LANGUAGES AND CULTURE IN HISTORY

Edited by Georgia Gotsi and Despina Provata

Languages, Identities and Cultural Transfers

Modern Greeks in the European Press (1850-1900)

Amsterdam University Press

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Languages and Culture in History

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Note on transliteration and other editorial practices

Since there is no standard, uniform system for representing the sounds of the modern Greek language in the Roman alphabet, here, for practical reasons, Greek words have been transliterated according to the Modern Greek Studies Association (MGSA) transliteration system, with the exception of the letters γ and υ, which have been reproduced as g and y, respectively. Where Greek names have long-established equivalents in English or French (Athens/Athènes, Greek Royal names such as Otto/Othon), these have been retained. Moreover, as we could not ignore, for historical reasons, the way nineteenth-century authors signed their own names in the Roman alphabet, nor how places and authors' names were referenced in nineteenth-century texts, we preferred, in such cases, to preserve the historical forms (for example, Bikélas/Bikelas) or to give both the historical and the established anglicised form of given names (for example, Jean Psichari/Giannis Psycharis). The reader can find all the alternative forms in the index to this book.

We decided to give all quotations from and titles of Greek works in monotonic orthography. We anglicised the punctuation in the chapters written in French; for example, we used English quotation marks and removed the space that is normally present in French (such as before a colon or semi-colon, after and before a quotation mark, etc.).

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Introduction: Greece in the European press in the second half of the nineteenth century: Language, culture, identity

Georgia Gotsi and Despina Provata

Greece in the second half of the nineteenth century

By the mid-nineteenth century, the days of romantic philhellenism were over and Greece had ceased to be a subject of particular concern to Western commentators. This was a far cry from the time when Byron and Chateaubriand had marvelled at the ruins of Hellas and the Western world had unanimously saluted the courage, bravery and heroism of the Greeks in their struggle against the Ottomans. If in 1822 Percy Shelley exclaimed 'we are all Greeks'[1] and Benjamin Constant added three years later 'the cause of the Greeks is ours',[2] further into the nineteenth century the enthusiasm created by the philhellenism of its first three decades, which had reached its peak in the times of the Greek Revolution of 1821, seemed to have diminished.[3] The reasons were both ideological and political. For, as the romantic and neoclassical dreams cultivated by philhellenism and the desire for a return to antiquity weakened, simultaneously Greece no longer appeared in the eyes of European diplomacy as a necessary political and religious bulwark against the Muslim East.

However, if 'true philhellenism, so to speak, historical philhellenism had lasted as long as the war of independence', as Dimitrios Bikelas wrote,[4] and had perished with the foundation of the independent Greek state in 1830, during the second half of the nineteenth century an interest in things Greek

1 Shelley, 'Preface', iii.
2 Constant, *Appel aux nations chrétiennes en faveur des Grecs*, 15.
3 Basch, *Le Mirage grec*.
4 Bikélas, 'Le Philhellénisme en France', 363.

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became gradually evident and certain philhellenic manifestations appeared. These were triggered by the military and political adventures and national claims of the small Greek state, and were further strengthened by events in Crete and later in Macedonia.

More specifically, the second half of the nineteenth century, marked by geopolitical tensions over control of the Eastern Mediterranean, was a period of profound political, economic and social change for Greece. Greek political life and, more generally, society, popular culture and the literary world were dominated by the 'Great Idea', a term first used in 1844 by Prime Minister Ioannis Kolettis to express the irredentist Greek ideal. While the small kingdom that had been born in the aftermath of the Greek War of Independence (1821–1829) remained under the control of the three allied powers (Great Britain, France and Russia), Greek aspirations for territorial enlargement and the desire to unite all Greeks in one state were powerful. In the course of the nineteenth century this dream of national unification took different forms depending on political circumstances and points of view. It either referred to the 'redemption' of Greeks living in Ottoman territories and the restoration of the Eastern Empire with Constantinople as its national centre, or to the geographic expansion of the Greek kingdom with Athens as its national capital, or even (in the early 1870s) to the establishment of a 'Greco-Ottoman' state involving the political, financial and cultural takeover of the Ottoman Empire by the Greek nation.[5] In several cases during the second half of the nineteenth century this irredentist tendency led Greece into armed conflicts against the Ottomans and other peoples of the Balkan Peninsula.

In the irredentist spirit of mid-century, King Otto and his government welcomed the Crimean War (1854–1856) and stood by Russia in the hope that the 'Great Idea' could be fulfilled. The Crimean War defined a climactic moment of hostility in Greece's relations with the European imperial powers. The Greek government's sympathy towards Russia and the uprisings in the Turkish provinces of Thessaly and Epirus, which the royal couple openly encouraged, provoked the reaction of the Franco-British coalition forces, which occupied Piraeus and Athens between 1854 and 1857.[6] Indeed, the failure of Otto's irredentist policy only served to highlight the weakness of the Greek government in drawing up an effective claims policy, accentuating

5 See chiefly Skopetea, *Το 'πρότυπο βασίλειο'*, esp. 257–271. Also Holland and Markides, *The British and the Hellenes*, 4, on the 'geographical plasticity of the Great Idea'.

6 See, for example, Skopetea, *Το 'πρότυπο βασίλειο'*, 223, 287–289, and Dertilis, *Ιστορία του ελληνικού κράτους*, 368–370.

Greece's dependence on the great powers. As the 'Great Idea' clashed with the national claims of other Balkan nations, geopolitical tensions continued to mark Greek history in the following decades and underline its importance to European countries in their antagonism with Russia.

The climate of mutual political distrust generated by the Crimean War led to a marked decline of the earlier fervent sentiments of European philhellenism.[7] The publication of Edmond About's *La Grèce contemporaine* (1854), a work whose success extended beyond his native France, only served to underline the new context within which European countries now perceived Greece. Indeed, *La Grèce contemporaine* confirmed what European public opinion had been feeling for some time: concern for Greece was an outdated matter, the prestige that had fascinated the philhellenes had almost vanished. 'Nobody much believes in the Turks, but the old Phil-Hellenism is dead, and cannot be revived', declared the Conservative British Foreign Minister Lord Stanley in the late 1860s.[8] Worse, philhellenism had given way to scepticism, even to a certain anti-Hellenism or mishellenism. In the eyes of many Europeans, the Greeks were increasingly perceived as a degenerate and despised race, while the backwardness of the Greek kingdom was commented upon. Hellenic antiquity, which had nourished generations of Europeans, had been desacralised.

In 1863, Greece, newly rid of the unpopular Bavarian monarchy, welcomed with enthusiasm the incoming King George I. The title he adopted, King of the Hellenes rather than King of Greece, was interpreted as a sign of a certain political change. Although George I was the second monarch imposed on Greece, the country now appeared to be more credible as a state; hopes were raised that political stability would result. The annexation of the Ionian Islands in 1864 fed this euphoric feeling: the first step towards the unification of the country was taken and the expectations of the Christian Cretans to be reunited with the mother country Hellas were revived.

Unlike the Ionian Islands, however, Crete did not enjoy the support of the great powers who, for political reasons and in order to protect their interests in the East, were unwilling to further its cause. In August 1866, the General Assembly of the Cretans declared union with Greece. The siege of the monastery of Arcadi, followed by the holocaust of friends and enemies, in which defenders of the monastery preferred to blow up the women and children who had sought refuge in the powder magazine rather than hand

7 Skopetea, *Το 'πρότυπο βασίλειο'*, 163–170. For a more recent overview of nineteenth-century philhellenism, see Tolias, 'The resilience'.

8 Quoted in Newton, *Lord Lyons*, 1, 163.

them over to the Ottomans, provoked great emotional reaction in Greece and abroad. Philhellenic committees were set up, articles drawing attention to the new struggle were published in Europe and the United States, and volunteers landed on the island. The philhellenic movement underwent a revival which was comparable to the one which shook the West from 1821 to 1827, nonetheless, without ever acquiring the same force. Even if the steadfastness of European public opinion had not effectively pressured European leaders, even if the ardent appeals of the great Victor Hugo had not led to intervention by the European powers and tested the patriotism of George I, these philhellenic reactions succeeded, nonetheless, in enhancing Greece's international visibility.

In the following three decades, the Eastern Question flared up more than once. Most markedly in the context of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, different scenarios concerning the fate of the Balkans in the event that the Ottoman Empire should dissolve took Greece into account; these were in turn fanned by Greek irredentist visions in the East and hopes for the incorporation of territories and populations under Turkish rule within the Greek kingdom. Thessaly was finally annexed in 1881, but the question of Crete and Macedonia became more acute.

The economic growth evident especially from 1882 with the coming to power of Charilaos Trikoupis, and realised in the construction of railways, paved roads and the opening of the Isthmus canal of Corinth (connecting the Gulf of Corinth with the Saronic Gulf in the Aegean), contributed to projecting a positive image of a modern state abroad. However, the failure of Trikoupis's economic policy, which led the country to bankruptcy in 1893, and Greece's involvement in new conflicts in the Balkan region had negative results for the country.

By the turn of the century, the Greek government supported the outbreak of unrest in Crete, which was once again calling for union with Greece. Between 1895 and 1897 the persistence of troubles connected with the so-called 'Cretan question' provoked European interference in the island's affairs and revived philhellenic feelings, especially among the Italians and the French, as sentiments of ideological and religious solidarity among their peoples were supported by the idea of a common Mediterranean civilisation.[9] The Greco-Turkish War of 1897, which ended with Greece's humiliating defeat, forced the government to accept the conditions imposed by the European powers, cease hostilities and withdraw its troops from the island. The annexation was delayed, but Crete succeeded in achieving an autonomous regime in 1898.

9 Pécout, 'Amitié littéraire et amitié politique méditerranéennes'.

Objectives

Perceived either as a fundamental Western agent in controlling Slavic expansion in the Balkans or as an Orthodox Christian country intricately bound to Russia's interests in the East, Greece was under the diplomatic eye of the Western powers. Events before and after the Russo-Turkish War, the Cretan Revolutions of 1866 and 1895–1896 and a series of uprisings in Epirus, Thessaly and southern Macedonia brought modern Greece to the forefront of European political discourse. Therefore, the country was once again in the international spotlight, especially in the last quarter of the century, when armed conflicts became a feature of illustrated weeklies and major popular dailies and war correspondents began sending their reports from the front.[10]

These historical circumstances nurtured the rhetoric of philhellenic discourse, which found a renewed occasion to express liberal ideas that opposed subjection to oppressive powers and sought to project modern Greeks as a force for progress and stability in the Balkan Peninsula and the Mediterranean more generally. Philhellenic manifestations supported mechanisms of cultural transfer, which in their turn contributed to the shaping or the modification of the perception of modern Greek peoples in Europe. At the same time, modern Greece – debatably the cultural offspring of ancient Hellas – provoked Europe's scholarly interest by means of an intense preoccupation with the development of European civilisation, well manifested in literary periodicals addressed to the cultivated European public. In their historical context, questions of modern Greece's cultural condition, its social and material progress as increasingly portrayed in the era's print media, were essentially of a political nature. If today it is timely to examine philhellenism over the long term and as a transnational phenomenon,[11] especially in light of the reverently conceived bicentenary celebrations of 1821 in Greece, an examination of philhellenism specifically in the second half of the nineteenth century may also be fruitful.

Our overall aim is to study the image(s) of Greece emerging through the pages of the press. We seek to better understand how European public opinion appropriated those elements which forged the physiognomy of modern Greece in the second half of the nineteenth century. We are especially interested in how European societies captured and depicted historical

10 Kalifa, 'Faits divers en guerre (1870–1914)'.

11 Espagne and Pécout (eds.), *Philhellénismes et transferts culturels dans l'Europe du XIX^e siècle*; Barau, *La cause des Grecs*; Maufroy, *Le philhellénisme franco-allemand*.

events involving Greece by projecting their expectations or (often nostalgic) collective imagination; we are equally attentive to the ways Europeans approached medieval and modern Greek civilisation as part of an extended study of the Hellenic world. To what extent, and in what ways did European societies sustain their concern with the fate of this small nation-state and its people, whose independence they had so recently guaranteed?

The present volume encompasses a long period of time and press coverage by five different countries (France, England, Germany, Holland and Italy), all central, each in its way, in the European cultural realm. Up to now, the study of cultural interaction between Europe and Greece has been variously pursued: consider the rich discussion of the philhellenic phenomenon in its multiple dimensions; the examination of commentaries on Greece provided by various groups of travellers to the country; the examination of historiographic dialogues between European and Greek intellectuals; the research into philosophical, ideological and political influences exercised by significant intellectuals and major literary works (Byron's poems, for instance) on Greek self-perception. To date, while advancing to some extent beyond the narrow national context, such investigations of themes and personalities have been largely restricted either to the period spanning the Enlightenment and the first half of the nineteenth century when the Greek state was consolidated, or to particular case studies.

More recent work, often produced by scholars who contribute to this volume, has attempted to chronologically expand these research areas to the second half of the century or even beyond. Thus, several investigations have focused on the question of intellectual and cultural interaction between Greece and other European countries with primary emphasis on particular intermediaries,[12] while certain others have examined either scholarly networks and the individuals involved in them or cultural practices activated by the transfer of images of modern Greece to Europe.[13]

The volume seeks to account more fully for the mediation of modern Greece to Europe by examining the print media and their functioning as a singularly important channel for the dissemination of ideas across Europe. All nine essays collected here share as their common research focus the public European print space of the second half of the nineteenth century;

12 For instance: Karathanasis, *Η αρχή των νεοελληνικών σπουδών*; Provata, 'Η συμβολή του Δημητρίου Βικέλα στις διαπολιτισμικές σχέσεις Ελλάδας-Γαλλίας'; Mitsou, 'Négoce et transfert culturel'.

13 For instance: Gotsi, 'Οι Νεοέλληνες στον καθρέφτη του ξένου'; Mitsou, 'Δίκτυα (νεο)ελληνιστών και πολιτισμικές μεταφορές στα τέλη του 19ου αι'; Katsigiannis, 'Η παρουσία Γάλλων ελληνιστών στο *Εθνικόν Ημερολόγιον* του Μαρίνου Παπαδόπουλου Βρετού (1863–1871)', and Athini, 'Τα προεπαναστατικά φιλολογικά περιοδικά' on journals as means of cultural exchange.

more specifically of the period from the Crimean War (1853–1856) – with its exceedingly unfavourable outcome to Greece – to the Greco-Turkish War (1897) which ended with another severe defeat for the country contributing to its image in Europe as a dysfunctional state in the Balkans.

The book's overall purpose is to investigate aspects of medieval and modern Greek civilisation and society disseminated in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century, a time when attention to Greece's modern culture was more varied than is generally realised. Separately and as a whole, its chapters point to a significant European interest in the language, literature and culture of the modern Greeks in the five decades under examination. More particular issues explored here involve the factors determining the specific elements of Greek culture that were singled out for mediation, the circumstances of their reception and the political ramifications of the cultural transfer in each case, as well as the mediating activities of certain individuals with special relationships with the press. Some of the information collected and analysed here may already be known to specialists through other studies in the continuously developing field of cultural transfers; many others are dealt with for the first time.

Although each of the case studies featured in the present volume traces particular aspects of modern Greece's projection to European audiences, most of the authors recognise that the 'civilisation of the press',[14] by its very nature, fermented conditions for linguistic border-crossing and recontextualisation: more often than not, items on modern Greece were recycled between various print media, constituted translations, summaries or reports of materials initially produced within a distinct cultural and national frame of reference, or were products of collaboration between individuals of different nationalities. What is more, in many instances perceptions of modern Greek history and culture which appeared in European print media were the outcome of networks of international discourse which shared knowledge, concepts and ideas on modern Greece. In other words, they were already products of a multilateral exchange of thought.

This collective work endeavours to contribute to transfer studies as well as to European historical and literary studies, especially by exploring intellectual networks, an area that has recently aroused the interest of researchers of modern Greek cultural history and transfers between Europe and the Greek world. Despite, or thanks to, its complexity, the study of networks makes it possible for one to grasp concretely the circulation of

14 For the term, see Kalifa *et al.* (eds.), *La civilisation du journal*.

ideas and information within the circles of European Hellenists, intellectuals, illustrious representatives of the Greek diaspora and even, occasionally, of travellers. Indeed, the processes by which these transfers were carried out and the forms of contacts between particular actors who were engaged in them demonstrate that this was an ideological trade that went far beyond the framework of bilateral relations to extend over several national entities, notably Greece, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and the Netherlands. Also, it allows us to observe the bonds of literary or political friendships.

Yet, the scope of the proposed investigation is by no means exhausted in the following pages, nor do the studies here included give a comprehensive picture of the networks of the friends of Greece formed in the second half of the nineteenth century. They do, however, provide a better understanding of how they were built and what kind of activities they undertook. Written in English and French, by researchers in various disciplinary fields, they explore several theoretical and methodological perspectives offering a wide image of current research in the field of cultural transfers between Greece and Europe through the press: images, representations and stereotypes, transfers and mediations, circulation of individual personalities and knowledge, cultural mediators and networks are all avenues that have been explored in order to highlight questions of bilateral and transnational cultural relations.

The press

In recent years, researchers all too often look into the phenomenon of the 'rise of periodical studies'.[15] As it has been noted, nineteenth-century magazines, periodicals and newspapers constituted the main means through which contemporary issues and cultural manifestations, both domestic and foreign, reached not only a 'small and elite intellectual community' who had access to books, but also a diverse general public.[16] Indeed, as mass media, newspapers and magazines of the period were aimed at all types of readers, their audience could be said to approximate the image of a social cross-section of the population. Specifically, it was periodicals that played a broad and active role as cultural mediators between social strata, regional and national entities,[17] endorsed the passage of ideas between disciplines

15 Latham and Scholes, 'The rise of periodical studies'.

16 See the informed discussion with relation to science in Cantor *et al.*, 'Introduction', xvii.

17 Loué, 'Les passeurs culturels au risque des revues'.

and facilitated the transmission, popularisation and in some cases the vulgarisation of scholarly views, scientific knowledge and technological discoveries.[18]

However, to date limited attention has been devoted to the exploration of the European press in relation to Greece. Addressing this research need, six chapters in this book undertake to demonstrate the agency of particular periodicals that formed a key part in European scientific and intellectual exchange, in the dissemination across Europe of ideas and judgements concerning medieval and modern Greece. A common methodological thread runs through the examination of the Dutch multilingual journal *Ελλάς/Hellas* by Lambros Varelas, the Italian *Nuova Antologia* by Francesco Scalora, the French *Revue des Deux Mondes* by Ourania Polycandrioti, the *Nouvelle Revue* by Despina Provata and the British *Academy* by Georgia Gotsi. It involves the systematic and meticulous examination of the journals' contents, a process that helps to unearth and highlight aspects of modern Greek culture engaging the attention of cultivated contributors and audiences. With the same methodological rigor, but from a different perspective, Alexandros Katsigiannis delves into a scholarly journal, the *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France*, as a place of encounter for intellectuals devoted to the study of Greek culture.

Taken together, their analysis shows that interest in things Greek in the second half of the century expanded well beyond the realm of politics, embracing areas of the humanities: the history of language and literature, folklore, history and literature itself. The curiosity of the learned public to which these journals were primarily addressed is reflected in the kind of critical articles, reviews and translations included in their pages. Through their comparative assessment we are better able to identify the vital aspects of the intellectual interaction of European thinkers with Greece: 1) their strong interest in the historical linguistic development of the Greek language and in its dialects; 2) their efforts to establish modern Greek *katharevousa* (an archaic, purified form of Greek) as a global means of communication and to institutionalise the adoption of the modern Greek pronunciation in the teaching of ancient Greek in Europe; 3) the importance they attributed to modern Greek poetry, especially to folk songs and to poems written in various forms of the vernacular, considered to express the authentic spirit of the Greek people; 4) their recognition of certain poets (principally Aristotelis Valaoritis, but also Athanasios Christopoulos, Dionysios Solomos, Georgios

18 For examples, see the essays collected in Henson *et al.*, *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media*; also Chapman, 'Transnational connections'.

Zalokostas, Georgios Vizyinos and Georgios Drosinis) and prose writers (such as Dimitrios Bikelas) as authoritative representatives of modern Greek national literature, as well as accomplished writers worthy of wider European appreciation.

Furthermore, as Christophe Charle has noted, the powerful influence of the press not only informed and affected but also created and disseminated new cultural forms.[19] In this instance it not only provided information about various aspects of Greek cultural activity but also played a major role in shaping public attitudes towards the ever-present question of Greece's cultural development since the post-classical era and its progress since the foundation of the young Greek kingdom. These issues informed the larger controversy concerning the position of the modern Greeks in European civilisation and, by extension, their national aspirations for territorial expansion as well as cultural and political predominance over other Balkan nations. Commentators were far from unanimous, while their stance regarding the modern Greeks, which varied from overtly expressed attitudes to implicit statements, was largely dependent on political preoccupations expressed in their native countries.

The newspaper press, although by its nature less prominent than specialised periodicals as a cultural forum, is also included in the scope of this research; under certain circumstances, especially during wartime, newspapers had a wider and more direct impact upon the public mind in shaping the reception of the foreign. Widely distributed newspapers were also more representative of public opinion than periodicals. **Alceste Sofou** examines such a case. Her chapter looks into the ways French newspapers covered the Cretan Revolution of 1895–1896 leading to the Greco-Turkish War of 1897, which ended with the humiliating defeat of the Greek army and the subjection of the country to international financial control in 1898. She argues that, for the most part, the French press lacked compassion with the suffering of the Christian insurgents in the cause of Crete's union with Greece. Serving as a powerful organ for the expression of French politics in the East, which supported the preservation of the status quo in the Balkans, it gave voice to feelings of disillusionment with a country unable to respond to Western expectations for a 'model state' in the East or for the revival of ancient Greece. Against this background, and offering a varied approach to the question of 'late' philhellenism, Sofou interprets public gestures of material and moral support towards the rebelling Cretans as more indicative of a short-lasting 'crétomanie' than a reignition of philhellenism.

19 Charle, *Le siècle de la presse*.

Francesco Scalora similarly attests to the waning and changing nature of Italian philhellenism in a later period, when different geopolitical interests and irredentist aspirations were diluting the traditional sympathy between the two countries. If in the first phase of the Italian unification movement (up until the early 1860s) Italian philhellenism drew on the appositeness of the Greek Revolution of 1821 as a moral and political template for a country sharing a classical past and also seeking its national independence,[20] in the following decades that inspiration persisted more as a cultural rather than as an ideological attitude. Turning his attention to accounts of the modern Greek world in the three decades between the Cretan Revolutions of 1866 and 1895–1896, Scalora attests to the contradictory or ambiguous nature of writing on modern Greece. Looking into the contents of *Nuova Antologia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, first published in 1866 in Florence as a continuation of the illustrious *Antologia Vieusseux* (1821–1832), a journal instrumental in the development of the Italian philhellenic phenomenon, Scalora discerns both negative criticisms of the Greek state's political instability and corruption as well as a genuine, albeit inconsistent and idiosyncratic, interest in the history of modern Greek literature, in Byzantium as well as in contemporary Greek cultural production. Symptomatic of this sporadic engagement with Greece was the journal's outbursts of philhellenic enthusiasm occasioned by a reactivated Risorgimento spirit during the Cretan Revolution of 1895–1896.

In this late period, nonetheless, can be found a small number of European high-culture periodicals whose engagement with medieval and modern Greece intended or managed to sustain a positive view of modern Greeks in a period when their 'true' identity was under close scrutiny. This positive attitude was often articulated as a confirmation of the common cultural essence linking Greek antiquity with Greek modernity and through this an acknowledgement that the vital intellectual energies of the Greek nation were not exhausted but continued to bear poetic fruits and scholarly products through medieval and into modern times.[21] As **Georgia Gotsi** shows in her investigation of the generalist Victorian periodical *The Academy* (1869–1916), alongside miscellaneous informative pieces on modern Greece, this publication hosted a series of detailed book reviews which familiarised

20 On the particular nature of Italian philhellenism, see Pécout, 'Philhellenism in Italy'.

21 Juliette Adam's perception of Greek poetic genius as a token of national continuity (Basch, *Le Mirage grec*, 228), or Eugène Yéméniz's thought on the presence of the ancient spirit ('génie antique') in the Greek race as a factor securing its intellectual renaissance (Polycandrioti, Chapter 2 in this volume) are indicative of such a perception.

middle-class readers with the latest Western European and Greek research on the language, literature and history of the Greeks in medieval, early modern and recent times.[22] Although contributors to the *Academy* refrained from expressing explicit political views, and despite certain contested ideas regarding the social and cultural conditions in Byzantium and modern Greece, the periodical's sustained discussion of the development of the Greek language and the Greek language question, of vernacular creations since the twelfth century, plus contemporary Greek intellectual activities extended the Victorians' mental exposure to Hellas. The *Academy*'s perspective went beyond reverence for classical Hellas while at the same time not succumbing to contemporary views which tended to belittle the bankrupt condition of Greece. Most of the scholarly pieces featured in the *Academy* instilled in its readers an awareness of Greek cultural continuity from antiquity to the present and were instrumental in cultivating, on the basis of such an awareness, a positive welcome for modern Greeks as a people able to assume their rightful place in modern European civilisation.

The case of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, explored by **Ourania Polycandrioti**, is quite distinct as this journal was in itself a cultural institution which produced symbolic values for its audience.[23] Polycandrioti remarks that the image of Greece reflected by the journal was changeable over its long period of publication from 1829 to 1899 but was always informed by the journal's classicist character, its idealisation of ancient Greece and its attachment to institutionalised French attitudes, all of which led to biased perceptions of modern Hellenism. Until the middle of the century, modern Greece was seen as part of the Western world which shared the precious heritage of Greek antiquity, whereas its depiction in travel narratives and items on the Eastern Question corresponded to the interests of French diplomacy in the Mediterranean. In the second half of the century, and especially in the 1870s, when French foreign policy took a special interest in the inflamed situation in the Balkans, modern Greece was viewed more as part of the composite Balkan world and the cultural genealogy of its inhabitants was questioned, whereas its present reality falling short of its exalted antiquity was often treated as an anticlimax. Philhellenic writings in the journal that countered such criticism continued to orbit within the tradition of European romanticism, searching for living traces of the ancient spirit in folk poetry as well as in a 'bucolic' Greek landscape.

22 On the valuable role of book reviews in cultural transfer, see Thomson and Burrows, 'Introduction', 10–11.

23 Loué, 'Les passeurs culturels au risque des revues', 205.

As **Marilisa Mitsou** also argues, Europe's ardent devotion to Hellas had not necessarily excited a corresponding interest in modern Greece. Although the literary philhellenism[24] of the early nineteenth century had foregrounded the oral traditions of the Greek folk, it had not succeeded in changing the predominant focus of Western European literati who for a long time continued to meditate solely on Greece's ancient past. Although Mitsou, for her part, stresses the reverence of the French for the classical tradition, one, nonetheless, did not have to wait too long for the initiatives undertaken by certain Hellenists before modern Greece, its language and literature could become subjects of enquiry in the 1860s; even then, however, the study of Greek civilisation conformed to the concept of its diachronic unity from ancient to modern times. Such a shift of disposition seems to have been more difficult in Germany, where the 'obsession' with the Greek ideal 'had become part of the national patrimony'.[25] In the country of Winckelmann, as Mitsou explains, the dominant neo-humanism prevented, even up to the 1870s, any autonomous approach to modern Greece, although a number of German scholars had published works relating to the language and folk poetry of the modern Greeks. The reorientation was made possible mainly thanks to the works and teaching of the Byzantinist Karl Krumbacher, founder of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. Concentrating on the period from the end of antiquity to the modern age, the journal played a major role in the treatment of Byzantine and neo-Hellenic studies as an autonomous scholarly field. Innovative both in conception and in its contents, this journal sought the connecting links between medieval times and the contemporary era. Its scholarly nature was confirmed by its international character and the variety of subjects treated, covering as they did a vast research area in the Byzantine and modern period. Strongly defined by its founder's personality, the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* published in its pages articles by numerous European and erudite Greek scholars who shared Krumbacher's views, but inevitably lost its concern for modern and contemporary Greece shortly after his death (1909).

Scholarly journals such as the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, much more than just meeting points of individual research itineraries, were fruitful places for intellectual exchange. In certain cases, as we discuss below, they further promoted the interaction between members of groups and networks with correspondent aspirations. Founded around common interests – or even shared projects – these elective affinities gave rise to learned associations

24 Tolias, 'The resilience', 55.

25 Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, xix.

which strove to diffuse Greek studies in Europe. While in Germany, as Mitsou points out, it took up until World War I for the creation of the first Greco-German association (1914) in other countries, such as France, the ground had been more fertile.

Societies and individual agents

The periodical press offers much evidence for tracing the function of formal and informal scholarly networks as forms of connectivity between individuals and discourses across geographical space. Societies of intellectuals constituted an institutionalised manifestation of such networks and, because of their scholarly status and multinational character, operated as effective cultural agents in disseminating ideas across language boundaries. The role of societies in the process of cultural transfer is best illustrated by the three 'philhellenic' associations studied in this volume: they were products of joint scholarly ventures, financed by ethnic and diaspora Greeks as well as philhellenes, and registered members from different national and diaspora milieux. All three testified to the need for cooperation among European Hellenists, philhellenes and Greeks. **Alexandros Katsigiannis** sheds light on the networks of scholars and merchants who were members of the Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France (founded in 1867 in Paris) and the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies (founded in 1879 in London). Since the late 1850s, the revival of study of Greek folk songs and the rediscovery of Byzantium by European and Greek scholars had supported arguments for Greek historical continuity and had led to the production of many studies and editions of older texts written in the vernacular. Members of the French organisation published in the *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France* (its yearbook, 1868–1887) a series of articles united in their shared goal to promote not only the study of ancient Greece and Byzantium but also that of modern Greek language and literature from the fifteenth century to the present. Articles published by members of the British organisation in its philological organ, the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, reveal an intense interest in archaeological research and classical studies, despite the fact that the journal had intended to study Greek civilisation in its diachrony from antiquity to its 'neo-Hellenic' stage. Mainly due to the efforts of the French network's members and their extensive contacts with Greek and other European scholars, modern Greek studies gradually emerged in Europe as an autonomous research field, independent from the study of ancient Greece.

These two widely and internationally subscribed societies acted as models for the Philhellenic Society of Amsterdam, founded in 1888, and its multilingual organ, the journal *Ελλάς/Hellas* (1889–1897). The Society's main aspiration, the establishment of modern Greek *katharevousa* (an archaic, purified form of Greek used for official and literary purposes) as a global scientific language, adapts a plan previously developed in the circles of Greek and French intellectuals (see Provata below) responding to the era's needs for a means of international communication. **Lambros Varelas**, in his comprehensive treatment of the profile and the objectives of the Society and its journal, discusses the leading role of H.C. Muller in their operation. Similar to other cultural mediators discussed in the present volume (Athini, Provata), Muller mobilised his writing skills, his access to numerous European publications and his network of personal contacts and correspondents to promote this central objective, an integral component of his belief in the regenerative role of Helleno-Christian Greece in the Eastern Mediterranean. The journal was in essence a forum of European-wide exchange as it involved an array of Greek and European scholars who expressed themselves on Greek linguistic and cultural issues and offered a considerable number of literary translations from modern Greek. The inglorious decline of the Society's project indicates the resistance cultural transfer is prone to meet when it is constrained by circumstances and forced to comply with multiple objectives, as the international intersects with the national and the local. Muller's advocacy of *katharevousa* Greek as a world language proved to be detrimental to his own objectives since it generated conflict with the supporters of the demotic (the vernacular Greek). The examination of these societies' journals highlights the particularity of the latter based as it was on one person's and not a team's inspiration. Still, all three cases illustrate how positive representations of modern Greece were created and diffused, running counter to other network-generated patterns such as the disdain for contemporary Greece as a backward country, or as an entity separate from the exquisite admirable civilisational paradigm of antiquity.

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Cultural transfers designate movements that take place across space and time but also particular acts performed by certain mediators or *passeurs culturel*s, shaped by their individual preoccupations and managed by their communication strategies. Thus, a privileged way to gain insight into transfer activities is to focus on the agents, i.e. the cultural mediators who undertake them. As Stefanie Stockhorst stresses, 'the significant processes, especially in

the field of translation, are always carried out and formed by individuals'[26] and as Ann Thomson and Simon Burrows recognise, 'we are still mainly at the stage of studying individual "egocentric" networks, generally centred on particular figures, which provide a valuable insight into their functioning and show their interconnectedness and the ramifications to many different parts of Europe'.[27]

In this line, this volume combines the analysis of periodicals as collective agents of the transmission of images with the study of the role played by specific intellectuals committed to the promotion of a positive mindset towards modern Greece in the third and fourth quarters of the nineteenth century, respectively. Stesi Athini and Despina Provata bring to the foreground two well-known but lesser-studied mediators around whom networks, formal or informal, were woven: the Greek Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos (1828–1871) and the French Juliette Adam (1836–1936), respectively. The mediating activities of a few others, such as the Greek diaspora intellectual Dimitrios Bikelas who collaborated with Adam, and the British classicist and geographer H.F. Tozer, are also discussed in some of the volume's essays. As their cases demonstrate, unlike formal networks such as the scholarly associations discussed by Katsigiannis and Varelas, informal networks were often organised around a central personality acting as a 'go-between' among individuals with common interests. The place and status of each member in these networks as well as the particular exchanges between different agents deserve to be the subject of another study. Still, it is interesting to note that Vretos and Adam, as also Bikelas and Krumbacher, were also members of transnational networks. Exactly by linking bodies and materials derived through different channels, they succeeded in spreading favourable images of Greece in France, when modern Hellenism was met with suspicion, and through France in Europe.

Stessi Athini, more specifically, investigates Vretos's versatile mediating activity as editor of multiple print media and diverse printed publications in French in his capacity as a journalist and diplomatic representative of the Greek state in France. A multilingual public intellectual, Vretos was mainly active in the 1850s and 1860s, a period in which the reception of modern Greece in Europe suffered from the 'miso-philhellenic' climate generated by the Crimean War, and by the hostile reports of French travellers and journalists following Edmond About's devastating account of the country in his *La Grèce contemporaine* (1854). Athini describes Vretos's endless

26 Stockhorst, 'Introduction: Cultural transfer through translation', 25.

27 Thomson and Burrows, 'Introduction', 7.

efforts through a series of print vehicles and via different writing genres to improve the image of modern Greeks by demonstrating the distortions in foreigners' limited perception of Greek social reality, by mobilising French intellectuals in supporting Greek national causes, by documenting the cultural, educational, commercial and material progress of contemporary Greece and by promoting its literary production, arts and crafts.

The author, republican and feminist Juliette Adam offers a comparable example of a conscious cultural mediator, who made strategic use of the socially powerful members of her salon, her own writings as well as of the *Nouvelle Revue* (the well-read international journal she founded) for political purposes. Adam's deep affection for an idealised ancient Greece, portrayed in her novels, ignited her love for modern Greece, which found political expression in her defence of Hellenism and advocacy of Greek irredentist ambitions via the pages of the *Nouvelle Revue.* **Despina Provata**, in a systematic investigation of the periodical's contents in the years between 1879 and 1899, when it was edited by Adam, reveals its pro-Greek inclinations. Promoting the idea of modern Greece's civilising mission in the Balkans, the journal argues for the country's rapid cultural, economic and political progress, placing it among modern European nations. The rehabilitation of Byzantium as an important middle phase in the Greek nation's continuous historical development, affirms its long historical presence (and rights) in this geographical region. The *Nouvelle Revue* also showed an interest in the Greek language question supporting through the pen of Psycharis (Jean Psichari) the use of the demotic as the only vehicle suitable for the construction of a national literature. More forceful was the promotion of modern Greek literature in its pages as a testimony to the unadulterated cultural continuity of the Greek nation. The advertising promotion of Greece as an attractive place with public amenities worth visiting by the common tourist offered yet one more means for promoting its modern character.

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Europeans in the second half of the nineteenth century did not share a common view of Greece. Their reactions to it depended on a variety of particular national, political and social affiliations. The print publications here discussed offered platforms for advancing the study of modern Hellenism and representing the Greeks as people who possessed qualities of character inherited from antiquity and also practical abilities to be allowed a place in modern European civilisation. This book argues that the process of cultural transfer enacted through the print was often an expression of

a 'late'-nineteenth-century philhellenism: a phenomenon which, in this light, could be analysed as a relational system owing to historical factors but rather more to the exchanges of a number of Hellenists, neo-Hellenists, linguists and archaeologists engaged with modern Greece. The discussion of the subject is far from exhaustive and the methods applied to its study vary according to the particularities of the specific topics under examination. Nonetheless, in their multiple links, the chapters of the book bring to the fore a hitherto unnoticed dimension of Europe's perception of Greece. They illustrate a shared will in certain European intellectual circles to adhere to an affirmative approach to modern Greece, which despite everything remained the provenance of Western civilisation all the while aspiring towards the Western model of progress.

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