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Greece and Beyond:

NOTIONS OF IDENTITY in the GREEK WORLD

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Identify Yourself: Shifting identities in a Greece that changes

Demetrios Kritsotakis

Polemon, the 2nd century AD sophist from Laodicea, in his *De Physiognomonica* described the emperor Hadrian's eyes as full of beautiful light, bright, piercing, the signs of a good and spotless character: "sunt certe oculi Hadriani imperatoris huius generis nisi quod luminis pulchri pleni sunt atque charopi acres obtutu, cum inter homines visus non sit quisquam luminosiore praeditus oculo."¹ These characteristics are also identified as the unique features of the Greek race: "oculi umidi charopi valde mobiles multum luminis continens. Hic typus Graecus purus est."² It seems that Hadrian made a striking impression not only on account of his Philhellenism and benefactions to the Greek people, but also on account of his physical appearance, in this case his eyes: large, bright, piercing, full of beautiful light, the characteristics of a true Hellene and Ionian!

A contemporary of Polemon, Favorinus of Arelate, a Hellenized Celt, in *The Corinthian Oration* upbraids the Corinthians for removing his statue, erected by the city. Comparing himself with others honored with a statue by the city in the past, he argues that he deserves such honor because, although a foreigner in origin, he not only pursues the study of the Greek language but also imitates the mind-set and lifestyle of the Greeks: "οὐδὲ τὴν φωνὴν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γνῶμην καὶ τὴν δίαίταν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐζηλωκώς."³

The speaker next turns his audience's attention to principles of Greekness: from the Athenian perspective he is considered a Greek because he atticizes (ἀττικίζει τῇ φωνῇ); like the Lacedaemonians, he shares their passion for exercising (φιλογυμναστῇ); and similar to all Greeks, he pursues wisdom (φιλοσοφεῖ). What comes out of this process is defined as a "product" blessed by the gods (ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν οἶον ἐξεπίτηδες κατεσκευάσθαι)⁴. His speech serves as a reminder of the difference between being or seeming Greek: none, "οὐδὲν τὸ παιδευθῆναι τοῦ φῦναι πρὸς τὸ δοκεῖν διαφέρει."⁵ Favorinus struggles to assert his place among the Greeks and the only way to do this is by pursuing their culture.

Writing in the 2nd century AD, when the Greek world was part of the vast Roman Empire, the two intellectuals continue a long discussion about the issue of identity. From Herodotus' common blood kinship to Isocrates' *paideia*; from Romanized Greeks to the scholars of Constantinople; from the intellectuals of the Greek Enlightenment to modern scholarship, questions relating to the construction of identity and its criteria have led to public and private debates, sometimes intense.

The first among the questions raised attempts to shed light on the psychological aspect of constructing an identity by asking precisely this: why people, individuals or groups, seek an identity, what reasons compel them to identify with or dissociate themselves from other people or groups. Perhaps, through their membership in a group-particularly kinship, religious and class affiliations-individuals are able to acquire, to localize, and to recall their memories⁶. What is remembered is the historical narrative of the community⁷. This discussion sets the foundation for the overall debate and underlines the interdisciplinary aspect of the issue.

Focusing primarily on the notion of national identity, intellectuals, scholars, and common people from past to present have attempted to define themselves both with respect to their past and the "barbarians" surrounding them. What makes some people identifiably Greek, *autochtones* or not, while all the others are labeled, to a larger or lesser degree, *barbaroi*? It is evident from our sources that a number of criteria would be required for an individual or a group, a city or small community, to claim Greek identity: in general, education; also, linguistic criteria, the speaking of the Greek language; culture, defined as knowledge and sharing of common myths, historical past, traditions, religion; genealogy, common ancestry, referring to the Greek origins of a city, its founders, real and mythical, and kinship.

¹ Polemon, *De Physiognomonica* 15,13-16.

² Ibid., 37,30-32.

³ Favorinus, *The Corinthian Oration*, 25

⁴ idem.

⁵ idem.

⁶ P. Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 36.

⁷ Ibid., 46.

Education and language are the key elements that are seen as distinguishing the Greeks from the others but also the barrier that separates the learned, the elite from the masses. Partaking in Greek education and correct use of Greek marginalize all those who are not skilled in them⁸.

The sharing of traditions and historical past, and the participation in their re-enactment, reliving and commemoration are also identified as requirements for anyone who aspires to be a Greek and these factors tend to unite culturally. They underline the cultural differences of the community from other people and at the same time emphasize the social superiority of the elite and highlight the dynamics among the various groups within the community. They become an image of the society.

As a result, the debate shifts focus from the whole to the particular, and the construction of identities of smaller groups within the Greek people becomes the subject of discussion and research. The issue of self-definition and identity of individuals or groups becomes important not only *per se* but also with respect to the coherence and prosperity of the larger community. Scholarship now focuses not only on the ways people define themselves ethnically, but also on other criteria for self-definition including gender, race, religion, social status, and so on. The status of women in Greek society, ancient and modern, the rights of the LGBTQ+ community, the co-existence of and tolerance among religious communities, the place of and rapport among diverse social groups are some of the areas where the notion of identity is being explored.

In this volume, we attempt to contribute to this discussion by presenting a multi-dimensional approach to the issue. The papers presented here explore various forms of identity without chronological or geographical limitations: from the impact of foreign cults on Athenian identity of the classical period to female self-definition through Attic festivals and rituals, and from there to the tension between civilized human and uncultured animal as evidenced in the Attic pottery of the same period; from the study and publication of classical literature as a means to shape national identity in Ottoman Greece in the late 18th century to the role that Christianity-Orthodox and Catholic-plays in Greek identity in the 21st century.

Throughout their long history, the people of the Greek world have acknowledged the peculiar characteristics and strategic importance of their land and the demands and obligations of their selves and of those living on the periphery of their world. Desiring to assert their place in an ever-changing world, they have engaged in a tense negotiation, a dialogue of cultural mapping, of mutual self-definition and maintenance or permeation of boundaries not only with their neighbors, but also among themselves. We hope that this volume will be a productive and positive contribution to this dialogue.

⁸ The impact of this dichotomy was still noticeable in the 20th century when the issue of the *demotike* versus the *katharevousa* language was debated.

Ritual Identity: Women in Ancient Greece

Kelly Platt

The lives and experiences of women were decidedly different from those of ancient Greek men. As men participated in public life and, for a time in Athens, democracy, women were expected to care for the children and weave. Their roles did depend partly on where in Greece they lived as well as their economic status, but more often than not women were expected to stay at home. There was, however, another very important aspect of women's lives, which seems to transcend class and location: religious ritual. Not only were women imperative to a variety of rituals, but these rituals also shaped the lives and identities of ancient women. Whether they allowed women to escape their daily chores or reaffirmed their importance to society, ritual life formed a large part of feminine identity in ancient Greece. It reinforced women's roles as protectors, as creators, and as devout worshippers.

Greek religious ritual, especially the Thesmophoria, allowed women a 'pseudo-citizenship'. In Athens, only Greek men of a certain age could be citizens, and women were in no way afforded the same rights. However, religious practice gave women an opportunity to enter the public sphere and maintain the welfare of the polis - becoming 'citizens for a day' so to speak, rather than 'king for a day.' To see evidence of this, we can look to the Thesmophoria, a festival honoring Demeter. During this three-day festival, the married women of Athens resided in makeshift shelters at the Pnyx, which was the meeting-place of the ecclesia, the assembly of all Athenian citizens.¹ By their very placement in the city, women thus symbolically became 'citizens,' but they imitated the men's ecclesia even further; the Athenian women chose two of their number to lead the Thesmophoria. These women were called 'archousai', the feminine plural form of 'archon', denoting a political position of Athenian men.² Furthermore, an inscription on the subject of the Thesmophoria

uses the word "edoxe" to say "Thus the women decided...", just as many official decrees used the same word to say "Thus the assembly decided..."³ Hence, even in the language surrounding the Thesmophoria, women mimicked the civic lives of men, the 'real' citizens. While Aristophanes' *Women at the Thesmophoria* gives some indication of how men regarded the festival, it also hints at the similarities between the Thesmophoria and the ecclesia. As one woman prepares to speak, the chorus-leader says, "Quiet! Silence! Pay attention, because she's clearing her throat just as the politicians do. It's likely she'll deliver a long speech."⁴ Aristophanes, a comic playwright, obviously meant to poke fun at politicians as well as women with this line, yet it still shows that the activities of the Thesmophoria mirrored those in the ecclesia.

Though the Thesmophoria and ecclesia displayed many similarities in surface form, the idea of pseudo-citizenship extended beyond these. The purpose of the Thesmophoria was to bring fertility to the land and the people of the city.⁵ The details of the ritual were mysterious but definitely included the following. Before the festival, women placed dead piglets and phallic cakes in a cavern or underground chamber. On the third day of the festival, they brought the rotting pieces back to be placed at altars and mixed with seed-corn, then planted.^{6*} This would ensure the success of the crops and reproduction of the people, both of which helped maintain the welfare of the state, much like the ecclesia, as it decided political matters and had the well-being of the polis in mind.⁷ The significance of women's pseudo-citizenship should therefore not be taken lightly. Although women functioned primarily in the domestic sphere, festivals like the Thesmophoria allowed them a taste of public life, a break from their routines, and a chance to be taken somewhat seriously.

Even if Greek men did not acknowledge them as 'citizens' for a day, they had no choice but to accept the importance of women as protectors and overseers of the polis.

Rituals like the Thesmophoria also affirmed the importance of the female body as the source of all life.⁸ Women's participation in the Thesmophoria was so important and so fitting because of Demeter's role as goddess of fertility and harvest. Women were closely associated with the concept of fertility and reproduction, and although they were often ignored in the public sphere, ritual was the one arena in which they were indispensable. Let's look again at the work of Aristophanes, this time *Lysistrata*, in which the chorus of Athenian women remarks:

*For we, all you citizens, have been trying to give advice
Useful to the city;
Naturally, since it reared me splendidly in luxury.
As soon as I was seven years of age
I carried the symbols of Athena Polias;
Then when I was ten years old
I ground the corn for Artemis;
And then I was a bear at the Brauronia,
Wearing the saffron-coloured robe;
And as a beautiful girl I was a basket-carrier with
a necklace of dried figs.
Do I not then owe it to the city to give it some
good advice?
Even if I am a woman, do not begrudge me this,
If I introduce something better than the present
state of affairs.
For I have a share in the contribution - I contribute
men.⁹*

This particular comedy adopts a perspective on women different from Aristophanes' *Women at the Thesmophoria*. While *Women at the Thesmophoria* emphasizes negative views of womanhood and does not offer an opportunity for admiration or sympathy, *Lysistrata* does almost exactly the opposite; the play reinforces the importance of women to the polis even in their traditional roles as wives, mothers, and household managers.¹⁰ In the excerpt above, Aristophanes also emphasizes women's ritual significance, listing various positions women could hold throughout their lives:

serving as 'arrhephoroi' by tending Athena's sacred olive tree and weaving, acting as 'bears', or 'arktoi', at the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, and becoming 'kanephoroi', or vessel bearers.¹¹ Aristophanes highlights women's reproductive role as well; women produce all human life and as such should be afforded a voice within the polis even if they could only achieve some semblance of public life through religious rituals.

The Thesmophoria similarly reinforces and confirms the importance of women's bodies and their role in reproduction. As mentioned earlier, part of the festival included placing piglets and phallic cakes in an underground chamber. Pigs were included not only because of their breeding habits but also because the word for piglet, 'choiros', was a slang term for vagina. Thus, as the piglets were deposited with the cakes, representative of the phallus, the ritual mimicked intercourse through the combination of male and female genitalia.¹² Such rituals thereby reaffirmed the reproductive, life-giving aspect of feminine identity.

In addition, religious ritual provided women with agency and an outlet for self-expression beyond societal expectations. As Carol P. Christ states, "Religion fulfills deep psychic needs by providing symbols and rituals that enable people to cope with crisis situations in human life (death, evil, suffering) and to pass through life's important transitions (birth, sexuality, death)."¹³ Greek rituals often centered around transitional periods like childbirth, puberty, marriage, and death. These events are fraught with emotions, and religious ritual gave Greek women an outlet to express how they felt. For example, though scholars know little about the actual events of the Eleusinian Mysteries, they are fairly confident that the ritual included the reenactment of Persephone's, or Kore's, abduction.¹⁴

The myth of Demeter and Persephone, as told in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, is as follows. Demeter's daughter Persephone, while picking flowers, is abducted by Hades, god of the underworld, an event known as 'the rape of Persephone'.¹⁵ Demeter searches far and wide for her daughter, often beseeching other gods to

⁸ See Carol P. Christ, "Why Women need the Goddess," in Carol P. Christ *Laughter of Aphrodite: Reflections on a Journey to the Goddess* (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1987):123. Christ here gives a sociological, theoretical view on the importance of the goddess which pertains to various religions.

⁹ Aristophanes *Lysistrata*, lines 638-51, quoted in Matthew Dillon and Lynda Garland, *Ancient Greece: Social and Historical Documents from Archaic Times to the Death of Socrates* (London: Routledge, 2000): 3.61.

¹⁰ Jeffrey Henderson, *Three Plays by Aristophanes. Staging Women* (New York: Routledge:1996): 90-91.

¹¹ Price, *Religions*, 90-94.

¹² Blundell, *Women in Ancient Greece*, 164.

¹³ Christ, *Laughter of Aphrodite*, 118.

¹⁴ Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, *Tragedy and Athenian Religion* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003): 29.

¹⁵ The use of 'rape' here does not necessarily mean forcible sexual relations, though these may be included. 'Rape' comes from the Latin word 'rapio' meaning to seize. Persephone has thus been seized or stolen by Hades.

¹ Simon Price, *Religions of the Ancient Greeks* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 99.

² Barbara Goff notes that the term 'archousai' is found in an inscription regarding the Thesmophoria. Barbara Goff, "The Priestess of Athena Grows a Beard: Latent Citizenship in Ancient Greek Women's Ritual Practice," in *The Sacred and the Feminine: Imagination and Sexual Difference*, ed. Griselda Pollock and Victoria Turvey-Sauron (London: I B Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2007): 52.

³ Goff, "Priestess of Athena," 52.

⁴ Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria*. 421-423.

⁵ Goff, "Priestess of Athena," 51.

⁶ Sue Blundell, *Women in Ancient Greece* (London: British Museum, 1995): 164.

⁷ Blundell, *Women in Ancient Greece*, 164.

tell her where Persephone has gone, and when she cannot find her, Demeter becomes mournful and refuses to provide proper warm weather. In the interim, Demeter has her own 'adventures' and demands worship at Eleusis. Finally, she finds her daughter, but only after Persephone has eaten food of the underworld, specifically the seeds of a pomegranate. The number of seeds varies by account, but Demeter and Hades agree that however many seeds Persephone has eaten, she must spend the same number of months in the underworld, creating winter from Demeter's sadness during this time. When Persephone returns, spring then begins due to Demeter's joy at her daughter's return.¹⁶

This tale resonated with many Greek women coping with the marriage, and thus loss, of their daughters, much like Demeter mourned the loss of her daughter to a male god. The Eleusinian Mysteries thereby provided an outlet for women in particular to express their hopes and fears for themselves and their daughters. Though the Mysteries were open to both genders, women seem to have had a more active role. In the reenactment of the rape of Persephone, one of two things happened: a joint priestess of Demeter and Persephone would play Persephone and a male religious official would play Demeter, or both parts were played by female religious officials.¹⁷ Women thus reinforced their roles as wives and mothers but also expressed the sadness that can accompany these.

Women also demonstrated their "autonomous agency" in the Thesmophoria.¹⁸ As shown in Aristophanes' *Women at the Thesmophoria*, the festival was often associated with violence against men.¹⁹ Although this view is an expression of male fears of female power, the women at the Thesmophoria were fiercely protective of their semi-secret rituals and took the 'no men allowed' rule very seriously, sometimes to the point of violence. Pausanias relays one account in which the Messenians attempted to attack the women at Laconia:

Aristomenes and his men knowing that the women were keeping festival there...the women were inspired by the goddess to defend themselves,

*and most of the Messenians were wounded with knives with which the women sacrificed the victims and the spits on which they pierced and roasted the meat. Aristomenes was struck with the torches and taken alive.*²⁰

The women represented here were indeed in imminent danger as the Messenians meant to attack them, and such fiercely protective and violent behavior seems to have been out of the ordinary. However, the festival gave these women a chance to congregate, and because they did, they were able to overpower the Messenians as they could not have done individually. This scene shows how truly seriously women took their religious role, confirming that ritual was a significant and indispensable aspect of the lives of ancient women.

One final very important part of feminine identity in ancient Greece was the worship of Dionysus. Women were considered the primary worshippers of the Bacchic god, which was somewhat abnormal in Greek ritual surrounding a male god.²¹ Again, we must turn to Greek drama for more information, this time to a tragedy by Euripides. Most are familiar with the *Bacchae* and its plot: Dionysus comes to Thebes, driving the women of the city, including the former King Kadmos' daughters, into a frenzy. Pentheus, grandson of Kadmos, refuses to pay respect to the god Dionysus, and by the end of the play Pentheus' own mother has impaled his head on a stake. The gender-bending bits of the play happen in the middle. Pentheus resists the worship of Dionysus and certainly pays the price, but in the lead-up to his death, he hallucinates, cross-dresses, and intrudes on the women's 'festival'. Although it was not uncommon for deniers of Dionysus to experience madness and a loss of identity, this suggests that someone who properly worshipped him, though in frenzied fashion, would maintain and strengthen their identity.²² While this may seem paradoxical or irrational, that was also the point. Men like Pentheus could not expect Greek polytheism to uphold reason above all at all times. It had to accommodate the irrational, the wild-the feminine.²³ Again the idea that women are detrimental to society reappears here, yet

Greek men had to accept it for fear of losing themselves like Pentheus.

Perhaps such men, like Pentheus, suspected the more secret rituals to include sexual deviance. Let's look to Euripides again to see what the women of the *Bacchae* were really doing according to a messenger:

All were asleep, their bodies relaxed, some resting their backs against pine foliage, others laying their heads at random on the oak leaves, modestly, not as you say drunk...hunting out Aphrodite...

*[Agave] raised a cry...to wake their bodies from sleep, when she heard the lowing of the horned cattle. And they, casting off refreshing sleep from their eyes, sprang upright, a marvel of orderliness to behold, old, young, and still unmarried virgins. First they let their hair loose over their shoulders, and secured their fawn-skins...girding the dappled hides with serpents licking their jaws. And some, holding in their arms a gazelle or wild wolf-pup, gave them white milk, as many as had abandoned their new-born infants and had their breasts still swollen.*²⁴

²⁴ Euripides *The Bacchae*, trans. T.A. Buckley (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1850), lines 683-702. <https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0092>

²⁵ Anselm C. Hagedorn, "The Role of the Female Seer/Prophet in Ancient Greece," in *Prophets Male and Female: Gender and Prophecy in the Hebrew Bible, the Eastern Mediterranean and the Ancient Near East*, ed. Jonathan Stökl and Corinne L. Carvalho (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013):105.

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¹⁶ *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*

¹⁷ Sourvinou-Inwood, *Tragedy and Athenian Religion*, 29.

¹⁸ Goff, "Priestess of Athena," 49.

¹⁹ Goff, "Priestess of Athena," 54

²⁰ Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 4.17.1. in *Pausanias: Complete Works* (Hastings: Delphi Classics, 2014).

²¹ Deborah Lyons, *Gender and Immortality: Heroines in Ancient Greek Myth and Cult* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Uni-versity Press, 1997): 115.

²² Lyons, *Gender and Immortality*, 107.

²³ Page DuBois, *A Million and One Gods: The Persistence of Polytheism* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2014): 67.

Losing My Religion in a Growing Empire: Introduction of Foreign Cults and Athenian Identity

Jamie Dawes

Athens did not lack its fair share of foreign deities and religions. Indeed, from the fifth century BC onwards, the city seemed to embrace quite a few new foreign cults. Although varied in their respective cult spheres and coming from Egypt, Boeotia, and Thrace (to name but a few locations), many of these cults were introduced into the Athenian religious territory to serve a significant political purpose: building temples and encouraging the celebration of the foreign deities in Athens demonstrated the extent of Athens' political domain as well as securing peaceful and instrumental economic allies. But how did the introduction of these cults affect the established identity of the Athenians? Many connections were fueled by the current events of the fifth century, which necessitated the formation of ties, and among these events the Peloponnesian War was the most prominent. Interestingly, many of the foreign cults were also connected to each other and to the local cults set up in their respective areas. Arguably, the religious identity of Athenians cannot be considered separately from their political or social identity. In proper Greek fashion, the Greeks aligned the rites and characterization of the foreign deities with their own familiar pantheon, most likely in an effort to have the new deity appeal to a wider Athenian audience. This habit was especially useful if the new deity shared many of the same functions as the local deity, as in the case of Bendis and Artemis or Asclepius and Herakles. In any case, the influx of foreign deities into Athens demonstrated the growing influence of the city over many regions of ancient Greece.

A major cult introduced into Attica, specifically into the Piraeus area, was that of the Thracian goddess Bendis. Her cult was formally recognized in Athens around 429 BCE after the commencement of the Peloponnesian War. Treasury accounts of the so-called Other Gods in Athens included reports of deposits from the cult of Bendis and

even imply that this cult was lending money in Athens, having become a sect of significance.¹ Bendis' presence was formally sanctioned by Athens, as seen in an inscription on three stones found in the location of the cult - near the Mounychia hill in Piraeus - which outline a decree by the Athenian ecclesia.² The inscription confirms that the "Thracians alone, above all other recognized tribes" were permitted a piece of land on which to build a temple and hold a procession.³ The granting of a piece of land for religious purposes was not especially common in Athens. The festival of Bendis, the Bendideia, believed to have been held on the 19th of Thargelion and lasting into the next night, began with a procession leading from the Prytaneion and ending in Piraeus. Perhaps the best and most well-known description of the festival occurs in Plato's *Republic*; the festival itself provides the setting for the dialogue between Socrates and Glaucon and they describe the procession in detail.⁴ The two men arrive in Piraeus at night because Socrates wants to both "pray to the goddess and at the same time [see] in what way they would conduct the festival, since this was the first time it was being celebrated" (327a1-3).⁵ This description vividly illustrates the welcome of a foreign deity and the intrigue felt by a prominent Athenian, and it probably also represented the mindset of the majority of citizens.

The cult procession was split, probably intentionally, between the resident Thracian community and the Athenians who became devotees of the foreign goddess; the latter were the followers who traveled from the Prytaneion.⁶ This was a deliberate maintenance of distinct ethnic groups, but there was still an Athenian interest in the foreign deity and religion itself. The presence of the Thracian community (often referred to as 'orgeones', meaning specific societies that worshipped a deity or hero) and in effect of the later Bendis cult in Piraeus can be

explained by the political atmosphere of the time. The Thracian settlement may have resulted from the prospering and friendly trade that developed between Athens and Thrace.⁷ An alliance had been struck between the Thracian king Sitalkes and Athens, chiefly in order for the latter to gain the territories around Chalcis.⁸ The introduction of Bendis' cult must have been an honorable method of solidifying and supporting the relationship between the countries and the people themselves. The state-sanction of Bendis' cult was also indicative of the development of another beneficial relationship, that between Athens and Dodona. The sanction of the cult needed oracular approval, yet tensions were present between Delphi and Athens in the midst of the Peloponnesian War. It was therefore necessary for the Athenians to consult the oracle of Zeus at Dodona, and having received a positive response, the relationship between the two areas (Athens and Dodona) was strengthened.⁹

Thrace, of course, was not only a strategic territory to command under Athenian rule, but was also crucial for the trade routes that connected Athens to greater expanses of agricultural land. Food supplies were imported to Athens through Thrace and it was therefore necessary to preserve these routes, especially as Athens lacked significant quantities of arable land and depended heavily on imported food. There was hence the need to maintain friendly relations, particularly as the Peloponnesian War exhausted Athens, and the state sanction must have made it easier for the citizen population to accept a foreign deity into their personal lives. Indicative of the aforementioned dependence on the food trade, Bendis' festival coincided approximately with the Attic harvest, occurring around late May (Thargelion in the Attic calendar).¹⁰ This was perhaps another deliberate move to assimilate the goddess into everyday Athenian life.

As mentioned earlier, the ancient Greeks were in the habit of aligning their local, familiar deities with the new, foreign deities. Bendis is a particularly good example of this custom in terms of both the physical location of her cult and the nature of her godhood. The cult of Bendis was

situated on the Mounychia hill, directly next to the sanctuary of Artemis, who also takes her epithet from this hill. While Bendis and Artemis were already acknowledged as being similar, it is perhaps the nature of the specific symbolism of Artemis that makes the connection so strong.¹¹ Artemis Mounychia's festival rites were held under the full moon and included a procession with torches, thereby resembling both the rites of the protector deity Hecate and the evening horse race of Bendis. This aspect of Artemis' rites is also closely linked to the rites at Brauron, another significant cult for young, unmarried girls. With this connection in mind, Janouchová concludes that "the physical proximity of the Bendis temple to that of Artemis Mounychia, and the similarity of festival activities...suggests a closeness in the orientation of these cults, one which is an essential consideration for any exploration of the cult of Bendis in a foreign context."¹² In such ways, the Athenians assimilated the foreign deity. In essence, they made the goddess familiar to themselves and their own religious identity. Finally, both Bendis and Artemis are also goddesses of the hunt and the moon, deal principally in the blessing and protection of women, and were seen as liminal deities, separating the untamed nature of young girls from their eventual married and domestic life.

In addition to the cults of Artemis Mounychia and Artemis Brauron (the latter of which was also brought onto the Acropolis to mirror its originator), another Artemis cult was brought into the Athenian religious and physical territory from outside. The cult of Artemis Tauropolos at Halai Araphenides (six kilometers from Brauron) was pulled into the Athenian sphere due to its strategic placement on liminal territory. Tauris was on the coast of the Black Sea, which Athens depended on for trade in grain. In relation to the cult, McInerney stresses that "one context would be a growing interest on the part of the Athenians in Tauris. Increased contact, resulting from more Athenians sailing more often to [modern day] Ukraine, might understandably result in an urge to propitiate the goddess by giving her a home on Attic soil, thereby connecting the two regions."¹³ Very much like the

¹ Christopher Planeaux, "The Date of Bendis' Entry into Attica," *The Classical Journal* 96, no 2 (2000): 169.

² Planeaux, "The Date of Bendis' Entry," 168.

³ *Ibid.*, 171.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 167.

⁵ Stanley Rosen, *Plato's Republic: A Study* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2005): 19.

⁶ Herbert William Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977): 149.

⁷ Parke, *Festivals*, 149.

⁸ Petra Janouchová, "The Cult of Bendis in Athens and Thrace," *Graeco-Latina Brunensia*. 18, no. 1 (2013): 96.

⁹ Parke, *Festivals*, 149.

¹⁰ Parke, *Festivals*, 152.

¹¹ Janouchová, "The Cult of Bendis," 99.

¹² *Ibid.*, 99.

¹³ Jeremy McInerney, "'There Will Be Blood...': The Cult of Artemis Tauropolos at Halai Araphenides," in *Cities Called Athens: Studies Honoring John MCK Camp*, ed. Kevin F. Daly and Lee Anne Richardi (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2015): 302.

Bendis cult, the cult of Artemis Tauropolos was of major value in securing the safety of trade routes that brought much-needed food supplies to Athens. In contrast to the ceremonies for girls performed at Brauron, Halai was a liminal space used to mark the initiation of boys.¹⁴ The physical act of being able to affirm one's identity as an adult on Athenian soil was very powerful, and it would have been useful and significant to the state for young citizens to be able to assert themselves as true Athenians. However, by importing these cults and giving them state-sanction, Athens could also maintain friendly and peaceful alliances with the territories from whence the deities originated, as well as providing religiously marginal spaces for their youths to achieve adulthood as Athenians rather than within foreign contexts.

Another foreign cult that perhaps enjoyed even greater significance in the religious sphere is the cult of Asclepius from Epidaurus. The introduction of his cult was contemporary with the introduction of Bendis: Asclepius came from Epidaurus around 420/19 BCE on the 18th Boedromion. His temple and altar on the south slope of the Acropolis were set up by Telemachus, a private donor who claimed to have brought Asclepius to Athens himself around the same time.¹⁵ Presumably the cult was imported because of the peaceful relationship between Epidaurus and Athens, specifically during the Peace of Nicias (421-414 BCE), or perhaps it was introduced in response to the several plagues that had ravaged Athens during the Peloponnesian War. There is no ancient source that attests to the importation, however, except for the Telemachus monument.¹⁶ Many of the healing properties and responsibilities of other deities, such as Athena Hygieia, Apollo, and even Herakles, who was worshipped near the Asklepieion, were transferred to the new cult of Asklepieios. This sort of blending of the deities is, of course, familiar from the example of Bendis and Artemis; the deity became less foreign and 'scary' and was then something the Athenians could accept as their own.

Although Athens sided with Argos against Epidaurus in 418 BCE, thereby effectively ending the peaceful Athens-Epidaurus relationship, the cult was already safely established in Athens.¹⁷ Indeed, despite the tension that undoubtedly existed between Epidaurus and Athens at this time, the cult became deeply rooted in Athenian religion, developing connections with the two greatest festivals: the Eleusinian mysteries and the City Dionysia. Asclepius himself was initiated into the mysteries. According to his mythology, he came to Athens "at the time of the Great Mysteries to the Eleusinion and sent for his snake from home and brought it thither on a chariot when they were met by Telemachus...Hygieia...came with him and thus there was founded all this sanctuary in the archonship of Astyphilos (420/19 BC)."¹⁸ According to the myth, Asclepius was late to the mysteries, but they were performed for him again, which therefore provides "a mythical justification for any other would-be initiates who had started belatedly on the ceremonies."¹⁹ In essence, this mythical justification was also for foreigners, securing their ability to participate in the Athenian controlled rituals. In addition, Parke argues that Telemachus himself, if he summoned a snake from 'home' was probably from a preeminent Epidaurian family; thus, Asclepius would have been first introduced to Athens by a foreign visitor.²⁰

While mythological explanation offers one reason for the aforementioned process of integration, archaeological evidence may provide another. Lefantzis and Jensen provide some chronology of the sanctuary of Asclepius based on the architectural remains of the building: "The altar was set up by Telemachus when the sanctuary was founded in 420 BC...Since such an important structure would surely have received mention somewhere in the inscription, a temple must have been erected to house the cult statue in 414/3 BC."²¹ With such a lapse in time between the foundation of the sanctuary and the actual construction of the building, it is plausible that the cult statue had to be held somewhere else until the sanctuary was completely finished. Considering the

time of Asclepius' arrival, the sanctuary of Demeter may have been just the place to store the god's cult statue. Indeed, a relief found in the Asklepieion even depicts the god in the presence of the two older goddesses among devotees.²²

It is also important to note that as a relatively new god, Asclepius did not usually possess his sanctuary just for himself. His sanctuaries often shared cult space with other deities as he was accommodated within previous or already existing cults.²³ This seems to illustrate a 'soft' transition into the established Athenian religion; the foreign deity made peace with the locals in order to be fully assimilated. In the case of the Athenian Acropolis, Asclepius may have shared his space with Herakles Alexikakos. Herakles was worshipped as a healing divinity throughout Greece and was often paired with Asclepius; Aristides even refers to him as "Paeon Herakles Asklepios."²⁴ In Athens, Herakles was worshipped from at least the early fifth century as a healing deity against plague: "a scholium on the text of Aristophanes' *Frogs* (ad501) reports that a statue of Herakles Alexikakos was set up in the sanctuary of Herakles in Melite, a deme of Athens, in response to plague."²⁵ It is therefore apparent that Herakles was the principal healing deity in Athens until the arrival of Asclepius, when the two cults had to share both physical and religious spatial contexts, which led to their successful blending of identity.

The second great festival that included Asclepius was the City Dionysia, Dionysus' sacred and older festival. The second festival of Asclepius, the Asklepieia, was held roughly six months after the Epidauria, the primary festival of Asclepius, which occurred in the middle of the Eleusinian mysteries. The Asklepieia was held on the day of the "Preliminary to the Contest," and probably included a large sacrifice and shared meal afterwards.²⁶ The ties between Asclepius and Dionysus Eleutherius are perhaps more obvious than those between Asclepius and Demeter; their sanctuaries are located extremely close to one another, with Asclepius' sanctuary on the south slope of the Acropolis located almost

directly above the Theater of Dionysus. However, Parke argues that the connection between the two might have something to do with Sophocles, who was preeminent in the theater and thus might have arranged an association between the two gods.²⁷ Allan relates how some ancient sources (later than the Telemachus monument) say that Sophocles "received the god in his own house and established an altar; and for this reason he was called Dexion [after his death]."²⁸ Reports of a group of orgeones of a hero healer Amynos, Asclepius and Dexion, suggest that Sophocles may indeed have belonged to the older healer-hero cult and was therefore ready and willing to welcome the new god of healing.²⁹ Not only do these sources indicate another possibility as to where the cult statue was housed until completion of Asclepius' own sanctuary, but they also provide another example of a prominent Athenian accepting a foreign deity. In view of this, it would have been acceptable to the citizen body to also accept the deity as their own.

Of course, with some foreign deities brought into Athens, the purpose of importation is far less clear. One such mystery surrounds the cult of Meter, also known as Kybele or Magna Mater, which was prevalent in the metroon or old bouleuterion in the Agora. Meter was a goddess of Phrygian origin, and was possibly brought into Athens by one of her eunuch priests in the fifth century BC.³⁰ The last polytheist emperor Julian records the circumstances of Meter's entry into the Athenian Agora in his essay "To the Mother of the Gods", and he reports that the Athenians drove out a "Phrygian Man" called Gallus (the name given to all eunuch priests of Meter) or Metragyrtes.³¹ Other sources claim that the man was killed by the Athenians and because of this sin, they built the council house sanctuary of Meter inside their old bouleuterion in atonement, erecting it essentially over the spot they had killed him.³² The name of the building was thus changed to the metroon, or Shrine of the Mother. Why exactly she was placed here is not clear. As Munn notes, the "image of the Mother of the Gods was enthroned

¹⁴ McInerney, "There will be blood...", 309.

¹⁵ Michaelis Lefantzis and Jesper Tae Jensen. "The Athenian Asklepieion on the South Slope of the Akropolis: Early Development, ca. 420-360 B.C.," in *Aspects of Ancient Greek Cult: Context, Ritual and Iconography (Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity)*, ed. Jesper Tae Jensen, George Hinge, Peter Schultz and Bronwen Wickkiss (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press 2009): 101.

¹⁶ Mark Beumer, "Hygieia. Identity, Cult and Reception," *Kleio-Historia* no. 3 (2016): 12.

¹⁷ Parke, *Festivals*, 64.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 64.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 178.

²¹ Lefantzis and Jensen, "The Athenian Asklepieion," 101.

²² Parke, *Festivals*, 180.

²³ R. A. Tomlinson, *Greek Sanctuaries* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976): 97.

²⁴ Aristides in Christine A. Salowey, "Sophokles' *Philoctetes*: The Cult of Herakles Dramatized," in *Cities Called Athens: Studies Honoring John McK Camp*, ed. K.F. Daly and L.A. Richardi (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2015): 377.

²⁵ Salowey, "Sophokles' *Philoctetes*", 377.

²⁶ Parke, *Festivals*, 135.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 135.

²⁸ William Allan, "Religious Syncretism: The New Gods of Greek Tragedy," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 102 (2004): 137.

²⁹ Parke, *Festivals*, 185.

³⁰ Mark H. Munn, *The Mother of the Gods, Athens, and the Tyranny of Asia: A Study of Sovereignty in Ancient Religion* (California: University of California Press, 2006): 59.

³¹ Julian *Orations* 5.1 59a-b.

³² Photius *Lexicon*.

at the very heart of the deliberative institution that guided the sovereignty of the Athenian people.”³³ For these people, Meter was equivalent to Rhea, Demeter, or even Ge, the earth itself, thus creating a powerful connection to Athenian religious identity. While the accounts of the “Phrygian man” may seem circumstantial or even mythological (Parke rejects them as solid evidence for Meter’s entry into Athens)³⁴, the timing of Meter’s placement coincides with the time when Athens was developing into a relatively cosmopolitan city in the fifth century BCE. While her location is ambiguous, the effect of her being placed in a state building of the Agora meant she was symbolic of the democratic or political power that Athens was wielding over most of the Mediterranean lands.

As Athens expanded in power and political influence across ancient Greece, the city itself became a sort of melting pot of foreigners. This development could have preceded (or even necessitated) the integration of foreign customs and religion into Athenian identity. Many of these foreigners could have immigrated to Athens on account of the relations between the flourishing city and their own homelands. In an attempt to

solidify the relationship, or perhaps pacify the country of origin, Athens would sanction a foreign cult as part of their state religion and allow certain religious freedoms for the newcomers. Anyone ‘useful’ to Athens was sucked into their physical sphere; basically, they had to look as flexible as possible after their loss of financial and political strength from the Peloponnesian War. The Athenian public would then attempt to familiarize the strange deity; this could have been done in an effort to ‘tame’ the foreign deity and make it appear less barbarian or to make the newcomer simply more appealing to the Athenian populace. The latter may explain the fact that the importation of the deities often resulted in some overlapping of both sanctuaries and religious functions. If the new god or goddess shared many common traits with an already familiar and established deity, it seemed logical to synthesize them or even combine the physical cult space, as discussed with the cult of Asklepios. The most important thing to conclude from the importation of these cults is that as Athens continued to influence the lands it came into contact with, so did the people and religion of those lands shape Athens.

³³ Munn, *The Mother of the Gods*, 57.

³⁴ Ibid., 57.

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Born to Be Wild: Navigating the Dionysiac Satyr’s Violation of Social Custom

Margaret Corn

The ancient Greek symposium, a wine-infused event in which aristocratic men “drank together, conversed, and enjoyed themselves in a convivial atmosphere,”¹ presented an essential conflict for its attendees. On the one hand, the enlightened discussion and close engagement with the arts exemplified the intellectual freedom of the Greek male: a space closed off to female attendees², the symposium functioned as a “center for the transmission of traditional values,”³ allowing participants to partake in activities that, while leisure, still reinforced and reflected contemporary ideas of social custom and behavior. For the male, these “traditional values” centered around the concept of *sophrosyne*, or “sobriety and self-control,”⁴ which philosophers such as Heraclitus considered to be “the greatest virtue” (Σωφρονεῖν ἀρετὴ μέγιστη)⁵. On the other hand, the debauchery that necessarily accompanied the event challenged this *sophrosyne*, as the Greek male, in his drunken state, had the potential to succumb to base behaviors opposed to the ideals extolled by the symposium. In this way, the construction of the symposium around *sophrosyne* positioned attendees on a precarious existential binary straddling the two extremes of male behavior, with virtue on one side and immoderation on the other.

In depicting this fundamental anxiety, Attic pottery had to navigate the imaginal standard of the Athenian male, properly cautioning him with respect to the boundary of *sophrosyne* without visually linking violent excess or intemperance with the muscular nude form of the quintessential hero. I argue that the artistic remedy lay in the figure of the wild and drunken Dionysiac satyr, which adorns many of the “symposium vessels that included wine coolers, jugs, various drinking cups, and mixing vessels,”⁶ reflexively imitating the drinking symposiast. Unlike other mythological human/animal hybrids, the satyr stands upright on two legs, thereby possessing a human-like functionality and mobility. As a result, the satyric form was a tangible place of tension, onto which the Athenian male could project angst about the deterioration and corruption of his own customs, civility, and strength (as evidenced through violence) since his connection to the satyr by way of bodily figure suggested an improper or worrisome affinity between the two. Satyrs were subject to the ideal aesthetic of the Athenian male because they were an *extension* of him: under the influence of Dionysus and alcoholic mania, the satyr became the inebriated Greek, confined to yet grossly deviant from ideal culture and the norms of civilization.

¹ Department of Greek and Roman Art, “The Symposium in Ancient Greece.” Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002.

² While females (of a specific type) were physically present at the symposium, they were there exclusively in a ‘professional’ context: as Jennifer Neils notes in “Others Within the Other: An Intimate Look at Hetairai and Maenads,” in *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, ed. Beth Cohen, (Koninklijke Brill NV: Leiden, The Netherlands, 2000), the *hetairai* (“companion”) were “flute girls, dancers, fellow *kottabos* players, drinkers, and ultimately sex partners...[and were] ubiquitous in Attic vase painting, notably on vessels used at the symposium” (208). It is valid to proclaim that the symposium is a male-only space since the only participants (i.e., those who directly engaged in the conversation) in a symposium were male.

³ Department of Greek and Roman Art, “The Symposium.”

⁴ Carson, Anne, “Putting Her in Her Place: Women, Dirt, and Desire,” in *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. David M. Halperin, John J. Winkler and From I. Zeitlin (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990): 142; Carson identifies the closest English translation of *sophrosyne* (σωφροσύνη), but the word, in effect, is not fully translatable. Carson alludes to this idea by showing how the meaning of the word changes when applied to the female gender: “feminine *sophrosyne* always includes, and is frequently no more than, chastity” (142).

⁵ Heraclitus, “ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ” in Hippocrates, Heraclitus, *Nature of Man. Regimen in Health. Humours. Aphorisms. Regimen 1-3. Dreams. Heraclitus: On the Universe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931). The full section reads, “To have *sophrosyne* is the greatest virtue, and wisdom is to speak and to produce truth after listening to nature” (Σωφρονεῖν ἀρετὴ μέγιστη· καὶ σοφίη ἀληθεῖα λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν κατὰ φύσιν ἐπαίοντας).

⁶ Department of Greek and Roman Art, “The Symposium”.

Before examining the aesthetic link between the Athenian male and the satyr, it is necessary to examine the background of the satyr, both with respect to a historical timeline and the figure's trans-medium depictions. Satyrs first appear in Attic art (as "virtually the earliest depictions of Dionysus or satyrs in any medium")⁷ in approximately 580 BCE. This time was contemporary with a significant political shift in Athens, namely Solon's Laws, though the date of their release has been debated.⁸ While a significant number of Solon's Laws focused on Athenian economic reform (Solon "substitute[d] the lighter Euboean stater for the heavier Aeginetan as the official currency of Attica"⁹), they also examined virtue and the role of the Athenian male citizen. In one of the fragments, Solon frames morality in economic terms to allude to its security:

πολλοὶ γὰρ πλουτεῦσι κακοί, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ πένονται·
ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς οὐ διαμεριζόμεθα
τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλοῦτον· ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ,
χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἅλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.
(Plutarch, *Lives*, Solon, III.)

For many bad men are wealthy, and many good men are poor.

*But we will not exchange with them
virtue for wealth since one is always secure
and money changes owners.*

Virtue is not subject to "exchange" because it is absolute in its goodness and its ability to properly classify "good men" (whereas wealth can be had by both bad and good men alike). In this way, Solon constructed virtue as the highest standard of citizenship and, given that symposia were "center[s] for the transmission of traditional values," the goodness of virtue would have been of critical importance to symposiasts both in relation to the content of the celebration and in relation to personal comportment during the event. After the release of Solon's Laws, the latter would have been psychologically complex when seen within the context of the political state:

"So long as there is a state, the integral of these particular distinctions exists as its *otherness*, or

opacity, rendering each person a relative stranger to all others outside of immediate networks of affiliation, and thereby creating the necessary, although not the sufficient, condition for the emergence of estranged and conflicted self-consciousness."¹⁰ In other words, the state constructs citizenship around a binary in which it is necessary to conform to the proclaimed societal values at the risk of being socially ostracized. The "conflicted self-consciousness" thus arises from a heightened anxiety surrounding one's own citizenship and comportment relative to an exterior ideal.

This Solonian tension is perhaps most evident in the symposium environment: a substitute for the Athenian male, the satyr confirms the anxiety surrounding citizenship, as he violates the virtuous standard and social customs set by Solon's Laws by means of his drunken state. But since the "male nature credit[s] itself with possessing sufficient sobriety and self-control to maintain its own *eukosmia*,"¹¹ this behavioral trepidation need only be present within the context of the symposium, where alcohol directly comes into contact with-and threatens-the celebration of rational virtue. This idea is exemplified by a terracotta kylix attributed to the Phineus Painter (*Figure 1*): decorated with two eyes framing a squatting satyr, the drinking cup transforms into a mask for the symposiast drinker as more alcohol is consumed (the raising motion of the vase which accompanies the drainage of its liquid contents causes the two eyes on the exterior to cover those on the drinker's face). This phenomenon questions the nature of exterior civility, and the complete disguise of oneself behind the vase alludes to the *physical* transformation of the individual into an 'other' marked by the alcoholic intake required to achieve the mask's full effect. The satyr located in between the eyes also suggests a *mental* transformation: when the kylix is fully raised, the satyr ends on the forehead of the drinker, literally projecting the wildness of the satyr's drunken state onto that of the symposiast to imply a *conditional* affinity. But this association is not

permanent: it is intricately tied to the consumption of alcohol in the symposium, as the satyr cannot 'reach' the mind of the symposiast until the kylix has been drained.

Other kinds of pottery vases reflect a similar transformation (demonstrating the widespread nature of such an anxiety), albeit in a more passive way. For example, a terracotta neck-amphora at the Metropolitan Museum (*Figure 2*) depicts two scenes: a satyr chasing a maenad on the front and a man "courting [a] youth"¹² on the back. While two scenes on any given vase do not necessarily correlate, the compositions on this neck-amphora are too similar for there not to be any association. The front contains the three figures of the satyr, Dionysus, and the maenad (in that order from left to right). The satyr's left leg is raised in pursuit of the maenad and his arms are separated, which sets the figure in motion. He possesses a very humanlike form, complete with a beard and muscular legs-in fact, since his ears are covered by his hair, the only suggestion that he is a satyr (aside from the Dionysiac elements present in the scene) is his tail. Dionysus stands facing to the left (toward the satyr) and holds a vase in his hand. The maenad on the far right, adorned in Dionysus' signature ivy, has her head turned back to look at the satyr as she flees from his advances. On the back, it appears as though the scene is the same, albeit divorced from the Dionysiac context: there are once again three figures, the most notable being the young man on the far left whose legs are in the same position and whose arms are in a pose slightly different from the satyr on the front. This nearly identical placement of the arms specifically links the two figures: given that one function of amphorae was to transport wine, the movement of the person carrying the vessel would connect the two sides of the jar as if in a frame animation. The two images, with only this slight variation, would therefore complete each other's motion, affirming a kinematic affinity between the two figures.

With the understanding that such vases actualizethe intangible tension created by the Solonian citizen ideal, it is possible to examine the aesthetic characterization of the satyric form (including the creature's inability to wage mythological violence) as a specific and conscious creation designed to complicate the image of male citizenship. Though the focus of this paper is

the intangible tension created by the Solonian citizen ideal, it is possible to examine the aesthetic characterization of the satyric form (including the creature's inability to wage mythological violence) as a specific and conscious creation designed to complicate the image of male citizenship. Though the focus of this paper is on the *ceramic* satyr (i.e., the satyr of Attic pottery), it is useful to also assess satyric presence in the *theatrical* tradition since its resonance can more properly contextualize the satyr's larger societal role. This idea is particularly relevant when one considers the rough timeline correspondence between the "changing role of satyr-plays within the Great Dionysia during the eventful period between ca. 535 and 486 BCE"¹³ and the evolution of the ceramic satyric form from a hairy monster to a human with pointed ears and a tail. For example, the François Vase (*Figure 3*) depicts Hephaestus on his donkey being followed by a satyr, who seems to display an animalistic and geometric symmetry with the donkey. The two ithyphallic creatures are both walking with one hoofed leg in front of the other and have tails cascading from their backsides. In addition, in accordance with the estimated (somewhat earlier) date of this krater, the satyr's leg is entirely nonhuman: he rests his weight on a thin, elongated cannon,¹⁴ which meets his upper thigh in an acute angle unbecoming of a human knee (but which maintains an angular congruence to that of the donkey's front leg). The satyr's upper leg also resembles the hind part of the preceding donkey, suggesting that this bodily feature is only a 'leg' due to the upright position in which the satyr, being part human, walks. In contrast, a psykter by Douris (*Figure 4*) depicts three satyrs engaging in a comic balancing act. The satyrs have purely human bodies (apart from bushy tails and pointed ears) and even possess some of the same muscular definition of heroic male nudes: even from their profile position, it is possible to make out chiseled features on the three abdomens, hip areas, and upper chest regions. Their legs are that of the human male, and though their feet are somewhat elongated, they are devoid of animalistic hooves, suggesting that these are definitively human feet.

This aesthetic change in the pottery medium could be a result of the costume of the theatrical satyr, which depicted the creature as "simple"

⁷ Csapo, Eric, "The 'Theology' of the Dionysia and Old Comedy," in *Theologies of Ancient Greek Religion*, ed. Esther Eidinow, Julia Kindt and Robin Osborne (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016): 119.

⁸ In "The Chronology of Solon's Reforms," in *The Classical Review* 57, no. 1 (1943), J.G. Milne dates the tetradrachms regulated by Solon in his Laws to approximately 570 BCE, which is after the approximate appearance of the first satyr in 580 BCE (2). P.J. Rhodes, in *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) dates Solonian legislation to 594/3 BCE (168). I contend, however, that since both are relatively close in time, the specific date (relative to the emergence of the satyr in Attic pottery) is less important than the ideology behind the Laws since they would have been emblematic of a reformation ideology existent prior to their official release, regardless of when this was (as are all laws). Thus, it is accurate to consider the satyric figure contemporaneous with Solon's Laws.

⁹ Milne, "The Chronology," 2.

¹⁰ Kovel, Joel, "Mind and State in Ancient Greece," *Dialectical Anthropology* 5, no. 4 (1981): 308.

¹¹ Carson, "Putting Her in Her Place," 156.

¹² "Terracotta neck-amphora (jar)," The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

¹³ Griffith, Mark, "Slaves of Dionysos: Satyrs, Audience, and the Ends of the Oresteia," *Classical Antiquity* 21, no. 2 (2002): 195.

¹⁴ The "cannon" is the elongated part of a horse or donkey below the knee.

and “relatively ‘human’...with their padded and/or animal costumes and huge (usually non-erect) phalluses.”¹⁵ But does the rather human form of the satyrs stem from the way in which the character was portrayed (i.e., by a human), or could the character be feasibly portrayed because of pre-existing similarities to the human male (as established by pottery, perhaps)? I would argue that the answer is a mix of the two: the costume of the theatrical satyr, though communicating the satyr’s immoderation by enlarging the creature’s genitals (a common vase motif), definitely retains a humanlike figure, at least in part, because the creature on stage is human. However, the aforementioned change of the ceramic satyric form toward a more humanlike depiction complicates this notion since the pottery medium is not reliant upon human actors, and would therefore not need to reflect any traces of satyric humanity unless the artist chose to use a more human depiction to suggest something about the satyr himself. Thus, Douris’ humanistic portrayal of the three satyrs is emblematic of the creatures’ innately more ‘human’ nature: the satyr functions as an unruly human because he is, in a way, human, inextricably tied to the same ‘civilized’-yet bastardized-form as that of the Athenian male.

This idea is reinforced in the theatrical tradition, in which the satyr becomes the negative counterpart to the human male (but a counterpart nonetheless): “Or we could say, in Aristotle’s terms, that a single ‘action’ (*praxis*) or ‘story’ (*muthos*) is ‘imitated’ (enacted, represented) simultaneously by two different classes of performer, one ‘serious’ (*spoudaiois*), the other ‘low’ (*phaulos*) or ‘ridiculous’ (*geloios*).”¹⁶ The “serious” performer, or hero, in a ‘sober’ manner “reaffirms the value and authority of guest-friendship and hospitality, personal honor, marriage and the family, religious cult, and other traditional norms of Greek aristocratic life...even

though they sometimes may eat, drink...they seem generally to maintain their dignity and moral integrity even in the face of distractions.”¹⁷ The “ridiculous” performer, or satyr, however, is “childish, animalistic, shameless, and irresponsible, running constant interference with these [heroic] characters and frequently on the verge of derailing their heroic plot.”¹⁸ Both the “serious” and controlled human male and the “ridiculous” and “childish” theatrical satyr maintain the same story (“frequently on the verge of derailing their heroic plot”), yet the two are negative inverses of each other. In other words, the human/satyr conflict, at least in theater, stems from the tension inherent to the *intersection* of “serious” and “childish” behaviors representative of the characters’ oppositional natures.

The same holds true in pottery with one major difference: given that the average Athenian male (in his own unviolated likeness) is absent in Dionysiac scenes and that the satyrs, though comical, are not successfully violent, the more progressively humanlike renderings of satyrs in pottery elevate the clash of the “ridiculous” and “childish” onto a psychological level. The satyr, marked by a potentiality for civilized comportment (the human form suggests an ability to “pass” as a self-controlled, Athenian male, which satyrs sometimes do¹⁹), is thus tasked with navigating moderation and virtue. However, in the red-figure technique, satyrs usually fail-whether in the presence of maenads or not-because their immense and immoderate sexual appetite (which can be measured in ‘like-terms’ since they possess a form akin to the viewer) renders them ‘weak’ to the extent that they betray their strong male exterior by giving way to the more feminine “liquefying assaults upon body and mind”²⁰ that not only *can* be subdued (the *female* maenads, upon being attacked, put them in their place), but *must* be subdued.

The significance of ‘needing to be subdued’ lies in how it similarly describes the Athenian male perspective of the Amazonomachy and its corresponding pottery scenes²¹. The Amazons, possessing a strength uncharacteristic of the ideal female (from the male perspective), were one source of existential angst, as the associations of the inherently liquid and transgressive nature of the female gender (negatively) distorted and threatened the ‘pure’ male fight through the inclusion-and potential victory-of those who “must be *bounded*.”²² Violence was not inherent to the female form, and thus required bodily disfigurement: “the Amazons, as their name (a negative prefix attached to the word for ‘breast’) implies, owe their fearsomeness to the zeal with which they adapt personal form-their own.”²³ Thus, instead of being used by the Athenian male to solely solidify his reputation or inherent strength, violence in the Amazonomachy “los[t its] form in monstrosity”²⁴ both in how it could be utilized by the female and in how it marked the ‘heroic’ violence of the Athenian male with a tension of uncertain outcome.

Yet, as mentioned earlier, while the satyrs do not engage in physical battle like the Amazons do²⁵, their dynamic with the maenads re-contextualizes the behavior of the Athenian male in a similar way to the Amazonomachy. The satyrs’ ‘violence’ is *potential*: their sexual fantasies are of a graphic nature, but since they are continually thwarted in their efforts to actualize such fantasies, they remain ‘childish’ figures lacking the (brutish) strength of mythological monsters²⁶. In other words, they ‘lose’ in their pursuits since their inebriation results in an immoderation unbecoming of the Athenian male hero. Thus, the construction of the male warrior rests on the condition of *sophrosyne*, both of the body (hence, the heroic nude, which conveys physical order and control) and of the mind (since the mind controls the body). Such Dionysiac scenes therefore reintroduce to the symposiasts looking at them the

same existential angst of the Amazonomachy, since the male viewer, within the Dionysiac context, would find his imaginal counterpart in a ‘losing’ figure, confirming to the symposiast his worst fear: *replacing* his military skills and strength is the sexual frustration brought on by the excessive consumption of alcohol. In this state, the symposiast is now equivalent to the female: just as a wife at marriage “is *taken*...into his [the husband’s] house”²⁷ (italics added for emphasis), the drunken symposiast “stumbles, doesn’t know his way, and must be led by a boy,”²⁸ as his uncharacteristically wet mind necessitates his own bounding.

In this way, the use of a ‘satyric other’ incapable of actualizing violence draws upon the symposiast’s insecurities about his own power to strongly encourage him to uphold *sophrosyne* as a rational value inherent to the Solonian citizen. Thus, a paradox emerges: the distinct ‘other’ figure of the satyr is supposed to remind the Athenian male of his *potential* intoxicated immoderation but the satyr himself is not supposed to *be* the citizen. In other words, the ‘othering’ of the satyr is designed to create distance between the satyr and the Athenian male so as not to suggest that the wild nature of the Dionysiac creature is inherent to the Athenian male ideal: wildness is the consequence of symposium immoderation, but does not define-or limit-male strength on a daily basis. However, the similarities between satyric and human bodies bridge this distance, and the existential conflict is heightened by the suggestion of a similarity of mind which inevitably follows from a similarity of form. For example, as a two-footed being, the Athenian male can never become the four-footed centaur because their forms are too dissimilar (and thus their natures, as defined by their bodily forms, would necessarily have to be different). However, the Athenian male shares a human form with the satyr (since the satyr is a ‘modified’ human), suggesting the difference between the

¹⁵ Griffith, “Slaves of Dionysos,” 219; As Griffith notes, “the most reliable” knowledge concerning the theatrical costumes of “fifth-century theater-satyr consists of those paintings that clearly depict men wearing satyr costumes” (218).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 204.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 204.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 205; Griffith points out that, in Euripides’ *Cyclops*, Odysseus refers to the satyrs as “useless men, nothing, <as> allies” (642: ἀνδρες πονηροὶ οὐδὲν οἶδε σύμμαχοι), noting, “(649: πάλαι μὲν ἦδη σ’ ὄντα τοιοῦτον φύσει, ‘I [Odysseus] knew long ago that this is what you [the satyrs] are like’)” (213). Odysseus’ words indicate that the satyric form is used to characterize men, instead of functioning as a distinct categorical ‘other.’

¹⁹ As Lissarrague notes in “On the Wildness of Satyrs” in *Masks of Dionysus (Myth and Poetics)*, ed. Thomas H. Carpenter and Christopher A. Faraone (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), only in the red-figure technique do satyrs sometimes dress up in human clothing, “turning them, one might even say, into middle-class folk” (210). Their ears give away their satyr identity, as is the case in an attic red-figure column krater from the first quarter of the fifth century (Geneva, Musée d’Art et d’Histoire HR 85; Lissarrague, “On the Wildness,” 211).

²⁰ Carson, “Putting Her in Her Place,” 138.

²¹ See the Camtar Painter Amphora, ca. 560 BCE (depicting Heracles vs. Andromache); Douris Kantharos, 500-480 BCE; Niobid Painter Krater, ca. 460 BCE.

²² Carson, “Putting Her in Her Place,” 156.

²³ *Ibid.*, 154.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 154.

²⁵ There are physical ‘entanglements’ between maenads and satyrs, but these are one-sided self-defense scenes in which maenads use their thyrsos to stave off the satyrs, usually by stabbing the satyrs in their genital region to reinforce the sexual nature of their (unsuccessful) assault (cf. a kylix by Makron, 480-470 BCE, in which a maenad does precisely this). This dynamic is vastly different from that of the duel-style fighting of the Amazonomachy (see note 21 for specific pottery detailing this point) in which two parties are actively fighting each other with military-grade weaponry.

²⁶ Lissarrague suggests that the different nature of satyric violence compared to that of the centaurs (satyrs “do not endanger the social order” [220]) evidences “not a prehumanity but rather a subhumanity [of satyrs], which is defined negatively in relation to man” (“On the Wildness,” 220).

²⁷ Carson, “Putting Her in Her Place,” 136.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 137; Carson here is paraphrasing Heraclitus (B117 V5).

two creatures lies in the male *capacity* to abide by *sophrosyne*. Thus, the aforementioned paradox lies in the way in which the *distancing* of the 'other' satyr from the symposiast (the satyr is 'distant' from the everyday Athenian male in the satyr's inability to be moderate and his lack of strength) is achieved by *connecting* the two via bodily form to emphasize their *potential* likeness. This idea is supported by the first two pottery vases examined earlier, the kylix by the Phineus Painter (Figure 1) and the terracotta neck-amphora (Figure 2).

Selected Images



Figure 1. Terracotta kylix attributed to the Phineus Painter, ca. last quarter of 6th century BCE (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 98.8.25). Image courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 2. Terracotta neck-amphora, ca. 550-540 BCE (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 41.162.32). The left is the front side of the vase depicting a Dionysiac scene; the right is the back side of the vase depicting a man "courting [a] youth." The vase is unfortunately placed on display in such a way that I was unable to photograph all three figures on the back entirely; however, the edge of the third figure is slightly visible behind the center figure (the white line behind the lower back area of the center figure is a necklace held by the third figure).

The use of the satyr as a stand-in for the Athenian male on both vases reinforces the way in which the mythological 'other' can be used to artistically represent the tension between a simultaneous distance and similarity of the satyr and Athenian male. This is to say that, in creating the unique and 'other' figure of the satyr, artists used the satyrs' distant and oppositional natures and capacities to violate social custom and intimately connect their wild Dionysian nature to the powerful identity and self-control of the Athenian male.



Figure 3. Detail of the François Vase attributed to Kleitias, ca. 570-60 BCE (Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze 4209). Image courtesy of Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze blog.



Figure 4. Psykter painted by Douris, ca. 480/470 BCE (London, The British Museum, 1868,0606.7). Image courtesy of The British Museum.

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The Pope's 2001 Visit to Athens: The Challenges of Religious Identity in Greece

Sophia Kiernan

Background To Pope John Paul II's Visit To Athens

Greece, April 2001. Priests and monks with signs emblazoned with the phrases 'two-horned monster of Rome' and 'the heretic pope.' Claims of blood-red stains on an icon of the Virgin Mary. All-night prayer vigils on Mount Athos.

When the Greek President at the time, Costis Stephanopoulos, announced that on May 4th, 2001, Pope John Paul II would be visiting Athens for 24 hours, it seemed to take the Greek people by surprise. The Greek Foreign Minister George Papandreou issued a statement emphasizing that the Pope would be officially visiting as a head of state, not as the leader of the Catholic Church, a last-minute attempt at overcoming vocal opposition by the Orthodox Church. Archbishop Christodoulos was persuaded to agree to the visit, but that did not guarantee an easy welcome for John Paul II. While the official message from the Greek state was that the Pope was simply visiting as the ruler of Vatican City, many Orthodox clergy felt otherwise. They argued that this was a front for the Pope's real mission: to receive recognition by the Orthodox Church as a global religious leader and to somehow bring the Greek people into the fold of Roman Catholicism.

The Pope came to Greece to retrace the footsteps of St. Paul the Apostle and was the first pope to visit Greece since the schism of Eastern and Western Christianity. He visited the Areopagus, the hill just to the West of the Acropolis, where St. Paul had preached the Sermon of the Unknown God to the Athenians, proclaiming that the God of their pagan altar to the 'unknown god' was actually his God. The Pope was also scheduled to say Mass in the Olympic Stadium, which has a 70,000 seating capacity, but the ceremony was moved to an 18,000-seat indoor basketball court after pressure from the Orthodox Church and concern about disruption from protesters.

However, not all Orthodox clergy were opposed to the Pope's visit; a few voices were willing to

speak out in favor. Bishop Chrysostomos of Zakynthos, an outspoken liberal, publicly said that opposition to the visit made the Orthodox Church look backward and intolerant. He even went so far as to claim that the widespread protests made the Orthodox Church appear to be "equivalent to Muslim fundamentalists."¹

The 2001 papal visit brought to the fore many of the challenges of religious identity in modern Greece, specifically for the minority Catholic population. This paper will therefore analyze the position of Catholics in Greece today through the lens of the controversy surrounding Pope John Paul II's visit to Athens.

A Brief History Of Catholicism In Greece

Most estimates state that there are at least 200,000 Roman Catholics living in Greece, compared with about 11 million Greek Orthodox Christians. On the mainland, the presence of Greek Catholics is owing to King Otto. The second son of King Ludwig I of Bavaria, Otto was installed as the Greek monarch while still a minor as part of an agreement between the 'protecting powers' of France, Great Britain, and Russia. He was also still a minor when he came to Greece to rule in 1832, and he brought with him thousands of Bavarians as soldiers and civil administrators, many of whom were Catholic. Even though under an agreement with the Greeks, King Otto's heirs would become Orthodox, churches were established for him and his entourage, creating a small Catholic presence in Athens.

However, the overwhelming majority of the estimated 50,000 native Roman Catholics in Greece derive their religious identity from the Latin (including Venetian and Genoese) rule of the Greek islands following the sack of Constantinople by Western (Frankish) crusaders in 1204. The Catholic presence was particularly strong on the islands of Syros and Tinos, where Catholicism was, until Greek independence, much more prevalent than Orthodoxy.² On Syros, the Latin Church seems

to have gained prominence through conversion; there is not sufficient documentation to determine why conversions occurred, but it may have been because there were simply so few Greek priests that the local villagers chose to go to the Latin cathedral.³ Tinos, on the other hand, was willed to Venice when the last of the Frankish rulers (the Ghisi brothers) died. The island was fortunate in having a large mountain with an easily defensible castle (fortified castle), which promised Catholics from around the Aegean protection, thus creating a flourishing Catholic community for half a millennium. While smaller Catholic communities existed on other Cycladic islands, Syros and Tinos are considered to be the only places where Catholics put down strong roots in Greece.

In the last three decades, with the start of mass immigration to Greece from around the world, the number of Catholic foreign residents has sky-rocketed, and by some estimates it may today exceed the number of native Greek Catholics. The largest Catholic immigrant communities are made up of Polish, Filipino, Latin American and African migrants, most of them female, and concentrated in Athens. Many foreign Catholics have also married Greek (Orthodox) citizens.⁴ Finally, the freedom granted nationals of all European Union countries to settle anywhere within the Union has further increased the number of foreign Catholics in Greece.

The Great Schism, or the break of communion, between what is now known as the Eastern Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Church, formally occurred in 1054; however, ecclesiastical differences predated this event. The Western and the Eastern churches disagreed on issues such as the use of leavened bread for the Eucharist, the existence of purgatory, the 'source' of the Holy Spirit, and most notably - in the past as well as the present - the primacy of the Pope. However, the division between the two churches operated solely on the level of leadership for the first century and a half: the mindset of the lay people of each church did not change a great deal. This situation changed abruptly in 1204, when Crusader armies and Venetian merchants captured, looted, and destroyed much of Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire. Various holy artifacts from the Hagia Sophia cathedral and other Orthodox holy places were taken to the West, churches were ransacked, and their all-important icons and relics

were stolen. Indeed, the events of April 1204 are widely regarded as the final seal on the Great Schism and they officially divided the population of the Western and Eastern Churches.

Today, the Orthodox Church still places the actions of the Crusaders at the top of their list of grievances against the Catholic Church, and these have not been forgotten or forgiven by the Greek Orthodox faithful. Indeed, a Roman Catholic Archbishop stated that when the Orthodox faithful recount the Fourth Crusade, "you'd think it was an event of World War II",⁵ and during the 2001 visit of the Pope, Archbishop Christodoulos began his meeting with John Paul II by reading a long, sharply worded list of grievances against the Catholic Church, one of which was the 1204 sack of Constantinople. It is therefore difficult to understate the significance of this event in relation to the difficulties in Catholic-Orthodox relations even today; even though it happened hundreds of years ago, the sacking of Constantinople is still very much at the forefront of the Orthodox consciousness.

After the Fourth Crusade, the Empire of Romania, more commonly known as the Latin Empire of Constantinople, was established. This empire was a feudal crusader state founded by the leaders of the Fourth Crusade on land captured from the Byzantine Empire, and it lasted from 1204 to 1261. Obviously, the Byzantine Orthodox population living in Constantinople was forced to accept rule by a Catholic Emperor. However, this Latin Empire was unable to maintain supremacy over other Latin powers, particularly Venice. After a short period of military success, it steadily declined, mainly due to war with the Bulgarians. It then fell when the Byzantines recaptured Constantinople in 1261. However, the Byzantine Empire never fully recovered from the sack of the city, and it in turn fell to the Ottoman Empire in 1453. The Orthodox Church therefore still partly blames the fall of the Byzantine Empire on the actions of the Roman Catholic, Western Crusaders.

Before The Pope's Visit

A discussion of the challenges of religious identity in Greece predating the Pope's visit would not be complete without addressing the major struggle between the Greek state and the Orthodox Church in 2001: the ID card debate. The issue at stake was the government's decision to drop the compulsory

¹ Philip Sherwell, "Pope's visit to Greece infuriates Orthodox Church," *The Telegraph*, 29 Apr. 2001, www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/greece/1317721/Popes-visit-to-Greece-infuriates-Orthodox-Church.html

² Charles Frazee, "Catholics," in *Minorities in Greece: Aspects of a Plural Society*, ed. Richard Clogg (London: Hurst, 2003): 27

³ Frazee, "Catholics," 27.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 32

⁵ Paul Wood, "EUROPE | Greek fury over Pope visit," *BBC News*, BBC, 4 May 2001:13, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/1310347.stm>

mention of religious affiliation from the identity cards that all Greek citizens are required to carry at all times, and consequently from a plethora of other official documents based on the personal data listed in state IDs.⁶ The center-left PASOK government framed this issue as simply another step in the modernization of the Greek state, while the Greek Orthodox Church saw it as an inexplicable move towards secularism.⁷ Archbishop Christodoulos, in particular, led the campaign against the state. He argued that the identity card is not an administrative document, but rather a "proof of personality" and therefore should include a statement of religion.⁸ The archbishop even went so far as to imply that Jews instigated the change although his spokesperson was quick to clarify that the archbishop was not blaming the Jewish people.⁹ The Greek state, however, argued that the inclusion of religious affiliation on the ID cards was unconstitutional and could contribute to discrimination based on religion. After a year of intense mobilization, the Church managed to gather 3,008,901 signatures on a petition asking for a referendum about retaining the 'optional inclusion' of religion on the Greek identity cards, an impressive number considering that the population of Greece (including minors) was only around 11 million at the time.

However, the President of the Republic, Costis Stephanopoulos, subsequently issued a statement indicating that the conditions for a referendum had not been met, and all Greek citizens would be obligated to abide by the current laws. The argument put forth by the state is that in a religiously homogenous nation like Greece, the 'right' to disclose one's religion need not be exercised on a national document, such as an ID card, if it can be reasonably assumed that this disclosure may hurt those who do not subscribe to the majority religion.¹⁰ President Stephanopoulos's statement completely undermined the Church's efforts because Stephanopoulos's popularity and conservative credentials left the church no room to continue its campaign. Of course, the ID crisis

was only partially about the content of the ID cards; the cards were additionally important because of their symbolic value in relation to the political power of the Orthodox Church in Greece.¹¹ In Greece, the Eastern Orthodox Church was and still is an "explicitly established church."¹² Indeed, the current constitution, which was adopted in 1975 after the fall of the dictatorship, contains an article which states that the prevailing religion of Greece is the Eastern Orthodox Church of Christ. However, the strong connection between the Greek Orthodox Church and the Greek State has existed for almost 200 years. In their reinterpretation of the 'nation', Balkan nationalists' irredentist dreams redefined religious ties as national ones.¹³ This was partly due to the illiteracy of the Balkan people, which meant that the easiest way to build a nation was to transform religious identity into national identity; membership of a church became the same as membership of a nation.

Since the 19th century, the Orthodox Church has been essential to the legitimization of state authority, and no government or regime has ever existed in modern Greece without ceremonies performed by the Orthodox Church. This position has been safeguarded by the Church's malleability, and the only issue that the Orthodox clergy have refused to compromise on is the separation of church and state.¹⁴ The best example of this flexibility concerns marriage: while the Catholic Church has remained steadfast in its administration of only one marriage (and even broke with King Henry VIII over this issue), the Orthodox Church has, in the past, allowed up to four marriages on the grounds that the Byzantine Emperor Leo VI wanted a fourth marriage. The number is now set at three, however.

Today, the Greek Orthodox Church is recognized as the 'prevailing religion' in the country of Greece, and it still enjoys a number of privileges granted by the state. One of the most important of these privileges is the inclusion of religious education in both public and private schools. Religious education is not meant to extend much beyond Greek Orthodoxy; most of the classes focus on the doctrines

of the Orthodox Church, and the teachers of the classes are paid by the state.¹⁵ In addition, until recently, participation in daily prayer was a requirement for all students in public school unless their parents had stated that they subscribed to a different religion. In 1998, The Council of State (the top court of Greece) also ruled it unconstitutional to reduce the number of hours of religious instruction in public schools.¹⁶ Furthermore, the construction of any religious building that is not Orthodox requires permission from the local Orthodox bishop. However, the Orthodox Church has the right to issue building permits for construction of its own churches without any permission from the civil government.¹⁷ In addition, cremation of the dead is only allowed in Greece if a formal request is made before death, and if proof that the individual does not belong to the Orthodox Church can be obtained. As for marriage, civil marriage was only established in Greece in 1982, and it exists as the sole alternative to religious marriage. Most Greeks still get married in church, and certain members of the Orthodox clergy may refuse burial to those not married in church. Finally, priests are treated as public employees, and their pensions and salaries are paid by the state.

Of course, after the dictatorship, Article 13 was added to the Greek constitution. It guarantees freedom of religious expression and forbids discrimination on religious grounds. Scholars have acclaimed article 13 as progress towards religious freedom and equality, but the deeply rooted religious opinions in Greece did not change simply with the alteration of the constitution. Article 13 limits the freedom of worship to 'known' religions, which refers to religions whose doctrines are accessible to anyone and which do not require secret initiation, and it also distinguishes 'known' religions from 'recognized' religions.¹⁸ Currently, 'known' religions include every major religion except Orthodoxy, Islam, and Judaism, which are considered 'recognized.' 'Known' religions are given the same rights as any private entity, such as an alumni association or an interest group. However, the division between 'known' and 'recognized' has caused more problems than it has solved, and according to a ruling in 1994, since there is no 'formal legal entity' in Greek public law called the 'Roman Catholic Church,' it was decided that no judicial protection could be

granted. The lack of clarity of protection for religious minorities in Greece has led to substantial constitutional problems for non-Orthodox Greek citizens, including those surrounding the ID card issue, lack of programs for conscientious objectors (until recently), and the presence of religious education in schools.

The Pope's Visit

On the days before and during Pope John Paul II's visit, many dramatic pictures and reports filled the news: there were people holding posters with pictures of the Pope sporting devil horns and calling him the anti-Christ, priests and bishops planned on ringing church bells in mourning for the entire 24 hours of the Pope's visit, and there were reports of bleeding icons. From these accounts, it would be easy to conclude that the entirety of the Greek population hates the Pope and all Catholics. However, this is not the case. These dramatic protests against the Pope's visit were actually almost entirely organized and peopled by the zealous, conservative 'Old Calendarist' Orthodox. This splinter group of Orthodox Christians are called Old Calendarists due to their insistence on using the historic Julian calendar instead of the more recent Gregorian calendar, which was introduced by the Pope during the 16th century. The Gregorian calendar is slightly more accurate because it accounts for the fact that a full year is actually 365.25 days, minus eleven minutes. When the Greek state and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople adopted the Gregorian calendar in 1924, many faithful, including priests and bishops, saw this action as a surrender of the Eastern Orthodox Church to the Western Catholic Church and to the Pope. These people were so enraged with the Eastern Orthodox Church leadership that they decided to break communion with those who opted to adopt the new calendar, creating their own denomination.

In 2001, the 'Old Calendarist' Orthodox were estimated at only around 125, 000 in a country of 11 million Orthodox Christians. Despite being a small minority, they are extremely vocal, as is often the case with ultra-conservative groups. Therefore, while the news reports that circulated around the Pope's visit, especially those intended for consumption by an international audience, fostered the idea that Greece was full of Catholic-

⁶ Yannis Stavrakakis "Religious Populism and Political Culture: The Greek Case," *South European Society and Politics*, 2nd series 7, no. 3 (2002): 29.

⁷ Victor Roudometof, "Orthodoxy as Public Religion in Post-1989 Greece," in *Eastern Orthodoxy in a Global Age: Tradition Faces the Twenty-first Century*, ed. Victor Roudometof, Alexander Agadjanian and Jerry Pankhurst (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2005): 90.

⁸ Stavrakakis, "Religious Populism," 32.

⁹ Jan Little, "EUROPE | Religious row blazes over Greek identity," *BBC News*. BBC, 15 Mar. 2001, www.news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/1222101.stm.

¹⁰ Nicos C. Alivizatos, "A New Role for the Greek Church?" *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 17, no. 1 (1999).

¹¹ Roudometof, "Orthodoxy as Public Religion," 95.

¹² Alivizatos, "A New Role," 8.

¹³ Roudometof, "Orthodoxy as Public Religion," 97.

¹⁴ George Mavrogordatos, "Orthodoxy and Nationalism in the Greek Case," *West European Politics* 26, no. 1 (2003): 125.

¹⁵ Alivizatos, "A New Role," 26.

¹⁶ Mavrogordatos, "Orthodoxy and Nationalism," 121.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 121.

¹⁸ Alivizatos, "A New Role," 28.

and Pope-hating Christians, the majority of the people who openly and stridently opposed the Pope's visit were in fact a small minority of dissenting Greek Orthodox. Most of the 'average' Greek Orthodox Christians did not have strong positive or negative feelings about the visit; the prevailing feeling was one of widespread indifference, sometimes imbued with suspicion.

The most significant thing that happened during the Pope's 2001 visit to Athens was John Paul II's apology for the sins committed by Roman Catholics "against their Orthodox Brothers and sisters." When they met, Archbishop Christodoulos read the Pope a list of grievances against the Catholic Church, including forcible proselytizing by Greek Catholics and the "destructive mania of the Crusaders" who sacked Constantinople in 1204. He told Pope John Paul II that a formal condemnation of these wrongs would help facilitate a dialogue between Catholicism and Orthodoxy, stating that no Catholic has ever requested pardon for these actions. Pope John Paul II's response to Archbishop Christodoulos's grievances came very close to an apology;

*For the occasions past and present, when sons and daughters of the Catholic Church have sinned by action or omission against their Orthodox brothers and sisters, may the Lord grant us the forgiveness we beg of him.*¹⁹

On hearing this, the Archbishop smiled widely, and led a round of applause. The two men then embraced, and Archbishop Christodoulos held Pope John Paul II's arm as they walked together off the stage, the younger Orthodox Archbishop supporting the older Catholic Pope. Even though - due to Orthodox rules - the two had not planned to pray together, in private they later recited the Our Father together in Greek. In a later speech, the Pope also singled out the 1204 sack of Constantinople as a "disastrous" and "tragic" example of Catholic sins against the Orthodox and he acknowledged the "great debt" that Catholics owe Greece for their contributions to Christianity. After his meeting with the Pope, Archbishop Christodoulos told reporters that he was happy with the Pope's message, but there were, of course, still problems between the two churches, and Christodoulos' spokesman later said that the Archbishop regretted that Pope John Paul II had not mentioned the Eastern Rite churches (the 'Uniates'). These Churches follow the Orthodox tradition and rituals but acknowledge the Pope's primacy and are in

communion with the Catholic Church; many Orthodox leaders in Greece see the Eastern Rite as an attempt to undermine the Orthodox Church, not only in Greece, but throughout Orthodox Eastern Europe.

The Pope's apology was a step in the right direction for relations between the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches. An apology had never been issued before, and many of the Orthodox elite saw the Pope's statement as long overdue. It therefore created some positive feelings towards Pope John Paul II although many of the clergy considered it an example of much belated politeness.

The Aftermath

Today, the relationship between the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches continues to be strained, most notably on a clerical and administrative level. However, the average Greek does not harbor strong resentment against those of Catholic belief. It is rather the institutional split which has not been repaired nor remedied much. Having said this, the 1204 Crusade and the ensuing Latin rule of vast swathes of the Byzantine-Greek world continues to be a source of bitterness for many Greek Orthodox people. Even eight hundred years later, many see it as a great wrong that was committed against them by the Catholics, and they still harbor some resentment. The Pope's apology did foster some goodwill, but one public apology could not immediately and completely heal a wound that has remained open for hundreds of years. However, it was certainly a step toward assuaging the hurt that the Orthodox still feel from that long-ago event.

Of course, this does not mean that Catholics and other religious minorities are treated as equal to the Greek Orthodox Church in terms of laws or privilege. Greece offers no tax exemptions to minority churches, so they must pay tax on donations, Sunday collections, and clergy incomes. The Catholic Church does not have access to public funding in any form. Catholic clergy are refused health care, and churches sometimes have trouble maintaining their historic buildings or getting electricity supplies, particularly after a 48 percent tax increase in 2013. Especially since the onset of the economic crisis, parishioner contributions have also dropped off, while taxes have increased. The Greek Orthodox Church lost its tax exempt status in 2010, but it still pays less than minority churches and the

salaries and pensions of its clergy are fully paid by the state.

A 2015 victory by the far-left political party SYRIZA gave Catholics in Greece some hope for change. In many other countries, particularly in the United States, a radical-left political victory would have been a source of disappointment and frustration, mainly because of the abortion issue since many leftist parties have increased access to abortion as part of their political platform, and Catholics in many countries have strongly opposed this. Indeed, Catholics will often vote for conservative candidates solely on the basis of this issue. In contrast, in Greece, the SYRIZA victory was viewed as positive by the majority of the Catholic population. The leader of the party, Alexis Tsipras, promised to curb the privilege of the Orthodox Church by abolishing its tax exemptions and financial privileges, using its property for the homeless, and reforming the constitution to guarantee separation of church and state. Tsipras and most of his cabinet ministers even refused to take the traditional Orthodox oath when they were sworn in, opting instead for a civil oath in front of the President.

In practice, however, two years after SYRIZA came to power, a majority of these campaign promises about separation of church and state have not yet been fulfilled. The Greek Orthodox Church has also been quite effective in mobilizing both the clergy and the Orthodox faithful against decisions that may have adverse effects on the Church. In addition, because SYRIZA has formed a coalition government with the Independent Greeks, a conservative, nationalist and pro-Church party, the leftist party appears reluctant to do anything that could be interpreted as an obvious affront to the Greek Orthodox Church. Despite this, in 2016, SYRIZA prepared a plan whereby the

state would take control of religious education in schools, forcing them to include other faiths besides Orthodoxy. Cremation of the dead also became legal in 2016 despite opposition from the Church. While these may seem like small victories, they give hope to religious minorities, such as Catholics, that SYRIZA may continue to slowly increase the separation between the Orthodox Church and the Greek state as well as granting minority religions more protection and rights.

Conclusion

Fifteen years after the historic visit by John Paul II, another Pope, Francis, paid a brief visit to Greece. This time the Pope traveled to the Aegean island of Lesbos (Mytiline), to visit a refugee detention camp. There he was met by Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras, Archbishop of Athens Ieronimos II, and Patriarch Bartholomew, the spiritual head of the world's Orthodox Christians. The three religious leaders signed a declaration urging the international community to protect refugees and extend asylum to those in need, and they prayed for all those who had died trying to travel to a safer place. This vision of unity and peace represents a striking contrast to the 2001 papal visit to Greece, and it is grounds for hope for an improved relationship between the Catholics and the Orthodox. While the Orthodox Church remains deeply entrenched in the Greek state, SYRIZA's victory and resulting policy changes also give hope that the situation of religious minorities in Greece, particularly Catholics, may improve in the coming years. The memorable embrace of Pope Francis, Archbishop Ieronimos, and Patriarch Bartholomew during the visit to Lesbos thus sent a powerful signal of hope regarding the future relations of these two Christian faith traditions.

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¹⁹ Richard Bourdreaux. "Pope Apologizes for Anti-Orthodox Past," *Los Angeles Times*. 5 May 2001: 12. www.articles.latimes.com/2001/may/05/news/mn-59656

Who is a Greek? Politics of National Identity in Modern Greece

Andrew Hosler

"To enjoy good health, to bring true happiness to one's family, to bring peace to all, one must first discipline and control one's own mind. If a man can control his mind he can find the way to Enlightenment, and all wisdom and virtue will naturally come to him."¹ Although spoken at least two thousand five hundred years ago, this quote from Gautama Buddha would be a precursor to the educational, ethical, and moral impact of the European Enlightenment of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But just as one can see the temporal difference between the universal idea uttered by Buddha in the fifth century BCE and Rousseau and Locke in the eighteenth century CE, so too can one see the geographical difference between the transmission of Enlightenment ideas from the European West (Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany) to the Ottoman-controlled East. Through the diasporic community of mercantile aristocrats, from the area now known as Greece to Western European countries, translations and transmissions of key Enlightenment texts inspired a new way of thinking that created an impetus for the birth of nationalism and the modern Greek Revolution of 1821. This paper will focus primarily on the outside influences of Enlightenment ideas and the scholarship of Adamantios Korais, as he is arguably one of the most important figures of the modern Greek Enlightenment, and it will also explore the impact of his work on the foundation of Greek nationalistic identity.

But first, what is Enlightenment? John Abernethy, an eighteenth-century surgeon from England who propagated Enlightenment ideas, defines the key aspects of the Enlightenment as "more emphasis on scientific methods, secularization of learning, religious tolerance, universal education, individual liberty, reason, progress and the separation of church and state."² This was the first major period that ushered in a shift from medieval thought and allowed major advances in the philosophical and

scientific community. With centers in Berlin, Prussia (now Germany); London, Great Britain; and most importantly Paris, France, the Enlightenment allowed some of the most astute scholars of the time, like John Locke and Voltaire, to advocate for equal access to education regardless of social or economic standing as well as a rejection of religious superstition. While the entreaty for separation of church and state did not result in major constitutional problems for many countries after the formation of modern nation states, the Greek people did not completely accept this idea and instead began the 1822 Constitution of Epidaurus with Title One, Article One, stating, "Ἡ ἐπικρατοῦσα θρησκεία εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Ἐπικράτειαν εἶναι ἡ τῆς Ανατολικῆς Ὀρθοδόξου τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας" ("The established religion in the Greek Territories is that of the Eastern Orthodox Church of Christ.")³ This does not mean, however, that the values of the Enlightenment did not form an integral part of the foundation of the Greek state. Instead, the Greek founders took Enlightenment ideals and molded them to fit the needs of a growing nation. It is therefore advantageous to analyze the reception and transformation of such ideals from a diachronic perspective.

From the Middle Ages, the officially sanctioned philosophy of the Byzantine Empire was Aristotelianism.⁴ Although we have the corpus of Aristotelian texts as tangible evidence of what Aristotelianism advocated, it is very hard, if not impossible, to discern which aspects of the philosophy educational institutions either emphasized or overlooked. However, Cary J. Nederman argues that medieval and early modern Aristotelianism "posits the practical quality of the study of ethics and politics and hence the value of such knowledge insofar as it guides action."⁵ While Aristotelianism held favor with many philosophers in the Middle Ages, it began to fall

out of favor in the eleventh and twelfth centuries with a resurgence of Platonism. However, it was rejuvenated in the Eastern Orthodox Church with the first Greek translation of the texts of the Italian theologian Thomas Aquinas. Aquinas integrated elements of Aristotle's pagan philosophy into the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, and through various cultural transmissions between the West and the Byzantine Empire, Dimitrios Kydonis was able to translate some texts into Greek for the Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos in 1354.⁶ Because the primary philosophical schools were taught for and run by members of the Eastern Orthodox Church, it was very difficult to distinguish philosophy from theology at that time, as they were both dependent upon each other in Byzantine thought.

After the decline of the Byzantine Empire and the siege of Constantinople in 1453, the area now known as Greece was transformed from a mono-ethnic, mono-religious society to a piece of a much larger, multi-ethnic, multi-religious community. Because the population of Greece was predominantly Christian, the Eastern Orthodox Church became the primary institution that advocated for the Greek citizens of the Ottoman Empire and integrated them into this multi-ethnic, multi-religious empire. The church recognized the authority of the Ottoman Sultan and even bestowed on him the same honors given to the Byzantine Emperor, but with omission of "holy" and "pious". Paschalis Kitromilides best summarizes the relationship between the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Ottoman Empire in *Enlightenment and Revolution: The Making of Modern Greece*: "After the conquest, the 'king' continued to be a divinely ordained element of the natural order of things, of which the Church was part, though he ceased henceforth to be a vehicle of holiness and sanctity, or to participate in the internal life and worship of the Church."⁷ The relationship between the Sultan and church was also strengthened by their mutual enmity towards the European West: the Eastern Orthodox Church feared its Catholicization by the Latins in the West, and the Ottoman Empire feared loss of territory and the possibility of future crusades. This protection from the Ottoman Empire became the primary reason for the Orthodox Church's willing submission to

the Sultan.

Although the Ottoman Empire allowed Christians in the Balkans to live a relatively normal life with regards to their religion, the cultural destruction of the Byzantine Empire by the Ottoman Turks made this a hostile sphere for Greeks and resulted in many fleeing to Venice and its surrounding areas.⁸ From the middle of the 15th century up until the 17th century, the number of manuscripts found, or lack thereof, suggest a drastic decline in philosophy and education on the Greek mainland, and this was a dark age for learning in Greece. However, the first major reintroduction of philosophy came with the teachings of Theophilus Corydaleas. Having studied under Cesare Cremonini at the University of Padua, he was commissioned by Patriarch Cyril I to reorganize the Patriarchal Academy of Constantinople in 1624.⁹ Using the principles of Neoaristotelianism that he had learned in Italy, he established logic, reasoning, and empiricism as the bases of higher education. Corydaleas was the first educator in Greece to advocate for a separation between theology and philosophy, and even after his patron's execution by the Ottomans in 1638 and his dismissal from the Patriarchal Academy, his system of learning remained in use for many years and even spread to places such as Athos, Patmos, and Chios. Later, the term 'κορυδαλισμός', derived from his name, became a synonym for "scholasticism."¹⁰

While the philosophical principles of Corydalean Neoaristotelianism permeated the educational system of Ottoman Greece during the late seventeenth century, a certain group of merchants rose to prominence in Constantinople: the Phanariots. Named for the 'Phanari' neighborhood of Constantinople in which they lived, this collection of aristocratic families, primarily Byzantine in lineage, consisted of well-travelled and well-educated citizens who knew how to speak many foreign languages. The Ottoman Sultan recognized the diplomatic utility of this group and made them principle correspondents with the European West. Members of the group were titled 'Grand Dragomans' and became the philosophical powerhouse of the Greek community at this time: "In Greek, Romanian, Bulgarian, and Serbian national historiographies, Phanariots are depicted as enlightened oriental despots who operated an 'empire within an empire'

¹ Buddha, "Buddha Quotes," BrainyQuotes, https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/b/buddha118245.html?src=t_enlightenment.

² Jessie Szalay, "What Was the Enlightenment?" LiveScience, 2016, <http://www.livescience.com/55327-the-enlightenment.html>.

³ "Greece, national: The Constitution of Epidaurus (1822)," Constitutions of the World from the late 18th Century to the Middle of the 19th Century, 3-4, http://www.modern-constitui-ons.denbu.phppage_id=02a1b5a86ff139471c0b1c57f23ac196&viewmode=pages&show_doc=GR-00-1822-01-15-el&position=2.

⁴ Paschalis M. Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution. The Making of Modern Greece* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 22.

⁵ Cary J. Nederman, "The Meaning of 'Aristotelianism' in Medieval Moral and Political Thought," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 57 no. 4 (1996): 564.

⁶ Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 22.

⁷ Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 26.

⁸ Deno John Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice; Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learning from Byzantium to Western Europe* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), 7.

⁹ Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 27.

¹⁰ G. P. Henderson, "Greek Philosophy from 1600 to 1850," *The Philosophical Quarterly* 5, no. 19 (1955): 157.

and sponsored a Greek cultural revival that led to a 'national awakening.'¹¹

Of all of the Phanariots who assumed the position of Grand Dragoman, Nikolaos Mavrokordatos was the one who paved the way for the Phanariot dynasty and the philosophical teachings that came along with it. As the son of Alexander Mavrokordatos, the first Grand Dragoman, Nikolaos was the first Phanariot to be appointed the hodsar (prince) of the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia by the Ottoman Sultan. While overseeing these regions, he made it his duty to introduce Greek language, literature, and customs to the people of the area.¹² With the political stability of the Phanariots already established by his father, Nikolaos had the opportunity to focus his attention on philosophy. In 1719, he authored his first treaty, *De Officiis*, a philosophical argument for social morality and virtuous living that contained clear allusions to Aristotelian and Ciceronian philosophy. According to Kitromilides, "It (*De Officiis*) was not an attempt to expand traditional Christian ethics by the incorporation of classical values in it, but rather to Christianize classical morality to suit the requirements of accepted moral codes."¹³ Nikolaos also decided to translate from Latin into Greek Ambrogio Marliani's *Theatrum Politicum*, a text which emphasizes the ideal traits of a ruler: justice and moral fortitude.¹⁴ In addition, he had a wide variety of friends from all across Europe, including Johannes Fabricius and Jean LeClerc, and with the latter he enjoyed copious correspondence and even asked for a copy of John Locke's *Essay of Government*. According to Kitromilides, this is the first surviving instance in which John Locke's Enlightenment ideals were sought after. Moreover, Nikolaos wrote *Parerga Philotheou*, a philosophical discussion between international intellectuals who shared a common moral and ethical standpoint. Throughout the text, clear references to early Enlightenment thought can be found, especially anti-Aristotelian and Neoaristotelian sentiments.¹⁵

While the Phanariot dynasty was solidifying the groundwork for a departure from Aristotelian and Neoaristotelian thought, the genre of historiography provided another outlet - besides pedantic philosophy - with which to establish Enlightenment ideas in Greek nationalistic

consciousness. From the middle of the seventeenth century until the Greek Declaration of Independence in 1821, historiography followed a clear trajectory, transforming from a genre that recounted stories of heroic deeds of battle and religious narratives legitimizing the church to a more secular genre that investigated the social and cultural norms and values of specific communities. Beginning with some of the more religious texts, the *Historical Book*, erroneously attributed to Dorotheos of Monemvasia, was one of the most popular and widely used historiographies of seventeenth-century Ottoman Greece. It relates a narrative that stretches from the biblical history of the Old Testament all the way to the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Interestingly though, the text does not contain any history of the Greeks before the Hellenistic period, completely forgetting the classical past, and its preface argues that "'History' was considered useful not only because it taught how to edify one's morals and how to govern one's household, but also because it showed how to command fortresses and rule the world in ways pleasing to the Lord."¹⁶

By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, a clear shift in historiography can be seen with the translation of Charles Rollin's *Histoire Ancienne*. Written in the 1730s by a seventy-year-old French priest, the *Histoire Ancienne* depicted the history of ancient civilizations throughout the world, but a significant portion of the text was dedicated to Classical and Hellenic Greece.¹⁷ This was one of the first historiographical texts introduced into Ottoman Greece that presented an extensive narrative of the ancient past, and it instilled the idea that the people living in the area of Greece shared a continuous lineage that could be traced back to Pericles and Leonidas. This constituted a huge step in the formation of a national Neohellenic consciousness, and the text remained a primary source of historiography for many decades.

Although the introduction of the cosmopolitanism of the Phanariots and the unifying nature of historiography provided the foundation for nationalistic identity, the true height of the Modern Greek Enlightenment is reached in the ideas expressed by the Greek doctor and revolutionary,

Adamantios Korais. Korais was born to a silk merchant in Smyrna in 1748 and received an education in modern Greek and Latin at an early age. In 1772, his father sent him to Amsterdam as a business correspondent, where he continued his studies under Adrian Burt. He then attended medical school in Montpellier until he graduated in 1787.¹⁸ Recognizing that Greece had been deserted by philosopher kings like Socrates and Plato, in May of 1788, Korais moved to Paris, the Athens of the modern world, and studied at the Royal Academy. In the coming year, he would not only witness the beginning of the French Revolution but also become an active participant: "'I was going out everyday in order to be an eyewitness of such awesome events, which for me, as for everyone else, were entirely new."¹⁹ Through a series of letters to his Smyrnian friend Dimitrios Lotos, Korais recounted his experiences of witnessing events like the shooting of innocents by the royal guard in Tuilleries and the storming of the Bastille, and he also included particular moral and ethical principles that he wanted to instill in the Greek population. For example, he mentioned that aristocratic women would offer up their jewelry to the National Assembly and a specific preacher quoted scripture as a religious precedent for liberty. He especially praised the curtailing of the powers of the monarchy and clergy.²⁰

Seeing the potential for revolution and liberation, Korais tried to establish an ethical and moral education for his Greek brothers through the lens of classical literature in order to create a Greek nationalistic identity. Through his translation of Hippocrates' *Of Airs, Waters, Places*, which argues that the Greeks were naturally superior to the Persians in battle because they were free, he made a very clear allusion to the Ottoman tyranny and issued a subtle entreaty to take up arms.²¹ Furthermore, he translated a vast number of classical texts in his *Hellenic Library*, a collection of twenty-six volumes translated between 1805 and 1827, including Isocrates, Plutarch, Strabo, Aristotle, Xenophon, Plato, and Lycurgus.²² Korais intentionally chose texts based on their political and moral merits, and in the prologue to each volume, he argues for the relation between

culture and freedom. Furthermore, he recognized the decline of the archaic form of Greek with its Slavic influences and advocated for a cleansing of the language. He asserted that a purification of the language to bring it closer to the original Attic Greek of the texts he translated would grant more accessibility to these texts for the average layperson, and he argued that it would also help unite the national consciousness if people spoke something closer to their classical forefathers. At the same time, he maintained that a serious effort had to be made to simplify the complicated verbiage of various judiciary laws so that Greek would be more readily available to the masses.²³

Although the idea of a completely educated population seemed impossible to achieve, Korais believed it was doable but would take a great deal of time. However, his plan for progressive reeducation would unfortunately be halted by the sudden declaration of independence by the Phanariot Alexander Ipsiladis during 1821 in the Peloponnese.²⁴ Korais was astonished by the sudden upheaval created by the Phanariots but quickly recognized the necessity for a united front. Lamenting that his old age prevented him from fighting on the frontline, he did what he did best: he translated. Korais translated Aristotle's *Politics* and *Nicomachean Ethics*, arguing that man is a political beast by nature and therefore must live freely. Furthermore, he advocated for the middle class ruling for the middle class, and recommended a great restriction on the powers of the clergy. He died on April 6th, 1833, in Paris.²⁵

A diachronic perspective on the stages of the modern Greek Enlightenment and a thorough investigation of the contributions of Adamantios Korais reveal a heady amount of evidence which indicates that the majority of modern Greek Enlightenment thought came through the translation and transmission of ancient and foreign texts. There also exists a certain cyclical reliance upon the texts of Aristotle to educate the masses: the established philosophy of the Byzantine Empire was Aristotelianism, and Adamantios Korais translated some of Aristotle's works as his final call to revolution. In addition, it is interesting to see how Korais tempered his views against the church

¹¹ Christine Philliou, "Communities on the Verge: Unraveling the Phanariot Ascendancy in Ottoman Governance," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 1 (2009): 151.

¹² *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. s.v. "Mavrokordatos," Vol. XVII. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 917.

¹³ Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 32.

¹⁴ Ambrogio Marliani, *Theatrum Politikon*, trans. Nikolaos Alexandrou Maurokordatos. En Lipsia tēs Saxōnias: Preitkopp, 1776, http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/fs1/object/display/bsb10769924_00025.html.

¹⁵ Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 34.

¹⁶ Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 65.

¹⁷ G. Bertrin, "Charles Rollin," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912).

¹⁸ Ioannis D. Evrigenis, "A Founder on Founding: Jefferson's Advice to Korais," *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique Online*, 1 (2004): 157-181.

¹⁹ Adamantios Korais, *Allilographia*, Volume 1, 1774-1798, ed. C. Th Dimaras, Alkis Angelou, Aik. Koumariou and E.N. Franghiscos. (Athens, 1964): 91, quoted in Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 178.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 118-9.

²¹ Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 186.

²² Evrigenis, "A Founder on Founding," 157-181.

²³ Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 270.

²⁴ George Kaloudis, "Greeks of the Diaspora: Modernizers or an Obstacle to Progress?" *International Journal on World Peace* 23, no. 2 (2006).

²⁵ Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 289.

in order to adjust to the impending necessity of revolutionary Greece. Above all, however, the introduction of ideas foreign in terms of time or geographical location was necessary for the foundation of modern Greek consciousness.

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Who Tells Your Story? How the Publishing Industry Shaped the Greek Fantasy

Melissa Ballow

The modern Greek state declared its independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1821. The act was heralded as a success for democracy and modernization by Western Europe, and affluent citizens from countries such as Great Britain and France travelled to the fledgling nation during its war of independence in the following decade. Armed with the knowledge gleaned from the philosophers, playwrights, and poets of the classical period (5th-4th c. BCE), this elite chose to travel to the 'cradle of modern civilization'. They expected to find a rich culture and a community in tune with its roots, a people that had kept the principles of their ancient society alive even under the tyranny of the Ottomans. Instead, they found a ragtag army of illiterate farmers who seemed to know nothing of their extensive history, with only a few privileged intellectuals at their helm who had studied away from the reaches of the Ottomans and were yet to disseminate their knowledge to the people. Why wasn't Greek literature connecting with the Greeks of the modern era? Why did non-Greeks know more about classical writers than their descendants, while simultaneously knowing so little about the men they were so willing to fight alongside? And how, without this cultural connection, did the Greeks come to know that they were a community at all? By tracing the evolution of the publishing industry, as well as following the records of ancient literature and understanding the transformations in the Greek language over the millennia, we find that the classics were kept from the Greeks by means of disaster, class divisions, and disparate social standing under the rule of other empires. In addition, we see that intellectual movements beyond Greece, enabled again by class structures, encouraged the reading of Greek works outside the motherland. Such developments in publishing led to the divide between modern Greeks, the history that belonged to them, and the world that wanted to build bridges to them and in-between.

In order to best understand the extensive

timeline of the history of the written word - as the migrating material we are concerned with originates at the very beginnings of the written word - we would do well to subdivide it into four main literary or historical eras. The first will be referred to as the 'Era of the Source Text', spanning the 5th and 4th centuries BCE; the second will be referred to as the 'Era of the Clergy', between the 6th and 15th centuries CE; then we have the 'Era of the Printing Press', beginning in the mid-15th century CE; and finally there is the 'Era of Greek Independence' in the 19th century. Within each of these eras, we will explore the defining innovations that shaped the way text was created, shared, housed, moved, and interpreted.

Era Of The Source Text (5th-4th century BCE)

Preceding the 8th century BCE, assorted government officials were the primary sources of written language. Words were depicted in symbols rather than in graphemes or morphemes (letters or syllables), thus limiting text to that which could be neatly depicted in an image. Writing was mostly used for the purposes of recording disasters, documenting festivals, or cataloging trade information. All this information was recorded on unwieldy tablets of clay or stone; a singular slab could cover up to a year's worth of clerical information before it needed to be baked and archived for future reference. Meanwhile, anything of artistic merit - epic poetry, songs, theatre - was passed on via word-of-mouth and the oral tradition. The works that survived from this era were preserved and archived after written language evolved sufficiently to do so post-8th century BCE. These works were saved in their remembered form according to the scribes that documented them.¹

All that we have preserved in literary form from these very early years is in the form of a manuscript from the Latin "codex manu scriptus", meaning "handwritten book".²

¹ "Early Writing," Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin, n.d.

² Helen Dixon and Brian A. Sparkes, "Manuscripts," in *The Edinburgh Companion to Ancient Greece and Rome*, ed. Edward Bispham and Thomas Harrison (Edinburgh, Edinburgh UP, 2010): 251

The term can refer to either an original work or a direct copy of an original work. In most of these primitive cases, the closest we have to an 'original' work is a copy of an original, which includes the errors, omissions, additions, or other changes made by its author; as such, the text may be a 'copy', but it is not the same as the original. However, such texts must be treated as primary sources in historical and academic work, as they are the closest to the original incarnations of a given work and are not commentaries by nature. The copies most likely to be accurate are called "palimpsests" from the Greek "palim psao", or "to wipe clean".³ They were made by writing on top of old and damaged writing to duplicate it without making a new manuscript. This method of copying was most often used when funds were too low to make a new manuscript, materials were scarce, or lack of interest rendered fresh copies outside the realm of the practical. Writing that was subject to this process would be otherwise discontinued and would cease to exist.

Two main types of manuscript prevailed during this first era: the papyrus scroll and the codex. The scroll predates the codex by over three millennia, and was originally invented by the neighboring ancient Egyptians in 4000 BCE: "The longest Egyptian scroll ever found measures over 133 feet, which is only 18 feet shorter than the Statue of Liberty, though most scrolls were much shorter".⁴ They could withstand aging and discoloration well, but the papyrus proved to be quite brittle and fragile to work with. The codex first appeared in the 1st century BCE, when a more stable surface became more desirable; however, codices were not popularized until the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE, when both their permanence and stability made them more durable, allowing them to survive for years, which was helpful as Christianity began to rise and required a solid vessel to carry the Bible. The earliest codices had thin wooden or wax pages that would be written on with a reed or stylus; later, these pages would be made of parchment, or 'membrana'. Parchment pages were made of animal hide, which was treated with lime and other chemicals and then scraped down with pumice and stretched out to thin and dry out. Covers were made of wooden planks until the late 15th century, when they were replaced by millboard, a very thick paper board. Although paper was available throughout China

during the 1st century CE, it was not used in Europe until the 13th century, when it was favored due to the expense of parchment - trees were far more abundant and cheaper than livestock, after all.⁵

In the year 146 BCE, Corinth fell to Rome, thus beginning Roman rule in the Greek region. With the takeover of the new empire, Latin fluency rose, especially during the following few centuries, which saw the foundation of the Catholic church and the push to convert secular or polytheistic persons in the region. Greek was used alongside Latin until tensions in the area increased the need for a unified empire. Greek schools were then closed in order to promote an increase in Latin understanding, and Greek literacy fell by the wayside.

Era Of The Clergy (6th - 15th century CE)

By the 6th century CE, books were being written almost entirely in codices, which were still made from animal hides. Many, if not most, of these books were written in Latin, the common tongue of the Roman Empire. The Greek language had largely disappeared between the 4th and 6th centuries in the western end of the empire as emphasis was placed on Latin, especially after Rome fell and Greek regions came under the command of the Eastern Roman, or Byzantine, Empire. However, eastern regions that housed the most prominent remaining communities of Greek speakers maintained the language for trade and religious purposes.

Book-making was a highly expensive business at this time. Books were a luxury few could afford and just as few could read. But who came to own the literature of this era, preserving the classics and maintaining new work pertaining to Christianity? As it turns out, Byzantine monasteries and churches maintained the publishing industry at this time. Since they constituted the main educational establishments in the empire, especially when it came to higher education, it was natural that these buildings should house texts - ancient, biblical, analytical, or otherwise - for reference and study. Classics and religious works were set side by side, and students were encouraged to write in a style that was thorough and analytical, as in classical philosophy, so as to fully understand their topics. Monks and students

alike would repair and recopy manuscripts as needed during their time in these establishments. Although this period held the potential for exponential growth in education, literacy hovered in the single digits because of restricted access to texts and the wealth needed to purchase them or learn how to read. In addition, monasteries were restricted to male access only. With so few readers and teachers available, information did not penetrate the working memory of the people.

During the same period, the golden age of Islam did much to preserve and propagate Greek text. As Islam began to spread through the Near East in the 7th century, on the whole education began to prosper in the region. Primary sources for math and science came from Greek mathematicians, and ancient philosophical texts obtained via trade and both brought to the area and translated into Arabic and a handful of other Eastern languages about two centuries before continued to prosper. Privately-owned libraries quickly became common among the rich and powerful; while some owners opened their doors to the public, the libraries remained private property, with rights given at the owners' discretion unless the spaces were designated madrasas to provide supplementary learning, employing methods similar to those in Byzantine monasteries. The madrasa was a mosque with a library dedicated only to religious text and commentary and staffed by professors with a focus on Muslim orthodoxy. Non-religious text thus became distrusted as the Middle Ages progressed, as anything not relating to the Quran or its commentary was considered a potential act of heresy. Of course, that did not stop the Muslim military that invaded Sicily and Spain in the 9th century from bringing copies of such heretical texts with them on their conquests; when they reached land, these texts were translated from Arabic to Latin and stored in local monasteries. From Latin, ancient texts could then easily be translated into common tongues in the Western Catholic sphere, and new copies in other languages were stored in monasteries even further from their original homelands, some traveling as far north as England, as far west as the edges of the Iberian peninsula, and permeating the whole of the contiguous continent.⁶

Era Of The Printing Press (mid-15th century CE)

Johannes Gutenberg was born circa 1395 in Mainz, Germany and has been credited with inventing movable type. In truth, movable type was invented in China several centuries earlier, and Gutenberg should instead be credited with popularizing its use in Europe. However, as the invention was unknown in the West at the time the Gutenberg press was created and much of history has been documented by a Eurocentric body of intellectuals, the false accreditation remains. Regardless of this, it is indisputable that Gutenberg's first book, a Bible printed no later than 1455 and nicknamed the 'Forty-Two Line Bible' or the 'Gutenberg Bible', was a commercial and procedural success. As Dreyfuss notes, "Printing houses popped up all over Europe,"⁷ but further east, the story was very different, as Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire, home to the majority of the Greek-speaking population, fell to the Ottoman Empire in 1453 and became swallowed up by it.

The Ottoman Empire was a multiethnic, multicultural state. It was divided along religious lines between Muslims, Christians, and Jews. Local religious leaders would work in conjunction with the state, and justice could be administered at the local level to account for discrepancies between religions. In exchange for ultimate coordination with and subordination to the Muslim Ottoman rule, all minorities were granted protection under the empire. They maintained their religious and linguistic autonomy within the state. However, it was this linguistic diversity, widespread illiteracy, and the complexity of the majority language, Arabic, that prevented use of books in the massive Ottoman Empire until the 1700s. Paper was not manufactured within the empire, and was instead imported, thus keeping prices too high for the layman. Even when the printing press was made available, it was seldom used. Indeed, between 1729 and 1839, a measly 534 books were published.⁸ Secondary languages such as Greek could also not be used by the few available presses; however, publications could be exported to other countries, and this was how the first modern Greek papers and manifestos were made as the Ottoman Empire weakened and became vulnerable to collapse: manuscripts were shipped into neighboring countries such as France, which had cheap and accessible printing materials.

³ "Early Writing".

⁴ "Early Writing".

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Dixon, "Manuscripts"; Johannes Pedersen, "Libraries," in *The Arabic Book*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (n.p.: Princeton UP, 1984): n.p.

⁷ Julie Dreyfuss, "The Evolution of the Book - Julie Dreyfuss." YouTube, TEDEducation, 2016.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YqYtdPUis4>

⁸ Buket Candan, "Intellectual Property Legislation in the Ottoman Era and Its Effects on Knowledge Production," *Athens Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 3 no. 3 (2017): 7.

Era Of Greek Independence (19th century CE)

As political activists in the Ottoman Empire continued to export radical work to be translated, Western radicals continued to romanticize and herald the ideals of Athenian philosophy and democracy, whose pillars had been maintained thanks to the clergy's preservation of ancient manuscripts and the rapid means of reproduction brought about by the Gutenberg press. Furthermore, as interest in poetry, art, and travel increased in the wake of the Enlightenment period, there arose a subspecies of Romantic, the 'philhellenic' artist, or the 'lover of Hellas'. Writers such as the infamous British poet Lord Byron were moved to write sprawling ballads and odes to the nation-hopeful and its quickly-strengthening quest for independence; Byron pledged to join the Greek army to help the Greeks fight for independence though he died before he ever saw battle. The work of such figures about Greece set up an expectation of a European ideal. Ancient Greek principles were by now also thought integral to European education, and the Enlightenment movement had returned to ancient dialogues to inspire new philosophical thought; reaching back into that well meant a return to classicism, and therefore to Greece.

However, intellectuals engaged primarily with the elite who had broken into the writing world, while the reality was that only about 12% of the world's population was literate at the time.⁹ Elites did not interact with laymen in Greece, most of whom were illiterate farmers that had never had access to ancient publications or relics and were more concerned with forming a Christian state free from Muslim rule than a reimagined version of the ancient empire of yore. In fact, Christianity was so much more important to the lower-class members of the proto-state that it was included in all four iterations of their classifications of "who is a Greek", and from the original constitution onward, it was written that a Greek citizen must be Greek Orthodox. The 1827 version of the constitution also included persons in diasporic communities if their father was a Greek as per other provisions (he himself was Greek Orthodox, spoke Greek, or had lived in Greece 5+ years). However, more educated members of the society viewed religion as too unstable to support the new state on its own, so instead they repeatedly referred to the value of a language that had evolved

very little over the millennia.¹⁰ Such a connection proved to Western Europeans that Greek ties to their past were more than conjecture and the simple transmission of a name: this was a community indelibly bound to the work they had so long been kept from, and their liberation would not only be a victory for democracy itself, but a way for them to reconnect with a history held beyond their reach by a people who had set out to isolate and destroy them, leaving not a trace as they fell behind the veil of a silent, hulking empire.

Conclusion

By means of an extensive journey through the history of the written word, we can see how politics, technology, trade, religion, and education all impacted the publishing industry and the migration of Greek writing through time. As the clergy and shifting empires distanced Greek speakers from Greek readers and from Greek intellectual property, ancient works were nevertheless shared with the surrounding European and early Muslim worlds. However, after the Greek empire fell beneath the shroud of the Ottoman Empire and became distanced from the boom of the printing industry, almost all modern Greek work was hidden from the view of the West. In addition, while other Europeans came to be raised on classical education and studied ancient texts extensively, Greeks themselves could not have access to such materials, which were kept locked away in monasteries or madrasas.

Since the Greek state successfully became a sovereign nation, much of its current identity has been based upon reclaiming the culture that had been lost. Ancient Greek is now taught alongside modern Greek in schools, and ancient works continue to be translated, performed, and publicized online. However, once again, modern Greek culture seems to be hidden away, clouded by talk of two major national crises (the economic crisis and immigration), and it also remains uncovered by the quickly dying newspaper media industry. We can only hope that globalized, online news may take over and keep modern Greece relevant, but unfortunately that is a future that remains uncertain.

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