Paris agency of the Caspian-Black Sea Company (which belonged Alphonse de Rothschild)⁵² insisted that "certain measures be taken against their competitors as a whole, and more specifically, against Sideridis,

⁴⁷ The Nobels, Rothschild and Mantashev were called "petroleum kings" in the nineteenth-century Georgian press (see anonymous, "The Caucasus," *ივერია Iveria*, no. 16, 22 January 1904). For the development of the oil industry in the Russian Empire and the oil companies in Batum of the Nobel brothers Robert (1829–1896) and Ludwig (1831–1888), Alphonse de Rothschild (1827–1905) and Alexander Mantashev (1842–1911), see Tchkoidze, "Oil and Soil," 489–509.

⁴⁸ Harlaftis, "As an Introduction," xxxi.

⁴⁹ Harlaftis, *History of Greek-owned Shipping*, 84–85.

⁵⁰ Approximately five houses built at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century and owned by Greeks still adorn the city. See *Batumi's Architectural Monuments*, an album prepared by the Committee of Education, Culture, Tourism and Sport of Batumi Municipality, Batumi 2012, which contains the houses of M. Kongalidis (39), Nikiforodis (99), Symeonidis (122), Paraskevopoulos (151) and T. Triantafyllidis (167, see below for more details).

⁵¹ Gogolishvili, "რამდენიმე საარქივო დოკუმენტი," 78.

⁵² For Rothschild's business interests and activities in Georgia, see Eka Tchkoidze, "როტშვილდების ფინანსური ინტერესები კავკასიაში მე-19 საუკუნის ბოლოსა და მე-20 საუკუნის დასაწყისში," in *Archival and Source Studies: Trends and Challenges*, ed. Teona Iashvili, Ketevan Asatiani, Nino Badashvili, Tamta Shonvadze and Dimitri Silakadze (Tbilisi: National Archives of Georgia, 2021), 242–50.

who has reduced prices”.⁵³ Another document, from 1891, also confirms that Sideridis was one of the main competitors of the Rothschild company.⁵⁴ By 1903, the Sideridis factory employed 320 (100 permanent and 220 part-time) workers. Thirty of those 100 workers were Greek and the remainder Armenian, Turkish and Georgian.⁵⁵

In 1910 there were only four main factories producing tin cans for kerosene. The leading factory belonged to the Arvanitidis Brothers. That year they produced enough packaging for 3,086,340 poods of kerosene and employed 300 workers; while the Khachatriants factory, the second one of these four, employed 250 workers and produced enough packaging for 608,614 poods of kerosene.⁵⁶

By 1912 those two big Greek companies had merged. A list of factories in the Russian Empire contains a reference to the Sideridis and Arvanitidis Trading House: Kerosene Oil Tin Can Factory.⁵⁷ The reference provides the factory’s address (Cemetery St., Batumi [г. Батумъ, Кладбищенск. ул.]) also the number of workers (350).⁵⁸ Sideridis and Arvanitidis employed masters from the Aegean islands of Chios and Kassos who eventually became some of the most important twentieth-century Greek shipowners.⁵⁹

Dakishevich, in his list of the 23 major entrepreneurs who owned factories and warehouses in the city, mentions Mavropoulos (no. 2), Angelidi (no. 18) and Simelidi (no. 19). Mavropoulos⁶⁰ and Angelidis had factories that produced

⁵³ *Монополистический Капитал в Нефтяной Промышленности России 1883–1914: Документы и материалы* (Moscow: Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, 1961), 173.

⁵⁴ Gogolishvili, “რამდენიმე საარქივო დოკუმენტი,” 78.

⁵⁵ Marine Giorgadze, “ჰონტოელი ბერძენთა მეურნეობა, მატერიალური კულტურა და საზოგადოებრივი ცოფა,” in *ჰონტოელი ბერძენები აჭარაში წარსული და თანამედროვეობა*, ed. M. Giorgadze, N. Mgeladze, T. Tunadze, N. Dzneladze and M. Loria (Batumi: Shota Rustaveli Batumi State University, 2017), 164.

⁵⁶ *Обзор Батумской Области за 1910 год* (Batumi: Kapel, 1912), 38. An imperial Russian weight measure, a pood is approximately equal to 16.38 kilogrammes.

⁵⁷ In Russian: Сидеридись и Арванитидись, Тор. Д. Зав. для выдѣл. жестянокъ и ящик. и наполнение жестянокъ керосиномъ.

⁵⁸ *Список фабрик и заводов Российской империи*, category no. 8 (Группа VIII, Обработка металловъ, производство машинъ, аппаратовъ и орудій) (Saint Petersburg: Kirschbaum, 1912), 202.

⁵⁹ Gelina Harlaftis, “The Role of the Greeks in the Black Sea Trade, 1830–1900,” in *Shipping and Trade, 1750–1950: Essays in International Maritime Economic History*, ed. Lewis R. Fischer and Helge W. Nordvik (Pontefract: Lofthouse, 1990), 79.

⁶⁰ He could be G. Mavropoulos, mentioned as a member of the ecclesiastical committee of Batumi’s Greek Community in 1897–99. Kalfoglou, *Ιστορία της εν Βατούμ, 26*.

oil cans; the former employed 25 and the latter 200 workers.⁶¹ Both exported kerosene, the first to Russia and the second to Turkey, Serbia and Bulgaria. As for Simelidis, he had machines for the manufacturing of oil cans with 20 workers; he exported to Russia and Italy.⁶²

Our attempts to identify any of the above-mentioned businessmen among the Greeks involved in different philanthropic activities was frustrated by the fact that we do not know their first names. N.G. Angelidis and K.A. Angelidis actively supported the Greek schools of Batum. Kalfoglou's list mentions G.D. Mavropoulos.⁶³ There is a reference to a Greek school curator in 1899 called K. Simulov,⁶⁴ who may be Simelidis. Two Arvanitidis feature in the same category: K. Arvanitidis, a school curator in 1909 and 1912–1913;⁶⁵ and Georgios Arvanitidis, a vice-president of the Poor Fund.⁶⁶ The documents on the Greeks published by Kalfoglou in 1918 contain no reference to a Sideridis.

The Greeks were very active in other businesses as well. The tobacco trade was entirely in Greek hands. The most successful in this field was Lazar Biniat-Oghli, who is quite well studied in Georgian.⁶⁷ However, this article focuses on oil or oil-related Greek businessmen.

Greeks in Batum's Political Life

Regulations for the self-government of cities were established in 1870 in the Russian Empire.⁶⁸ In Georgia only six cities had self-governing status (Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Poti, Batum, Gori and Akhaltsikhe). They began to acquire it in the 1880s and with many limitations.⁶⁹ Such cities were under a *городская дума* (urban council), which were entitled to elect an urban prefect (or mayor, in modern

⁶¹ Bearing in mind that Mantashev, the third oil giant after the Nobels and Rothschild, had 300 workers, this number is quite impressive.

⁶² Dakishevich, *Батум*, 9.

⁶³ Kalfoglou, *Ιστορία της εν Βατούμ*, 42.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁶⁷ For the recent publications on Biniat-Oghli, see Nana Kvachadze, *A Trip to Old Batumi* (Batumi: Batumelebi, 2014), 113–14; Giorgadze, “*ჰონტოელ ბერძენთა მეურნეობა*,” 148–53.

⁶⁸ See V.M. Gribovsky, *Государственное устройство и управление Российской империи* (Odessa: Technik, 1912), 155.

⁶⁹ T. Kopaleishvili, “*საქალაქო თვითმმართველობის გამოცხადება ბათუმში 1888 წ.*,” *საისტორიო მაცნე* 11 (2002): 69.

terminology).⁷⁰ Batum acquired the status of self-administrated city in 1888,⁷¹ when the first elections to the city council were held. In that year, however, the urban prefect was not elected but was appointed by the governor-general of Kutaisi.⁷² A few months earlier, in November 1887, when a special committee had been created to prepare local elections for the first city council of Batum, one of its 10 members was Greek, Ch.S. Symeonidis (a merchant of the second guild, the only one with this status. Almost all members were householders).⁷³ Symeonidis was also a member of the ecclesiastical committee in 1887.⁷⁴

The First City Council (1888–1892)

Of Batum's 14,000 inhabitants, 525 citizens were entitled to vote.⁷⁵ The election was conducted over three days (25–26 August and 2 September 1888).⁷⁶ Each day, 12 councillors⁷⁷ were elected, making a total of 36, to a four-year term. The list of the councillors was published immediately in the *Caucasian Guide* for 1889.⁷⁸ It was republished in 1906.⁷⁹ Well-known Georgian prose-writer David Kldiashvili characterised the city council of Batum as “pied”.⁸⁰ Indeed, it was

⁷⁰ Gribovsky, *Государственное устройство*, 156.

⁷¹ Before that, from 1878 to 1886 Batum was a free port and the “military communal administration”. This type of administration was common only in the Caucasus. Besides Batum, it was found in the province of Dagestan as well as in the districts of Zakataly, Sukhum and Kars in Transcaucasia. Vladimir Bobrovnikov, “Islam in the Russian Empire,” in Lieven, *Cambridge History of Russia*, 216. For details on Batum free port, see Tchkoïdze, “Oil and Soil,” 475–80.

⁷² Eka Tchkoïdze, “Batoum, Mayors,” Black Sea Project Port Cities, <https://cities.blacksea.gr/en/batum/1-3-4/>.

⁷³ Ivane S. Meskhi, “Очерк развития батумского городского хозяйства,” in *Батум и его окрестности* (Batum: s.n., 1906), 485–86. This publication marked the 25th anniversary of the incorporation of Batum into the Russian Empire.

⁷⁴ Kalfoglou, *Ιστορία της εν Βατούμ*, 26.

⁷⁵ Obtaining the franchise was a very complicated and difficult process in the Russian Empire. See, briefly, Gribovsky, *Государственное устройство*, 77–87.

⁷⁶ The third day of polling on 27 August was postponed to 2 September.

⁷⁷ In Russian *гласный член* and in Georgian *ბმობანი*.

⁷⁸ *Кавказский календарь на 1889* (Tbilisi: s.n., 1888), 241.

⁷⁹ Meskhi, “Очерк развития,” 487.

⁸⁰ David Kldiashvili, *ჩემი ცხოვრების გზაზე* (Tbilisi: Sabchota Sakartvelo, 1961), 49. Kldiashvili (1862–1931) was educated at the best military schools of the Russian Empire. After accomplishing his studies, in 1882 he was appointed as a military servant in Batum. He lived there until 1908. His memoirs are entitled *ჩემი ცხოვრების გზაზე* (On the path of my life). Most of it is dedicated to the years he spent there. Thus this text is regarded as one of the

extremely colourful nationally and religiously. There were Russians, Georgians, Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Poles, Germans; Muslims, Orthodox, Catholics, Armenian-Catholics, Armenian-Monophysites and Protestants.

Ivane Meskhi, the author of the first article on Batum's history and administration and a member of the council for many terms,⁸¹ mentions that two of the 36 councillors were Greek.⁸² The identification of the first one was simple. His name was Nikolaos Panic Ephremidis of (Никл. Паникичъ Эфремиди) and he was elected on the second day of the elections (26 August). It was impossible to identify the second Greek councillor based on the names on the list. The only possibility is that David Thomas Kharazov may have been Χαραζίδης (Charazidis) in Greek. He was elected on the third day of polling (2 September).

In the Adjara Archives, a set of the minutes (no. 24) of the municipal council is signed by Nikolay Panikovich Ephremidis in Greek in pencil.⁸³ Kalfoglou's list of the 35 most important Greeks of Batum from the 1850s and 1860s mentions Nikolaos Ephremidis.⁸⁴ He donated 200 piastres for the building of St. Nicholas' Greek church.⁸⁵

The ethnic and religious proportions on the council were maintained in the following decades. The majority of the population and thus, of the councillors, were Georgians, followed by Armenians, Russians (with small ethnic groups like Poles, Germans etc.), with the Greeks in fourth place. Thus, two main electoral rival factions emerged, that of the Georgians and the Armenians.⁸⁶ In

important sources for the study of the political, social and cultural aspects of Batum in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

⁸¹ Ivane Meskhi served as a secretary of the council until 1918. Otar Turmanidze, "რუსული მმართველობის სისტემა და მხარის კოლონიზაცია," in სამხრეთ-დასავლეთ საქართველოს ისტორიის ნარკვევები: აჭარა, 4 ტომად, ტ. 3 ბათუმის ოლქი (1877–1920) (Batumi: Shota Rustaveli State University, 2008), 60.

⁸² According to the 1891 document mentioned above, it was Sideridis who usually financed Greeks' election campaign. Gogolishvili, "რამდენიმე საარქივო დოკუმენტი," 78.

⁸³ Sub-department of Adjara Autonomous Republic Government-Archives Administration, Fund I-7, Inventory 1, File 43, leaf 3.

⁸⁴ Kalfoglou, *Ιστορία της εν Βατούμ*, 11.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁸⁶ These two factions were called parties (Georgian Party and Armenian Party). Besides their national character, the Georgians represented the small and middle class and the Armenians represented the bourgeoisie. Alexandre Bendianishvili, "ქალაქები, სავაჭრო-სამრეწველო დაბები, საქალაქო თვითმმართველობა და კომუნალური მეურნეობა," სამხრეთ-დასავლეთ საქართველოს ისტორიის ნარკვევები: აჭარა, 4 ტომად, ტ. 3 ბათუმის ოლქი (1877–1920) (Batumi: Shota Rustaveli State University, 2008), 237.

this context, it was extremely important whom the Russians and Greeks would support. Their choice could determine the winner of the elections.

The Second City Council (1894–1898)

Elections for the second council term were due to be held in 1892, but as problems had been identified in the regulations on the electoral franchise – Batum was the only place in the entire Russian Empire where this happened⁸⁷ – the elections were postponed until 12 October 1894. Of the approximately 25,000 inhabitants, only 318 citizens were entitled to vote. In the end, only 239 voters participated in the poll to elect 35 councillors.⁸⁸ The 1894 election was significant as it was the first time that councillors would appoint an elected mayor/prefect.

The election campaign was hard fought. Each ethnic group and each faction sought to promote its own candidate. The two Georgian members of the city Council, Gr. Volsky⁸⁹ and I. Meskhi, faced a difficult task: they had to affiliate with other groups in the city in order to ensure the necessary number of votes for victory. In his detailed description of the election campaign of the Georgians, Kldiashvili relates an interesting story demonstrating the delicate balance between the various nationalities and the diplomacy required to retain it. The Georgian side had decided to affiliate with the Greek voters, which they achieved with great skill.

First we [Georgians of Batum] arranged an appointment with a Greek voter with great prestige, Giango Benlis. Great caution was needed in the negotiations with him. I remember how nervous they, Gr. Volsky and I. Meskhi, were at the evening meeting in Meliton Lortkipanidze’s apartment. It was night when Benlis arrived. The negotiations lasted for hours. The signs were good. In a few days Benlis had to come back bearing two or three friends [obviously Greeks]. So it happened. On the arranged day, the meeting was repeated with utmost secrecy behind closed doors, hidden from everyone. Such meetings were frequently held. The case had the desired results. Greek voters joined with ours on the condition that Georgians would vote five Greeks as members to the city council. The Georgians’ secret operation ran successfully. The Georgians awaited the elections with hope and this hope had a brilliant ending.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Meskhi, “Очерк развития,” 492–94.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 494.

⁸⁹ Volsky was of Polish origin with a Georgian mother. He was entirely Georgian, however. Kldiashvili, *ჩემი ცხოვრების გზაზე*, 65.

⁹⁰ Kldiashvili, *ჩემი ცხოვრების გზაზე*, 69–70; see also Tchkoidze, “Batoum, Mayors.”

The only thing left to do was to find the suitable candidate. Eventually, the Georgians agreed on Luka Asatiani (1826–1901), former city mayor of Kutaisi. Re-elected in the next elections in 1898, he served as the first elected mayor of Batum from 1894 until his death in 1901.

As already mentioned, during the 1894–1898 council term the Greeks secured five of the total 35 seats. The joint support of the 19 Georgian councillors and the five Greeks led to the election of Luka Asatiani as mayor. Four of the five Greek councillors are easily identifiable on the basis of their name: P.S. Symeonidis, A.D. Dimitriadis, G.E. Benlis,⁹¹ and M.T. Michailidis. The identity of the fifth Greek member is not clear, but he may have been A.D. Semenov. In addition to the 35 councillors, nine deputy councillors were also elected. One of them was Greek, N.E. Giakalis.⁹² N. Giakalis is also mentioned as a member of the ecclesiastical committee in 1897–99 and 1899–1903.⁹³

Kalfoglou refers to Giangos Benlis as I. Ef. Benlis Mityllinaios.⁹⁴ In the 1860s, he donated 500 piastres for the building of St Nicholas' Greek church⁹⁵ and was one of nine members of the church building committee. He was also a member of the ecclesiastical committee from 1897 to 1899.⁹⁶

Another of the four Greek councillors, Achilles Dimitriadis⁹⁷ was re-elected many times (until 1911). He was born in Trabzon in 1861.⁹⁸ He was involved in the educational affairs of the Greek community as well as being one of the four members of the special committee that issued permits for the publication of Greek books in Batum.⁹⁹ His father, Dimtrios Dimitriadis, was a very active member of the Greek community in the previous decades.¹⁰⁰ Achilles was a member, like his father, of the ecclesiastical committee in 1897–1899, 1899–1903

⁹¹ It is interesting that the very active Greek Benlis is always referred to in Georgian and Russian by his shortened name, Giangos/Giango/Gianko; while in Greek he is always mentioned as Ioannis.

⁹² Meskhi, "Очерк развития," 495.

⁹³ Kalfoglou, *Ιστορία της εν Βατούμ*, 26.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 11. His name was misspelled as Μιτυλληναίος. This is the only source mentioning Benlis' origin (Lesvos/Mytilini) and his father's name could be Ephraim.

⁹⁵ Kalfoglou, *Ιστορία της εν Βατούμ*, 20.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 24, 26.

⁹⁷ It is worth mentioning that Achilles Dimitridis, a very active person in Batum's political life, was father of the well-known music conductor Odysseas Dimitridis (1908–2005), who was born in Batum and was the youngest of eight children. His second name was Ioannis. Giorgadze, "ჰონტოელ ბერძენთა მეურნეობა," 165–66.

⁹⁸ For some biographical details, see *ibid.*

⁹⁹ Kalfoglou, *Ιστορία της εν Βατούμ*, 2.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 24.

and 1903–1905.¹⁰¹ He was also a church commissary (*ἐπίτροπος*) in 1898–1907, 1908–1911 and 1914–1917.¹⁰²

Michail Michailidis was a member of the ecclesiastical committee in 1887, 1897–1899, 1899–1903.¹⁰³ He also served as a church commissary in 1892–1893 and 1908–1911.¹⁰⁴

The Third City Council (1898–1902)

The first round in the elections to the third council was conducted on 18 October 1898. A total of 472 voters elected 27 councillors. The second round was held on 15 November, when an additional 14 councillors were elected, bringing the total to 41.¹⁰⁵ They were sworn in on 2 December 1898. There were four Greek councillors: Achilles Dimitriadis, son of Dimitrios; Michail Michailidis, son of Triantafyllos; Panagiotis Symeonidis, son of Symeon; Timoleon Triantafyllidis, son of Periklis.¹⁰⁶ As we see, only Benlis was replaced (by Triantafyllidis, who had been elected councillor for the first time).

The city directory of Batum for 1902 mentions that all of the Greek councillors owned their own homes.¹⁰⁷ Triantafyllidis, one of the most important doctors in Batum, was director of the City Hospital.¹⁰⁸ By all accounts, he was the most important person in the community, supporting with all means all Greek educational institutions of Batum over a number of years.¹⁰⁹

Michailidis was one of seven members of the city building committee.¹¹⁰ Dimitriadis was one of the three members of the committee for the evaluation and re-evaluation of public property, and was chief of the chamber of commerce, which had two committee members, one of whom was Councillor Symeonidis.¹¹¹

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 26–27.

¹⁰² Ibid., 37–38.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 26–27.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 37.

¹⁰⁵ Georgians were again the majority. For all 41 names, see Meskhi, “Очерк развития,” 497. The same list with addresses of all councilors in the first directory of Batum: *Всеобщий Адрес Ежегодник города Батума на 1902* (Batum: M. Nikoladze, 1902), 59.

¹⁰⁶ For the full list, see Meskhi, “Очерк развития,” 496–97.

¹⁰⁷ *Всеобщий Адресъ города Батума на 1902 годъ*, 58–59.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 60.

¹⁰⁹ Kalfoglou, *Исторία της εν Βατούμ*, 40.

¹¹⁰ *Всеобщий Адресъ города Батума на 1902 годъ*, 62.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 63.

In 1912, Triantafyllidis was president of the Benevolent Fraternity for the Poor of Batum, whose board of directors had 12 members. Councillors Michailidis and Dimitriadis were also on the board.¹¹²

The Fourth City Council (1902–1906)

The next elections were conducted on 10 November 1902. Of an initial electorate of 708 voters,¹¹³ this number was finally reduced to 492.¹¹⁴ The second round was conducted on 1 December 1902. A total of 38 councillors was elected, instead of the previous 41.¹¹⁵ They were sworn in on 4 January 1902. It was the weakest council in terms of Greek representation as only A.D. Dimitriadis was elected.¹¹⁶

Batum and Greece: Some General Observations

The first decade of the twentieth century appears as the best period for the shipping connections between Batum and Greece. In 1904, a total of 47 Greek ships (33 sailing and 14 steam) entered the port of Batum, ranking sixth in terms of number after the British, Turkish, Russian, French and German vessels.¹¹⁷ In 1907 exports from Batum to Greece amounted to 261 tons (£1,133), in 13th place, after Spain, Romania and Persia.¹¹⁸ Generally, from 1903 to 1907 the number of Greek steamships increased. For example, while in 1875 there were 28 steamships, by 1903 there were 210 and by 1907 287.¹¹⁹ Batum was in fifth

¹¹² Kalfoglou, *Ιστορία της εν Βατούμ*, 52.

¹¹³ Meskhi, *Очерк развития*,” 500.

¹¹⁴ Like the second elections, the third elections had an interesting background. The editor of an anti-Georgian newspaper *Черноморский Вестник*, Palm, published a deliberately provocative article in order to set the Greeks against the Georgians, as the Greeks were their traditional supporters. An anonymous author of an article published in the Georgian newspaper *Kvali* expressed the wish that Palm's intention would not be realised. *კვალი*, no. 39, 22 September 1902.

¹¹⁵ Meskhi, “*Очерк развития*,” 500–1.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 500.

¹¹⁷ Greenhalgh, *Adjara and the Russian Empire, 1878–1917*, 527. New statistics show that there was in fact 89 Greek ships in Batum (35 sailing and 54 steam). I am indebted to the anonymous reviewer of this article, who kindly provided me with the new statistics on the Greek ships, which comes from Socrates Petmezas and Alexandra Papadopoulou, eds., *Black Sea Historical Statistics, 1812–1914* (forthcoming).

¹¹⁸ Greenhalgh, *Adjara and the Russian Empire, 1878–1917*, 543.

¹¹⁹ Georgios Ploumidis, “Στοιχεία για την ελληνική ναυτιλία στη Μαύρη θάλασσα (αρχές 20ου αιώνα),” *Δωδώνη* 14 (1985): 61. According to the new statistics, 1894 was the highpoint for the arrival of Greek ships to Batum's port, when there were 152 out of a total of 771 (almost

place for the number of Greek ship departures among 13 ports in on the Black and Azov seas, ranking behind Taganrog, Braila, Sulina and Galati.¹²⁰ Greek shipowners' main interest in Batum was oil.¹²¹

Importantly, Greece maintained a consulate in Batum. Two of the consul's names are known. A document dated 23 October 1893 naming the 15 candidates for membership of board of directors for the building Greek schools (all-boys and all-girls) is signed by P. Gofas, the consul.¹²² The city guide for 1902, when the Greek consulate was one of 14 consulates in the city, identifies Aristidis Pavlidis as consul.¹²³ The consulate was housed in a residence of a man called Angelidis.¹²⁴ Importantly, before the October Revolution Batum had more consulates than any other city in the Caucasus (even more than in Tbilisi, Baku, Kars and Novorossisk).¹²⁵

Conclusion

While the literature has highlighted the significance of Greek migration to the Russian Empire from the late eighteenth century up to the First World War, the case of Batum was under-researched. This article is a first attempt to present some aspects of Greek activity in the city, which was a village when the first Greeks first settled there. From 1878 to 1888, it grew into a very prosperous town and from 1888 to 1921 was an important, cosmopolitan city of international significance.

This article has focused on two aspects: the economic activities of Greeks (in oil or oil-related businesses) and their political activities. The consulted material shows that the most important Greek entrepreneur was Sideridis, the main competitor of Alphonse de Rothschild's business interests. In terms of political activities, the article has revealed three significant and largely

20 percent). From 1904 to 1914, the number steadily declined, to reach only 13 out of a total of 766 ships in 1913. Petmezas and Alexandra, *Black Sea Historical Statistics*. For the reasons why the Greeks had such a significant presence in Black Sea trade and shipping, see Harlaftis, "The Role of the Greeks," 90. Before 1870 Greeks accounted for 33 to 45 percent of the total tonnage clearing Black Sea ports.

¹²⁰ Ploumidis, "Στοιχεία για την ελληνική ναυτιλία," 63.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 71.

¹²² Kalfoglou, *Ιστορία της εν Βατούμ*, 41–42.

¹²³ The total of 15 consulates is a quite impressive number in comparison to other places in the region.

¹²⁴ *Всеобщий Адресъ города Батума на 1902 годъ*, 57. He is likely to be the same businessman who dealt with oil packaging who we have mentioned several times.

¹²⁵ For the list, see Sioridze, *დასავლეთის სავაჭრო* 125, 113–14.

forgotten personalities: Ioannis (Giankos) Benlis, Achilles Dimitriadis and Timoleon Triantafyllidis (about whom only a few lines exist in the *Encyclopaedia of Pontian Hellenism*).¹²⁶ Batum's Greeks supported the Georgians in all municipal elections. This coalition enabled the Georgians to promote their national interests under Russian rule. In their political activities, Batum's Greeks strongly supported their ethnic and religious identity. All Greek councillors were involved in the Greek church and in establishing of Greek schools. Consequently, this article opens new perspectives for a better understanding of the cultural, social and educational dimensions of the Greek presence in Batum.

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¹²⁶ *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του Ποντιακού Ελληνισμού*, 10: 346.

LA CONSTRUCTION DE L'ARCHITECTURE DE L'ARCHIVE POLICIÈRE: LE CAS DE L'AFFAIRE ARGYRIADÈS

Eleftheria Zei, Xenia Marinou and Manolis Arkolakis

Résumé: Le présent article constitue une introduction à notre recherche en cours, portant sur le modus operandi de la Police de Paris vers la fin du XIXe siècle, à travers l'exemple de la surveillance d'Argyriadès. Nous présentons ici l'architecture des sources consultées: l'archive policière sur Argyriadès qui reste jusqu'à nos jours inexploitée, les dossiers sur la surveillance d'autres militants du mouvement ouvrier français dans lesquels apparaît le nom d'Argyriadès, une partie des fonds Louise Michel dans lesquels nous avons repéré sa correspondance avec l'avocat socialiste et la formation de deux catalogues, renfermant les œuvres d'Argyriadès, ses interventions dans la presse française, mais aussi les références à son nom par la presse française et internationale. Par la suite, nous analysons les principaux axes de la méthodologie appliquée et nous présentons les principales questions formulées à travers notre recherche.

Historiographie

L'historiographie de la police compte déjà quelques décennies de productions scientifiques. À côté d'une histoire descriptive des institutions, souvent élaborée par des ex-commissaires, ou des mémoires personnels et parfois peu fiables, comme celles du Préfet Louis Andrieux,¹ nous voyons s'organiser au cours des trente dernières années, une historiographie polyvalente. Jean-Marc Berlière renouvelle profondément l'intérêt historiographique et introduit le sujet comme champ privilégié de la recherche historique.² Le regard historien s'oriente

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¹ Louis Andrieux, *Souvenirs d'un préfet de police* (Paris: Jules Rouff, 1885), 2 t.

² Jean-Marc Berlière, *L'institution policière en France sous la Troisième République* (Dijon: Université de Bourgogne, 1991), 3 t. Sur l'historiographie de la Police en France: Berlière,

vers l'idée et le processus du maintien de l'ordre³ en temps de paix, de guerre ou d'instabilité politique,⁴ multipliant les travaux sur la Garde nationale et les diverses sections de l'armée.⁵ Les forces de l'ordre public sont conçues comme élément indissociable de l'Etat⁶ et l'entrée des procédures policières dans l'ère de la modernité revendique plusieurs analyses.⁷ Les études menant au métier de policier, négligées pendant longtemps, s'affirment à travers l'organisation de colloques scientifiques et provoque des éditions spéciales.⁸ L'apport essentiel de la documentation des dernières décennies est la possibilité de réfléchir autrement sur la police, ce protagoniste de l'espace urbain: la police comme institution, enjeu politique, métier disposant de ses savoirs spécifiques,⁹ mais aussi comme société particulière qui se trouve toujours en relation et/ou en contradiction avec l'actualité sociopolitique. Les chercheurs, loin de se contenter des rapports de la police avec le crime ou la criminalité, explorent aussi la question de la violence, la bureaucratie émergeant de l'institution, la médiatisation des représentations

"Histoire de la police: Quelques réflexions sur l'historiographie française," *Criminocorpus*, Histoire de la police, Présentation du dossier, visité le 11 octobre 2021: <https://doi.org/10.4000/criminocorpus.73>.

³ John Merriman, "Le maintien de l'ordre à la périphérie des villes (1815-1851)," *Cahiers du Centre des Recherches Historiques* 2 (1988): 51-70.

⁴ Jean-Charles Jauffret, "Armée et Pouvoir Politique: La question des troupes spéciales chargées du maintien de l'ordre en France de 1871 à 1914," *Revue Historique* 270 (1983): 97-144; Quentin Deluermoz, "L'ordre est républicain," à *Une contre-histoire de la IIIe République*, dir. Marion Fontaine, Frédéric Monier et Christophe Prochasson (Paris: La Découverte, 2013), 83-96; Odile Roynette, "L'armée, une institution républicaine?," à Fontaine, Monier et Prochasson, *Une contre-histoire de la IIIe République*, 97-109; Jean Tulard, *La police parisienne entre deux révolutions (1830-1848)* (Paris: CNRS, 2014).

⁵ A titre indicatif: Louis Girard, *La Garde nationale, 1814-187* (Paris: Plon, 1964); Odile Roynette, "L'armée dans la bataille sociale: Maintien de l'ordre et grèves ouvrières dans le Nord de la France (1871-1906)," *Le Mouvement Social* 179 (1997): 33-58. Pour les travaux sur la gendarmerie: Jean-Noël Luc, dir., *Histoire de la maréchaussée et de la gendarmerie: Guide de recherches* (Maisons-Alfort: SHGN, 2005).

⁶ Jean Tulard, dir., *L'Etat et sa Police en France (1789-1914)* (Genève: Droz, 1979).

⁷ Jean-Marc Berlière, *Naissance de la police moderne* (Paris: Perrin, 2011); Paolo Napoli, *Naissance de la police moderne: Pouvoir, normes, sociétés* (Paris: La Découverte, 2003).

⁸ Pierre Demonque, *Les policiers* (Paris: La Découverte/Maspero, 1983); Dominique Kalifa et Pierre Karila-Cohen, dir., *Le commissaire de police au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2008); Jean-Marc Berlière, Catherine Denys, Dominique Kalifa et Vincent Milliot, dir., *Métiers de police: Etre policier en Europe, XVIIIe-XXe siècle* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008).

⁹ René Lévy, *Du suspect au coupable: Le travail de police judiciaire* (Suisse: Méridiens Klincksieck, 1987).

policières¹⁰ et même le langage policier et criminel.¹¹ En plus, l'exemple unique de la centralisation de la police parisienne, au moins jusqu'aux premières années de la IIIe République, anime des recherches qui tentent à démontrer son rôle privilégié par rapport aux autres polices du territoire français.¹² Ces multiples visions de la police nous permettent de distinguer les différentes "polices" au pluriel, ou mieux encore le monde des polices¹³ afin de repérer leurs coexistences et leurs antagonismes.¹⁴ La combinaison entre les grandes étapes dans l'histoire de la police et une histoire de longue durée (ou même les nouvelles périodisations proposées par certains historiens) témoignent du fait que l'histoire de la police, en France, n'est pas linéaire et reste étroitement liée aux ruptures et continuités assez complexes. L'histoire sociale de la police, marquée par les analyses d'Arlette Farge¹⁵ et influencée de Michel Foucault¹⁶ multiplie les interprétations de l'institution policière dans son rapport au corps social, élargit la notion du "contrôle social" et met en évidence la production d'une rationalité politique dominante.

Notre recherche s'inscrit alors dans ce travail historiographique d'ensemble et le présent article constitue un premier effort de décryptage des procédures policières à travers l'analyse du dossier portant sur Panagiotis Argyriades.¹⁷ L'archive à

¹⁰ Klaus Mladek, ed., *Police Forces: A Cultural History of an Institution* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Quentin Deluermoz, *Policiers dans la ville: La construction d'un ordre public à Paris, 1854–1914* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2012).

¹¹ Michel Alexandre, *Le langage quotidien de la police* (Genève: Liber, 1997); Jacques Arnal, *L'argot de la police* (Paris: Eurédif, 1975); Jean Lacassagne, Pierre Devaux, dir., *L'argot du milieu* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1948).

¹² A titre indicatif: Jean-Marc Berlière, "La police sous la IIIe République: La difficile construction," à *Histoire et Dictionnaire de la Police, du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, dir. Michel Aubin, Arnaud Teyssier et Jean Tulard (France: Robert Laffont, 2005): 351–486; Quentin Deluermoz, "Paris sous le rapport de la police: Incertitudes et mutations dans les politiques de sécurité urbaine (1854–1896)," *Les Cahiers de la sécurité* 61 (2006): 151–58.

¹³ Jean-Marc Berlière, *Le monde des polices en France* (Bruxelles: Complexe, 1996); Jean-Marc Berlière et René Lévy, *Histoire des polices en France: De l'ancien régime à nos jours* (Paris: Nouveau Monde, 2013).

¹⁴ Laurent Lopez, *La guerre des polices n'a pas eu lieu: Gendarmes et policiers, co-acteurs de la sécurité publique sous la Troisième République (1870–1914)* (Paris: Presses de l'université Paris-Sorbonne, 2014).

¹⁵ Arlette Farge, *La vie fragile: Violence, pouvoirs et solidarités à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1986).

¹⁶ Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975).

¹⁷ Notre recherche a beaucoup avancé grâce à l'aide de deux sites que nous aimerions présenter même que brièvement. Le site *Criminocorpus* (<https://criminocorpus.org/fr/>, visité le 21 octobre 2021) est une plateforme francophone de publication scientifique en ligne sur l'histoire de la justice, des crimes et des peines, en libre accès, qui se renouvelle

disposition et les renseignements provenant de la Préfecture de police de Paris posent les limites de notre recherche dans l'espace et dans le temps, nous conduisant à nous concentrer sur la période entre 1883 et 1903, en pleine République. La période en question constitue, nous semble-t-il, un terrain privilégié de recherche, puisqu'il s'agit d'une ère de mutations politiques sous-jacentes qui parfois prennent les dimensions d'une crise affirmée (Boulangisme, affaire Dreyfus).

Dans plusieurs recherches mentionnées ci-dessus sur la Préfecture de la Police de Paris, la séparation entre "police visible – police secrète" est recherchée, ce qui permet souvent une meilleure systématisation des informations recueillies. Il nous semble très intéressant que le dossier sur Argyriadès reste une zone grise, puisque s'y mélangent des documents provenant de la police municipale, de commissaires spéciaux de police, d'agents secrets, du Contrôle Général, d'officiers de paix, sans négliger les lettres anonymes d'informateurs bénévoles et les rapports provenant parfois des préfectures d'autres villes. Nous pouvons dès lors conclure que la composition du dossier d'Argyriadès est très complexe: outre que sa constitution matérielle s'étale dans le temps, elle présente aussi les transformations, les coopérations et les antagonismes entre les différentes entités policières à l'œuvre à l'époque.

Documentation

Né à Kastoria le 15 août 1849 dans l'Empire Ottoman, Argyriadès est tout de même signalé par la police comme étant d'origine grecque. Fils d'Argyris Dimopoulos et d'Anne Papamosco, Argyriadès arrive dans la métropole française le 27 octobre 1872, au lendemain de la Commune de Paris. Il fait des études de droit et s'inscrit au barreau auprès de la Cour d'Appel. Après un séjour de presque une dizaine d'années en France, il fût naturalisé français par le décret du 25 février 1881 et se lance alors dans les débats politiques. Le dossier¹⁸ monté par la police parisienne sur Argyriadès¹⁹ constitue le principal

systématiquement depuis 2015. Le site Maïtron-en-ligne (<https://maitron.fr/>, visité le 21 octobre 2021) reprend la totalité des 216.724 notices correspondant aux cinq premières périodes du dictionnaire biographique du mouvement ouvrier et social, de 1789 à 1968, un énorme corpus d'information, qui est en libre accès depuis 2018. Sa consultation nous a permis, à plusieurs reprises, d'identifier des noms figurant dans les dossiers policiers.

¹⁸ Préfecture de Police de Paris (PPA), Série B, Sous-série BA, Dossier 935. D'ores et déjà PPA/BA/935/date.

¹⁹ Quelques informations biographiques et certains aspects de ses actions sont tracés dans les œuvres: Adéodat Compère-Morel, dir., *Encyclopédie socialiste, syndicale et coopérative de l'Internationale ouvrière* (Paris: A. Quillet, 1912–1921); Paul Lombard, *Au berceau du socialisme français* (Paris: Des Portiques, 1932); Panagiotis Noutsos, *Η σοσιαλιστική*

outil de notre recherche. Il fait partie de la Série B, Sous-série BA du Cabinet du préfet de police dans laquelle on trouve: “des documents émanant du Bureau de renseignement de la 2e division (puis Direction générale des renseignements généraux) et de la Sûreté (puis Direction générale de la police judiciaire)”.²⁰ Le dossier, composé de plus de mille documents, se construit sur base de rapports ciblés, fruit de la surveillance du jeune avocat, et d'extraits de rapports provenant de la surveillance d'autres personnes ou groupes politiques. Dans ce corpus de textes, nous trouvons également des notes, parfois anonymes, un ensemble de “souvenirs” et “témoignages”, comme quelques affiches électorales de l'époque, dans lesquelles figure le nom d'Argyriadès, une partie de sa correspondance privée, sa carte professionnelle, des coupures des journaux français et quelques éditions effectuées par lui-même, qui, sans être lues (puisque leurs pages n'étaient pas coupées), sont intégrées dans son dossier.

Les documents sont dans leur plus grande partie écrits à la main, parfois à la hâte, avec des abréviations, des fautes grammaticales, surtout des fautes de transcription de noms propres, présentant dans certains cas des parties illisibles et des additions faites au dernier moment. Les différentes calligraphies sont très nombreuses et d'une organisation de texte plus ou moins aboutie, ce qui nous fait penser au moment de leur rédaction: dans la rue, à la fin d'une patrouille, ou à l'abri du bureau d'une brigade. Ces documents nous font aussi penser au rédacteur même, nous font deviner sa formation, ses intérêts et surtout son envie de s'impliquer dans cette affaire ou tout au contraire reflètent son ennui face à un travail souvent bureaucratique et monotone. Des textes dactylographiés apparaissent aussi au cours des dernières années de la surveillance mais leur présence dans le dossier reste plus que marginale. La première difficulté alors fût de pouvoir lire une pléthore d'écritures différentes et d'achever la transcription de tout le matériel. Dans ce processus nous avons réussi à corriger la plus grande partie des noms propres qui apparaissent dans le dossier et de les faire correspondre aux personnalités du mouvement anarchiste et socialiste.

σκέψη στην Ελλάδα (1875-1974) (Athènes: Gnessi, 1995); Théodoros Benakis, “Ο Παύλος Αργυριάδης και το ανατολικό ζήτημα,” *Τετράδια Πολιτικού Διαλόγου, Έρευνας και Κριτικής* 43 (1999): 87-94; Michel Nani, “Le socialisme international à l'épreuve de la ‘question juive’: Une résolution de l'Internationale au Congrès de Bruxelles de 1891,” à *L'espace culturel transnational*, dir. Anna Boschetti (Paris: Nouveau monde, 2009), 223-39; Ivan Savev, “Victor Bérard et la Macédoine,” *Conflicts et mémoires dans les Balkans* 38-39 (2011): 149-66, visité le 21 octobre 2021, <https://doi.org/10.4000/ceb.819>. Voir aussi la notice biographique d'Argyriadès au dictionnaire biographique du mouvement ouvrier Maïtron, visité le 21 octobre 2021, <https://maitron.fr/spip.php?article77019>.

²⁰ Voir l'état des fonds d'archives: <https://www.prefecturedepolice.interieur.gouv.fr/sites/default/files/Documents/20211220-EtatFondsArchivesSMAC.pdf>.

Le dossier couvre la période allant de 1882 à 1903 (une année après la mort d'Argyriadès) avec une pause de trois ans, entre 1887 et 1890, période à laquelle le jeune avocat se marie et s'installe à Marseille. L'archive disponible se compose d'une abondante documentation, produite par des sources diverses, et comme nous l'avons mentionné, parfois difficile à déchiffrer d'autant plus qu'elle reflète la hiérarchie, la complexité et les dysfonctions du système d'investigation policier, ainsi que les partis-pris personnels des enquêteurs et leur subjectivité. Elle révèle aussi une structure architecturale d'archivage assez complexe, dans laquelle les différents dossiers convergent, divergent, se recourent, et parfois sont écartés de l'affaire. Il faut souligner que l'évolution de la police parisienne, en tant qu'organe bureaucratique et de surveillance, est également reflétée à l'image finale de l'archive, rendant la situation encore plus confuse. La surveillance est très systématique les deux premières années de l'affaire (1883/155 articles,²¹ 1884/198 articles), ralentit par la suite (1885/67 articles, 1886/2, 1887/1) pour arrêter complètement durant le séjour d'Argyriadès à Marseille et reprendre en 1890. Afin de mieux exploiter ce matériel nous avons créé un catalogue contenant la transcription de tous les textes, leur date de rédaction, la source de chaque document lorsqu'elle était clairement indiquée (nom, pseudonyme, bureau, brigade, service de Police), en insérant aussi des commentaires sur les interventions du Contrôle Général qui apparaissent sur certains documents (différente annotation, correction des parties du texte, effacement ou ajout d'informations, différent système d'archivage). A travers la transcription des documents nous avons enregistré les noms qui apparaissent dans l'entourage d'Argyriadès, les lieux où il évolue, les groupes politiques qu'il fréquente, les journaux ainsi que les thèmes de l'actualité dans lesquels il s'implique. A travers cette systématisation quantitative du matériel nous cherchons à expliquer les axes d'intérêt de la Police de Paris envers cette affaire, ainsi que les différentes orientations de la recherche policière.

A côté de ce matériel, nous examinons les informations fournies par le Fichier nominal dit "Fichier des Communards"²² qui se trouve aussi au service historique des archives de la Préfecture de Police de Paris. Comme le souligne la présentation du fichier par l'*Association des amies et amis de la Commune*:

²¹ Comme "article" nous désignons chaque rapport, extrait de rapport ou note rédigé par un officier de la police.

²² Ce fichier ne figure plus au nouveau site de la Préfecture de Police de Paris mais est consultable au site de l'Association des amies et amis de la Commune, visité le 21 octobre 2021, <https://www.commune1871.org/la-commune-de-paris/guide-des-sources/681-service-des-archives-de-la-prefecture-de-police-de-paris>.

Ce fichier [Fichier des Communards] n'a jamais eu un usage policier, il s'agit d'un instrument de recherche très détaillé renvoyant à la série BA. Il a probablement été établi au début du XXe siècle sous la direction du conservateur de l'époque, M. Labat. L'éventail des noms qu'il recense dépasse le cadre des insurgés de la Commune: il englobe en général les activistes politiques de la fin du Second Empire et du début de la IIIe République. Tout individu signalé dans un rapport – mais n'ayant nécessairement pas de dossier ouvert à leur nom – figurent dans ce fichier. A noter que certains dossiers du BA n'ont pas été référencés dans ce fichier par les services de l'époque. Il faut donc utiliser les autres instruments de recherche sur papier. A noter enfin que, comme toute indexation, celle-ci est parfois imparfaite.²³

L'indexation est vraiment imparfaite puisque le dossier sur Argyriadès²⁴ (APP/BA/935) est enregistré au nom Arnaud sur le Fichier des Communards. Son nom apparaît seulement aux cotations suivantes qui, de leur côté, ne figurent pas dans son dossier personnel: BA 1019/Dossier Clement J.B., BA 1009/Dossier Chardon C.A., BA 1020/Dossier Cournet, BA 879/Dossier Valles, BA 1031/Dossier Dereure, BA 1009 Chatelain, BA 1067/Dossier Eudes, BA 1063/Dossier Ebers, BA 1086/Dossier Frankel, BA 874/Dossier Gambon, BA 1088/Dossier Gaillard, BA 1126/Dossier Joffrin.

L'archive que nous voyons alors se former autour de la surveillance de l'avocat grec prend des dimensions considérables et nous pourrions parler d'une architecture d'archivage assez complexe, puisque nous constatons l'existence de deux principaux réseaux d'informations: le dossier APP/BA/935 construit pour lui-même, se servant des dossiers d'autres militants, et plusieurs autres dossiers informés par des rapports portant sur Argyriadès.

Malgré l'ampleur du matériel disponible, nous avons tout de même cherché à étudier certaines actions d'Argyriadès qui, soit ayant échappées aux enquêteurs, soit ayant été délibérément écartées par la police parisienne, peuvent néanmoins être retracées par la voie d'autres archives ou dans la presse française et internationale. Cela nous a permis de former un registre plutôt complet de ses relations en France et à l'étranger. Dans ce corpus de textes nous visons également à intégrer une grande partie des écrits d'Argyriadès en France: les journaux et les revues auxquels il collabora, les deux revues qu'il a lui-même fondées, ainsi

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ A l'encontre de la proposition de Michalis Dimitriou, *Το ελληνικό σοσιαλιστικό κίνημα: Από τους ουτοπιστές τους Μαρξιστές* (Athènes: Plethron, 1985): 41–42, Argyriadès n'a pas participé à la Commune de Paris et la présence de son nom au Fichier des Communards témoigne simplement de ses relations, surtout politiques, avec certains ex-Communards au lendemain de l'amnistie de 1880.

que certains ouvrages dont il est l'auteur. Les tableaux qui suivent ne sont pas exhaustifs mais contiennent une grande partie du matériel repéré et consulté.

Tableau 1. Références sur Argyriadès dans la presse française et internationale

Année	Presse française	Presse internationale
1882	<i>Journal des Débats, Le Figaro, Gil Blas</i>	
1883	<i>Le Presse</i>	
1884	<i>Journal des Débats, Le Presse, Le Figaro, Gil Blas, La Justice, La Lanterne, Le Gaulois, Le Matin, Le Temps</i>	<i>L'Impartial Dauphinois, Rhône-Alpes, Romania Libera</i>
1885	<i>Journal des Débats, La Presse, Gil Blas, Le Gaulois, La Lanterne, Le Matin</i>	<i>Le Journal de l'Ain, Nouvelliste Vaudois et Journal National Suisse, Romania Libera, Wolverhampton Express and Star</i>
1886–88	–	–
1889	<i>Journal des Débats, Gil Blas, Le Gaulois, La Lanterne, Le Matin</i>	<i>Le Stéphanois, Le Journal d'Annonay</i>
1890		<i>Freedom</i>
1891	<i>Journal des Débats</i>	<i>La Revue de Lausanne, Le Stéphanois, Reynolds's Newspaper, Yorkshire Post, Morning Post, Freedom</i>
1892	<i>Journal des Débats, Le Matin, Le Gaulois</i>	<i>La Sentinelle, Manchester Evening News, Yorkshire Herald, Western Morning News, Edinburgh Evening News</i>
1893	<i>Journal des Débats, Gil Blas, Le Gaulois</i>	<i>Feuille d'Avis de Lausanne, L'Estafette, La Revue (de Lausanne), La Sentinelle, Le Stéphanois, Le Journal de Vienne, Freedom, Western Morning News, Westminster Gazette, Pall Mall Gazette, Nottingham Journal, Morning Post, Manchester Courier, Standard, Glasgow Herald, Derby Daily Telegraph, Cork Constitution, Aberdeen Evening Express</i>
1894	<i>Journal des Débats, Le Matin, Le Gaulois</i>	<i>Feuille d'Avis de Lausanne, L'Estafette, La Revue de Lausanne, La Sentinelle, Le Stéphanois, La Tribune de Lausanne, Justice, Nouvelliste Vaudois</i>
1895	<i>Journal des Débats</i>	<i>Le Journal de Vienne</i>
1896	<i>Journal des Débats, Gil Blas, Le Gaulois, Le Matin</i>	<i>Feuille d'Avis de Lausanne, Le Stéphanois, Justice, Highland News, Labour Leader, Westminster Gazette</i>

1897	<i>Journal des Débats, Gil Blas, Le Gaulois</i>	<i>Feuille d'Avis de Lausanne, La Tribune de Lausanne et Estafette, Le Journal de Vienne, Nouvelliste Vaudois, Clarion, Justice, Labour Leader, United Ireland</i>
1898	<i>Journal des Débats, Gil Blas, Le Gaulois, Le Matin</i>	<i>Le Stéphanois, Le Journal de Vienne, Justice, London Evening Standard, Glasgow Herald</i>
1899	<i>Journal des Débats</i>	<i>L'Attaque, La Revue de Lausanne, Le Stéphanois, Labour Leader, Clarion</i>
1900	<i>Journal des Débats, Gil Blas, Le Gaulois, Le Matin</i>	<i>Le Journal de Vienne</i>
1901	<i>Gil Blas</i>	<i>L'Indépendance Roumaine, La Revue de Lausanne, Le Stéphanois, Justice</i>

Tableau 2. Collaborations et œuvres/éditions d'Argyriadès

Reuves et journaux auxquels Argyriadès collaborât	Œuvres et publications d'Argyriadès
<i>Le Cri du Peuple</i>	<i>La peine de mort, considérée au point de vue philosophique, moral, légal et pratique</i> (Paris: Leroux, 1875)
<i>Le Parti Socialiste</i>	<i>Le Poète socialiste Eugène Pottier, ancien membre de la Commune</i> (Paris: La Question sociale, 1888)
<i>Le Petit Sou</i>	<i>Cause célèbre, Affaire Souhain: Une mère qui, poussée par la misère étrangle ses enfants, Plaidoirie</i> (Paris: La question sociale, 1895)
<i>La Revue Socialiste</i>	<i>Essai sur le socialisme scientifique: critique économique de la production capitaliste</i> (Paris: La question sociale, 1891)
<i>La Question sociale: revue des idées socialistes et du mouvement révolutionnaire des deux mondes</i> (fondée par Argyriadès). [1ère série] n° 1, janvier 1885–n° 8, 10 août–10 décembre 1885; 2e série vol. 1, n° 1, octobre 1891–vol. 4, n° 9, 15 septembre 1893; 3e série, vol. 5, n° 1, mai 1894–vol. 7, n° 40–41, novembre–décembre 1897	<i>Concentration capitaliste, trusts et accaparements</i> (Paris: La question sociale, 1896)
<i>Almanach de la Question Sociale</i> (fondé par Argyriadès), 1891–1903	<i>Solution de la Question d'Orient</i> (en collaboration avec P. Lagarde) (Paris: La Question sociale, 1896)

Cette cartographie des références sur sa personne, et de la production écrite d'Argyriadès nous aidera comme source supplémentaire, afin de mieux esquisser

les limites, les lacunes et les omissions volontaires du dossier de police. Notre ambition n'est pas tant la reconstitution de la vie ou des agissements du militant socialiste mais les modalités d'investigation et les procédures policières durant la surveillance et la constitution du dossier. A travers l'analyse de cet ensemble hétérogène des discours, nous voyons se former progressivement plusieurs représentations contradictoires d'Argyriadès, accentuant chaque fois des éléments différents.

Dans ce but nous avons aussi intégré dans notre recherche (bien qu'il ne soit pas possible de le présenter dans l'article présent) les rapports entre Argyriadès et Louise Michel. L'omission de leur relation constitue, pensons-nous, un exemple frappant de "lacunes" de l'archive. L'ex-Communarde a inquiété la police parisienne à plusieurs reprises depuis l'amnistie de 1880. Figure centrale du mouvement anarchiste dès 1880, elle entre en contact avec Argyriadès, qui, pour sa part, avait lutté pour son amnistie.

Dans un premier temps alors, la police enregistre (et continuera à enregistrer au fil du temps) tout discours d'Argyriadès faisant allusion à Louise Michel, mais l'essentiel de cette relation ne sera jamais intégré dans l'archive. La fameuse manifestation des sans-travail aux Invalides à Paris, le 9 mars 1883, fait de Louise Michel une figure centrale de l'affaire, lorsqu'elle se présente à la tête de la marche avec un drapeau noir improvisé. Son procès a lieu le 22 juin et l'affaire conduit plusieurs groupes politiques à exprimer leur soutien aux accusés. Ainsi dans un rapport de la 1^{ère} Brigade de Recherches, signé par l'Officier de Paix, Inspecteur Principal, en date du 24 juin 1883 on lit:

Hier, rue du fg St Antoine, 157, le Congrès Régional du Centre, Agglomération parisienne, a tenu sa sixième séance. Cent-cinquante personnes environ étaient présentes; une quinzaine de groupes étaient représentés par leurs délégués. Sur la proposition de Retailleur, la présidence d'honneur a été réservée aux condamnés du jour: Louise Michel, Pouget et Moreau ... Entre temps, un grec, Argyriadès, qui ne s'exprime que fort difficilement en français, vient dire qu'il a assisté au jugement de Louise Michel et de ses amis. Il dit qu'il a été indigné en entendant condamner une pauvre femme si bonne pour les pauvres. Il ne pouvait parler tant la douleur l'oppressait... "Ah! s'écrie cet individu, j'ai regretté de n'avoir pas dans ma poche une cartouche de dynamite, je l'eusse jetée dans la salle pour faire sauter tous ces gredins!"²⁵ Le grec termine en disant qu'il faut que tout cela finisse et que la révolution triomphe. On l'applaudit et on reprend la lecture des rapports.²⁵

²⁵ APP/BA/935/24 juin 1883, 1^{ère} Brigade des Recherches.

Quelques jours plus tard, dans un extrait de rapport non signé d'un Officier de Paix de la 2e Brigade, provenant du dossier no 244707, Argyriadès est à nouveau signalé parmi les fervents défenseurs de Louise Michel:

Le 7 courant a eu lieu rue de la Gaité, 20, à la salle des Mille Colonnes une réunion publique organisée par le groupe socialiste révolutionnaire des Ecoles. M. Argyriadès assistait à cette réunion en qualité d'orateur. Après avoir fait connaître qu'il s'est fait naturaliser français, il a dit que le gouvernement vient de commettre ... une lâcheté comme on n'en a pas vu depuis des siècles, dans n'importe quelle puissance, en condamnant la plus honnête des femmes, Louise Michel. Il a ajouté qu'il est allé en qualité d'avocat, demander au Préfet de Police ou à son secrétaire la permission d'aller voir Louise Michel et que cette faveur lui a été refusée. Il a raconté que Louise Michel a toujours eu en cœur généreux et a toujours travaillé pour le prolétaire et la révolution. Ceux qui l'ont emprisonnée, dit-il, ce sont des "bandits" et des "cochons".²⁶

Bien qu'il soit clair que la correspondance privée d'Argyriadès est parfois lue ou même transcrite et insérée dans son dossier, la plus grande partie de sa correspondance avec Louise Michel, témoignant d'une amitié profonde, est passée sous silence. Pourtant, les archives qui forment aujourd'hui les fonds Louise Michel,²⁷ aux archives départementales de la Seine-Saint-Denis, ont été, semble-t-il, constituées par Argyriadès, avant d'être conservées par sa famille et par la suite par le Parti Communiste.²⁸ De 1885 à 1891, Louise Michel envoie 128 articles, parmi lesquelles 47 lettres inédites, un portrait d'elle-même et des cartes postales à Argyriadès. Presqu'aucun de ces documents ne laisse de trace dans l'archive policière.

Nous sommes d'avis que les comparaisons entre le dossier sur Argyriadès et les éléments fournis par cette nouvelle documentation nous aideront à comprendre les critères selon lesquelles une relation ou tout simplement une information s'inscrit ou est laissée à l'écart de la recherche policière.

De l'espace privé aux espaces publics

Dans le processus de surveillance, l'espace joue un rôle majeur, d'autant plus que cette affaire a lieu à Paris, la métropole révolutionnaire tout au long du

²⁶ APP/BA/935/8 juillet 1883, l'Officier de Paix de la 2e Brigade/extrait de rapport, classé au dossier 244707.

²⁷ Archives départementales de la Seine-Saint-Denis, fonds Louise Michel, 377J1-3, poésies, pièces de théâtre, correspondances, 1870-1905.

²⁸ Voir l'introduction de l'édition sur Louise Michel par Claude Rétat: Louise Michel, *A travers la mort, mémoires inédits, 1886-1890* (Paris: La Découverte, 2021).

XIXe siècle. De la répartition “à l’anglaise” de la police municipale dans la ville, en 1854, à la formation des “îlots” (ensembles de rues assigné à chaque agent), puis au parcours continu des gardiens de la paix d’un espace restreint dans les endroits les plus fréquentés (établi par le préfet Lépine en 1893), l’enjeu principal, même pour la police visible, reste le contrôle du terrain.

L’espace dans le dossier d’Argyriadès acquiert des dimensions considérables, puisque les lieux fréquentés semblent aider et parfois imposer l’articulation de la surveillance. Dès 1884 une première description de son appartement figure dans son dossier:

Le citoyen P. Argyriadès occupe, dans la maison sise 52 rue Monge, un appartement de garçon au 3e au-dessus de l’entresol, la porte à gauche. Cet appartement se compose d’une entrée, une cuisine donnant sur la cour, une chambre à coucher sur la cour et une autre sur la rue, dans laquelle il y a deux lits en fer; Brault [sic] couche dans l’un et Argyriadès dans l’autre; une porte communique avec un salon-bibliothèque. Les journaux que reçoit Argyriadès ne lui sont montés qu’après 10 heures, car lui et son ami se lèvent tard. Les personnes qui se présentent sont introduites dans la bibliothèque, pièce meublée d’une table en chêne servant de pupitre, un divan, deux chaises et un fauteuil, le tous [sic] en chêne. A droite se trouve un tableau peint à l’huile représentant 3 jeunes femmes.²⁹

Le contrôle de l’espace ne concerne pas seulement les lieux publics mais aussi les lieux privés. La description du logement ne vise pas seulement à localiser la résidence de la personne surveillée (cinquième arrondissement de Paris); elle vise à mieux infiltrer un lieu intime et enregistrer les usages et habitudes de la vie quotidienne. Nous ne pouvons pas savoir si cette description fût le fruit d’un contrôle de l’appartement d’Argyriadès en son absence, ou si certains agents secrets ont infiltré, dès 1884, son entourage. Pourtant, en examinant l’ensemble du matériel, il semble plus que probable qu’Argyriadès partageait, au moins durant quelques années, son temps d’action politique avec quelques-unes des personnes chargées de le surveiller.

Le mouvement dans l’espace est continu: maisons particulières, salles de réunion, bibliothèques, librairies, bals, prisons, imprimeries, tribunaux, brasseries et régions électorales constituent les informations les plus citées dans cette affaire, nous permettant d’esquisser le terrain d’action occupé des personnes surveillantes et surveillées dans la ville. Les parcours d’Argyriadès dans des lieux privés, professionnels ou publics, créent une carte de Paris toute particulière, sur laquelle nous pouvons marquer les trajectoires les plus fréquentes, de même

²⁹ APP/BA/935/8 juin 1884, rapport non signé.

que les trajets exceptionnels, esquissant ainsi les rapports entre les nouveaux centres et les périphéries personnels d'un va-et-vient incessant. L'observation et l'analyse de tous ces éléments nous permettront aussi de vérifier si chaque agent, ou service policier, travaille plutôt par rapport au lieu (c'est-à-dire à une région), par rapport à une entité politique (personne ou groupe) ou par rapport à un sujet précis.

Les voix de l'archive

L'archive policière, surtout quand on parle d'une surveillance secrète, crée souvent une illusion de validité et de fiabilité envers la source, qui est accentuée par les certitudes policières exprimées dans leurs rapports. Pourtant, comme le note Andrea Cavazzini: "toute archive est ancrée dans des institutions, des idéologies, des savoirs différents et des relations de pouvoir. Une archive ne donnera à voir – du passé, des sources possibles, des façons de les lire – que ce qui sera transmis par l'articulation des procédés d'archivage au sein d'un ensemble de pratiques sociales".³⁰ De fait, l'archive policière, peut-être encore plus que l'archive judiciaire, devient le reflet d'un système de pouvoirs. De plus, le dossier d'Argyriadès illustre le fait que l'archive policière livre "une image du passé qui est plutôt celle des rapports de forces ayant refoulé d'autres réalités jadis vivantes";³¹ en témoignant la polyphonie et la dimension fragmentaire des sources, les instantanés de vies présentés par les forces de l'ordre comme étant "la réalité" ou comme "fait", les silences et les certitudes omniprésentes des agents secrets. Les divers agents constituant le dossier contrôlent de fait l'image que prendra l'archive, et en omettant ou faisant d'une simple information un acte authentique, remodelent les rapports entre pouvoir et savoir historique.

Deux questions se sont posées dès le début de notre recherche. La première concerne l'auteur de la source; qui est celui qui parle? La seconde c'est de comprendre quel a été le but de cette surveillance. Une pléiade des policiers aux statuts professionnels très différents, présentant des formations professionnelles variées et appartenant à des services distincts de la Préfecture de Police, s'entrecroisent dans cette affaire. Gardiens de paix, agents secrets, contrôleurs généraux, mais aussi des simples informateurs, appartenant aux diverses brigades du bureau de recherches ou à la police municipale prennent tour à tour la parole et examinent Argyriadès à travers leur regard, nous délivrant

³⁰ Andrea Cavazzini, "L'archive, la trace, le symptôme: Remarques sur la lecture des archives," *Les archives judiciaires en question* 5 (2009), visité le 21 octobre 2021, <https://doi.org/10.4000/criminocorpus.73>.

³¹ Ibid.

un ensemble de textes hétérogène. Pourtant, en examinant de près tous ces discours inachevés, nous estimons que tous ces acteurs et rédacteurs de l'archive, répondent eux-mêmes à une institution à laquelle ils sont soumis et qui leur pose des formulations: la Préfecture de la Police de Paris, voire l'Etat français. La liberté d'agir et de prendre des initiatives, le pouvoir manifeste du rédacteur de chaque rapport et même les inégalités dans le registre du langage soudain perdent de leur ampleur si l'on regarde l'archive comme un ensemble unique dans sa matérialité.

Voyons un exemple. Le 13 septembre 1890, l'agent secret sous le pseudonyme Jean, rédige un rapport de six pages sur la réapparition d'Argyriadès à Paris. L'agent secret nous offre une représentation d'Argyriadès touchant plusieurs aspects de sa vie, ayant l'allure d'une autorité disposant de la vérité absolue sur la personne qu'il surveille:

Argyriadès est revenu à Paris depuis quelque temps; je ne crois pas mauvais, comme il est assez turbulent, de vous donner son profil de dossier. Au physique un éléphant en redingote. C'est le plus grand, le plus large, et surtout, dans les deux sens, le plus épais des avocats de Paris. Bien que n'ayant rien d'Apollon, il est grec; mais grec mâtiné roumain. Il y a six ans environ qu'il s'est fait un nom par son apparition sur la scène politique socialiste. Défenseur d'office de tous les condamnés politiques, il demeurait alors 52 rue Monge dans un coquet petit appartement qu'il ne payait pas. C'est là qu'il fonda sa première revue "La question Sociale", revue de trente-deux pages, mensuelle, et dont le but était la concertation révolutionnaire. Les premiers numéros marchaient bien, quand il eut la bizarre idée de prendre au sérieux les anarchistes. Ils lui fournissent de la copie. Cette revue fut déconsidérée. Et elle n'eut que sept numéros chez quatre imprimeurs. Argyriadès avait été candidat aux élections municipales du Jardin-des-Plantes en 1884. Il obtint 75 voix. Tout le monde le croyait riche comme un nabab, sauf toutefois son imprimeur, Reiff, l'éditeur des anarchistes. Le directeur de la Réveil lui donnait plus de 2000francs depuis deux ans. A ses récriminations, Argyriadès répondait invariablement: "la récolte n'est pas encore faite, patientez". Ce Reiff se retirait, se demandait, rêveur, quel pourrait être ce fabuleux pays où les récoltes demeuraient sur pied pendant plusieurs années. En même temps que l'économie sociale, Argyriadès cultivait une lingère ... qui possédait un établissement de blanc, 6 boulevard de St Michel. Pas plus que le père de ses deux jeunes filles, on ne connaissait l'origine de sa prospérité. Argyriadès, trouvant que la mère devenait jaune et maigre, eut l'idée originale d'en faire sa belle-mère. En sa qualité d'oriental, il prit la plus jeune des deux filles âgée de 15 ans ... en noces légitimes, eût même le vénérable Malon comme témoin, et s'en fût cacher ses amours sous les arbres de la Camargue. Les flots de la Méditerranée chantèrent

l'épithalame, et Argyriadès reconnaissant, établit ses bases à Marseille, la colonie de ses ancêtres. Il réalisa, avec les marchands grecs, roumains, crétois, etc., quelques bénéfices, mais sans cesser d'être fasciné par la gorgone politique. Il plaida encore dans quelques procès politiques, mais sans succès encore. Il a une sorte de gêne pour prononcer, comme Démosthène d'ailleurs, son illustre compatriote. Seulement, Démosthène triompha de ce départ en se mettant des petits cailloux dans la bouche et en parlant devant la mer agitée. Argyriadès, un jour de mistral, se mettrait un moellon tout entier dans la bouche, il se peut, et invectiverait la Méditerranée, que cela ne le rendrait pas plus éloquent. Depuis quelques mois il est revenu à Paris. Il demeure 49 rue de Rivoli, au 5e. Il a encore engraisé depuis cinq ans qu'il a quitté Paris. En ce moment il s'occupe de donner à la France une armoire socialiste de 300 pages, qui doit paraître fin septembre. La préface sera de lui. Si la préface a seulement deux pages, que de mots elle aura coûtée, que d'erreurs, que d'égratignures au front! En somme, Argyriadès, qui est très ambitieux, veut arriver à être quelque chose. Pour cela, il tient à être bien avec tout le monde. Il emploie l'anarchiste Miller à lui chercher des annonces, auprès pour son annuaire un article de Pouget. Il y aura du Brant, du Malon, du Lépine, du Caron, du Vaillant, de tous en un mot. Retour de Marseille, il a gardé le souvenir de la bouillabaisse. Nous le verrons certainement candidat un de ces quatre-matins. Plus demi-lettré, surpris alors en l'écoutant, se croire transporté à Athènes, au grand siècle, croyons entendre au loin la voix de Périclès sur l'Agora. Jean.³²

Contrairement à d'autres policiers qui rédigent de courtes notes, en gardant des distances disons "d'objectivité", nous livrant ainsi seulement le lieu, la date et le but de chaque rencontre d'Argyriadès avec les milieux anarchistes ou socialistes, l'agent signant "Jean" fait à travers son rapport une démonstration de ses connaissances sur l'antiquité grecque, ainsi que de son esprit cultivé, dans un effort peut-être de rendre son rapport plus important ou étonnant que les autres. Il cite les noms d'Apollon, de Démosthène et de Périclès, en effectuant presque une documentation des éléments qu'il consigne. Il présente Argyriadès comme un "orientaliste" et prétend disposer de la vérité sur la vie sexuelle d'Argyriadès et sa condition financière. Les références ironiques face au physique, à l'accent et aux compétences de l'avocat sont omniprésentes dans ce rapport, et peut-être présentées en inégale proportion par rapport aux informations proprement dites fournies (adresses, noms de collaborateurs etc). De plus, les femmes mentionnées dans ce rapport, jouent un rôle secondaire et ne sont même pas nommées, bien que l'épouse d'Argyriadès, Louise Napolier, fût une personnalité marquante du

³² APP/BA/935/13 septembre 1890, rapport, Jean.

mouvement socialiste l'année de la rédaction de ce rapport.³³ Comme le note Marcel Le Clère "quelques commissaires vont plus loin et "pensent": ils rédigent un rapport sur une conjecture et vont même jusqu'à donner leur avis".³⁴ Par ce simple exemple, nous pouvons démontrer que l'archive présente autant de types de pensée que de rédacteurs.

Deux remarques essentielles peuvent résulter de notre recherche jusqu'ici. Tout d'abord, le rapport policier représente et présente des normes sociales dominantes auxquelles, selon l'opinion de son observateur, la personne sous surveillance ne s'adapte pas. Ainsi l'archive esquisse différentes typologies de ce qui pourrait être considéré comme déviations et anormalités sociales. La deuxième remarque porte sur l'importance attribuée à chaque rapport. Cette pléthore de renseignements accumulés dans le dossier policier, ne se transmet pas nécessairement dans le rapport semestriel ou annuel qui résume l'essentiel de l'affaire. Ainsi, pour le fonctionnaire en charge de rédiger à son tour un rapport résumant les résultats de la surveillance, un rapport écrit sur base de rumeurs ou de points de vue personnel, semble disposer du même poids qu'un rapport plus distancié ou lacunaire.

Examinons de près un autre exemple de même nature. Au début de l'affaire, un agent secret, sous le pseudonyme de Marcel décide d'insérer dans son rapport quelques rumeurs autour du jeune avocat:

On connaît l'intimité fort étroite d'Argyriades et de Brant, mais jusqu'ici on ignorait jusqu'où allait leur amitié. Or, il y a quelques jours, Argyriades avait donné à une femme, pour les relier, quelques livres pornographiques. Lassée de demander son argent à Argyriades, elle se décide à se rendre chez lui. Argyriades, qui était au lit, se leva, ouvrit sa porte et paya la fortune de la-dite reliure. La femme fut fort étonnée de voir dans le lit que venait de quitter Argyriades la figure, toujours soigneusement rasée, de Brant, qui se hâta de se cacher sous les draps. Depuis, on raconte que les deux amis inséparables n'étaient pas couchés ensemble dans l'unique but d'apprendre des discours. Marcel.³⁵

³³ Louise Argyriades (née Napolier Céline Marie Louise) fût la secrétaire, cette même année, du Groupe des femmes socialistes révolutionnaires du XVI^e arr. de Paris. Elle fût aussi déléguée au congrès général des organisations socialistes à Paris en 1900 et après la mort de son mari, elle continuât jusqu'en 1903, la publication de l'*Almanach de la Question Sociale*. A travers notre recherche, nous avons constaté que son nom apparaît souvent dans la presse socialiste internationale et qu'elle est assez reconnaissable comme militante du mouvement socialiste.

³⁴ Marcel Le Clère, "La police politique sous la III^e République," *L'Etat et sa police en France (1789–1914)* (Genève: Droz, 1979), 108–9.

³⁵ APP/BA/935/12 novembre 1884/rapport, Marcel.

Le rapport en question ne dispose d'aucune information immédiate provenant du processus de surveillance policière. La figure centrale, une relieuse qui réclame son dû, n'est à nouveau pas nommée, mais apparaît comme étant en position de regarder le lit duquel Argyriadès s'est levé. Notons que le trajet de cette rumeur est passé sous silence: s'agit-il du résultat d'entretiens effectués par l'agent Marcel dans le quartier ou bien la femme a pris elle-même l'initiative d'informer le policier et si oui, dans quel but? Est-ce qu'on pourrait repérer en la personne de la relieuse une indication de l'existence de ces réseaux d'informateurs volontaires, d'informateurs payés ou au contraire exploités, qui cadrent et parfois complètent l'œuvre de la police? La seule chose dont nous pouvons être sûrs est cette mobilité affirmée de l'information, une circulation perpétuelle des paroles dans l'archive qui donne naissance à certaines réputations.

Nous constatons dès lors qu'à travers les deux rapports ci-dessus, sur un laps de temps très court, Argyriadès passe de l'homosexualité à une perversion "à l'orientale", ce qui ne nous apprend rien sur Argyriadès lui-même mais qui constitue un élément révélateur des normes de comportements sexuels selon la police, des prétendues anormalités et des stéréotypes.

Quel a été la trace laissée par ces deux rapports au fil des années et dans quelle mesure ces commérages ont-ils influencé la recherche policière? Un résumé inséré dans le dossier d'Argyriadès, rédigé et corrigé plusieurs fois au fil des années, datant de 1883, insinue la rumeur d'homosexualité derrière une courte phrase peu claire: "La conduite privée du nommé Argyriadès ne serait pas irréprochable, notamment au point de vue de la moralité".³⁶ En 1885 nous pouvons encore lire une dernière fois dans un rapport récapitulatif que: "sa moralité ne serait pas à l'abri de tout reproche"³⁷ puis cette information ne sera plus mentionnée les années suivantes. Les rumeurs portant sur ses relations alléguées avec sa belle-mère et sa ou ses filles apparaissent encore à deux reprises. En 1883, l'officier de paix Duranton cite dans son rapport en date du 9 décembre: "on raconte, d'autre part, qu'il aurait des relations intimes avec les deux filles de sa maîtresse",³⁸ et en 1890, année à laquelle Argyriadès est revenu à Paris, une petite référence par un autre officier de paix souligne qu': "il (Argyriadès) eut autrefois pour maîtresse, la dame Napolier, lingère, demeurant actuellement boulevard St Michel no 5, dont il épouse la fille en 1886".³⁹ Les deux officiers de

³⁶ APP/BA/935/décembre 1883, rapport non signé.

³⁷ APP/BA/935/rapport non signé et sans date, faisant partie de la documentation de l'année 1885.

³⁸ APP/BA/935/9 décembre 1883, rapport/l'Officier de Paix, Duranton, 1ère Brigade des Recherches.

³⁹ APP/BA/935/20 décembre 1890, rapport/l'Officier de Paix, 1ère Brigade des Recherches.

paix font partie de la 1ère Brigade des Recherches, tandis que l'agent secret Marcel ne mentionne jamais son service. Il serait peut-être aussi utile de mentionner que le fonctionnaire, chargé de contrôler et "corriger" le dossier d'Argyriadès, intervient parfois aux rapports annuels antérieurs du dossier et supprime toute référence ayant trait à sa moralité et note parfois le fait qu'Argyriadès est marié, ce qui montre que le mécanisme bureaucratique revisite l'ensemble de l'archive et le remodèle à plusieurs reprises.

Long ou court, contenant des renseignements vérifiables ou de simples rumeurs, emphatique ou distancié, chaque rapport policier produit un seul morceau autonome dans l'enquête policière, se trouvant souvent en contradiction avec le reste du matériel. Nous n'évoquons pas simplement les contradictions des textes mais surtout une véritable confusion d'informations. Arlette Farge, en travaillant sur l'archive judiciaire et policière du XVIIIe siècle, se demandait en 1989: "mais pourquoi dès lors une police tout entière bâtie autour de la captation des murmures et des bruits de la ville, de l'observation de la rue et des rumeurs qui en font frissonner la surface?"⁴⁰ Une réponse donnée dès 1885 par Louis Andrieux, préfet de la Police de Paris de 1879 à 1881, dans ses mémoires est bien éloquent et nous aide à comprendre la confusion provoquée par des surveillances parallèles:

L'administration a souvent intérêt à savoir ce qui a été dit ou écrit sur le compte de la personne qui a éveillé son attention. Le dossier répond à cet intérêt. Il n'a pas seulement pour but de faire connaître qui vous êtes, mais surtout ce qu'on a dit de vous. L'imputation la plus mensongère peut être une lueur, éclairer une trace, avoir par conséquent un intérêt de police. Aussi mettra-t-on dans votre dossier, pêle-mêle, sans distinguer entre le vrai et le faux, tout rapport dont vous aurez été l'objet, toute dénonciation vous concernant, tout article de journal, tout fait divers où vous serez nommé.⁴¹

L'accumulation, sans aucun critère, d'informations, rumeurs, pensées personnelles et renseignements ne vise pas évidemment l'esquisse de n'importe quelle réalité, mais la mise en pratique d'un contrôle de la population. Cette population, parfois incontrôlée et incontrôlable qui, malgré le profond trauma de la guerre franco-prussienne, de la Commune et de la répression qui l'a suivie, se rassemble de nouveau à Paris, se politise et se lance dans les affaires publiques. C'est la population de la métropole française, susceptible de se diviser encore une fois face à la question sociale qui inquiète la Police de Paris. Celui qui parle

⁴⁰ Arlette Farge, *Le goût de l'archive* (Paris: Seuil, 1989): 125.

⁴¹ Andrieux, *Souvenirs d'un préfet de police*, 1:29.

alors à travers l'archive en question n'est pas le rédacteur de chaque extrait et de chaque rapport, mais la Police comme institution de l'Etat et il semblerait que l'affaire d'Argyriadès ne constitue pas une affaire en soi, mais un fragment de la surveillance de la ville.

L'archive policière, voire le dossier sur Argyriadès, grâce à son ampleur et sa diversité, constitue un matériel privilégié afin de déchiffrer et étudier les reflets sociopolitiques dans le fonctionnement et les modalités de la Police de Paris vers la fin du XIXe siècle. En intégrant ce matériel ainsi que l'ensemble des sources supplémentaires consultées, dans le contexte historique de l'époque, nous pouvons présenter de manière précise le processus de surveillance et le mécanisme bureaucratique qui réorganise et enregistre une histoire morcelée. L'archive policière impose ses propres conditions, et il nous paraît très intéressant d'essayer de travailler contre les contraintes et les limites imposées de l'époque.

Université de Crète

Critical Perspectives

Approches Critiques

Hasan Çolak and Elif Bayraktar-Tellan,
*THE ORTHODOX CHURCH AS AN OTTOMAN INSTITUTION:
A STUDY OF EARLY MODERN PATRIARCHAL BERATS,*
(*Ecclesiastica Ottomanica I*),
Istanbul: Isis Press, 2019, 390 pages.

The Orthodox Church assumed new roles in the Ottoman Empire, roles that required subtle adaptations and multifaceted challenge management. In recent decades, historiography has shed new light on the multiple aspects of the church's function. On the one hand, it has been made clear that in the new context established after the Fall of Constantinople, a context where the lay power was non-Christian, the Ecumenical Patriarchate, apart from being the head of the ecclesiastical administration, became the leading institution of the Orthodox Christians of the empire. On the other hand, the growing incorporation by historiography of the Ottoman sources in the study of the Orthodox Church has highlighted its character as an Ottoman institution, its interaction with the Ottoman central administration and its transformation in the long term.

The present volume offers new material in this direction. It includes

a critical edition of the berats issued for the Greek Orthodox patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria in the early modern period (1477–1768). Berats were the appointment documents issued by the sultan not only for the Orthodox patriarchs but also for any officeholder within the empire. These official documents enabled their addressees to hold an office and specified their obligations and their rights or privileges. The book is a welcome addition to the list of works regarding the berats issued for Greek Orthodox patriarchs or prelates, as it presents the texts of 31 of them. The majority of these documents, namely 28 berats, are published for the first time. Five berats date to the fifteenth–seventeenth centuries (1477–1649) and the remaining 26 to the eighteenth century (1703–1768).

The book begins with a preface and then an editorial note, where the authors present the principles they followed

in selecting the documents and their methodology in the transliteration and translation of the texts. They specify that they included only those berats for which Ottoman Turkish originals (the versions given to the patriarchs) or copies (the versions recorded in the Ottoman Imperial chancery) are extant or have been published.

The next section is a comprehensive introduction to the subject, presenting an overview of the relevant literature and examining the following topics: Berats and the ideology of the Orthodox Church; Berats and the functioning of the Orthodox Church: Palaeographical and diplomatic characteristics; and Berats and the transformation of the Orthodox Church.

As far as the first topic is concerned, the authors discuss the contribution of the berats in the formation of ideology in the Orthodox Church. Specifically, they refer to the alleged first berat granted to a patriarch of Constantinople, Gennadios, by Sultan Mehmed II. Although the aforementioned document is not extant, from the sixteenth century it occupied a central position in the discourse of the church with regard to its status vis-à-vis the Ottoman central administration. It is no coincidence that the first attempt by the Ottomans to convert the churches of Constantinople into mosques, due to the city's conquest by force, occurred around 1537–1539. It should be noted that the key role of the early berats is clearly formulated even in one of the eighteenth-century texts published in the present volume. Specifically, accordingly to the berat issued in 1741 for Paisios II of Constantinople, 23 metropolitans had presented a petition for his election, stating that “since the

old days and since the imperial conquest, the Orthodox patriarchs of Istanbul have been granted sealed and lucid berats with olden stipulations”.

The authors present how the importance of the ecclesiastical berats in the discourse of the Patriarchate of Constantinople became more prominent during the nineteenth century, a period of constitutionalism for Ottoman non-Muslim communities, inasmuch as the berats were regarded as the basis for the Orthodox Church's historic rights and privileges. At the same time the authors point out some myths in the historiography regarding the role of the Eastern patriarchates, namely those of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria, myths that emerged from the millet theory.

The second chapter of the introduction examines not only the palaeographical and diplomatic characteristics of the berats but also the Ottoman bureaucratic procedure followed by the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Eastern patriarchates, namely the successive actions required for the acquisition of patriarchal berats. Sometimes powerful clergymen or laymen mediated in this procedure. Although the patriarchs of Constantinople often mediated during the eighteenth century to the Ottoman central administration for the acquisition of patriarchal berats by the Eastern patriarchates, it is clarified that it was not rare either for Eastern patriarchs to receive their berats without the ecumenical patriarch's agency.

The third chapter of the introduction includes a historical sketch of the Orthodox Church in the early modern period which refers briefly to the tensions that occurred in the seventeenth century between the church

and the Ottoman central administration due to the former's relations with other Christian churches. The authors focus though on the better-documented eighteenth century. Specifically they refer to transformations in the Christian society of the empire, as was the advancement of the influential Phanariot lay elites in the Ottoman bureaucracy, in the Ecumenical Patriarchate's administration – namely the establishment of the system of Elders (*Γερωντισμός*) (1741, mainly 1763) – and in the Ottoman central administration as well. These factors contributed, inter alia, to the institutionalisation and consolidation of the Orthodox Church. Furthermore, in 1766–1767 two new ecclesiastical provinces were placed under the Ecumenical Patriarchate's jurisdiction, namely the archbishoprics of Peć and Ohrid, reinforcing thus its prestige among the Orthodox Christians.

The anti-Catholic policies of the Orthodox patriarchs were usually supported by the Ottoman administration, especially when the order within the Orthodox community was being at stake. The authors examine in this perspective the case of Patriarch of Constantinople Kyrillos V (I. 28 September 1748–end of May 1751, II. early September 1752–16 January 1757) and the issue of rebaptism (*αναβαπτισμός*) that occurred during his mandates. It should be added though that the reasons for the disorder during that period were not exclusively dogmatic. It has been persuasively argued that Greek Orthodox Christians originating mainly from the middle social strata found in the dogmatic pretext of rebaptism

the opportunity to question Phanariot domination over the Greek society.¹

The above transformations and dynamics of the eighteenth century are reflected in the patriarchal berat texts of that period. According to the authors, the key areas of change in the berat stipulations are the following: Firstly, the strengthening of the legal basis of the patriarch's authority vis-à-vis a number of groups, namely a. the Greek Orthodox prelates and flock, and b. local Ottoman officials and notables intervening in the patriarchal policies against the Catholics, in the financial operations of the Orthodox prelates and priests both on behalf of the state and the church, or in various administrative issues.

Secondly, in the legal field, the interaction between Islamic and canon law is traced in a number of stipulations (through the appearance of the term *sharia*). Besides, legal disputes between the church and the Orthodox populations of the provinces were transferred from the jurisdiction of the qadi courts to the Imperial Chancery, where the patriarchal and lay Orthodox elites were more influential.

Thirdly, as far as terminology is concerned, the title and prayer appended to patriarchs in this period had originally been used for foreign Christian rulers

¹ On the subject see the article of Dimitris G. Apostolopoulos, "Κοινωνικές διενέξεις και Διαφωτισμός στα μέσα του 18ου αιώνα: Η πρώτη αμφισβήτηση της κυριαρχίας των Φαναριωτών," *Για τους Φαναριώτες: Δοκιμές ερμηνείας και μικρά αναλυτικά* (Athens: Centre for Neohellenic Studies of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2003), 31–44.

and for the Phanariot officers in the Ottoman administration. Moreover, the initially pejorative terms used for the clergymen and the Orthodox flock were gradually replaced by neutral ones or omitted altogether.

The sections following the introduction include: the list of the patriarchal berats of the period 1477–1768 that had been published by 2019, the list of documents that are presented in the current volume, the transliterations and the English translations of the berat texts, as well as the facsimiles of the Ottoman Turkish originals or copies of the previously unpublished berats. The book concludes with a glossary, bibliography and index. The latter would be even more useful if it included the names of persons and places mentioned in the berat texts.

The series of archival sources published in the volume brings to light new aspects of the functioning of the Orthodox Church and its interaction with the Ottoman administration, mainly during the eighteenth century. Moreover the new material fills in certain gaps in the documentation, deepening our knowledge on various topics.

For example, it was already known that the appointment of Ecumenical Patriarch Kosmas III in 1714 had been marked by two changes regarding the status and the financial obligations of the Ecumenical Patriarchate vis-à-vis the Ottoman state. Specifically, the *pişkes*, the sum that the patriarchs usually had to pay in order to receive a berat of appointment or renewal, was replaced in 1714 by an annual financial obligation of the patriarch (*mîrî maktû'*) to the state treasury, which was added to the annual

patriarchal tax for the meat of the imperial guard. At the same time it was ruled that the patriarchal office would – in principle – be life-long.² Thanks to the publication in the present volume of the berat issued in 1714 for Patriarch Kosmas III, these developments are now even better documented and further elucidated.

Furthermore, the newly published berats of ecumenical patriarchs Paisios II (1741), Kallinikos IV (February 1757), Ioannikios III (1761), Samouil (1763) and Meletios II (1768) contribute significantly to our knowledge of the changes in the patriarchate's administration during those years, namely the procedure that led to the consolidation of the metropolitans' power – through the establishment of the system of Elders – and to a more representative election of the patriarch.

It should be also noted that the texts of some berats offer interesting information on individuals or groups of persons who played a role in the procedure that led to the issuing of the aforementioned documents, that is, their name, occupation or the office they held. Among them we trace Orthodox patriarchs, prelates, laymen and Phanariot officers.

The berat issued in 1720 for Jeremias III of Constantinople serves as an example. Jeremias had ascended to the patriarchal throne on 25 March 1716. According to the *narratio* of the text of 1720, a complaint had been previously

² Paraskevas Konortas, *Οθωμανικές θεωρήσεις για το Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο, 17ος-αρχές 20ού αιώνα* (Athens: Alexandria, 1998), 174–76.

presented against Ieremias III in Greek, which had caused his dismissal. A group of 11 Orthodox metropolitans, mentioned by name, requested now that Ieremias continue to hold the patriarchate. Their request was supported at the sharia court by a group of 116 lay residents of Istanbul, who claimed that they were content with the said patriarch. The name and occupation of about 93 of them is mentioned in the berat. They were lumbermen, furriers, money-exchangers, ironmongers, grocers, builders, tailors, etc. It is interesting that among these lay supporters of Ieremias were Yamandi, son of Israil, Murâd, son of Yorgi, Murad, son of Yasef, Arslân, son of Mesrob. It should also be noted that some of the aforementioned Orthodox prelates had actually been involved in attempts to depose Ieremias from the patriarchal throne, according to Greek sources.³

Moreover, in the berat issued in 1724 for Silvestros of Antioch, it is stated that apart from Ieremias [III], patriarch of Constantinople, the then interpreter of the Imperial Chancery had also supported the appointment of Silvestros. Although the interpreter's name is not mentioned in the text, it is known that the person holding this office in 1724 was Grigorios Ghikas. This testimony on the interpreter's mediation in 1724 is

³ Cf. Manouil Gedeon, *Πατριαρχικαί Εφημερίδες: Ειδήσεις εκ της ημετέρας εκκλησιαστικής ιστορίας 1500–1912* (Athens: Τυρ. Sergiadou, 1935–1938), 240–42, and Gedeon, *Πατριαρχικοί Πίνακες: Ειδήσεις ιστορικά βιογραφικά περί των Πατριαρχών Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, ed. Nikolaos Foropoulos, 2nd rev. ed. (Athens: Sylogos pros Diadosin Ofelimon Vivlion, 1996), 510–12.

included in Silvestros' berat of renewal as well, dating from 1730.

As Serafeim/Kyryllos Tanas, appointed to the throne of Antioch in 1724, had been a Catholic Christian, the authors note that Silvestros' appointment involved a number of significant changes in this patriarchate and its connection with the Ottoman central administration. For this reason the berat of 1724, issued in a period of strict anti-Catholic policies in Syria, was used as a model for later berat issued for the other Eastern patriarchs (in 1746 and 1758 for Matthaïos of Alexandria, in 1731 and 1755 for Parthenios of Jerusalem).

The anti-Catholic stance is, in fact, explicitly formulated in the *narratio* of Silvestros' berat of 1724, as well as in measures protecting the Orthodox Christians against the "Frankish priests and the Catholic monks" included in the berat issued in 1758 for Matthaïos of Alexandria. Moreover, the presence of other competitive religious communities in the Eastern patriarchates constituted a permanent danger to the churches and the holy places belonging to the Orthodox Church, a danger reflected in the respective protective stipulations of the berat (namely those issued for Chrysanthos of Jerusalem in 1707, Silvestros of Antioch in 1724 and 1730, Matthaïos of Alexandria in 1746).

The berat issued in 1724 for Silvestros of Antioch is very important for one more reason. For the first time in the berat texts there is a stipulation acknowledging the "disciplinary tool of excommunication in accordance with their [the Orthodox] rite". Specifically, it is stated that matters of marriage, of dispute between *zimmis* or of dismissal of priests belong to the jurisdiction of

the patriarch or metropolitans, who shall not be obstructed in dispatching the papers of excommunication aiming to discipline *zimmis*. Henceforth this clause was used in the berats of the other Eastern patriarchs and of the patriarchs of Constantinople as well. Actually in the ecumenical patriarchs' berats (the first being the one issued in 1725 for Ieremias III), the content of the original term includes more details regarding marriage and excommunication and, therefore, it forms two separate stipulations. To the second one is added that: "Because in their rite it is forbidden to enter the churches of those who solemnise marriages against their rite ... other officials and powerful people shall not force the priests to bury the corpses of such people."

Recent historiography has shown that in the new circumstances that derived from the expansion of the Orthodox Church's jurisdiction during the post-Byzantine and modern period, the church used widely the threat of excommunication, namely imposing the severest ecclesiastical penance, as a disciplinary tool.⁴ As far as I know, this fact is explicitly stated for the first time in the above official Ottoman documents of 1724 and 1725.

The berat issued in 1725 for Ieremias III of Constantinople contained a lot of additions compared to the previous ecumenical patriarchs' berats

extant from the eighteenth century. Specifically, the stipulation regarding the various regular and irregular ecclesiastical contributions and taxes that the church had the right to collect from the clergymen and the flock tripled in size. The financial obligations of Christians were listed in detail, including even optional contributions, as *parisiye* and *portesi* (*παρρησία* and *πρόθεσις*), as well as the *bankas* (*παγκάριον*), namely the sums offered for the commemoration of the donors or for the churches' needs. Henceforth this stipulation is present in the berats issued in the eighteenth century for the patriarchs of Constantinople with only a few changes. Both this fact and the concurrent appearance of the above clause on excommunication testify to the institutionalisation and consolidation of the Orthodox Church and to its cooperation with the Ottoman central administration, developments that were crucial for the church in view of fulfilling its complex responsibilities vis-à-vis the Orthodox Christian populations of the empire and its political/financial obligations towards the state.

Hasan Çolak and Elif Bayraktar-Tellan's book reaffirms the necessity for those who study the history of the Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire to use both Greek and Ottoman sources. Hopefully new sources of this kind will be published in the coming years, filling in more missing parts in this panoramic mosaic.

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⁴ On this topic see the work of Panagiotis D. Mihailaris, *Αφορισμός: Η προσαρμογή μιας ποινής στις αναγκαιότητες της Τουρκοκρατίας*, 2nd rev. ed. (1997; Athens: Centre for Neohellenic Studies of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2004).

Jonathan I. Israel,
THE ENLIGHTENMENT THAT FAILED:
IDEAS, REVOLUTION AND DEMOCRATIC DEFEAT, 1748–1830,
Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019, ix + 1070 pages.

The distinguished British historian Jonathan Israel, professor emeritus at the School of Historical Studies of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, has devoted many works to the study of the Enlightenment, in particular his monumental trilogy *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (2001), *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man, 1670–1752* (2006) and *Democratic Enlightenment: Philosophy, Revolution and Human Rights, 1750–1790* (2011), which sparked much debate. As he notes, this equally imposing volume ends the series.

Israel proposes a new reading of the Enlightenment through the prism of the ideas of radicalism and their paramount importance in the establishment of modernity. The main argument, which he develops in all these works, is that Western Enlightenment was, as a whole, an explosion of new ideas in philosophy, science and education related to freedom, tolerance and secularisation; these ideas spread to broader geographical contexts and brought about practical improvements in the second half of the eighteenth century. However, the Enlightenment experienced internal divisions, resulting in essentially two currents, one for, the

other against, the established social class of the ancien régime. One current, which emerged early in the mid-seventeenth century, first in the Dutch Republic and subsequently in other European countries, to create secret networks and organisations, constitutes what is called the “Radical Enlightenment”. From 1660 to the 1830s, it maintained its oppositional character, rejecting not only theology but also social hierarchy, which differentiated it from enlightened despotism. These radicals, known as Spinozists, because of their association with the philosophy of Spinoza, supported a democratic version of the revolution, based on the “general will” – conceived in universalist, non-Rousseauist terms – and the demands for equal rights, in rejection of the hereditary principle. Very influential in Europe, Spinozism contributed to the groundwork for revolutions, but censorship caused it to remain clandestine. The other current consisted of moderate enlighteners, such as Newton, Leibniz, Wolff, Hume and Voltaire who, distancing themselves from both radicals and counterrevolutionaries, compromised with the monarchy, the aristocracy and religion, while promoting the demand for reforms. All the radicals, from Spinoza to Bayle, d’Holbach, Condorcet, Volney, Destutt

and Bentham, rejected direct democracy, because the people, being ignorant and superstitious, needed education. Instead, in contrast to Rousseau, they promoted representative democracy through the election of the appropriate representatives who would advance the “common good”. Although they rejected theology and the guidance of the church, they denied the charge of atheism, professing a naturalistic antitheological notion of “God”. Spinoza was the first to combine criticism of the Bible with the elimination of all kinds of *supernaturalia*, envisioning the democratic polity as the best type of state, and theorising early the Radical Enlightenment, while in the mid-eighteenth century, the new Spinozists, which included Diderot, followed his principles. Nevertheless, the social, cultural and intellectual movement of the Radical Enlightenment also included groups or individuals who were not Spinozists; rather, they rejected religious authority and were oriented towards democratic state formations. This was because the ideas of a single intellectual thinker were not the source of the Radical Enlightenment. Instead, it was the response of a group of intellectuals to the historical realities of the Netherlands, initially, and subsequently, of the whole of Europe and the Americas.

According to Israel, who defines the contents and differences of the ideological currents in his introduction,

“Radical Enlightenment,” in short, is the key to a great deal in historical studies, philosophy, political thought, Latin America studies, and the social sciences, an intellectual revolution profoundly affecting religion, morality, law, institutions, politics,

healthcare, and education, as well as sexual attitudes and general culture while entailing also a sweepingly reformist and innately revolutionary new democratic approach to society and politics (27).

On the other hand:

Counter-Enlightenment, meanwhile, did not deny the scale or grandiose hopes for improvement of the radical social projects of the post-1800 era; what it denied was that such radical schemes could in practice produce anything other than disorder, confusion, and setbacks ... Counter-Enlightenment preached submission to established authority, above all monarchy and ecclesiastics ... Enlightenment moderates, like Burke, Guizot, and many others, acknowledged counter-enlighteners, also like them flatly rejected universal and equal rights, black emancipation, women’s emancipation, equality for Jews, eliminating religion’s sway, and democratic republicanism, nearly as fervently sometimes as they did. But moderate enlighteners embraced *Tolerantismus*, schemes for constitutional and educational improvement, limiting monarchical power, depleting aristocracy, and spreading healthcare in ways corroding true Christian submission and the authentic mystique of aristocracy and monarchy (28).

He even finds analogies between the radicals and the socialists, since both movements sought “to create a much ‘happier’ and more equal society”, although they differed as regards the way to achieve social change, since the radicals emphasised educating the *classe*

populaire and ridding it of superstition, while the socialists emphasised the abolition of the economic system exploiting it (29).

Israel does not claim credit for the concept of the “Radical Enlightenment”, which Leo Strauss introduced into the scientific debate in 1920,¹ long before Margaret Jacob’s thesis in 1981.² Instead, he is interested in the expansion of its meaning and scope, particularly in regard to the role of the Spinozist circle in the early creation of radical ideas and their diffusion by the Huguenots and other French intellectuals, in Dutch democratic republicanism, in the transition from the experimentations of the Radical Renaissance and the Radical Reformation’s theological overlay on the scientific, democratic and truly modern system of the Radical Enlightenment, in the mediating role of the English deists and the controversies of the mid-eighteenth century enlighteners, in the relations of the great “Moderates” (especially Montesquieu) with radicalism, the position of the *Encyclopédie*, Voltaire and Rousseau, as well as in the Nordic Model of the Enlightenment in the Scandinavian countries. Further developing the main points of his deliberation in the current volume, which is divided into four parts – The Origins of Democratic Modernity; Human Rights

and Revolution (1770–1830); Revolution and Competing Revolutionary Ideologies (1789–1830); The Enlightenment that Failed – he traces the early underground movements prior to 1650 and extends the field even further to new areas, such as the emancipation of women, racial theory, the emergence of the Spanish American republics, the parallelism between the French and American revolutions, and *Robespierreism* as a populist Counter-Enlightenment, which all true radical enlighteners opposed. Always pursuing the thread of the Radical Enlightenment, he reaches the Restoration and the revival of the Counter-Enlightenment, as well as the revolutions of 1820 and 1830; from which point on socialism increasingly replaced the radical tendency. Certainly, after 1848–49, the failure of the revolutions to transform Europe politically gave rise to disillusionment and pessimism in the non-socialist intellectuals and artists, to currents of religious mysticism, to new forms of racism, to imperial authority and conservative ideologies, while, as indicated by the title of the book, the ideals of the Enlightenment waned in the mid- and late-nineteenth century. Universal equal rights and female, Black and Jewish emancipation were blocked, secularisation was suspended, while freedom of thought and speech was violated.

At the close of the current volume, Israel responds to the critical reviews addressing his positions on the Radical Enlightenment.³ The author notes

¹ Winfrid Schröder, ed., *Reading between the Lines: Leo Strauss and the History of Early Modern Philosophy* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015).

² Margaret Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1981).

³ See, primarily, the critiques by Antony La Vopa, “A New Intellectual History? Jonathan Israel’s Enlightenment,” *Historical Journal* 52 (2009): 717–38 and Antoine Litli, “Comment écrit-on l’histoire

that the controversy regarding the Radical Enlightenment has acquired considerable scope and become fashionable, given that it is regarded as the first source of modernity, the pillar of the political and social systems based on universal and equal rights. Some of the negative critiques he has received are rooted in socialist theories, the hostile postmodernist stance towards all grand narratives and the Enlightenment grand narrative in particular, as well as in the opposition to the central role of intellectual history, the negative role of religion, and the marginalisation of Britain, which traditionally had pride of place in early Enlightenment studies, and the replacement of Locke by Spinoza as the “father of liberal democracy”. Many reviews reject Israel’s position on the Radical Enlightenment as “reductive, reified, oversimplified, teleological, based on ‘shaky evidence’ and unacceptable ‘cherry-picking’ ... based on a ‘Manichean logic’” (931).

To the criticism that he is first and foremost concerned with ideas and not so much with the social and institutional context, Israel replies that this is not an idealistic history, since ideas are not presented as causing the events or as determinants of group behaviours, but that intellectual history is always linked to social, political, religious and economic history and keeps track of not only the basic texts but also the public sphere through the press, court decisions,

parliamentary speeches, etc. Social factors sometimes determine events and developments; therefore the analysis is based on empirical examination and not idealism. To the criticism that “all roads lead to Spinoza”, he replies that it is simplistic, since, while the Spinozist circle might have been the source of Radical Enlightenment, radical ideas did not belong to Spinoza alone, as they are also found in other writings of the period, although the Dutch philosopher was the first apologist of the “atheist” tendency that overturned the existing moral and social order, something that Leibniz, Lessing and Kant admitted. Apart from that, the term Spinozism was widely used in the eighteenth-century polemics by Montesquieu, Diderot, Voltaire, Boulainvilliers and d’Holbach, and it had a specific content despite its various uses in the texts. As for the criticism that he overlooks Rousseau’s resonance with their contemporaries, which was far greater than that of Diderot or Raynal, since it became a sort of “handbook of the citizen”, he responds that it does not take into account that many democratic leaders, such as Condorcet, Volney, Paine, Jefferson and Bolivar, did not draw their inspiration from Rousseau, while the ideals of the Radical Enlightenment were cosmopolitanism, universalism and secularisation, curing the *multitudo*, as Spinoza called it, of its ignorance, credulity and fanaticism, and not *Rousseauism*, let alone *Robespierriisme*, which attacked the atheist and materialist philosophes exalting the morally pure, ordinary man, the oppressive populism and dictatorship. Israel points out that although the Radical Enlightenment favoured revolution it did not favour

intellectuelle des Lumières? Spinosisme, radicalisme et philosophie,” *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 64, no. 1 (2009): 171–206.

a violent one, while mild methods did not only belong to the conceptual foundation and objectives of the Moderates, who, moreover, accepted the monarchy and the guidance of the church, limited voting rights, slavery, and the subjugation of women.

The author refutes the critiques, which he considers weak, but, as he notes, the positive as well as the negative reviews contributed to the development of his position on the Radical Enlightenment, which, despite waning since 1848, is now more relevant than ever, as: “It has

fully to revive, and despite the incipient resurgence of universal and equal human rights after 1945 now once again appears to be stalling if not in full retreat” (942).

In any case, despite the disagreements it may give rise to, Jonathan Israel’s rich and dense work is a monumental achievement of erudition that offers food for thought and remains a point of reference for anyone dealing with the Enlightenment.

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Charikleia G. Dimacopoulou (éd.),
Η ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΕΧΕΙ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟ: ΜΟΡΦΕΣ ΤΟΥ 1821 ΣΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ ΤΟΥ
ΟΘΩΝΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΝ ΒΕΛΓΟ ΔΙΠΛΩΜΑΤΗ BENJAMIN MARY
[Les visages de l'Histoire: Figures de 1821 dans la Grèce d'Othon
dépeintes par le diplomate belge Benjamin Mary],
Athènes: Fondation Sylvia Ioannou; Musée d'Histoire National, 2020,
383 pages, 125 figures.

Les missions diplomatiques dans l'espace hellénique ont été très fréquemment associées à l'intérêt foncier des envoyés européens pour le lieu et son histoire. Il n'est que de nous rappeler le diplomate français F.C.H.L. Pouqueville et sa vaste œuvre littéraire qui a empreint d'une marque définitive la relation des Européens avec la Grèce au cours de la Révolution de 1821.

Le wallon Benjamin Mary (Mons, 1792–Bagnères-de-Luchon, 1846) se révèle être, à la lumière de la présente édition, un anneau important dans la chaîne des étrangers qui se sont retrouvés en Grèce pour des raisons militaires et diplomatiques, et qui ont laissé derrière eux un matériel documentaire considérable sur le lieu et son histoire. Dans le cas de B. Mary, lequel a séjourné dans le pays en tant qu'envoyé du gouvernement belge de 1839 à 1844, il s'agit d'un grand nombre de dessins de paysages et de personnages.

Parmi les collections de dessins de B. Mary, – du moins celles que l'on connaît –, quatre concernent la Grèce, et des dessins variés traitant de ce même sujet sont souvent présentés à des ventes

aux enchères, comme, par exemple, une collection de 21 panoramas qui a fait son apparition assez récemment chez Christie's. Un *Album* (n° 7) a été publié en 1992, à l'initiative de Kostas Stavrou,¹ alors eurodéputé. Les figures de cette collection étaient exclusivement des femmes, renommées ou obscures, et elles étaient accompagnées de nombreuses informations sur les épouses et les filles des Combattants de la Révolution, sur le costume traditionnel féminin de nombreuses régions et sur le fonctionnement d'une scène théâtrale à Athènes en 1840.

Un autre *Album* (n° 4) se trouve en la possession de la Fondation Sylvia Ioannou; il contient surtout des paysages. L'*Album* n°6, qui appartient à la même Fondation, est l'objet de la présente édition. Ce volume collectif, qui inclue les contributions de six auteurs, outre celle d'une éditrice, présente 125 dessins inédits

¹ Charikleia G. Dimacopoulou, éd., *Benjamin Mary Νεοελληνισμοῦ ἀρχαίς – Ἑλληνικὲς προσωπογραφίες, La Grèce nouvelle – Portraits grecs (1840–1844)* (Athènes: Lousi Bratzioti, 1992).

de 320 personnalités exceptionnelles. L'édition, publiée en collaboration avec la Fondation Sylvia Ioannou et la Société historique et ethnologique de Grèce, est un jalon en ce qui concerne la représentation des combattants, des hommes politiques, des membres du clergé et des gens ordinaires, et elle met au jour des images jusqu'alors inconnues qui enrichissent la connaissance de l'histoire grecque moderne.

Le lecteur est transporté dans la Grèce du roi Othon, environ vingt ans après le début de la guerre d'Indépendance. Le travail de recherche et de composition des textes a été réalisé par Charikleia G. Dimacopoulou, Dimitra Koukiou, Leonora Navari, Yorgos Tzedopoulos, Iphigenia Vogiatzi et Maria Yiouroukou. L'index détaillé de la publication, établi par Mitsi Sk. Pikramenou, est inséré aux sites Web de la Fondation Sylvia Ioannou.²

Le livre a été abondamment et favorablement commenté par la presse hellénique imprimée et numérique,³

et une exposition de 22 portraits par B. Mary a été organisée en plein air au Jardin National d'Athènes, du 8 février au 4 avril 2021, sous le titre "*Les visages de l'Histoire*".⁴

Les textes de cet élégant volume de grande taille sont rédigés conformément au système polytonique du grec. Les 72 premières pages rassemblent trois notices introductives et sept chapitres; les 132 pages suivantes sont des dessins de B. Mary (73–207), et la partie la plus étendue de l'ouvrage, environ 150 pages, est consacrée aux notices biographiques des figures représentées au cours de la période 1839–1844, qui correspond à la durée du séjour de B. Mary en Grèce (209–362).

L'important, c'est l'événement crucial qui marqua cette période: la Révolution du 3 septembre 1843 et la convocation de l'Assemblée Nationale qui a imposé au jeune roi de Grèce la Constitution de 1844. B. Mary était alors présent, et il a pu effectuer un authentique "dessin-reportage".

On comprend immédiatement l'effort fourni par Mesdames Dimacopoulou, Koukiou et Voyatzi afin de rassembler les biographies de tous les personnages dessinés par le diplomate belge, particulièrement pour ceux qui étaient moins connus ou totalement ignorés. D'où la nécessité impérieuse de composer un dictionnaire de portraits qui constituerait un ouvrage d'infrastructure fiable pour la recherche en histoire néohellénique.

Artemis Skoutaris, présidente de la Fondation Sylvia Ioannou (dont le siège est au Liechtenstein et qui a pour objectif

² https://sylviaioannoufoundation.org/documents/37/Detailed_Index_I_Istoria_exei_prosopo.pdf.

³ Voir par exemple Yiouli Eptakili, "Ένας Βέλγος στην Ελλάδα του 1839," *Η Καθημερινή-Τέχνες και Γράμματα*, 20 décembre 2020, 1; Michalis Tsintsinis, "Πού κοιτάει ο κυρ-Λάζαρος," *Η Καθημερινή*, 25–27 décembre 2020, 2; Dimitris Dimitropoulos, "Η φωνή των πορτρέτων," *Η εφημερίδα των συντακτών-Νησιδες*, 20–21 décembre 2021, 6–7; "Τα σκίτσα των Ελλήνων ηρώων της Επανάστασης από τον Benjamin Mary," CNN Greece, 4 mars 2021, <https://www.cnn.gr/dev/story/257385/taskitsa-ton-ellinon-iroon-tis-epanastasis-apo-ton-benjamin-mary>.

⁴ <https://www.nhmuseum.gr/ektheseis/periodikes/item/254-i-istoria-exei-prosopo>.

de soutenir la recherche sur l'histoire et la civilisation chypriotes), signe l'avant-propos de cette édition. Ioannis Mazarakis-Aignan, récemment décédé, qui fut longtemps secrétaire général de la Société historique et ethnologique de Grèce (1979–2017), est l'auteur de la seconde notice introductive. Le Dr Charikleia G. Dimacopoulou, historienne du Droit et des Institutions, a assuré l'édition scientifique et la coordination de la recherche. Elle signe également la notice introductive "Aux lecteurs" (19–20) et deux chapitres "La question de l'Église et les portraits" (59–64) et "Entre images et recherche" (69–72). Dans le premier chapitre, l'auteur, prenant prétexte du remarquable nombre de prêtres présents parmi les dessins de B. Mary, examine la question de l'Église telle qu'elle se posait de façon aigüe à l'époque, c'est-à-dire les relations des métropoles de la Grèce continentale avec le patriarcat de Constantinople. Dans le second chapitre, elle raconte de manière vivante et persuasive les difficultés d'identification de ceux des personnages que le peintre n'avait pas accompagnés de notices explicatives.

Dr Maria Giouroukou, philologue paléographe, et Leonora Navari, bibliographe historienne du livre, ont entrepris l'examen bibliographique de l'album acquis par la Fondation Sylvia Ioannou en 2016 lors d'une vente aux enchères (21–24). Une photographie de l'album de format folio de 143 pages, sur lesquelles étaient encollés les lavis de sépia, ainsi qu'une photographie de la "table des portraits" initiale accompagnée des légendes des images, telles que les a recensées le peintre, auraient été utiles au lecteur du livre.

Dr Giorgos Tzedopoulos, historien, collaborateur scientifique du Centre de recherche sur l'histoire de la Grèce moderne de l'Académie d'Athènes, s'est chargé de collecter les éléments biographiques du dessinateur Benjamin Mary (1792–1846) et de sonder ses positions politiques et ses idées. M. Tzedopoulos s'est appuyé sur les rapports diplomatiques et sur les comptes-rendus que B. Mary adressait au gouvernement belge, qu'il est allé quérir dans diverses archives, publiées ou inédites. Le chapitre qui porte sa signature s'intitule "Un libéral romantique dans la Grèce d'Othon: le diplomate belge Benjamin Mary" (25–41); il constitue une étude extrêmement fouillée sur la vie de B. Mary. C'est ainsi qu'on apprend que B. Mary, né dans la province francophone du Hainaut, région wallonne de la Belgique, fut accrédité auprès du roi de Grèce Othon en 1838 pour négocier un accord commercial avec la Belgique, et qu'il conclut sa mission avec succès. Parallèlement, il informa son gouvernement des événements politiques qui se déroulaient en Grèce. Auparavant, B. Mary avait mené au Brésil une mission diplomatique et économique semblable, et il s'y était longuement livré à la représentation de la flore de la jungle amazonienne.

Au cours de son séjour en Grèce, B. Mary effectua des voyages dans le Péloponnèse, en Attique, dans l'île d'Eubée, en Roumélie, dans les Cyclades et les Sporades du Nord, et il saisit sur le vif une foule de Grecs insignes ou ignorés. Les conceptions artistiques, la technique et la manière de ce peintre amateur sont analysées par Iphigenia

Voyatzi, archéologue muséologue, responsable des collections permanentes du Musée National d'Histoire, dans le chapitre "Le peintre Benjamin Mary" (43–46). Les textes du volume s'achèvent sur deux études de l'historienne Dimitra Koukiou, en charge de la Bibliothèque de la Société historique et ethnologique de Grèce. Au chapitre "Benjamin Mary photo-reporter de l'Assemblée nationale de 1843–1844", l'auteur se réfère aux travaux de l'Assemblée et aux démarches effectuées par le peintre afin de fixer par le dessin les visages des participants (47–57). Enfin, le chapitre intitulé "La présence de Chypre dans l'Album de Benjamin Mary" traite des représentations des principaux combattants chypriotes et d'autres personnages de la société chypriote (65–68); on doit noter sur ce point que ces représentations ont constitué la raison principale pour laquelle la Fondation Sylvia Ioannou s'est intéressée à l'acquisition des dessins de B. Mary, étant donné que la Bibliothèque de la Fondation est spécialisée dans l'histoire de Chypre.

B. Mary est le digne continuateur de la tradition des *peintres des armées* européens, particulièrement des Français, choisis pour leur habileté de dessinateurs à représenter non seulement les événements militaires, mais aussi les paysages et les gens du lieu dans lequel ils se trouvaient pour des raisons professionnelles. Tous avaient l'habitude, tout comme le diplomate wallon, d'accompagner les portraits des noms, des âges et des métiers de leurs modèles.

L'œuvre de B. Mary, excellemment présentée dans cette édition de la Fondation Sylvia Ioannou et du Musée National d'Histoire, est un témoin irremplaçable de ce qui se déroulait en Grèce pendant les années 1840. Ces dessins révèlent non seulement le regard personnel et l'esthétique de leur auteur, mais aussi le soin méticuleux qu'il a pris à retranscrire la réalité.

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SPACE, ART AND ARCHITECTURE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST:

THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT

An international conference (18–20 March 2021).

The year 2021, during which the sanitary measures due to the coronavirus pandemic restricted many activities requiring a human presence, witnessed the flourishing of online educational and scientific events, such as webinars, lectures and scientific workshops.

Against this background, the international conference “Space, Art and Architecture Between East and West: The Revolutionary Spirit”, the fourth in a series of academic meetings organised by the Module “Art–Architecture–Urban Planning” of the School of Humanities of the Hellenic Open University, originally planned to take place in person at the Acropolis Museum, turned into a digital event, live streamed on the Hellenic Open University YouTube channel, from 18–20 March 2021.¹

The opening session started with the presentation of the book *Urban Art and the City: Creating, Destroying, and Reclaiming the Sublime* (Abingdon: Routledge 2021) by Melita Emmanouil, professor emerita of the National Technical University of Athens, and Georgios Panetsos, associate professor at the University of Patras. This multiauthored volume, edited by Argyro Loukaki, professor at the Hellenic Open University, includes 14 chapters,

namely 13 selected papers, in revised form, from the 2017 conference entitled “Art and the City” and organised by the Module “Art–Architecture–Urban Planning”, and one article by an invited author. There followed the introduction to the 2021 conference by Loukaki, who presented its aim and scope. In her thought-provoking speech, rich in ideas and comparative material, Loukaki pointed to the mental constructions of the terms “East” and “West”, their relativity in the highly appreciated post-Renaissance culture, their political and cultural asymmetries, but also their convergences. The Europeans see the Orient as the areas adjacent to Europe which were subject to European colonialism, while the Americans, colonists after the Second World War, understand the Orient as the Far East – China and Japan mainly.² These long-standing geographical notions and their semiology – backwardness and tradition regarding the East, dynamism and progress concerning the West – are now inviting new insights and interpretations. Globalism, postmodernism and psychoanalysis have already opened new

¹ The conference language was English.

² In his influential book *Orientalism* (1978), Edward W. Said introduced the term “Orientalism” to describe the way the Westerners perceived the “East”.

paths for reconsiderations. Thus the interdisciplinary webinar in question offered the opportunity to pour new wine into old wineskins, questioning, during the year marking the bicentenary of the Greek Revolution, how the revolutionary spirit has been involved in this Eastern–Western divide since the sixteenth century.

Over the next two days, 23 speakers from eight countries (Cyprus, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Israel, Romania, Spain, United States) presented 21 15-minute papers arranged in the following six thematic sections: 19th-Century Creative Imaginations, the Classical Legacy, and the Revolutionary Spirit; Charting the Geographies of “Westernness” and of “Otherness” Across the Map; The Mediterranean Cinematic Gaze Between East and West; Art and Spatial Processes: Byzantium and the Ottoman Empire; Modern Architectural Identities, Infrastructures and Social Becoming Around the Mediterranean; and Eastern Architecture and Art in Western Interpretations.

The conference included a keynote speech by François Penz, professor emeritus of Cambridge University, entitled “The Cultured Eye in the Age of Divided Spatial Representation”.³

³ This presentation followed the research project “A Cinematic Musée Imaginaire of Spatial Cultural Differences”, which examined spatial practices in different cultures, namely in the Far East and West. Given that films are a valuable “archive” of buildings and their uses, 53 from Europe and the United States and 53 from China and Japan provided the relevant material.

This talk scrutinised naturalism and analogism, two concepts coined by the French anthropologist Philippe Descola.⁴ Penz associated the former with the West (Europe and the United States) and the latter with the East (China and Japan) in the cultural domain of cinema. Naturalism relates to the perspectival vision of space, invented and developed by the Renaissance architects Filippo Brunelleschi and Leon Battista Alberti (in his treatise *De pictura*), who elevated art to a science. On the other hand, the analogist tradition, on which the Chinese method of oblique drawing, with its non-converging lines, has built, is anti-perspective. Linear perspective paved the way for the development of anthropocentric art. Yet, the single viewpoint of the one-point perspective strongly contradicted Chinese thought, in which man is not the measure of all things. But are these different Eastern and Western artistic tendencies discernible in film-making, given that the motion picture camera, which leads to the construction of an image analogous to the perspective projections developed during the Italian Renaissance, has a universal use? Penz’s thoughtful analysis and visual documentation revealed that the cultured eye, a part of the culture we live in, could detect different cultural qualities between Eastern and Western films. Among others, Eastern film-makers use the camera much slower than those in the West, unify indoors and outdoors, and pay special attention to nature. Penz ended his

⁴ In his influential paper “La fabrique des images”, *Anthropologie et Sociétés* 30, no. 3 (2006): 167–82, <https://doi.org/10.7202/014932ar>.

penetrating keynote with the following “provocation”: “An anthropocentric vision – and its representation of the world announced a new era, that of the Anthropocene,” which invites thoughts and social criticism.

In the closing session, concluding statements by the organising committee pointed, among others, to the enduring East–West social, political, economic and emotional distance in our era of globalism and, on the other hand, to the cultural interchanges and mutual influences in art and architecture. The islands of Crete and Cyprus under Venetian rule are two eloquent premodern cases of Byzantine–Venetian cultural osmosis in the eastern Mediterranean. According to Loukaki, transcending boundaries and creating new prospects are up to scholars. And to artists, I would add.

The webinar “Space, Art and Architecture Between East and West: The Revolutionary Spirit” encouraged academic debate on this broad topic, offering significant insights into the cultural ramifications of East–West

intercourse. All the sessions can be viewed on YouTube.⁵ A book of abstracts with the conference programme is also available.⁶ Besides, the forthcoming 2023 publication of selected papers from the conference, the fourth in the series of edited volumes with essays from the conferences organised by the Module “Art–Architecture–Urban Planning”, will be very much welcome.⁷

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⁵ Day one is at <https://youtu.be/phDJPrJuhNM>; day 2 at <https://youtu.be/SM5o9F7VHO0> and day 3 at <https://youtu.be/184cnJ2YKZY>.

⁶ https://www.eap.gr/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Revolutionary_Spirit_book_of_abstracts.pdf.

⁷ See https://www.academia.edu/53919557/Space_Art_and_Architecture_Between_East_and_West_The_Revolutionary_Spirit.

Christine M. Philliou,
TURKEY: A PAST AGAINST HISTORY,
Oakland: University of California Press, 2021, 278 pages.

In this book Christine Philliou explores, as she declares in the introduction, “the meaning of the Turkish word *muhalefet*, denoting both political opposition and dissent, as an analytical concept and ... a cipher for understanding the nature of political authority in the late Ottoman Empire and Republican Turkey, as well as the politics of memory and history that are still in play today in Turkey” (2). She uses for this purpose the life and oeuvre of the writer and journalist Refik Halid Karay (1885–1965), an emblematic intellectual, as a case study in *muhalefet* in the late Ottoman and Republican periods. She chose this person because right- and left-wing circles in Turkey, Islamist and secularists, consider him as an exemplary *muhaliif* (dissident). His life course and place in Turkish political imagery permits her to construct a genealogy of the term *muhalefet* across the twentieth century. Such a genealogy is linked to three issues: the relationship between Ottoman liberalism and Young Turk constitutionalism, continuities and discontinuities between the late Ottoman Empire and early Turkish Republic and the place of the Ottoman Empire in Turkish political imagery (5). Philliou examines these topics through literary rather than conventional political texts, satirical writing occupying a major place

among them. This choice enables her to explore the relationship between politics and imagination and define *muhalefet* as a marker of political failure. It also opens the way to view the notion of *muhalefet* as a joke, since all dissidents (including Refik Halid) were parts of the elite; thus the history of *muhalefet* until the 1950s could be regarded as a series of back and forths from denouncements of the privileged establishment to acceptance back in it. In this context ideology appears in the early Turkish Republic as a vehicle to express “contestation and pre-existing fissures regarding the understandings of constitutionalism and democracy” (10), until the 1950s, when the multiparty system created new political agendas.

The book comprises seven chapters articulated in chronological order. The first one (19–43) describes Refik Halid’s childhood and early youth as that of an offspring of a mid-level family that was part of the Istanbul bureaucratic establishment. Despite the mid-level status of his family, its belonging to the Tanzimat-era bureaucracy permitted Refik Halid to construct an aristocratic pedigree and thus to be included in the Turkish Muslim elite. Refik Halid grew up as an Ottoman gentleman: he received French education (mixed with Islamic elements) in the Galatasaray Lyceum,

afterwards attending law school and being appointed as a secretary in the central offices of the Finance Ministry. A feeling of non-belonging to these places produced a rebellious spirit in him, a first personal elaboration of the notion *muhalefet*. These elaborations are depicted in his involvement in the literary journal *Servet-i Fünûn* (Wealth of knowledge), a conveyor of new European (mainly French) cultural and literary forms and in *Fecr-i Ati* (Light of Dawn), a literary circle which emphasised the personal and non-ideological character of the art. In 1909 he created a short lived newspaper entitled *Son Havadis: Müstakil ve Meşrutiyetperver Akşam Gazetesi* (Latest news: An independent and constitutionally minded evening newspaper). His first literary attempts expressed both his discontent with political authority at the time and the tragic futility of opposing power. This life path and disillusionment of the “European dream” he felt during his European tour (October 1909–January 1910) distinguish Refik Halid from his Unionist contemporaries,¹ despite their common constitutional aspirations.

The second chapter (44–68) tracks the crystallisation of the notion of *muhalefet* in a time span from the constitutional revolution of July 1908 to the Sublime Porte coup d’état in January 1913. Philliou makes clear that its meaning evolved as the Committee

of Union and Progress (CUP) slid into authoritarianism and its opponents turned out to be unable to provide a viable political alternative. By 1911 Unionists and liberals started referring to *muhalefet* as something expressly directed at the CUP, whereas the latter labelled dissidents as reactionary, anti-constitutional elements. It is at this time that Refik Halid entered the satirical press, targeting more and more specifically the CUP. Though the CUP was not his only target from the beginning of his career in social and political satire, his association with the liberals resulted in his arrest and deportation to Sinop in June 1913.

Refik Halid’s exile experiences between 1913 and 1918 are described in the third chapter (69–89). In spite of being exiled in Sinop, Ankara and finally Bilecik, our protagonist led there a more or less comfortable life – he was in regular receipt of his salary as a civil servant as well as additional financial assistance from his father (73). This situation is indicative of his privileged status in the Ottoman establishment. His position as part and parcel of the latter is also signalled by the selective *muhalefet* he displayed: while outraged at the CUP’s corruption, he wove relations of friendship with some of its most prominent members, particularly Dr Mehmet Reşid – one of the major perpetrators of the Armenian Genocide – and, later on, Ziya Gökalp in the context of the Milli Edebiyat (National literature) movement. This meant an ambivalent stance vis-à-vis the non-Muslim populations and mainly his silence about the Armenian Genocide that was taking place around him. On the other hand it is thanks to these networks that he managed to return to Istanbul in January 1918.

¹ The term “Unionist” refers to the followers of the Committee of Union and Progress, a major power of constitutional opposition to Abdul Hamid’s absolutism. Committee of Union and Progress played a significant role in the Young Turk Revolution of 1908.

The fourth chapter of the book (90–124) is centred on the Armistice period (1918–1922), the period between the Armistice of Mudros (October 1918) and the victory of the nationalist movement (1922), and particularly on Refik Halid's life and action in Istanbul that was under Allied occupation at the time. It offers thus a counternarrative to the history of national resistance in Anatolia, the official Turkish history of the period (92). This counternarrative focus on *muhalefet* – opposition to the nationalist movement which was considered to be an evolution of the Unionist one that *muhalis* blamed for the country's humiliating defeat and the war atrocities. For the Ottoman liberals, Allied occupation was the lesser evil compared to the Unionists-nationalists. Their main aim was then to eradicate the latter from the Ottoman state with the help of the occupying forces. Under these circumstances, Refik Halid, having held the position of the head of the General Directorate of the Post, Telegraph and Telephone Service, blocked Mustafa Kemal's telegrams and tried to prevent the Erzurum and Sivas congresses in 1919. At the same time he denounced the nationalist movement through his publication activity on the grounds of its ties with the CUP and – unlike the previous period – the Armenian Genocide. For that reason the nationalists treated him, along with other *muhalis*, as a traitor to the Turkish nation. Refik Halid's action challenges obviously the official Turkish narrative of the united national struggle against European forces and the total breach with the Ottoman past. It also costed him 15 more years of exile in Syria and Lebanon as the triumphant nationalist forces

entered Istanbul, abolished the sultanate in late 1922 and consolidated their power in the following years.

The five-year period from 1922 to 1927 was crucial for the consolidation of power of the nationalists and the leadership of Mustafa Kemal. Their reinforcement entailed banishing their opponents from the new Turkish state as traitors to the nation, silencing the oppositional press and establishing their own narrative about the recent past (the Armistice Period and War of Independence) as the only official and orthodox one, which would overshadow all other accounts. Under these conditions Refik Halid continued his *muhalefet* activity from abroad, publishing in 1924 a memoir which constituted his own version of the crucial period between the Armistice and the Independence War; it was actually an attempt to refute the nationalists' counterpart and his (as well as most *muhalis*'s) labelling as a traitor to the nation. For that reason it generated a strong controversy in Turkey that contributed (among other factors) to the promulgation of the Law on the Maintenance of Order (Takrir-i Sükun Kanunu, 1925) and the reopening of the Independence Tribunals (1925–27), which silenced all political opposition. In 1927, *Nutuk*, the great speech Mustafa Kemal delivered to the second congress of the Republican People's Party, set down the official history of the Turkish War of Independence. It thus sealed the consolidation of his hegemony and the hegemony of his party over the country. This procedure is described in the fifth chapter (125–56).

In the sixth chapter (157–85) we track our protagonist's endeavours to construct a new image of himself, that

of a loyal Turkish patriot/Kemalist in the aim to be accepted back home. Refik Halid attempted after 1927 to forge an alliance with the Kemalist regime. He did so by ceasing his opposition to it and siding with Turkey in its irredentist claims for the Hatay/Alexandretta region – by “proving” in his publications the cultural Turkishness of the latter. In this way he succeeded in gaining a pardon and a permit to return home in 1938. Just after his return he attempted to reinvent himself and his literary work, purifying his image as a *muhaliif* and deleting from his re-edited texts any reference to politics (especially to the Armenian issue). This procedure coincided with the elevation of Atatürk to the position of the symbol of the principles of the Turkish Republic. This is not to say that Refik Halid totally buried his past: he found instead subtle ways to indicate the Unionist roots of the Kemalist regime.

In the seventh and last chapter of the book (186–203) we follow Refik Halid’s life and work in the period of the transition of Turkey towards a multiparty system, after the end of the Second World War. It was a period when the meaning of *muhalefet* changed, since the opponents of the Kemalist Republican People’s Party that was regarded as a continuity of Unionism were in power after the victory of Democratic Party in the 1950 elections. In this context Refik Halid could once more openly declare himself as a *muhaliif* and enjoy social recognition in political and literary circles. However his uncritical stance towards the Democratic Party, as well as the national chauvinism he displayed in his writings, were indicative of the limits of elite *muhalefet*, political opposition that remained within the state

establishment. Finally the military coup of 27 May 1960 ushered in a period in which the Turkish army became the guardian of Atatürk’s principles, the opposition to which “was not *muhalefet* but outright treason” (202).

It is obvious that the book’s title refers to a past that challenges constructive narratives of Turkish history: the account of the complete rupture between the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, as well as the image of *muhalefet*, as a story of a desperate fight against a corrupted state. These narratives constitute not only integral parts of the official ideologies in Turkey but also the lens through which many analysts (including academics) interpret reality in this country. Hence the importance of this study: it reconstitutes through the life story of Refik Halid Karay, an emblematic *muhaliif*, the history of Turkish political opposition in the twentieth century as a part of the dominant power block that offers no alternatives to cultural and political nationalism. It is a history that helps us to comparatively understand political authority and opposition in today’s Turkey.

The importance of the book also lies at another level. It is a microhistorical study that sheds light on the potential of microhistory as a tool to renew political history itself: to rewrite it using literary texts, correspondence or journals, which means inserting the study of subjectivity and irony that were hitherto considered incompatible with it. It shows how a fascinating life story can be an alternative political history of a twentieth-century state formation.

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Antonis Liakos,
Ο ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΣ 20ΟΣ ΑΙΩΝΑΣ
[The Greek 20th century],
Athens: Polis, 2019. 754 pages.

Antonis Liakos' latest book offers Greek-language historiography a "total history" of Greek society in the twentieth century. Whereas Eric Hobsbawm wrote about the short twentieth century (1914–1991), Liakos resets the century's boundaries, starting with the decade-long war mobilisation of 1912–1922 and ending in the 2010s with the political earthquake caused by that crisis – given that there is currently a different, much more global one. The book situates Greece in its international context, making it abundantly clear that Greek history hardly makes sense without its world context, and synchs it with the major historiographical turning points of European and world history. War, demographic trends, the economy, disease, biopolitics, migration and cinema all interweave in an engaging prose that also poses new questions and interpretations. There are many political histories of Greece in the twentieth century; there are even a few economic histories of twentieth-century Greece. This is, however, a book of Greek *society* in the twentieth century, as its author notes.

There is a biological metaphor in the introduction that prepares the reader for the approach taken in the rest of the book: the image of Greece as a cell that goes through constant metabolism with its environment. The book moves the

historiographical discussion away from sensationalist accounts of triumphalism and despair, common in recent historical and not so historical accounts of modern Greece; away for the idea that Greek history oscillates between catastrophes and achievements, civil wars and bankruptcies that abound in recent treatments of Greek history (for the post-1821 period as a whole). Greece as a "nation" even received its "biography" recently (apparently, since 2004 the "nation" has been experiencing a "mid-life crisis"). Liakos, on the contrary, seeks to rescue history from (the teleology of) the nation, evoking Prasenjit Duara's phrase.

The book's first decade, 1912–1922, is the decade of violence, of the Balkan Wars, the Great War and the Asia Minor campaign; that first chapter shifts the focus on the war experience shaped by a violence that was often designed by state officials and armies and executed by regulars as well as irregulars; that violence also comprised the "solution" of population exchange. The decade-long start of the twentieth century is marked by a number that is stunning even given later-period population movements: 3.5 million people of various ethnic and religious groups were forced to leave their homes from 1912

to 1922. The *Mesopolemos*, the interwar period, is marked by state building for the first time since the nineteenth century. Greece attempted to assimilate populations of different religions and different languages, although Macedonia largely “became” Greek. Macedonia – understandably – gets a lot of attention, but other parts of “New Greece”, such as Epirus, Crete or Thrace that were integrated into the state still wait their integration into the historiography of the twentieth century. The settlement of refugees posed a formidable challenge, as many historians have argued, and the author singles out the most important areas of state intervention that had a lasting impact. Liakos often uses creative language to convey the process, as in the title of the chapter “Casting the state: regulating society”.

The period from 1940 to 1944, which includes the occupation, resistance and Holocaust, is considered as distinct from the 1946–1949 period. The main thread here is what happens to the country when state and market – two of society’s most important institutions – break down. The author states that this is when Greek history entered European history, with the extermination of the Greek Jewish population. The Civil War period is convincingly treated as a global conflict distinct from that of the Second World War; Greece became part of a Cold War buffer zone, together with Iran and Turkey, a very different geography from anything before or after the Cold War period. The 1950s were also a period of reconstruction, when a new kind of state emerged (the second of several state-building processes the Greek state went through). This is the turning point in the

Greek twentieth century, when the Cold War absorbed Greece, continuing from the involvement of Greece in the World War, the “first” – so to speak – of several of Greece’s “global” moments.

The second half of the book (the post-1949 period) is a cultural and social history of Greece. Events are told concisely and serve as a way of thinking about the political beyond the historical, not as a political history but a history of politics. The facets of life in postwar Greek society follow seamlessly one after the other, as the author zooms in and out of the daily life to major transformations; the postwar reconstruction and US aid, the development of industry and the spectacular rise in incomes and expectations, migration and remittances that sustained family and household, tourism as an economic force and a cause of environmental “creative destruction” à la Joseph Schumpeter. There is often a microhistorical approach to the history of Greek culture from various reference points to the “democracy festival” (*το πανηγύρι της Δημοκρατίας*): poems and cinema, fragments of evidence combine with the music concerts as part of the “*metapolitefsi* cultures”, all intertwined with political events and policies that heralded significant social change.

The last part of the book, which comprises almost a third of the volume, transcends the contemporary history of the last three decades (1990s–2010s) to become a history of the recent past that flows to the present. Migration, identities, demographic collapse (in 2010 the population declined in absolute numbers for the first time), globalisation and Europeanisation as part of European integration, and the new technologies

shaped the course of the country in the post-1989 world. The problems that accumulated are discussed succinctly with an emphasis on the increased dependence on external debt and the collapse of the productive capacity of the country, showing how one can write a history of the very recent past. The intersection of Greek with European history in this part of the book emerges through the “third way”/modernisation project under a guise of a social democracy devoid of the progressive meaning it held in the postwar decades. As the author argues, the Greek version of modernisation failed to adapt to globalisation because Prime Minister Costas Simitis’ PASOK ignored the “social question” brought forward by immigration, suburbanisation and the deregulation of labour markets; a sober approach, that puts emphasis on the failure to tackle corruption and fiscal derailment in the absence of a new vision of economic development, and what the author elsewhere calls “fragmented modernisation” (595). In the end, it is hard not to think while reading Liakos’ narrative of this very recent past, that in the case of Greece, just like in several others in Europe, centrist politics could not and did not work, either economically or socially, particularly in times of crisis. The recent cultural history of Greece would be incomplete without the impact of mobile phones, privately owned media, the Athens 2004 Olympic Games and the securitisation transformation between the early 2000s and the outbreak of the 2010 crisis, which put an end to such projects and plunged the country in an still-expanding spiral of a society in crises.

The last chapter is a surprising one, but appropriately placed at the end of the book. What could have been a conventional “literature review” of historiography of the twentieth century and an early chapter in the book, comes as the concluding chapter that traces how historians in Greece viewed their history in the twentieth century. Few people are more qualified to talk about this than Liakos, himself a part of the “new wave” of social history that has transformed historiography since the 1970s and 1980s. The chapter takes the reader to key historiographical debates of the twentieth century, such as the long-lasting one about the 1940s and the more recent rise of public history as a field where not only historians’ views but history itself is contested and challenged.

What is most refreshing is the setting out of the different scales of analysis depending on the events and the period; the two world wars and the Holocaust integrated Greece further into European history (a process that started of course with the emergence of Greece as an independent state); the Cold War and the 2004 Olympics signalled the country’s entry into world history; tourism and migration need a Mediterranean history focus, whereas the Balkan Wars, the Civil War and the conflict over a name for North Macedonia that would be acceptable to Greece make more sense within a Balkan history context. What could have made the book even richer is a reflection of how migration abroad and to Greek cities from the 1950s to 1970s changed Greek society, and how changes in the *Metapolitefsi* period, especially, and all the way to the present have reverberated outside Athens. As the

focus towards the end of the book shifts to Athens-based events (the Olympics, the “abandonment” of Athens city centre by its middle classes and the moving in of migrants, the 2008 uprising – on which there is some mention of the countrywide protests), so the book becomes slightly more Athenocentric; this is an understandable choice, given the gravitational pull of the capital in all walks of life. In a country still so unevenly fragmented though, Greek society’s recent and ongoing transformation may be visible in different ways from the

“periphery”, especially when it comes to the impact of tourism, migration and the rise of local/regional politics since the 1990s. Regardless, Liakos offers one of the most intriguing ways to approach the history of the second modern Greek century with new interpretations and surprising perspectives, that takes us all the way to a recent past that lives in the present. Hopefully it will be translated into English soon.

Sakis Gekas
York University

Brewster Chamberlin,
THE DURRELL LOG:
A CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE AND TIMES OF LAWRENCE DURRELL,
London: Colenso, 2019, 230 pages.

Lawrence Durrell's family has recently become somewhat of a household name due to the popularity of the ITV British network series, *The Durrells (The Durrells in Corfu)*, which ran for four seasons, from 2016 to 2019, and is based on Gerald Durrell's *The Corfu Trilogy* (1956–1978). Born in Jalandhar, India, Lawrence Durrell lived for 78 years (1912–1990); throughout these years, he traversed several continents and numerous countries before ending in Sommières, France. Not surprisingly, a comedy-drama TV series does not accurately depict the true lives of its characters. To trace the meaningful events across Durrell's history, the late Brewster Chamberlin (1939–2020) begins the third edition of *The Durrell Log* (revised, retitled and expanded) to document events in Lawrence Durrell's lifetime – it is, unsurprisingly, a more precise depiction of the man. The log commences with the year 331 BCE, the founding of the city of Alexandria, near the Mediterranean Sea. *The Alexandria Quartet* (1957–1960) is arguably Durrell's most well-known and momentous literary contribution to twentieth-century British literature, and thus Chamberlin foregrounds Durrell's birth with the establishment of Alexandria, 2,300 years ago. Far from a biography, and devoid of literary analysis, *The Durrell Log* is a systematic approach aimed to provide

readers an easily accessible overview of the highs and lows of the author's history.

The original chronology on Durrell was first published in 2007. With an additional 12 years of historical data on Durrell, Chamberlin is able to expand this new volume to incorporate additional events that are beneficial for studies involving Durrell or his literary circle. Chamberlin credits his research during the writing of *A Hemingway Log: A Chronology of His Life and Times* (2015) with helping him determine areas where *The Durrell Log* could be improved. Significant effort was given to correct misleading or erroneous information previously published in the biographies. At times, Chamberlin reacts rather harshly to these unintended errors; in other places, the facts are not clear and Chamberlin states why he agrees or disagrees with the biographers. Towards the middle and later period of Durrell's life, the focus is placed more on the writing and publication of his novels. While the majority of the log is well-cited for sources, the material covering the latter days seems less documented, leaving curious minds to wonder where additional information may be found.

Chamberlin is tightly connected with the top scholars on Durrell, and his extended communication with these

individuals – ranging over several years – has meaningfully contributed to new and clarified biographical facts on Durrell. Three of Chamberlin’s correspondents are worth mentioning. Most importantly is the feedback on the original text (first edition) that Chamberlin received from Ian MacNiven, Durrell’s official biographer, and personal friend. MacNiven published *Lawrence Durrell: A Biography* (1998) and was editor of the expanded *The Durrell–Miller Letters, 1935–80* (1988). The biography of Durrell took two decades to compile, and Chamberlin had access to these materials and received advice on the draft from MacNiven. Next, the corrective feedback and biographical insight from Richard Pine (founder of the Durrell School of Corfu), who met Durrell in January 1972 and then again in 1988, adds clarity to certain areas of Durrell’s history. During these years Pine exchanged letters with Durrell and eventually published *Lawrence Durrell: The Mindscape* (1994, 2005). Pine utilised archival material on Durrell to publish *The Mindscape*, and his knowledge of Durrell’s notebooks and writing methods make his input substantial. A third important correspondent was Michael Haag, author of *Alexandria: City of Memory* (2004) and *The Durrells in Corfu* (2017). Haag is currently working on a new biography of Durrell, and his knowledge of Durrell’s physical movements as well as having conducted interviews with people who knew Durrell is important for the data. Additional support was provided by Durrell’s family members, Penelope Durrell Hope and Lee Durrell. The contributions by these three established Durrell scholars in

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While Chamberlin has created a very readable account of Durrell’s activities, there are a couple of major detractors to the log. The first relates to the lack of incorporated archival research. While much of Durrell’s correspondence is published, these letters have been released in an edited form, meaning Chamberlin must rely on the editors and their cuts and omissions from certain correspondences. Apparently and lamentably, there is no direct handling of the Durrell materials at Southern Illinois University (that Durrell sold in 1970 and then built a swimming pool with the money); although, there are numerous indirect references to the materials held there. It also seems a significant gap that the Durrell letters at the University of California, Los Angeles, appear to have remained unexamined. It may be that Chamberlin saw these materials, but there is no direct citation to either crucial archive – only indirect references. Additionally, the log might be more engaging if certain snippets were included from various published letters that Chamberlin references. The other noticeable detractor is that Chamberlin inserts his personal opinion into historical facts, far too often – almost to the point of distraction. For instance, when Durrell was 25, he began reading Nietzsche, which Chamberlin posits was “a potentially dangerous undertaking in one so young and volatile” (31). Such comments, and many others, diminish rather than add to the chronicle; after all, a factual timeline is desired, not one

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The Durrell Log is a relatively quick read and has been compiled by someone who clearly has a passionate interest in the subject. Importantly, Chamberlin does not avoid the controversial side of Durrell's abusive relationships with women and his daughter, Sappho. Nor does he skirt around the fact that Durrell cuckolded his bosom friend Henry Miller (1891–1980) through his brief affair with Hoki Tokuda. As with most historical inventories, this log is a work in progress, one that may never satisfactorily conclude. In its third iteration, the work

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Wayne E. Arnold
University of Kitakyushu

Maria Christina Chatziioannou,
*ΣΤΗ ΔΙΝΗ ΤΗΣ ΧΙΑΚΗΣ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΡΟΦΗΣ (1822):
ΔΙΑΣΤΑΥΡΟΥΜΕΝΕΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΛΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΤΑΥΤΟΤΗΤΑ*
[Entangled histories and collective identity:
Narratives of the Chios massacre (1822)]
Athens, IHR / NHRF, 2021, 184 pages.

In this concise volume Maria Christina Chatziioannou deals with a well-known major event of the 1821 Greek Revolution: the massacre of the Chiot population by Ottoman forces in 1822. In reprisal for the revolutionary operation conducted on the island in March 1822 by the Samiot leader Lykourgos Logothetis with the assistance of several Chiot, the Ottoman fleet attacked Chios while its forces besieged the castle and held the island's notables, both secular and ecclesiastical, as hostages before executing them. The massacre and devastation which followed provoked the flight and dispersion of a large part of Chios' population, an important migration wave of whom was initially directed towards the islands of Psara and the Cyclades, the Asia Minor coast and the Peloponnese. The island was thus deprived of its prosperous bourgeois society and culture and underwent a violent disruption of its hitherto flourishing commercial activities, while Chiot migration after 1822 contributed to the creation of one of the most important Mediterranean and international commercial diasporas of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Contemporary witnesses, along with a rich Greek and European nineteenth-century literature and art, regarded the Chiot massacre as one of the major human, ethical and cultural tragedies of the century, giving vent to a strong philhellene public discourse in favour of the Greek Revolution, as well as generating novel forms and institutions of humanitarian and religious support and intervention, accompanied by a fervent anti-Muslim occidental rhetoric.

Having presented a critical survey of the international occidental reception of the events, the writer focuses on a manuscript narrative, produced by a member of the Kalvokoressis (Calvocoressi) family of Chios, who had survived the massacre as a child: the narrative of Mathios, the son of Zannis Kalvokoressis-Mouzas, born into the Chiot family of Kalvokoressis through his father and the Genoan branch of the Grimaldi through his mother. Mathios, who had witnessed the violent death of his father, a Chiot notable highly placed among the island's authorities, and his grandmother during the massacre, had tried to escape towards the coast with his brothers and sisters but was

captured by the Turks, sold as slave with his younger sister and transferred to the Asia Minor coast. Serving in several Turkish households, Mathios lost trace of his sister on the slave market but unexpectedly crossed paths with one of his brothers, was finally brought back to Chios, where he had his freedom bought off by his mother through the intervention of the Austrian ambassador.

The originality of the writer's contribution to the history of a famous revolutionary event lies in three different novel lines of approach.

In the first place, Chatziioannou explores a historical event through the autobiographical reconstruction of childhood-adolescent memory. Although children's memory has been largely studied by psychology, the complex, uncertain dynamics of childhood memory have long excluded child narratives from legal inquiries and testimonies,¹ sociological research as well as historical studies. The development of autobiographical memory has only recently been systematically discussed in relation to childhood or adolescent memories and

their retrospective adult reconstruction as personal histories shaped by a complex variety of family patterns, and larger social and intellectual factors.² Nevertheless, childhood autobiographical memories were first explored in the "new history" of childhood inaugurated by the French historian Philippe Ariès,³ who was the first to show that "childhood" constitutes a flexible analytical tool, as well as a social and intellectual construction, often identified with adolescence or youth in history. The uncertainty around Mathios' age, underlined by the writer, besides the fact that biological age was rarely calculated or defined in rural societies, opens the question of the shaping of new, ambiguous childhoods or adolescences during the revolution. It seems that during the massacre and flight of his family, Mathios developed a new role within the family: an inexperienced, protected and fearful child, born into an upper-class family of the island, under the extraordinary circumstances of the massacre and flight, he was forced to take on the responsibility of keeping his family together and continuing the name.

In the second place, the writer contributes a novel perspective on the construction of a collective memory of trauma as a spectrum of narratives between childhood and adulthood, explicitness and silence,

¹ See, for instance, Gail S. Goodman, "Children's Testimony in Historical Perspective," *Journal of Social Issues* 40, no. 2 (1984): 9–31; Gail S. Goodman, Bette L. Bottoms, Beth M. Schwartz-Kenney and Leslie Rudy, "Children's Testimony About a Stressful Event: Improving Children's Reports," *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 1, no. 1 (1991): 69–99; Margaret-Ellen Pipe, Michael E. Lamb, Yael Orbach and Phillip W. Esplin, "Recent Research on Children's Testimony about Experienced and Witnessed Events," *Developmental Review* 24, no. 4 (2004): 440–68.

² Qi Wang and Sami Gülgöz, "New Perspectives on Childhood Memory: Introduction to the Special Issue," *Memory* 27, no. 1 (2019): 1–5.

³ Patrick H. Hutton, "The Problem of Memory in the Historical Writings of Philippe Ariès," *History and Memory* 4, no. 11 (1992): 95–122.

intimacy of feelings and psychological distancing. Memories of twentieth-century traumatic experiences have been generally regarded as timeless intergenerational narratives passed down from parents to children, unaltered by changing historical, social or intellectual circumstances, or as non-narratives, developing a stereotypic, often pathological, family or community culture of silence and denial.⁴ On the other hand, the few but important works in Greek historiography that explore oral intergenerational narratives in their historical, social, intellectual and gendered contexts deal mainly with twentieth-century traumatic experiences, the Holocaust, the 1922 refugee experience or the Greek Civil War,⁵ while a considerable part of

the Greek bibliography concerning traumatic childhood or adolescent memory has almost exclusively been dominated by literature and the study of autobiography as a literary genre.⁶ In her approach, Chatziioannou explores the memory of a much earlier trauma, looking at Mathios' narrative as a family "legacy" of the Chios massacre, through which the Kalvokoressis' family memory and identity is constructed and reconstructed. Around 1888–89, sometime before his death in 1891, Mathios related his memories of the events to his young grandson Pandia, a narrative which the latter wrote down from memory much later, around 1950, in London, passages of which he translated into English and French. Having inherited the manuscript of Mathios' narrative from his father, Pandia's son, Peter John Ambrose Calvocoressi, passed it down to his

⁴ See also the autobiographical memory as traumatic oblivion: Anna Mantoglou, "Αυτοβιογραφική μνήμη και 'λήθη' σε προσωπικό, οικογενειακό και κοινωνικό πλαίσιο," *Hellenic Journal of Psychology* 8 (2011): 193–228. Among the rich psychological bibliography on multigenerational legacies of trauma and the transmission of cultural victimisation in family and group therapy research, see Yael Danieli, ed., *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma: Group Project for Holocaust Survivors and their Children* (New York, Plenum, 1998); Amy Lehrner and Rachel Yehuda, "Cultural Trauma and Epigenetic Inheritance," *Development and Psychopathology* 30, no. 5 (2018): 1763–77.

⁵ Riki van Boeschoten et al., eds., *Γεφυρώνοντας τις γενιές: διεπιστημονικότητα και αφηγήσεις ζωής στον 21ο αιώνα: Προφορική Ιστορία και άλλες βιο-ιστορίες*

(Volos: Enosi Proforikis Istorias, 2013). 217–34; Jacques Hassoun, Rika Benveniste, Yannis Th. Thanassekos, Odette Varon-Vassard and Tsvetan Todorov, *Εβραϊκή ιστορία και μνήμη* (Athens: Polis, 1998). On child narratives and adult reconstruction of memory, see Riki van Boeschoten, *Παιδιά του ελληνικού εμφυλίου: Πρόσφυγες και πολιτική της μνήμης* (Athens: Alexandria, 2015); Pothiti Hantzaroula, *Child Survivors of the Holocaust in Greece: Memory, Testimony and Subjectivity* (London: Routledge, 2020).

⁶ Michalis Chrysanthopoulos, Vasileios Vasileiadis, Gianna Delivoria and Ekaterini Tiktopoulou, *Αυτοβιογραφία: Μεταξύ Ιστορίας και λογοτεχνίας στον 19ο αιώνα* (Athens: Syndesmos Ellinikon Akadimaikon Vivliothikon, 2015).

own son, the archaeologist David Calvocoressi, who entrusted the writer with the family history's material. On the other hand, in 1900, Pandia, who seems to have played the role of the "family archivist", received a family chronicle, written by Nikolaos Kalvokoressis, Zannis' great-grandson. But different family narratives in different historical circumstances and ages hold different attitudes towards the memory of trauma. Chatziioannou finds it intriguing that, while Mathios Kalvokoressis' narrative from the end of nineteenth century describes in detail a youth experience of violence, of estrangement from the family and his birthplace, of forced migration and enslavement, recurring in an adult, literary but intimate language of feeling, Nikolaos Kalvokoressis' chronicle, written at the turn of the twentieth century, remains almost silent on the Chios massacre, focusing on the Kalvokoressis' commercial and entrepreneurial activities and high-placed administrative or military careers. It is his chronicle that mentions the establishment of a family branch in the United States.

More than a common memory landmark, personal narratives of the Chios massacre constitute the common starting point of autobiographical and family memories within the Chiot diaspora. The writer compares other similar testimonies, such as the literary narrative of *Loukis Laras* by the Chiot writer and commercial entrepreneur Dimitrios Vikelas, and the narrative of Christoforos, the son of Plato Kastanis, who had been captured in his tender years by the Ottomans and forced to embrace the Islamic religion. Added to

other autobiographical references of the massacre, such as those of Andreas Zanni Mamoukas, a Chiot politician and intellectual, of Grigorios Foteinos, a churchman, or of Andreas Syngros, a Chiot entrepreneur, and to several oral testimonies recorded in various local histories of Chios (by Petros Vlastos or Georgios I. Zolotas, for instance), the above narratives form the common "founding tradition" of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Chiot diaspora and its historical identity: therein lies the third novelty of Chatziioannou's line of approach. This tradition, which became more systematically developed and internationalised mainly through the work of Philip P. Argenti, emerged around the end of the nineteenth century (after the destructive earthquake of 1881) and before the Balkan Wars, which prepared Chios' integration into the Greek state, that is, during the period in which the Chiot diaspora was on the verge of confirming its financial and entrepreneurial presence outside the Mediterranean-Ottoman area.

The latter is closely related to the common theme of Chiot youth migration to the United States after the massacre, and the educational and cultural shaping of young migrants, boys and girls, through the American Protestant networks that connected the Mediterranean with the Atlantic, a subject that has been discussed in contemporary historiography under the light of an American cultural and religious imperialism that largely contributed to the creation of the racial, cultural and confessional supremacy of Christians against Jews and Muslims in the Mediterranean. The Kalvokoressis

family branched out in the United States after a seven-year-old member of the family was rescued from the island and transported to the United States by a passing European ship; a descendant of the above American branch held a senior position in the American navy. Alexandros Paspatis, captured during the Ottoman invasion of the island and sold as a slave to Smyrna, was, after his mother purchased his freedom, transported to Boston, where he studied along with other young migrants, with the financial support of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). Christophoros Kastanis was liberated by Protestant missionaries and taken to Boston, where he studied as the protégé of the philhellene doctor Samuel Gridley Howe. Taking into account the above historiographical debates, the writer further regards the common American Protestant itinerary of her young Chiot survivors as one of the shaping procedures of the diaspora's international and cross-cultural identities during the nineteenth century, while migration to the United States illustrates the refugee experience during the revolution as a positive cultural

procedure, in contrast to the debasing experience of flight and slave markets in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Through the above different approaches, and the meticulous editorial process for the publication of Mathios Kalvokoressis' narrative, along with Pandia Calvocoressi's notes and translated passages in English and French, Chatziioannou offers an exciting and dynamic view of the Greek Revolution: a rich mesh of personal intersecting itineraries traversing the seas of vast geographical and cultural spaces, of escape and migration routes, of travels through fragile childhoods and difficult adulthoods, of missing persons and estranged families, of hardships and careers, among a colourful crowd of Turkish beys and slave traders, Greek captains, European ambassadors and American Protestant missionaries in the Mediterranean. Thanks to the historian's acute sensibility and penetrating look, in the very heart of the "age of nationalism" the Greek Revolution of 1821 becomes the par excellence construction site of modern cross-cultural, transnational and international identities.

Eleftheria Zei
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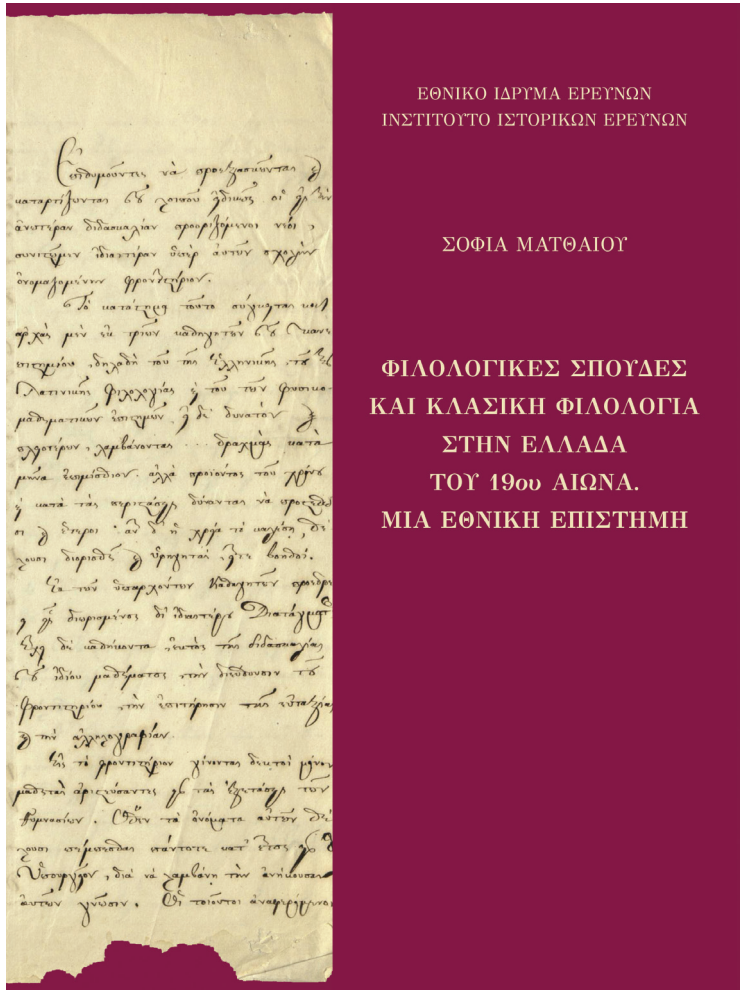
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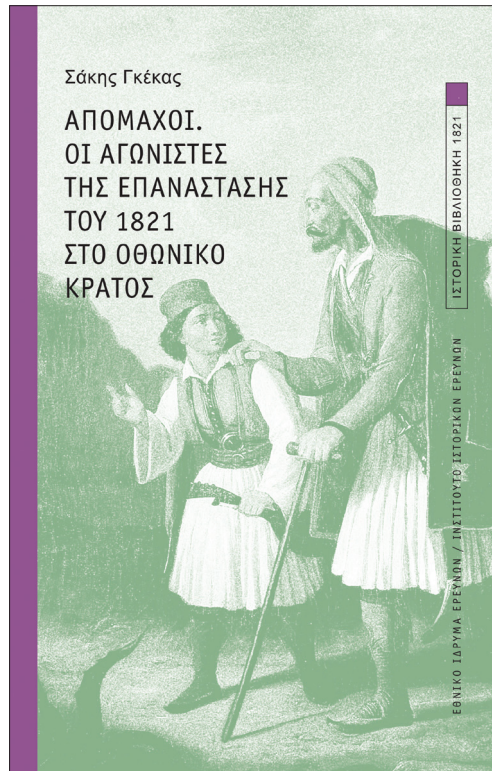
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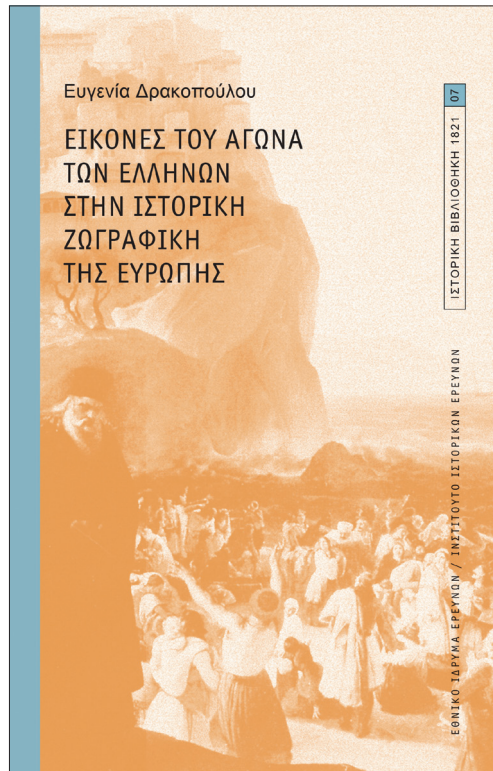
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Maria Christina Chatzioannou, *Στη δίνη της Χιακής Καταστροφής (1822): Διασταυρούμενες ιστορίες και συλλογική ταυτότητα* [Entangled histories and collective identity: Narratives of the Chios Massacre (1822)] (Athens: Institute of Historical Research / NHRF, 2021), 184 pages.

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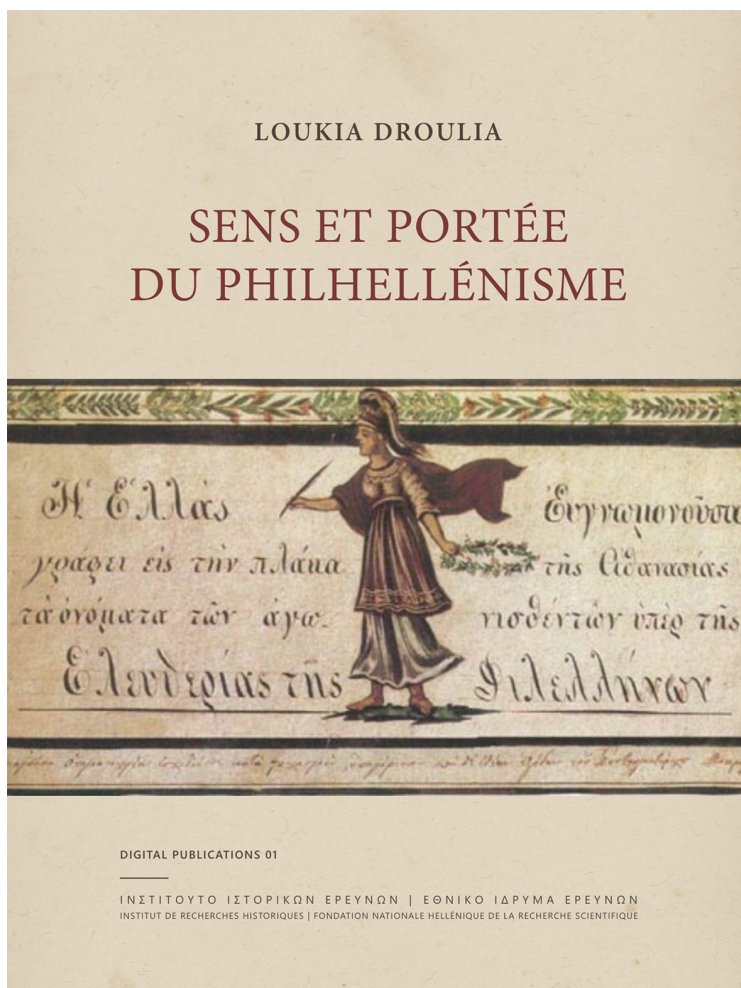


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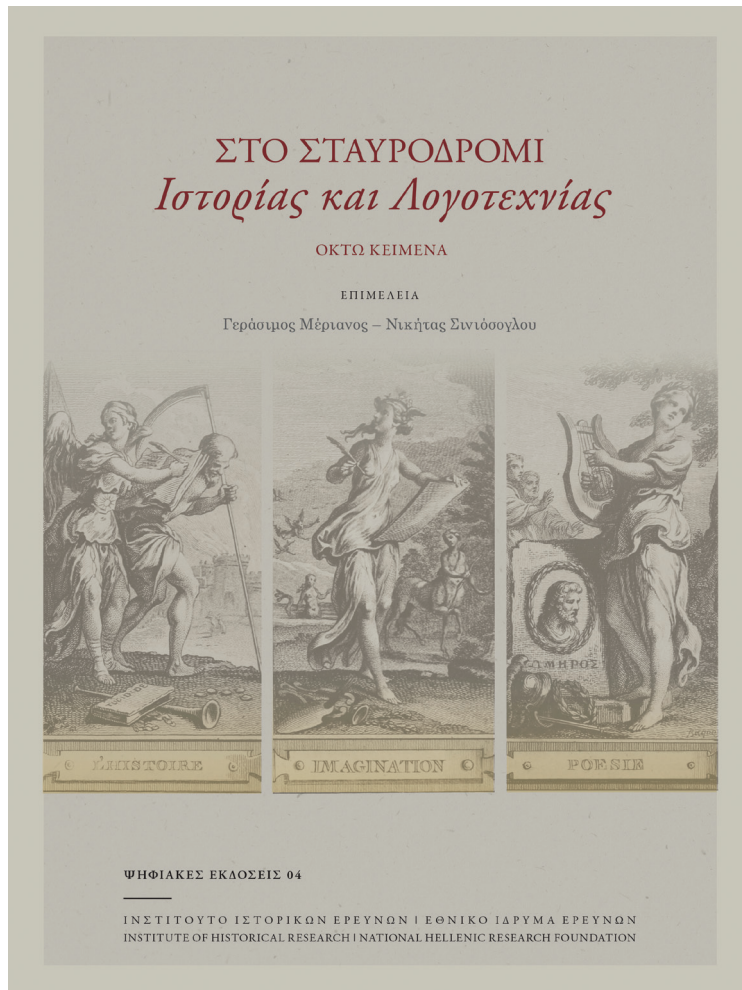
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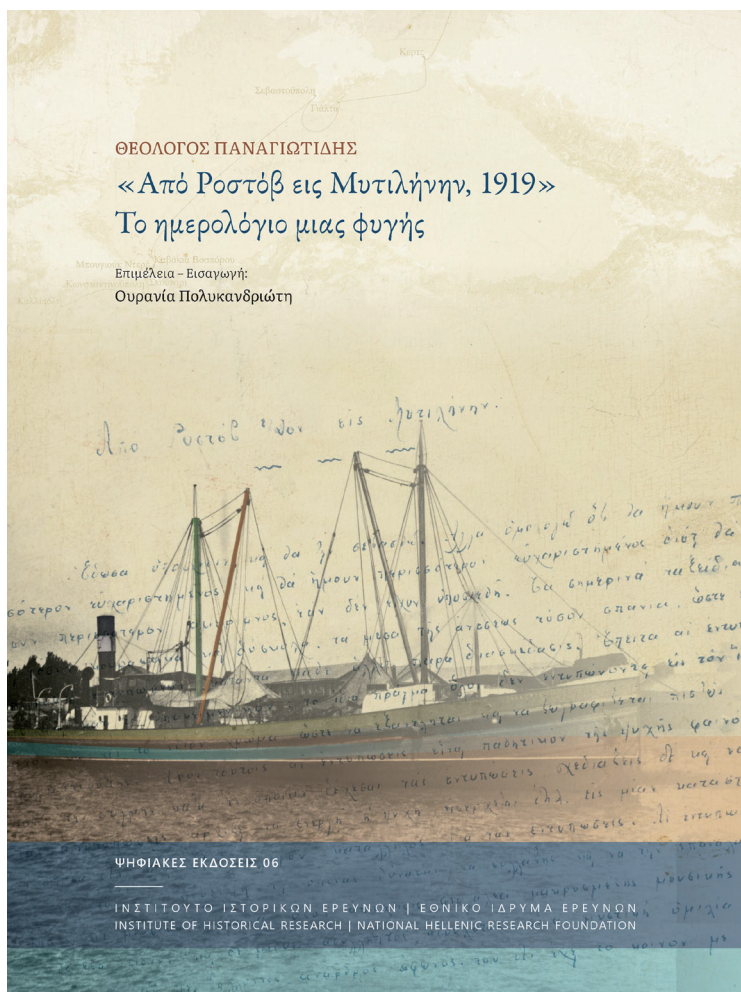
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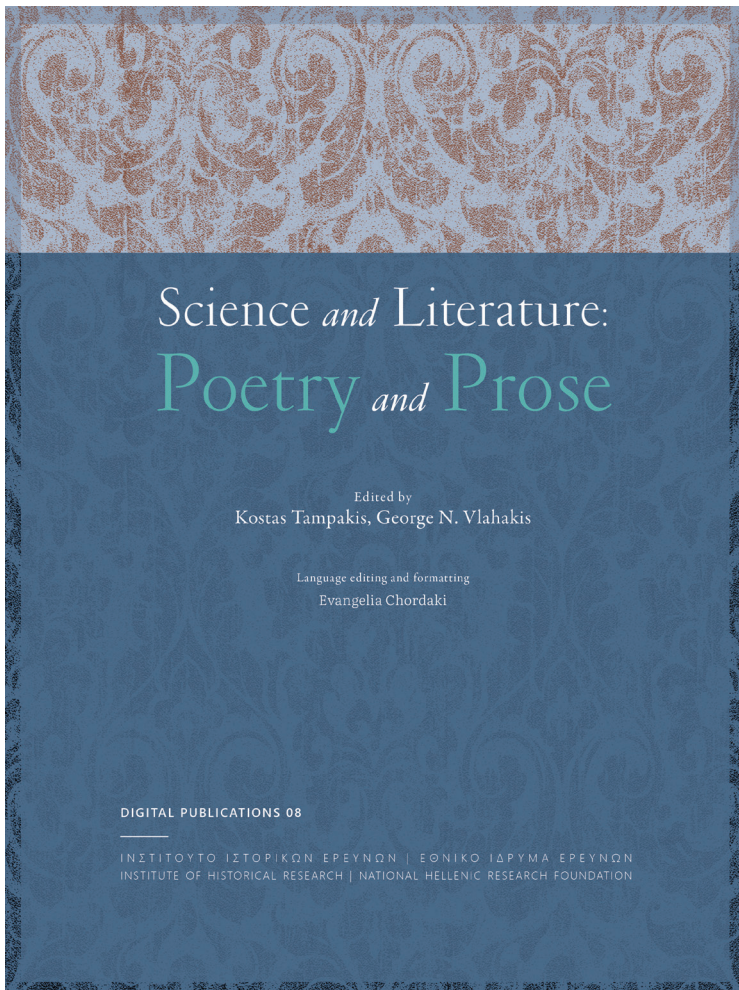
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