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THE LIVING MASK AND THE HUMANIST MYTH:
THOUGHTS ON THE ART OF NICHOLAS SPERAKIS

by STEPHEN ERIC BRONNER

KAZANTZAKIS, BERGSON, LENIN,
AND THE "RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT"

by N. GEORGOPOULOS

THE GREEK PRESS IN AMERICA

by S. VICTOR PAPACOSMA

THE FIRST PRINTED GREEK BOOK

by EVRO LAYTON

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

STEPHEN ERIC BRONNER is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Rutgers University. He has written extensively on politics and culture, and is the author of the novel, *A Beggar's Tales*, and the editor and translator of the forthcoming *Letters Of Rosa Luxemburg* . . . KATERINA GARDIKAS is an Associate of the Center for Modern Greek Research of the National Research Foundation in Athens . . . N. GEORGOPOULOS is Assistant Professor of Philosophy at Kent State University . . . EVRO LAYTON was a former Section Head of the Modern Greek Literature Section of the Modern Languages Association International Bibliography. She is currently Director of the Modern Greek Studies Association Co-operative Library Project . . . FRANCES LEFEVRE is a freelance writer and translator of Greek and French poetry . . . REGINA PAGOULATOU is a poet living in New York City . . . S. VICTOR PAPACOSMA is Associate Professor of History at Kent State University. He is the author of *The Military in Greek Politics: The 1909 Coup d' Etat* . . . NIKOS PATOURIS is a doctoral student at the New York University School of Law . . . GEORGE VALAMVANOS is a regular contributor to the *Journal*.

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The Living Mask and the Humanist Myth: Thoughts on the Art of Nicholas Sperakis

by STEPHEN ERIC BRONNER

It is always difficult to speak of an artist at the crossroads of his career. Such, however, is the case of Nicholas Sperakis. Now in his mid-thirties, he is just at the point where his work is beginning to be recognized outside the little cliques of the metropolitan art world. Already he has had over thirty one-man shows, and his works have been acquired by the Chrysler collection, the Brooklyn Museum, and a number of prestigious galleries. The reviews have been overwhelmingly positive; if one listens closely, it is easy to hear the stirrings of a wider acclaim.

Yet, if Sperakis now stands at a crucial juncture in his encounter with the public, he has already chosen the artistic path that will define the direction of his future work. For he has undergone a development that began with an existential rebellion against the heavens only to be transformed into a concern for *man's* confrontation with the conditions that *men* have produced. The existential rebel has become a secular humanist—and yet, though he has committed himself to a certain path, a new decision is on the agenda.

But this decision will only be made in the future. The process of his development begins with the experience of childhood. The son of semi-literate Greek immigrants, he knew poverty, a poverty that reached into the world that he lived internally. Isolated from the rest of society and the broader cultural context, the reality that Sperakis knew was dominated by a repressive religion. It was as if this reality was not ruled by men, but rather by spirits, saints, and ghosts, terrifying puritanical phantoms that threatened the sensuous immediacy of experience upon which childhood thrives. During the years in which he learned his craft, Sperakis did not forget his fears: *The Monk*, malevolent and severe, wielding a rosary that harbors an unspoken threat; *Three Came at Once*, the first depraved, the second haunted, and the third senile; the *Standing Monk*, wooden and voiceless, like the dead.

Sequestered in a tradition that encompassed his childhood, the myths of a moribund religion were used to make sense of a modern world whose values were alien to the community. Priests hired to protect the child from the temptations of secular evil. Dessicated old women in black mourning clothes. Saints and hermits punishing their bodies. Through

these figures, however, order is restored and sense is made of the new world—even though it is a false order and an illusory sense. Thus, from the first, a theme emerges that will recur throughout Sperakis's work: a concern with the way in which people—whether successfully or not—attempt to come to terms with the forces that they believe control them.

The concerns of Sperakis's youth, however, are as anachronistic as the community in which he grew to maturity. Despite the fact that Sperakis detested the narrowness, the provinciality, and the religion of his early environment, his values remained tied to that environment. During his adolescence, Sperakis learned graphics, and became entranced with the woodcut. In fact, he even believed that the woodcut itself—as a medium—would oppose the modern technological division of labor by reaching back in time to the point where art was still a craft, the point at which art and craft were undifferentiated. Such ideas will pass away, but the work will remain. Thus, it is important to understand how the woodcut served his earliest purposes. Black and white were the only colors that Sperakis needed to express his youthful vision. For he saw a Manichean world before him. There was evil, even in the most pious there was evil—and there was Sperakis the child threatened by priests, old women, and saints. Sperakis's opposition to religion may be defined by the power it held over him. Still, it was he the child who named evil in his paintings by the horrific depiction of his enemies. All the phantoms are enemies; each incarnates the puritanical asceticism that threatens Sperakis's sensuous experience of existence.

In the woodcut, modernists such as Munch, Heckel, and Kirchner employed line to depict the frightful tension between corporeal reality and the spirit, between a reality that constrains the spirit and a spirit that demands expression beyond reality. Sperakis will employ line as well, it will be the aesthetic emphasis that will link the early work with the later one, where he overcomes his religious fears. Yet, from the first, Sperakis senses that where the body withers, the spirit dies, and that where reality becomes impoverished, individuality disappears. This is the reason why in his work—following certain tendencies of the expressionist movement—Sperakis turns the very individuality that he values so highly into a mask. This mask-like quality of the individual persona receives its precise formulation in the early woodcuts. Yet, the deformation of individuality also appears in the paintings of Sperakis's early period, the most important of which is *The Resurrection of Death*. In this large canvas, the surface is developed purely in terms of texture, a texture that is either built up or toned down through the palette-knife technique. Sperakis is not concerned with precision, yet he emphasizes detail. People are individuated, but not individualized, and this occurs through perverse smiles and withered skins that symbolize decay. This painting is still circumscribed by Sperakis's battle against the heavens. The bright, primary colors of his later works are missing, along with the *Kunstfreude* and joy that provide the consistent glimpse of an alternative to the present. The entire scene, however, ironically satirizes the ritualized religious experience; this is

only emphasized by the fact that the only real color of any brightness is to be found in the spangled serpent that slithers from the chalice which the old woman holds.

Religion supposedly saves the soul by transcending the sins of the body. But, for Sperakis, once the sinful experience of the body is denied, the uniqueness of individuality is also destroyed. There is only a mask turned to the outside, a *living mask* which covers an empty shell. Individuation continues, but the spontaneous sensuous experience of existence—which makes the individual what he is—has vanished. Part mask, part face, in Sperakis's woodcuts existence becomes a theater, as life takes on a dream-like quality that betrays its lack of content. No matter that Sperakis mistakes religion for the deadening effects of reification, commodity fetishism, and bureaucratic routine in advanced capitalism. The religious images *can* be critically transposed into secular terms. All the figures of Sperakis's early period are shrunken, shriveled souls. Consumed by the piety which they seek to profess, denying the experiences which their bodies demand, their lament is Sperakis's lament. It is the lament for those who give themselves over to inwardness at the expense of the sensuous world.

In the sacrifice, piety never compensates for pain. The pain always remains so that, if there is an element of pity in Sperakis's *The Crucifixion in the Flesh*, then there is also an ironic comment on the waste of life. As the body is stripped down to its muscles, sinews, and nerves, there is nothing left except a gaping hole in place of a mouth that attracts the onlooker's eye. For Sperakis, to believe in the embodiment of pain—which is how he sees religion—itself becomes the negation of the individual's need for happiness in this world. Indeed, it becomes a demand for the sacrifice of individuality in the name of a God who is no more; the sacrifice that had God as its goal now projects only nothingness.

Sperakis refuses to accept the perspective of the heroic-romantic, mystical onlooker to horror in its direct immediacy; to this end, he employs the grotesque and monumentality. Some of Sperakis's woodcuts—such as *The Crucifixion in the Flesh* and *The Cripple*—are as much as twelve feet high; like Rabelais's Pantagruel, the very enormity of the image gives it an irreality that permits a grotesquery that never seems out of place and provides, through irony, the confrontation with a seemingly incomprehensible reality.

But Sperakis is still working inside an other-worldly myth. This myth itself must lose its fascination for Sperakis to enter social reality. Only when this break is accomplished will it become possible to consciously transvalue myth in secular terms as will occur in *The Metamorphoses of Karagiozis*. It will, however, take Sperakis a long time to arrive at this formulation that marks his present stage of development. First, he will have to move outside the community of his childhood. Sperakis will go to art school—where he will study with the cubist Louis Boucher—and rent a studio in the Bowery. There, for the first time, he will see degradation that transcends the poverty which he experienced.

For, if it was a provincial community which he knew as a child, at least it was still a community. If it was inhabited by phantoms, these phantoms still served to link individuals together in their common plight. In the Bowery, he will see none of this. What he will see is nothing other than human beings who are cut off from tradition, society, and themselves. Bums, winos, and schizophrenics will become a part of Sperakis's everyday life, and a crucial source for his art. Walter Benjamin once wrote that "so long as one beggar remains, no man shall be free." Sperakis will seek to actualize this statement in his Bowery paintings.

Faced with the intensification of poverty into complete degradation, Sperakis will leave the sphere of myth as he attempts to incarnate universal oppression in the particular individuals whom he depicts. The directness and the immediacy remain. Yet, Sperakis continues to keep a sense of distance from his subjects through the aesthetic choices which he makes. Thus, *Bowery Man* and *Bowery Man No. 2* are painted almost monochromatically in brown. It is a rich brown, even in its color gradations, and depth is achieved through the palette-knife technique of his earlier works. New materials come into use: first lucite, then coffee grounds, which are mixed with the oils. This provides new possibilities for emphasizing surface textures; a roughness of texture and a possibility for building up color area occurs through which the most extreme contrasts of colors and sense of depth can be achieved. The technique will only achieve its full elaboration later, but it is in this series that one can see the beginnings. For it is not only the shadings of color, but also the depth that these shadings gain that makes for the tension in the subject's face and the brittleness of his body. The rich browns only emphasize the fact that there is no overemphasis upon tawdriness in these two paintings. Instead, the objective conditions which define the situation of these subjects is turned inward. Thus, the pain that they experience is an inner existential "human" pain.

Technically, in this period, the influences of Van Gogh and Koschka are obviously evident. The influences are of interest insofar as Boucher, Sperakis's teacher, was a cubist. Apparently, Boucher did not seek to impose his own predilections on his students, for Sperakis actually does not have much in common with the cubist masters. Where Braque, Picasso, and Gris sought to de-emphasize color in the name of line by breaking down the object into the most simple geometric forms which constitute it, Sperakis is concerned with something different. He seeks to break down the figure through line in such a way that an object area emerges for color; intrinsic to the use of line is the color to be represented in the circumscribed space. This is why Sperakis can make the seemingly paradoxical statement that line is color. In contrast to the cubists, Sperakis is not so much concerned with contrasting flat perspectival possibilities—or with the construction and de-construction of the object—as with simultaneously freezing and animating his figures in space.

Thus, the subject in his expressive possibilities becomes primary for Sperakis. The *living mask*, the technical heritage of the past, the use of

the grotesque, and the emphasis upon the alienated state of the subject are carried over from the earlier works. But, the attack is no longer against the gods, and the concern with the living subject is intensified. It is no longer priests and martyrs, mourners and ascetics, who occupy center stage in Sperakis's work. Instead, it is individuals whose demands for the expression of their misery become a necessity if the humanity from which they are alienated is to be salvaged. In this period, the confrontation with a stultifying religion gives way before the human condition. In fact, this phase in Sperakis's career is marked by the almost plaintive cry of the expressionists: "O Mensch!"

True enough, there is a sobriety in Sperakis's Bowery paintings that is lacking in much of proto-expressionist and expressionist art. The cry is hidden beneath the despair—not expressed through it as with Munch's *Clenched Scream*—yet, still, it exists. It exists in Sperakis's demand for the recognition of the experiential nature of an individual who is losing his identity and a humanity which is being systematically destroyed. Of course, it is the idea of humanity with which Sperakis is occupied, and he believes in this idea of man at the expense of real men and women who are pitted against one another through the socioeconomic system of capitalism. Refusing to be concrete, Sperakis must retreat to the outcasts of society. In these outcasts, the degradation of humanity is mirrored. But not only that. Precisely because he is an outcast, in Sperakis's view, his subject becomes a threat to the conformity which is destroying true individuality. This makes for the ambivalence, the repulsive fascination of Sperakis the artist with his subject matter.

In a directly sociohistorical sense, the concern with the outcast was in the air during the sixties; the student movement was always infatuated with "street life." But the concern was also part of the modern avant-garde tradition that stems at least from Baudelaire. Because Sperakis sees the threat to individuality as stemming from consumer culture, his protest is directed against wasteful affluence, hypocritical decadence, and conformist chic, rather than against the actual set of socioeconomic relations that have historically created this state of affairs.

Despite the obvious early influences of Goya, Possada, and Grosz, to speak of a concrete political revolt at this stage of Sperakis's development would be a mistake. For his concerns derive from the less directly political strains within the student movement. His protest is leveled against what he perceives as the dominant cultural values of the bourgeoisie, and the protest is evidenced in paintings such as *Salome During 69 While Under a Plastic Sun Lamp* and *Alligator Bags*.

These paintings are impish, bawdy, and outlandish. In them, fundamentally positive elements from both the avant-garde and the student movement are retained. A sense of fun becomes predominant as Sperakis attacks what Nietzsche angrily called *l'esprit serieuse* through the use of bright primary colors and the contrast of those colors. Sperakis looks back—over the Marx Brothers—to the avant-garde cabaret when he proceeds to actualize the metaphor that he uses. Thus, in *Salome*, an animal-headed

figure in a business suit "eats" the decrepit Salome with a fork—that simultaneously serves as a symbol of the devil—while he masturbates. Bold stripes and mosaic patterns seem to contradict despair and impotence as the work becomes a laughing criticism. Then, in *Alligator Bags*, a severed arm is juxtaposed to an alligator wearing a necktie. The alligator is humanized, while the human severed arm becomes a dead object. The emphasis upon play and contradiction is strengthened. In reproduction, the painting bears a close resemblance to a cartoon, while the rainbow of primary colors might make one think of Peter Max. Actually, however, the similarity is illusory. Sperakis's use of impasto—with his beeswax and coffee grounds medium—creates a roughness of surface that builds a sense of horror and decay while the content of the work explicitly offers a criticism of the values which our society fosters. Though Sperakis believes in fun and laughter, he attempts to merge them with a critical view towards our society: thus, he never acclimatizes himself to the existing order by making it mellow and light in his art. The world itself is never made more wondrous than it actually is; the grotesque retains its force as social satire.

More and more, in this period, Sperakis will emphasize motion within his work. The concern has a social dimension. In contrast to certain tendencies within the counterculture, Sperakis never succumbs to primitivism or to a romantic "return to nature." In political terms, the student movement was oriented towards the city. Sperakis's works reflect this; he throws himself into the city and attempts to capture the tempo of modern life through the use of line. Through line, Sperakis will try to actualize the rhythm of everyday life that he experiences.

The use of line towards this end is not uncommon. Employing line to develop action and the electric force of coming destruction was common both to the futurists and some expressionists. Once again, in Sperakis's work, the analytic line of the cubists gives way before what the line can express in subjective terms. The living mask is retained, as is the theater, both in Sperakis's paintings and in his woodcuts.

Indeed, Sperakis does not view these two forms as mutually exclusive in their expressive possibilities. Rather, he sees them as formal complements to one another in the conceptualization of a theme. *42nd Street Fun House*, one of Sperakis's most important works of the late sixties, makes this point clear. In this work, many of his central themes are crystallized. A hooker sits—like a ventriloquist's dummy—on the knee of an old and decadent dandy, whose hand is stuck between her thighs. Behind them a corpse, an ax-murderer beginning to hack at another body. The vitality of the city is juxtaposed with the alienation it creates. The figures are completely stylized in their movements. The canvas, however, becomes a type of stage setting for a dance. Through the use of line, a hidden rhythm is exposed while a transparent unity is found between violence and lust, death and boredom. Once again, the living mask: expressionless expression, frozen movement.

The same technical concern with frozen movement is approached

in a different manner in *Falling*, another work in the Bowery series. In this painting, Sperakis's earlier Bowery figures—who appeared in upright, almost patriarchal, poses—disappear. As usual in this series, a single figure is used: a tramp is falling towards a bottomless pavement, towards the abyss. Through foreshortening and the spatial separation of the canvas, Sperakis makes the fall appear three dimensional. The ambivalence of Sperakis's cultural symbol is aesthetically reflected insofar as he does not know what to do with his subject in social terms. The abstract revolt hovers between a rejection of the social values of the status quo and an incapacity to conceptualize the concrete conditions of human existence that create these values. Sperakis the humanist will surrender the outcast to the abyss, but not the idea of man. Thus, he will search for a new symbol through which he can separate idea and reality in his own mind.

It was during this period that Sperakis saw Peter Weiss' *Marat-Sade*. The impact which this play made upon the movement was extraordinary and it impressed Sperakis to the point where he reevaluated his worldview. And this occurred for good reason. For Weiss dramatically employed all the techniques which Sperakis sought to develop within his own art. Distortion, the grotesque, the theme of the outcast, social criticism, distance through the use of the play within a play. Still, it was very different with Weiss; for Weiss brought something into play that Sperakis clearly lacked: a sense of historical change. Sperakis will start to overcome the anachronistic quality of his earlier works in which he viewed modernity through the spectacles of the past. Now, Sperakis begins to look to the past for an unexamined emancipatory content that can be used in terms of the contemporary needs for *transforming* the present. Sperakis will no longer simply attempt to apply the past to the present. Rather, he will try to explode the continuum of dead history in order to revivify its unactualized possibilities.

The transvaluation of history is a persistent element in Weiss' work. Specifically, Weiss will draw on the past in such a way that the situation that he defines will elaborate contradictions and issues that are relevant for the present. In this manner, Weiss creates both a revolutionary tradition and a living history; the unactualized needs of the past become a type of nourishment for the struggles of the present. Concretely, within a recognizable situation that is nonetheless distorted to allow for distance on the part of the audience, Weiss will engender historical reflexivity; thus, he will use the lunatic asylum as the setting for the development of events during the era of the French Revolution. Two views of revolution emerge—that of Sade and that of Marat, that of the individualistic, "republican," sexual libertine and that of the humanistic revolutionary.

The values of the counterculture are, at once, pitted against the political movement as they complement that movement. The tension between Weiss' play, and Sade's play within Weiss' play, actually reflects the tensions and values within the movement of the sixties.

But, in this manner, Weiss forces the modern movement to con-

front itself in terms of a historical tradition that remains open to change. The past itself remains open to transformation in terms of the emancipatory needs of the potential of the present. In *Marat-Sade*, this tradition *lives* in the needs that were unrealized by the French Revolution and which continue to demand realization in the construction of a new set of values, from the redemption of the outcast to the abolition of economic exploitation and war.

Sperakis felt the impact of Vietnam quite early. In a number of woodcuts, he offered his statement on the war: *The Rape of Death*, *The Masked Landscape of Him*, and perhaps his most effective piece of this type, *Reconsidered Transfiguration*, where the use of line and movement recalls the technical use of line in Marc's *Fate of the Animals* and especially *Riding School*. In Sperakis's piece, the anachronistic is again used to criticize the modern: the knight on a white horse, wearing a gas mask and a Nazi uniform, sticks his lance into a corpse. The attack on the American sense of purpose in Vietnam is obvious; the equation of American genocide with Nazism is clear. In fact, it is all too clear and too obvious. The symbolism is, at once, too reductivistically direct and too general. The symbol takes the place of history and concrete history is unconsciously lost. The symbol becomes history; Nazi Germany and Vietnam are equated under the symbol, and the specificity of oppression vanishes. In these works, Sperakis tries to make the grand statement; the result is a loss of irony in the work and a loss of distance in the audience. In short: the grand statement is undermined because the actual reality, which it can neither encompass nor convey, overshadows it. The grotesque becomes matter of fact. But, once Sperakis encounters Weiss, things change. *Marat-Sade* obsesses Sperakis for close to two years. Countless woodcuts and an entire series of paintings are devoted to the subject of the play. These are some of Sperakis's most beautiful works.

In these paintings, simplicity reigns. Sperakis will virtually obliterate the facial and body tones of his subjects. The colors are somber when compared to those of his other series. In *The Assassination of Marat* there is less emphasis upon bright primary colors; it is dull greens, grays, and silvers that predominate. In this work, the audience views a stylized figure bearing a knife on a flat ground. Two dimensional, the construction of the figure allows the audience a distance that does not diminish the anguish that the figure expresses. It is the same with the woodcuts. They all stress simplicity of form. Most are developed exclusively through the straight line. As in the *Inmate of the Asylum of Charenton*, it is the simplicity of means which increases the effect that Sperakis hopes to achieve.

Madness loses the romantic quality that so many want to bestow upon it. Again and again, in a manner reminiscent of his attack upon religion, Sperakis demystifies madness' quality of "divine inspiration" as he recreates its pain. In *The Assassination of Marat*, there is only pain. And this pain, for Sperakis, becomes the price humanity pays for the loss of the revolution and the vision of an emancipated world.

Yes, Sperakis learns much from Weiss. From Weiss he learns of the need for transvaluing tradition; he learns that oppression is socio-economically concrete and that it does not arise simply from an existential disgust with religion, vulgarity, and consumerism.

Thus, Sperakis learns the need for inquiry into the systemic roots of social and experiential oppression. In *Transformation in The Fourth Rectangle*, Sperakis artistically begins to recognize this fact. The work shows a man's profile from four angles on a canvas divided into four rectangles. In this recent woodcut, which emphasizes the smooth line, the experience of the particular individual is still Sperakis's primary concern. But, insofar as each profile of the subject's head is shown to contain the interactions of the external world within it, a new perspective emerges. The individual is no longer seen as an autonomous subject; his experience is no longer existentially abstracted from social reality. In fact, Sperakis shows that the thoughts and experiential possibilities of an individual are formed by the social structure and values that he internalizes.

Yet, these values are also produced. Production under capitalism, however, takes a specific form; it is developed through the division of labor which, as the young Marx recognized, results in the alienation of the individual from his work, his society, and himself. Socially produced by a system that predates the particular individual, this alienation is internalized by the individual. The structure of Sperakis's canvas emphasizes that the separation of these four profiles is already formed for the subject involved. Roughly speaking, the rectangles are separated from one another precisely insofar as the individual is alienated from himself in his multidimensional social possibilities.

What Sperakis seeks to show in this woodcut is the effect of a historical socio-economic system upon an experiencing individual. Yet, when Sperakis looks at history he sees how revolutions have been crushed and how *la promesse de bonheur* has remained unfulfilled.

Sperakis asks himself a question: how does the individual experience this history of revolutionary defeat? How is it that, after so many defeats, resistance has not been squashed entirely? How is it that after a history of failure, people can continue to resist?

Ironically, it is in the period of apathy following the dissipation of the student movement that Sperakis learns to hope. Again and again, following defeat, the masses have risen and Sperakis keeps the possibility open that they can rise once more. This openness to the future, in terms of the courage and resolution that has been expressed in the past, effects Sperakis's work. Though Sperakis does not fall into the doctrinaire rigidity of socialist realism, he comes to the conclusion that art cannot remain at the level of negatively criticizing the existing order. Instead, as he puts it, he begins to see that art must positively "fan the flames" of liberation for the future.

Sperakis begins *The Metamorphoses of Karagiozis*; at present, he is still working on the series. From this legendary character of the past,

Sperakis will seek to develop a secular myth of liberation that will inspire the values of revolt in the present. It is no longer the emaciated martyr, or the dessicated bum, or the anguished mental patient, who serves as the focus of humanity. Rather it is the spirit of revolt and the demand for emancipatory change, incarnated by Karagiozis, that becomes the symbol of humanity's potential and resiliency. The series is remarkable insofar as it actualizes a full integration between form and content; the thematic content of the myth is itself reflected in the formal techniques that Sperakis uses. The first painting is the large canvas *Karagiozis in Confrontation*. The work is flat, painted in oils, as yellow is employed to outline figures against a black background. It is a cityscape, figures battling one another in the midst of huge institutions that tower over them. Karagiozis is threatened, the institutions seem to absorb him; the city threatens to swallow him up. This is a painting of conflict and tensions: individuals battling one another, almost oblivious to the city which is ready to destroy their humanity. Through an intricate use of line and a play on perspective, Sperakis achieves a *trompe d'oeil*, the figures seem to disappear into the institutions, as the institutions become part of the construction of the figures. Reification in process, the figures are oblivious to what is actually threatening them through the pursuit of their war of each against all: destruction is immanent in this canvas that acts as a stage.

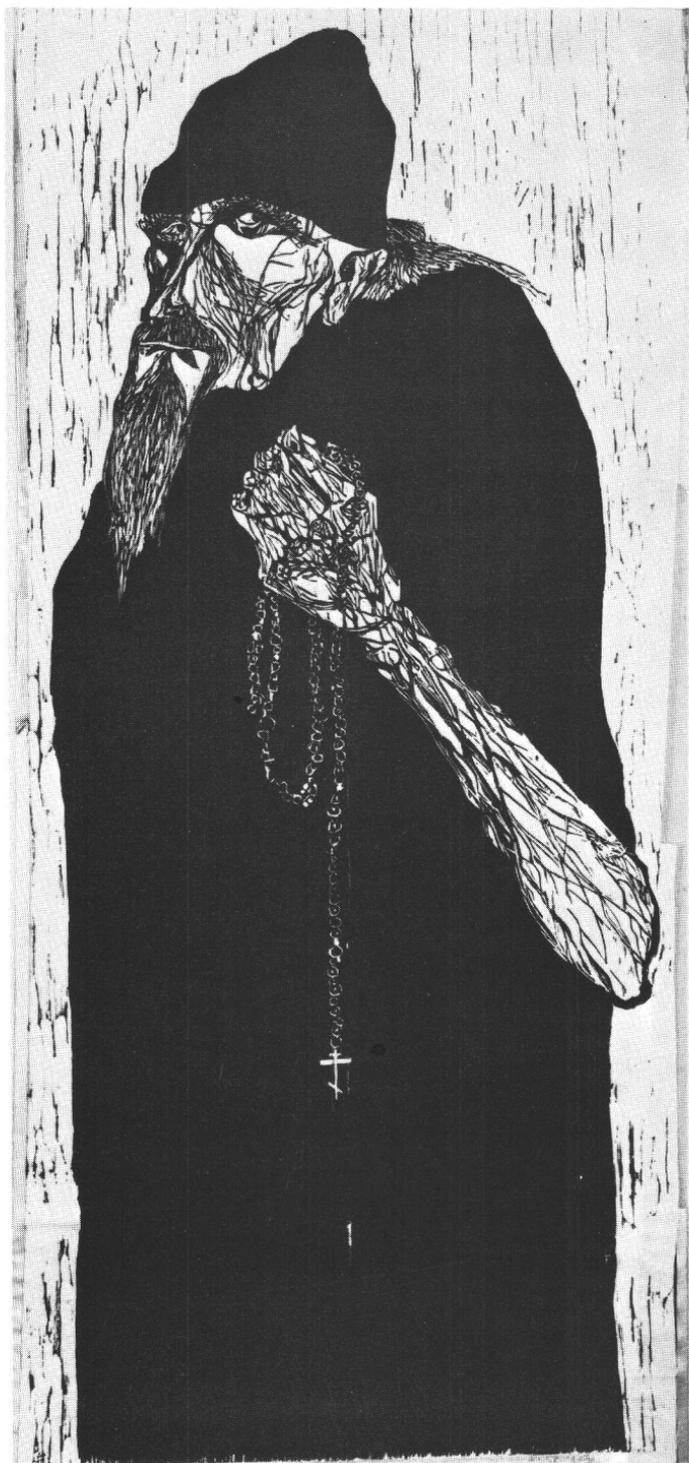
And yet somehow, almost magically, Karagiozis survives. In *Karagiozis No. 6*, he sits before his audience calmly smoking a cigar; he has emerged from the confrontation unscathed. But he has taken a new form. The transformation that he has undergone is accentuated in the way Sperakis constitutes his portrait. The line as color returns, and the colors are built up through an exaggeration that becomes possible by virtue of the beeswax, coffee grounds, and the palette-knife technique. The paint is layered almost two inches thick, between the lines, which permits the figure to simultaneously recede into the background and project forward to confront the viewer. Thus Karagiozis rises off the canvas and disappears behind it; the stylization of the figure as a living mask freezes the movement of the humanist myth.

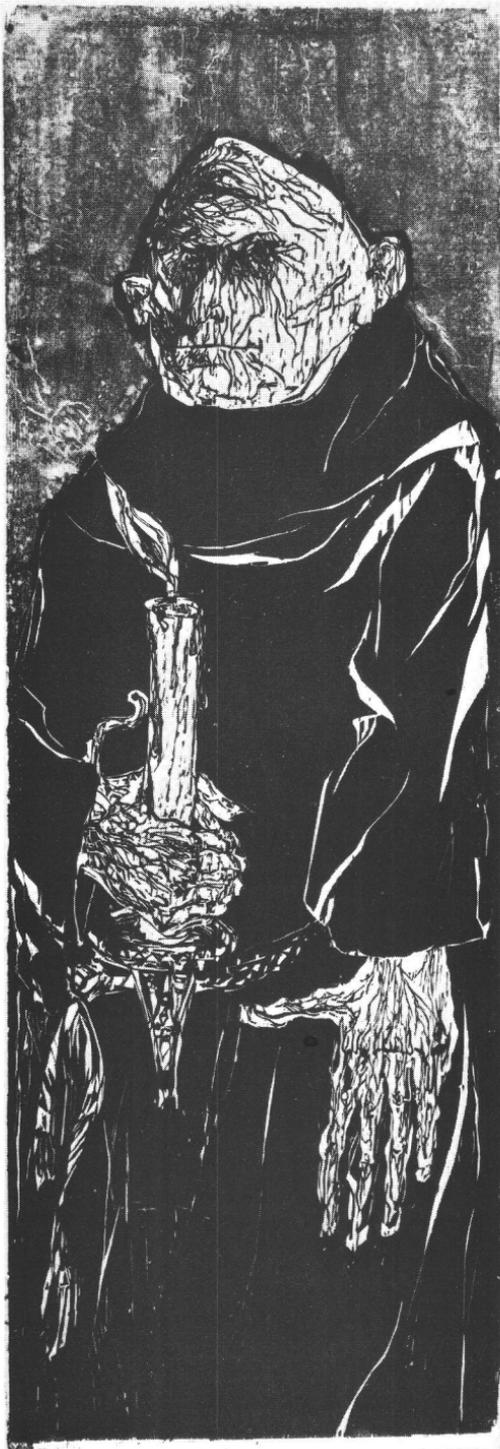
An image as startling as it is elusive, Karagiozis incarnates the emancipatory need that arises and then seems to vanish within the historical process. But he does this as a transhistorical myth; as a character of our time, he sits in his multicolored suit, smokes his oversized cigar, ironically gazes at the viewer, and waits quietly.

What is he waiting for? Nothing other than his next encounter in which he will find his reality transformed again. He knows that the struggle is not over, and so does Sperakis. But Sperakis is still the humanist; if the struggle is no longer existential in nature, then it continues to remain at the level of the symbol. Sperakis has concretely conceived of the symbol in secular terms; he now must decide how he will specify the potential that his mythical symbol contains. It is this decision that stands before him; his development as a major artist of our time will hinge on it.

1. THE MONK (p. 17)
woodcut, 32" × 72", 1964
courtesy of Lerner-Heller Gallery, NYC
2. STANDING MONK (p. 18)
woodcut, 30" × 70", 1964
courtesy of Lerner-Heller Gallery, NYC
3. THE GREEK BUTCHER SHOP (p. 19)
woodcut, 8" × 12", 1965
courtesy of Lerner-Heller Gallery, NYC
4. VIOLENT AFTERMATH (p. 20)
woodcut, 42" × 72", 1966
courtesy of Lerner-Heller Gallery, NYC
5. THE RESURRECTION OF DEATH (p. 21)
oil paint on canvas, 54" × 60", 1963
courtesy of Lerner-Heller Gallery, NYC
6. THE CRUCIFIXION IN THE FLESH (p. 22)
woodcut, 30" × 65", 1965
courtesy of Lerner-Heller Gallery, NYC
7. THE CRIPPLE (p. 23)
woodcut, 32" × 72", 1964
courtesy of Lerner-Heller Gallery, NYC
8. BOWERY MAN (p. 24)
oil paint, collage and lucite on canvas, 52" × 52", 1968
courtesy of Lerner-Heller Gallery, NYC
9. BOWERY MAN No. 2 (p. 25)
oil paint and coffee grounds on canvas, 54" × 132", 1969
courtesy of Lerner-Heller Gallery, NYC
10. ALLIGATOR BAGS (p. 26)
oil paint and beeswax with perlite on canvas, 30" × 61", 1973
courtesy of Lerner-Heller Gallery, NYC
11. HOMAGE TO MARAT (p. 27)
woodcut, 7" × 14", 1965
courtesy of Lerner-Heller Gallery, NYC

12. INMATE OF THE THE ASYLUM OF CHARENTON (p. 28)
woodcut, $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8''$, 1967
courtesy of Lerner-Heller Gallery, NYC
13. TRANSFORMATION IN THE FOURTH RECTANGLE (p. 29)
woodcut, $60'' \times 60''$, 1974
courtesy of Lerner-Heller Gallery, NYC
14. KARAGIOZIS TRANSFIXED (p. 30)
oil paint and beeswax with perlite on canvas, $30'' \times 36''$, 1978
courtesy of Lerner-Heller Gallery, NYC
15. KARAGIOZIS No. 6 (p. 31)
oil paint and beeswax with perlite on canvas, $48'' \times 66''$, 1978
courtesy of the permanent collection of Richard and Linda Reitzes, NYC
16. THE METAMORPHOSIS OF KARAGIOZIS RECONSIDERED
(p. 32)
acrylic paint with pen and ink and brush on rag paper, $76'' \times 90''$, 1976
courtesy of Lerner-Heller Gallery, NYC









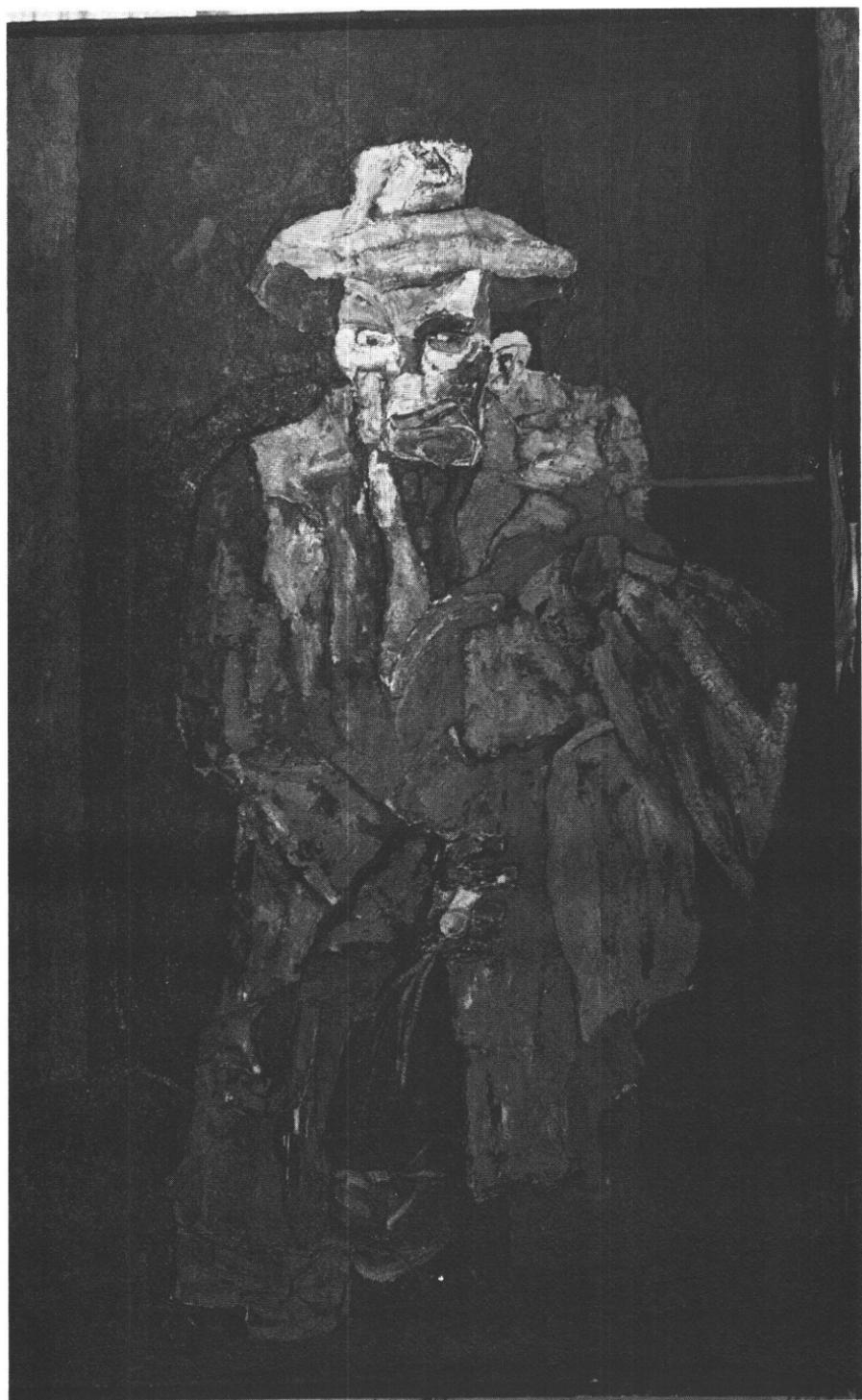


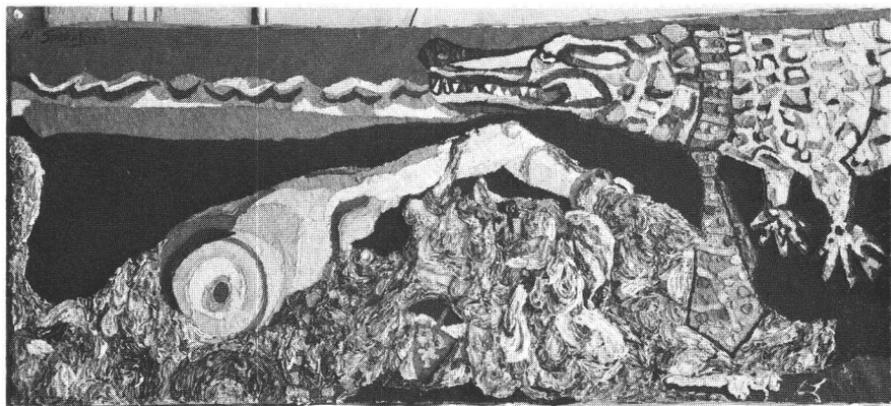


(CRUCIFIXION IN THE FLESH)

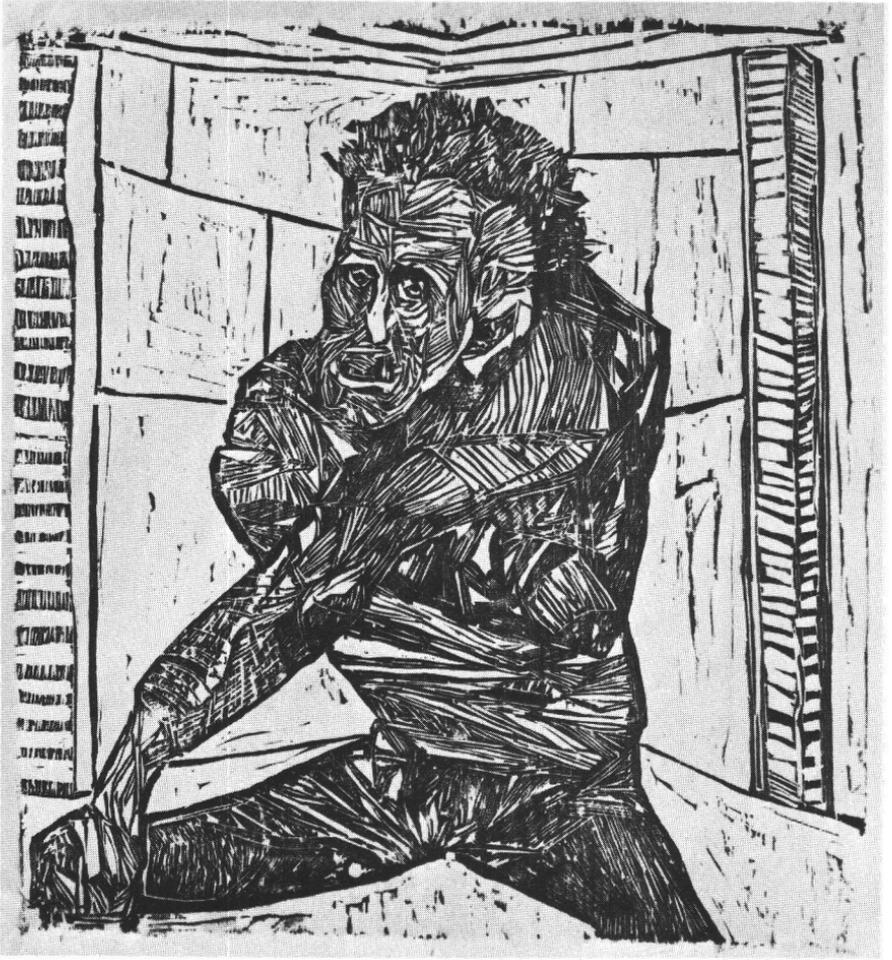


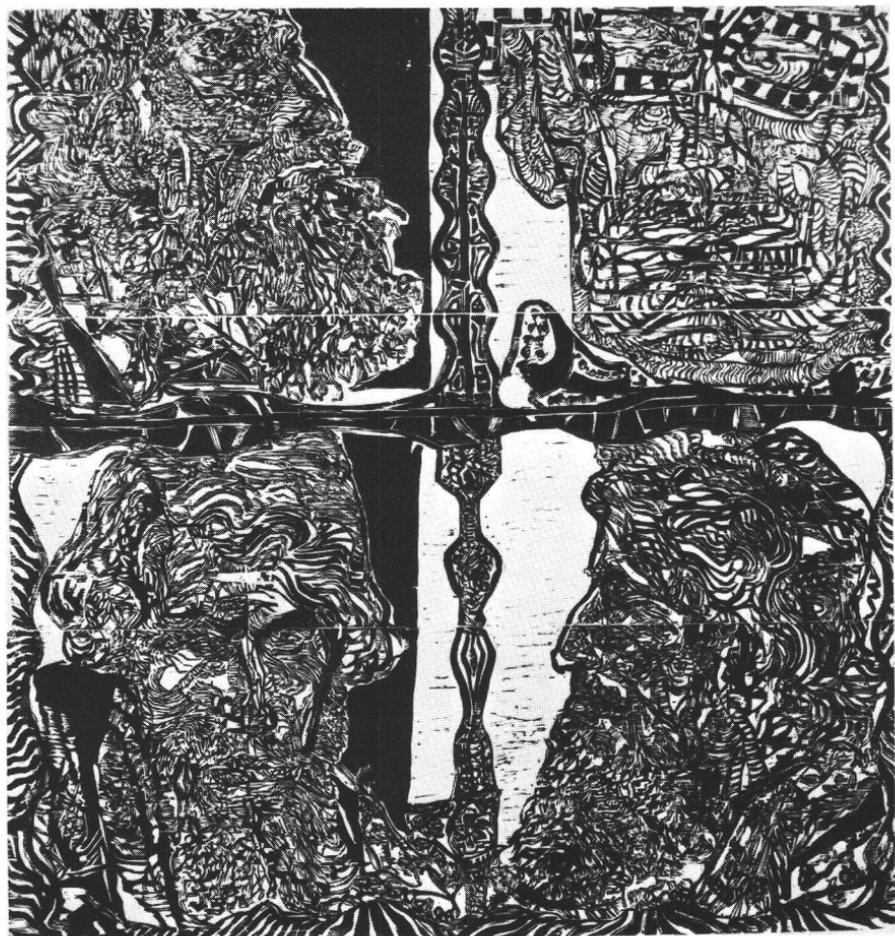


















Kazantzakis, Bergson, Lenin, and the "Russian Experiment"

by N. GEORGOPOULOS

Writers on Kazantzakis often speak of the influence certain great figures exerted on the Greek writer's intellectual development and quite often see that development in terms of clearly defined stages. Concerning his political convictions, for instance, one reads of his nationalist, bolshevik, metacommunist, and socialist stages, corresponding to clearly demarcated chronological periods. Concerning his philosophical ideas (and these should not really be distinguished from his political ones), we have not only been accustomed to associate his name with that of Nietzsche, Buddha, Christ, St. Francis, and Odysseus, but we have also been given to understand that each of these names occupied Kazantzakis's attention at a fixed period. Thus, as serious a commentator—and one closest to Kazantzakis—as Pandelis Prevelakis argues for the "stage" approach to Kazantzakis's development as is witnessed by his *Nikos Kazantzakis And His Odyssey* and his introduction to *400 Letters*. In the latter work, for instance, he writes, "The fourth prophet—in order—to win over Kazantzakis after Nietzsche, Christ, and Buddha was Lenin,"¹ and "The internal biography of Kazantzakis has become used to oppositions. But one is startled to see it pass from Lenin to Saint Francis."²

Kazantzakis himself was partially responsible for this. In a letter to Prevelakis in 1936 explaining his "spiritual longitude and latitude," he wrote:

Until 1923, full of emotion and ardor, I passed through the nationalist camp. The shadow I felt beside me was Dragoumis. From approximately 1923 to 1933, with the same emotion and ardor, I was part of the left wing. . . . Now I am passing through the third stage. . . .³

In more than one place he explicitly acknowledges his debt to the great men who aided him in his long and "bloody journey": Jesus, Buddha, Nietzsche, Lenin, Odysseus. Yet, given the nature of his thought, such

¹ Pandelis Prevelakis, ed., *Τετρακόσια γράμματα του Καζαντζάκη στο Πρεβελάκη* (Athens, 1956), p. 56.

² *Ibid.*, p. 59.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 464-465. Cited in English in Pandelis Prevelakis, *Nikos Kazantzakis and His Odyssey*, tr. by Phillip Sherrard (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961), p. 160.

admissions on his part are more prone to mislead than to enlighten; they tend to suggest that his thought was a collage of the philosophical attitudes reflected in great names. In their attempt to determine the nature, force, and time of these influences, commentators have robbed his thought of any claim to originality. No less importantly, by considering these influences in terms of clearly demarcated stages, critics give the impression that his thought underwent drastic changes at every start of a new influence, as the Greek writer first abandoned an old mentor and then embraced a new one. As a consequence, his thought is seen as lacking the wholeness and continuity it actually has.

I will not attempt here to prove the wholeness and continuity of Kazantzakis's thought. I will assume it to be self-evident. Moreover, I will maintain that the element that gave that wholeness its encompassing and integral character and the thread that lent it continuity was the philosophy of Henri Bergson. Without denying the originality of Kazantzakis's views and without entirely negating the influence of the figures and philosophies mentioned above, I can say that the single philosophical star that showed the way to Kazantzakis from the early days in Paris to the very end of his career was Bergson.

As is well-known, Kazantzakis attended Bergson's lectures in Paris from 1907 to 1908. In January 1908, he wrote to his friend Kalogeropoulos:

At present I am studying philosophy and literature at the Sorbonne, the College de France, and the Ecole des Hautes Etudes. I want to work out an individual personal conception of life, a world theory and a theory of man's destiny, and then, in accord with these, systematically and with determined purpose and program, to write what I shall write.⁴

Although the philosophies he was studying were those of Kant, Nietzsche, and Bergson, it is the last that he names as being the one that afforded him basis and direction. In 1913 he published his lengthy article on Bergson in the *Bulletin of the Educational Society*. (The article remains one of the best summaries of Bergson's early writings, comparable to the somewhat longer English expositions by Wildon Carr and Ion Alexander.) In 1915 he translated Bergson's essay *Le Rire* into Greek.

If these facts provide external evidence of Bergson's influence on Kazantzakis, three recent articles have tried to explore that influence from within the writer's work. In his "Kazantzakis and Bergson: Metaphysic Aestheticians,"⁵ Andreas Poulakidas tries to find Bergson's impact in the narrative technique of *Freedom Or Death* in connection with Berg-

⁴ Petros Markaris, "Ἀνέκδοτα γράμματα τοῦ Νίκου Καζαντζάκη," *Καινούρια Ἐποχή*, Fall 1959, p. 35. Cited in English in Peter Bien, "Kazantzakis and Nietzsche," *Journal of Modern Literature*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1971, p. 246.

⁵ Andreas Poulakidas, "Kazantzakis and Bergson: Metaphysic Aestheticians," *Journal of Modern Literature*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1971, pp. 267-283.

son's notion of *durée*, transformism, and the comic. Peter Bien, in his outstanding monograph, *Nikos Kazantzakis*,⁶ successfully argues for the unity of Kazantzakis's thought and correctly sees the *Spiritual Exercises* as the expression of Bergsonian metaphysics. Maurice Friedman, in "Bergson and Kazantzakis,"⁷ considers *Zorba the Greek* in terms of modern vitalism and first criticizes Bergson and then Kazantzakis for failing to provide a rounded image of man.

In what follows, I wish to add to this internal evidence by considering Kazantzakis's relation to Lenin and Marxism. I will show that the ambivalent nature of his attitude toward Lenin and communism was determined by his Bergsonism and that the ostensibly contradictory character of this attitude can be resolved by keeping in view his original espousal of Bergson's philosophy. In doing so, I will challenge Karl Kerényi's belief that, in Kazantzakis's thought, "Bergson cannot be reconciled with the teachings of Lenin and Marx."⁸ I will also show, at least indirectly, that his explanation that Kazantzakis's "love for Russia was born in his early childhood years in enslaved Crete which awaited its emancipation from the 'Moskovite'"⁹ is too naive and inadequate to account for his complex relation to Lenin, Russia, and Marx. Underlying my presentation will be the conviction that Kazantzakis's "left wingism" (as, in fact, his Nietzscheanism, Buddhism, etc.), far from marking a distinct stage in his odyssey, was a facet of his variegated but organically unified thought—a thought that had its source in Bergson.

I.

Kazantzakis's enthusiasm for socialism and his admiration for Lenin and communist Russia are first seen during 1921-1924 while he was in Vienna and later in Berlin. In a series of letters to his first wife dating from this crucial and turbulent period, he speaks of his "new perception" (his acceptance of communist ideas), his initiation into communist circles, and his hope of soon seeing the overthrow of bourgeois regimes. From Berlin he informs us of his joining a group of rebels, his plans to write communist books for schoolchildren and to publish a leftist periodical for Greece so that he could "initiate from here the coming awakening—the human one."¹⁰ He immerses himself in communist books, takes part in leftist demonstrations and discussions at leftist meetings,

⁶ Peter Bien, *Nikos Kazantzakis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972).

⁷ Maurice Friedman, *To Deny Our Nothingness* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1967), pp. 63-79.

⁸ Karl Kerényi, "Νίκος Καζαντζάκης: Ο συνεχιστής του Νίτσε στην Ελλάδα," *Νέα Ἔστιά*, Winter 1959, p. 47.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹⁰ *Ἐπιστολές πρὸς τὴν Γαλάτεια* (Athens, 1958), p. 34.

speaks of his awakening to internationalism, and calls himself a bolshevik.¹¹ He prepares himself to go to Russia, which "crucified . . . awaits for and fashions the resurrection,"¹² and where he feels his "whole religious effort will be directed."¹³ He sees Lenin as both Prometheus and religious reformer, and writes of him:

Among the greatest and most bloody dramas which a man might scrutinize is the life of Lenin. From here I follow at close range all the spasms of his sorrows, his agonies, his unrelenting endeavors . . . the attempts to transfuse on the gigantic body of Russia as much new blood as it is capable of bearing. In perspective or after a few generations, all compromises shall have been organized into a new creation; the entire work will then be revealed *in toto*, without details; all of Lenin's blood-drenched tragedy, which occurs daily, will have been confined to two or three episodes because the work itself shall become the answer to all questions. The same thing has been true of Christ, of Buddha, of every reformer.¹⁴

Upon his return to Crete, his enthusiasm for socialist causes and his ideas about the historical significance of communism found public expression in his "Apology." The original version of the "Apology" was written in 1924 as a defense submitted to authorities in Herakleion when he was arrested for allegedly supporting local communists. In this important document he criticizes the capitalist system for no longer being capable politically, economically, and socially of regulating the contemporary needs of "the social entity." Having passed through all the phases of its rise, it is now in the process of decomposition. Like the feudal system it toppled and replaced, it too now traces the downward curve of decline in the undulating patterns of history—itsself to be replaced by another system, another class. The bourgeoisie naturally struggles against every opposition, but it ignores, according to Kazantzakis, the intractable laws of birth, rise, decline, and decay, hoping in vain that now for the first time in history, somehow miraculously, it will remain in power forever. "If this were to happen, life would never stir from its first secure and extremely imperfect forms."¹⁵ He goes on to state his conviction about the historical movement we are living in:

At present we find ourselves at the critical point when one

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 107.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 188. Cited in English by Kimon Friar in his Introduction to his translation of *The Saviors of God*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), pp. 14-15.

¹⁵ A translation of the "Apology" is appended to the end of Helen Kazantzakis, ed., *Nikos Kazantzakis: A Biography*, tr. by Amy Mims (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968), p. 560.

class... is stumbling. Its foundations are shaking. It has lost its psychological coherence and it is decomposing. Another class is becoming crystallized... but has not yet been completely organized, has not yet been enlightened as a whole, has not yet assumed perfect consciousness of its powers. The old values have lost the belief that had once sustained them. The new values are in the process of constant creation; they have not yet assumed a stable form. And this is precisely the point wherein lies the tragic quality of the terrifying transitional period we are experiencing.¹⁶

This idea of the transitional period that Kazantzakis saw as characterizing our times was repeated in his "The Social Problem"¹⁷ (February 22, 1925) and variously formulated as "Middle Ages," "Interregnum," etc., and he stated it again and again throughout his life to the very end (see his address to the International Peace Committee on the occasion of receiving the Peace Prize in Vienna in 1956).

For Kazantzakis this transitional period was being enacted in Russia. It was in order to participate in "the Russian Experiment," to formulate his own ideas of the Russian problem—"the greatest contemporary problem that regulates our era"¹⁸—and to make his contemporaries aware of the "new rhythm of ongoing life," that he left for Russia in 1925. He went back twice, and stayed a total of two years.

The contents of the letters, his unambiguous assertions in the "Apology" and "The Social Problem," his trips to Russia, his involvement in activities there and in Greece, his passionate newspaper articles and his books on Russia, all reveal his affinities with communism. Yet Kazantzakis was not a party member;¹⁹ he explicitly stated that he was not a Marxist,²⁰ and he proclaimed that he was "never a communist."²¹ It is this situation that makes his attitude toward Marxism and communism "a very complicated affair,"²² as he himself put it, and it is the reason he has been the target of criticism from the right as well as from the left, particularly in Greece. I will maintain that this admittedly confusing attitude can be explained, and the seeming contradiction resolved, not by simply seeing his views as having undergone a drastic change from the period of the letters to the time of his return from his last trip to

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 566.

¹⁷ Reprinted in K. Mitsotakis, ed., 'Ο Καζαντζάκης μιλεί για θεό (Athens, 1965), pp. 126-133.

¹⁸ "Apology," p. 569.

¹⁹ Nikos Kazantzakis, *Toda Raba*, tr. by Amy Mims (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1964), p. 117.

²⁰ Nikos Kazantzakis, *Ταξιδεύοντας: Ρουσία* (Athens, 1969), fifth edition, p. 338.

²¹ *Nikos Kazantzakis and His Odyssey*, p. 160.

²² Nikos D. Poulіopoulos, 'Ο Νίκος Καζαντζάκης και τὰ παγκόσμια ιδεολογικά ρεύματα, Vol. 1 (Athens, 1972), p. 17.

Russia, but by bearing in mind the central position Bergson's philosophy occupied in Kazantzakis's mind. That is, his admiration for Lenin and communist Russia, as well as his rejection of Marxism and communism, stems from, and can be explained by, his Bergsonism.

There is no doubt that it was his exposure to human misery and the economic and political injustices in Vienna and Germany that first aroused his anticapitalist feelings and fashioned his initial commitment to Lenin and the Russian Revolution. At the same time, however, this humanistic aspect of his commitment was supplemented and reinforced by a transhumanistic dimension, as it were, that had its source in Bergsonian ideas. The significance the "Russian experiment" had for Kazantzakis was not so much as a new political ideology that was being forged there—one that promised a "loftier content to the conceptions of work, justice, virtue";²³ rather, through the guise of this ideology, Russia was seen as preparing the grounds for the final stage of the decay of capitalist civilization. In doing so, it was creating a transitional period pointing toward something higher in man's spiritual evolution. The reason Russia had awakened his respect and even "rapture" was that he saw it as the place where the upward movement of the human spirit was beginning to be enacted, where man, "from the most primitive muzhik to the saintly countenance of Lenin, consciously or unconsciously,"²⁴ was striving to open a new path "amidst hunger and blood in order to raise life higher."²⁵

For Kazantzakis, as for Bergson, it was this striving, this struggle to revitalize what had hardened into immobility—these moments at which what had congealed into matter was being transmuted, through human effort, into spirit—that comprised man's and humanity's "holiest" moments: the moments of charge and upward climb as he called them, echoing Bergson's idea of movement and creativity as the manifestation of the vital surge that is life. "Beyond logic, beyond economic needs and party programs, higher than the Soviets and the Commissars,"²⁶ he saw in Russia the intemperate ministrations of this primordial force, this *élan vital*. Summarizing his impressions and thoughts in the introduction to his book on Russia, he writes that what moved him the most was that it was in Russia that for the first time he saw "so visibly the Invisible." In referring to the "Invisible," he continues in words reminiscent of Bergson's *Creative Evolution*,

I do not mean some priestly God or some metaphysical Consciousness or some image of poetic longings; I mean the primordial force that uses us humans—and prior to us, animals, plants, and matter—as its bearers, its beasts of burden, and

²³ "Apology," p. 570.

²⁴ Πουσιά, p. 11.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

²⁶ *Toda Raba*, p. 111. Also Πουσιά, p. 11.

rushes on as if it had a purpose and followed a definite direction. You sense that you are surrounded here in Russia with the blind forces that create the eye and the light.²⁷

This undeniably Bergsonian language is not coincidental. It occurs again and again whenever he writes on the subject, reflecting the vitalistic world view of the French philosopher. Toward the end of the same book he refers to the Invisible as the "Struggling One," outlines its evolutionary path, and gives it a temporal persona:

For years now an unswerving belief has been taking hold of me, lighting up my insides. Someone struggling is climbing uphill from matter to plants, from plants to animals, from animals to man, and is fighting for freedom. In every critical historical period, the Struggling One takes on a new face. Today the face it has taken is this: Leader of the World Proletariat.²⁸

In spite of Kazantzakis's involvement in activities in the Soviet Union and in Greece that one may call political, in spite of his lifelong fight against oppression and injustice, and in spite of his conviction that Soviet Russia was spearheading the destruction of the decaying values of capitalism and imperialism, his allegiance to communist causes was not ideological in nature and his view of Russia as the center of the world had non-political roots. Ultimately, it was not Russia as such, Russia as the brewing place of a new ideology, that attracted him. In *Toda Raba* he was speaking for himself when he has the character Geranos say in more than one place:

It isn't Russia that interests me, but the flame consuming Russia. Only one thing thrills me: I look for it everywhere, and my eyes follow it with joy and fear. The red line that pierces and passes through men like a rosary of skulls. All I love is this red line, and my sole happiness is to feel it piercing and passing through my own skull, breaking it up as it goes.²⁹

It was precisely for this reason that later on in the novel he has the same character say that he now saw clearly what his first duty was: "To be Communist in spite of everything."³⁰ By being communist one could help the decaying of western civilization and therefore open a path for man's upward climb.

Whether he called it flame or the Invisible or the Struggling One or God, it was the Bergsonian *élan vital*, which "has carried life, by more

²⁷ Πουσία, p. 10.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

²⁹ *Toda Raba*, p. 94. Also pp. 118, 127.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

and more complex forms to higher and higher destinies,"³¹ that Kazantzakis had in mind, and it was to this that he owed his allegiance from first to last. "God," wrote Bergson, "has nothing of the already made; He is unceasing life, action, freedom,"³² and life is the procreative urge of the world. "The impetus of life, of which we are speaking," writes Bergson, "consists in the need of creation. It cannot create absolutely—because it is confronted with matter—that is to say with the movement that is the inverse of its own. But it seized upon this matter which is necessity itself, and strives to introduce into it the largest possible amount of indetermination and liberty."³³ Although this process is impersonal and indifferent to man when it reaches the human level, man, through the exercise of consciousness and will, can purposively intervene and participate in its movement. Kazantzakis saw his own life and work as being an effort to achieve just that. He considered it his and man's duty not to impede this process but to supply it with the creation that Bergson thought it needed—first by finding and then adjusting to its rhythm, and thereby endowing its spiral unfoldings with freedom. It is only in this way, he repeatedly stated, that man can rarefy matter, avoid its congealment, and himself turn to vital freedom, and thereby achieve something immortal. And it is only in this way, too, that he can come closer to the Invisible, struggle along with the struggling One, and save God. In a statement summarizing his life's endeavor, he wrote:

I now clearly saw the progress of the Invisible, and suddenly I knew what my duty was to be: to work in harmony together with that Combatant; to transmute, even I, in my own small capacity, matter into spirit, for only then might I try to reach the highest endeavor of man—a harmony with the Universe.³⁴

It was in this light that Kazantzakis saw Lenin, and it is for this reason that he referred to him as one of the saviors of God and made him one of the "bodyguards" of his own odyssey. For in the transitional age we are living in, he, "the strongest and therefore the most responsible soul of Russia,"³⁵ was liberating God from His entrapments in capitalist matter. Or more precisely, Lenin, as Kazantzakis saw him, was responsible for the very occurrence of the transitional age. For by awakening and unleashing the spirit dormant in the bourgeois world, he was opening new possibilities for that spirit to be freed for new and higher embodiments. In his own times and in his own manner he was re-enacting the mission of those other saviors of God of whom Kazan-

³¹ Henri Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, tr. by Arthur Mitchell (New York: The Modern Library, 1944), p. 117.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 271.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

³⁴ Nikos Kazantzakis, *The Odyssey: A Modern Sequel*, tr. by Kimon Friar (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), p. xxii.

³⁵ Πουσία, p. 207.

tzakis often spoke: Moses, Buddha, El Greco, Nietzsche. He might not have been the Savior according to orthodox communist thought, and we may still not have the necessary temporal distance to see the sum of his endeavors, but one thing will remain an incontrovertible historical truth: "He came on this earth and," like those other paradigmatic individuals, "did his duty."³⁶

II.

It has been argued that Kazantzakis's attitude toward Russia and communism underwent a fundamental change from his initial enthusiasm in the early Twenties to a final disillusionment in the early Thirties. Professor Peter Bien, for example, suggests such a clear-cut curve when, in comparing the beginning and end of this period, he writes: "Whereas he at first declared Russian communism to be the daylight marking the end of the transitional age . . . by 1929 he considered the Russians part of the transition," and "whereas he had originally spoken hard-headedly about specific educational programs, the abolition of hunger, etc., he now spoke more vaguely of a post-bolshevik age in which society would honor spiritual values. He called his new hope metacommunism."³⁷ I have tried to show elsewhere³⁸ that Kazantzakis viewed Russian communism as part of the transitional age while he was still in Vienna and Germany, that his idea of metacommunism emerged not in 1929 but while he was writing his *Spiritual Exercises* in 1923, and that he did not become disillusioned because, as he explicitly wrote to Galatea in 1922, he "had not the slightest illusion about the present reality in Russia." Moreover, to speak of this period in terms of beginning and end is both to circumscribe it and to reintroduce the notion of stages. What might appear as a disillusionment was essentially a part of Kazantzakis long before his travels to Russia. However, it was later, after his final trip to the Soviet Union, that he had the opportunity to formulate more clearly and more fully his position—one which accounts for his awe of Lenin and the "amazing Russian experiment" as well as for his denial of being a communist. This position was first briefly recorded in what seems to be a diary entry. He wrote that by March 1925 he reached the conclusion that "those who will create the new *Kultur* are not the communists. . . . They have carried out perfectly 1) the negative, 2) the prodromic command: they have cleared the ground, overturning the rotten edifice, and proclaimed the need for a 'new life'." However, he continues, they failed in their positive creative role because their leaders have turned to seek the "seeds" for this new life "In Europe: Materialismus, Marx, etc."³⁹

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

³⁷ Peter Bien, "Nikos Kazantzakis," *The Politics of Twentieth Century Novelists*, ed. by George Panichas (New York: Hawthorne Books, Inc., 1971), p. 155.

³⁸ See my "Marxism and Kazantzakis," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, Vol. 3, 1977, pp. 175-200.

³⁹ Τετρακόσια γράμματα, pp. 159-60.

These brief comments are expanded in a long and important letter in 1929 from Gottesgab and in a chapter entitled "Conversation with a Leader" in his *Russia*.

If his positive attitude toward Lenin and Russia can be explained in terms of his Bergsonism, so can, as we shall see, his considerations of communism's ultimate failure. The communists failed to provide new paths for the spirit to evolve because of their ties to Marxism. It was to the latter's alleged scientism-intellectualism and materialism that Kazantzakis most objected—the very doctrines against which Bergson's entire philosophical effort was a revolt.

Far from providing new paths and creative possibilities for fresh embodiments of evolving life, communism, with its emphasis on the materialist conception of life and "its worship of the machine," was seen by Kazantzakis as being the most extreme extension of Western culture: "extreme materialism, hypertrophy of the rational, deadly analysis of every belief which transcends the five senses, deification of practical goals."⁴⁰ "Bourgeois civilization, with its development of critical intelligence, demolished all religions and created that which we call science, i.e., rules by which we can know and subjugate the natural power."⁴¹ In deifying all these fruits of bourgeois civilization, communism, Kazantzakis became convinced, was carrying that civilization to its final stage of decomposition.

Kazantzakis did not remain on this general level. He carried his criticism of materialism to the foundation of Marx's theory. He rejected the basic thesis of historical materialism—the doctrine according to which societies are and have been regulated by the forces or means of production; or more generally, that economics constitutes the foundation of the sociopolitical and spiritual superstructure and is the cause of change. He argued that factors other than economics (such as race, climate, religion, wars, the appearance of a great figure, etc.) "mold humanity and now one dominates, now the other, now many or all together in hard-to-analyze percentages of contribution,"⁴² and that they are the cause of economic changes. Reverting to Bergson's notion of the invisible vital impulse, he pointed out that moral, intellectual, artistic, as well as economic changes are the results of invisible forces—forces too fluid and anonymous to become slogans for the masses.

However, the most notable influence Bergson had on Kazantzakis's objections to theoretical Marxism was in the Greek writer's considerations of scientific determinism. He accepted Bergson's ideas introduced in *An Introduction To Metaphysics* and expanded in *Creative Evolution* that "a positive science is a work of pure intellect,"⁴³ and that the intellect,

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁴² Πουσία, p. 224.

⁴³ *Creative Evolution*, p. 214.

"operating as it always does in the immobile,"⁴⁴ shows its fundamental limitations when it is applied to the living. On this basis he rejected the central position of scientific socialism that, by utilizing the methods and adopting the goals of the empirical sciences, it can regulate and predict social, that is to say human, phenomena. Living phenomena as opposed to merely physical ones are not amenable to scientific analysis and methodology. Life, both for Kazantzakis and Bergson, is synonymous with movement, heterogeneity, novelty, creation. As such, its phenomena cannot be quantified—and therefore ordered—without distorting them. Discussing this very issue in a section that seems directly out of *Time And Free Will*, he writes that

Life's phenomena, unlike the physical ones, unfold and ripen in a psychological, heterogeneous time. This psychological, qualitative time cannot be collected without distortion nor can it be formulated by means of numbers as though it were merely a quantitative, colorless, odorless, homogeneous extension.⁴⁵

Life, being an ever-moving process toward the new, has laws which are impossible to establish, for they are made from repetition. "Science is concerned," writes Bergson, "only with the aspect of repetition."⁴⁶ "But under no circumstances," continued Kazantzakis, "can the same causes repeat themselves in life and therefore the same effects be predicted. And since the phenomena of life cannot be brought under laws, then science, that is to say, systems of laws, cannot possibly exist in the case of social phenomena."⁴⁷ Since anything that is irreducible and irreversible in the successive moments of history eludes science, then the science of society, e.g., scientific socialism, cannot determine and predict social events; it can only interpret past events as past—as inert and finished. Its function and value is interpretative and retrospective. Its investigations, Kazantzakis concludes, conducted as they are on the dead body of passing life, cannot be seen as being intellectual or practical instructions or guides.

Notwithstanding his profound disagreements with Marxism, Kazantzakis referred to Marx as "the legislator of the era."⁴⁸ He saw Marx's doctrine as having provided the slogan and the faith for our times. Kazantzakis did not agree with the philosophical basis of that slogan or with the hopes of that faith, but he was convinced that they defined contemporary reality, and as such were creating a transitional age toward a new and higher culture. However, he never stated that that new culture was being actualized in communist Russia or was embodied in Marxist

⁴⁴ Henri Bergson, *An Introduction to Metaphysics*, tr. by T. E. Hulme (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1976), p. 41.

⁴⁵ Ρουσία, p. 218.

⁴⁶ *Creative Evolution*, p. 35.

⁴⁷ Ρουσία, p. 215.

⁴⁸ Τετρακόσια γράμματα, p. 153.

theory. He wrote that centuries hence our times will be called "Middle Ages, that is, interregnum: one civilization is breaking and falling, the other is being born. The one is dying, for generations gasping, the other is in labor, for generations laboring."⁴⁹ The dying civilization is Western bourgeois civilization, and communism, as Kazantzakis saw it, was both the force behind its dissolution and the last phase of its decay. Communism is an interregnum between the falling past and a new renaissance. However, it can begin to be actualized only after we go through the present experience forged by Marx.

It is for this reason that he stated in more than one place that we ought to be communists. We should be communists, but enlightened ones, implacable, without any shallow hopes or simple-minded superficial optimism.⁵⁰ By being communists, he observed, we will be helping the present transitional age to advance, and the sooner we go through it the greater the hope of transcending it. In this way he voiced a new, meta-communist slogan. He considered it the duty and the agony of today's creative thinker to divine this new slogan through which Bergson's evolution would find more refined embodiments of the spirit than those promised by Marx.

⁴⁹ Ρουσία, p. 269.

⁵⁰ Τετρακόσια γράμματα, p. 155.

The Greek Press In America

by S. VICTOR PAPACOSMA

Similar to other immigrant groups, shortly after arrival in significant numbers in the United States, the Greeks established a press in their own language.¹ The resulting publications came to serve important functions for the cultural, intellectual, social, and commercial development of the immigrant. Subsequently, the evolving status of the Greeks in this country directly affected the condition and content of Greek journalism. Hence, to study the record of their press also provides a panoramic view of the history and changing fortunes of the Greeks in America.

The first newspapers kept the immigrants abreast of events in Greece while facilitating their adjustment to strange surroundings with articles on American life and mores. Since virtually all these journals supplied editorial opinions representative of factions in Athens, Greeks in America continued their favorite sport of politicized debate in their new setting. Social and commercial news of their own locale and of other Greek centers in America created a feeling of community and identity. No restaurateur or coffeehouse proprietor could expect to preserve his Greek clientele without a steady supply of the latest papers. The natural impulse to maintain ties with Greeks and Greek issues spurred the process of self-education for these Greek-Americans, most of whom had very little schooling, by motivating them to read their language with greater facility.

Responding to the demands of an expanding market, enterprising Greeks founded newspapers which appeared on a daily, weekly, monthly, or highly irregular basis. Frequently, however, ambition rather than professionalism characterized the journalism of the editor and, if he could afford one, his staff. Whereas in Greece leadership aspirations led individuals into politics, in the United States this drive often manifested itself in the attempts to establish personal prominence through newspaper editorships. Most of the publications proved short-lived, with only a small number enduring the challenges of economic hardship, limited circulations, and critical readerships.

¹Howard Clemens commented in "The Alien Newspapers of New York City," *The Bookman* (September 1901), p. 37: "However small the colony of foreigners may be it is certain to have a newspaper of some description, and if the foreign quarter is a large one there is a list of journals proportionately extensive." The following works are helpful in understanding the history and problems of the immigrant press in America: Robert E. Park, *The Immigrant Press and Its Control* (New York, 1922); Joshua A. Fishman, ed., *Language Loyalty in the United States* (The Hague, 1966); Jerzy Zubrzycki, "The Role of the Foreign Language Press in Migrant Integration," *Population Studies*, 12 (July 1958), pp. 73-82.

The scattered distribution and ephemeral nature of most of these journals pose obstacles for the researcher. Nonetheless, American newspaper directories and annuals and the writings of several authors provide relatively accurate information which must be accepted as minimum estimates on the numbers and locations of Greek newspapers.³ Thus, since 1892 when *Neos Kosmos* [*New World*], the first Greek-American newspaper, circulated for several months in Boston, over one hundred other journals have seen the light of day in twenty-nine cities. Unlike some other immigrant groups which restricted themselves to certain geographical areas, Greeks settled in population centers throughout the country, and therefore the newspapers did not remain confined to particular regions. New York, with its large concentration of Greeks, has witnessed the emergence of over thirty-nine different titles since 1894. Chicago ranks next with more than twenty journals, followed by Boston (8), San Francisco (6), Lowell, Massachusetts (5), Pittsburgh (4), Detroit (3), Salt Lake City (3), Los Angeles (3), Atlanta (3), Youngstown, Ohio (3), Manchester, New Hampshire (3), Lynn, Massachusetts (2), and Washington, D.C. (2). Cities which have had at least one publication are: Berkeley, California; Tarpon Springs and Miami, Florida; Haverhill, Peabody, Worcester, Holyoke, and Springfield, Massachusetts; Nashua, New Hampshire; Canton and Cleveland, Ohio; Seattle; Milwaukee; St. Louis and Kansas City, Missouri.

Table 1 shows that the number of Greek-American publications has not fluctuated drastically since 1915. More revealing, however, are the data in Table 2. The first three decades of this century witnessed the

³ Included in the tables and references in this section are publications which can be classified as newspapers or as journals serving a newspaper function. Excluded are literary magazines and publications of the church or fraternal organizations. The titles of Greek-American journals and places of publication have been compiled from several sources which, it must be noted, at times provide conflicting information. While founding dates for individual newspapers are more readily available, the dates for newspaper closings are not. The information has been collected from the following sources: S. G. Canoutas, *O Hellenismos en Ameriki* [*The Greeks in America*] (New York, 1918), pp. 232-235; Bambi Malafouris, *Hellenes tes Amerikes, 1528-1948* [*Greeks in America, 1528-1948*] (New York, 1948), pp. 227-241; J. P. Xenides, *The Greeks in America* (New York, 1922), pp. 153-154; Michael N. Cutsumbis, *A Bibliographic Guide to Materials on Greeks in the United States, 1890-1968* (New York, 1970), pp. 56-61; Federal Works Agency, Works Projects Administration, *Bibliography of Foreign Language Newspapers and Periodicals Published in Chicago* (Chicago, 1942), pp. 61-67; Th. Giannakoulis, "The Greek Press in America," *Athene* (August 1941), pp. 16-19, 30, 32; Th. Giannakoulis, "O Hellenoamerikanikos typos" ["The Greek-American Press"], *Argonantes* [*The Argonauts*], 2 (1963), pp. 416-428; Th. Giannakoulis and E. Ziogas, "To chroniko tou Hellenikou tyπου tes Amerikes" ["Chronicle of the Greek Press in America"], *Krikos* (July-August 1960), pp. 47-50; "He Hellenike demosiographia tes Amerikes" ["Greek Journalism in America"], *Menaios Eikonographemenos Ethnikos Keryx* [*Monthly Illustrated National Herald*], 11 (April 1925), pp. 59-63. N. W. Ayer and Son's *American Newspaper Annual*, published in Philadelphia, has changed its title several times this century, and it is currently *Ayer Directory of Publications*. The "Foreign Language Publications" section of this important directory was consulted for the years from 1900 to 1975. Hereafter this source will be cited as *Ayer's American Newspaper Annual*.

prolific creation of numerous journals, most of which survived for only short periods. The second decade, in particular, with the Venizelist-Constantinist controversy in Greece and with the influx of new immigrants, encouraged the founding of twenty-nine journals.³ The dramatic decline in the 1930's is attributable in large part to the economic difficulties of the Depression and the restrictions of the 1924 Quota Law, but also to the increased assimilation of Greek immigrants and their children, which decreased the demand for Greek papers. This "Americanization" process accounts then for the continued decline until the 1960's, when, with new legislation, large groups of Greeks again headed for American shores. These new immigrants have breathed some life into the faltering Greek language newspaper industry with the founding of new journals.

The daily newspaper provided the most numerous and diverse services for the Greek community and the greatest financial and professional risks for its owners. Eleven dailies emerged in the period from 1905 to 1938—six in New York, two in Chicago, and one each in San Francisco, Washington, D.C., and Manchester, New Hampshire. Only two of these daily organs survived for more than a few years and into the post-World War II era. The following comments on the dominant careers of *Atlantis* and *Ethnikos Keryx* [*National Herald*] furnish insights into the character and vital role of the Greek press.

TABLE I
Number Of Greek-American Journals Published
(in Greek and English)

1900	1905	1910	1915	1920	1925	1930	1935
2	11	13	20	22	24	21	17
1940	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1977
16	16	18	15	15	17	19	24

TABLE II
Number Of New Greek-American Journals
(in Greek and English and excluding those journals for which
locations but not dates are available)

1892- 1900	1901- 1910	1911- 1920	1921- 1930	1931- 1940	1941- 1950	1951- 1960	1961- 1970	1971- 1977
3	19	29	16	4	9	1	5	7

³ On page 316 of his work, Park states: "It is, perhaps, surprising to many to find that of all the immigrants . . . the Greeks show the largest per cent increase in arrivals since 1900 as well as in the papers started since that date [until 1920]."

TABLE III

Number Of New Greek-American Daily Newspapers (in Greek)

1905- 1910	1911- 1915	1916- 1920	1921- 1925	1926- 1930	1931- 1935	1936- 1977
3	1	0	4	1	1	2

Originally from the island of Syros, Solon Vlastos arrived in the United States in 1873 at the age of twenty. Involving himself in the import-export business, he decided in 1894 to establish a weekly newspaper in New York. From these humble origins, *Atlantis* increased steadily in circulation so that Vlastos could claim 3,400 readers by 1900.⁴ The newspaper then appeared semi-weekly, later tri-weekly, until it finally became a daily in 1905. With its early successes, *Atlantis* stimulated the creation of numerous other newspapers which sought to challenge the expanding influence of Vlastos and to extract new readers from the rapidly increasing Greek population. The lure of competition and outright opposition to Vlastos' policies motivated enterprising Greek editors to emulate the combativeness of the distant Athenian newspaper world.

In 1900 John Booras began *Thermopylae* in New York on a weekly basis. Five years later, Constantine Phasoularides, founder, in 1892, of the first Greek-American newspaper in Boston, published *Semaia* [*The Flag*] in New York. The following year, 1906, Booras and Phasoularides joined forces to publish *Thermopylae-Semaia*, a daily which lasted only until 1907. At about the same time, Socrates A. Xanthaky, editor-in-chief of *Atlantis* from 1897, resigned from his post after a series of disputes with the stiff-willed Vlastos. Seeking to dethrone his erstwhile boss, Xanthaky gathered sufficient funds to start publication of *Panhellenios* [*The Panhellenic*] in 1908 as a tri-weekly. This newspaper also served as the mouthpiece of the Panhellenic Union, the first national organization seeking to coordinate Greek interests in America. Initially, the Panhellenic Union received the support of Vlastos, but his policy changed by late 1908 when the abrasive publisher launched a series of scathing attacks on the young organization and on Lambros Coromilas, concurrently its president and Greece's minister to Washington. Outstanding differences in policy and personality set the stage for a journalistic battle royal between Vlastos' *Atlantis* and Xanthaky's *Panhellenios*, representing the Panhellenic Union and Coromilas. Circulation increased for both papers as the readership characteristically chose sides. Vlastos won the struggle, though, as Coromilas departed from his American position in 1910, and as the Panhellenic Union's size and prestige suffered from reports of a financial scandal during the 1912-1913 Balkan Wars. Xanthaky, too, lost the contest against his former employer as the *Panhellenios* stopped its presses in 1913.⁵

⁴ *Ayer's American Newspaper Annual*, 1900.

⁵ Malafouris, p. 232; Canoutas, pp. 174, 232-233; Kostas Mousouris, "He

Prior to World War I, other newspapers appeared in all regions of the country. Among the more notable were: *Hellas*, *Hellenikos Aster* [*Hellenic Star*], *Loxias* [*The Blade*], and *Saloniki* in Chicago; *Eirenikos* [*Pacific*], later renamed *Prometheus*, and *California* in San Francisco; *Ergatis* [*The Worker*] in Manchester, New Hampshire; *Patris* [*The Fatherland*] in Lowell, Massachusetts; *Enosis* [*Union*] in Pittsburgh; *Phos* [*The Light*] in Salt Lake City. No publication, however, approached Vlastos' *Atlantis* in influence. Greeks throughout the nation read this newspaper, and, in 1914, *Atlantis* claimed a circulation of 30,100, a figure higher than that of any Athenian daily during this period.⁶

While assisting the Greek-American in his adjustment to the new environment, *Atlantis* did not permit him to forget his poor homeland and its needs. Constant attention was therefore devoted, as in Athens, to the military posture of the nation. Greece had suffered a humiliating defeat in 1897 at the hands of the Ottoman Empire, with which it maintained tense relations. Added to this conflict was the contest with Serbia and particularly Bulgaria over Macedonian lands. In support of the Greek cause, Vlastos' editorials and feature articles publicized the development of volunteer military units in Greek centers throughout the United States. Springing up in 1909, these organizations, which transplanted Greek nationalism to the U.S., sought to introduce week-end volunteers to the rudiments of military discipline and training so that, in a war situation, they could return to Greece with basic skills. *Atlantis* also campaigned to raise funds for Athens's perennially strained coffers. In this fashion, Greece could supply its armed forces with modern equipment.⁷

Vlastos' newspaper, as well as others, printed many articles on the travels and exploits of Greece's most famous fundraiser in Greek colonies around the world: Spyros Matsoukas, the *ethnastolos* or "apostle of the nation." A bombastic orator with poetic pretensions, Matsoukas crossed the country from 1909 to 1911 raising money for the purchase of a naval vessel. Matsoukas effectively aroused the patriotism of Greek-Americans, whose contributions allowed Athens to acquire the destroyer *Nea Gbenea* [*The New Generation*], named in tribute to the reborn national spirit. *Atlantis* detailed the activities and rhymes of this self-proclaimed poet, who usually composed his verses at a prolific rate on trains en route to his next destination. Moreover, and as was done with all fundraising campaigns, the pages of *Atlantis* listed all contributors and the amounts given—down to the small sum of twenty-five cents. Vlastos also sponsored the collection of money for the Patriarchate in

omoghena tes Amerikes kai ho Hellenikos typos" ["The Ethnic Greeks of America and the Greek Press"], *Nea Estia* [*New Hearth*], No. 683 (Christmas 1955), p. 65; Theodore Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States* (Cambridge, 1964), p. 92.

⁶ *Ayer's American Newspaper Annual*, 1914. Athens then had over ten newspapers for a population under 300,000.

⁷ Examples of such articles appeared in *Atlantis* throughout this period and into World War I. Issues of *Atlantis* for these years, copies of which were consulted, are available on microfilm in the New York Public Library.

Constantinople and for the purchase of an airplane for the Greek army.⁸

Mediterranean politics always covered the front pages, and, when the Italo-Turkish war erupted in early October 1911, *Atlantis* printed special editions with extensive coverage of events. During the early autumn of the following year, when the aligned Balkan states appeared ready to declare war on the Ottoman Empire, the columns of *Atlantis* encouraged immigrants to return to Greece for the imminent hostilities. Headline articles publicized patriotic demonstrations of Greeks throughout America as they raised money or packed their bags to rush eastward towards waiting ships in New York harbor. On October 9, 1912, Vlastos began printing a second daily edition for the New York area, and, with Greece's declaration of war on October 18, the coverage of the distant events intensified. To honor the victories of the army's commander-in-chief, Crown Prince Constantine, who subsequently acceded to the throne in March 1913, *Atlantis* sponsored a fundraising program that collected \$3000.49 for the purchase of a commemorative sword from Tiffany's.⁹

After Greece's victory in the second Balkan War against Bulgaria in the early summer of 1913, Vlastos initiated an extensive campaign to check the advances of pro-Bulgarian sentiment in the United States. Bulgarian associations in this country launched a propaganda effort which included the visit of Bulgaria's Queen Eleonora for the purpose of placing the positions of the other Balkan nationalities in an unfavorable light. Vlastos and his colleagues drafted a series of articles in English, published first in *Atlantis*, which countered Bulgarian activities. The energetic Vlastos arranged to have over 500 newspapers across the nation (most of them small town weeklies) print these articles during the first months of 1914. Vlastos also produced a succession of strong pieces against William Randolph Hearst's pro-Bulgarian editorials in the *New York American*. After several weeks of concentrated effort, Vlastos and other prominent Greeks persuaded the influential Hearst to temper his pro-Bulgarian statements and to substitute instead comments favorable to the Greek position in Balkan politics.¹⁰

Atlantis's owner defended Greek interests in still other ways. For example, in April 1913 he protested Congress' intention to impose a steep tariff on the importation of currants, Greece's most important exportable item. The issues of *Atlantis* included a message to be clipped out, signed, and mailed by Greek immigrants to Oscar W. Underwood, Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. By June, the epistolary bombardment on Congress to lower the import duty produced positive results.

⁸ Reports on Matsoukas's activities around the United States appeared almost daily in *Atlantis* from 1909 to 1911.

⁹ *Atlantis* also encouraged the gathering of funds for the Greek Red Cross, then under the leadership of Queen Olga and Princess Sophie (Constantine's wife).

¹⁰ Anti-Bulgarian articles and editorials began appearing with greater frequency in January 1914. On February 23, 1914, *Atlantis* wrote that 567 American newspapers had published Vlastos' special article defending Greek interests in the Balkans.

Having effectively dominated Greek-American journalism for almost two decades, Vlastos faced his strongest rival in 1915. Petros Tatanis, a successful merchant, accumulated \$100,000 for the launching of *Ethnikos Keryx* [*National Herald*] on April 2, 1915. Provided with adequate capital, *Ethnikos Keryx* became the first Greek newspaper to initiate publication as a daily. Demetrios Callimachos, its editor until 1942, possessed a broad education and, although trained as a clergyman, had significant experience as a journalist prior to his arrival in the United States in 1914.

Greek editors in the United States had learned early that news and politics of the homeland, and not exclusively American topics, captured the attention and loyalty of their readers. And as politics in Greece became steadily polarized, the two major opposition groups found themselves represented by journalists over five thousand miles away. In the resulting struggle which endured for many years, *Atlantis* generally defended conservative, pro-royalist positions, while *Ethnikos Keryx* supported the liberal, progressive forces of Eleutherios Venizelos. Other papers joined the literary combat, and only a small number of journals sought to remain neutral and to control the extremism of their committed countrymen.

The ephemeral national unity of Greece during the Balkan Wars began disintegrating during the first months of the First World War. Eleutherios Venizelos, prime minister since 1910 and head of the Liberal Party, advocated an alliance with the French and British on the premise that the nation would be amply rewarded with new territory for this support. King Constantine, who was German-educated and relied heavily on pro-German military advisers, warmly backed the objectives of the *Megale Idea* [Great Idea], Greece's ambitious irredentist policy, but demanded certain guarantees in arms, troops, and money from the Allies to ensure national security. The dispute sharpened during 1915 with Venizelos maintaining that the King exceeded his constitutional prerogatives in blocking Greece's entrance into the war. Regardless of the motives behind the differing policies, both arguments had evident merits and wide constituencies: the Chamber of Deputies, the populace, and even the armed forces divided into Venizelist and Constantinist camps. The gulf between the two factions became so wide that on September 26, 1916, Venizelos declared the establishment of a separate Provisional Government in Thessaloniki to place pressure on the royalist regime in Athens to change its policies. Eventually, on June 13, 1917, the English and French forced the departure of King Constantine; later that same month, a triumphant Venizelos arrived in Athens, thus reuniting Greece with foreign assistance and bringing her into the war on the side of the Entente, his political benefactor.

This tragic sequence of events which split Greece lost none of its emotion on the pages of *Atlantis* and *Ethnikos Keryx*. In these sensitive episodes, passions rather than reason prevailed among most Greeks and the two journals helped divide the Greek-American community. The succession of vituperative editorials contributed to coffeehouse violence,

the termination of long friendships, the breakup of church communities, and the organization of mass demonstrations in New York and Chicago, among other urban centers.¹¹

Atlantis, by supporting the neutral stand of King Constantine, exposed itself to pro-German accusations. In backing Venizelos, *Ethnikos Keryx* denounced its journalistic opponent for the endorsement of the monarch's policies. Both newspapers spurred the development of organizations to facilitate public expressions of support for their respective leaders. Rallies and proclamations increased from the autumn of 1916 and caught the attention of the American press, specifically the *New York Times*, which recorded this civil war in the Greek ranks.¹² Consistently condemned for alleged pro-German propaganda, *Atlantis* found itself investigated for possible violations of the Espionage Act of June 15, 1917, on the demand of Greek-American Liberal groups. An investigation of its editorial policy and articles indicated that Vlastos' newspaper did not violate the law. It might be pointed out that after Venizelos's return to power in June 1917, the sale of *Atlantis* in Greece was prohibited.¹³ With America's entrance into World War I, Vlastos, Callimachos, and their less influential colleagues advocated wholehearted support of the American war effort, the purchase of Liberty Bonds, enlistment into the armed forces, and application by Greeks for American citizenship. Moreover, in the early spring of 1918 and in order to foster Greek unity behind the American cause, both newspapers agreed to drop the succession of libel suits against each other.¹⁴ As J. P. Xenides aptly commented in 1922, "Whatever bitter differences and quarrels newspapers may have among themselves, they all defend the United State Government."¹⁵

On one occasion this sharp division in the community also helped color the attitudes of Greeks on a strictly American issue. In New York's 1917 mayoralty election which pitted Judge John F. Hylan against the incumbent John Purroy Mitchel, the rival Greek factions maintained their respective identities. *Ethnikos Keryx* and its Venizelist clique strongly urged the reelection of Mayor Mitchel, Fusion Party candidate and the choice of the *New York Times*. *Atlantis's* pro-Constantine combination supported, along with Hearst, Tammany's Judge Hylan, a candidate criticized by his adversaries for earlier pro-German statements and associations, but who nevertheless won by a large margin on November 6.¹⁶

Despite Greek military successes and the alliance with the victorious Allies, the Venizelist-Constantinist feud retained its ferocity even with

¹¹ The most thorough analysis of these turbulent years for Greek-Americans is to be found in Saloutos, pp. 138-209.

¹² *New York Times*, January 11, 1916; October 16, 18, 19, 1916; April 9, 27, 30, 1917; June 7, 1917; July 6, 9, 1917.

¹³ Saloutos, pp. 154-157.

¹⁴ A copy of the April 24, 1918, joint statement was published in *Nomosaghes* [*The Loyal*], November 15, 1919.

¹⁵ Xenides, p. 110.

¹⁶ *New York Times*, November 5 and 6, 1917.

the war's conclusion. Venizelos's diplomatic gains at the Paris Peace Conference and the landing of Greek troops at Smyrna in May 1919 under Allied supervision did little to appease royalist circles which sought the restoration of Constantine. The animosity of the monarchists manifested itself in the United States under the leadership of *Atlantis*, with the royalist weekly *California* also playing an important role on the west coast. In addition, the Greek-American Loyalists' League founded *Nomotaghes* [*The Loyal*], a weekly, on April 5, 1919, to forward the Constantinist cause.

Then, with King Alexander's untimely death from a monkey bite, the unexpected defeat of Venizelos at the polls in November 1920, and the early December plebiscite sanctioning Constantine's return to Greece, an extraordinary political reversal took place. The fratricidal dispute among Greeks continued on both continents with only a short hiatus in the spring of 1922 on the American side when Callimachos of *Ethnikos Keryx* solicited desperately needed funds to be sent to the royalist government in Athens to help avert further military disaster in Asia Minor. But with the tragic defeat and Smyrna's destruction in September 1922, *Ethnikos Keryx* called for the ouster of "the traitorous dynasty."¹⁷ Constantine departed from Greece again in late September 1922, leaving his eldest son, George, to rule over a divided, economically devastated nation which had to care for over one million refugees streaming in from Thrace and Asia Minor. The Greek-American press called on its readers to contribute generously to the social and economic reconstruction of the battered homeland. *Ethnikos Keryx* and other liberal newspapers naturally hailed the proclamation of a Republic during the early spring of 1924.

The remainder of the decade saw the rise of political moderation in Greece but not disappearance of the tension between the camp of the monarchist-conservatives and that of the republican-liberals. A similar, even milder condition prevailed among Greeks in the United States as the immigrants became increasingly Americanized and the distant disputes held less of an attraction for them. Furthermore, with the immigration quota restrictions imposed by the American law of 1924, the former flood of newcomers from Greece became a mere trickle. The directors of *Atlantis* (Vlastos died in 1927) and *Ethnikos Keryx* acknowledged these changed circumstances, and their editorials became less heated. The two journals did maintain their distinct identities, however, with conservatives, royalists, and individuals largely from "Old Greece" (primarily the Peloponnese) reading *Atlantis*; and republicans, liberals, Venizelists, and former inhabitants of "New Greece" (Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace) and refugees from Turkey comprising the largest section of *Ethnikos Keryx's* followers.

Circulation figures for the period from World War I to World War II indicate significant fluctuations. In 1917 the previously invincible *Atlantis*

¹⁷ Saloutos, p. 202.

recorded 30,121 readers while *Ethnikos Keryx*, in print only two years, counted 21,619. The two organs apparently profited from the struggle which they reported and to which they contributed on American shores as circulation statistics by 1920 climbed to 35,000 and 30,133 for *Atlantis* and *Ethnikos Keryx*, respectively. By 1926, Callimachos's paper edged slightly ahead of *Atlantis* as the two journals shared 70,000 readers. But from this high point, the demand began to decline, with *Atlantis*'s circulation dipping very sharply. For 1930 statistics show 12,429 readers for *Atlantis* and 23,632 for *Ethnikos Keryx*. The former newspaper maintained a fairly constant level through the 1930's, but by 1938 the latter's figures fell to barely more than 13,000.¹⁸

The Depression decade of the 1930's produced difficult times for Greeks as well as for most Americans. *Ethnikos Keryx* strongly defended President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his New Deal legislation. In contrast, *Atlantis*, labeled an independent newspaper, consistently supported Republican interests and criticized Roosevelt's programs. Prior to the outbreak of the war, *Atlantis* softened its stand towards the President, acknowledging, as did other Greek-American editors with Republican inclinations, that the overwhelming majority of Greeks fell into the lower and small business classes and therefore backed New Deal measures.¹⁹

That the hold of politics in Greece lost its earlier intensity became evident during this era. *Atlantis* welcomed the restoration of the monarchy in the autumn of 1935 and the proclamation of a dictatorship by Ioannis Metaxas on August 4, 1936. Adhering to its traditionally liberal convictions, *Ethnikos Keryx* roundly condemned both events, but, by the time war broke out, this paper, too, accepted the quasi-fascist Metaxas regime as a "necessary evil." All Greek newspapers united and hailed, as did antifascist elements throughout the world, the great victories of the Greek armed forces in the late autumn of 1940 and the winter of 1941 against Mussolini's larger army. The harsh and tragic occupation period from the late spring of 1941 to October 1944 resulted not only in starvation and thousands of deaths but also in the division of Greeks along political lines. The EAM (*Ethniko Apeleutherotiko Metopo*), a popular front coalition headed by communists, proved to be the most effective resistance movement against the occupation armies. *Ethnikos Keryx* initially supported this organization and its opposition to the restoration of the monarchy, but shifted its position at the end of the occupation when the predominant role of communist interests became more evident. The extremist tactics and attitudes of earlier political squabbles no longer characterized the Greek-American press or its readers—an admission that geography and many years separated them from their homeland's disputes. Yet Greek-Americans and their newspapers did help their beleaguered brethren during and after the war by generously sup-

¹⁸ *Ayer's American Newspaper Annual* provides these statistics for the years 1917 to 1938.

¹⁹ Giannakoulis, "The Greek Press in America," *Athene*, pp. 16-19.

porting relief programs for the war ravaged country. And throughout the World War II period, the patriotism of Greek-Americans and their press could not be questioned.²⁰

As the Venizelist-Constantinist episodes indicated, personalities frequently dominated politics and distracted attention from important ideological and social issues. This traditional tendency, and the inclination of Greek-Americans to involve themselves in commercial enterprises, curbed the development of a strong radical or socialist press. In comparison to other ethnic groups, the Greeks sponsored a relatively small number of radical publications despite their inclusion in the first part of this century in the lower socioeconomic classes.²¹ *Orghanosis* [*Organization*], "Greek Official Organ of the Socialist Labor Party," appeared monthly during World War I, and survived for about a decade.²² In July 1918 the weekly *Phone tou Erghatou* [*The Voice of the Worker*] came out in New York to advance the cause of the Greek laborer in America. The newspaper changed its title to *Embros* [*Forward*] in July 1923, becoming the official organ of the "Greek Section of the Communist Party of the United States"; on July 1, 1927, *Embros* became a daily. It should be pointed out that while most Greek-American newspapers utilized various forms of *katharevousa*, *Embros* and other socialist journals composed their articles in *demotike*. With a strong ideological orientation, *Embros* naturally stressed the plight of the worker and the communist solution for improvement of his condition, furnished reports of Greek communist activities in the United States and Greece, and also advertised communist-socialist classics translated into Greek. *Eleutheria* [*Freedom*] superseded *Embros* in October 1938, classifying itself as the "Greek-American Front of Democracy," and thereby emulating earlier attempts by other communist groups to align political forces against the fascist menace with a popular or united front. Then, in 1941, *Helleno-amerikaniko Vema* [*Greek-American Tribune*] replaced *Eleutheria* as the voice of Greek labor, and publication continued until after World War II. Support for this paper's position came largely from the Fur Workers Unions, Greek Maritime Unions, and the Greek Branch of the International Workers Order. One more socialist journal was *Protoporos* [*Pioneer*], which first circulated in March 1935 as a monthly by the "Greek Workers Educational Federation of America." Lasting only about three years, it, too, declared war against fascist forces and focused criticism on the regime of Metaxas and its capitalist supporters.²³

Characteristics and examples of Greek-American journalism other

²⁰ *Ibid.*; M. J. Politis, "Greek-Americans," *One America*, F. J. Brown and J. S. Roucek, ed. (New York, 1946), p. 254; Saloutos, pp. 332, 354-361.

²¹ A detailed analysis of foreign language radical publications is found in Park, pp. 214-247, 436-437.

²² The only evidence of this newspaper's existence which this writer acquired was one issue (Vol. 6, No. 119, September 1922) in the New York Public Library.

²³ Giannakoulis, "The Greek Press in America," *Athens*, p. 19; Malafouris, pp. 229, 233-241; Politis, p. 254.

than those already mentioned should be noted.²⁴ For example, Greek-American newspapers generally devoted regular sections to social and community news. Engagements, weddings, births, baptisms, visits by relatives, among other events, received thorough coverage, frequently embellished with photographs and bombastic literary style. Church and club functions in the city of publication and neighboring districts also provided material for articles. *Atlantis* and *Ethnikos Keryx*, as newspapers with a national readership, also devoted space to activities of Greek communities across the country. Another customary feature of many newspapers was a section of "Personals," offering brief biographical information on individuals seeking marital partners.

Atlantis and *Ethnikos Keryx* also offered publications other than daily newspapers. In 1910 Solon Vlastos began *Monthly Illustrated Atlantis*, an attractive magazine with a broad range of popular and informative articles which appeared for over sixty years. *Ethnikos Keryx*, upon its founding in 1915, began publishing the similarly styled *Monthly Illustrated National Herald*. Both newspapers also printed larger Sunday editions that included English language sections.

Satirical writing, traditionally popular in Greece, found a constituency in the United States. The first satirical journal, *Sanida* [*The Plank*], published in Chicago, died in 1905, its first and only year. In 1908 *Romios Metanastes* [*The Greek Immigrant*] appeared in New York, but also terminated publication early. That same year, *O Daimonios* [*The Demon*], in Lynn, Massachusetts, began a fifteen-year career. Founded in 1917, *Satyros* [*The Satyr*] of New York combined satire with literary writing, and entertained its readers for over three decades. *Kampana* [*The Bell*] of New York, founded in 1917, however, is the one paper with a news-satire format that still has a following of about 8000 readers.

Greek organizations and regional associations have produced special magazines or newspapers. Established in 1922, the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association (AHEPA) shortly thereafter developed *The AHEPAN*, a monthly, to describe its activities and to offer articles on topical issues. In 1923 the Greek American Progressive Association (GAPA) emerged in reaction to the English language orientation of AHEPA and began publishing *To Vema tes GAPAS* [*The Tribune of GAPA*] in 1924. *Kriti* (1927), *Makedonia* (1948), *Roumeli Press* (1965) and *Dodekanisos* (1969) are current journals providing news and informative articles on specific regions of Greece. First published in 1934, *O Orthodoxos Parateretes* [*The Orthodox Observer*] is the gazette of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America and serves the function of keeping the Church's members abreast of significant developments.

Enterprising Greek businessmen on occasion sponsored magazines to present information on new equipment, latest methods, and profes-

²⁴ Most of the comments in this section are based on information gathered from personal inspection of the journals, many of which are available in the New York Public Library, or from Malafouris, pp. 229-241.

sional developments. Most of these magazines survived for only short periods. Included in this genre were *Commercial Review* and *Emborion* [*Commerce*] in New York before and during World War I. *American and Greek Commerce and Industries Monthly* printed 20,000 copies for its first issue in 1921, but few numbers followed. The editors stated their mission in grandiloquent prose: "A monthly magazine published in English and Greek to promote American trade in the Near East, the Balkan states, Egypt, and other countries where Greek businesses are established. To retain commercial supremacy in these countries by the United States. To educate Greek merchants along American business methods and principles."²⁵ Additional commercial titles were *Greek Confectioner* (1922-1926), *Restaurant Keepers Guide* (1925-1928) from Chicago, and New York's *Estiator* [*Restaurant Keeper*] from 1938 to 1940, and *American Greek*, "Official Organ of Greek-American Merchants Protective Association of America" (1920-1921).

Journals of Greek culture also deserve attention. Edited by Demetrios A. Michalaros, *Athene*, "American Magazine of Hellenic Thought," first appeared as a monthly in 1940 and later became a quarterly. The articles, printed in English with a decidedly professional flair, focused on Greek cultural influence and achievements throughout the world and were designed for both Greek and non-Greek readers. This journal, more than any other, supplied a valuable cross-section of writings on Greek life, but it regrettably ceased publication in 1967. Published by Elias Ziogas, *Argonautes* [*The Argonaut*] named itself "An Annual Review of Hellenic American Life and Thought," and printed its articles in Greek. Only three volumes appeared, however, in 1959, 1963, and 1967. *The Charioteer*, "A Review of Modern Greek Culture," sponsored by Parnassos Greek Cultural Society of New York since 1960, has offered translations of modern Greek literary texts, book reviews, and articles on art and literature. More recently, two illustrated magazines circulated with formats resembling that of the defunct *Athene*. *Pilgrimage* emerged in 1975 but lasted less than one year. *Greek World*, under the direction of Emmanuel Plaitakis (until his premature death in May 1978), began as a bimonthly review in 1976 and expanded to a monthly in 1978.

The English language branch of Greek-American journalism has played an increasingly important function since 1945. At first, the use of English in publications for Greek immigrants aroused criticism, much as the employment of English fomented a sharp reaction when AHEPA chose it for meetings and later when discussion in some Greek Orthodox circles favored a greater role for English in the Divine Liturgy. The first significant effort was T. T. Timayenis's *Eastern and Western Review*, which circulated from 1907 to 1916 out of Boston. Referring to the Greeks, the editor stated: "The *Review* circulates among this thrifty, successful and tireless race. It is not only read, but kept in the living room of the family, and they are proud of the fact that there is an English

²⁵ *American and Greek Commerce and Industries Monthly*, January 1921.

magazine devoted heart and soul to their interests." Timayenis added that: "Aside from Greeks, the *Review* counts for readers thousands of educated Americans, because it keeps them posted upon subjects not to be met with in other periodicals. It is read by ministers of all denominations, teachers, professors, doctors, lawyers, bankers—in a word by the brains and energy of the United States."²⁶ In 1923 *The Democrat* appeared, billing itself as "The First Greek Newspaper Published in English" and as a "Political and Social Newspaper." Originally a weekly, *The Democrat* became a monthly in 1925 until it closed in 1931. *The Greek Review* commenced its five-year life in 1923, and provided a broad range of cultural and news articles.

The *American Hellenic World*, founded in Chicago by Demetrios A. Michalaros in 1925, represented the most ambitious and polished of these early efforts in English. In offering an explanation for the newspaper's title, Michalaros wrote: "It is our object to gather the Hellenes and Hellenophiles who are spread far and wide in this country and create out of them an American Hellenic World worthy of the name, so that in the future they may be able to distinguish themselves among their fellow citizens and serve properly their country, thus honoring the land of their ancestors."²⁷ In a later issue, the editor defined the newspaper's policy as one of "patriotic service not only so far as it concerns America, but more so when it concerns broadly and specifically the cause of that element of our citizenry which is descended from Greece."²⁸ Besides offering Greek news from around the country, other features were a "Woman's Column," a "Weekly Review of Current Events," and sections on "American Hellenic Societies," and "Restaurant and Confectionary Management and Administration." A qualitatively superior newspaper, the *American Hellenic World* maintained a large staff to publish it on a weekly basis. Yet the inability to make significant inroads into the potential Greek or American readership, and the consequent financial straits, resulted in a switch to a monthly format in 1928 and eventually to its disappearance several years later.

Notwithstanding these early failures, other papers printed in English have sought to capture the loyalty of second and third generation Greek-Americans. *The Chicago Pnyx*, founded in 1939, still prints on a semi-monthly basis and courts business and professional people and AHEPA members with its articles. Established in 1950, *The Hellenic Chronicle*, "dedicated to American, Hellenic and Orthodox ideals," issues forth from Boston and claims that it is "America's largest newspaper for Greek-Americans"; with a reputed circulation of over 37,000, it surpasses its nearest competitor by a wide margin. The first page is usually devoted to current news on events in Greece and Cyprus and America's policy towards these areas. The remainder of the paper usually stresses

²⁶ *Eastern and Western Review*, October 1909.

²⁷ *American Hellenic World*, May 2, 1925.

²⁸ *American Hellenic World*, June 12, 1926.

regional news of Greek communities and events in the New England area. *Hellenic Times* of New York began its career in November 1973 and claims a readership of more than 10,000. Printed weekly, this new journal has drawn most of its subscribers from the New York metropolitan area but is expanding its distribution nationwide.²⁹ From San Francisco, *The Hellenic Journal*, appearing biweekly since 1975, has undertaken a similar mission.

A prime goal of these English language newspapers has been to promote cultural ties between the Greek and American communities. But the initial ventures earlier this century also anticipated changing conditions for the immigrant and his family. By focusing on subjects of interest for second and third generation Greek-Americans, these journals loom as one of the last institutions, along with the Church, that seek to maintain ethnic identity. Despite the proliferation of Greek language schools, few individuals born in this country advance beyond a knowledge of idiomatic "kitchen Greek" to learn the tongue well enough to read the language proficiently. For younger Greeks of the second and third generations, as well as for other hyphenated Americans of European extraction, assimilation has more or less been taken for granted in recent years and ethnic identity now frequently serves a sociocultural function with positive connotations. It has thus become increasingly fashionable to assert an ethnic identity as a means of distinguishing oneself within the broad American landscape. Acknowledging these trends, some of the venerable first names of Greek-American journalism, such as Chicago's *Greek Star* and *Greek Press*, founded in 1903 and 1911, respectively, have switched to a bilingual format.

Although people of Greek descent in America have increased significantly during the last half century, there has not been an accompanying rise in Greek newspaper circulation. The reasons for this phenomenon lie in an analysis of the overall immigrant experience shared by other groups within this country, an area which is not the subject of this essay but some of whose aspects have already been related. The Greek-American press has, in fact, tried to adapt to changing conditions, and an apparent evolution has occurred in its contents and mission. The customary sensationalist practices of the Athenian newspaper world dominated the early years, and the immigrants responded enthusiastically. For that matter, such was the pattern of many immigrant groups that a 1940 *Fortune* article emphasized: "To be a 'journal of opinion' instead of a 'journal of information' is a European compulsion no immigrant paper has been able to throw off."³⁰ The World War II era, because of Greece's 1940-1941 victories, the Greek-American contribution to the war effort, the increased prosperity of Greek-Americans, and the growing number of educated and professional members of the second generation, heightened the prestige of the Greeks. The press responded to changing conditions

²⁹ These statements are based on information provided by the editor of *Hellenic Times* in a questionnaire.

³⁰ "The Foreign Language Press," *Fortune*, 22 (November 1940), p. 91.

by becoming more informative and less opinionated—essentially becoming increasingly “Americanized,” as were its readers. Even the controversial issue of military rule in Greece from 1967 to 1974, supported by *Atlantis*, met with only guarded criticism from *Ethnikos Keryx*, to the dismay of the junta’s ardent opponents who sought an influential Greek voice in this country. It should be noted that a number of journals with smaller circulations (some founded specifically for the purpose) did lash out against the military regime, and continued to represent positions of the political left and liberal center. Examples of these newspapers and periodicals are *The Wire* (San Francisco), *Greek American Solidarity* (Minneapolis), *Demokratia* (New York), *Eleutheria* (Waltham, Mass.), *PAK Newsletter* (New York), and the *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* (originally based in Indianapolis).

One has only to read the statistics of the high mortality rate to comprehend that the problems facing ethnic journalism have always been manifold and that they continue to be so. Greek newspapers in the United States had come and gone but perhaps no journal’s demise caused as much sorrow as that of *Atlantis*. Solon J. Vlastos, nephew of the newspaper’s founder, stopped publication after seventy-nine years of activity in October 1973, succumbing to rising costs and union disputes.³¹ B. J. Marketos, former publisher of *Ethnikos Keryx*, lamented the fall of his longstanding rival in an editorial entitled “*To Symptoma*” [“The Symptom”]. According to Marketos, the foreign language press faces great dangers, as evidenced by the fact that the number of Italian, Polish, German, Hungarian, and Jewish dailies has decreased by 85 percent since 1945. Regrettably, newspapers such as *Atlantis*, which ministered to the needs of their people for so long, had to close. Yet this fate has also confronted English language journals with circulations in the millions.³²

What then is the future of the Greek press in America? The overwhelming majority of responses to this query in a questionnaire mailed to Greek-American editors reflected pessimism and emphasized difficulties. Financial problems resulting from small circulations, limited advertising, and high postal rates constitute an omnipresent life-and-death situation. The decline of Greek language usage in America has been arrested temporarily by the influx of a large number of new immigrants with the easing of quotas and restrictions in 1965. Several new weeklies and monthlies, and even a daily, *Proini* (founded in 1977), have emerged in response to an expanding clientele in the New York metropolitan area, but their durability in financially troubled times and with the constant pressure of Americanization is to be doubted. Moreover, native speakers of Greek in the main urban centers now have access to Athenian dailies rushed by air to the United States.³³

³¹ *New York Times*, October 27, 1973.

³² *Ethnikos Keryx*, October 30, 1973.

³³ Of twenty-two questionnaires mailed to Greek-American editors, thirteen were returned. The following are the questions listed on the form: a) To what type

Will the increased concern with ethnic awareness aid the Greek-American press and will these journals, in turn, contribute to the development and maintenance of interest in Greek culture and Greece? It is possible that such a situation will indeed evolve. An example of the potential of the Greek press came with the tragic sequence of events on Cyprus beginning in July 1974, when these newspapers collectively helped galvanize Greek-Americans to present their case effectively to the American public and to Congress—a process which has continued. Concurrently, the heightened interest in Greek affairs has helped spawn several fresh publications. If present patterns persist, however, the Greek language will suffer the most as the percentage of Greek-Americans originally from Greece declines. The English language branch of the Greek press must then assume the responsibility formerly borne by journals printed in Greek. These newer papers must cultivate a second and third generation composed of more sophisticated, educated, and diverse elements who contrast sharply with their parents and grandparents. Yet it was this first generation in economically trying times which transmitted a rich, centuries-old legacy despite minimum schooling and an alien environment. It is hard to conceive of how this noteworthy achievement might have been accomplished without the activities of the Greek press. Although these publications can also be criticized for negative services, they provided far greater benefits to the immigrant by introducing him to and advising him in his new homeland, by developing his American patriotism, and by keeping him in contact with his native Greece. These newspapers thus helped mold a better American out of the Greek immigrant, contributing to the Americanization process, and thereby aiding unwittingly to the demise of the Greek language press.

of reading audience is your newspaper directed? b) Are your readers found across the nation, or are they mostly confined to a specific geographical area? c) Does your publication have a political affiliation or represent a specific political position? d) Does your newspaper have a defined mission or serve a specific purpose for the Greeks of America? e) What do you feel are the main accomplishments or contributions of your journal? f) What are the basic problems facing your newspaper in 1974? g) What do you feel is the future of the Greek press in the United States? h) In your opinion, how important is the use of the Greek language for the survival or maintenance of Greek culture in the United States?

The First Printed Greek Book

by EVRO LAYTON

The printing of Greek with movable type was attempted independently as early as 1465 both in Germany and Italy. However, this was confined at first to Greek words or phrases used as quotations in Latin books. This practice was introduced in Germany, at Mainz, by the printers Johann Fust and Peter Schöffer (both previously associated with Johann Gutenberg). Cicero's *De Officiis, Paradoxa* (Mainz, 1465) contained Greek quotations. The Greek characters were crude and awkward, and some of the letters were printed backwards. At times, Latin letters were used as substitutes for Greek letters which were not available. It is evident from this that the printers did not know Greek. After the printing of the second edition of the work in 1466, the attempt to print Greek was abandoned in Germany and, in subsequent books which contained Greek quotations, printers either used transliteration, omitted the Greek altogether, or left spaces blank so that the Greek could be added by hand. After this initial attempt, no more Greek was printed in Germany during the fifteenth century.¹

In Italy, Greek was first used in quotations at the monastery of Subiaco. The printers Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, who introduced printing to Italy, used Greek in the second book ever printed on Italian soil, the Lactantius *Opera* (October 29, 1465). The Lactantius contained longer Greek quotations, the Greek type was superior to its German counterpart, and the font consisted of a complete lower case Greek alphabet, although there were no accents or breathing marks.² The practice of printing Greek passages or quotations in Latin books persisted in Italy, and a number of well-known printers designed and cut Greek type for this purpose. In Venice, which eventually became the greatest center of Greek printing from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the celebrated printer Nicolas Jenson cut a Greek type in 1471 which was far superior to the ones previously printed. Jenson's type is unanimously considered by scholars of early printing as one of the most beautiful Greek types cast in the fifteenth century.³

From then on, Greek printing was confined to Italy alone, and all Greek incunabula were printed in Italy. Robert Proctor lists sixty-three Greek incunabula altogether. However, three more books discovered in

¹ Robert Proctor, *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1900), Illustrated Monographs of the Bibliographical Society, pp. 24-26 and fig. 1; Victor Scholderer, *Greek Printing Types* (London, 1927), p. 1 and fig. 1.

² Proctor, pp. 26-28 and fig. 2; Scholderer, p. 1 and fig. 1.

³ Proctor, pp. 31-34.

ΟΤΙ Χ ΟΚΟΣ ΟΟΦΟΣ ΦΑΝΥΘΗΡΟΣ. ΚΑΙ ΤΙΑΣΑΦΡΟΣ
OMnes sapiētes liberos esse. et ΔΙΑΦΥΑΟΟΙ:
 Stultos omnes suos: Laudetur vero hic impa-
 tor. aut etiā appelletur. aut si. noīe dignus putetur:
 Quō aut. cui tandem hic libero impabit. qui non pō-
 cupiditatibz suis imparet. Refrenet p̄mū libidines:
 spernat voluptates. Inacundiā teneat. coerceat auar-
 riciam. ceteras animi labes repellat. tum impiar:
 alijs imperare. cū ipse improbissimis dūis. et decori:
 ac turpitudini patere teneat. Dū quidē hīs obedis-
 et. nō modo impator. si libere habēdas omnino non i-
 erit. Preclare enim est hoc usurpatū a totā dissimul-
 quoz ego aūctē non viderē. si michi apud aliquos l-
 agrestes hęc habēda esset oīo. Cū vero apud prudēt-
 tissimos loquar. quibz hęc inaudita nō sūnt. ego
 simulē me. si quid. in hīs studijs opē politerim. p̄re-
 didisse. Dicitū est igit. ab eruditissimis viris. nisi sapi-
 entē. liberū esse neminē. Quid est. et in libertate. et l-
 potestas. vīdēdi ut. velis. Quis igitur. vīnt ut. vīlēs:
 nisi qui rectā sequit. qui gaudet. officio. cui vīdēdi s-
 via cōsiderata atq. p̄uisa est. qui legibz quidē noīe:
 p̄pter. metu. parit. si eas sequit. atq. colit. qd saluta-
 te maxime esse iudicat. qui nichil dicit. nichil. facit:
 nichil cogitat. teniqz. nisi libētē. ac libere. cuius dīa-
 cōsilia. resq. omnes. quas gerit. ab ipō. p̄fici sūnt. et s-
 tēq. ferūtur. Nec ē. vlla. res. q. plus. apud. eū. p̄leat.
 q̄. ipius. volūtas. atq. iudiciū. Cui. quātē. enī. q. vīnt:
 hęc. maximā. dicit. fortuna. ipā. cedit. hęc. sapiens.

melle sudabūt. p rinos rina decurrēt. et flumina lacte mundabūt. Mundus
 dentq̄ ip̄e gaudebit. et oīs rerū natura letabit: erepta & liberata domūto
 mali: & impletis: & sceleris: & erroris. Non bestię p hoc tēpus sanguine
 alent: non aues p̄yda. sed geta et placida erūt oīa. leones et utuli ad p̄sepe
 simul stabūt. lupus ouē nō rapset. Canis nō uenabit. Accipitres et aq̄le nō
 . 75. nocebūt. Infās cū serpētibus ludeat. Dentq̄ tūc fiet illa quę poetę aureis tē-
 poribus facta ē tā saturno regnāte dixerūt. quoz̄ error hīc exortis ē. q̄
 prophete futuroz̄ pleraq̄ sic p̄ferūt et enūciāt q̄ tā pacta. Visiones ei dūto
 spū offerebant oculis eoz̄. et uidebant illa ī conspū suo q̄ fieri ac termiari.
 Quę uaticinia eoz̄ cū paulatim fama uulgasset: qm̄ p̄fant a sacmēto igno-
 rabāt q̄renus dicerent: cōpleta tā ē ueteribus seculis illa omnia putauerūt.
 quę utiq̄ fieri cōplertq̄ nō poterāt hōie rgnāte. Cū uero delectis religiōibus
 impis: et scelere cōpresso: subiecta erit deo terra. Cedet et ip̄e mari uector
 nec nauisca p̄mus. Mutabit mēces. oīs fetet oīa tellus. Nō rāstrōs paciēt
 humus: nō uinea faleē. Robustus quoq̄ tā rauris fugā soluet arator. Tūc
 et molli paulatim flauescet cāpus arista. Inculsiq̄ rubēs p̄debit lētibz̄ iuuā:
 Et dure quercus sudabūt rosida mella. Nec uarios discet mētiri lana co-
 lores. Ip̄e sed īm̄ pratis aries tā suauē rubēt. Murice tā croceo mutabit uel-
 lera luto. Spōte sua sande pascētes uesciet agnos. Ip̄e lacte domū referent
 distēta capelle. Vbera nec magnos memēt armēta leones. Quę poeta scām
 Cumeę sibille carmīa plocutus ē. Ερίθρεα uero sic ait. οἱ δὲ λυκοὶ σὺν
 αρμασι εἰς οὐρεσίμῃ μαγε εδορται χορτομ παρδαλις περι-
 φοις ἀμα βοσκῆς οἴται αρκτοὶ σὺν μοσχοῖσι οἴμον καὶ τῆ
 ἀσὶ βροτοῖσι σαρκοβορος τελεωμ φαγεται ἀχῦρομ πῆρα
 φατραῖς σὺν βρεφεσί τε δρακομ τεσ ἀματορσί κοιμησὸμ
 ται Id est nec lupi cū agnis īm̄ mōibus dimiscabūt. Herbāq̄ lincez̄ cū edis
 pascēt. Vrsi cū uiculis simul oīmbz̄ aialibus carniuorās leo comedet pa-
 leas ad p̄sepia. cū infantibus dracones sine mībz̄ dormiēt. Et alio loco de
 libertate rerū. καὶ τότε διη χαρὰμ μεγαλήμ θεὸς ἀμδρασί δω-
 σει καὶ γὰρ γῆ καὶ δρυδρα καὶ ἀσπτετα θρημματα γαικῶ δῶ-
 ωσονσί καρπορτομ ἀληθιμομ ἀμθρῶπιτοισίμ οἴμον καὶ με-
 λιτὸς γλυκερον λευκον τε γαλακτὸς καὶ σίταν ὅτε π̄ εἰς
 τί βροτοῖς καλλίστομ ἀπαμτωμ. Id est Et tūc gaudii magnū.
 deus dabit hōibus. nā et terra et arbores et innumerabilia terre pecora da-
 bunt fructū uerū hōibus uini et mellis dulcissimi. et cādidī lactis. atq̄ tritici.
 qđ ē hōibus optimū oīm. Et alia eodē mō. εἴνε βρωμ δε μουος ἀγῆα

Αἷς interea uocabulis haud facile cognitis: syllogis morū captionumq; dialecticarum, laqueis strepebat κριῶν τὰς σοχαζούσας θεωρίας: id est laqueorum adhuc speculationes claudicantes. Aliosq; id genus griphos neminem posse dicēs nisi se dissoluere. Rem uero ethicam: naturāq; humani ingenii: uirtutūq; origines: officiaq; earum confinia: aut cōtra morborum uitiorumque fraudes: animorumque labes: ac pestilentias: asseuerabat: nulli esse ulli magis ea omnia explorata: cōpta: meditataq;.

Cruciatibus aut doloribusq; corporis & piculis mortē munitatibus: habitum statūq; uitae beatæ: quam se adeptum esse putabat: neq; lēdis neq; iminui existimabat. Ac ne oris quoq; & uultus serenitatem stoicī hōis: unq; illa posse ægritudine obnubilari. Has ille inanes quum flaret glorias: itaq; omnes finem cuperent: uerbisq; eius defatigati p̄dussēt tum Herodes græca: cuius plunimus ei mos fuit: oratione utens. Permitte inquit philosophorum amplissime: quoniam respondere nos tibi quos idiotas uocas: non quimus: recitari ex libro: qd de huiuscemōi magniloquentia uestra senserit: dixeritq; Epictetus stoicorū maximus: iussitq; proferri disertationum Epicteti digestarum ab Ariano primū librum. i quo ille uenerādus senex iuuenes: q se stoicos appellabāt: neq; frugi neq; operæ pbæ: sed theorematibus tantū nugalibus: & puenibus, isagogarum cōmentationibus dilatrantes: obiurgatione iusta incessiuit. Lecta igitur sunt ex libro qui prolatus ē: ea quæ addidit. Quibus uerbis Epictetus se uere simul ac festiuiter se iunxit: atq; diuisit a uero: atque sincero stoico: q esset p̄cul dubio: ἀκόλυτος: ἀνεκβλάστος: ἀπαρεμώδιστος. ἐλευθερος: ἐντωρος ἐν δαίμων .i. non prohibitus iniuolatus. minime implicitus: liber: diues: felix: uulgus aliud nebulonum hominū: qui se stoicos nūcuparent. Utroque uerborum & argutiārū fuligine ob oculos audientium iacto: sanctissime disciplinæ nomine mentirēt. εἰπέ μοι περὶ ἀγαθῶν. καὶ κακῶν ἀκούεις. ἰλιθὲν με φέρων ἀνεμος κικόνεωσι πείλασεν. τῶν ὄντων τα μένιστιν ἀγαθὰ. τὰ δὲ κακὰ. τὰ δὲ ἀδιάφορα ἀγαθὰ μὲν ὄν. ἀρεταί. κακὰ τὰ μετέχοντα κακίας. ἀδιάφορα δὲ τὰ μετὰ τούτων: πλῶντος: συνυγία: ζωὴ ἀνάτατος: ἡ δὸν ἡ πόνος: πῶθεν διδασ ὄντως ἑλληνικός λέγει ἐν τοῖς αἰγυπιακοῖς. τί γάρ διαφέρει τόντο εἰπεῖν ἢ ὅτι διλογένης ἐν τῇ οἰκῇ: ἢ χρύσιππος ἢ κλεάνθης: βεβασάνικας ὄν ἀντό: καὶ δογμα σαντῶν πεπόνησαι: δαίμων πῶς ἔκωσεν ἐν πλοῖοι χειμαζοδαί μέμνησαι τάντησ τῆσ διαιρέσεως ὅταν ψοφήσῃ τὸ ἴσιον: καὶ ἀνακραυγᾶσιν ἐάν σοι τίσ ὄντω πῶς παρασθεῖς εἶπὼν λέγε μοι σὺ δὲ πρῶτον ἔλεγε: μὴ κακία εἶσι τὸ παραγῆσθαι: μὴ τῆσ κακίας μετέχον οὐκ ἄρα ξύλον ἐν σείσεισ αὐτό τί ἡμῶν. καὶ σοὶ ἀνρωσθε. ἀπολύμεθα. καὶ σὺ ἔλθων πείζεισ. ἐάν λέσε ὁ καίσαρ μεταπέμψῃται κἀτηγοροῦμεθον: id est de bonis cedo: & malis

Gellius, Aulus. *Noctes Atticae*. Venice, Jenson, 1472.

more recent times must be added to these, bringing the total to sixty-six.⁴ This is not a great number when one takes into account the fact that there were some forty thousand separate books printed between the invention of printing and 1500. It should be pointed out here that, with the exception of three editions of the *Psalter* (1481, 1486 and c. 1497) and an edition of the *Book of Hours* (Ὁραι τῆς ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας), all other Greek books printed in the fifteenth century were editions of classical authors, grammars, and dictionaries of ancient Greek. These were clearly addressed to the literati in Italy and perhaps to the handful of Greek intellectuals who lived there at the time. It was not until 1519 that the first book in the Greek vernacular was printed. In addition, the liturgical books of the Greek Orthodox Church began to appear in ever-increasing numbers in the early part of the sixteenth century.

It would be superfluous, perhaps, to mention here that printing did not occur on Greek soil until a little before the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence. Before that time, there was a press established on Mount Athos, one book of which (a *Ψαλτήριον*, 1756) has come down to us. A handful of books came out of the presses of Chios and Kydoniai (Ayvalik, Turkey), both established in 1819 and destroyed during the Greek Revolution. There were printing presses on the Ionian islands as early as 1798, but since the islands were under foreign rule at the time, their presses were not readily accessible to Greeks and, with few exceptions, printing was confined to governmental functions. Elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean the printing of Greek was attempted in Constantinople in 1627 and twice again in the eighteenth century. There is an imprint of 1764 which came out of Smyrna. Smyrna also had a press in 1813, but only some broadsides have come down to us. The flourishing Greek community of Moschopolis in Northern Epirus (Voskopje, Albania) had a Greek press which printed a series of *Akolouthiai* and some Orthodox theological literature between 1731 and 1760. The most sustained printing activities in the Balkans came from the Greek presses of Rumania, the first of which was established by Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, in 1682.

Thus, the presses of Italy played a very important role throughout the *Tourkokratia*. In the late eighteenth century, the center of Greek printing for the supply of books to the eastern Mediterranean shifted from Venice to Vienna, where there was a flourishing Greek community. However, the Greek presses of Venice continued their activity and produced a great number of Greek books until the end of the nineteenth century.

Let us now return to the matter which concerns us here, that is to say, the first complete text printed in Greek. Although there are differing opinions among scholars about this, the majority of incunabulists consider

⁴ Proctor, pp. 49-51. See also D. E. Rhodes, "Early Printed Books in Greece," *The Library*, 5th ser., 30(1975)191; T. M. Guarnaschelli and E. Valenziani, comp., *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia* (Rome, 1948), Vol. 2, no. 2777; Francis R. Walton, "Incunabula in the Gennadius Library," *Medievalia et humanistica*, n. s. no., 2(1971)8 and note 2.

ΠΕΜΠΤΗ ΣΥΖΥΓΙΑ : Quinta coniugatio per
 quatuor immutabiles λ μ ρ, & infuturo idē
 circūflexū hēt et breuē penultimā sicuti ψαλ
 λω canto ψαλω cantabo, μεμω pascō distri
 buo, μεμω pascā distribuam κριμω iudico.
 κριμω iudicabo, αιρω tollo, αρω tollā, & in
 paracimeno κ. hēt ut εψαλκα cecini p salmos
 κέκρικα iudicauī.

ΕΚΤΗ. Sexta & ultima cōiugatio uarytonox
 uerborū p purū, ω, id est uocali præcedente
 sicut ιππενω eq̄to, πλεω nauigo, βασιλε
 νω regno, & infuturo σ hēt, sicut ιππενσω,
 eq̄tabo, πλενσω nauigabo, βασιλενσω reg
 nabo, & imparacimeno κ. hēt sicut ιππενκα
 eq̄tauī, πεπλενκα nauigauī, βεβασιλενκα
 regnauī.

Omnes igit' mutæ primis tribus coniugationi
 bus digerūt in præterī & paracimeno, & τ intrat
 quālibet earū uel cū π, uel cū κ uel solū. In q̄r
 ta uero & quīta semiuocales oēs, præter ξ & σ
 quæ sūt futurox. In sexta uero uocales nō ta
 men omnes, φ, χ, κ, præteritorū χ, ξ σ
 futurorū sunt.

Præfens & præteritum imperfecti		Præteritum perfectum & plusquamperfectum	
		Indicativum & futurum	
β			
π			
φ		φ	φ
π τ			
Γ			
κ			
χ		χ	χ
κ τ			
λ			
θ		κ	θ
τ			
ζ		κ	ζ
σ σ τ τ	τ τ	χ	σ σ τ τ
ι			
κ			κ
η		κ	η
ρ			ρ
α			
ε			
ι		κ	ι
ο			ο
υ			

Chrysoloras, Manouel. Ἐρωτήματα. Venice, de Ambergau, c. 1471.
Actual size.

the *Βατραχομουαχία*, printed at Brescia c. 1474, to be the earliest book printed in Greek. The *Βατραχομουαχία*, the only copy of which is at the John Rylands Library in Manchester, England, consists of the Greek text and an interlinear Latin prose translation on one page and a metrical Latin translation on the opposite page. The work has no place or date of publication, not an unusual occurrence in the fifteenth century. On the basis of its Roman type, the book was ascribed to the press of Thomas Ferrandus, who was active in Brescia about 1474.⁵

Another early Greek incunabulum is the grammar of Manouel Chrysoloras entitled *Ἐρωτήματα*. This work, like the *Βατραχομουαχία*, does not indicate place, printer, or year of publication. It has been decided by various experts that the book was printed some time between 1475 and the first half of 1476. It is a bilingual abridged edition with the Greek text and the Latin translation of Guarino da Verona (a pupil of Chrysoloras) in parallel columns. Originally, scholars attributed the printing of the book to Giovanni da Reno or Renner, who was active in Vicenza at the time. However, the ascription to Renner was later revised, and it is now listed by various catalogues of incunabula as belonging to an unknown press of Vicenza.⁶ This book is commonly referred to as the Vicenza Chrysoloras. Its author, Manouel Chrysoloras (c. 1355-1415), was initially sent to Italy from Constantinople in 1393 by the Emperor Manouel II Palaiologos to seek aid against the Turks. In 1396 he was appointed professor of Greek at the University of Florence, where he taught for some years and had many illustrious pupils. He also taught at Milan, and travelled extensively throughout Europe in the service of the Emperor, trying to raise funds and support for the failing Byzantine Empire. His grammar was written either while he taught at Florence or perhaps earlier when he was still in Constantinople.⁷ The *Ἐρωτήματα* of Chrysoloras became the most popular and most frequently printed Greek book of the Renaissance. It was printed in its original form, in an abridged version, or in Latin translation some nine times during the fifteenth century, and had numerous printings during the sixteenth century.⁸

The *Βατραχομουαχία* and the Vicenza Chrysoloras were, until a few years ago, the only books known to have been printed earlier than the *Ἐπιτομή τῶν δειτῶ τοῦ λόγου μερῶν* of Konstantinos Laskaris (Milan, 1476). The Laskaris *Ἐπιτομή* has long been given first place among

⁵ Proctor, pp. 50, 83-84, and 170, and plate VII.

⁶ *Indice*, Vol. 2, no. 2781; British Museum, Department Of Printed Books, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Museum* (London, 1935), Vol. 7, 1038; Frederick Goff, *Incunabula In American Libraries* (New York, 1964), C-493; Proctor, p. 84.

⁷ Proctor, pp. 3-5; J. E. Sandys, *A History Of Classical Scholarship* (New York, 1958), repr. of 1932 ed., Vol. 2, pp. 19-21; D. J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars In Venice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), pp. 22-24.

⁸ For a discussion of the Greek grammars of the Renaissance, see Agostino Pertusi, "EROTEMATA. Per la storia e le fonti delle prime grammatiche greche a stampa," *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 5(1962)321-351.

σ' εἰ πῶν ἀπέφηνε λόγος δειζόντα μυνῶν
 S ic locutus tacuit: sermo aut̄ i vultu mune
 εἰ σελευὼν ἐταραξε φένας βατραχῶν ἀγέρωχων
 Inguisus rivibavit mētes ranaꝝ surbaꝝ
 μεμφομενῶν Δαυιῶν φυσιγναθοσ' εἰ πέν' ἀνασάσ
 Culprātibꝫ aut̄ ipsū rhyngitius dixit surgēs
 ὦ φίλοι ὄνκέκ' ἴα' ναυ' ἐγὼ μυν' οὐδέ κατεῖδ' ὄν
 O amici nō occidi ego p̄urē neqꝫ asprexi
 ὄλλυμενον, πάντως Δεπνίγην παίξων περὶ λιμνῆν
 P erevītē: ὄπινο aut̄ suffocatus ē ludēs circa lacū
 κήξισ τὰς βατραχῶν μιμουμενοσ' οἱ Δε κε κισσί
 N atat ones ranaꝝ imitās: pessime aut̄
 νυν' ἐμε μεμφοῦται τὸν ἀναίτιον, ἀλλαγε βουλήν
 N ūc me culprāt̄ insontē: Sed ah cōsiliūm
 ζητήσωμεν ὅπως Δολίουσ' μνας' ἐφολέσαμεν.
 Quietatus: quomō doloσa mures perdamus
 Τοί γάρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω ὥσ' μοι Δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα
 E nī ego dicā sicut̄ πηθι videtur esse optimū
 Σωματὰ κοσμήσαντες ἐν ὀπλοῖσ' ὤμεν ἅπαντες
 Cogrota ornātes acp̄ati stemus cūcti
 ακροισ' πᾶρ τείχεσιν ὄπων κατακρημνοσ' ὄχῳρος.
 S ūt̄ma iuxta labra ubi pragurptus locus
 ἡνίκα Δόρμηθέντες ἐφήμέασ' ἐφέλωσ' ἦν.
 Quidō aut̄ cū ip̄etu μοι ad nos exeat̄

Greek incunabula for several reasons. First of all, it is the first Greek book which gives place, printer, and date of publication: "*Mediolani Impressum per Magistrum Dionysium Parauisinum. MCCCCLXXXVI. Die xxx Ianuarii.*" In addition, we also know the man responsible for its publication and the design and cutting of the Greek type. He is Demetrios Damilas (Δημήτριος ὁ Κρής or Δημήτριος Μεδιολανεύς), as he called himself, who wrote and signed the preface of the book. Proctor thinks, and rightly so, that Damilas was probably not only responsible for designing the Greek type but also helped in the printing of the book itself.⁹ Another feature of the Laskaris is that, unlike the Βατραχομουμαχία and the Vicenza Chrysoloras, the book is printed entirely in Greek; the only Latin contained in it was confined to the introduction written both in Greek and Latin and to the colophon cited above. Finally, the Laskaris Ἐπιτομή ushers in a new era or style of printing. The books in this "older or early Greek class," as they were classified by Proctor, are produced under direct Hellenic influence, that is, the style of the Greek letters derive from a Hellenic manuscript tradition and were influenced by Greek scholars working in Italy at the time. Besides Damilas, other Greeks who played a part either in designing Greek type, in editing, or who were directly involved in printing include Ianos Laskaris, the Cretans Laonikos and Alexandros Georgiou, Markos Mousouros, Ioannis Argyropoulos, Arsenios Apostolis, Demetrios Doukas, Nikolaos Vlastos, and, finally, the greatest Greek printer of the fifteenth century, Zacharias Kallierges of Rethymnon, Crete.

Before going any further, a few words about the author of the Ἐπιτομή, Konstantinos Laskaris, would be in order. He was born at Constantinople in 1434, and went to Italy after the fall of the Byzantine Empire. He taught Greek at Milan, and probably wrote his grammar for the use of his pupils there. He later went to Naples and from there to Messina, where he taught Greek until his death in 1501.¹⁰

In the fifteenth century, Greek books were printed essentially in two styles. Proctor used the term "Graeco-Latin" to designate the printing style of books like the Βατραχομουμαχία and the Vicenza Chrysoloras because their printing types were based on a Western manuscript tradition while the Laskaris Ἐπιτομή, as mentioned above, was the first book to be printed in what he called the "early Greek class." Books continued to be produced in both these "styles" throughout the fifteenth century, although a new and third style was introduced by Aldus Manutius in 1494. Aldus chose to produce type which took as its model the contemporary Greek handwriting of his time, which was full of abbreviations and ligatures. According to most scholars, this move was disastrous for the development of Greek printing types. The Aldine Greek cursive was awkward and hard to read, and it hindered the progress of Greek printing more than it helped it. Nevertheless, the reputation of Aldus as a publisher and

⁹ Proctor, p. 52.

¹⁰ Sandys, Vol. 2, pp. 76-78; Proctor, p. 7.

ἄπαρεμφατοῦ γράμ. μέλ.
 ἐσθλα. μετοχή. ἐρετώσ.
 ὄωγ. τοῦ ὄγτος. κούσα. τῆσ.
 οὔσησ. τὸ ὄγ. τοῦ ἔγτος. ~
 μέλ. ὁ ἴσόμερος. τοῦ ἴσομέ
 ρου. κῆσομέρι. τῆσ ἴσομέ
 ρισ. τὸ ἴσόμερον. τοῦ ἴσο
 μέρου. ~

α. β. β. γ. Γ. δ. ε. ε. ζ. η. θ.
 ι. κ. λ. μ. ν. ξ. ο. π. ρ. σ. τ.
 χ. υ. φ. χ. ψ. ω. : /
 ε. ι. α. ρ. ι. ε. ρ. υ.
 | α. β. α. υ. ο. ε. υ. ο. υ.



Chrysoloras, Manouel. Ἐρωτήματα. Florence, c. 1475.

scholar was such that his Greek type was imitated widely and had a great influence not only in Italy but all over Europe for more than three hundred years.

A few years ago, the primacy of the Laskaris was challenged anew by several Greek scholars who claimed that the first book to be printed in Greek was yet another, even earlier, edition of the Chrysoloras Ἐρωτήματα, printed in Venice c. 1471. This information, as far as this writer can ascertain, was first mentioned by Georgios Ploumidis, who cited as his source the article by Agostino Pertusi mentioned earlier (note 8). Several scholars now consider 1471 as the date for the printing of the first Greek book. What Ploumidis says is the following: "... recently A. Pertusi proved that the first Greek book was printed in Venice in 1471 and it was in Venice that the first Greek printing types were cut and the Greek book was perfected."¹¹ Since then, this information has been repeated in many books and articles and has made its way into an encyclopedia.¹² Even J. J. Fraenkel, in his introduction to the facsimile edition of the Laskaris, remarks, "Recent research has rendered it acceptable that Laskaris' work is not the first Greek grammar ever printed—although it is and remains the first book ever entirely printed in Greek..."¹³ Thus Fraenkel also accepts the 1471 Chrysoloras as the first Greek book, but ignores or perhaps is not aware of the existence of the Βατραχομουμαχία and the Vicenza Chrysoloras.

On the eve of the 500th anniversary of the printing of the Laskaris, a controversy flared up in Athens, chronicled in a series of letters to the Greek newspaper *Kathemerine*. The discussion was set off by a remark made at a "roundtable discussion" of December 12, 1975, on the Greek National Television Network. Konstantinos Staïkos, one of the participants of the broadcast, stated that the Laskaris Ἐπιτομή of 1476 was the first book printed in Greek.¹⁴ Demetrios Yakos challenged the statement made by Staïkos on the broadcast (letter of 12/18/75). Yakos pointed out that, according to some sources, the first Greek book ever printed was the Ἐρωτήματα of Chrysoloras, printed in Venice by Adam de Ambergau, c. 1471. He remarks further that the second book was a second

¹¹ G. S. Ploumidis, *Τὸ Βενετικὸν τυπογραφεῖον τοῦ Δημητρίου καὶ τοῦ Πάνου Θεοδοσίου (1755-1824)* (Athens, 1969), pp. 5-6.

¹² G. S. Ploumidis, *Οἱ Βενετοκρατούμενες ἑλληνικὲς χώρες μεταξὺ τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ τοῦ τρίτου Τουρκοβενετικοῦ πολέμου (1503-1537)* (Ιοάννινα, 1974), pp. 73-74; N. B. Tomadakis, "Ἡ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἐκδοσις ἑλληνικῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν βιβλίων (κυρίως λειτουργικῶν) γενομένη ἐπιμελεῖα Ἑλλήνων Ὀρθοδόξων κληρικῶν κατὰ τοὺς ΙΒ'-ΙΣΤ' αἰῶνας," *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 37(1969-1970)5; I. M. Hatziphotis, "Ἐκδοτικὴ," in *Μεγάλη ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια τῆς νεοελληνικῆς λογοτεχνίας* (Athens, n. d.), Vol. 6, p. 375; G. Zoras, "Μεταφράσεις, τυπογραφεῖα, χειρόγραφα, κωδικογράφοι," in *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθους* (Athens, 1975), Vol. 10, p. 364.

¹³ Constantinus Lascaris, *Greek Grammar* (Milan, Dionysius Paravisinus for Demetrios of Crete, January 30, 1476), Facsimile ed. (Amsterdam, 1966), p. 15.

¹⁴ The letters in question were written by Demetrios Yakos (12/18/75), Konstantinos Staïkos (12/28/75 and 1/9/76), and I. M. Hatziphotis (1/3/76 and 1/15/76).

πληθυντικα̅ . τα̅ των̅ τοις̅ τα̅ .
 εν̅ πα̅σαις̅ ταις̅ κλη̅τικαις̅ ε̅στι̅ γ̅ω̅
 το̅ επι̅ ρη̅μα̅ . περι̅ ο̅νομα̅τος̅ .
 των̅ ο̅νομα̅τιων̅ τα̅ μ̅εγ̅ κλη̅νον̅
 ται̅ ισο̅συλλα̅βω̅ς̅ ο̅ιον̅ αν̅δρα̅σ̅ αι̅
 υ̅δων̅ . τα̅ δε̅ περι̅ ισο̅συλλα̅βω̅ς̅ ο̅ιον̅
 αι̅ας̅ . αι̅αν̅τος̅ .

πρω̅τη̅ κλη̅σις̅ του̅ ο̅νομα̅τος̅ ε̅στι̅
 εν̅ τοις̅ αρ̅σενικ̅οις̅ κ̅ιο̅νον̅ ισο̅συλλα̅
 βω̅ς̅ . δη̅λον̅ ο̅τι̅ παν̅των̅ των̅ δε̅
 α̅ς̅ η̅ δε̅ η̅ς̅ λη̅γ̅ον̅των̅ ω̅ν̅ η̅ γενικ̅η̅ δε̅ γ̅
 η̅ς̅ ο̅τικ̅η̅ δε̅ η̅ς̅ η̅ αι̅τια̅τικ̅η̅ δε̅ γ̅
 μετα̅ τ̅ης̅ φ̅ων̅η̅ εν̅τος̅ τ̅ης̅ εν̅θ̅η̅ς̅
 λη̅γει̅ . εν̅ικ̅α̅ .

ο̅ αν̅δρα̅ς̅ . του̅ αν̅δρα̅ . τω̅ αν̅δρα̅ .
 του̅ αν̅δρα̅ γ̅ω̅ αν̅δρα̅ και̅ ω̅ αν̅δρα̅ς̅ .
 δυ̅ικ̅α̅ . τω̅ αν̅δρα̅ . τοιν̅ αν̅δρα̅ιν̅
 ω̅ αν̅δρα̅ . πληθυν̅τικα̅ . ο̅ι̅ αν̅δρα̅ι̅
 των̅ αν̅δρα̅ων̅ . τοις̅ αν̅δρα̅ις̅ . τ̅ης̅ αν̅δρα̅ς̅ .

Pluralia. hęc , hoc , his . hęc .
 In omnibus uocatiuis est. ω. ad
 uerbium . de Nominē .

Nominum quaedā declinantur
 æquif syllabice ut æneas : æ
 næ . quaedā plurif syllabice ut
 Ajax . Ajacis .

Prima declinatio nominis est
 In masculinis tātūmodo æqui
 syllabica. uidelicet. cum. quæ
 In as. uel in s. definit. quæ ge
 nitiuus i. ou. dis. i. a. uel i. n. a. cūs
 in. y. Cum uocali nominatiui
 definit. singularia .

Hic æneas; huius ænæ. huic æ
 næ. hunc æneam : o ænea ,
 dualia: hi ænea : hos as . horū
 eaz. his: is. ω. æ. pluralia. h̄j æne
 æ: hor̄ æneaz: his æneis: hos eaz

edition of the Chrysoloras Ἐρωτήματα, and that the 1476 Laskaris was only the third Greek book printed. He then asks Staïkos for confirmation of this. In his reply, Staïkos (letter of 12/28/75) gives the reasons why he does not consider the 1471 edition of the Ἐρωτήματα as a valid contender: a) the book was published anonymously; b) it gives neither place nor date of publication; c) it is "Graeco-Latin," which means, according to Staïkos, that the Latin section is greater than the Greek; and d) the book is full of mistakes in the accents and breathing marks.

Before going any further, a few misconceptions and misunderstandings must be cleared up. The book was not published anonymously since the name of Chrysoloras is mentioned in the text and the section in question is even quoted in Pertusi.¹⁵ It is true that the book has no place or date of publication, but all incunabulists agree in assigning it to Venice and to c. 1471. The interpretation of the term "Graeco-Latin" given by Staïkos is inaccurate. According to Proctor, "Graeco-Latin" does not mean the quantity of Greek printing contained in a book but, as mentioned earlier, books printed in Greek whose printing types were designed and cast by foreign printers without direct Hellenic influence.¹⁶ The book has no mistakes in accents and breathing marks simply because it has no accents and breathing marks at all.

The only valid reason for discounting this book as the first book printed in Greek was not given by Staïkos. This is that the grammar is not written in Greek at all but is a *Latin* translation. It is an abridged version, as Pertusi informs us, of the Guarinus Latin translation of the Ἐρωτήματα of Chrysoloras (very much like the recently published abridged and translated version of the grammar of Manoles Triantaphylides).¹⁷ The Greek contained in the 1471 Chrysoloras is strictly limited to chapter headings, to grammatical examples which are rather sparse. It does *not*, as Ioannis Hatziphotis asserts, give the text of the Ἐρωτήματα in Greek (letter of 1/3/76). It is for this reason (that the book is written in Latin and not in Greek), and not for the reasons brought forth by Staïkos, that Proctor was right not to include it in his list of Greek books printed in the fifteenth century, although he had examined the book and discusses it in his work. He points out that the 1471 Chrysoloras of Ambergau "is the nearest approach to a Greek book made up to that time."¹⁸ One should say here that Pertusi does not mislead us in his article. He is correct when he states that the 1471 Chrysoloras is the first *grammar* of the Greek language ever printed. His whole article is devoted to a textual study of early Greek grammars. Nowhere does he say, however, that the 1471 Chrysoloras is the first Greek *book* ever printed. The fault lies with the interpretation given his statement by the scholars cited in

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 324.

¹⁶ Proctor, pp. 13-15.

¹⁷ *Petite grammaire du grec modern*, Fernand Duisit and Octave Merlier, trans. (Θεσσαλονίκη, 1975).

¹⁸ Proctor, pp. 34-35.

ΕΠΙΤΟΜΗ ΤΩΝ ΟΚΤΩ ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ
 ΜΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΤΙΝΩΝ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙ
 ΩΝ. ΣΥΝΤΕΘΕΙΣΑ ΠΑΡΑ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝ
 ΤΙΝΟΥ ΛΑΣΚΑΡΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΖΑΝΤΙΟΥ

Περὶ Διαρίσεως Τῶν γραμμάτων.

Βιβλίον πρῶτον.

Γ ράμμα ἐστὶ μέρος ελάχιστον φωνῆς ἀδι
 αρίτου. Εἰσὶ δὲ ἑξήκοντα εἰκοσιτέσσα
 ρα. Τούτων φωνηέντων μὲν ἑπτὰ. α. ε.
 η. ι. ο μικρὸν υ φιλόν καὶ ω μέγα.
 Ἐμφωνὰ δὲ δεκάεπτα. β γ δ ζ

θ κ λ μ ν ξ π ρ σ τ φ χ ψ. Τῶν
 δὲ φωνηέντων μὲν κρά μὲν δύο η καὶ ω μέγα.
 Βραχέα δὲ δύο. ε φιλόν καὶ ο μικρὸν. Δίχρονα
 δὲ τρία. α. ι. υ. Ἐξῶν δίφθογοι κυρίως μὲν ἑξ
 ῆ γίνονται. αἰ. ω. οι. αἰ. φ. Ιου. Καταχρηστικῶς
 δὲ τέσσαρες. α. η. ω. υ. Τῶν δὲ συμφώνων ἑ
 κήφωνα μὲν οκτώ. ζ. ξ. ψ. λ. μ. ν. ρ. σ. Ὡν δὲ
 πλά μὲν τρία. ζ. ξ. ψ. Ἀμετάβολα δὲ τέσσα
 ρα. λ. μ. ν. ρ. Ἀφώνων δὲ ἑννέα. β. γ. δ. κ. π.
 τ. θ. φ. χ. Ὡν φιλὰ μὲν τρία. κ. π. τ. Δασεῖ
 α δὲ τρία. θ. φ. χ. Μίση δὲ τρία. β. γ. δ.
 Ἐκτῶν διηρημένων δὲ τῶν δὲ γραμμάτων αἰον
 λαβαὶ γίνονται. οἶον τε. ὄθεν αἰλέξας. οἶον πέ
 τρος. ἐξ ὧν ὀλότος οἶον ὄπτερος ἀγαθὴ γνώση :

Hatziphotis's letter, who misinterpreted Pertusi's words, and took them to refer to the first Greek book ever printed. Incidentally, there is another copy of this most rare book (besides those in Milan and at the John Rylands Library cited by Pertusi) at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City.¹⁹

Now that the matter of the 1471 Chrysoloras has been cleared up, where do we stand with regard to the first Greek book ever printed? It is generally agreed that both the Βατραχομομαχία (Brescia, c. 1474) and the Vicenza Chrysoloras (c. 1475/1476) were almost certainly printed earlier than the Laskaris Ἐπιτομή, although their dates of publication are not firmly established. But there is actually a third contender unknown to Proctor and Pertusi. The book is yet another edition of the Ἐρωτήματα of Chrysoloras. Since it is listed in the *Indice*²⁰ on the same page as all the other editions of Chrysoloras to which Pertusi refers repeatedly, it is very strange that he does not mention this publication at all in his article. What makes this edition very important is the fact that it is (if we are to accept the date given, c. 1475) the earliest book written *entirely* in Greek. It has been assigned to an unknown press of Florence. The only copy presently known is that of the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence. We know very little about this book since it has not yet been studied by anyone. We do not know who the printer was and on what basis it was assigned by the editors of the *Indice* to Florence and to the year 1475.

Thus, we are again faced with three books whose date of publication antedates the 1476 Laskaris. Nevertheless, the Laskaris can still have some claim to a "first" because some of the arguments for so considering it are still valid. Although the argument for being the first to be printed *entirely* in Greek no longer holds true, it is still the earliest Greek book to appear which gives the place, printer, and date of publication. In addition, it remains the first Greek book which gives the name of the person responsible for its existence. Of even greater importance, perhaps, is the fact that it is the first Greek book which ushers in a Hellenic tradition in Greek printing. Thus, Demetrios Damilas, the person responsible for its publication, became the first of a long line of Greeks to participate in the new and revolutionary discovery of the art of printing.

¹⁹ Frederick Goff, *Incunabula in American Libraries* (New York, 1964), C-492.

²⁰ Vol. 2, No. 2777.

Ἰουστινῶς ὀδεκαδύος, τοῖς ἐν ἑλλάδι γρά-
κοῖς, δὲ πρῶτῃ ἔτη.

Ἄλλοι μὲν αἶμα ἔχοντες ἑλλήσι σοφῶν τε καὶ διδασκάλων
συγγράμματα διαφόρους πραγματείας ἐμπειρέχοντα, εἰς
κοινὴν τοῖς φιλομαθεῖσι ὀφείλει ἀρὸν ἵπποκράτους δάκα
σιν ἐχθρὸν ἀρεσὰ μὲν ὄν, τοῖς δὲ ὑσθεῖαι ἐρασταῖς κειχρισμέ
ρα πρῶτῃ οἰόμενος, εἰ ὅν πολλὰ κίσι ἐχθρὰ καθίστανται,
τόντων αὐτὸν δὲ ὑσθεῖν προνοήσασθαι, εἰς πληθυνσιὸν ὅση
δύναμις τὴν σάνιρ τῶν θεῶν γράφῃν, μετακαλεῖν. Δια-
φροῦν ἰδὸς πεποιήμαι, σωφροῦν ἔχον τοῖς οὐ τῶν ἐφθρετῆτε
σφῶν ἐλαθεσι μόνι χησάμενος. ὅς, ἵα καὶ αὐτοὶ μὴ ἀγνοῖ
τε τὸν ἀσθεῖα, τοῖς γὰρ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Διαβόητος πᾶσι καθίστη
κειν, Ἄλλος τὸν πικλήν μαν οὐπίος ἐκ φιλαλαϊᾶς ῥώμης
ἐλκων τὸ γὰρ ἀνὴρ εἰώ τε κὶ λόγῳ κεκοσμημένος. οὗτος, ἀ-
ρετῆς ζήλω ἔχων πρὸς τὰ ἡμέτερα κθεμονία τε κὶ σφροῦν τὴν
ἔχον γράμματα τῶν τούτων διαρμοσίαν καὶ σῶθεισιν, τῆ ἰου-
οικείου μοῦς ἐφθρεν ὀξύντητι. εἰ ὄν γὰρ λέγειν τὸν χηρακτῆρα,
οὐ περ οὐκ ἀντιπρῶτῃ ἐπὶ τὸ καλλιγράφειν χηρισίφῶν, ἐ-
χθρὰ ἐστὶν ὠφαιότερον. τόντων τοι γαροῦν περὶ τούτων κοινῶ
λογούμενος, οὐ μόνον ξυμαιοῦντα κὶ προσεπέμερον, ἀλ-
λῆδη ἔστω τὸν οἰκοθερ ὠρμημένορ ὄνρον εἰς πάντα, καὶ τὴν
ἐμὴν ἐπὶ πλείον χησασίς ἀγελίαις ὄρμην ἱσπεῖν οὐτα.
τὴν γὰρ μωσείος πεντάτεν χηρ, σῶ τῆ τῆσ παλαῖσ Δια-
θῆκῃ πᾶσι λοιπῇ πραγματεία, ἐβραῖσι. ἑλληρισί. ρωμαῖ-
σί, οὐκ ἔστω μακρὰν ἐκδῶσειν ὄνηγελίσα το σῶθει. ὡ ἀ-

Book Reviews

Κράτος και οικονομική πολιτική στον 19ο αιώνα (*State and Economic Policy in the 19th Century*) by ΚΩΣΤΑΣ VERGΟΡΟΥΛΟΣ. Athens: Έκδόσεις Έξάντας, 1978. 214 pp. np.

Between 1893 and 1898, when the financial and political system of Greece collapsed, a number of publications, both official and unofficial, appeared containing reliable information on the country's public finances and reviews of its internal situation. Our knowledge, however, of private finances leaves much to be desired in the way of reliable sources. In his recent book, which focuses on the fifteen years of Charilaos Tricoupis's prominence in Greek politics (as suggested by the subtitle "Greek Society, 1880-1895"), Dr. Kostas Vergopoulos attempts to correlate the public and the private sectors. His task is indeed a daring one; his conclusions, however, given the state of the sources, are to a great extent conjectural.

The first two chapters of the book introduce the reader to the international and political context of the author's main argument. In the 1870's and 1880's, the Greek economy suffered the consequences of international trade recessions; Greeks from abroad turned to Greece for their business interests; the Greek state was required to use the influx of capital either to westernize the country or to turn it into a major power in the east-

ern Mediterranean. Between 1880 and 1885, two political parties with conflicting programs took definite shape. The author gives an accurate account of political and economic developments in Greece under the rule of the two parties, of their failure, and of the subsequent prominent role of the king in political life.

In his third and main chapter, the author examines the role played by the state in the Greek economy throughout a period of international trade depression. Tariffs, forced paper currency, and inflation protected the internal market; loans and indirect taxation secured revenues for the state without burdening the capital-owning class. Dr. Vergopoulos stresses his point that Tricoupis employed the immense budget deficit to embark on an aggressive expansion for the sake of capitalist development in Greece. He ascribes this course to a "Keynesian" program for public spending conceived by Tricoupis. However, he glosses over the military causes for the deficit with the following passages on which he fails to elaborate: "The remarkable military mobilization, which occurred in Greece between 1880 and 1897, had an important economic result: not only did it create the financial deficit, but it operated in favor of a dynamic mobilization of the national economy towards a reorientation" (p. 130). And, "Indeed, between 1882 and 1892, thirty percent of the total public expendi-

ture was absorbed by military expenses, with the beneficial consequences this fact had on the rekindling and reorientation of the national economy" (p. 134). Thirty percent for military expenses as compared to fifteen or twenty percent for public works—given as raw figures with hardly a comment and without reference as to sources—leave the reader with little else but questions in his mind. One would have expected more on the relative importance of military expenses and investment in public works. Another reservation about Dr. Vergopoulos's theory: in actual fact, an as yet undetermined number of workers, whom the program of public works was to save from unemployment (pages 100, 129), came from other, poorer Balkan countries.

The author continues by pointing out that the state, supplied with loans, duties, and taxation, acquired the power to execute economic plans, invigorate productive forces, and redistribute wealth so as to favor profitmaking and reduce the value of wages. An increase in the population of industrial workers was followed by the first incidents of protest and strikes, chiefly in the older types of industry, which had not profited from protection as much as the newer ones (p. 157). Moreover, the bulk of the surplus population began to emigrate to the United States.

As Dr. Vergopoulos aptly observes, within the Greek protected market, industry was able to expand as soon as the international trade recession eased in the late 1880's, despite the country's public financial failure. The thrust, how-

ever, of his argument is obviated by his careless periodization; this is the conclusion that this reviewer reached after some elementary statistical computations on the basis of the author's own data—about which he again omits source references. The annual rate of growth of capital invested in industry between 1875 and 1892 in francs was 1.15 percent, i.e., industry remained rather stagnant over a period of seventeen years (p. 149). Over a more relevant span of years, namely between 1889 and 1893, the annual rate of growth of industrial production was 6.25 percent. The author then relapses into flaccid documentation and tells us that "... from 1890 and after, industrial production begins to grow at an impressive annual rate of 4.2 percent (in average)" (p. 150). The foregoing is typical of his insightful thinking but also of his hasty and inconsistent analysis and execution, reducing the reliability of his book as a source of factual reference.

A number of questions arise from Dr. Vergopoulos's analysis. Did this protected industrial development prove viable, or did it merely serve as a catalyst for structural social changes, to which he often refers? His methodology seems to imply the latter; otherwise he would have paid greater attention to matters of degree and accurate quantification. Unfortunately, he does not complete his argument by a concluding chapter on the nature of these structural changes and on the effects of economic developments on social stratification. Instead, he presents an essay on some features of Greek culture during the same period,

namely populism in literature, nationalism, and the patriotic societies. All this is irrelevant to his subject, and the book still remains incomplete.

On page 100 the author compares the consequences of international trade depression in the 1870's and 1880's in Greece and abroad. Whereas, for the international system, he says that it was a "crisis of stagnation," in Greece it became "a transitional crisis towards a change of the country's productive structure." One would have expected more details on this exciting comparison in order to adopt it or refute it, and in order to understand the significance of "the crisis" or "the crises," as the

author terms the frequent fluctuations within that insecure period in the world's economic history. Such a comparison, if elaborated, would have also further illuminated the nature of the dependence of Greece on the international system.

Despite its many shortcomings—the most serious one of all being the author's neglect to support his points with documentation and footnotes—the book affords us many stimulating insights into the period. Since this book is a revised edition of the author's contribution to the *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους*, volume XIV, many of its shortcomings could have been avoided with more meticulous editorial care.

—Katerina Gardikas

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Greek Women Poets edited and translated by ELENI FOURTOUNI. New Haven: Thelphini Press, 1978. 74 pp. \$3.50.

Eight poets are represented in this small anthology of translations: Victoria Theodorou, Rita Mpoumi-Pappas, Melpo Axiote (who died in 1974), Lili Bitá, Katerina Anghelaki-Rooke, Kiki Dimoula, Jenny Mastoraki, and the translator herself, Eleni Fourtouni.

Although their various dates of birth roughly span the first half of this century, one being in her early seventies, one in her late twenties, and the rest somewhere in between, their similar experiences make them real contemporaries of each other. All are women who were born and brought up in Greece in a social order completely ruled by men—a

sharply defined existential situation if there ever was one—and who achieved identity and a measure of freedom through their writing. Each has lived under one or more tyrannical regimes, and demonstrated her opposition with poetry or political action or both. Their combined memories cover World War I, the Metaxas dictatorship, the German-Italian occupation and the resistance during World War II, the civil war that followed, and the years of the junta.

Repression, oppression, isolation, danger, terror, violence, bloodshed—all these have touched their lives and are in their poems. But the Greek mountains, sea, sky, sun, and olive trees are also there, and these poets and the other women they write about have their share of Greek *philotimo*, that mixture of

pride and self-respect which is different from both. Here is "Maria" speaking in "A Thousand Murdered Girls" by Rita Mpoumi-Pappas:

So, I'm on "death row!"
It seems like a funny thing—even if it is
dead serious—I'm not big enough for it.
Even so, it makes me proud, stubborn,
It makes me a rock.

And I'll spit on their decision—
this scrap of paper that kicks me
out of life at 19 — I'll step on it like
the stub of their cigar
before I go.

And "Krinio," in the same sequence, to her firing squad:

I see your eyes wide open
— you can't help all this —
your hands want to touch me
before they pull the trigger — I understand . . .
Go on, spare me the morning frost
I'm almost naked
dress me in your fire
smile at me boys
cover my body with your gaze

I've never been covered by a lover
not even in dream . . .

The longest poems here are Melpo Axiote's "The Homestead," a strikingly vivid surrealist work expressing the double bind between arranged marriages and bleak spinsterhood in which so many Greek women have been caught for centuries, and "My Mamma And Satan" by Katerina Anghelaki-Rooke. The theme of the latter is the ambivalent mother-daughter relationship also used by many American women poets at present:

SHE TORTURES ME
What have I done wrong
what mistake did I make
what ritual did I neglect?
Grim the Easter of memory
life is again nailed
on the cross
the lilac cuts through me
stretched out on the black
and white tiles . . .

But again:

How much goodness in you
how much trust
how much natural peace . . .

It is interesting to compare these works with a recent collection of writings by women from various ethnic groups in New York City, *Ordinary Women*. The chief difference is in scale. The New Yorkers, even when they protest the "system," are personal about it, fed up with "bad dope/bad schools/bad homes/and bad headaches" (Sandra Maria Esteves) and with "the trivialization of certain nouns: /love/roots/tenderness" (Patricia

Jones). Their images are mostly from street scenes, households, and mass-produced commodities. The Greek women move on a larger, more universal stage because of their country's history. But the two groups do meet at the one point which is the most crucial to them both, the struggle against men's tyranny at every level. Kiki Dimoula sums it up in her "Mark of Recognition," a poem about a statue of a woman with her hands tied:

They all call you a statue right away.
Right away I call you a woman
Not because the sculptor
surrendered you to the marble
as a woman
and your thighs promise generations
of beautiful statues
—a clean harvest of immobility—
but because your hands are tied . . .

I call you a woman
because you always end up
a captive.

Since this is not a bilingual edition, and I've not seen the originals, I've read the poems as if they were written in English. They seem remarkably convincing simply as poems. The richness and resonance of the sounds of Greek are not

there, of course, but a lot of the spirit comes through. Ms. Fourtouni obviously has a sensitive understanding of both languages, and she is to be congratulated for having preserved each poet's individual voice.

—Frances LeFevre



Ἡ σύμβαση τῶν δικαιωμάτων τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τὸ σύνταγμα [*The Convention on Human Rights and the Constitution*] by PHADON TH. VEGLERIS. Athens: Ἐκδόσεις Ἀγνώστου Ν. Σακκουλά, 1977. 143 pp. np.

This book is the first in the "Library of Public Law" series, established in 1977 in Greece by a group of university professors and jurists. It examines the application of the European Convention on Human Rights to the domestic law

of Greece and the status of its provisions in light of the Greek Constitutions of 1952 and 1977.

In the first part of his book, Phaidon Vegleris examines the conformity of Greek legislation and court decisions between 1953 and 1974 to the terms of the Convention. His examination reveals that the Convention was "a useless text in the life of our law which was being set aside systematically..." (p. 55). The author maintains (p. 35) that when Greece signed and ratified the Convention, it was already equipped with legislation ("constitutional acts" and "decrees" issued during the civil war of 1946-1949, and still in force) that would not permit it to enter the Council of Europe, whose members, according to the Preamble of the Convention, reaffirmed their "profound belief in those fundamental freedoms which are the foundation of justice and peace in the world and are best maintained on the one hand by an effective political democracy and on the other by a common understanding and observance of the human rights upon which they depend..."

Nevertheless, Greece was accepted into the Council of Europe because, according to Vegleris (pp. 7-8), participation in it was primarily dependent on strategic-political considerations (the same as the ones upon which NATO was formed) rather than on the criteria enunciated in the Preamble and Articles 1, 3, and 8 of the Convention. It was more important, he explains, that the prospective member-states of the Council of Europe were "bourgeois" than "democratic." Later on, however, he alludes

(p. 35) to another fact: the difficulty for an international organization such as the Council of Europe to know exactly whether the internal legislation and the various institutions of a state actually conform to the Constitution or other legal documents submitted by the state as proof of its compliance with the European Convention. His short discussion of these two considerations leaves some confusion as to the exact dimensions and the precise role of each consideration in the Greek case. A little more attention to the political background of the formation of the Council of Europe, its relationship with NATO (whose treaty was signed on April 4, 1949, just before the signing of the European Convention on May 5, 1949), and the role of the United States in Europe at that time (Marshall Plan), could have given us the real dimensions of the problem and provided a more comprehensive answer to it.

The second part of the book is devoted to the new Greek Constitution of 1975 and its impact on the status of international law and the Convention within the Greek legal system. The author points out the drastic change that Article 28 of the 1975 Constitution brought to the relationship between international and national law in Greece. Now, customary and conventional international law have been given enhanced formal status as a result of which they can supersede prior and subsequent enactments of Parliament. This scheme is an improvement over the previous regime, when all international agreements (but not customary international law) had the same legal status

as Parliamentary legislation. Of course, international law is not now superior to the Constitution, to which it must comply or not be enforced.

Vegleris criticizes paragraph 8 of Article 28, which establishes a rigid, absolute, and inflexible concept of national sovereignty, requiring a three-fifths majority of the members of Parliament for the ratification of Conventions, in order to grant authority under the Greek Constitution to agencies of international organizations. He notes the incompatibility between that article and Greece's stand in the international community, where the need for a more binding character and enforcement of the decisions and resolutions of international organizations is repeatedly called for (Cyprus problem, etc.).

Part Three of the book deals with the problem of judicial review of the conformity of national to international law and, more specifically, to the European Convention. Vegleris supports the proposition that, under the new Constitution, judicial scrutiny of national law and its conformity to international law (customary and conventional) are permitted under Article 28 of the Constitution. Moreover, that article—which always makes the enforcement of international law and agreements on aliens dependent on the condition of reciprocity—does not apply, according to Vegleris, to the European Convention.

The book as a whole is a well-written study offering a comprehensive picture of the human rights problem in Greece. Vegleris argues that when Greece entered the Council, Greece's national law was

contrary to the provisions and terms of the European Convention, but he does not offer a sufficient explanation as to why Greece was accepted or remained in it. The author also avoids elaborating on his thesis that political considerations need not always be disregarded in international cases involving the protection of human rights (p. 16). A more extensive discussion of this notion may have aided our understanding of the proper role to be played by political considerations in the protection of human rights, particularly in light of the opinion that human rights can be protected on the international law level only when the political ramifications are absent or very insubstantial (J. Stone and R. K. Woetzel, *Towards a Feasible International Criminal Court*, 1970).

Another topic which deserved more emphasis by the author was the assumption that underlies his work, namely, that the "national sovereignty" and "domestic jurisdiction" concepts are losing status because human rights have finally been removed from the exclusive jurisdiction of states and are now lifted up to the realm of international concern. But this discussion would have injected more international law material into the book, material over which, the author confesses, he does not have the required command.

The absence of these points, however, does not diminish the value of the book. It is an extremely valuable tool for use in courts and in litigation, where many issues of the conformity of Greek legislation to the Convention will arise.

—Nikos Patouris

Ἐγκοιμή [*Command*] by DIDO SOTIRIOU. Athens: Ἐκδόσεις Κέδροσ, 1976. 372 pp. np.

When we recall events that are milestones in the history of the Greek nation, we do nothing more than perform a duty. The interval between a given event and the moment when it is accurately and precisely recorded in the journals of history affords the advantage of a fuller objectivity; far from "stirring up passions," it brings us closer to a catharsis and reinforces our determination to avoid the repetition of mistakes, if any have been made. The wisdom of an old Greek saying—"the first one's footsteps is the second one's bridge"—is thus justified.

Dido Sotiriou, as an old journalist, gives us, in her book *Entoli*, an honest account of the post-occupation Civil War period and beyond (1944-1952), an account which is based on known and unknown documents and personal experiences.

She does this in the full knowledge of her responsibility to shed the light of truth on everything that has been kept hidden or has been distorted by expediency and intolerance. With courage and an admirable narrative style, she recounts the ways that the betrayed Greek people devised not only to defend themselves from the oppression of the fascist invaders and the unaccountability of the allies, but from the native collaborators as well. She goes back to the time when disunion and discord ruled; when brothers betrayed brothers, fathers betrayed sons—even though such cases were, fortunately, few—and

when military courts and arbitrary sentences condemned men and women of all ages to their deaths in the name of foreign interests.

Sotiriou takes the reader fleetingly through Yalta, the site where

... the great powers again divided the world into spheres of influence, and, as it happened, Greece fell into the portion belonging to the West!" ... on through the more tragic error, that of the abstention [of the Left] from the 1946 elections. It was then that the Right lay defeated and paralyzed and discredited by the stigma of its collaboration with the invaders; when the country was in complete disintegration, without an army or a police force; when the British and the Americans had not yet come; then, when we were actually all-powerful and when, instead of taking power, as Tito had done, we opted for "normal democratic evolution" and signed the [treaties of] Lebanon and Caserta. ... And from Caserta and Lebanon to December [1944] and on to the second round. ... We did not believe the British would attack us. Didn't we know what British imperialism meant; didn't we know about its provocations in the Middle East? Churchill was not seeking a solution to the political crisis, but, rather, the collapse of E.A.M. so that Greece would again become a protectorate. ... Then, when we were signing Varkiza and delivering the fighters of the

Resistance to the claws of fascism to be executed by firing squads in groups of hundreds. . . . "KILL THEM," was the order of the foreigners.

The human element Sotiriou talks about in her book was the leaven of the resistance against the Germans. She courageously accuses the leadership of that period—Politburo of the Communist Party and the leaders of the Center—as having betrayed the progressive movement by various ruses and by actual assassinations (Sarafis, etc.).

On the other hand, "the British forces [would] soon withdraw, and the Americans [would] be in full control of Greece. The country would no longer be dealing with the 'toothless, herbivorous' British lion, but with aggressive, carnivorous American imperialism." It was then that one of Roosevelt's sons wrote: "We give economic aid to the peoples while sticking a gun in their back."

Crowded with many figures and fully documented, Sotiriou's material gives a vivid description of events that cannot be refuted or disputed and, after ceaselessly probing the maze, she finally succeeds in focusing on the legendary personality of Nikos Belogiannis, the man whose case aroused world public opinion, and who himself became a victim of that foreign "command."

The reader, thus, follows, through its many phases, the drama of the "man with the carnation," from the time he was first arrested as a 17 year-old high school student in Amaliada. Through an unbroken chain of suffering, persecution, im-

prisonment, and sickness, there unfolds, as on canvas, the ethos of the man, his escape from Akronafplia so that he can fight at the Albanian front, his capture by the Germans a little later, his feats of courage and the events surrounding them, and his unshaken belief in his convictions regarding the struggle for a free and independent Greece and the freedom and independence of all his fellow human beings.

The author also touches upon the identification of Belogiannis's life with that of his comrade, Elli Ioannidi (Dido Sotiriou's sister). The offspring of their union in the midst of their underground activities—a boy—was born in a prison hospital and grew up in prison cells; Belogiannis never had the joy of seeing him or holding him in his arms.

In *Entoli* is chronicled the self-sacrifice of sincere patriots in their fight against the Secret Police, the U.N.—in the person of "Mr. Driscoll, another Peurefoy"—IDEA (Sacred Bond of Greek Officers, an instrument of foreign secret services), the Greek government, C.I.A. agents, and the military courts presided by judges of the mentality of a George Papadopoulos.

The author recaptures the drama of Belogiannis's ten-month solitary confinement, the proceedings of the long trials and the atmosphere of a ruthless frame-up, as it is perceived through the exchanges, within the halls of the military courts, between the accused and the prosecution:

Belogiannis: "In your opinion,

is the struggle for bread, for liberties and peace, a conspiracy against Greece?"

Witness: "No."

Belogiannis: "That is what I wanted you to admit."

The presiding judge interrupts: "You all profess to be patriots."

Belogiannis: "Your Honor, we do not profess to be, we are patriots. And since mention has been made of Peloponnesus, you are perhaps aware of the order the Greek and Allied Middle East General Headquarters issued in April 1944, commanding us to prevent, 'at any cost,' a German division from proceeding to Southern Peloponnesus. We knew then that imprisoned communists would have to pay for this act. But we went ahead, and carried out the order. And the following day, 200 comrades from Haidari were executed, crying 'Long Live Greece.' If such sacrifices are not dictated by love of our country, then what are they?"

... The prosecution pictures me as a prison escapee, but says nothing about the reason for which I have been incarcerated in prison and concentration camps, and how and when I escaped from them. When the Germans were invading our country and ... His Majesty and his government were abandoning the people and the country to their fate, they left at the mercy of the invaders hundreds of political prisoners, including myself. For us, escape was a patriotic duty. ..."

The verdict of the military court, Sotiriou writes, was handed down at 3 o'clock in the morning, Thursday, November 16, 1951: "IN THE NAME OF HIS MAJESTY... twelve deaths!"

Desperate efforts were made to save the accused. Trials and trials, again and again. The whole of Europe watched their outcome, while an American correspondent was then writing in the New York Times: "This trial does not deal with a single person, or a group of people only, but with an international conspiracy. The Greeks are rendering us all a service by exposing the methods the enemies of liberty employ. Once more Greece demonstrates that the fight for liberty does not allow for the slightest weakness. ..."

Thus, Belogiannis's sentencing, twice, to death for conspiracy, follows one after the other. Not even Ploumbidis's official statement — a statement he not only signed but confirmed by affixing his fingerprint on it — that he alone was the director of the illegal apparatus of the KKE, and that he be allowed to surrender to the authorities to be tried if Belogiannis's sentences were commuted, can change the situation. In vain, too, were the wires sent by internationally-known personalities strongly protesting the death sentences.

Belogiannis's case comes to a close with the tragic testimony of the newspaper headlines: "SPECIAL EDITION. AT 4:10 A.M., N. BELOGIANNIS, DEM. BATSIS, NIK. KALOUMENOS, AND EL. ARGIRIADIS WERE EXECUTED. SUNDAY, MARCH 30, 1952."

Leaving the reader to ponder the question, "Why was the blood of so many innocent people shed," Sotiriou concludes her book with

the even sadder interjection of Elli Ioannidi's correspondence with her ten year-old son, ten years after her husband's execution.

—Regina Pagoulatou



Θέατρο στὰ Βουνά [Theater in the Mountains] by GEORGE KOTZIOULAS. Athens: Έκδόσεις Θεμέλιο, 1976. 481 pages. 280 drs.

In 1944, George Kotzioulas, a poet in the "popular" sense of the word, who three years earlier had joined the *andartes* or mountain fighters of ELAS (Greek Popular Liberation Army) to resist the German invaders of Greece, organized a group of travelling players in an effort to entertain his fellow fighters and village people. However, he did more than that. The fourteen plays, all written by Kotzioulas, that have been published under the title *Theater in the Mountains*, along with his essay on the history of the troupe and his diaries of the performances, are among the greatest examples of politically oriented theater to be found in Greece. They were written as practical expositions or illustrations of political ideas, and it is strictly within this frame of reference that they must be read and studied today. Outside of it, they have very little meaning or interest.

Although the hard core of the *andartes* (a more appropriate term for them at this point of their history would be partisans) were communists politically, the greatest

number of men and women who took to the mountains to join them represented all of the democratic progressive forces of the country. Their primary concern was twofold: to fight the common enemy and to primary concern was twofold: to fight the common enemy and to familiarize as wide a public as possible with their beliefs and ideas, which people were reluctant to accept. The guerrilla fighter, to paraphrase Che Guevara, needs the unconditional support of the people. From the very beginning, he tries to destroy an "unjust order," and replace what is old with something new. The travelling players of Kotzioulas served as one of the most effective communication tools between the *andartes* and the people. The plays that were performed were constructed in such a way as to ensure that their intended audiences both sympathized with their message and identified with the characters. A formula was developed: the *andartes* were first shown to be mistrusted, then, following some benevolent act, there would be a complete change of attitude toward them, and they were proven to be trustworthy, as well as the only hope for survival. Finally, there would be some sort of self-admiration: "This is why we must unite, men and women, those who live in the cities and those of

the villages, to chase away the beast from our country and live in freedom always. This is why so many men came to the mountains and carry guns. This is why they are captured and put in prison by the thousands all over Greece. This is why they are put in concentration camps and sent to the firing squads and paint the streets with their blood. . . ." (*Women of Epirus*)

The themes for the plays were all taken from the immediate environment of the *andartes*. They speak of their work, their needs, hopes and fears, and they present a more or less accurate portrayal of what life was like in the mountains. However, the plays move beyond that. They open up new horizons for the poor and deprived villagers by offering them the promised land on a platter. In scene after scene, Kotzioulas inserts short didactic soliloquys attempting to predict how Greece will be in the future: a place where people would live according to the tenets of freedom and equality for all. The intrinsic message of the plays, therefore, is not so much the struggle for liberation, which most people regarded as just and worth every effort, as it is a change in the social structure of the country. Yet, reading the plays some thirty-four years after they were written, and knowing what followed—the final disaster—one also becomes aware of what might have been the greatest weakness of the Greek mountain fighters: at no point in the plays were they ever shown to be flexible in thought. Their minds were monolithic, set on fixed ideas, and lacked the ability, so essential to leaders,

to objectively analyze existing conditions.

The majority of the plays center on the assumption that Greece has everything to offer if only the people know where to look for it. In a play in the style of a modern fairy tale, Kotzioulas sets a poor young man off in search of his fortune. After the obligatory journey, he returns home to find it literally in his backyard. He becomes rich, but, unlike other rich villagers of older generations, he gives freely to the people who now consider him to be their leader (*Cinderfella*). Social justice as it relates to the corruption of established institutions is another theme that runs throughout the plays (*The Party Representative*, *The Forest Ranger*, *The Policeman*). The authorities of the day are looked upon as social evils which must be wiped out by any available means, regardless of sacrifices on the part of the people. It soon becomes apparent that a new social order is needed for Greece to exist as a nation. In this new Greece there will be no discrimination based on sex or religion (*The Sufferings of the Jews*, *Women of Epirus*). The Greek woman, as examined in the plays, possesses all the potential to liberate herself from long years of subjection to her history. Again and again, there are long confrontations between women who have joined the *andartes* and those who have remained in the villages to look after their homes. Almost always, the former manage to persuade the latter to their way of thinking. Yet, the past upon which modern Greece has built its very existence is not to be dismissed overnight. The

andartes were not nihilists. Quite the contrary, the past is regarded with almost religious reverence, and it is shown to participate actively in the impending change. In the play *Wake Up, Raghia*, Karaiskakis, one of the heroes of the 1821 War of Independence against the Turks, appears in a dream to an old man, and prompts him to send his son to the mountains to join the *andartes*. The hero then proceeds to accuse the entire nation of having made no progress since his time. Just before the old man wakes up from his dream, he asks Karaiskakis: "Don't you have any message for us?" "One thing only, wake up!" the hero replies.

Theater in the Mountains is the second volume of the trilogy *Resistance Files of George Kotzioulas*; the other two are *When I Was with Aris: Recollections* and *Diaries: 1941-1945*. It is also part of a gigantic effort that is being made in Greece today to shed light on the most obscure but significant period in modern Greek history, the resistance against the Germans during World War II and the Civil War which immediately followed it. Scores of histories, historical novels, memoirs, and diaries are now being published with a different outlook from what was previously accepted in matters regarding the role of the *andartes*.

Such literature is essential not only to the future historian whose responsibility is to set the record straight through scholarship, but also to contemporary readers who simply may not have had access to alternative information on that era. Kotzioulas's plays offer exactly that. As dramatic literature they are flat, being prolonged dialogues rather than theatrical experiences. They also bear a strong resemblance to Karagiozis, the Greek shadow theater, for they employ the same antics and form of dialogue. However, this kind of writing is highly unsuccessful when used in dramatic works. It serves no purpose, and gives the plays a pseudo-folkloric color. The entertainment these plays definitely offered at the time of their production was directly related to the idiosyncrasy of the audiences, which was peculiar to a certain period in the history of the Greek people. With the passing of time and the changes involved in the sociopolitical life of Greece, the plays become dated. They become intriguing only when viewed as historical documents due to their controversial subject matter. Even so, one wonders how valuable they actually are. Like all art that has been made to serve politics and has been written for use at a particular moment, Kotzioulas's plays are short-sighted and fragmentary.

—George Valamvanos

Letters

To the Editors:

Jim Jacobs's review of Philip Deane's *I Should Have Died* (Vol. V, No. 2) is a typical example of ideological criticism. It concentrates on the reviewer's ideological disagreements (many of which I share) with Philip Deane, and thus fails to see this book for what it is and to seriously appraise what it purports to do. *I Should Have Died* is a priceless first-hand testimony on the interlocking domestic and foreign conspiracies which destroyed Greek democracy in the 1960's and set in motion the catastrophic process that destroyed Cyprus in 1974. The fact that its author, a man of impeccable anti-communist credentials, was privy to the aspirations of the innermost and highest circles of the Greek reactionary establishment, and specifically to those of the now defunct Greek monarchy, makes his account uniquely valuable. If this book was simply the expression of

the moral outrage of an honest man whose conscience revolted upon realizing the machinations of those who called him to their service, it would still deserve one's moral respect despite ideological disagreements. But as I have pointed out elsewhere (*Dissent*, Winter 1978, p. 74), Philip Deane's book offers much more than that. It provides a detailed and factually eloquent indictment of the plots of the parastate, the monarchy, and its foreign patrons against the democratization of Greek politics. As such, it is an extremely useful primary source available to students of Greek politics who do not have access to relevant Greek sources. It is regrettable that Jacob's review failed to emphasize this important dimension of the book and to acknowledge Philip Deane's contribution in this direction.

PASCHALIS KITROMILIDES

Cambridge, MA

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Books

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American Foreign Policy in Greece, 1944-1949: Economic, Military and Institutional Aspects by Michael Mark Amen. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1978. xxi & 310 pp. np. Political Science.

Cul-de-sac by Katingo J. Hadjipateras. London: Fraser Meikle (printer), 1978. 20 pp. np. Second edition with additional poems. Poetry.

Δεκατρία ηλεκτρικά ποιήματα [Thirteen Electric Poems] by Dino Siotis. San Francisco: Έκδόσεις τὸ Καλώδιο, 1978. 60 pp. \$3.00 [100 drachmas]. Poetry.

Dirty Work: The CIA In Western Europe edited by Philip Agee and Louis Wolf. Secaucus, N. J.: Lyle Stuart, 1978. 734 pp. np. Current Events.

Με ανοιχτά χαρτιά—και βιβλία: από την ποιότητα και την "επισημοποιητικότητα" του πολέμου κατά της δημοκρατίας [With Open Cards—and Books: From the Quality and the "Scholarship" of the War Against the Demotic] by Vasilis Th. Foris. Thessaloniki: Άδελφοί Άλτιντζή (printer), 1978. 29 pp. np. Linguistics.

Neo-Hellenika: Annual Publication of the Center for Neo-Hellenic

Studies edited by Costas M. Proussis. Austin, Texas: Center For Neo-Hellenic Studies, 1978. 171 pp. np. Volume III.

The Greek Islands by Lawrence Durrell. New York: The Viking Press, 1978. 287 pp. Illustrated. \$25.00. Non-fiction.

Τοπίο θανάτου: Εισαγωγή στην ποίηση του Τάκη Σινόπουλου [Landscape of Death: An Introduction to the Poetry of Takis Sinopoulos] by Kimon Friar. Translated by Nasos Vagenas and Thomas Stravelis. Athens: Έκδόσεις Κέδρος, 1978. 109 pp. np. Criticism.

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Άντί, No. 106, August 26, 1978.

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- College Literature*, Volume 5, No. 3, Fall 1978. Ὀδηγητής, No. 210, August 25, 1978.
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- Διαδάζω, No. 13, July-September 1978. Ὀδηγητής, No. 216, October 6, 1978.
- Διαδάζω, No. 14, October-November 1978. Ὀδηγητής, No. 217, October 12, 1978.
- Διαδάζω, No. 15, December 1978. Ὀδηγητής, No. 218, October 20, 1978.
- Ἐλεύθερο Πνεῦμα, No. 29, August-September 1978. Ὀδηγητής, No. 220, November 3, 1978.
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- International Migration Review*, Volume 12, No. 4, Winter 1978.
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- Ὀδηγητής, No. 206, July 28, 1978. *The Orthodox Theological Society in America Bulletin*, Volume 4, No. 3, October 1978.
- Ὀδηγητής, No. 207, August 4, 1978. Τὸ βαπόρι τῆς ποίησης, No. 1, Summer 1978.
- Ὀδηγητής, No. 208, August 11, 1978. Τὸ Μήνυμα, No. 2.