

**ANTIQUITY, PRIMITIVISM AND NATIONAL  
STEREOTYPES IN GREEK TRAVEL WRITING  
(1850-1870)**

by

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis sets out to study the representations of rural people in Greek travel writing over the period 1850-1870, by focusing on the way in which such representations reveal the process of national identity formation. In the first chapter, I address the issue of travellers' lack of interest in the peasant way of life, and I undertake to explore the significance of this 'absence'. In the second chapter, I examine travel texts pursuing to establish a direct connection of rural customs and mores with the ancient Greek ones. In the third chapter, I analyse the way in which the ethnographical concern of travel writing brings to the fore primitive aspects of rural life. The concept of primitiveness will be further developed in the last two chapters, in the context of race and gender representations in the observation of Greek peasants.

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## INTRODUCTION

Over the last two decades, researchers from various academic disciplines – among others, literature, sociology, history, geography and anthropology – have been engaged in the study of travelling and travel writing. Subsequently, as Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs point out in their Introduction to *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ‘the amount of scholarly work on travel writing has reached unprecedented levels’.<sup>1</sup> In the field of cultural studies in particular, and under the influence of post-colonial critics, feminism, translation theory and other approaches, travel writing is considered to provide an appropriate corpus of texts in addressing questions related to the representation of Otherness and the formation of cultural, national or racial identities, as well as the means to develop the colonial discourse, the role of gender as a subject of writing and an object of representation, the conditions under which a culture is ‘interpreted’ by another culture and so forth.

In Greece, however, travel writing has not drawn the same critical attention. Travel writing production of the nineteenth century in particular remains to a great extent unknown. Although there is adequate literature material available on foreign travellers to Greece,<sup>2</sup> there are no reference works on Greek travel accounts. The first initiative launched in the field appears to be Annita Panaretou’s bibliography directory on Greek travel writing production, incorporated in the last pages of her five-volume anthology entitled *Ελληνική ταξιδιωτική λογοτεχνία*. It involves, however, only self-contained editions (from 1855 onwards). Thus, it does not compile periodical publications, which are the majority over the nineteenth century, or travel accounts encompassed in various

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Hulme, Tim Youngs, ‘Introduction’ in Peter Hulme, Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The most comprehensive bibliography database of foreign travels to Greece is ‘Ξενόγλωσσα περιηγητικά κείμενα για τη Ν.Α. Ευρώπη και την Ανατολική Μεσόγειο, 15<sup>ος</sup>-19<sup>ος</sup> αιώνας’ (K.N.E., E.I.E), see *Tetradia Ergasias* 17 (Περιηγητικά θέματα. Υποδομή και προσεγγίσεις), Athens: K.N.E.-E.I.E., 1993.



writers' complete works or memoirs.<sup>3</sup> In addition, studies on travel writing of the mid-nineteenth century are extremely limited and they primarily consider it as paving the way for the advent of the twentieth century's travel writing production. Besides, those studies maintain that travel writing is in itself a literary genre. Hence, they conclude that travel texts of the period in question should not be integrated into travel writing, since they seek above all to provide information and are devoid of literary value.<sup>4</sup>

The present thesis endeavours to explore travel accounts of the Greek countryside published over the period 1850-1870 in the so-called 'family literature' periodicals.<sup>5</sup> Those periodicals – which make their appearance around the mid-nineteenth century – are of encyclopaedic and entertaining character.<sup>6</sup> Travel texts published in such periodicals are usually compiled by regular collaborators and they take the form of letters, fragmentary notes or 'memories'. Writers do not travel only across Greece, but they also travel around the world. Thus, readers enjoy a wide range of travel narratives, varying from tours to very close destinations, such as Kifissia or Penteli<sup>7</sup> for the residents of Athens – where the majority of journals under consideration are published – to ocean travels across the Atlantic, missions of exploration along the American coast and travel

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<sup>3</sup> See Annita P. Panaretou, *Ελληνική ταξιδιωτική λογοτεχνία*, 5 vols, Athens: Epikerotita, 1995. A number of travel texts produced over the nineteenth century have also been found and collected by Stelios Xefloudas, *Ταξιδιωτικά*, Vasiki Vivliothiki, vol. 22, Athens, 1956. For a brief introduction to Greek travelling until the nineteenth century, see also Eleni Angelomati-Tsougaraki, 'Ελληνικά περιηγητικά κείμενα (16<sup>ος</sup>-19<sup>ος</sup> αιώνας)', *Mesaionika kai Nea Ellinika*, 6 (2000), pp. 155-180.

<sup>4</sup> Annita P. Panaretou, 'Η ταξιδιωτική λογοτεχνία: Απόπειρα καθορισμού' in *Ελληνική ταξιδιωτική λογοτεχνία*, vol. 1. pp. 53-62, Stelios Xefloudas, 'Εισαγωγή' in *Ταξιδιωτικά*, pp. 11-15, Apostolos Sachinis, *Η σύγχρονη πεζογραφία μας*, Athens: Estia, 1983, pp. 67-76 (4<sup>th</sup> edition).

<sup>5</sup> Martha Karpozilou, *Τα ελληνικά οικογενειακά φιλολογικά περιοδικά (1847-1900)*, Ioannina: University of Ioannina, 1991, pp. 113-114.

<sup>6</sup> The majority of the travel texts discussed in the present thesis are extracted from the following journals: *Apothiki ton Ofelimon kai Terpon Gnoseon* (Ermoupoli, 1847-1849), *I Efterpi* (Athens, 1847-1855), *Pandora* (Athens, 1850-1872), *Ethnikon Imeroloyion* by Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos (Athens, 1861-1871), *Chrysallis* (Athens, 1863-1866), *Ethniki Vivliothiki* (Athens, 1865-1873), *Ilissos* (Athens, 1868-1872).

<sup>7</sup> See S [=Stefanos Dragoumis], 'Δύο ημέραι εκτός των Αθηνών', *Pandora*, 14/321 (1 August 1863), pp. 222-224, Christoforos Parmenides, 'Περιοδίαι Σπουδαστού. Επιστολή πρώτη. Περιοδίαι εις Πεντέλην', *Pandora*, 7/152 (15 July 1856), pp. 180-183.

accounts on Niagara Falls.<sup>8</sup> Greek destinations usually involve Southern Greece, namely the Peloponnese and the Aegean islands. Nevertheless, travels are also organised to regions in the North, such as the regions of the so-called ‘Unredeemed Hellenism’, that is to say Ottoman Empire provinces populated by Greek people. Most of those texts encompass a wide range of topographical information on various rural areas in terms of geography, history, archaeology, demographic growth, residential development, economy, agriculture production and commerce, education, etc.

The prevailing informative character of these texts raises the issue of identifying them with travel texts or not. Travel writing, of course, can hardly be defined, as it embraces such a wide range of different and heterogeneous forms that it has been suggested that the term ‘travel writing’ should be used as ‘a collective term for a variety of texts both predominantly fictional and non-fictional whose main theme is travel’.<sup>9</sup> Despite the difficulty in defining the genre, and for the purposes of indexing and selecting from journals the texts to be discussed in the present analysis, I have adopted the following minimalist definition: ‘travel text’ means ‘a non-fictional first-person prose narrative describing a person’s travel(s) and the spaces passed through or visited, which is ordered in accordance with, and whose plot is determined by the order of the narrator’s act of travelling’.<sup>10</sup> Hence, most texts presented in this thesis have a core of narrative, even though – as is the case for earlier forms of travel writing – ‘they include much more

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<sup>8</sup> See, for example, Dim. Botasis’s travels, published in *Pandora* and *Chrysallis*, in which he describes impressive for his time travels: ‘Ο Δούναβις. Απόσπασμα ημερολογίου’, *Pandora*, 2/38 (15 December 1851), pp. 920-921, ‘Υποβρύχιος τηλεγράφος εν Νεοβοράκω’, *Pandora*, 7/166 (15 February 1857), pp. 523-524, ‘Πάρεργα τινά του Νέου Κόσμου’, *Pandora*, 10/229 (1 October 1859), pp. 295-300, ‘Από Νεοβοράκου εις Νέαν Αυρηλίαν’, *Pandora*, 11/250 (15 August 1851), pp. 233-239, 251 (1 September 1860), pp. 252-256, ‘Εις διάπλους του Ατλαντικού’, *Pandora*, 17/397 (1 October 1866), pp. 320-325, ‘Η σήραγξ του Μοντ-Σενί’, *Pandora*, 22/515 (1 September 1871), pp. 241-245, ‘Από Νεοβοράκου εις Νέαν Αυρηλίαν. Άρθρον δεύτερον’, *Chrysallis*, 1/21 (1 November 1863), pp. 651-655, ‘Επί του ατμοπλοίου Μισισιπής’, *Chrysallis*, 3/68 (30 October 1865), pp. 623-624.

<sup>9</sup> Ian Borm, ‘Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing and Terminology’ in Glenn Hooper, Tim Youngs (eds.), *Perspectives on Travel Writing*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, p. 13.

<sup>10</sup> David Chirico, ‘The Travel Narrative as a (Literary) Genre’ in Wendy Bracewell, Alex Drace-Francis (eds.), *Under Western Eyes: A Comparative Introduction to East European Travel Writing on Europe*, Budapest: Central European University Press, 2008, p. 39.

impersonal description than first-person prose'.<sup>11</sup> For the purposes of this study, however, I will also examine certain texts of pure topographical content. Besides, it is difficult on many occasions to specify whether topographies are the product of an on-site survey and personal travelling experience at the destination described.

The present thesis will not engage in an overall study of travel descriptions of the mid-nineteenth century Greek countryside; it will focus instead on the analysis of rural people representations included in these texts. More specifically, it seeks to explore the way such depictions reveal the process of national identity formation. In that respect, I will explore the way in which rural people are perceived in travel texts in relation to national ideological stereotypes of the time, in particular, to theoretical orientations of emerging folklore research in Greece around 1850 and onward. The formation of a national identity constitutes a principal issue in the newly founded Greek State in the mid-nineteenth century. The two fundamental elements of this identity are modern Greeks' classical origin as well as their capacity of integration in the western world. The establishment of these elements in Greek identity is first and foremost of European importance for the Greeks.

The Greek War of Independence, which led to the creation of the Greek State, gained the Europeans' active support – through the development of the philhellenic movement – because modern Greeks claimed they were heirs of Greek antiquity. The latter was considered to be western civilisation's cultural background, supporting Europe's definition as a symbol of cultural excellence against the other continents of the world. Consequently, the Greek war of Independence against the Ottomans assumed the features of juxtaposition of the civilised world against 'oriental barbarity'. After the foundation of

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<sup>11</sup> Elizabeth A. Bohls, Ian Duncan, 'Introduction' in Elizabeth A. Bohls, Ian Duncan (eds.), *Travel Writing 1700-1830: An Anthology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. x.

the Greek State, the Greeks' ancient origin but also their keeping pace with developed European states – thus, their cultural separation from the Ottoman Orient – continued being critical issues for the definition of Greek national identity and its projection abroad. After all, the new State aimed at its political legitimisation, its independence from European states and its borders' expansion to the Ottoman Empire. Over the same period, the Europeans started to show less philhellenic interest and reluctance to recognise the Greeks' classical heritage, as a result of financial and political power balance between European countries in the region of the Eastern Mediterranean. This shift, as well as the Greeks own discovery that their development path, which would assure their integration in Europe, was not the one they wished for, heightened the feeling of necessity of a national self-determination, against foreign distrust, by asserting the ancient Greek and European dimension of national identity.<sup>12</sup>

The concept of people plays an important role in the formation of national identity, as, according to the romantic version of the nineteenth century sense of nation, the people is perceived as the nation's 'ark',<sup>13</sup> that includes the national soul 'given from above'.<sup>14</sup> Hence, around the middle of the nineteenth century there appears for the first time a folklore interest about recording folk culture. For this interest, the role of the German Jakob Phillip Fallmerayer was very important. Since 1830, Fallmerayer had been doubting the racial purity of modern Greeks, having as an argument the fact that their

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<sup>12</sup> For a detailed presentation of the issues related to the national ideology development in Greece over the nineteenth century, see K. Th. Dimaras, *Ελληνικός Ρωμαντισμός*, Athens: Ermis, 1982, pp. 323-480, Alexis Politis, *Ρομαντικά χρόνια. Ιδεολογίες και Νοοτροπίες στην Ελλάδα του 1830-1880*, Athens: E.M.N.E-Mnemon, 1998, pp. 48-60, Elli Scopetea, *Το 'Πρότυπο Βασίλειο' και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα. Όψεις του εθνικού προβλήματος στην Ελλάδα (1830-1880)*, Athens: Polytypo, 1988, pp. 93-247. Useful articles on the Greek identity formation and consolidation are also included in volumes: *Έθνος-Κράτος-Εθνικισμός. Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο*, Athens: Etaireia Spoudon Neoellinikou Politismou kai Genikis Paideias, 2005, Roderick Beaton, David Ricks (eds.), *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, Romanticism, and the Uses of the Past (1797-1896)*, Burlington: Ashgate, 2009. For a study on Greek identity formation in the context of the imaginary nation theory, see Stathis Gourgouris, *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization and the Institution of Modern Greece*, Princeton; New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996.

<sup>13</sup> Alexis Politis, *Ρομαντικά χρόνια*, pp. 95-98.

<sup>14</sup> Alki Kyriakidou-Nestoros, *Η θεωρία της ελληνικής λαογραφίας. Κριτική ανάλυση*, Athens: Etaireia Spoudon Neoellinikou Politismou kai Genikis Paideias, 1978, p. 30.

blood was adulterated by the successive colonisation of the Greek land by Slavic and Albanian tribes.<sup>15</sup> In this context, since the 1840s, a series of folklore, as well as historical and linguistic studies have been attempting to defend the ancient origin of Greeks. The years from 1850 onwards open a period of a more intense folkloric movement, supported by periodicals from Athens, by philological associations and academic contests, aiming at proving the Greek cultural continuity.<sup>16</sup> Around 1860, as the historian K. Th. Dimaras notes, ‘folklore tends to be established at the most central and basic position of Greek culture’.<sup>17</sup> By the end of the decade, folklore – as well as historiographical studies – takes the form of science, and over the 1870s it wins the ‘case of Greek diachronic unity’.<sup>18</sup>

These folklore studies primarily seek to identify the ancient Greek substance in folklore manifestations. In other words, the connection of ancient and modern civilisation constitutes the central ‘organizing principle’ of folklore research, around which, all the rest are moving.<sup>19</sup> Subsequently, when, in 1871, Nikolaos Politis, the first folklore scholar, publishes the first volume of his treatise *Μελέτη επί του βίου των Νεοτέρων Ελλήνων* (second volume, 1874), he seeks to show ‘at which points the life [of modern Greeks] succeeds the ancient one’.<sup>20</sup> In other words, Greek folklorists of this first period of research are not interested in studying folklore unless it can be compared with classical

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<sup>15</sup> For a comprehensive presentation of Fallmerayer’s theory, see Elli Scopetea, *Φαλμεράιερ. Τεχνάσματα του αντιπάλου δέους*, Athens: Themelio, 1997.

<sup>16</sup> Dimitrios S. Loukatos, *Εισαγωγή στην ελληνική λαογραφία*, Athens: MIET, 1992, pp. 56-65. For the influence of Fallmerayer’s position on the development of folkloristics in Greece, see Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece*, New York: Pella, 1986, pp. 75-96, Michalis Meraklis, ‘Ο Fallmerayer και η ελληνική λαογραφία’ in E. Chrysos (ed.), *Ένας νέος κόσμος γεννιέται. Η εικόνα του ελληνικού πολιτισμού στη γερμανική επιστήμη κατά τον 19<sup>ο</sup> αιώνα*, Athens: Acritas, 1996, pp. 269-276. For the influence of Fallmerayer’s position on Greek historiography, see Yiorgos Veloudis, *O Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer και η γένεση του ελληνικού ιστορισμού*, Athens: E.M.N.E.-Mnemon, 1982. An association of Fallmerayer’s theories with the European colonial ideology is attempted by Stathis Gourgouris, *Dream Nation*, pp. 195-211.

<sup>17</sup> K. Th. Dimaras, ‘Η δεξίωση του Heine στον χώρο της ελληνικής παιδείας’ in *Ελληνικός Ρωμαντισμός*, p. 297.

<sup>18</sup> K. Th. Dimaras, ‘Η ώρα του Vico για την Ελλάδα’ in *Ελληνικός Ρωμαντισμός*, p. 441.

<sup>19</sup> Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More*, p. 10.

<sup>20</sup> Alki Kyriakidou-Nestoros, *Η θεωρία της ελληνικής λαογραφίας*, p. 91.

antiquity. Hence, classical orientation and the mainly textual rather than on-site research, prevents the first folklorists from facing seriously ‘the main problem of humanitarian studies, namely the problem of a man studying another man’, as Alki Kyriakidou-Nestoros notes.<sup>21</sup>

The lack of interest in rural culture as well as the classical vision, leading to comparison of modern and ancient customs and mores, also constitute the main approach of the travel writers. These issues will be discussed in the first two chapters of the present thesis. A great part of travels to the Greek countryside is haunted, as we will see, by classical antiquity and the expectation of Greece’s renaissance, ignoring thus the unknown and modest present. Nevertheless, in comparison to the folklorists, travellers cannot totally avoid the ‘man studying another man’ issue. Indeed, travel descriptions are compiled as a form of writing based on travelling experience. Consequently, travellers must, among other things, reflect, to a minimum extent, a connection with the actual site and its people. Encounters, however, with the actual site reveal a rather off-putting and appalling environment. In other words, over the period in question, the Greek countryside is neither seen ‘out of the best of intentions and in a patriotic mood’ (‘με αγαθή προαίρεση και φιλοπάτριδα διάθεση’),<sup>22</sup> nor can it be qualified as ‘endowed with a pure traditional way of life’ (‘χάρισμα της ανόθευτης παραδοσιακής ζωής’),<sup>23</sup> which is a typical element of the idyllic ethography after 1880. In fact, the main angle of view in ‘realistic’ observation of rural life – the one that does not follow the distorting ‘hunt for evidence’ and seeks to report the present-day situation – is of an ‘exotic’ nature. It represents the Greek countryside as a type of primitive life which is subject to exploration, and it depicts the inhabitants with stereotypical features of ‘underdeveloped’ and ‘primitive’ people. This primitive rural environment is not characterised by its

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>22</sup> Annita Panaretou, ‘Η ταξιδιωτική λογοτεχνία: Απόπειρα καθορισμού’, p. 58.

<sup>23</sup> K. Th. Dimaras, ‘Η δεξίωση του Heine στον χώρο της ελληνικής παιδείας’, p. 297.

closeness to the Ottoman Orient. In this respect, travellers follow Korais's example, the Greek nationalist scholar who attempted the 'deorientalization' of modern Greek language, eliminating 'all words of obviously Turkish origin'.<sup>24</sup> Rural primitiveness is rather identified with what Robert Shannan Peckham calls 'colonial' or 'exotic' otherness, which results from the comparison between the Greek peasant and the colonies' natives.<sup>25</sup> In the three last chapters of the thesis, I will try to investigate the exact features of primitive rural environment, and discuss the way in which this depiction contributes to the establishment of national identity. In effect, if the perception of Greek peasants as descendants of ancient Greeks proves the Greek cultural continuity, their primitive depiction underlines the necessity to civilise and integrate them to the western-type modern State that Greece seeks to form over the period under consideration.

Consequently, the present thesis aspires to contribute to a more sufficient understanding of the way rural people are perceived in the mid nineteenth century, especially the confirmation of their 'exotic' features. It should be pointed out that Kiriakidou-Nestoros's, Herzfeld's and Peckham's studies, which constitute major contributions to the theory and ideology of Greek Folkloristics, identify the repulsive and annoying, oriental or colonial elements of folk culture, but they do not proceed to their thorough description. Moreover, rural people's depictions in prose narrative texts have not drawn the scholars' interest. Despite the revised approach of nineteenth century prose, which led to its systematic study during the last decades, the limited number of

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<sup>24</sup> Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More*, p. 17.

<sup>25</sup> Robert Shannan Peckham, *National Histories, Natural States: Nationalism and the Politics of Place in Greece*, London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001, pp. 73-74. Peckham points to the impact of a process of 'internal colonialism', similar to the one indicated by Michael Hechter on the Celtic environment in the folklore study of popular mores in Greece at the end of the nineteenth century. Reference: Michael Hechter *Internal Colonialism: the Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975.

romantic prose texts about rural environment has discouraged scholars from studying them.<sup>26</sup>

While analysing travel descriptions I will also attempt to associate Greek travellers' position towards rural people with the basic ideological orientation of European traveling to Greece. European travel texts constitute perhaps the main channel through which Greeks receive the European image of idealised antiquity, which they exploit in the formation of their national identity. In fact, European travel texts have largely contributed to the prominence and consolidation of the idea of Greek antiquity as a cultural model for Europe, as from the late eighteenth century, endless groups of European travellers systematically explored classical ruins of Greece, seeking the roots of their own civilisation. In the European 'collective imagination', ancient Greece constitutes European civilization's 'place of origin', and ancient Greek remnants constitute a kind of 'home abroad', where all educated Europeans ought to go on a pilgrimage. Contemporary Greek reality was on the contrary, for most foreign visitors to Greece 'either unworthy of comment or deeply troublesome'.<sup>27</sup> Modern Greece generally stands at a 'borderline' and 'ambivalent' position, between West and East. For Europeans it is both a 'spiritual' land, connecting them to their roots – the ancient Greek civilisation, and an 'unfamiliar' territory, emblematically 'marked off by a distinctive otherness'.<sup>28</sup> Consequently, the present is often perceived as 'alien, primitive and degenerate'<sup>29</sup> and it has apparent oriental or Balkan, as we will see, features. The comparison between these depictions and

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<sup>26</sup> For the terms governing the aforementioned review, see Nasos Vagenas (ed.) *Η παλαιότερη πεζογραφία μας. Από τις αρχές ως τον πρώτο παγκόσμιο πόλεμο*, vols C'-E' (1830-1880), Athens: Socolis, 1996. For the study of the rural environment in prose texts in relation to the national ideology of the nineteenth century, see Takis Kayialis, 'Δημήτριος Αινιάν', 'Παύλος Καλλιγάς', *ibid*, vol. D', pp. 116-133, 158-184.

<sup>27</sup> Artemis Leontis, *Topographies of Hellenism: Mapping the Homeland*, Ithaca; London: Cornell University, 1995, pp. 44, 45, 53, 55.

<sup>28</sup> Vasiliki Galani-Moutafi, 'The Self and the Other: Traveler, Ethnographer, Tourist', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27/1 (January 2000), pp. 207-209.

<sup>29</sup> Efterpi Mitsi, "'Roving Englishwomen": Greece in Women's Travel Writing', *Mosaic*, 35 (2002), p. 130.



the ones provided by Greek travellers could contribute to the confirmation of the kind of colonial perception of the Greek countryside in Greek travel narratives.

Finally, some more clarifications would be necessary about the chronological limits of the research and the selection of the material which will be presented in the present thesis. The chronological limits 1850-1870 correspond to the first period of the rather amateur folklore research in Greece, which extends, as noted, from the mid-nineteenth century to the beginning of the 1870s, when Nikolaos Politis starts publishing the first folklore treatises. The depictions of Greek people after 1870 should be therefore associated with the systematic scientific recording of folklore material that prepares the ethographical trend 'back to nature' and the adulation of 'genuine' folk traditions of the end of the century. As for the material that will be discussed, it should be noted that it concerns travels to the rural environment of villages and small towns and not to urban centres, like Patra, Izmir, Zakynthos or Syros. What is more, my study concerns depictions of rural Greek population and not of foreign origin, like for instance the Albanian and Vlach communities, which live together with Greek people in several rural areas. I have however considered advisable to include in my study a few depictions of Albanian-speaking residents that help us to a better understanding of the way Greek people of the countryside are perceived. Lastly, some depictions concern the Greek rural population of the 'non-liberated' regions of the outer Greek State.

According to the outline presented above, the present thesis is comprised of five chapters. In chapter one I will discuss the travellers' lack of interest in the peasant way of life, and I will undertake to explore the significance of that 'absence'. In chapter two I will examine travel texts aiming to establish a direct connection of rural customs and

mores with the ancient Greek ones. In chapter three I will analyse the way in which the ethnographical focus of travel writing brings to the fore primitive aspects of the peasant way of life. The concept of primitiveness will be further developed in the last two chapters, in the context of race and gender representations in the observation of Greek peasants.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE ABSENCE OF CONTEMPORARY LIFE

Many Greek travel writers of the period under consideration are not interested in depicting Greek rural people. This is obvious in all forms of travel writing, including both topographical texts and texts in which writers recount their travel experiences. I will examine these two forms separately. Firstly, I will explore the topographical material on Greek rural areas in informative articles which appeared in Greek journals from the mid-nineteenth century. Secondly, I will undertake to analyse how the representation of Greek people is excluded from texts of the second form, that is to say from texts describing the writer's travels to the Greek countryside.

#### 1.1. Topographical Material

Journals of the nineteenth century encompass a great number of informative reports both on Greek territories and on Ottoman Empire provinces populated by Greek people. Such texts principally impart geographical, historical and archaeological information on different areas. At the same time, they inform the reader about contemporary economic and social advances of each area. As referred to in the Introduction, such purely informative content does not fall within the scope of the present analysis. It is, however, taken to a certain extent into consideration because of its association with travel accounts. For the material of many journal articles is often collected by the authors' on-site surveys in the regions concerned. Thus, writers sometimes process their material in such a way so as to combine information and personal impressions of the places they visit.<sup>1</sup> Besides,

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Epameinondas Stamatiades's topographical article on the island of Patmos, which appeared in *Chrysallis*, as well as a previous edition of the same text, published in *Edem*, that embraces the writer's direct impressions of his journey to the island, recounted in the first person: 'Νήσος Πάτμος',

purely informative texts are often called ‘travels’ and adopt an elementary travelling approach in order to make the scholarly knowledge that they contain more digestible for the reader.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, some information on the history and present state of rural areas is also found in travel ‘autobiographical’ narratives that focus on personal reactions to visited sites.<sup>3</sup>

Closer examination of information about Greek rural areas reveals that both topographical texts and travel accounts seek in principle to provide a detailed geographical, historical and archaeological mapping of the territory. Such mapping should be regarded as a follow-up to the topographical endeavour of European travel writing. In effect, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, European travellers set out to systematically explore Greek topography whilst scrupulously surveying extant antiquities.<sup>4</sup> A major and influential example of topographical survey is provided in the works by the British travel writer William Martin Leake. Although Leake study’s starting point is contemporary geography, it primarily aims to clarify issues related to ancient topography, define the present location of ancient sites and identify monuments. In essence, Leake launches a thorough ‘surface survey’ of the Peloponnese, Attica and other

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*Chrysallis*, 1/13 (1 June 1863), pp. 385-388, 14 (15 July 1863), pp. 426-427, ‘Πέντε ημέραι εις Πάτμον’, *Edem*, 1/12 (August 1862), pp. 133-136, 13 (15 August 1862), pp. 145-148.

<sup>2</sup> Such is the case of a Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos’s text entitled ‘Ταξείδια (Πόρος-Τροιζήν-Σύρος-Ναύπλιον-Υδρα-Αι Ιόνιοι νήσοι-Η Θεσσαλία-Το Πάσχα εις τας Αθήνας-Τελετή γάμου εις την Αθήνα)’, *Ethnikon Imerologyion*, 7 (1867), pp. 90-104. The first part of the text, which will be discussed further on, is a travel account as it encompasses the edited version of an earlier travel account compiled by the writer. However, the content of the second part becomes purely topographical, with certain interposed phrases implying that the writer did travel to the region described.

<sup>3</sup> This is the case of Christoforos Parmenides’s travels, which will be thoroughly discussed further on: ‘Περιοδίαι Σπουδαστού. Επιστολή πρώτη. Περιοδία εις Πεντέλην’, *Pandora*, 7/152 (15 July 1856), pp. 180-183, ‘Περιοδίαι Σπουδαστού. Επιστολή δευτέρα. Περιοδία εις Χαλκίδα’, *Pandora*, 7/156 (15 September 1856), pp. 278-282, ‘Περιοδίαι Σπουδαστού. Επιστολή τρίτη. Ερέτρια’, *Pandora*, 7/163 (1 January 1857), pp. 445-448, ‘Περιοδίαι Σπουδαστού. Επιστολή τετάρτη. Σούνιον’, *Pandora*, 8/171 (1 May 1857), pp. 63-67, ‘Περιοδίαι Σπουδαστού. Επιστολή πέμπτη. Φυλή’, *Pandora*, 8/184 (15 November 1857), pp. 363-366, ‘Περιοδίαι Σπουδαστού. Επιστολή ΣΤ’. Ανδρος’, *Pandora*, 10 / 221 (1 June 1859), pp. 119-120, 222 (15 June 1859), pp. 129-143, 227 (1 September 1859), pp. 256-259, 228 (15 September 1859), pp. 281-283.

<sup>4</sup> Fani-Maria Tsigakou, *The Rediscovery of Greece: Travellers and Painters of the Romantic Era*, London: Thames & Hudson 1981, pp. 25-26. For the generic features of topographical texts, see Ilia Chatzipanayioti, ‘Για μια τυπολογία της ταξιδιωτικής φιλολογίας του 18<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα’, *Tetradia Ergasias* 17, pp. 463-465.

regions. He also reports on the locality, its customs, its produce and prosperity, its government, and so forth.<sup>5</sup>

Having their origins in this topographical tradition, Greek travel texts of the period explore and describe the following elements: (a) the contemporary geographical environment and its differentiation from the ancient era (according to information gathered by ancient geographers and earlier travellers); (b) the illustrious ancient monuments and their present state; (c) the ancient history of a region (with extensive and detailed reference to historical facts, mythology, residential development, polity, etc.; (d) the modern history of a region (namely its involvement in the Greek War of Independence and the heroic deeds of its inhabitants). Furthermore, such texts provide an analysis on the present state of rural areas, with emphasis given to the development of cities: residential and urban planning aspects, public edifices and monuments, demographic growth, economic and commercial advances (often including statistical data on product exports, municipal revenues, etc.), educational establishments (also listed), and so forth. As regards towns and villages, information is given about natural environment and soil fertility, agricultural production and land development. With respect to the regions of the so-called ‘Unredeemed Hellenism’, further information is provided on demographic features (percentage of Greeks compared to other national groups) and Greek schools (proving the dissemination of Greek language and national consciousness).<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Richard Stoneman, *Land of Lost Gods: The Search for Classical Greece*, Norman; London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987, pp. 236-245. For Leake’s travel to Greece and his works, see also Kyriakos Simopoulos, *Ξένοι Ταξιδιώτες στην Ελλάδα*, vol. C1, Athens: Stachy, 1999 (6<sup>th</sup> edition), pp. 317-501.

<sup>6</sup> By way of example, travel texts encompassing topographical information that could be listed here are among others: Nikolaos Dragoumis, ‘Τετραήμερος αποδημία εις Σύραν’, *Pandora*, 7/155 (1 September 1856), pp. 253-256, 157 (1 October 1856), pp. 305-308, Miltiades Vratsanos, ‘Πλους και περιήγησις εις Σάμον’, *Chrysallis*, 2/31 (15 April 1864), pp. 200-204, 35 (15 June 1864), pp. 321-324, 38 (30 July 1864), pp. 417-421, ‘Περίπλους εις Πελοπόννησον’, *Chrysallis*, 2/ 39 (15 August 1864), pp. 454-459, 40 (30 August 1864), pp. 489-493, 41 (15 September 1864), pp. 525-528, 42 (30 September 1864), pp. 557-561. Epameinondas Stamatiades, ‘Τρεις ημέραι εις Ικαρίαν’, *Chrysallis*, 2/37 (15 July 1864), pp. 393-396. ‘Πέντε ημέραι εις Πάτμον’, [Anonymous], ‘Ο καλός πλους’, *Ioniki Melissa*, 1/22 (24 August 1851), pp.

The above material familiarises people with their homeland in order to raise national awareness.<sup>7</sup> This material indicates that the latter stems from asserting and realising three points: the ancient Greek origins of modern Greece, the heroic Greek Independence Movement ensuring the continuity of the glorious past and, finally, the economic and educational advances of rural areas, comparable to those achieved in developed European States. In other words, the idea is to assert the ancient Greek and European components of Greek culture.

The above mentioned ideological background is essential in order to comprehend how these texts relate to rural people. In general, despite the fact that such texts make references to contemporary reality, they do not provide any information about everyday life in the Greek countryside. Indeed, they may impart information on residential development but not on house architecture. Likewise, information is provided about agricultural production but not about agricultural practices; allusion is made to the beauty of the natural environment, the appealing or appalling appearance of villages, yet no indication is given on the inhabitants' activities. Throughout a substantial volume of information on the Greek countryside, one scarcely comes across representations of rural life. In short, such texts convey an unrepresentative and superficial image of rural areas, as if contemplated from a distance, leaving out any details that would enable readers to capture living reality. In this context, 'peripli', a specific form of travel writing, are indicative of the lack of interest in depicting rural life. In 'peripli', that is travel texts about sailing around various coastal areas, the writers describe geographical and historical aspects of the regions contemplated from on board. To this end, they consult geography and history books either aboard, during the journey, or later, when they carry

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253-255, 2/32 (10 January 1852), pp. 357-360. D. P. Boufis, 'Ολίγα τινά περί Χαλκίδος', *Ilissos*, 4/11 (1 October 1871), pp. 245-249.

<sup>7</sup> Rania Polykandrioti, 'Ταξιδιωτική φιλολογία' in *Λεξικό Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας*, Athens: Patakis, 2007, p. 2148. Similar points of view are expressed by Annita Panaretou, 'Η ταξιδιωτική λογοτεχνία: Απόπειρα καθορισμού', pp. 55-60.

out their personal bibliographic research to compile their travel accounts. Hence, as passengers usually disembark in harbours, travel writers describe at close quarters only rural towns; yet, they still disregard local people.<sup>8</sup>

Nonetheless, a brief reference to the local population's physical features and character traits can be found at the end of some of those topographical and travel texts. A closer study of such references reveals a stereotypic perspective of rural people underscoring – with slight variations – certain qualities: the rural inhabitants are in general attractive, especially women, whose beauty is particularly praised, ‘hospitable’, (‘φιλόξενοι’), ‘industrious’ (‘φιλόπονοι’), ‘of good taste’ (‘φιλόκαλοι’) and ‘fond of learning’ (‘φιλομαθείς’). Fondness for learning is specifically emphasized as it is pointed out that, impelled by their natural inclination to learning, many peasants send their children to study in Athens. Other distinctive qualities of the rural population are modesty, peaceful cohabitation and close family ties. Peasants are also portrayed as ingenious, light-hearted, talkative and extrovert; yet, light-heartedness and extroversion do not conflict with their strict morality. Reference is often made to the pure Greek language spoken in the countryside – namely in the regions of the ‘Unredeemed Hellenism’ – as well as to folksongs, praised for their poetic quality.<sup>9</sup> Sometimes, negative features may infiltrate this image, yet they are limited and, in any case, they only assert the quality praised in the previous image: if peasants are ‘temperamental’ (‘ασταθούς χαρακτήρα’), ‘envious’ (‘φθονεροί’), ‘jealous’ (‘ζηλότυποι’), ‘irritable’ (‘ευερέθιστοι’), ‘resentful’ (‘οξύθυμοι’), or ‘revengeful’ (‘εκδικητικοί’), it is only because these features are imputed to the fact

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<sup>8</sup> See, for example: Miltiades Vratsanos, ‘Περίπλους εις Πελοπόννησον’, [Anonymous], ‘Ο καλός πλους’, Nikolaos Katrevas, ‘Το ταξίδιον ή μια μικρά περιήγησις’, *Ioniki Melissa*, 1/21 (30 July 1851), pp. 243-245.

<sup>9</sup> Such representations are included in: Miltiades Vratsanos, ‘Πλους και περιήγησις εις Σάμον’, pp. 200-204, Epameinondas Stamatiades, ‘Πέντε ημέραι εις Πάτιμον’, no. 13, p. 148, Michael Konstantinides, ‘Βραχεία τινά περί της νήσου Σκύρου’, *Ilissos*, 1/3 (15 July 1868), pp. 86-87, Athanasios A. Sakellarios, ‘Εύα ή Άγιος Πέτρος’, *Pandora*, 4/ 88 (15 November 1853), p. 410, Vlasios G. Skardelis ‘Περί της ελληνικής κωμοπόλεως Στενιμάχου’, *Pandora* 10/ 234 (15 December 1859), p. 424, K. A. Gounaropoulos, ‘Κοζανικά’, *Pandora*, 22/ 525 (1 February 1872), p 494.

that they are uncultured, uneducated and uncivilised. Hence, it is hoped that, over time, and by virtue of education, peasants shall eventually become cultivated.<sup>10</sup>

Those representations will be extensively discussed in chapter four, in the context of the importance attached to this ‘West-oriented’ mode of perceiving Greek people. In this chapter it is emphasized that journals provide a brief outline of the rural population in order to depict a plain and homogeneous image of their physical and character traits. The main objective is to accentuate the peasants’ Greek identity, on the one hand, and their civilized and noble traits, on the other: industriousness, taste and natural inclination to learning and progress. The integration of those representations in topographical texts principally seeks to raise the readers’ awareness of their own homeland: create a form of standard outline for the ‘official’ national temperament enshrining the principal qualities of the Greek rural population. In the same vein, topographical information crystallizes the ‘official’ national – archaeological, geographical and historical – knowledge that urban people are required to have on their home country.

## 1.2. Pilgrimages

I will now proceed to the second form of travel writing comprising texts that concentrate on writers’ personal experiences from visited sites. Many of these texts are orientated towards visits to the ancient ruins. As such, they usually combine antiquarian research with historical memory. An outstanding example that will be thoroughly analysed is provided by Christoforos Parmenides’s travel accounts, which appeared in the journal *Pandora*.<sup>11</sup> More specifically, Parmenides’s texts reproduce the European

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<sup>10</sup> See: Emmanouel Ioannides, ‘Αμοργός’, *Pandora*, 3/55 (1 July 1852), p.159, Ippokratis D. Tavlarios, ‘Περί της νήσου Καλύμνου’, *Pandora*, 12/285 (1 February 1862), p. 521. See also Konstantinos Pop’s disappointment in not finding the inhabitants of Kythnos as ‘hospitable’, ‘industrious’ and ‘fond of learning’ as described by earlier travellers: ‘Η Κύθνος και τα λουτρά αυτής’, *I Efterpi*, 4/94 (15 July 1851), p. 521.

<sup>11</sup> See footnote 3.



travellers' long-standing 'pilgrimage' to the ancient ruins in quest of a visionary revival of the ancient past. Such a pursuit is associated with the Europeans' keen interest in every aspect of the ancient Greeks' life. This interest becomes increasingly intense from the mid-eighteenth century and derives from the concurrent tendency to idealise Greek antiquity. By the end of the eighteenth century, a series of fictional representations of the ancient world are published, the most important and most translated being the *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce* (1788), by Abbot Jean-Jacques Barthélemy, which provides an idyllic panorama of Greek antiquity.<sup>12</sup> At the same time, a new generation of travellers in Greece approaches archaeological sites with the mood 'to experience in the present the grandeur of an imagined past'; in other words, 'to experience through the senses what had already been envisaged through the imagination', the latter being modelled by classical readings.<sup>13</sup> The archaeological sites and the surrounding natural environment are thus engraved on visitors' minds as a spiritual landscape, an idealised setting where they nostalgically pursue and endeavour to apprehend the ideals of ancient times.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, in Chateaubriand's *Itinéraire* (1811) – an 'archetype' and 'binding precedent' work for the future Greek and European travellers in Greece –<sup>15</sup> reverie and imagining of the ancient world reach their culmination by reconstituting the ancient past in such a way that the

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<sup>12</sup> Fani-Maria Tsigakou, *The Rediscovery of Greece*, p. 20.

<sup>13</sup> Olga Augustinos, *French Odysseys: Greece in French Travel Literature from the Renaissance to the Romantic Era*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994, pp. 163, 166.

<sup>14</sup> Fani-Maria Tsigakou, *The Rediscovery of Greece*, pp. 26-27. For the perception of Greek – archaeological and natural – landscape by foreign travellers, see also G. Scarpelos, 'Η Ελλάδα του τοπίου και το βλέμμα των περιηγητών' in Panayiotis N. Doukellis (ed.), *Το ελληνικό τοπίο. Μελέτες ιστορικής γεωγραφίας και πρόσληψης του τόπου*, Athens: Vivliopoleio tis Estias, 2005, pp. 225-235, Robert Eisner, *Travellers to an Antique Land: The History and Literature of Travel to Greece*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1991, pp. 5-36, Constanze Guthenke, *Placing Modern Greece: The Dynamics of Romantic Hellenism, 1770-1840*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 20-43.

<sup>15</sup> Panayiotis Moullas, 'Πρόλογος' in *Τρεις Γάλλοι ρομαντικοί στην Ελλάδα. Λαμαρτίνος-Νερβάλ-Γκωτιέ*, Vaso Mentzou (trans.), Athens: Olkos, 1992, pp. 12, 13. For Chateaubriand's influence in Greece, see K. Th. Dimaras, 'Ο Chateaubriand στην Ελλάδα' in *Ελληνικός Ρομαντισμός*, pp. 255-269.

‘objective reality is transmuted through the author’s imagination into an artistic and poetic vision’.<sup>16</sup>

Reverie and imagining of the past constitute the key elements of Christoforos Parmenides’s approach towards the ancient ruins. More specifically, Parmenides describes in his texts the tours of a student group on the outskirts of Athens and Euboea. The itinerary is chosen and planned according to each tour’s primary destination, that is visiting a site of archaeological interest: the peak of Mount Pentelicus, from where the traveller can contemplate the glorious plain of Marathon, the ruins of ancient Eretria near Chalcis, the Sanctuary of Athena at Sounion and the ancient fortress of Phyle. Parmenides regards himself as a ‘pilgrim of the East’ (‘προσκυνητής της Ανατολής’),<sup>17</sup> longing to visit the actual sites of ancient glory; a glory he became familiar with at school and continues to study at university.<sup>18</sup> During his visits to the sites, the writer does not entirely avoid the antiquarian exploration of monuments. His main objective however is to depict the exaltation and ecstasy that he experiences by the recollection of the radiant past, as it revives before his eyes through imagination and prior literature on the subject. The writer’s most comprehensive endeavour to reconstitute the ancient Greek world can be found in his travel account on Sounion, based on information drawn from Strabo’s *Geographica* and Barthélemy’s *Anacharsis*. Relying upon those sources referred to in his texts, and inspired by the ruins of the Sanctuary of Athena on the cliff of Cape Sounion, the writer provides a tableau vivant of the ancient Greek world at its apogee, in the fifth century B.C.: he pictures the sacred temple, radiant amid other edifices at the edge of Cape Sounion cliff; locals heading for its altars to worship gods; sailors devoutly contemplating it from the sea aboard ships; and, finally, Plato sitting on the grassy bank

<sup>16</sup> Olga Augustinos, *French Odysseys*, p. 175. Chateaubriand’s *Itinerary* is also qualified as ‘poetic fiction’ by Kyriakos Simopoulos (Ξένοι Περιηγητές στην Ελλάδα, vol. C1, p. 270).

<sup>17</sup> Christoforos Parmenides, ‘Περιοδίαι σπουδαστού. Επιστολή πέμπτη. Φυλή’, p. 364.

<sup>18</sup> Christoforos Parmenides, ‘Περιοδίαι σπουδαστού. Επιστολή τετάρτη. Σούνιον’, p. 63.

of the cliff, surrounded by ardent followers and friends and passionately discussing his philosophical theories. Spiritual euphoria elicited by those imaginings is accentuated by a panoramic view depicted further on, as the writer's gaze embraces the islands on the horizon, also calling to mind glorious recollections of the ancient world.<sup>19</sup> Landscape panoramic views are also described in Parmenides's other travel narratives, such as the Marathon and the Athenian plains, contemplated from Mount Pentelicus' peak and the ancient fortress of Phyle respectively. Such panoramic views help the writer to apprehend the ancient world as a whole, as he can survey from above all significant archaeological sites of each area. In this regard, the natural landscape also plays an important role. In fact, Parmenides considers it as equally majestic as historical events that have taken place there. Indeed, he believes that both the triumphant battle of the Greeks against the Persians at Marathon and the victorious seizure of the fortress of Phyle – led by the Athenian general Thrasybulus against the oligarchic regime of the Thirty Tyrants – fully comply with the savage, austere and majestic natural beauty of mounts of Attica. Such a landscape infuses the author with bravery and bolsters his fighting spirit and love for freedom.<sup>20</sup>

Apart from the ancient ruins as the final destination of the tour, Parmenides also includes in his texts detailed descriptions of the route. In fact, he seeks to explore, to a certain extent, the topography of the region. Based on the standard linear structure of travel narratives in space and time, the writer recites the events in order of occurrence, as encountered by him and his fellow travellers on their way, going from one location to another. Moreover, he makes a detailed record of everything they run into upon their route: villages they come across, places where they choose to rest or spend the night,

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., pp. 66-67.

<sup>20</sup> Christoforos Parmenides, 'Περιοδία σπουδαστού. Επιστολή πρώτη. Περιοδία εις Πεντέλην', pp. 182-183, 'Περιοδία σπουδαστού. Επιστολή πέμπτη. Φυλή', p. 366.

quarries, caves, monasteries, country houses owned by renowned Athenians (the Duchess of Plaisance and Skarlatos Soutsos), cultivated or uncultivated plains, rich flora versus impoverished nature, rough or smooth and ‘passable’ (‘αμαξήλατοι’) roads, residential and urban development of Chalcis and Eretria, the tidal phenomenon of Euripus Strait, and so forth. On the basis of such information, it is possible to outline the contemporary topography of the outskirts of Athens and Chalcis in terms of the geographical, residential and natural environment of the region.

Nevertheless, the fact that the writer does not make any allusion to the Greek peasants and their living conditions is rather revealing. Although Parmenides’s tours unfold in five self-contained sequels, which appeared in *Pandora* over the period 1856-1857, the detailed itinerary includes but few representations of the local population. What is more, they mostly involve Albanian-speaking villagers of the region. Those representations will be analysed further on (see sections 4.3, 5.2). In the present chapter it is pointed out that, in fact, Parmenides is interested in the physical features and character traits of those villagers, and he wonders whether they could be assimilated by the Greek population.<sup>21</sup> He is also impressed by, and therefore makes a record of, an ‘odd’ (‘περίεργη’), according to his own words, scene: a bazaar held by Albanian peasants outside the fortification walls of Chalcis (see section 5.2.).<sup>22</sup> During a dangerous ascent of the mountains, he also cites the students’ fear and unease in the event of possible encounters with brigands,<sup>23</sup> described as men ‘being far more atrocious than four-legged beasts’ (‘που υπερβαίνουν και αυτών των τετραπόδων θηρίων την ωμότητα’).<sup>24</sup> Fortunately

<sup>21</sup> Christoforos Parmenides, ‘Περιοδίαι σπουδαστού. Επιστολή τετάρτη. Σούνιον’, p. 65, ‘Περιοδίαι σπουδαστού. Επιστολή πέμπτη. Φυλή’, pp. 364-365. ‘Περιοδίαι σπουδαστού. Επιστολή δευτέρα. Περιοδία εις Χαλκίδα’, pp. 278-282.

<sup>22</sup> Christoforos Parmenides, ‘Περιοδίαι σπουδαστού. Επιστολή δευτέρα. Περιοδία εις Χαλκίδα’, pp. 281-282.

<sup>23</sup> Christoforos Parmenides, ‘Περιοδίαι σπουδαστού. Επιστολή πρώτη. Περιοδία εις Πεντέλην’, p. 182, ‘Περιοδίαι σπουδαστού. Επιστολή δευτέρα. Περιοδία εις Χαλκίδα’, pp. 279, 280, ‘Περιοδίαι σπουδαστού. Επιστολή πέμπτη. Φυλή’, p. 365.

<sup>24</sup> Christoforos Parmenides, ‘Περιοδίαι σπουδαστού. Επιστολή πέμπτη. Φυλή’, p. 365.

though, instead of brigands, they encounter on Parnitha a group of men dressed in the traditional Greek skirt ‘foustanela’ who belonged to the Mountain Guard battalion.<sup>25</sup> Finally, some comments are made on the local population’s wretched living conditions, but only in association with the travellers’ query for accommodation: the writer describes an incident where the travellers sleep on the floor of a stuffy inn,<sup>26</sup> and another one where the owner of a coffee shop struggles to find them something to eat when they come in to find shelter from a heavy rain.<sup>27</sup>

It is worth noting that references to contemporary geographical, residential or human background do not interfere with the narration of fictional revival of the ancient past. In other words, as the sites of the ancient ruins are the final destination of the writer’s tours, they are completely distinct from the contemporary surroundings. This is borne out by the fact that topographical exploration precedes visits to the monuments. The disconnection of the ancient ruins from the surrounding environment is also achieved by the description of their panoramic views. This way, the writer can erase the details of the present landscape and contemplate the glorious events of another era. Besides, at the very site of the ancient ruins, the writer detaches himself even from the presence of his fellow travellers. Equally revealing is the incident where the writer explores the monuments and contemplates the glorious past, while the tour guide – an ‘affable boy’ (‘αγαθό παιδί’) showing the writer around the ancient fortress of Phyle – is represented as having a doze on the grass around the ruins. By depicting classical ruins isolated from their present surroundings, Parmenides adopts a widespread European approach towards the archaeological monuments of Greece applied in writing, painting, drawing, engraving, etc. This approach was largely promoted by the Society of Dilettanti, an English club of aristocrats, whose scientific publications on Greek antiquities established ‘the idealized

<sup>25</sup> Christoforos Parmenides, ‘Περιοδίαι σπουδαστού. Επιστολή δευτέρα. Περιοδία εις Χαλκίδα’, p. 280.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Christoforos Parmenides, ‘Περιοδίαι σπουδαστού. Επιστολή τετάρτη. Σούνιον’, p. 64.

depictions of Greek antiquities in their original, purified form, in isolation of their present surroundings’, and ‘free from the disturbing presence of contemporary life’.<sup>28</sup> The Greek archaeological services of the nineteenth century continued the same practice in order to create the image of the ‘archaeological site’ as it is perceived today: ‘[...] its monuments [are] purified, brought back to its perceived ancient [...] appearance, with all the post-classical ‘debris’ removed, in other words an archaeological site that conveys a powerful ideological message linking the glorious classical past with the present.’<sup>29</sup>

Therefore, the two threads of narrative involving the ancient past and the contemporary present run through Parmenides’s texts in parallel and never meet. Besides, contrary to the European travellers, the writer does not make the long-standing comparison between the glorious past and the ‘modest’ present, as he believes that ‘the recent present of liberated Greece’ (‘το νεαρόν ενεστώς της ελευθέρας Ελλάδος’) is ‘full of glorious hopes’ (‘πλήρες αγλαών ελπίδων’).<sup>30</sup> It is important to emphasize that the writer’s main concern in observing contemporary life is to examine the extent to which rural areas are modernized, as it is also the case in various topographical texts of his time. For Parmenides believes that ‘our society’s progress and growth’ (‘η πρόοδος της κοινωνίας ημών και η αύξησις’) should first and foremost be ‘the new generation’s major preoccupation’ (‘η ενδελεχής μέριμνα της νέας προ πάντων γενεάς’).<sup>31</sup> Thus, he describes in detail the fields of grain and abandoned lands he passes by, the state of roads, the captivating or dull aspect of village constructions, as well as the urban and residential

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<sup>28</sup> Effie F. Athanassopoulou, ‘An “Ancient” Landscape: European ideals, Archaeology, and Nation Building in Early Modern Greece’, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 20/2 (October 2002), p. 283.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., pp. 273-274. Artemis Leontis shares the same opinion about the ‘disciplinary technologies’ of European ‘discourse’ on Hellenism. Greek authorities made use of such ‘technologies’ in order to distinguish archaeological sites from the surrounding environment and control the access of the indigenous population to them (*Topographies of Hellenism*, p. 56).

<sup>30</sup> Christoforos Parmenides, ‘Περιοδία σπουδαστού. Επιστολή τετάρτη. Σούνιον’, p. 66.

<sup>31</sup> Christoforos Parmenides, ‘Περιοδία Σπουδαστού. Επιστολή τρίτη. Ερέτρια’, p. 447. An interesting association between the necessity of economic modernization of the countryside and the representation of Albanian women’s physical appearance in Parmenides’s travel account on Chalcis will be discussed in section 5.2.

development of Chalcis – which ‘is not influenced by European trends’ (‘δεν έχει λάβει επί το ευρωπαϊκότερον σχηματισμόν’) like other towns marked by the Ottoman architecture.<sup>32</sup> He also explains why a new residential district construction plan in Eretria fell through, despite the government’s initial decision to relocate there Psariot refugees of the Greek War of Independence.

The analysis of the way in which Parmenides’s travel accounts represent the ‘pilgrimage sites’ of the ancient ruins and the topography of modern Greece helps to better understand the reasons for the absence of contemporary rural life. It becomes clear that, on his direct encounters with the rural inhabitants of Attica and Euboea, Parmenides is mostly keen on their Greek identity, threatened by ‘peculiar’ foreign ethnic groups, and the barbaric behaviour of brigand troops. Otherwise, he expresses no interest whatsoever in recounting the local people’s folk culture, practices and activities, mentality or way of life. Such a representation appears to be incompatible with the endeavour undertaken in his texts, that is to say not focusing on the present, but rather projecting modern Greece in such a way so as to demonstrate its roots back in the radiant past and its future ‘full of glorious hopes’. Contemporary peasants cannot be represented next to ancient ruins, as such a representation would lead to the inevitable comparison between the present and the past. Therefore, they are also excluded from their present surroundings, since they are likely to undermine the anticipated renaissance of the country. As Vangelis Calotychos points out, this ‘ab-sense’ – identified in the mode of perceiving Greece by both the Europeans and the Greeks in the wake of Europe’s eulogy of the Ancient Greek Ideal – ‘denied presence, immediacy, and specificity to the modern Greeks’ and ‘its abstraction from materiality meant that the Greeks’ customs, beliefs, and actions became despecified

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<sup>32</sup> Christoforos Parmenides, ‘Περιοδιαί σπουδαστού. Επιστολή δευτέρα. Περιοδία εις Χαλκίδα’, p. 281.

and gave up their delimited significance for more portentous semantic status'.<sup>33</sup> For such codes of connotation, Calotychos also refers to the 'cenotaphic' significance of Tombs of Unknown Soldiers, within the meaning of the term adopted by Benedict Anderson. He stresses to this effect that, like the Unknown Soldiers of those monuments, modern Greece was perceived without its differentiated sign and plotted 'onto a temporal axis that leads back to an immemorial past or an eternal future, but avoids the present'.<sup>34</sup>

### 1.3. Folklore Concerns

The lack of substantial interest in Greek peasants is also addressed in 'Εκδρομή εις Αίγινα, Πόρον και Τροιζηνίαν' by Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos, which appeared in *I Efterpi* in 1852.<sup>35</sup> The text is of particular interest, since the writer is listed among the first scholars of the new independent Greek State to have engaged in the study of folk customs and mores. Vretos appears to follow the early folklore tradition established by the circle of Ionian scholars engaged in the study of modern Greek culture before the foundation of the Neohellenic State. The Ionian folklorists were in direct contact with Fauriel and Tommaseo, editors and publishers of the first Greek folksong compilations. Vretos's father, Andreas Papadopoulos Vretos, was a member of the circle and published, as early as 1825, a treatise on the persistence of ancient Greek cultural traits on the Ionian island of Lefkas.<sup>36</sup> As for Marinos Vretos, he continued this folklore research and, from the end of the 1840s until the end of his life, he published on a regular basis a wide range of folk material: folk festivities, marriage rites and funerary customs, proverbs, superstitions and popular beliefs. He also adapted folksongs and folktales, and integrated

<sup>33</sup> Vangelis Calotychos, *Modern Greece: A cultural poetics*, Oxford; New York: Berg 2003, p. 47.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Avgoustinos Andreou [= Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos], 'Εκδρομή εις Αίγινα, Πόρον και Τροιζηνίαν (Εκ των σημειώσεων Έλληνοσ περιηγητού)', *I Efterpi*, 5/118 (July. 1852), pp. 515-518. For pseudonym identification, see Vicky Kalatzopoulou, 'Α. Ρ. Παγκαβής και George Horton: Μια απρόσμενη συνάντηση', *Ta Nea tou ELIA*, 58 (Summer 2001), p. 5.

<sup>36</sup> Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More*, p. 27.



folk legends into his short stories.<sup>37</sup> In this regard, it is important to explore how this interest in folk culture is expressed in the observation of contemporary rural life in his travel account.

Vretos's 'Ἐκδρομή εἰς Αἴγιναν, Πόρον καὶ Τροιζηνίαν' is a short description of the writer's visit to the ancient ruins of the Sanctuary of Poseidon on Poros. Compared to Parmenides's travel accounts, the site of the ancient ruins is not extensively described and it does not represent the tour's exclusive centre of interest. The writer is equally interested in the region's 'sightseeing tour' as a whole: apart from the Sanctuary of Poseidon, he visits Aegina, the lemon grove of Poros, the monastery of Zoodochos Pigi, the site where the renowned National Assembly at Troezen was held, and, finally, the caves of Myrmidones. Nevertheless, compared to Parmenides's texts, the writer's meditation prevails over information about the external world. The narrator is brought to the fore as the text reflects his personal feelings, namely a feeling of romantic melancholy: the abandoned city of Aegina makes him sadly contemplate the city during its heyday, when Capodistrias was the Governor of Greece and the island was the seat of its government; in the lemon grove of Poros he recollects the appeals of monastic life and man's isolation from nature; at the Sanctuary of Poseidon he meditates on the last moments of exiled orator Demosthenes on Poros, when he put an end to his life by drinking hemlock on the Sanctuary's parvis.

Compared, however, to Parmenides's texts, human presence is more distinct in Vretos's text. The writer cites every single person he encounters during his tour: residents of Aegina and various villages; peasants greeting him as he passes by; people participating in the carnival festivities held during the period he visited the region; an old woman who had attended the Assembly at Troezen and shows them around the location

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<sup>37</sup> Lambros Varelas, 'Εἰσαγωγή' in Marinós Papadopoulos Vretos, *Ὁ πατροκατάρατος καὶ ἄλλα ἀφηγήματα*, Lambros Varelas (ed.), Athens: Nefeli, 2004, pp.10-34.

where it had taken place; and, most importantly, his tour guide, a former shepherd who tells him various stories. Moreover, the writer expresses a positive opinion on folk culture and emphatically expresses his particular attraction to it: he specifically likes the ‘warm’ (‘γλυκύς’) and ‘expressive’ (‘εμφαντικός’) greeting ‘have a nice time’ (‘ώρα καλή’) that peasants address to him on his departure, and popular language in general, as reflected in local toponyms. He also enjoys the stories told by his tour guide.<sup>38</sup> The latter tells him stories about local legends and traditions, as well as his prior bucolic life in general. In the end, however, the writer does not mention any traits of his direct encounters with folk culture. Hence, Vretos does not include the shepherd’s stories in the text, although they make a great impression on him. This is particularly true for the local legend of the ‘devil’s bridge’ that the writer integrated into one of his later short stories.<sup>39</sup> In the same vein, no voice is given to the old woman who had shown visitors around the site of Assembly at Troezen and had shared with them the experience of her own participation in it. No reference is made either to carnival festivities that constitute as such pure folklore material. The one and only detailed depiction of local people in the text is the excerpt describing certain physical features, dress details and character traits of the Albanian women living in the region (see section 5.2).<sup>40</sup> The rest of the local population is not depicted, but briefly outlined. It is as if they are brought to the fore because they have something interesting to say, but they are immediately withdrawn to the background. In fact, they could be compared at certain points to the ‘pale figures’ of the Greeks found in Chateaubriand’s *Itinéraire*, according to Olga Augustinos’s interpretation: ‘The people of Greece [...] appear and disappear gliding softly and unobtrusively like silhouettes. Seldom do we hear them speak in the pages of the *Itinéraire*. We only have glimpses of

<sup>38</sup> Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos, ‘Εκδρομή εις Αίγινα, Πόρον και Τροιζινίαν’, pp. 516, 517.

<sup>39</sup> Reference to the short story entitled ‘Ο εξωμότης’. Short story writer Alezandros Rizos Rangavis draws upon the same story in his ‘Εκδρομή εις Πόρον’. See Lampros Varelas, ‘Εισαγωγή’, pp. 56-59.

<sup>40</sup> Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos, ‘Εκδρομή εις Αίγινα, Πόρον και Τροιζινίαν’, p. 517.

them as they withdraw and hide from foreign and unfamiliar faces. The author does not allow us to meet them face to face because then he would have to make them appear alive'.<sup>41</sup> In order to make the comparison easy to understand, let us quote a passage from Chateaubriand's *Itinéraire*, as cited by Olga Augustinos, and an extract from Vretos's travel account:

[...] at each moment living ruins turn your eyes away from those of marble and stone. In Greece, in vain one would indulge in illusions: sad reality haunts you. Huts made of dried mud, more fit for animals than for man; women and children in rags, taking to flight at the approach of a stranger or a janissary; even frightened goats scampering off to the mountains; only the dogs stay to receive you with their howlings; this is the scene that dispels the magic of memories.<sup>42</sup>

[...] η καρδιά σου περιστέλλεται από θέαν πόλεως κατεδαφιζομένης οσημέραι... Διέρχεται τας αμόρφους σιωπηλὰς διεξόδους της και προσκρούεις εις ερείπια οικιών· δεν ακούεις παρά την φωνήν αλέκτορος ή την υλακήν πελωρίου κυνός... Μόλις πού και πού γυναικεία κεφαλή προκύπτει εις σεσαθρωμένον παράθυρο ελκυομένη από περιέργειαν. [...] Επιστρέψαμεν και διευθύνθημεν εις την κωμόπολιν Δαμαλά. Εύρωμεν ταύτην άνανδρον· γυναίκες και παρ' αυτάς πολιούχοι λυκόσκυλοι μας υπεδέχθησαν.<sup>43</sup>

The above excerpts reveal identical images of impoverishment and decline, as suggested in the description of the inhabitants' dwelling places – 'huts made of dried mud', 'ruins of houses' ('ερείπια οικιών') – and the deserted roads where the visitor is received by goats and howling dogs. The locals in Chateaubriand's text disappear

<sup>41</sup> Olga Augustinos, *French Odyseys*, p. 213.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. p. 213. Excerpt translated into English from: François-René Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem et de Jérusalem à Paris*, vol. 1, Paris, 1812, p. 88.

<sup>43</sup> Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos, 'Εκδρομή εις Αίγιναν, Πόρον και Τροιζινίαν', pp. 515, 517.

frightened by the presence of strangers, whilst in Vretos's text they only appear for an instant, out of curiosity, and then they withdraw. Chateaubriand calls the peasants 'living ruins', as they draw his attention from the archaeological ruins lying next to them and deepen the sense of the ancient glory's decline. In Vretos's text, decline is also vividly described, with the difference that it is not compared to the ancient glory, but rather to the region's heyday under Capodistrias's governance, largely admired by the writer. The locals are represented as part of the decline and, to a certain extent, they evoke Chateaubriand's 'living ruins'. An illustrative example is the depiction of the old woman showing around the visitors in Troezen: it is old Mitrokalyvaina, 'stretching her skeletal hand down the rotten roots of a fig' ('τείνουσα τη σκελετώδη χείρα της επί σεσαθρωμένην ρίζαν συκίας') in order to show them the exact location where the leaders of the National Assembly were sworn in.<sup>44</sup>

In this chapter, I discussed the lack of interest in the rural people's way of life on the part of educated Greek travellers to the Greek countryside. First of all, I examined topography-orientated texts and I identified a stereotypic outline of the peasant population. This outline points to the peasants' Greek origin, on the one hand, and their natural inclination to progress and culture, on the other. Next, the absence of contemporary rural life has been analysed in depictions of travellers' direct contact with the rural environment, particularly in the two travel accounts compiled by Parmenides and Vretos. In Parmenides's texts, I discussed how the representation of the local population is excluded by the imaginary vision of the ancient Greek world, along with the projected progress of Greece. In Vretos's text, I underlined the writer's explicit appeal to

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 517.

folklore tradition and the peasants' way of life. Nevertheless, the writer's interest in folklore tradition fails to bring to the fore representations of the contemporary rural life.

## CHAPTER TWO

### ANCIENT AND MODERN GREEK CUSTOMS AND MORES

In this chapter I will discuss the way in which Greek travellers comprehend the concept of Greek cultural continuity from ancient times to the modern era and how they undertake to establish a direct link between folk rural customs and mores and Greek antiquity. First of all, it should be noted that the association of modern Greek customs with the ancient ones, which is, as referred to in the Introduction, the main goal of folklore research in the mid-nineteenth century, had already been established in European travellers' works since the end of the eighteenth century. The beginnings of the keen interest in that association date back to the time of *Voyage littéraire de la Grèce* (1771) by Pierre Augustin Guys. Guys sought to explore the spirit of antiquity in the contemporary inhabitants and their way of life rather than in the material relics of the past. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, despite the fact that the majority of European travellers 'were largely unappreciative of anything that had happened there [in Greece] since the Age of Pericles', a number of travellers begin to become interested in modern Greek people.<sup>1</sup> This particular interest is enhanced after the Russo-Turkish War and the Greeks' first independence movement that led to the first philhellenic declarations. In this context, a series of travel accounts seek to establish the visibility of Greek people and their genuine descent from the ancient Greeks. The most important study of this type is the treatise with the illustrative title *An Essay on Certain Points of Resemblance between the Ancient and Modern Greeks* (1813) by the British writer Frederick S. Douglas. In the same vein, equally important were the contributions of

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<sup>1</sup> Fani-Maria Tsigakou, *The Rediscovery of Greece*, pp. 30-31.

French writers such as those made by Choiseul-Gouffier, Marcellus and Pouqueville.<sup>2</sup> All these works – except possibly Pouqueville’s works, which depict a more complex and diverse image of the Greek people – embrace in general the static conception of Greek culture as adopted by Augustin Guys in his *Voyage Littéraire de la Grèce*. Guys considers that the Greek character has remained unaltered since ancient times, a standpoint that does not take into account either the changes in time or the influence that neighbouring peoples have on a civilization. Based on this approach, just like Greek folklore scholars do, Guys undertakes to trace ancient traits of Greek folk culture. However, he disregards elements that cannot be interpreted as being the continuity of ancient customs and mores.<sup>3</sup>

### 2.1. Antiquarian Travels

The first text to be considered is the travel account ‘Επιστολή εκ Μεγάρων’ (1861) by Stefanos Dragoumis. The text reveals the direct impact of European travel writing on the compilation of Greek travel accounts, as it presents the Greek narrator travelling around his home country under the guidance of a German archaeologist.<sup>4</sup> In addition, the text graphically illustrates the antiquarian approach in the early years of Greek folklore scholarship. This is borne out by the fact that the comparative study of ancient and modern customs undertaken therein is integrated into a text of purely antiquarian and archaeological nature. More specifically, Dragoumis’s travel description constitutes a scrupulous archaeological study of the route followed from Athens to Megara. The aim is to both identify the region in ancient topography and survey even the most trivial ancient

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 30-42, Olga Augustinos, *French Odysseys*, pp. 157-173, 228-243, 251-281.

<sup>3</sup> David Constantine, *In the Footsteps of the Gods: Travellers to Greece and the Quest for the Hellenic Ideal*, London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 2011, pp. 147-167, Olga Augustinos, *French Odysseys*, pp. 212-226.

<sup>4</sup> S [= Stefanos Dragoumis], ‘Επιστολή εκ Μεγάρων’, *Pandora*, 12/281 (1 December 1861), pp. 410-415. For the identification of the letter ‘S’ with the name Stefanos Dragoumis, see Apostolos Sachinis, *Συμβολή στην ιστορία της Πανδώρας και των παλιών περιοδικών*, Athens, 1964, pp. 82, 155-156.

relics. At the same time, mythological and historical information provided in the text revives the ancient world. Just like in Parmenides's work, this is achieved in such a way that the reader has the impression that the region is still inhabited by mythological heroes and deities, and by the ancient Attic population erecting magnificent temples dedicated to them: he attends the solemn procession to Eleusis for the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries, and the maidens of Athens welcoming the young men participating in the procession with enticing jokes; beautiful Phryne rising as Aphrodite from the waves with no veil save her blonde tresses, contributing with her divine beauty to the magnificence of the ancient world; Xerxes and his courtiers watching down upon the Battle of Salamis; the priests of Salamis 'baptizing' the lake's fish as sacred so as to enjoy the exclusive privilege of savouring it; ordinary citizens decrypting Pythia's enigmatic prophecies and dedicating temples to the gods, and so forth.

The absence of contemporary population in the description above is of course conspicuous. What is remarkable, though, is that the local people manage to infiltrate the depiction of the natural landscape in a way that evokes their decorative role in European travel painting. In particular, they call to mind the 'views' of classical remains that had flourished from the end of the eighteenth century. The paintings representing such 'views' seek to elicit a sense of nostalgic quest for the ancient world. To that end, the landscape of monuments is often harmoniously merged with small human figures. The latter are usually shepherds guarding their flocks or men 'dressed in their brightly coloured costumes' sitting 'nonchalantly amongst architectural remains'. The way shepherds are illustrated in such paintings suggests that they emerge from the idyllic Arcadian landscape. It also indicates that their presence serves to accentuate 'the fairyland views' of these paintings, recalling the idealized world of 'a golden age'.<sup>5</sup> The

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<sup>5</sup> Fani-Maria Tsigakou, *The Rediscovery of Greece*, pp. 28-30.



following description of the Thriasian Plain in Dragoumis's text recalls those paintings, as it combines features of Arcadian and classical background:

Η οδός η διά του Θριασίου πεδίου είναι θελκτικωτάτη. Πράσινοι αγροί, πλούσιαι άμπελοι, θάλλουσαι φυτεΐαι εκτείνονται εκ των υπορειών μέχρι του ακροθαλασσίου, και εν μέσω των αναπαύεται το μέγα χωρίον, το διατηρήσαν εκ της πενιχράς του καταγωγής το όνομα Χασιώτικα καλύβια· συνωδΐαι χωρικών, διασχίζουσαι την πεδιάδα κατά πάσαν διεύθυνσιν, μοι ανεπόλουν τα χαριέστατα του Θεοκρίτου ειδύλλια, και αφ' ενός μεν το φρούριον της φυλής από της κορυφής του Πάρνηθος επινεύον, απετέλει την εντύπωσιν μάρτυρος τινός των αρχαίων αιώνων την νέαν Ελλάδα επισκοπούντος, αφ' ετέρου δε πλοιάριον τι προκύπτον εκ του ακρωτηρίου της Σαλαμίνας, μοι εφάνετο ως η τελευταία των Σαλαμινομάχων τριήρεων, και ανεπόλει εις την φαντασίαν μου τας καλὰς και μεγάλας εκείνας ημέρας.<sup>6</sup>

The image described above may fail to reproduce the 'haze of golden light', as typically reflected on ruins painting, but it undoubtedly seeks to create the compelling classical ambiance emanating from such paintings.<sup>7</sup> Thus, it echoes, as ruins painting also does, 'generalized evocations rather than particular images', where 'contemporary references' are not 'appropriate'.<sup>8</sup> The reproduction of two paintings that could be associated with Dragoumis's depiction can be found at the end of the present thesis (see images 1 and 2).

This is the only reference made in Dragoumis's text to the contemporary inhabitants, disguised as cheerful shepherds of the Arcadian idyll. At the end of the text, however, there is a sudden shift: the narrator leaves his German fellow traveller to his antiquarian research and sets out to observe the contemporary setting, especially the beautiful women

<sup>6</sup> S [= Stefanos Dragoumis], 'Επιστολή εκ Μεγάρων', pp. 411-412. An entirely different approach to the representation of the Chasia villagers will be discussed in section 4.3.

<sup>7</sup> Fani-Maria Tsigakou, *The Rediscovery of Greece*, p. 29.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

of Megara performing local folk dances. In fact, he becomes interested in their dress, which is thoroughly described, and proceeds even further, depicting, in full detail, the way they dance the ‘syrtos’ (‘συρτός’) and ‘trata’ (‘τράτα’) dances. Yet, the German archaeologist’s presence is crucial in assessing modern Greek folk culture. Indeed, his valuable background of antiquarian studies enables him to identify folk dances performed before his eyes with ancient Greek dances: the ‘syrtos’ dance with the Homeric ‘circular’ (‘κύκλιος’) dance, and the ‘trata’ dance with the Greek dance of Tyrrhenia, as represented on the mural of an ancient tomb of the area. In support of this finding, a drawing of the mural is annexed to the text published in the journal (see image 3).

Furthermore, the dress of the local women also indicates their ancient origin: local women are represented wearing festive, white or dark-coloured dresses trimmed with purple lace, their heads covered with transparent veils, and carrying hydriae. The narrator remarks that such dress ‘barely differs from the ancient one’ (‘ολίγον απέχει της αρχαίας’). In fact, the only feature distinguishing the local women from the ancient Greek ones, as represented on the drawing of the Tyrrhenian mural, are the ‘gold and silver necklaces’ (‘χρυσά και αργυρά περιδέρια’) around their necks. Furthermore, the narrator qualifies those women as ‘living and black-figure statues’ (‘ζώντα και μελανόμορφα αγάλματα’) and compares them to the ‘Caryatids of the Erechtheion’ (‘Καρυάτιδες του Ερεχθείου’) and to the ‘Hydriaphorae of the Parthenon’ (‘Υδριαφόρους του Παρθενώνα’). Thus, reasonably enough, watching those modern Caryatids presenting their ancient dance performance, the German archaeologist emphatically wonders: ‘So, is it true, then? I have not really travelled to modern Greece, have I? I have actually travelled to ancient Greece!’ (‘Λοιπόν, είναι αληθές; Λοιπόν, δεν ήλθα εις την νέαν, ήλθα εις την αρχαίαν Ελλάδα;’).<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> S [= Stefanos Dragoumis], ‘Επιστολή εκ Μεγάρων’, pp. 413, 415.

Hence, in their quest for reconstituting the ancient world, the two travellers walk about the sites of antiquarian interest exploring monuments, yet they end up studying the contemporary peasants as well. For they are also deemed as ‘monuments’, contributing to the search for traces of antiquity, just like ancient ruins do. Consequently, Dragoumis’s travel description highlights in a revealing way the archaeological dimension of the nineteenth century’s folklore scholarship, namely the pursuit of collecting ‘tesserae’ of the present – to quote Nikolaos Politis’s expression used in *Μελέτη επί του βίου των Νεοτέρων Ελλήνων* (1871) – in order to reconstitute the ‘mosaic’ of ancient civilization.<sup>10</sup> After all, the expression ‘monuments of the word’ is widely used to describe vernacular folk culture. It owes its great popularity among Greek folklorists to Fauriel, who introduced the term in 1824 in his compilation of Greek folksongs.<sup>11</sup> Dragoumis’s text also adheres to a long-standing tradition of a rich production of travel accounts, starting with the aforementioned work by Augustin de Guys. This production is the outcome of an endeavour to directly identify modern Greek dances, known as ‘romeica’ (‘ρωμέικα’), with dances performed in ancient times.<sup>12</sup> In fact, the very phenomenon of using dance representations of ancient reliefs to describe how the contemporary Greeks dance is an expression of this tradition.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Alki Kyriakidou-Nestoros, *Η θεωρία της ελληνικής λαογραφίας*, p. 91.

<sup>11</sup> Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More*, p. 10. The term ‘monuments of the word’, as coined by Nikolaos Politis to denote ‘literary folkloristics’, is used up to the present day in the taxonomy of folklore material. See Dimitrios Loukatos, *Εισαγωγή στην Ελληνική Λαογραφία*, p. 91.

<sup>12</sup> Alexandra Goulaki-Voutyra, *Μουσική, Χορός και Εικόνα. Η απεικόνιση της ελληνικής μουσικής και του χορού από τους Ευρωπαίους περιηγητές του 18<sup>ου</sup> και του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα*, Athens: Syllogos pros diadosin Ofelimon Biblion, 1990, pp. 79-82.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 92-96.

## 2.2. A ‘Museum’ of Ancient Customs and Mores

Modern Greeks’ direct descent from the ancient Greeks is also indicated in a text on the island of Psara, compiled by Epameinondas Stamatiades.<sup>14</sup> Stamatiades was the author of a series of travel and topographical texts, which appeared both in journals and in self-contained sequel publications.<sup>15</sup> The said text is not a travel narrative but a topographical text. However, it is important to quote the depiction of the islanders included in the text, as it provides a better understanding of the monumentalization process of folk customs referred to earlier. First of all, Stamatiades’s article is related to the practice in folk culture studies of using textual material rather than findings of on-site research. Indeed, the writer informs the reader about the Psariots’ way of life by quoting passages of an earlier History textbook on the Psariots’ customs before the Greek War of Independence. In other words, he refers to customs and mores dating back over approximately fifty years, and he notes that little has changed since.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, Stamatiades’s text contains a clear premise in folklore theory of the time, according to which folk culture should be used as evidence in order to confirm Greek cultural continuity against the Europeans’ critical arguments:

Εφ’ όσον αφιστάμεθα της αρχαϊκής του έθνους απλότητος και συμφυρόμεθα ούτως ειπείν προς τα των εσπερίων ήθη, επί τοσούτον η μελέτη των παρά τοις διαφόροις ελληνικοίς μέρεσιν ηθών και εθίμων καθίσταται αναγκαιότερα, διότι μετά την γλώσσαν τα έθιμα ταύτα εισί το χαρακτηριστικότερον γνώρισμα του μη διακοπέντος εθνικού ημών βίου και

<sup>14</sup> Epameinondas Stamatiades, ‘Περί Ψαρών και των ηθών και εθίμων αυτών’, *Chrysallis*, 2/33 (15 May 1864), pp. 261-264.

<sup>15</sup> In *Chrysallis* also appear the following texts compiled by Epameinondas Stamatiades: ‘Τρεις ημέραι εις Ικαρίαν’, ‘Νήσος Πάτμος’, ‘Περί Νισήρου’, 1/16 (15 August 1863), pp. 481-484, ‘Αι Κυδωνίαι’, 2/32 (30 April 1864), pp. 231-234. The aforementioned depiction of island of Patmos in the form of travel description had also appeared in *Edem* (‘Πέντε ημέραι εις Πάτμον’). In 1881, Stamatiades published a four-volume topographic study on Samos: *Σαμιακά, ήτοι Ιστορία της νήσου Σάμου των πανάρχαιων χρόνων μέχρι των καθ’ ημάς*, 4 vols, Samos, 1881.

<sup>16</sup> Epameinondas Stamatiades, ‘Περί Ψαρών και των ηθών και εθίμων αυτών’, p. 261.

η καλλιτέρα απάντησις προς τους πολυτρόπως περί των νεωτέρων Ελλήνων δογματίσαντας.<sup>17</sup>

Adhering to those principles, the writer quotes further on excerpts from the History textbook that he uses as reference. Excerpts include various details on the way Psariots lived before the Greek War of Independence and, where appropriate, on the way in which they related to antiquity:

Οι κακοήθεις έρωτες, αι απαγωγαί, αι εκκορεύσεις και τα τούτοις παραπλήσια ήσαν όλως άγνωστα. Τας θυγατέρας των ενύμφευον από του δεκάτου τετάρτου και άνω έτους της ηλικίας των, συμφώνως προς το του Πλάτωνος παράγγελμα, ουδεμίαν δε αύται εδύναντο να φέρωσιν επί της εκλογής του νυμφίου γνώμην, αλλ' ώφειλον να υπακούσωσιν εις των γονέων την απόφασιν, διότι εκείνοι μόνοι είχαν μέριμναν την αποκατάστασιν των τέκνων των. Τοιούτο τι επρέσβευον και αι αρχαίαι κόραι ως μαρτυρεί η Ερμιόνη του Ευριπίδου λέγουσα: Νυμφευμάτων μεν των εμών πατήρ εμοί μέριμναν έξει, κουκ εμόν κρίνειν τάδε. Καθώς παρά τοις αρχαίοις Αθηναίοις δεν ήτον επιτετραμμένον επί βαρυτάτη ποινή, να νυμφευθή ανήρ ή γυνή Αθηναίος μετά ξένου, τοιουτοτρόπως και οι Ψαριανοί ετήρουν αυστηρώς το έθιμον τούτο [...] Το δε περίεργον εις τους ξένους δεν επετρέπετο, ουδέ θεαταί να ώσι των χορών των, εκτός μόνον αν προσεκαλούντο υπό των επιτελούντων τους γάμους. Οι χοροί εγίνοντο σχεδόν πάντοτε εις το ύπαιθρον, την δε απόκρεω ήδον άσματα τινά άσεμνα τα οποία δεν ήτον επιτετραμμένον κατ' άλλην ημέραν να τραγωδήσωσιν, έθιμον βεβαίως υπομινήςκον τα εξ αμάξης των αρχαίων Ελλήνων.<sup>18</sup>

In the excerpt above, the ancient Greek content – Plato's command, Euripides's verses, the Athenians' attitude towards foreigners, and ancient songs – is mingled with the modern way of life, sharply pointing to the continuity of Greek identity. Thus, it

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pp. 263-264.

graphically illustrates how the Greeks of the nineteenth century experienced the ‘singularly archaic aspect of the present’ (‘ιδιότυπα αρχαΐζουσα πλευρά του παρόντος’), in Elli Scopetea’s words.<sup>19</sup> In other terms, the writer disguises place and time in such a way that readers wonder whether the thread of narrative runs through Athens of the Classical Period rather than Psara of the early nineteenth century. At the same time, the use of information coming from sources other than direct observation and concerning the way the local population lived half a century ago, shows the writer’s intention to attribute to the Greek people’s customs a museum exhibit effect. Indeed, he suggests that, since ancient times, those people have had well-established traits that remained unaltered over time, and that anyone could easily trace on a simple encounter with them when visiting the island.

### **2.3. The Unbridged Gap between Ancient and Modern Greeks**

The precept of correlating rural customs and mores to the ancient ones, as noticed in Stamatiades’s text, must have been so firm at the time that it often raised ironic and sarcastic comments on the part of Greek travellers in the countryside. In fact, certain self-ironic comments made in travel texts suggest that, after the second half of the century, the ‘national struggle’ launched by Greek scholars to collect evidence of the modern Greeks’ ancient descent in order to confute the arguments of the ‘accusers of the Nation’, must have shifted to genuine national obsession. Such comments are found in Greek travel writing throughout the period under examination. This assumption is supported by the excerpts quoted below. The first two passages are extracted from Konstantinos Pop’s travel description of Salamis and Kythnos in 1851, whereas the last one is an excerpt from Stefanos Dragoumis’s travel description of Zakynthos twenty years later, in 1871:

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<sup>19</sup> Elli Scopetea, *Το ‘Πρότυπο Βασίλειο’ και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα*, p. 173.

Ευάρεστον επίσης και ομηρικὴν θέαν παρείχον αἰ εἰς γωνίας τινὰς κοχλάζουσαι χύτραι, ἐν αἷς ἡτοιμάζετο τὸ λιτόν γεύμα τῶν πανηγυριζόντων, καὶ τὰ ἀναπτόμενα πυρά, ἐφ' ὧν πολλὰ κριάρια καὶ ἀρνία, ὠβελισμένα ἐψήνοντο μ' ἐλληνικὴν τέχνη. Κατὰ τοῦτο ἡμεῖς οἱ νυν Ἕλληνες ἐξέχομεν ὅλων τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ παρελάβομεν τοῦτο, ἀναμφιβόλως, ἀπὸ τοὺς εὐκνήμηδας Ἀχαιοὺς τῶν Ομηρικῶν χρόνων. Ἐν πλείοτερον τῆς γνησίας Ἑλληνικότητός μας τεκμήριον, εἰς πείσμα τοῦ σχολαστικοῦ ἐκείνου Γερμανοῦ, τοῦ ἀμφισβητοῦντος τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἡμῶν καταγωγὴν.<sup>20</sup>

[...] οὐδένα [μεγάλον ἄνδρα] δε μνημονεύει ἡ ἱστορία ὅτι παρήγαγεν ἡ Κύθνος, ἀλλ' ἢ πέρδικας καὶ λαγούς, ἐκτός ἀν ἐγεννήθη ἐνταύθα μάλλον ἢ εἰς Χίον ὁ Ὅμηρος, οὐ τινος ἄγνωστος εἰσέτι μένει ἡ ἀληθὴς πατρίς. [...] Ἀν ἡ Κύθνος δὲν ἐγέννησε μεγάλους ἄνδρας, προήγαγεν ὅμως ἅγιον τινά, τὸν Ἀγ. Πατάπην λεγόμενον, [...] ἄγνωστον καὶ εἰς τὸν μηνιαῖον καὶ εἰς πάντα τὸν Χριστιανικὸν κόσμον”.<sup>21</sup>

Ἐν τῇ συλλογῇ τῶν ἀρχαίων παραδοξογράφων ἀνέγνωσα ὅτι οἱ τράγοι, ἐπομένως δὲ καὶ αἱ αἶγες τῆς Ζακύνθου αἱ πρὸ Χριστοῦ, εἶχον προτέρημα μήπω ἀναγνωρισθέν εἰς ἄλλου τόπου αἶγας, τὸ προτέρημα ν' ἀρκῶνται χαίνοντες εἰς ἀπλήν τῆς αὐρας εἰσποὴν ἐν ἐλλείψει ὕδατος καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ καύματος [...] Τὸ σπάνιον τοῦτο προτέρημα, καθ' ὅσον τουλάχιστον γινώσκω, ἀπώλεσαν αἱ σήμερον ζῶσαι ἀπόγονοι τῶν ἀρχαίων τῆς Ζακύνθου αἰγῶν [...] Ἀλλὰ δὲν ἀπέβαλον καθόλου τὴν ἰδίαν ἀξίαν καὶ σημαντικότητα [...] Αἱ αἶγες αὗται ἐτήρησαν τὸ προπατορικὸν αὐτῶν ἀμάρτημα τοῦ ρυπαίνειν τὸ ἐδαφος ἐφ' οὗ διέρχονται, ἀποδεικνύουσιν οὕτω ἀκαταμαχήτως, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες ἄνθρωποι, κατὰ παντός Φαλλμεράϋερ, τὴν γνησίαν ἐαυτῶν καταγωγὴν.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Konstantinos Pop, 'Ἡ ἐν Σαλαμίνι πανήγυρις τῆς Φανερωμένης', *I Eftirpi*, 5/98 (15 September 1851), p. 39.

<sup>21</sup> Konstantinos Pop, 'Ἡ Κύθνος καὶ τὰ λουτρά αὐτῆς', no 94, p. 521.

<sup>22</sup> S [= Stefanos Dragoumis], 'Ἀποδημητοῦ ἀναμνήσεων ἀπόσπασμα πέμπτον. Εἰς ἀποσπασμάτων συγκροτούμενον', *Pandora*, 22/519 (1 November 1871), p. 353.

On the one hand, the excerpts above reveal in a clear and ironic manner the ‘hunt’ for evidence in Greek rural areas. On the other hand, they point to the fact that, no matter what the national credo prescribes, it is not always possible to identify rural customs and mores with the ancient ones. Indeed, on their encounters with the rural people, many educated travellers come to realize that it is impossible to bridge the gap between the idealized ancient world of their imagination and the present-day reality of modern Greece. For example, during his journey to the island of Kythnos, Konstantinos Pop discovers in astonishment and annoyance the island’s indescribable impoverishment, widespread poverty and wretched rural living conditions; a standard of living that cannot even satisfy the essential needs of foreign visitors for food and accommodation.<sup>23</sup> In other words, the travellers’ encounter with the harsh present-day rural life hampers their efforts to fit rural customs and mores to predefined national theoretical schemes and destroys their illusions. Moreover, the contact with rural reality implies becoming aware of the gap between the cultivated urban travellers and the uncultured impoverished rural population, whose mores are usually uncivilized or barbarian.

Nevertheless, the primitive traits of folk mores are justified as an impact of the long-standing Ottoman rule over the Greeks. It is stressed in particular that, over the centuries of their enslavement, the Greek people ‘experienced’ (‘εγκαταβίωσεν’) the ‘corrupt and slavish’ (‘διεφθαρμένα και δουλικά’) mores ‘of their dominators’ (‘των κρατησάντων’), suffered from the subsequent depravity of those who collaborated with the Turkish rulers and did not have the beneficial effect of freedom and education.<sup>24</sup> Hopefully, though, such mores, ‘exacerbated by barbarity’ (‘εκτραχυνθέντα από τη βαρβαρότητα’), are to become extinct ‘over time and through educational advances coupled with the liberation

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<sup>23</sup> Pop’s text referred to herein is presented in detail in section 3.3.

<sup>24</sup> See accordingly the point of view expressed by Miltiades Vratsanos (‘Πλους και περιήγησις εις Σάμον’, pp. 200-204), Epameinondas Stamatiades (‘Τρεις ημέραι εις Ικαρίαν’, p. 396) and Christoforos Parmenides (‘Περιοδίαι Σπουδαστού. Επιστολή ΣΤ’. Άνδρος’, no 222, p. 142).



of Greece' ('προϊόντος του χρόνου και της παιδείας συμπροοδευούσης μετά της ελευθερίας της Ελλάδος').<sup>25</sup>

#### 2.4. Homeric and Bucolic Rural Mores

By way of conclusion, reference should be made to a later version of Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos's travel account on Poros (*I Efterpi*, 1852), which has already been thoroughly discussed earlier (see section 1.3). This later edition, published in 1867 in Vretos's personal journal *Ethnikon Imerologyion*, demonstrates a quite interesting development: the writer's conscious choice to embellish and at the same time archaize the depiction of the peasants. Indeed, it will be recalled that, despite Vretos's folklore considerations, the peasants in the original text are either briefly described or referred to as an integral part of the area's decline.

The second version of Vretos's travel account on Poros is part of a longer text, encompassing journeys to other places as well, such as the Ionian Islands, the islands of Syros, Tinos, Hydra and Psara, and Thessaly.<sup>26</sup> This version is more of a topographical text than a travel account, as it provides various information on each locality's history, demographic features, agricultural production, economic and commercial development, and so forth. Integrated into the text, this early travel account published in *I Efterpi*, also takes up informative traits, since the writer clearly restricts both markedly subjective elements and the general melancholic mood reflected in the original text. Regarding the representation of the local population, Vretos reiterates its strong appeal to folk culture, as reflected in his tour guide's bucolic stories or in folksongs, admired according to Vretos across Europe. Nevertheless, the writer does not make any record of folk cultural

<sup>25</sup> Christoforos Parmenides, *ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos 'Ταξείδια (Πόρος-Τροιζήν-Σύρος-Ναύπλιον-Ύδρα-Αι Ιόνιοι νήσοι-Η Θεσσαλία-Το Πάσχα εις τας Αθήνας-Τελετή γάμου εις την Αθήνα)', *Ethnikon Imerologyion*, 7 (1867), pp. 90-104. The last two sections on Athenian customs referred to in the title are not included in the text.

elements in the second version either. That aside, it is important to highlight some critical differences: the writer removes all the appalling depictions of the area and the locals in decline referred to in the original text, namely the representations of Aegina and Damalas, and the depiction of old Mitrokalyvaina. It is to be noted that all three of them have been associated with relevant depictions from Chateaubriand's *Itinerary*. Furthermore, the bucolic landscape, as it emanates from the shepherd's stories, obtains rather clearer features: the writer imagines the shepherd in his youth, 'wearing the white flockati waistcoat' ('φορούντα την λευκήν φλοκάταν') and 'playing the flute' ('παίζοντα την φλογέραν') (emphasis by the writer). In addition, he enjoys the fact that the shepherd shows him around the streams, where he would go with his flock to satisfy his thirst, or the caves where he would find shelter.<sup>27</sup>

On the other hand, it becomes obvious that Vretos undertakes to establish a direct link between the depictions of folk life and the representations of ancient Greece. This feature is not traced in the original version published in *I Efterpi*. In the excerpt below, the appalling image of the village of Damalas, as described in the original text, is replaced by the following depiction:

Εκεῖθεν [ο λεμβούχος] με οδήγησεν εἰς τὸν Δαμαλάν, τὸ μόνον κατοικημένον μέρος τῆς πεδιάδος τῆς Τροιζήνης. Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες εἰργάζοντο εἰς τοὺς ἀγρούς, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες καὶ τὰ παῖδια ἦσαν συνηθροισμένα περὶ τινὰ τυφλὸν ἐπαίτην, ἐκ τῶν ραψωδῶν ἐκείνων, οἱ ὁποῖοι περιτρέχουσιν ὅλη τὴν Ελλάδα μετὰ τῆς αὐτῶν λύρας, ὀδηγούμενοι συνήθως ὑπὸ τινός παιδίου. Ἐψάλλε τι ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐκείνων ἀσμάτων τὰ ὁποῖα εθαύμασεν ἡ Ευρώπη.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., pp. 93-94.

The excerpt above clearly indicates that the writer attempts to relate, on the one hand, the contemporary wandering singers with the Homeric rhapsodists and, on the other hand, folksongs in general with Homer's epics. It should also be noted that the Albanian women of the original text are now represented as the 'girls' ('νεάνιδες') of Poros. Apart from the headscarf that women wore tied over the head, the writer does not make any record of the other features included in his earlier description of their costumes and physical traits. Moreover, archaizing features are also inserted in the picture: the local women of Poros are represented carrying 'hydriae' ('υδρίες') and wearing pleated robes ('πολύπτυχους χιτώνες').<sup>29</sup>

The above differences in Vretos's depiction of folk culture elements should be considered in relation to the maturity of folklore research observed at the end of the 1860s. It is to be noted that, in the following years, this development leads to the first scientific folkloric studies, carried out by Nikolaos Politis, and to a more systematic folklore exploration. In particular, the Homeric representation of the islanders reflects the association of folksongs with Homer's epics. This connection has already been established by that time, as the correlation between folk and Homeric poetry has been systematically explored in a wide range of studies since 1860.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, the removal of images of decline from the original text – in an attempt to embellish the depiction of the peasants – and the visibility of bucolic life pave the way to the ethnographic 'glorification' of a 'genuine' folk tradition that emerged in the late nineteenth century. It is within this framework that scholars undertake to scientifically explore the connection between modern and ancient mores and to consolidate the national cultural space.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 91. This representation is thoroughly discussed in section 5.4.

<sup>30</sup> See K. Th. Dimaras, 'Δύο δεκαετίες ομηρικών φροντίδων στην Ελλάδα (1860-1880). Το ομηρικό τραγούδι και το κλέφτικο' in *Ιλιάδα και Οδύσσεια. Μύθος και ιστορία. Από τα πρακτικά του Δ' συνεδρίου για την Οδύσσεια*, Ithaca: Kendro Odysseiakon Spoudon, 1986, pp. 171-185, Alexis Politis, *Ρομαντικά Χρόνια*, pp. 56-57.

In conclusion, the travel texts of the period 1850-1870 discussed in this chapter reflect their writers' endeavour to associate rural customs with the ancient ones. This venture is part of a broader campaign, launched by the Greek scholars in order to confirm Greek cultural continuity and assert the descent of modern Greeks from the ancient Greeks. Bearing this context in mind, I associated that venture with the antiquarian approach of folkloric research, as adopted over the period under consideration. Furthermore, I examined how folk customs and mores are perceived as monuments and museum exhibits of the past. In addition, special focus was also given to the reactions of Greek travellers to the 'hunt' for evidence in the observation of rural life. More specifically, I took note of the way in which they became conscious of the unbridgeable gap between real living conditions of the rural population and the grandeur of ancient civilization. Finally, attention was drawn to a second version of Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos's travel text, revised at the end of the 1860s. In this version, Vretos archaises and embellishes the depiction of rural life, bringing at the same time to the fore various bucolic representations. Such a development is to be associated with the advent of ethnographic research in folk culture in the late nineteenth century.

## CHAPTER THREE

### A PRIMITIVE WAY OF LIVE

In previous chapters I examined the main motives of travelling to the Greek countryside. These motives involve a ‘pilgrimage’ to the ancient ruins and a topographical survey of rural areas. The ‘pilgrimage’ to the ruins serves as a pretext for the vision of reviving the glorious classical past. Topographical texts compile and convey to readers national – geographical, archaeological and historical – knowledge on their homeland, on the one hand, and highlight its financial and educational advances, on the other. I also pointed out the beginnings of a folklore interest in observing popular mores. It is, however, an interest of antiquarian orientation, as it seeks to establish a direct connection of contemporary rural mores to the ancient Greek ones. Such an orientation reflects the classical vision in early folklore surveys of the mid-nineteenth century, principally intended to prove the ancient Greek origin of modern Greeks.

In this chapter I will discuss travel accounts dissociated from that antiquarian approach and providing representations of peasants’ everyday life. As referred to in the Introduction, the main perspective in this more ‘realistic’ observation of rural life – the one that does not follow the distorting ‘hunt for evidence’ and seeks to report the present-day situation – is of an ‘exotic’ nature. More specifically, the interest of urban writers in rural people’s way of life is usually interposed by the travel narratives’ ethnographic concern for reporting odd and unusual customs and mores. As a result, in many travel accounts produced over the period in question, the Greek countryside represents a type of primitive life which is subject to exploration, and the inhabitants are represented with stereotypical features of ‘underdeveloped’ and ‘primitive’ people. In this chapter I will discuss some of the most typical representations of primitivism, as they are reflected in

the description of the peasants' customs and usages. The concept of primitiveness will be further addressed in the next two chapters, in the context of race and gender representations in the observation of rural people.

### **3.1. Primitivism and Folklore**

First of all, it should be noted that the parallelism between the Greeks and various 'primitive' populations is not avoided in the field of Greek folklore research either, which it aims at collecting 'national' customs and mores. The comparison of features between folk culture, on the one hand, and tribal primitive culture, on the other, constitutes over the period under examination a basic research method of folkloristics. In the nineteenth century, the dominant anthropological theory of social progress – from the lowest grades of savagery to the highest grades of barbarism, and up to the superior level of West European civilisation – deems the features of folk culture as 'remnants' of the primitive way of life of humankind. By way of usage, those 'remnants' were supposedly preserved amongst the lower social layers of the population and they were never accepted by higher social classes. According to that theory, as extended to ethnological studies of the doctrine of evolutionary Darwinism, both 'remnants' of folk culture and folklore features of primitive cultures belong to the prehistory of humankind. Nonetheless, the comparative exploration of customary traits in modern and primitive cultures is legitimised by the theory of the polygenesis of cultural phenomena, that is to say their parallel emergence in societies that have never been in contact.<sup>1</sup>

A typical example of such a comparative folklore research can be found in the essay entitled 'Πόθεν η κοινή λέξις τραγουδώ', by Ioannis Zambelios, one of the architects of the 'Greek cultural continuity' doctrine and prominent researcher in the field of folk

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<sup>1</sup> See Alki Kyriakidou-Nestoros, *Η θεωρία της ελληνικής λαογραφίας*, pp. 20-21, 104-106.

culture.<sup>2</sup> In the excerpt quoted below, Zambelios undertakes to establish a direct connection between a traditional Greek feast and an ancient Egyptian funerary ritual. In fact, Zambelios has recourse to a rather common scene encountered in travel descriptions of Egypt, drawn from the renowned Herodotus's travel to the Levant. Zambelios builds upon that scene to comment the elegiac, even in festive occasions, character of Greek folk songs and dances:

Και τω όντι όσω αι εικόνες του διθυράμβου προέβαινον πενθιμώτεραι, τόσω μάλλον ζωηρός, και εύστροφος, τόσω εμμανής απέβαινεν ο χορός. Οι πόδες έκρουσαν την γην σφοδρώς, αι στροφαί περιήλθον ταχύτεραι το χοροστάσιον. Παράξενον κράμα λύπης και χαράς, θρήνου και γέλωτος, ζωής και θανάτου. Το νεκροταφείον της κωμοπόλεως, εις απόστασιν κείμενον ολίγων πήχεων, και επιδεικνύον τας λευκάς πλάκας, αίτινες σπορράδην εσκέπαζον τους συγγενείς και προγόνους των χορευτών, συνεβιβάζετο προς την έκτοπον σκηνήν. Ησθάνθην ορθωθείσας τας τρίχας της κεφαλής αναμνησθείς των αρχαίων Αιγυπτίων, οίτινες περί την τράπεζαν του οικιακού συμποσίου περιήγαγον τους τεταριχευμένους νεκρούς των προγόνων των, ουκ οίδα αν προς σωφρονισμόν ζωής, ή προς παράστασιν θανάτου.<sup>3</sup>

However, it should be noted that the comparative ethnological exploration of modern and primitive cultures adopted in Greece a historic perspective, according to which the modern Greeks should be considered as historic and not primitive people. It is obvious that such a historic perspective relies upon the 'remnants' theory in order to further

<sup>2</sup> For Ioannis Zambelios's contribution to folklore research in the nineteenth century, see Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More*, pp. 39-49.

<sup>3</sup> Ioannis Zambelios, *Πόθεν η κοινή λέξις τραγουδώ; Σκέψεις περί ελληνικής ποιήσεως*, Athens, 1859 [= A. Th. Kitsos-Mylonas (ed.), *Σολωμός. Προλεγόμενα κριτικά Στάη-Πολυλά-Ζαμπέλιου*, Athens: ELIA, 1980, p. 146]. For the propagation of the Herodotus scene in travel descriptions of Egypt, see, for example, the following passage from 'Αποδημητού αναμνήσεις', by Nikolaos Dragoumis, describing his travel to Egypt: 'Ο Ηρόδοτος λέγει ότι ενώ εγεύοντο περίεφερον άνδρα νεκρόν εν σορώ ξύλινον, και δεικνύοντες εκάστω των συμποτών έλεγον Ές τούτον ορέων πίνε τε και τέρπευ έσει γαρ αποθανών τοιούτος' (*Pandora*, 14/329 [1 December 1863], p. 448).

enhance the national orientation of Greek folkloristics. In effect, seen as ‘remnants’ of the ancient Greek world, rural Greek customs could provide solid evidence of their noble origin. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that the first Greek folklore scholar, N. G. Politis, being in direct contact with modern ethnological movements, presents in his work typical contradictions in his effort to reconcile historical and comparative approaches.<sup>4</sup>

### **3.2. The Ethnographic Impulse**

The idea of the parallelism attempted between rural and primitive mores over the period under consideration is also fostered and propagated by the ‘family’ periodicals in which the travel accounts discussed in the present analysis appear. Those periodicals encompass an enormous volume of ethnographical and ethnological material on the way of life of various ‘non-Western peoples’, that is peoples ranked to different grades of human evolution from ‘savagery to civilisation’. Such material – the greater part of which is translated from European publications – is integrated into Greek entertaining ‘family’ magazines because of the inherent diverting effect of ethnographic descriptions in depicting ‘odd’ ways of life.<sup>5</sup> In this regard, it could be said that the Greek periodicals of the mid-nineteenth century represent a global encyclopaedia providing information on a wide range of peculiar customs and mores from all over the world. This material could be completed with the description of rural Greek customs, although records of rural life appear to be limited over the period under examination. The co-existence of Greek and foreign customs in the ethnological and ethnographical content of Greek periodicals leads readers to an indirect comparison, as they find, often in adjacent pages, information about

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<sup>4</sup> Alki Kyriakidou-Nestoros, *Η θεωρία της ελληνικής λαογραφίας*, pp. 99-110.

<sup>5</sup> For the potential entertainment effect of information about other cultures on readers, see Charles Batten, *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978, pp. 82-115.



Greek and foreign customs and usages and observe pictures of wood engravings representing the rural and primitive way of life.

To better comprehend this indirect comparison, let us undertake to read ‘in parallel’ – as the nineteenth century readers would do – two passages describing burial customs. The first excerpt involves the inhabitants of the island of Psara, as depicted by Epameinondas Stamatiades in *Chrysallis*, in the text discussed in the previous chapter (see section 2.2). The second passage is extracted from an unsigned article on the way of life of the Chinese, published in *Ethniki Vivliothiki*.

Κοινόν ήτον εις τους άνδρας και τας γυναίκας ότε έφθανον εις την πρεσβυτικήν αυτών ηλικίαν, να προετοιμάζη έκαστος τα του θανάτου, τουτέστιν έθετον εντός κιβωτίου ενδυμασίαν νέαν, υποδήματα, πανίον διά σάβανον, και τα της ταφής έξοδα· πολλοί δε και τους τάφους αυτών κατασκεύαζον. [...] Ότε απέθνησκε τις συνηθοίζοντο περίξ του νεκρού, η σύζυγος, η μήτηρ και αι λοιπαί συγγενείς του τεθνεώτος και τίλλουσai την κόμην και κτυπώσαι τα στήθη εμυρολόγουν τον νεκρόν. Μετά των αυτών θρήνων εγίνοντο και η εκφορά παρακολουθούντος του πλήθους. Μετά το τέλος της νεκρωσίμου ακολουθίας, συνώδευον τον νεκρόν εις την υστάτην αυτού κατοικίαν ένθα τω έδιδον τον τελευταίον ασπασμόν· αι δε οιμωγαί και θρήνοι τών εις τα ίδια επιστρεφουσών γυναικών επλήρουν τον αέρα και αντήχουν καθ’ όλην την πόλιν. Το πένθος ετηρείτο ετήσιον, αι δε χήραι, αι μη ερχόμεναι εις δεύτερον γάμον εφόρουν τα πένθιμα ισοβίως, ως και αι μητέρες αι μη έχουσαι τέκνα· οι δε άνδρες διετήρουν επί τεσσαράκοντα ημέρας τον πώγονα αυτών ως σημείον πένθους και επί εν έτος έφερον μαύρα.<sup>6</sup>

Των Σινών αι επικήδειοι τελεταί πολλά έχουσι τα περίεργα και ιδιότροπα, εξ ων καταφαίνονται τα ήθη και έθιμα του παραδόξου τούτου λαού. Επί πολύν χρόνον φυλάττουσιν άταφα τα σώματα των τεθνεώτων, και

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<sup>6</sup> Epameinondas Stamatiades, ‘Περί Ψαρών και των ηθών και εθίμων αυτών’, p. 264.

μάλιστα οι πλούσιοι επί ενιαυτόν ολόκληρον αναβάλλουσι την ταφήν αυτών, εις ένδειξιν βαθυτέρου σεβασμού. Κείται δ' ο νεκρός περιβεβλημένος τα κάλλιστα των ενδυμάτων του επί κλίνης μεγαλοπρεπούς επικεκαλυμμένης υπό λευκών υφασμάτων [...] Και αυτοί οι πτωχότεροι επίσης δαπανώσι ικανήν ποσότητα χρημάτων όπως αξιωθώσι μετά θάνατον ευυπολήπτου και μεγαλοπρεπούς ταφής, προτιμώντες ν' αφήσωσιν ακτήμονα τα τέκνα αυτών ή να μη τύχωσι τοιαύτης [...] Κατά την ημέραν της εκφοράς οι συγγενείς βαίνουνσι εν παρατάξει προς τον τάφον· προηγούνται δε του νεκρού μουσικοί επί διαφόρων οργάνων ψάλλοντες θρηνώδη και μελαγχολικά άσματα και άλλοι τινές γραπτά φέροντες ελίγματα και μεταξίνας σημαίας εφ' ων εισίν επιγραφαί δηλούσαι τον βαθμόν και τον χαρακτήρα του τεθνεώτος [...] Οι πενθούντες συγγενείς συχνάκις ολολύζουσι και κραυγάζουσι σφοδρότατα πληρούντες τον αέρα διά θρήνων και φωνών. Οι Σίναι έχουσιν επίσης και περιοδικάς τελετάς εις περιποίησιν της μνήμης των νεκρών αυτών [...] Νομίζουνσι προς τούτοις οι Σίναι χρέος αυτών απαραίτητον να επισκέπτονται τους τάφους των προγόνων αυτών άπαξ ή δις του ενιαυτού, καθ' ας περιστάσεις βοτανίζουσι τα περί τους τάφους και θέτουσιν οίνον και τροφάς επί του μνημείου ή ανανεούσι με ποικιλοχρόους βαφάς τους χαρακτήρας των επιταφίων.<sup>7</sup>

The passages above provide information about religious ceremonies, a fundamental subject of ethnographical and folklore research that will be developed in detail further on. Such information arouses readers' curiosity about customs observed in other cultures. Furthermore, there can be discerned a common standpoint and rhetoric in the way the material in the two texts is deployed. This material is detailed and it is presented as the result of methodical observation. More specifically, the two texts appear to follow the instructions of contemporary anthropology handbooks. The latter encourage travellers who are willing to contribute to ethnographical research to scrutinise local customs and

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<sup>7</sup> [Anonymous], 'Ηθη και έθιμα. Αι κηδείαι των Σινών', *Ethniki Vivliothiki*, 5 (1870), pp. 354-355.

rituals of various regions and then take record of relevant details.<sup>8</sup> Despite the accumulation of such details, however, the extracts quoted above provide but a superficial description of the customs they present. This is a key feature of a major part of ethnography, and stems from the travellers' and ethnographers' refusal to apprehend the 'cultural logic underlying customs and ways of life'.<sup>9</sup> In effect, the writers' reluctance to apprehend the deeper significance of the customs they observe can also be identified in the excerpts quoted above. It is also important to note that such a reluctance accentuates the 'different' and 'unfamiliar' nature of those customs. Finally, the two passages adopt the standard objective and detached style of ethnographical descriptions, intended to explore their subject-matter in a neutral and reliable fashion. In other words, they incorporate, according to James Clifford's expression, that 'specific strategy of authority involv[ing] an unquestioned claim to appear as the purveyor of truth in the text'.<sup>10</sup>

The role of such ethnographical material on Greek or foreign regions in Greek periodicals is crucial in consolidating the western background of the national Greek identity in the mid-nineteenth century. As Said has pointed out, if identity and superiority of the West over the East is ultimately determined by the encyclopaedic orientalism, that is to say by the over-accumulation of knowledge on oriental countries,<sup>11</sup> then descriptions such as the one representing burial customs in China undoubtedly instil western consciousness in Greek urban readers. In other words, the latter become conscious of the fact that they belong to the culturally superior western world, entitled, in its turn, to examine and assess the nature and evolution level of various 'non-western' cultures. The

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<sup>8</sup> For this subject, see Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Instructions for Travellers: Teaching the Eye to See', *History and Anthropology*, 9 (1996), pp. 139-190.

<sup>9</sup> Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Travel Writing and Ethnography' in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, pp. 242-243, 253.

<sup>10</sup> James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press 1988, p. 25. Important studies on ethnographic writing are also included in volume: James Clifford, George E. Marcus (eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

<sup>11</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, London: Penguin, 1978, pp. 31-49.

use of ethnographical reporting techniques in exploring and learning about rural life in Stamatiades's text demonstrates that Greek rural culture also belongs to that 'non-western' world. This means that Greek rural culture is subject to the observation and scientific exploration of urban centres as a backward cultural example, inferior to the western world. Exploring rural people from this particular standpoint is a decisive factor in defining the Greek national identity. Indeed, it implies the necessity for the newly-founded Greek nation to embrace a western orientation and dissociate itself from its underdeveloped, oriental, or other, past.

Stamatiades's text, on the other hand, presents the contradiction of concurrent folklore surveys referred to earlier. Whereas the ethnographical perspective of the text identifies rural culture as a backward culture, the pursuit of ancient Greek traces in it upgrades its existence to the successor of a glorious civilisation, upon which the western world is founded. In the excerpt quoted in the previous chapter, we underscored the writer's attempt to directly relate the customs and mores of Psara of the nineteenth century to those of ancient Athenians. In particular, we pointed out that the text monumentalises the locals' mores, since it treats the rural life as a museum exhibit preserving traces of the ancient Greek past. Stamatiades explicitly states his intention in this regard, as he notes that those customs 'are the hallmark of our uninterrupted national way of life' ('εἰσὶ το χαρακτηριστικώτερον γνώρισμα του μη διακοπέντος εθνικού ημών βίου').<sup>12</sup>

In Stamatiades's travel account, the depiction of the peasants as both primitive people and descendants of a noble civilisation is not only associated with the methodological vagueness of Greek folkloristics, but it also invokes a more specific, European perception of modern Greek culture with regard to its classical past. In fact, although the Europeans consider classical Greece as the predecessor of European civilisation, they do not place it

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<sup>12</sup> Epameinondas Stamatiades, 'Περὶ Ψαρών και των ηθών και εθίμων αυτών', p. 261.

on the same pedestal. The former is classified as an ‘undifferentiated culture’, which ‘imposed a general conformity’ that seems ‘repressive to the modern western sophisticate’. Consequently, the modern Greek world is not upgraded in the eyes of the Europeans by the quest for, and identification of, classical traits in it. Instead, it is perceived as a society ‘fixed in time before modern history’. In other words, modern Greece ‘as the reincarnation of its Classical forebears’ has ‘scanty claims on a truly modern European identity’.<sup>13</sup> This is the perspective conveyed by Stamatiades in his representation of the society of Psara. Indeed, on the one hand, the ethnographical approach of the text implies the presence of an inferior non-western culture in the Greek countryside; on the other hand, the association of folk culture with antiquity accentuates its prehistoric, non-modern, character.

### 3.3. Representations of Everyday Life

I will now proceed to the analysis of four travel accounts that reflect the experience of travellers’ encounters with the everyday life of the rural population. I will thoroughly examine the information provided on everyday life and I will attempt to analyse the way in which the description of ‘peculiar’ aspects of rural life is related to the representations of primitive or underdeveloped peoples.

The first text is the travel account entitled ‘Ολίγα τινά περί Πάρου και Αντιπάρου’, by Nikolaos Dragoumis, published in *Pandora* in 1852.<sup>14</sup> It provides an example of a folklore account, dissociated from the well-established classical schemes imposed on the observation of folk life. What is more, in his evaluation of folklore material, the writer proceeds to an explicit, yet indirect, identification of Greek rural culture with an oriental

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<sup>13</sup> Michael Herzfeld, *Anthropology through the Looking-Glass: Critical Ethnography in the Margins of Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp. 53-54. For the ways in which the West places colonies’ modern societies in the prehistoric period of its own cultural evolution, see Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.

<sup>14</sup> Nikolaos Dragoumis, ‘Ολίγα τινά περί Πάρου και Αντιπάρου’, *Pandora*, 2/51 (1 May 1852), pp. 59-62.

culture. In addition, the second part of the text sets on the island of Antiparos a society of primitive people.

Dragoumis's principal travel destination is the famous cave of Antiparos. Nevertheless, the writer also describes in detail his sojourn on the island of Paros, where he is received by a local family. His stay there offers the writer an opportunity to observe at close quarters the island's environment and report every single detail that makes an impression on him: he scrutinises the furniture of the house; he describes an 'age-old' (προαιωνίας έχοντος την καταγωγήν) divan; he depicts a traditional female costume still worn by the island's older women; and he clarifies the etymology of the local dialect term 'xenocharagos' (ξενοχάραγος), used by the islanders of Paros for foreigners. The writer does not recount those elements in the form of meticulous 'indexing'. Instead, he incorporates them in a vivid and humoristic thread of narrative. The narration focuses on the writer's dialogue with the coquettish old lady of the house, who boasts about her clothes, while praising at the same time the beauty of her grand-daughter. The latter wears, after her grandmother's prompting, the traditional dress of the island. However, Dragoumis's focus on collecting and recording folklore material is manifest both in the exhaustive description of the female costume parts and in the wood engraving inserted in the text and representing a similar Aegean female dress worn on the island of Naxos (see image 4).<sup>15</sup>

In reporting the above material, Dragoumis endeavours in principle to demystify the prestige attributed to folk culture by the association with the Classical Age. When he refers to the etymology of the term 'xenocharagos', he disagrees with the interpretation given by Korais – the most reliable Greek classical scholar of the early nineteenth century – who believed that the origin of the term is traced back in the ancient Greek word for

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<sup>15</sup> The wood engraving reported therein must be quite widespread over the period under consideration since a similar version is also found in Emmanouel Ioannides's topographical text 'Αμοργός', p. 159. An analysis of this text is provided in the next chapter (section 4.2).

‘character’ (‘χαρακτήρ’). Dragoumis, on the other hand, associates the term with the ‘ordinary’ (‘πεζή’) practice of the island’s shepherds that consists in ‘marking’ [incising] (‘χαράσσουν’) their sheep and goat behind the ear so as to identify them when they enter into other flocks.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, when he describes the local female costume, he provides the local term used for each part of the dress, thus integrating into the text the so-called ‘vulgar’ (‘χυδαία’) popular language. The traditional costume comprises of the ‘Mesogelekon’ (‘Μεσογέλεκον’), the ‘Stomachikon’ (‘Στομαχικόν’), the ‘Linouvoston’ (‘Λινόβουστον’), the ‘Bostovrasola’ (‘Μποστοβράσολα’), the ‘Kolovi’ (‘Κολόβι’), the ‘Boustomanikon’ (‘Μπουστομάνικον’), the ‘Prostopodia’ (‘Προστοποδιά’), the ‘Bolía’ (‘Μπόλια’) or ‘Chrysompolia’ (‘Χρυσομπόλια’), the ‘Foustani’ (‘Φουστάνι’) and the ‘Kontouropapoutsá’ (‘Κουντουροπάπουτσα’).<sup>17</sup>

This folk culture, as described by Dragoumis, does not present any appealing features; on the contrary, it is odd and repugnant to urban standards. In fact, it could be said that it draws the visitor’s attention because it is peculiar and unusual: the writer describes the divan as a piece of furniture ‘of the most peculiar design’ (‘περιεργωτάτης κατασκευής’), and the dress of the old lady of the house as ‘equally peculiar’ (‘οὐδ’ ἦττον περίεργον’). Furthermore, when it is the beautiful grand-daughter who wears the dress, it looks so ‘appalling’ (‘αποτρόπαιο’) that it calls to his mind the ‘long, unbelted dress’ (‘ορθοστάδιο εσθήτα’) worn by Chinese women:

Εάν είχαν ν’ απευθύνω προς μόνην αυτήν εκφράσεις φιλόφρονας,  
ήθελον βεβαίως σπεύσει να είπω ότι οι οφθαλμοί της κατέφλεγον και τα  
χείλη της εγοήτευον υπό παν είδος καλύπτρας, ότι από το υγροφνές σώμα  
της, δεν εδίωκε τας χάριτας οὐδ’ αυτή η ορθοστάδιος εσθής των γυναικών

<sup>16</sup> Nikolaos Dragoumis, ‘Ολίγα τινά περί Πάρου και Αντιπάρου’, p. 60.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

της Κίνας' αλλά δεν έθελον διστάσει και να προσθέσω ότι, ίσως το ένδυμα εκείνο ήτο καλόν διά τας μάμμας, διά τας εγγόνας όμως ήτο αποτρόπαιον.<sup>18</sup>

Through this folklore material, Dragoumis's travel account provides a more 'realistic' description of the rural environment compared to the representations discussed in chapter two. It reveals elements of actual life on the island, such as the shepherds' usages, local language, as well as cultural material like furniture and garb. Such a setting is clearly distinct from the writer's urban environment, due to the fact that it is unusual and repulsive for his own standards. In addition, the indirect association of the Greek traditional dress with the Chinese dress demonstrates that the 'unusual' traits of Greek rural life derive from its non-western character. In other words, these 'unusual' traits result from the fact that the Greek rural life represents a stage of cultural development similar to the Chinese civilisation – an age-old civilisation that belongs to the prehistory of mankind's cultural evolution, just like the Psara society in Stamatiades's text. Hence, Dragoumis 'suggests' a similar association of Greek folk culture with 'strange' cultures referred to in periodicals of his time. In this regard, the wood engraving representing the 'Women of Naxos' in Dragoumis's travel account could be compared to various depictions of the Chinese dress in the nineteenth century. Two representations of this type, published in the journal *Pandora*, can be founded at the end of the present thesis (see images 5 and 6).

While on the island of Paros, Dragoumis comes in contact with 'peculiar' cultural features, on the small island of Antiparos he encounters a purely primitive setting. In his description of the islet's inhabitants, he describes people living in extreme penury. In the capital of the island, the writer observes approximately sixty huts 'housing two to three hundred ragged people' ('περιεχούσας διακοσίους ή τριακοσίους ρακενδύτας'). When

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.



those people learn about the arrival of foreigners on the island, they are represented leaving their houses – ‘even babies hustled to welcome us’ (‘ουδέ βρέφος έμεινε χωρίς να έλθη και αυτό εις προϋπάντησίν μας’), as the writer remarks – and ‘gaping at’ (‘χαίνωσιν ενώπιον’) them ‘as if they were odd creatures’ (‘ως προ παραδόξ[ων] τιν[ών] όντ[ων]’), pushing them around to buy shoddy ‘antiquities and stalactites’ (‘αρχαιότητας και σταλακτίτας’) and begging them ‘with crowing voice’ (‘κρώζοντες’) to hire them as guides to the island’s cave.<sup>19</sup>

Dragoumis actually describes a typical, in travel accounts and other texts, encounter between Europeans and native people that could be set in any colonial landscape. In such scenes, Europeans come across local people deprived of their human condition, as the choice of verb ‘crowing’ drawn from zoology terminology demonstrates, bewildered and feeble in the face of those outlandish invaders, yet trading what foreigners want from their homeland. More specifically, Dragoumis’s depiction calls to mind the encounter that the well-known French botanist Joseph Pitton de Tournefort had with the inhabitants of Antiparos, as described in his travel account on the Aegean islands, published in the beginning of the eighteenth century. In that scene, Tournefort appears to observe also in puzzlement the impoverished islanders, but he equally records their horror towards the Turks. In particular, the islanders of Antiparos are represented burying all their belongings to keep them safe from the ravaging invasion of the Turks, and hiding in the mountain’s caves to avoid their vindictive ferocity. The historical background of Tournefort’s depiction is certainly different from that of the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, Dragoumis appears to copy the French writer’s style, especially at the point where he describes the inhabitants reacting in bewilderment and agitation to the

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 61.

foreigners' arrival on their island: 'The consternation was so great there when we arrived, that they had not left so much as a Table-Cloth or a Napkin in their houses'.<sup>20</sup>

Furthermore, Dragoumis integrates into his text the usual ironic reaction of the Europeans towards what they perceive as the locals 'mimicking' the western way of life. Such a mimicry consists in learning and imperfectly pronouncing European languages, in dressing in and behaving like Europeans do, and so forth.<sup>21</sup> Dragoumis ironically comments on the fact that the impoverished islanders of Antiparos believe that they have an aristocratic background:

Δια στενής και ακαθάρτου οδού, μετέβημεν εις την οικίαν του εγκριτοτέρου των κατοίκων, όστις μας υπεδέχθη όρθιος, και μας εισήξεν εις πρόσγειον αίθουσαν στερουμένη παραθύρων, και πλήρη καπνού. – Εδώ συνέρχονται, με είπε με φωνήν σιγαλήν ο πρώτος των κωπηλατών, όλοι οι ευγενείς. – Αν δεν με το έλεγες, δεν θα το υπωπτευόμην.<sup>22</sup>

However, there is a certain sense of insecurity underlying that ironic reaction. According to Homi K. Bhabha's well-known analysis, the way Europeans depict natives mimicking European cultural features reveals the colonialists' desire to establish a reformed and recognisable Other, that looks like the Europeans, yet is not identical to them. On the other hand, Bhabha emphasises the destabilising potential of colonial mimicry, as it undermines the European identity and menaces the narcissistic demand of colonial authority through the partial representation/recognition of the colonial object.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *A Voyage into the Levant*, vol. 1, J. Ozell (trans.), London, 1718, p. 198.

<sup>21</sup> For an illustrative example of the ironic approach towards the above-mentioned mimicking behaviour, see the short story entitled 'Η Ναϊάς', by Alexandros Rizos Rangavis, which encompasses an episode of slave trading in Africa (Alexandros Rizos Rangavis, *Λιγνήματα*, Dimitris Tziouvas (ed.), Athens: Neoelliniki Vivliothiki-Idryma Ourani, 1999, pp. 318-349). For observations on the colonial mimicry theme in Rangavis's colonial short stories, see Georgia Gotsi, 'Empire and Exoticism in the Short Fiction of Alexandros Rizos Rangavis', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 24/1 (May 2006), pp. 33-34.

<sup>22</sup> Nikolaos Dragoumis, 'Όλίγα τινά περί Πάρου και Αντιπάρου', p. 61.

<sup>23</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, London; New York: Routledge, 1994, p. 88.

A similar destabilisation is suggested by Dragoumis's ironic reaction towards the 'upper' class of the island of Antiparos and its mimicry of the 'aristocratic' status. In particular, this irony stresses the feeling of insecurity caused to Greek urban travellers by the intimate contact with the appalling rural Other. The latter arises concerns as it forms part of the Greek population, and its way of life menaces the national identity project.

The next text I will discuss is the travel account 'Η Κύθνος και τα λουτρά αυτής' by Konstantinos Pop, published in two sequels in *I Efterpi* in 1851.<sup>24</sup> In this text, Pop recounts several events which occurred during his stay on the island of Kythnos, when he visited it in summertime on a 'pleasure trip' ('χάριν αναψυχής'), as he notes, but also for its thermal baths. As it appears, the baths are a popular destination for many visitors coming from all over Greece. Although Pop is interested in recording 'peculiar' incidents of his trip, the purpose of his text is not ethnographical. Such incidents are mostly related to difficulties he encounters during his stay on the island, especially in the public baths. Hence, Pop's travel account embraces the functional perspective of travel writing, which consists in recording the journey's adversities and risks, in terms of transportation, accommodation, food, diseases, and so forth. Thus, travel texts serve as useful guides for future travellers. This is also the case of Pop's travel account. As he explains, in recording the difficulties encountered on his trip, he had in mind the 'future frequenters' ('μέλλοντες φοιτητές') of the baths, who, hopefully, 'shall not curse' ('δεν θέλουσι βλασφημῆσιν'), like he did, 'the day they arrived on the island of Kythnos' ('την ώρα την εις Κύθνον μεταβάσεώς των').<sup>25</sup>

The 'peculiar' incidents which occurred during Pop's trip involve the impoverishment of the islanders that is not found, as the writer points out, in any other part of the planet.

<sup>24</sup> Konstantinos Pop, 'Η Κύθνος και τα λουτρά αυτής', *I Efterpi*, 4/94 (15 July 1851), pp. 519-522, 95 (1 August 1851), pp. 541-544.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., no. 95, p. 544.

Indeed, he vividly describes his astonishment and exasperation in discovering the indescribable penury of the inhabitants, who cannot even satisfy the visitors' essential needs for food and accommodation. More specifically, on his first encounter with the island's environment, the writer complains about the 'deplorable' ('άθλιοι') and 'rough' ('δύσβατοι') rural roads, that make the access to the baths difficult, and about the 'wretched' ('άθλια') villages with their scruffy houses and filthy alleys, where 'pigs move freely around' ('οι χοίροι περιφέρονται ακωλύτως και ελευθέρως'). As he points out, those alleys 'have never been cleaned' ('ουδέποτε καθαρίζονται') and 'the emerging stench at night is unbearable' ('αναδίδουσι την νύχταν τοσαύτην αποφοράν, ώστε αδύνατον να υποφέρει τις').<sup>26</sup> Equally exasperating are the living conditions of bathers in bath facilities, described as a genuine 'nether world' ('κολάσεως και καταδίκης τόπο'), 'impossible to describe in black and white, and just as impossible to imagine' ('αδυνατεί η γραφίς να παραστήση, και ο λογισμός να φαντασθή'). As he observes, the buildings of the facilities accommodate visitors in rooms that often resemble 'holes' ('τρύπες'). The writer graphically describes his personal experience of such rooms during the first days of his stay on the island. At first, he is confined to a 'barn' ('αχυρώνας'), 'abounding with impurities and, therefore, extremely repugnant' ('πάσης μεν ακαθαρσίας, πάσης δε αηδίας μεστόν'). Later on, he is accommodated in a 'three-square-cubit' ('τριών τετραγωνικών πήχεων') 'shocking dormitory' ('πρωτοφανή κοιτώνά') and in a 'low-ceilinged, damp room under construction' ('χαμώγαιον, κάθυγρον και ημιτελές δωμάτιον'), 'with no doors, windows or floors' ('άνευ θυρών, σανιδώματος και θηρίδων'). 'What a disgrace!' ('Ουαί της αθλιότητος!'), the writer exclaims, and he notes that such rooms accommodate 'respectable' ('αξιότιμες') families of gentlemen ('οικοκυραίων'), as there are no other accommodation options. Besides, the bath facilities

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., no 94, p. 521.

are not equipped with an adequate number of basins to meet the demand of the flows of visitors. Consequently, ‘disarray’ (‘αταξία’) and ‘anarchy’ (‘αναρχία’) prevail. In addition, the baths are close to marshes, which are often the cause of febrile conditions. Frequent are also fire outbreaks that threaten the complete extinction of the thermal baths region, since there are no kitchen facilities, and therefore each family has to make a fire for cooking indoors.<sup>27</sup>

However, what the writer considers as by far the most striking phenomenon is the lack of food supplies on the island. In effect, he stresses that the inhabitants of Kythnos ‘suffer from extreme penury’ (‘πάσχουσι μεγίστη πενία’), since they live exclusively on the barley they grow in gorges and mountain ridges (‘φάραγγας τινάς και ράχεις των βουνών των’) of their rocky (‘πετρώδες’) and ‘arid’ (‘άγονο’), island.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, food imported from other regions on the island are scarce. Therefore, they are all transferred to the baths region in order to meet the visitors’ needs. As a result, there is a lack of essential food supplies on the rest of island. Indeed, the writer himself is annoyed on the very first day of his sojourn in Chora (Χώρα), the capital of the island, when he is obliged to have for lunch nothing but cheese, sardines and rye bread. He describes his annoyance in the passage below:

Χώρα ολόκληρος, αφίνουσα εαυτήν να τρέφεται διά μόνον άρτου και τούτου κριθίνου και εώλου (ενταύθα άπαξ μόνον ανάπτουσιν οι κλίβανοι κατά σάβατον, και τότε εκάστη οικογένεια ζημόνει [sic] τον άρτον της δι’ ολόκληρον την εβδομάδα) διότι εκατόν ή διακόσιοι ξένοι προσέρχονται εις τα λουτρά της, τοιαύτη χώρα μ’ επροξένησε, τ’ ομολογώ, εντύπωσιν παράδοξον. Τοσαύτη αθλιότης εις ουδέν άλλο βεβαίως μέρος υπάρχει της γης.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., no. 95, pp. 542-543.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., no. 94, p. 521.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., no 95, p. 542.

In this depiction it is possible to identify the usual arrogant style of Western travellers, who compare in astonishment their prosperous western society to the backwardness of the various non-western regions they visit. These regions also include the area of Europe where Greece is located. Indeed, foreign travellers to Greek territories often discern the features of an ‘abhorrent Orient’, similar to those identified in Pop’s text: the ‘desolate’ and ‘bare’ land ‘without verdure’, the ‘dirtiness’, the ‘despicable’, ‘comfortless within’ houses, the ‘unwholesome’ areas, ‘surrounded by marches’, and so forth.<sup>30</sup> Such depictions are of course the result of an ‘imperialist gaze’, as the Western travellers oppose the ‘oriental bestiality’ they observe around them to the ‘unprecedented power’ of modern Europe’s technological and economic development.<sup>31</sup> This is a confident ‘gaze’ that is not found in Pop’s text. Nonetheless, it is evident that the Greek writer also regards the island of Kythnos as a barbaric environment that appals and exasperates ‘city-bred’ travellers. In fact, the writer seems to realise the oriental connotations of his own depiction, since he describes the reaction of a ‘pedantic’ Turkish visitor, indignant with the bathing conditions: ‘Although you call yourselves Greeks and boast about it, you are by nature barbarians...’ (‘Έλληνες λέγεσθε και καυχάσθε, αλλ’ είσθε καθαυτό βάρβαροι ...’).<sup>32</sup>

According to Pop, the ‘barbarity’ of Kythnos is mainly due to the mentality of the locals. That said, the writer unquestionably apprehends, to a certain extent, the economic and social grounds of the islanders’ poverty. He describes an ‘arid’ island, lacking regular transport connections with the rest of the Aegean islands and the capital of the country, and subject to receiving a great number of visitors without the support required on the

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<sup>30</sup> Vassiliki Markidou, ‘Travels Off-centre: Lady Hester Stanhope in Greece’ in Vassiliki Kolokotroni, Efterpi Mitsi (eds.), *Women Writing Greece: Essays on Hellenism, Orientalism and Travel*, Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 2008, pp. 44-47. Helen Hester Stanhope’s travelogue, from which is extracted the aforementioned depiction, describes her travel to Greece in 1810. The travelogue was compiled by her biographer and was published in 1846.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., pp. 45, 46.

<sup>32</sup> Konstantinos Pop, ‘Η Κύθνος και τα λουτρά αυτής’, no 95, p. 542.

part of the central government. After all, the responsibility of organising and providing for the proper functioning of the thermal baths lies with the central government.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, the writer puts aside this socio-economic background, and instead imputes people's poverty directly to their character. He suggests that the inhabitants could repair the island's road network, set up grocery businesses to provide for their food security, and better organise the bath facilities of the island. However, such developments are impeded by their 'laxity' ('ολιγωρία'), their 'typical indolence' ('παραδειγματική νωθρότητα') and 'arrogance of nobility' ('οίηση της ευγενείας'). As for the last feature, he notes that the islanders of Kythnos believe in their descent from noble families, with 'patriarchal titles' ('πατριαρχικούς τίτλους') under Ottoman rule, and therefore they detest trading professions.<sup>34</sup> Besides, the writer makes an ironic comment on the well-established approach of relating rural sites to ancient glory. In effect, he notes that 'the only historical references to the local production of Kythnos concern partridge and hare' ('ουδένα μνημονεύει η ιστορία ότι παρήγαγεν η Κύθνος, αλλ' η πέρδικας και λαγωούς').<sup>35</sup> Equally ironic is the allusion made to the Homeric 'hospitality' that is usually attributed to the Aegean islanders. In particular, the writer sets the famous scene of Ulysses's reception by Nausicaa on the island of Phaeacia against the way the writer himself is treated by the inhabitants of Kythnos.<sup>36</sup> The latter are qualified, among other things, as greedy, speculative, scoundrels and unscrupulous, as they take advantage of the needs of visitors, by selling products and providing services at excessively high prices.<sup>37</sup> The writer completes his description, however, by reporting that the islanders of Kythnos are 'extremely peaceful and submissive' ('άκρως φιλήσυχοι και ευάγωγοι'), since there

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., pp. 542-543.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., no. 94, p. 521, no. 95, p. 543.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., no. 94, p. 521. See excerpt quoted in section 2.3.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., no. 95, p. 541.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., pp. 542, 543.

‘never occur conflicts or crimes’ (‘ουδέποτε συμβαίνουν συγκρούσεις ή κακουργήματα’); hence the absence of gendarmerie on the island. On the other hand, they are ignorant and superstitious, as suggested in the description of their reservations towards the island’s doctor: ‘they would rather [...] find rest in the bosom of Abraham than be treated by that doctor’ (‘προτιμούν [...] να μεταβαίνουν εν κόλποις Αβραάμ μάλλον, παρά να θεραπεύονται υπό του ιατρού τούτου’).<sup>38</sup>

The depiction of the islanders of Kythnos as by nature peaceful, lazy, arrogant, greedy and ignorant people builds upon the available stock of images over the same period for the representation of non-Western peoples. Those features will be thoroughly discussed in the next chapter, in the context of ‘racial’ depictions of rural people. In fact, such representations derive from an anthropological exploration of the ‘nature’ of Greek peasants, based on biologically determined physiognomical, intellectual and temperamental criteria. In this context, calm or violent character, intellectual development or retardation and energetic or lazy behaviour constitute in essence racial features. Laziness, in particular, is not associated with the Oriental’s leisurely character, but rather with stereotypical traits of primitive people, such as the indolence of the black race or the languidness of the inhabitants of tropical countries. In any case, this primitive indolence is defined as such in contrast with Western people’s energetic nature, which supposedly lies behind the impressive technological advances and the exponential capitalistic and economic development of the West.

The necessity of a West-oriented streamlined economic development is also stressed by Pop, in the recommendations he makes with regard to the challenging downturn observed on the island of Kythnos. More specifically, taking into account the fact that agriculture is unprofitable, he recommends the development of maritime shipping

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 543.



activities, the establishment of ‘honest’ (‘έντιμον’) ‘industry’ (‘βιομηχανίαν’), ‘business and trade operations’ (‘επιχείρησιν και εμπορίαν’)<sup>39</sup> and, of course, the touristic exploitation of the baths. The writer explicitly suggests the capitalist model of concentration and progressive increase of wealth, and he provides in support of his argument the ‘success story’ of a merchant from Zakynthos. At first, the merchant – who ‘descended upon’ the island ‘from a pirate ship’ (‘έπεσε [...] εκ τινός πειρατικού’) – worked as a cordwainer. Later on, he managed to raise some savings, got to the island of Tinos and bought grocery supplies. When he returned to Kythnos, he resold those goods making ‘maximum gain’ (‘όφελος μέγιστον’). He repeated the same operation on a regular basis, and he soon made ‘considerable fortune’ (‘σημαντικήν περιουσία’) and became the wealthiest inhabitant of the island. This is precisely the energetic type of man that the writer indirectly sets against the indolent islander of Kythnos, since the latter is not endowed with the ‘inherent intelligence’ (‘έμφυτο ευφυνία’) of the islanders of Zakynthos.<sup>40</sup>

Lastly, it should be noted that such representations of indolent and arrogant people are commonplace in nineteenth-century travel accounts that depict both native people in colonies and peasants living in the European countryside. As has been noted, the systematic observation of those appalling features should be directly associated with the necessity of economic modernisation. For both European and colonial peasants are perceived as being the principal obstacle to economic modernisation. In particular, they are deemed to refuse to form part of the workforce of capitalist development because they can live on the means provided by traditional economic relationships.<sup>41</sup> In the last

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid. no 94, p. 521.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. no 95, p. 543.

<sup>41</sup> Zine Magubane, *Bringing the Empire Home: Race, Class and Gender in Britain and Colonial South Africa*, Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004, pp. 14-39.

chapter, I will discuss how such an interpretation is also supported in the representation of hardworking women of Kythnos, included in Pop's text (see section 5.2).

In conclusion, it could be noted that the 'paradoxes' of the Greek countryside described in Pop's text neither record 'peculiar' customary practices nor reflect any interest in folklore exploration; they rather emphasise the shocking penury of an economically underdeveloped environment. In this context, Pop builds upon key features imputed to primitive man so as to demonstrate the necessity of economic rather than cultural enhancement of rural life.

Another depiction of the islanders of Antiparos can be found in the travel account 'Το εν Ωλιαρίω (Αντιπάρω) Άντρον', by Antonios Vallindas, published in *Pandora* in 1856.<sup>42</sup> Although Vallindas describes images of poverty and penury, just like Dragoumis does, the trait principally emphasised in his text is the inhabitants's profound ignorance.

Similarly to Dragoumis, Vallindas observes that the islanders of Antiparos are rather deprived of their human condition, since he notes that there has been made 'no progress towards civilisation' ('ουδέ βήμα προόδου προς τον ανθρωπισμόν') since Tournefort's visit to the island. Hence, he also depicts the locals' 'lamentable' ('αξιοδάκρυτος') 'stagnation' ('στασιμότητα'): Antiparos is an islet inhabited by approximately eighty families. Those families live in shabby little houses inside an abandoned fortress, which had been erected in the past to protect them from regular pirate incursions. Local people are impoverished, living for their subsistence by 'hoeing their country's soil' ('σκαλεύοντες μέρος της χώρας τους'), 'catching fish and fishing sponges' ('αλιεύοντες ιχθύς και σπόγγους'), 'coppicing' ('ξύλευόμενοι εκ των θάμνων') and 'transporting fire wood and coal' ('μετακομίζοντες καυσόξυλα και άνθρακες') to neighbouring islands.

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<sup>42</sup> Antonios Vallindas, 'Το εν Ωλιαρίω (Αντιπάρω) άντρον. Και τινά περί αυτής και των αυτής κατοίκων', *Pandora*, 7/157 (1 October 1856), pp. 298-304.

The island is completely arid, with only around a hundred figs and forty to fifty olive trees.<sup>43</sup>

Nevertheless, the human condition of the islanders of Antiparos is mainly undermined by their ignorance. The writer notes that except for the priest and one or two inhabitants, all the other locals are totally illiterate. He also recounts a series of ‘odd’ events and customs in order to emphasise their uncivilised way of life:

Της απαιδευσίας δε αυτών ένεκα συμβαίνει ώστε και κατά την απλουστάτην λογομαχίαν μεταξύ δύο ανδρών του χωρίου, να μερίζεται αυτό εκάστοτε εις δύο αντίμαχα στρατόπεδα, ουδέ των γυναικών εξαιρουμένων, ως αι από του ύψους των στεγών μετ’ ακροδωματίων λίθων, αι δε (αι ανδρικώτεροι) μετά κοπάνων πατάσσουσι τους αντιπάλους των συζύγων αυτών. Μετ’ ου πολύ δε, παύλας επελθούσης, αγάπη και φιλία γίνεται μεταξύ των προ μικρού διαμαχομένων, ως αν μη ήσαν εκείνοι.<sup>44</sup>

Such a behaviour on the part of the inhabitants of Antiparos calls to the writer’s mind a similar fight involving the inhabitants of the island of Serifos:

Κωμικοτραγικόν το έθος. Κατά τας πλείστας των εορτών χορός ανοίγεται εν μέση τη πλατεία. Και δη τότε πολύ το πλήθος των γυναικών και μάλιστα των νεανίδων ουκ ολίγοι δε και οι χορευταί Σερίφιοι περιϊστάμενοι, και έχοντες ανά χείρας έκαστος (τι νομίζετε;) ρόπαλα ευπαγή. [...] Ανοίγεται ο χορός, και ιδού οι όρθιοι χορευταί, χειραγωγούντες έκαστος ανά μίαν κυρίαν. [...] Εν τω μεταξύ θόρυβος γίνεται σφοδρός, και βροχηδόν αναβαινοκαταβαίνουν αι ράβδοι. Επί τέλους περιγίγνεται τις των διαπληκτιζομένων, όστις σύρει εις τον χορόν πρώτην (τιμή μεγάλη) την κυρίαν αυτού. [...] Τελειώνει ο πρώτος χορός, και ανοίγει ο δεύτερος διά των αυτών προανακρουσμάτων, και ούτω

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., pp. 298-299.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 299.

καθεξής μέχρι τέλους. Διαλυθέντος δε του χορού, ουδέ το ελάχιστον ίχνος μίσους διατηρούσιν οι προ μικρού ξυλοφορτισθέντες.<sup>45</sup>

Further on, the writer appears to collect in his text all those elements that might be relevant under the heading ‘Superstitions’. Such elements reveal that the inhabitants of Antiparos are ‘the most superstitious’ (‘δεισιδαιμονέστατοι’) of all the inhabitants of the Aegean islands. The writer refers amongst other incidents to the funeral of a young girl that takes place on the day he visits the island. The young girl had the measles and, despite her condition, she was forced by her parents to go to the church and get married. Once married, her husband required that she slept with him outdoors, as he could not sleep inside the house in summertime. The young girl’s health deteriorated and she passed away a few days after her wedding. It is obvious that the girl died because of the violent behaviour of her parents and her husband. Nevertheless, the islanders believe that she died because her husband ‘brought bad luck’ (‘γρουσουζης’); after all, he had been twice a widower.<sup>46</sup>

In addition, various local beliefs on death complete the description of the superstitious islanders of Antiparos: for three consecutive nights following a person’s death, the islanders did not venture out of doors after sunset, as they were afraid of the dead person’s apparition. They also believed in the prophetic charisma of an elderly man who predicted the future, in particular imminent deaths. According to the stories told by the locals, the elderly ‘prophet’ climbed on an abandoned tower and he saw in ecstasy the persons who were about to die dancing before his eyes. Then he confided his vision to a relative of the person concerned. The islanders affirmed that his ‘prophecies’ always came true. Finally, the locals used to believe in the past that a carrion crow could also

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

foresee the future. More specifically, when that bird sat ‘like Pythia’ used to sit ‘on her tripod’ (‘ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ τρίποδος ἡ Πυθία’) on a palm tree of the village, the peasants checked whether it looked towards the North or towards the South. Depending on the direction, they could say whether they would be attacked by pirates, in which case they stayed locked inside their houses.<sup>47</sup>

The depiction above provides a typical image of primitiveness, calling to mind similar representations of European peasants found in travel accounts of the late nineteenth century. Such representations may not directly relate European peasants to primitive peoples, yet they provide an obscure, mysterious, hostile and menacing human figure that resembles the colonies’ native people. Thus, European peasants are often portrayed as brutalised people, due to the conditions of poverty and malnutrition, savage, as a result of isolation and penury, shockingly ignorant, with rough and rude manners, totally irrational and deprived of any reflective thinking, extremely superstitious, confused by anything they see and do not comprehend, sometimes careless like children and other times scoundrels, with no trace of hesitation over fraud.<sup>48</sup>

Vallindas’ representation of the islanders of Antiparos presents several similarities with the aforementioned depictions. First of all, the way those people ensure their livelihood reveals an almost bestial condition, since their subsistence depends, just like animals, on the natural environment they live in: they collect from soil and waters – ‘hoeing’ and ‘fishing’ – anything that might seem useful to them (bushes, wood, fish, sponges). Furthermore, they behave in a rough, violent and impulsive fashion, as confirmed by the occurrence of fights, which are of course devoid of sense. The islanders of Antiparos, as well as the inhabitants of the island of Serifos, shift between expressions of hostility and friendship from one moment to another: they beat each other using

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., pp. 299-300.

<sup>48</sup> See chapter ‘A country of Savages’ in Eugene Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1976, pp. 3-22.

paddles and clubs, on the grounds of ‘a mere argument’ (‘απλουστιάτην λογομαχία’), or because this is a customary practice, and the next instant they make friends and love each other, forgetting all about the fight. This behaviour appears to be incomprehensible and unreasonable, and it calls to mind lightsome and unmanageable children in their games. Finally, the text emphasises the islanders’ shocking ignorance and superstitious way of thinking.

Such traits as irrationality, impulsiveness, childishness, brutality and superstition are fundamental features identified in the representations of savage people, produced according to the myth of the ‘noble’ and ‘ignoble savage’. Vallindas makes use of features that draw upon both ‘variants’ of savage man. The islanders of Antiparos have the noble savage’s freedom of expression and naïve way of thinking, as is borne out by their impulsive and childish reactions and their univocal perception of the world. Moreover, the writer identifies in them the expression of the ignoble savage’s violent instincts and typical rough and boorish behaviour, as well as the occult superstitions of their mind.<sup>49</sup>

Vallindas, therefore, records superstitions in his travel account, as they provide evidence of the islanders’ primitive and irrational way of life. In this regard, the Greek writer adopts the dominant ethnological views of the nineteenth century, according to which superstitions are deemed to be the principal feature of the irrational way of thinking of savage people, classified at the lowest rank of civilisation. This is also the case with the older cultural traits encountered in the rural world.<sup>50</sup> In fact, Vallindas

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<sup>49</sup> Such traits are presented as anthropological features attributed to native populations in representations that will be discussed in the next chapter. For stereotypes related to the observation of the ‘noble’ and ‘ignoble’ savage’s life, see Wilcomb E. Washburn, ‘The Noble and Ignoble Savage’ in Richard M. Dorson (ed.), *Handbook of American Folklore*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983, pp. 60-66, V. G. Klernan, ‘Noble and Ignoble Savages’ in G. S. Rousseau, Roy Porter (eds.), *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990, pp. 86-116. See also Ter Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001, Louise K. Barnett, *The Ignoble Savage: American Literary Racism, 1790-1890*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975.

<sup>50</sup> Michalis Meraklis, ‘Η διττή θεώρηση της δεισιδαιμονίας’, *Ardin*, 44 (2003), pp. 64-66.

addresses in his text one of the key issues which have been systematically explored in the field of folkloristics since the end of the nineteenth century: folklore beliefs on the subject of death. Some of them are reported in the text under examination: they involve the so-called death ‘forecasts’ (‘προγνωστικά’), as well as people’s fears towards the risk entailed by the taint of the deceased or the deceased themselves (ghosts, vampires, and so forth).<sup>51</sup> It is, however, evident that the folklore material reported in Valindas’ text is not intended for the interpretation of and familiarisation with popular beliefs. On the contrary, it is used to amplify the obscure and mysterious setting of the rural environment of Antiparos. In other words, it describes a gothic setting, abounding with supernatural and terrifying images: ghosts that may wander around the streets the first nights after the persons’ death, and elderly ‘prophets’ climbing on ruined towers and having visions of people who are about to die dancing before their eyes.<sup>52</sup>

The last text that will be discussed is the travel account ‘Τρεις ημέραι εις Ικαρίαν’ by Epaminondas Stamatiades, published in *Chrysallis* in 1864.<sup>53</sup> This text also integrates the ethnographical approach adopted by Epaminondas Stamatiades. In his introduction, the writer notes that he is going to present the ‘odd customs and mores of the Ikarians’ (‘περίεργα ήθη και έθιμα των Ικαριωτών’), observed ‘with his very own eyes’ (‘ιδίοις όμμασι’). At this point, he explains that he travelled to the island for the exclusive purpose of making a record of those customs. He also appears to be aware of the fact that the material collected on such ‘odd’ customs and mores is intended to entertain the readers. As he emphatically points out, he includes in his text ‘by way of digression, a brief geographical and historical excursus’ (‘μικρά γεωγραφική και ιστορική

<sup>51</sup> Dimitrios Loukatos, *Εισαγωγή στην Ελληνική Λαογραφία*, pp. 221-225.

<sup>52</sup> For a study on the way in which gothic fantasies contributed to the representations of the Other, see Ruth Bienstock Anolik, Douglas L. Howard (eds.), *The Gothic Other: Racial and Social Constructions in the Literary Imagination*, NC: McFarland & Company Inc. Publishers, 2004.

<sup>53</sup> Epameinondas Stamatiades, ‘Τρεις ημέρας εις Ικαρίαν’, *Chrysallis*, 2/37 (15 July 1864), pp. 393-396.

παρέκβασιν’), since he believes that the description of travels ‘should not be made only for pleasure, but should be useful too’ (‘δεν πρέπει προς μόνην τέρψιν να γείνηται, αλλά και προς ωφέλειαν’).<sup>54</sup>

After that digression, the writer cites various information on the way of life of the Ikarians, with particular emphasis given to the peasants: the latter live ‘like troglodytes in mountain caves’ (‘ζώσι δίκην τρωγλοδυτών εις τα σπήλαια της νήσου’). They live on subsistence goat breeding and on the ‘scarce grapevines and vegetables’ (‘ολίγιστα κλήματα και λαχανικά’) they grow. The bread they eat comes from chickpeas, beans and maize. The flour they make out of those ingredients is kneaded and baked on hot stones. Pregnant women and foreigners receive two portions of bread.<sup>55</sup> In general, all Ikarian customs are simple, except for one appalling custom, which is described below:

Ἐθιμον βδελυρόν και περιέργον των Ικαρίων εἶνε το Στρουμπάλισμα· δηλονότι όταν νεκρός τις, εκταφείς μετά ωρισμένον χρόνον ευρεθή άλυτος, τότε ταρταλιάζεται ήτοι μεληδόν κατακόπτεται υπό των κατοίκων, φρονούντων ότι ο θανών ήτο κάκιστος άνθρωπος και εβρυκολάκισε.<sup>56</sup>

The Ikarians are also prone to larceny, and priests are not an exception. Indeed, the writer describes an incident which occurred when a peasant begged the priest to excommunicate the man who had stolen his she-goat so as to make him bring it back. Eventually, the cunning priest deceived his parish and excommunicated the victim instead of the thief.<sup>57</sup>

In his assessment of the aforementioned customs and mores, the writer notes that the society of Ikaria ‘lags far behind in terms of civilisation’ (‘πολύ οπίσω διατελεί εις τον

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 393.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 396.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.



πολιτισμόν’), as it is an isolated society, ‘deprived of any connections with outsiders’ (‘στερουμένη συγκοινωνίας προς ξένους’), ‘inaccessible to foreigners’ (‘απροσπέλαστος εις αλλοδαπούς’), and also deprived of ‘any means for the intellectual development’ (‘παντός μέσου προς διανοητικήν ανάπτυξιν’) of the locals. However, the writer praises the region’s prelate for his efforts to ‘root out the existing ancient superstitions’ (‘προς εκρίζωσιν των υπαρχουσών αρχαίων προλήψεων’) and ‘infuse a sound and virtuous spirit’ (‘προς διάδοσιν πνεύματος υγιούς και ευσεβούς’) in the inhabitants.<sup>58</sup>

It becomes clear that the writer applies in the description above the ethnographical methodology of accumulating details. As noted earlier, this method does not only result in a superficial survey of the way of life of local people, but it also reinforces the concept of those people’s ‘otherness’. In effect, the inhabitants are once again depicted as bestialised, living like troglodytes on the mountain, and tormented by their ignorance and their occult superstitions. However, whilst Vallindas focuses first and foremost on the locals’ irrational behaviour, Stamatiades, on his part, lays emphasis on their immorality: he takes note of their predisposition to larceny and the absence of any trace of hesitation over fraud. As pointed out, this is also a key feature in the representation of European peasants. In other words, whilst the islanders of Antiparos are ‘incomprehensible’ (‘ακατανόητοι’), the islanders of Ikaria are ‘sinful’ (‘αμαρτωλοί’).

That said, the locals’ sinful traits do not stem exclusively from the practice of stealing and cheating, but they are principally related to the shockingly ‘odd’ disinterment practice reported in the text. Although this practice derives from the above-mentioned popular belief involving the fear of dead persons’ apparitions, it could however be compared to pagan cannibal practices, ‘observed’ by the Europeans in various savage tribal communities. For instance, according to mid-nineteenth century evidence, a parallel

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

could be established with the burial ritual of a Cooloola tribe, ‘including the flaying, burning and consumption of bodies, according to strict custom’.<sup>59</sup> The two rituals present several common features, despite the fact that the body is not ‘consumed’ in the Greek ritual. Equally apparent is the association between the depiction of the Greek burial custom and gothic stereotypes of haunted tombs and risen corpses. However, the primary focus of Stamatiades’s description is given on the materiality aspect of the relation between the dead and the living, deemed as a hallmark of burial practices in various primitive societies.<sup>60</sup> This aspect is demonstrated here in the practice of cutting the corpse. Similar materiality depictions are also encountered in other representations quoted earlier in this chapter: the ancient Egyptians’ custom of eating in the presence of their ancestors’ embalmed corpses, or the Chinese custom of keeping the corpses unburied for a long period of time. Equally important is the practice encountered on the island of Zakynthos, as reported in a travel account by Stefanos Dragoumis: the islanders bury the corpse under the parish church.<sup>61</sup> It could be noticed that such depictions derive from the European missionary propaganda against the pagan usages of native people, with an excessive emphasis given to frighteningly macabre customs.<sup>62</sup> This missionary perspective is explicitly adopted in Stamatiades’s text, when it is stressed that the islanders need to be infused with the ‘sound and virtuous spirit’ of Christianity.

In the context of recording ‘peculiar’ customs and mores, the last two texts by Vallindas and Stamatiades present images of extreme primitiveness, related to irrationality, profound ignorance, superstition and paganism. Such images demonstrate

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<sup>59</sup> Kay Schaffer, *In the Wake of First Contact: The Eliza Fraser Stories*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 274. For an extensive presentation of cannibalism stereotypes of ‘savage’ tribes, see Frank Lestringant, *Canibbals: The Discovery and Representation of the Cannibal from Columbus to Jules Vern*, Rosemary Morris (trans.), Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

<sup>60</sup> Paul S. Landau, Deborah D. Kaspin (eds.), *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, pp. 62-67.

<sup>61</sup> S [=Stefanos Dragoumis], ‘Αποδημητού αναμνήσεων απόσπασμα δεύτερον’, *Pandora*, 18/428 (15 January 1868), p. 396.

<sup>62</sup> Paul S. Landau, Deborah D. Kaspin (eds.), *Images and Empires*, pp. 68-70.

that urban travellers are strongly appalled by the Greek peasants of the mid-nineteenth century. Moreover, the depiction of extreme primitiveness implies the urgent need for a campaign to be launched from urban centres, with the aim to civilise Greek peasants and hence enable their assimilation in the newly-founded Greek State.

In this chapter, I discussed the representations of everyday life in travel accounts over the period 1850-1870. As pointed out, such representations are principally related to the ethnographical interest expressed during that period in reporting 'peculiar' customs and mores. On this basis, the Greek countryside is depicted as a prehistoric environment, which either evokes the ancient Greek or Chinese civilisation, or as a purely primitive setting. In the latter, the Greek peasants are represented with certain stereotypical traits encountered in 'primitive' peoples. Hence, the Greek peasants are depicted as indolent, lazy, arrogant, irrational, superstitious and immoral. The primitive features of rural people, as well as anthropological representations of race and gender, will be further developed in the next two chapters.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### RACIAL CLASSIFICATIONS

In the last two chapters I will examine race and gender representations in travel texts produced over the period in question. The aim is to clarify issues addressed in previous chapters, namely the dual perception of rural inhabitants as both primitive people and descendants of a glorious civilisation. More specifically, this chapter focuses on the analysis of representations seeking to identify physical, intellectual and moral traits of rural people. In other words, I will address the issue of ‘national’ character representations referred to in chapter one (see section 1.1). As has been noted, such depictions are included in topography-orientated encyclopaedic or travel texts that provide a geographical, archaeological and historical mapping of the countryside as well as information on present-day social development. As such, they often convey a form of standard outline for the ‘official’ national character of the Greek rural population, intended to enshrine its principal virtues. These virtues provide evidence of the fact that the peasants has a high, ‘western-type’ cultural standard of living. Nevertheless, negative features may infiltrate such depictions, but they are justified as the result of the long Ottoman rule over the Greeks. In this chapter, I will undertake to further explore the attributes shaping the character of Greek peasants in the above-mentioned representations. In particular, the aim is to observe how ‘western’ features alternate with ‘primitive’ traits of the rural population, on the one hand, and how the process of establishing the official features of their ‘national’ image is deployed, on the other. The key element in this analysis is to relate the way the rural people’s character is represented through the practice of anthropological classifications applied by European travellers – geographers, ethnographers, anthropologists, explorers, etc. – in their depictions of

various ‘non-Western’ peoples across the globe. The basic standpoint in this chapter is that characterological representations of countryside people identify and assess biological traits. This process reproduces the rationale of widespread classification schemes of racial anthropology used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Long before it becomes an independent academic discipline by the end of the nineteenth century, the anthropological exploration of underdeveloped and primitive societies had aspired to represent a general ‘science of man in his physical, moral and intellectual aspects’. Since the end of the seventeenth century, the said ‘science’ had sought to provide ‘a methodical classification of races on the basis of a complete comparative anatomy of peoples’ and a ‘comparative anthropology of the customs and usages of various peoples.’<sup>1</sup> The ultimate goal of that classification is to establish ‘the general laws of human development and behaviour’ and to reconstruct the ‘conjectural history of man’, perceived as an evolutionary progress from an earliest stage of primitivism to the ‘highest present manifestation’ of human development, which is western European civilisation.<sup>2</sup>

In the context of those explorations, anthropological theory processes various models of racial classification so as to identify different human groups and peoples. The main attribute of such models consists in relating physical appearance to the categories of ‘intelligence’, ‘personality’ and ‘temperament’.<sup>3</sup> The new system of classifying human races on this basis – on ‘a total merging of *temperament* and *physique*’ –<sup>4</sup> was introduced by the Swedish naturalist Carl von Linnaeus in 1735. In his famous scheme, one of the first examples of racial classifications, Linnaeus relates both skin colour and various

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<sup>1</sup> George W. Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 26.

<sup>3</sup> Martin S. Staum, *Labelling People: French Scholars on Society, Race and Empire 1815-1848*, Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003, pp. 4-5.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Herzfeld, *Anthropology through the Looking Glass*, p. 98.

types of physical constitution, such as ‘erect’, ‘brawny’, ‘rigid’ and ‘relaxed’ body types, to temperament, such as ‘choleric’, ‘sanguine’, ‘melancholy’ and ‘phlegmatic’ human types, and conventional traits involving systems of government and clothing of various peoples.<sup>5</sup> Since the end of the eighteenth century, new anthropological theories have led to physical, craniological and anatomical measurements aspiring to reveal information about people’s personality, character and intelligence. Such measurements serve to assess the exact level of physical and cultural perfection of different human races.<sup>6</sup> It should be noted that, until the end of the nineteenth century, the concept of race had been much more abstract and vague than it is today, given the fact that various classification models can distinguish up to forty different races.<sup>7</sup>

The norm of reference for these classifications is, of course, the white European race, deemed as a model of extraordinary beauty and cultural superiority. Based on this norm, all other peoples are identified as organically and culturally deficient, the prominent example being the black race, attributed with almost ape-like, monstrous features<sup>8</sup>. According to the rationale of this ranking, cultural classification of various peoples does not derive from observing their cultural development or retardation, but from recording their natural advantages or disadvantages. In other words, the assessment of a people’s cultural level is not governed by the study of the historical and social context within which a culture develops, but rather by the principles of biological determinism, which has gradually gained ground from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. In the mid-

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 97.

<sup>6</sup> See Martin S. Staum, *Labelling People*, pp. 23-58, John. S. Haller, *Outcasts of Evolution: Scientific Attitudes of Racial Inferiority, 1859-1900*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995, pp. 3-39, John G. Burk, ‘The Wild Man’s Pedigree: Scientific Method and Racial Anthropology’ in Edward Dudley, Maximillian E. Novak (eds.), *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, London: University of Pittsburg Press, 1972, pp. 259-280.

<sup>7</sup> Zisis D. Papadimitriou, *Ο ευρωπαϊκός ρατσισμός: Εισαγωγή στο Φυλετικό Μίσος. Ιστορική, Κοινωνιολογική και Πολιτική Μελέτη*, Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 2000, p. 26. For the definition of the concept of race in the nineteenth century, see Edward Beasley, *The Victorian Reinvention of Race: New Racisms and the Problem of Grouping in the Human Sciences*, New York: Routledge, 2010, pp. 1-23.

<sup>8</sup> For this particular classification and physical constitution variants of the black race, see John. S. Haller, *Outcasts of Evolution*, pp. 40-68.

nineteenth century, such points of view give rise to the first racist theories formulated by Arthur de Gobineau. According to those theories, race-specific features constitute the most decisive factor in cultural evolution and the development of human societies.<sup>9</sup>

Next, I will undertake to clarify the way in which Greek texts cut across the criteria of this taxonomic tradition in order to address the characterological traits of rural people.

#### 4.1. The ‘Lymphatic’ Islanders of the Cyclades

The starting point of the present analysis is a depiction dating back to the beginning of the period in question: it is included in an extensive text entitled ‘Γεωγραφική περιγραφή του νομού Κυκλάδων’, by I. De-Kigallas, published in sequels in *Apothiki ton Ofelimon kai Terpnon Gnoseon* in 1848.<sup>10</sup> In the introductory part of the text there is a brief description of the islanders’ physiognomy and temperament which reads as follows:

Οι νησιώται ούτοι κατά μεν τον φυσικόν αυτών χαρακτήρα, είναι κατά το πλείστον μέρος αιματολυμφατικής έξεως, ευρώστου κράσεως, καλής μεν αλλ’ ολίγον χοιραδώδους διαπλάσεως, υψηλού μάλλον ή μικρού αναστήματος, ευειδούς φυσιογνωμίας και ζωηρού πνεύματος· κατά δε το ηθικόν εισί σώφρονες, θρήσκοι, εγκρατείς, φιλόπονοι, φιλόξενοι και ευάγωγοι.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See Maurice L. Wade, ‘From Eighteenth to Nineteenth-Century Racial Science: Continuity and Change’, in Berel Lang (ed.), *Race and Racism in Theory and Practice*, Boston: Rowman & LittleField Publishers, 2000, pp. 27-44. For Gobineau’s position, see Edward Beasley, *The Victorian Reinvention of Race*, pp. 44-62, Zisis D. Papadimitriou, *Ο ευρωπαϊκός ρατσισμός*, pp. 135-141.

<sup>10</sup> I. De Kigallas, ‘Γεωγραφική περιγραφή του νομού Κυκλάδων’, *Apothiki ton Ofelimon kai Terpnon Gnoseon*, 2/9 (March 1848), pp. 52-55, 10 (April 1848), pp. 81-85, 11 (May 1848), pp. 109-113, 12 (June 1848), pp. 123-125, 14 (August 1848), pp. 173-174, 15 (September 1848), pp. 206-207, 16 (October 1848), pp. 223-225.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, no 9, p 55.

Reference to the locals' physiognomy is also made later in the text, when the writer seeks to establish the validity of a piece of information on the islanders of Mykonos provided by ancient writers:

Προστίθησι ο αυτός Στράβων, όπερ επιβεβαιοί και ο Ευστάθιος, ότι οι κάτοικοι της Μυκώνου αποβαίνουσι φαλακροί εκ νεαράς αυτών ηλικίας. Ο δε Πλίνιος λέγει μάλιστα ότι τα των Μυκωνίων βρέφη γεννώνται παντάπασιν άνευ μαλλίων. Κατά δε τούτο αμφιβállω τα μέγιστα, διότι αν τοιούτον τι υπήρχε το πάλαι, φυσικώ τω λόγω έπρεπε και νυν να συμβαίνει, ενώ ουδόλως παρατηρείται.<sup>12</sup>

In order to understand the above information, we should first of all put it in the context of De-Kigallas's geographical approach. This implies taking into account the writer's objective to create the impression that he is mapping a newly discovered land. In particular, De-Kigallas's text seems to subscribe to the logic of extensive European geographical accounts. Since the sixteenth century, such texts are usually the result of organised missions of exploration to newly discovered continents, in quest for rewriting in general the 'natural and moral history' of the world: systematically recording an inexhaustible variety of natural elements – the 'thousands of plants ... drugs and spices ... beasts, birds and fishes ... minerals, mountains and waters' – but also 'the particular varieties of men and humane affaires', with such 'unaccountable diversities' that appear to be as many as the varieties of climate conditions under which people live.<sup>13</sup> Following this model, and despite the keen interest in the ancient Greek history of the Cyclades, De-Kigallas's geographical description provides first and foremost detailed information on

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., no 10, p. 82.

<sup>13</sup> Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Travel Writing and Ethnography', pp. 242-243. For interconnection between geography, natural history and anthropology in the context of missions of exploration, see William H. Sherman, 'Stirrings and Searchings (1500-1720)' in Peter Hulme, Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, pp. 17-36, and George W. Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution*, pp. 13-41.



the natural and human environment of a complex of islands, apparently unknown to urban areas of his time: he records islands and desert islets, minerals and rocks, torrents, lakes, marshes and mountains, ports and straits, climate variations (temperature and rainfalls), agriculture, livestock farming and fishery produce, villages, towns and manpower of the area. In respect of the latter, the text encompasses census data of the area (providing information on gender ratio, number of single locals and number of foreigners) and records the distribution of local population in various settlements, their occupation (including information on non-active population, i.e. pupils/students or locals ‘physically incapable’ [‘φυσικῶς ἀνίκανοι’] of work), and their religion (orthodox or catholic). Finally, following the example of European explorers-geographers, the writer informs the reader about the ‘variety’ of people encountered in the Cyclades, particularly in terms of physical appearance and society. The writer’s intention to establish a specific human ‘variety’ in the Cyclades is revealed in the two excerpts quoted above: observing peculiar physical features, such as the feeble physical appearance of the islanders and the likelihood of giving birth to bald babies, on the one hand, and exploring temperamental qualities, such as their natural inclination to religion and submissive behaviour, on the other.

The second element that should be highlighted is the above-mentioned tendency to proceed to classifications. For it is precisely this tendency that lies behind the appeal to identify the ‘human variety’ of the local population in terms of specific physical traits and temperamental features. Adhering to classification practices of his time, the writer ‘merges’ the physical features of the inhabitants to their cultural level. In particular, he relates the traits of physical appearance to temperamental qualities that establish the presence in the Cyclades of an adequately civilised human society: he assesses the inhabitants’ physical constitution, stature and physiognomy and finds them satisfactory

(‘είναι [...] κατά το πλείστον [...] ευρώστου κράσεως, καλής [...] διαπλάσεως, υψηλού μάλλον ή μικρού αναστήματος, ευειδούς φυσιγνωμίας’); he emphasises their intellectual capacity (they are ‘spirited’ [‘ζωηρού πνεύματος’]), and, finally, he records important character qualities, such as prudence, religious faith, self-restraint, industriousness, hospitality and good conduct (‘εισί σώφρονες, θρήσκοι, εγκρατείς, φιλόπονοι, φιλόξενοι και ευάγωγοι’). However, the element that prevails in this depiction is the emphasis given to the locals’ feeble nature.

The writer refers to a disease associated with poor lymphatic circulation (‘αιματολυμφατικής έξεως’) that results in weakness, paleness and loss of appetite, as well as in swollen neck or throat glands usually causing abscess formation (‘ολίγον χοιραδώδους διαπλάσεως’). Although the writer might have been able to identify that condition by way of observation, he is equally based on a specific, concomitant scheme of classification: the disease is the key feature of one of the four fundamental human temperamental types of a traditional Hippocratic classification scheme. This scheme refers to the ‘phlegmatic’ or ‘lymphatic’ temperamental type, allegedly expressed in the lassitude of women and elderly people. The three other types listed in the scheme are the ‘bilious’, the ‘melancholic’ and the ‘sanguine’ type. The ‘sanguine’ temperament is clearly the most desirable since it displays ‘excellent circulatory strength in the body’ and fosters ‘an open, optimistic and courageous character’.<sup>14</sup> These four temperamental types are also used in other classification schemes, such as Carl von Linnaeus’s racial scheme referred to earlier. According to Linnaeus, the sanguine temperament is identified with the white European temperament and its qualities, such as composure, intelligence, ingenuity, and so forth. Linnaeus reserves the lowest rank of his classification scheme to the phlegmatic temperament, and he identifies it with the Africans, after the ranks

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<sup>14</sup> Martin S. Staum, *Labelling People*, pp. 14-15.

reserved to the melancholic Asians and the bilious Americans. In other words, being phlegmatic is deemed to be by far the worst temperamental trait and appears to match the deficits of the black race. The latter is *inter alia* feeble, indolent, negligent, impassive and docile to authority.<sup>15</sup>

It appears that such a lymphatic dysfunction ‘merged’ with the impassive temperamental type is also implied in De-Kigallas’s passage. Cycladic society is represented with the traits of a well-governed society, adhering to religious principles, disciplined and self-restraint. In other terms, it is a peaceful, submissive and serene society, lacking the energy of ‘western’ societies, where the main features are, as we will see further on, intense activity and dynamic initiative-taking. Such traits are incompatible with the lymphatic temperamental type. As also graphically illustrated in the translation of a text published in a Greek journal of the same period and using Linneaus’s classification, ‘οι τοιούτης [φλεγματικής] κράσεως άνθρωποι δεν είναι δραστήριοι’, ‘και ανίσως τεθή φλεγματικός εις θέσιν απαιτούσαν καρτερίαν και δύναμιν πνεύματος, αυστηρότητα και δραστηριότητα ακάματον, αναμφίβολον ότι θέλει την εκτελέσει κακώς’.<sup>16</sup> Besides, De-Kigallas’s depiction evokes an image of a Christian society governed by moral and virtuous principles, which appears to imply the missionary image of the gentle, affable, obedient and peaceful ‘savage’ man, open to enculturation and Christianisation.<sup>17</sup> It is an image fully compatible with the content of *Apothiki ton Ofelimon kai Terpon Gnoseon*, a journal published by the scholar Iakovos Pitsipios,

<sup>15</sup> For Linneaus’s classification scheme, see John. S. Haller, *Outcasts of Evolution*, p. 4, Martin S. Staum, *Labelling People*, pp. 23-24, Zisis D. Papadimitriou, *Ο ευρωπαϊκός ρατσισμός*, pp. 102-103.

<sup>16</sup> [Anonymous], ‘Περὶ φυσιολογίας (Ἐκ τοῦ Γαλλικοῦ)’, *I Eftერი*, 1/ 22 (15 July 1848), p. 23.

<sup>17</sup> For a comparative analysis of principal missionary stereotypes, such as the ‘noble’ yet redeemable savage, and the promiscuous, violent savage justifying the necessity of missionary initiatives, see C. L. Higham, *Noble, Wretched and Redeemable: Protestant Missionaries to the Indians in Canada and the United States, 1820 -1900*, Calgary: University of New Mexico Press, 2000.

well-known for his connections with the Catholic Church and for his missionary activity.<sup>18</sup>

The second pathological physical trait addressed in the text is the lack of hair in babies and young people in the Cyclades, which is also related to the practice of racial classification. Although the writer stresses that this is not actually the case, cross-checked information from ancient texts rather implies that such an odd feature might just as well be attributed to the Cycladic population. The ‘discovery’ of such peculiar physical traits is widespread in scientific explorations of racial anthropology in the nineteenth century. As noted, those explorations seek to trace the natural advantages and disadvantages of ‘the different branches of the human species’. The aim is to define ‘their place within the animal kingdom’, forming a ‘gradation between the apelike and the godlike’.<sup>19</sup> Thus, exploring the possibility of people without hair living in the Cyclades could be associated with information drawn on various translations published in Greek journals in the middle of the century. Such publications inform readers about the latest anthropological ‘physiology data’, recording various pathological human ‘versions’ which range from dwarfs to monstrous ‘varieties’ of ‘hedgehog’ and ‘horn-bearing’ people.<sup>20</sup>

In conclusion, it could be said that, in his brief description of the Cycladic society, Karmitsis conveys a sense of natural and temperamental inferiority. To that end, he uses descriptions similar to those usually referring to peoples ranked to the lower levels of human cultural development. Ranking Cycladic society amongst underdeveloped

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<sup>18</sup> Dimitris Tziovas, ‘Εισαγωγή’ in Iakovos G. Pitsipios, *Η ορφανή της Χίου ή ο θρίαμβος της αρετής. Ο πίθηκος Ξουθ ή τα ήθη του αιώνας*, Dimitris Tziovas (ed.), Athens: Neοelliniki Vivliothiki-Idryma Ourani, 1995, pp. 13-25.

<sup>19</sup> Ronald Godfrey Lienhardt, *Social Anthropology*, London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1964, pp. 6, 9.

<sup>20</sup> See, for example, the following texts published in *I Eftēri*: [Anonymous], ‘Πάρεργα-Διάφορα. Η γενεά των ακανθοχοίρων ανθρώπων (εκ της φυσικής ιστορίας του ανθρώπου, της υπό του Άγγλου ιατρού Ι. Κ. Πριχάρδου)’, 1/9 (1 January 1848), pp. 20-21, [Anonymous], ‘Οι δίδυμοι του Σιάμ. Νέαι πληροφορίες’, 1/10 (15 January 1848), pp. 17-18, [Anonymous], ‘Ποικίλα. Διάφορα. Περί τινών νάνων’, 1/17 (1 May 1848), p. 23, I. K. ‘Παίγνια της φύσεως (Νάννοι. Άνθρωποι Κερασφόροι)’, 3/64 (15 April 1850), pp. 953-957.

societies reveals an enormous, in the writer's view, cultural divergence between urban and rural life. Nevertheless, the text also underscores the possibility to overcome this cultural divergence by emphasising the Cycladic people's openness to civilised life.

#### 4.2. The 'Natural' Islanders of Amorgos

The next representation I will analyse is found in the text entitled 'Αμοργός', a short topographical article by Emmanouel Ioannides, published in *Pandora* in 1852. The writer exhaustively describes the geographical and natural landscape of Amorgos, whilst seeking, at the same time, traces of ancient ruins on the island. At the end of the text, he informs his readers about the contemporary islanders. After he notes that Amorgos numbers around 6,000 inhabitants, that there are two elementary schools, with 300 pupils, and that there are also many churches and priests, the writer outlines the islanders' physical and temperamental traits as follows:

Οι κάτοικοι της Αμοργού είναι εν γένει ρωμαλέοι, ωραιότατοι και μακροβιώτατοι, δια τε την ορεινήν διατριβήν και την ηθικήν αυστηρότητα και λιτότητα του βίου των – Είναι λίαν ομιλητικοί και χαρίεντες, αλλ' ευερέθιστοι, οξύχολοι και εκδικητικοί, φιλόξενοι εν τοις μάλλιστα, αλλά ζηλότυποι, φίλοι της γεωργίας ή ποιμαντικής μάλλον ή των τεχνών και των Μουσών – Κέκτηνται πνεύμα ζωηρόν και οξύν, αλλά δυστυχώς ημελημένον και ακαλλιέργητον. Τα μεγάλα εγκλήματα ήσαν σπάνια ενταύθα το δ' εμπόριον, η μετά των ξένων επιμιξία, και η ναυτιλία αυτών είναι σμικρά. Ως οι αρχαίοι της νήσου κάτοικοι ενθέρμως ελάτρευον την Αφροδίτην, και περικαλλή ναόν αυτής είχαν, μιμούμενοι τους Μιλισίους και Αθηναίους εφ' ων είλκον το γένος, ούτω και οι νυν λατρεύουσι τον υιόν της Κυθήρας και το κάλλος μετά θερμότητος Αθηναϊκής, αλλά δυστυχώς ουχί και μετά ίσης Ισπανικής εγκαρτερήσεως και σταθερότητας...<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Emmanouel Ioannides, 'Αμοργός', *Pandora*, 3/55 (1 July 1852), p. 159.

Compared to De-Kigallas's text, the excerpt above provides a broader representation of the Aegean islanders, since the writer lists rather disparate attributes of their physical appearance, intelligence, character and general behaviour, as expressed in their social relationships and sexual activity, their attitude towards foreigners, and their criminal record. These features, apparently attributed by 'nature' to the islanders, are divided by the writer into positive and negative traits. According to this assessment, the islanders of Amorgos are physically attractive, healthy, intelligent and hospitable, and they have committed no serious crimes; on the other hand, it is obvious that they are uncultivated, expressing feelings of anger and spite, and, as implied at the end of the text, they are libertine.

Putting aside the writer's attempt to make a distinction between the positive and negative traits of the inhabitants, it should be first of all noted that such features are the outcome of the standard anthropological exploration carried out since the sixteenth century in various 'primitive' societies around the globe. This exploration involves, in general, the issues investigated by Ioannides: the people's physical appearance and constitution, intelligence and intellectual development, the ability to express themselves and communicate with each other, their sociability and friendly or hostile behaviour towards foreigners, their level of control over aggressive or violent instincts, as well as their sexual or family relationships.<sup>22</sup> The Greek writer, however, applies in his own assessment of the local society of Amorgos a stereotypical representation of the 'primitive' man as 'natural' man, that is to say, as a person who lives in nature and has

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<sup>22</sup> See Columbus's observations on America's native populations in the sixteenth century, as analysed by Tzvetan Todorov in his book *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, Richard Howard (trans.), New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1984, pp. 14-50. Relevant issues are recorded in a questionnaire of a mission of exploration to Australia in the eighteenth century drafted by French anthropological societies of Paris, see George W. Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution*, pp. 21-28. For similar anthropological issues of the nineteenth century, see R. G. Lienhardt, *Social Anthropology*, pp. 1-32.

not been affected by the ‘civilised’ way of life. Let us observe now how this representation is developed:

First of all, the writer explains that the community he describes is a closed society that has not developed either trade and maritime shipping activities or contacts with foreign peoples. Moreover, it is an uncultivated society, since the islanders, mainly land and livestock farmers, are not familiar with ‘arts’ and the ‘Muses’. In other words, it is a society unaffected by ‘civilisation’: it has been neither influenced by education, which is still poor on the island, nor by the recently ‘emerged’ European way of life on the Aegean islands, as indicated further on. Besides, this specific human community is located on a mountainous, rocky island that appears to be dominated by a wild, dangerous, inaccessible and primal natural environment. In effect, the writer graphically illustrates its continuous (‘αδιάλειπτους’), unapproachable mountain volumes, with age-old ‘falling waters’ (‘καταρρέοντα ύδατα’), abrupt rocky beaches and precipitate raging sea currents bounding the coast and preventing ships from tying up.

Such a natural environment is completely in line with the representation of the islanders’ appearance, portrayed as ‘strong, attractive and long-living people’ (‘ρωμαλέοι, ωραιότατοι και μακροβιώτατοι’). It is easy to recognise here the human constitution of the ‘natural man’, as inserted during the eighteenth century into the fourfold Hippocratic classification scheme cited earlier. According to this scheme, the strong, ‘muscular’ or ‘athletic’ type is identified with ‘savage’ man, who lives a ‘natural’ way of life and, therefore, ‘acts without reflectiveness’ and does not have the ‘sensitive temperament’ of people in the ‘advanced social organisation’.<sup>23</sup> Physical appearance in connection with health and physical strength in the Greek excerpt is also related to both

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<sup>23</sup> Martin S. Staum, *Labelling People*, pp. 15. Besides, longevity, as cited above, constitutes an attribute associated with life in nature. In effect, travellers record it, following recommendations issued by anthropologists interested in primitive man’s health condition. See George W. Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution*, p. 24.

life in nature – the simple and austere life on the mountains (‘την ορεινήν διατριβήν και την ηθικήν αυστηρότητα και λιτότητα του βίου των’) – and the spirit of the ‘natural man’, which may be ‘lively’ and ‘sharp’, yet marked by ‘a lack of culture’ (‘πνεύμα ζωηρόν και οξύν, αλλά δυστυχώς ημελημένον και ακαλλιέργητον’).. Moreover, those physical and intellectual features of the islanders merge with their temperamental traits, also deriving from their ‘natural’ way of life, as reflected on their freedom of expressing themselves: the inhabitants of Amorgos are ‘talkative’ (‘ομιλητικοί’), they openly express their anger (‘irritable’ [‘ευερέθιστοι’]), they are driven by aggressive instincts (‘spiteful’ [‘οξύχολοι’], ‘vindictive’ [‘εκδικητικοί’] and ‘envious’ [‘ζηλότυποι’]), and they are impassioned and unrestrained in their sexual relationships. Such a representation is based on the fantasy of the ‘noble savage’ that praises ‘natural’ life, free from oppressive social conventions. Nevertheless, this freedom is expressed by threatening ‘natural’ impulses, associated with violence and sexual promiscuity. In this regard, Ioannides provides a depiction of the ‘noble’ / ‘ignoble’ savage that is similar to the one provided by Vallindas in the description of the islanders of Antiparos, discussed in chapter three (see section 3.3). Indeed, the islanders of Antiparos present an equally impulsive aggressive behaviour, principally related, in the writer’s view, to the irrational primitive way of life.<sup>24</sup>

Ioannides’s depiction does not include any features of extreme ‘savage’ life. Nonetheless, the writer portrays people of a dangerous temperament, which appears to be consistent with the threatening wildness of the scenery described in the text. In other words, Ioannides stresses the fact that the inhabitants of Amorgos are dominated by uncivilised instincts that may not lead to criminal behaviour – at least to ‘serious crimes’ (‘μεγάλα εγκλήματα’), as the writer points out– but they certainly result in aggressive and

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<sup>24</sup> For ‘noble’ and ‘ignoble savage’ fantasies, see chapter three, footnote 49.



violent social relationships. Another possibly threatening trait is the intense lustfulness of the islanders of Amorgos, qualified as ‘impassioned’, ‘unrestrained’ and ‘unstable’ (‘μετά θερμότητας [...] ουχί και μετά ίσης [...] εγκαρτερήσεως και σταθερότητας’). Given the conservative moral principles of the time, the writer does not openly refer to this subject. Instead, he uses either ironic references to ancient Greek passion and Spanish perseverance or wilful ellipsis. However, such allusions excite the readers’ imagination as they imply that the inhabitants of Amorgos engage in sexual escapades.<sup>25</sup>

Relying upon the features of the imaginary ‘natural man’, Ioannides classifies Greek island society as primitive life, as De-Kigallas does in his own text. This characterisation is coupled with two important observations stressing the necessity to civilise the islanders. Firstly, the writer observes that there are schools, churches and priests of the island. He also notes that the latter enjoy a reputation of ‘being respectable and not interested in profit’ (‘δια τον σεβάσμιον και αφιλοκερδή χαρακτήρα’). In other words, he points to the action already being taken, or the action that needs to be taken in order to enhance the inhabitants’ educational and moral development, that is to say to control and restrict any threatening traits of the ‘natural’ way of life. Secondly, the writer underlines the inevitable extinction of the local society of Amorgos by the invasion of western culture. In particular, he refers to a wood engraving included in his text and representing a traditional dress of the women of Amorgos.<sup>26</sup> More specifically, the writer thoroughly describes the traditional dress and notes that ‘it was extinguished by the ever-spreading Europeanisation’ (‘ηφάνισε ο πανταχού εξαπλωθείς Ευρωπαϊσμός’), which can be ‘immediately perceived by a visiting foreigner as it is emerging’ (‘ο προσερχόμενος ξένος αισθάνεται αμέσως όζοντα’) over recent years on the Aegean islands. Indeed, the

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<sup>25</sup> More explicit reference to libertine peasants is made in the next chapter, in a representation of the women of Salamis (see section 5.3).

<sup>26</sup> Reference is made to a similar representation of the ‘women from the island of Naxos’ (see section 3.3 and image 4).

wood engraving appears to explicitly indicate the very processes of the extinction of the local society, since it transforms the islanders' costumes from real life into tradition, in other words to folklore material that needs to be preserved.

### **4.3. The 'Tropical' Albanians of Attica**

Before proceeding to the next anthropological classification of Greek peasants, it is important to examine a representation of the Albanian population living on the outskirts of Athens, as seen in Christoforos Parmenides's text entitled 'Περιοδίαι σπουδαστού' (1857), presented in chapter one (see section 1.2). As pointed out in the Introduction, the comparison between depictions of Greek people and those of people of different origin co-existing with the Greek population – be it within the geographical borders of the newly-founded Greek State or beyond them – is of particular interest. Nevertheless, it does not fall into the scope of the present analysis. However, Parmenides's depiction should be thoroughly discussed since it also provides the image of feeble rural people. This image, as well as the one included in De-Kigallas's text, attests to the keen interest expressed by travel writers of the same period in recording diseases that affect the inhabitants of the Greek countryside.

Parmenides's journeys to Sounion and Phyle include two depictions of the Albanian population, in particular the depictions of the villagers of Keratea and Chasia. The latter are called 'the latter-day Acharnians', owing their name to the vicinity of the village of Chasia to the ancient demos of Acharnae. They are the shepherds who live in the village Kalyvia of Chasia (Χασιώτικα Καλύβια) and appear in Stefanos Dragoumis's travel account analysed in section 2.1.

Οι κάτοικοι της Κερατέας [...] περιεφέροντο λευχειμονούντες εις τας οδούς, και εις τα καπηλεία της κώμης ευθυμούντες και διαλεγόμενοι οι πλείστοι αλβανιστί. Η πρόσοψις των χωρικών τούτων μας εφάνη ήμερος, άνευ ζωηρότητος και άμοιρος κάλλους και παρ' αμφοτέροις τοις φύλοις. Το τελευταίον τούτο ελάττωμα προέρχεται ως εικός εξ αυτής της θέσεως της κώμης, κειμένης επί κοιλάδος, πανταχόθεν σχεδόν περικλείστου υπό βουνών, πολυδένδρου, και, ως κοινώς φημίζεται, γεννώσης περί το θέρος πυρετώδη νοσήματα.<sup>27</sup>

[...] οι νεώτεροι ούτοι Αχαρνείς έχουσι μορφήν ηλιοκαή, ζωηράν και ικανώς εύσχημον· αι γυναίκες φορούσαι, ως και οι άνδρες, την αλβανικήν στολήν, και ζώσαι μεμονομέναι εις τα οικήματα αυτών, ενασχολούμεναι το πλείστον εις τα έργα του αγροτικού βίου, εισί μορφής αγαθής και ήμερου· η καλλονή ενταύθα, ως και οπουδήποτε της Αττικής δύναται να παρατηρήση τις, είναι δώρημα όπερ μετά γλισχρότητος χειρός επέχυσεν η φύσις ανέκαθεν, τολμώ ειπείν, επί του μέρους τούτου της ελληνικής χώρας. Γενικώς δε οι χωρικοί ούτοι έχουσι το βλέμμα οξύ, περίεργον και κρύφιον, φωνήν ηχηρά, και κατασκευήν υγιά. Η θέσις της κώμης ταύτης είναι υψηλή και τερπνή, και ο αήρ των πέριξ ορέων καθαρός και γλυκύς.<sup>28</sup>

The extracts above constitute two contradictory representations of the Albanians. Indeed, they are portrayed as feeble and ugly, on the one hand, and healthy and attractive, on the other. Such a contradictory image indicates of course the writer's embarrassment at the strong presence of a population group of different origin in the heart of Greece, on the outskirts of the glorious capital of Athens. The writer attempts to overcome his embarrassment by adopting the prevailing conception of the time, relying upon the 'integrating' power of Hellenism that assimilates any foreign national attributes.<sup>29</sup> This is

<sup>27</sup> Christoforos Parmenides, 'Περιοδία σπουδαστού. Επιστολή Τετάρτη. Σούνιον', p. 65.

<sup>28</sup> Christoforos Parmenides, 'Περιοδία σπουδαστού. Επιστολή Πέμπτη. Φυλή', pp. 364-365.

<sup>29</sup> For the above-mentioned conception and various ethnic-racial theories of the nineteenth century about Albanian-speaking inhabitants of Greece, see Elli Scopetea, *Το 'Πρότυπο Βασίλειο' και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα*, pp. 184-189. See also Nikolas Gikas, *Η εικόνα της Αλβανίας και των Αλβανών στην Ελλάδα του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα*, Athens: Panteio University, 2007 (unpublished thesis). For the Albanian presence in Greece, see Lambros

the essence of the argument that the Greek natural scenery has a drastic positive impact on the physical appearance of its inhabitants. That argument is founded on the equally widespread perception of the Greek people's particular beauty that has its origins in the ancient Greek beauty. This perception will be examined later.

In any case, the Albanian populations in both excerpts are represented as composed of affable, gentle and serene people ('πρόσοψις [...] ήμερος' 'μορφής αγαθής και ημέρου') living peacefully their rural life. Such a description recalls the picture of the Cycladic population of calm, submissive and peace-loving nature, ranked at the lowest level of the anthropological classification scheme, as observed in De-Kigallas's text. In other terms, Parmenides appears to assert that the Albanian-speaking inhabitants of Attica are open to enculturation and, hence, integration into a developed State, just like De-Kigallas does with regard to the Cycladic people. This idyllic depiction is of course to a certain extent undermined by the writer's observation on those people's 'curious' ('περίεργο') and 'dark' ('κρύφιο') gaze. That gaze implies that they might be hiding some unknown, impenetrable, and therefore threatening, mystery. Nevertheless, what is truly impressive in both depictions is the writer's desire to discover whether the Albanian-speaking people are healthy or not. In the first excerpt, the Albanians are depicted as 'leucemic' people ('λευχειμονούντες'), looking 'faint' and 'ugly' ('πρόσοψις [...] άνευ ζωηρότητος και άμοιρος κάλλους'), whilst in the second excerpt they are described as 'sun-tanned, lively and quite attractive' people ('μορφήν ηλιοκαή, ζωηράν και ικανώς εύσχημον') of 'strong voice and sound physical constitution' ('φωνήν ηχηρά, και κατασκευήν υγιά'). The feature of faintness is once again encountered in the first depiction, as it is also pointed out in the case of the lymphatic Cycladic people. The difference though is that, in Parmenides's text, faintness is associated with the natural environment. In particular,

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Baltsiotis, 'Οι Αρβανίτες' in *Αθέατες Όψεις της Ιστορίας: Κείμενα αφιερωμένα στον Γιάννη Γιαννουλόπουλο*, Despoina I. Papadimitriou, Serafeim I. Seferiades (eds.), Athens: Ekdoseis Asini, 2012, pp. 353-376.

faintness here results from the fact that people live in a valley surrounded by mountains, a factor that causes febrile conditions. On the other hand, the Albanians' sound complexions in the second depiction are attributable to the mountainous location of their village.

In fact, in Parmenides's description of natural environment, there are visible symptoms of a pathogenic condition evoking the Tropics and their inhabitants. As analysed earlier, the dominant lymphatic feature in the depiction of the Cycladic population demonstrates the important role of the disease factor in the classification of various races in the field of physical anthropology research. Since the end of the eighteenth century, this research has cut across more specialised studies in medical geography, that is to say the endeavour to geographically classify diseases in different continents. Medical geographies largely derive from harsh epidemic reality faced by the Europeans on their missions to various colonies. Nonetheless, they play a decisive role in establishing a link between the disease and the otherness as they disseminate – just like racial classifications do – the image of robust white Europeans compared to disease-affected 'Others' of the colonies. More specifically, in the geographical context of disease interpretation, there is an eminently pathogenic geographical and biomedical space deemed as being an inherently unhealthy environment. That space is delimited by the Tropics, which 'incubate' some of the most appalling diseases to Europeans, such as malaria, yellow fever, dysentery and cholera. The pathogenesis of the tropical environment is considered to be imputable to tropical climate conditions. In particular, its description is founded upon a well-established conviction of that time, according to which diseases affecting the human body are caused by the polluted air of various lands. More precisely, the Tropics morbidity is regarded as the outcome of an explosive mixture of heat, humidity and excessive vegetation on tropical lands. Such conditions give rise to

fever attacks, namely in the vicinity of areas where the air is considered to be polluted: forests, areas near marshes, mud or slime, and other impurities in general, such as sewage facilities and waste disposal and degradation sites. Finally, it is reported that the Tropics' inherent disease condition is aggravated by the licentiousness of the native people, as well as by the behaviour of the visitors, who are carried away by alcohol consumption and unrestrained sexual activity. Although tropical morbidity was initially described in the light of climate conditions, its pathogenesis has been imputed over time to a set of environmental, economic and social factors. Thus, it is also regarded as a feature encountered in other spaces as well, even within the borders of European countries. Such a space is, for example, the stifling overpopulated environment of poor popular communities in urban areas.<sup>30</sup>

The natural scenery of Keratea is identified with some of the principal features of tropical morbidity, the key feature being the lack of air. This is precisely the feature highlighted in the image of the 'village valley surrounded by mountains and trees' ('κώμης, κειμένης επί κοιλάδος, πανταχόθεν σχεδόν περικλείστου υπό βουνών, πολυδένδρου'). The air element is also central in the description of Chasia: the villagers owe their 'healthy, lively and quite attractive' appearance to the altitude of the village ('θέσις [...] υψηλή και τερπνή') and the 'fresh air' ('ο αήρ των πέριξ ορέων καθαρός και γλυκύς'). In addition, 'febrile conditions' ('πυρετώδη νοσήματα') referred to in the first text evoke tropical fevers since they are associated with high temperatures. Indeed, the writer emphasises such allusions by making reference to 'summertime' ('θέρος') and the morbid air of the valley, which is 'abounding with trees'. Besides, the text cites at this

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<sup>30</sup> For medical geographies and association of the Tropics with disease conditions, see Alan Bewell, *Romanticism and Colonial Disease*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999, pp. 27-65, Rod. Edmond, 'Returning Fears: Tropical Disease and the Metropolis' in Felix Driver, Luciana Martins (eds.), *Tropical Visions in an Age of Empire*, Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2005, pp. 175-195, Nancy L. Stepan, 'Biology and Degeneration: Races and Proper Places' in J. Edward Chamberlin, Sander L. Gilman (eds.), *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1985, pp. 97-120.

point Chateaubriand's *Itinerary*, calling to readers' mind an incident where the French author was seized by acute fever during his sojourn in Attica, on a visit to Keratea. In his narration, Chateaubriand imputes the cause of his fever to the southern climate of Greece, providing in fact many details on the temperatures and the exact geographical parallel of the country. Furthermore, standard symptoms of tropical fevers, namely anaemia and general lack of energy, are visible on the 'leucemic' and 'lacking liveliness' inhabitants of Keratea. Finally, the population of Keratea is represented as drifting from one village tavern to the other 'making merry' ('εὐθυμούντες'), that is to say consuming alcohol.

Over the period under consideration, pathogenic tropical features are also found in topographical accounts concerning rural life that show a particular interest in recording diseases affecting the local population. Such an interest should be associated with scientific research carried out at the time not only in tropical areas but also within the borders of European countries. The aim is to compile medical topographies of special content, by recording people's diseases in connection with their place of residence. In particular, such topographies are intended to reflect 'the natural features and peculiarities of every locality' that 'affect materially the life and health of the inhabitants'.<sup>31</sup> The goal is to map and isolate pathogenic localities, thus alerting potential visitors and suggesting at the same time appropriate sanitation methods. Peculiarities recorded in those studies include *inter alia* temperature, humidity, atmospheric pressure, altitude, soil composition, water quality and quantity, extent of marshy areas, development of sanitary facilities, nature and quality of produce, demographic growth or depopulation.<sup>32</sup> It will be interesting to present here two examples of Greek topographical texts that appear to adopt the same exploratory approach. In the first text, a topography on a mountainous village in the Peloponnese, the author praises, amongst other things, the inhabitants' 'brilliant

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<sup>31</sup> Alan Bewell, *Romanticism and Colonial Disease*, p. 32.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31-34.

health' ('λαμπρά υγιεία'), 'reflected in their nice complexions and physical constitution' ('καταφαίνεται εκ τε του ωραίου αυτών χρώματος και σώματος') and in their demographic progress made 'in rapid strides' ('γιγαντιαίους βήμασι'). The author associates their good health with the healthy natural environment of the village, which is verdant, located in a mountainous area, and enjoying an 'endless horizon' ('απεριόριστον ορίζοντα'), fresh air and plenty of fresh water. He remarks, however, that in winter, the climate is rather cold and humid, and he notes the few diseases that affect the villagers. Those diseases are 'pleurisy, intermittent fever, haemorrhoids, and extraordinarily ophthalmia' ('πλευρίτιδες, διαλίποντες πυρετοί, αιμοραΐδες και σπανιώτατα οφθαλμιαί').<sup>33</sup> The second topographical text describes in De-Kigallas's geography style the natural environment of the island of Folegandros (soil, minerals, waters, mountains, caves, sea shore, capes, vegetation, four-legged animals, birds, amphibians, insects). The author takes also note of diseases affecting the islanders: men suffer from 'ischuria due to hernia and stenosis' ('ισχουρίαν κήλην και στένωσιν'), and women suffer from 'pallor, ophthalmia and hysteralgia' ('ωχρίασιν, οφθαλμίαν και υστεραλγίαν'). Such conditions are more serious than those referred to in the previous text as they affect vital organs of the human body like kidneys ('ischuria'), eyes ('ophthalmia' – a condition resulting in blindness), and female reproductive organs ('hysteralgia'). The author establishes a direct link between those diseases and the polluted air of the area. Although he notes that the climate on Folegandros is healthy (Folegandros is not 'extremely hot' ['εις άκρον θερμή']), that the island is 'abounding with air' ('υπαέριος πανταχόθεν') and 'hilly' ('κατωφερής'), and 'therefore totally devoid of stagnant rainwater' ('διά τούτου τελμάτων εξ ομβρίων υδάτων ανεπίδεκτος όλων'), the environment of the island's town is morbid: the inhabitants live in scruffy houses that 'breathe out stifling air' ('πνιγηρόν

<sup>33</sup> Athanassios A. Sakellarios, 'Εύα ή Άγιος Πέτρος', *Pandora*, 4/88 (15 November 1853), p. 410.



αποπνέουν αέρα’), ‘especially in summertime’ (‘κατ’ εξοχήν εν ώρα θέρους’), since there are neither many doors and windows nor courtyards. Those houses are built the one next to the other, separated by narrow alleys, which ‘are evil-smelling, repelling and ultimately impassable’ (‘όζουσι βαρέως, αηδείς και δυσδιάβατοι καθιστάμενοι’), as they are full of ‘domestic waste’ (‘καθάρματα των οικιών’) and ‘dirt coming from domestic animals’ (‘αποκρίματα των κατοικιδίων ζώων’) moving freely around. Thus, it is noted that such an environment lies behind chronic diseases that affect the islanders, and that the only cure is either death or migration.<sup>34</sup>

Comparing the descriptions above to those of the Cycladic people, it appears that they do not imply any racial connotations of the disease, as it is the case in De-Kigallas’s text. In effect, De-Kigallas assesses the nature of the Cycladic people drawing on the ‘lymphatic’ temperamental type that, according to anthropological and racial patterns of that time, is identified with the black race. On the contrary, in the aforementioned texts diseases are represented as a problem related to spatial factors rather than the people themselves. However, the feeble locals portrayed above constitute an equally threatening otherness as the lymphatic people of the Cyclades, since they appear to be also biologically destructed. This is justified by the fact that the process of disease ‘naturalisation’ undertaken in such topographies – and the description of Folegandros is a graphical illustration of this approach – implies that different localities generate different types of climate, plants, animals and people suffering from diseases.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, although the condition of those people does not involve temperamental traits, it constitutes a ‘genuine’ disease that ‘incubates’, according to medical conceptions of the

<sup>34</sup> Ioannis N. Kondarinis, ‘Περιγραφή της νήσου Φολέγανδρου. Μέρος Πρώτον. Φυσική Κατάστασις’, *Pandora*, 20/479 (1 March 1870), p. 462, ‘Περιγραφή της νήσου Φολέγανδρου. Μέρος Δεύτερον. Πολιτική Κατάστασις’, *Pandora*, 21/482 (15 April 1870), p. 29. Natural and residential environment is also related to the inhabitants’ physical traits and constitution in Char. S. Karmitsis’s text ‘Περί Νιαούσης’, *Ethniki Vivliothiki*, 4/103 (1 January 1869), pp. 109-117. A detailed analysis of the aforementioned text is provided in the next chapter (see section 5.1).

<sup>35</sup> Alan Bewell, *Romanticism and Colonial Disease*, p. 33.

time, in the polluted environment and it is transmitted to anyone who enters the polluted areas. In this perspective, Parmenides's depiction of the Albanians is of particular interest, as the writer does not record specific diseases, but their inherent suffering nature in an environment that is by nature polluted. Therefore, Parmenides's representation reveals an intense cultural anxiety caused by the presence of Albanian-speaking populations in various rural areas of Greece.

#### 4.4. The Ancient Greek Model of Beauty

It should be noted that, from the 1860s, the characterological assessments of rural people shift towards more 'western' representations. This approach conceals primitive features of rural life and conveys more 'civilised' physical and temperamental traits to the peasants. First of all, the writers restrict the observation of physical features. Instead, they embrace in general the concept of symmetric physical traits of the Greeks, regarded as having its origins in ancient Greek physiognomy. According to physiognomical and craniological measurements of racial anthropology, such a symmetry is an unparalleled model of beauty. This assumption was initially formulated by the German Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, one of the founders of modern anthropology. Blumenbach classified various physiognomical types based on aesthetic criteria and drew the conclusion that the most beautiful faces are found on ancient Greek statues and are governed by symmetry. He also assumed that this type of beauty was an exclusive privilege accorded only to Europeans.<sup>36</sup> As indicated in many publications of the same period, Greek scholars are aware of those views, and give special emphasis to the fact

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<sup>36</sup> John. S. Haller, *Outcasts of Evolution*, pp. 4-5. In the end of the eighteenth century, Johann Kaspar Lavater, founder of the so-called 'science of physiognomy', also expresses similar points of view. For Blumenbach and Lavater, see Martin S. Staum, *Labelling People*, pp. 30-35, 38-40, Zisis D. Papadimitriou, *Ο ευρωπαϊκός ρατσισμός*, pp. 103-104, 107-108.

that modern Greeks bear the traits of classical Greek beauty.<sup>37</sup> In their travels to the countryside, however, they do not go further in exploring the ancient Greek physiognomy origins of contemporary Greeks, since such an exploration might reveal deviations that are likely to raise doubts about the certainty of racial continuity.

On the contrary, such explorations are very common in texts produced by European travellers to Greece. In effect, they seek to establish the classical Greek type of beauty in modern Greece, and they often subject the rural population to exhausting anthropological assessment. Let us cite a typical example of this exploratory approach, as it contributes in better understanding Greek representations of rural people. It is a description included in a travel account by the British John Cam Hobhouse, Lord Byron's fellow traveller, who visited Greece in 1809-1810. Although Hobhouse argues that, generally speaking, modern Greeks' 'bodily appearance' 'differ but little' from that of their ancestors and that the islanders' faces 'are just such as served for models to the ancient sculptors', he depicts Greek islanders as follows:

[...] the islanders are darker, and of a stronger make than those on the main-land. [...] Their eyes are large and dark [...]; their eye-brows are arched; their complexions are rather brown, but quite clear; and their cheeks and lips are tinged with a bright vermilion. The oval of their faces is regular, and all their features in perfect proportion, except that their ears are rather larger than ordinary; their hair is dark and long, but something quite bushy

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<sup>37</sup> Blumenbach's research is reported in various translations published in Greek journals: for example, the text entitled 'Περὶ φυσιογνωμίας', published in *I Efterpi*, reads as follows: 'Ὁ Πρισχιάρτ μάλιστα εἰς τὸ περὶ τῆς φυσικῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀξιόλογον σύγγραμμά τοῦ ἀναφέρει τὸν Πλουμενβάχ, λέγοντα ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ κεφαλὴ καὶ μία ἄλλη ἥτις ἀνήκει εἰς φυλὴν διαμείναςαν πάντοτε βάρβαρον καὶ ἀμαθὴ, τὴν τῶν Γεωργιανῶν, εἶναι αἱ ωραιότεραι τῆς συλλογῆς τοῦ, συγκειμένης ἐξ 170 κρανίων διαφόρων ἐθνῶν' (p. 23). A detailed description of the Greek skull is provided in the text entitled 'Φυσικοὶ χαρακτῆρες τῶν Ἑλλήνων', published in *Pandora*: 'Τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ [ελληνικοῦ] κρανίου εἶναι ὀλίγον σφαιροειδές, ἔχον τὰ οστά τῆς ἀνω σιαγόνης συνημμένα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ρίνα σχεδὸν κάθετα, τὰ ζυγωματικά δὲ οστά μετρίως καὶ ευρύθμως κατακλίνοντα, ὁμοιότατον μετὰ τὰ περίφημα σχεδιάσματα τῶν καλλιτεχνῶν' (11/257 [1 December 1860], p. 409): For the preservation of classical Greek traits in modern Greeks, see the text 'Περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων φυλῶν. Ἐκ τοῦ Γαλλικοῦ τοῦ Παύλου Ρεμυσάτου', *Pandora*, 5/104 (15 July 1854), p. 179.

[...]. Their necks are long, but broad and firmly set, their chests wide and expanded, their shoulders strong, but round the waist they are rather slender. Their legs are perhaps larger than those of people accustomed to tighter garments, but are strong and well made. Their stature is above the middling size, and their make muscular but not brawny, round and well filled out but not inclined to corpulency.

Both the face and the form of the women are very inferior to those of the men. Though they have the same kind of features, their eyes are too languid, and their complexions too pale, and, even from the age of twelve, they have a flaccidity and looseness of person which is far from agreeable. They are generally below the height which we are accustomed to think becoming in a female, and when a little advanced in life, between twenty-five and thirty years of age, are commonly rather fat and unwieldy.<sup>38</sup>

In this description, the European traveller's gaze 'dissects' the bodies of Greek islanders. Indeed, the writer observes details such as complexions, facial angle, stature and weight, and measures the size and length of specific parts of the body (ears, waist, neck, chest, legs). Based on these measurements, and in comparison with the idealised European body standards, Hobhouse points to a deficient body constitution, marked by asymmetries and deformities.

Such anthropological measurements are impossible in Greece. In a period when Fallmerayer's theories call in question the racial connection of ancient and modern Greeks, educated Greek travellers to the countryside stereotypically reiterate that they 'recognise' the classical Greek beauty in the peasants' physical appearance. Besides, such observations are typical in texts with references to populations of doubtful Greek identity that co-exist with other Balkan groups in rural areas. This is the case of the inhabitants of Megara, a town that borders villages inhabited in their majority by Albanian populations.

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<sup>38</sup> J. C. Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania, and other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia, to Constantinople, during the Years 1809 and 1810*, vol. 1, Philadelphia, 1817, pp. 404-405.

Hence, in the travel account on Megara, which is extensively presented in the second chapter (see section 2.1), Stefanos Dragoumis points out that, in 1861, ‘οι Μεγαρείς, μεταξύ άλλων αλβανοφώνων χωρίων οικούντες, εισίν όλοι καθαροί Έλληνες την τε γλώσσαν, την ενδυμασίαν και τη μορφήν’.<sup>39</sup> Ten years later, in a text describing a similar tour to Megara, an anonymous writer stresses among other things: ‘Οι Μεγαρείς είναι εν γένει νοήμονες και επιμελείς. Οι γυναίκες έχουν χαρακτηριστικά κανονικά και θεωρώ κατά το πλείστον τους Μεγαρείς ως διατηρήσαντας τον αρχαίον της φυσιογνωμίας τύπον’.<sup>40</sup>

#### 4.5. ‘National’ Localities

It should also be noted that, since the 1860s, a well-known theory on the Greeks’ Ottoman past is extensively used. According to this theory, the primitive aspect of folk mores is considered to be the result of intimate contact between the rural population and the corrupted Ottomans, and of the subsequent lack of freedom and education (see section 2.3). In this context, it is believed that any negative characterological traits of the peasants are to fade away over time and through educational advances and freedom. Those negative traits are generally related to features similar to those attributed to the inhabitants of Amorgos in Ioannides’s text. In other words, rural people might be ‘prone to disputes and ignorance’ (‘φιλέριδες’ ‘αμαθείς’), ‘of unstable character’ (‘ασταθούς χαρακτήρα’), ‘frivolous’ (‘ευτράπελοι’) and ‘extremely envious of each other’ (‘φθονερώτατοι προς αλλήλους’), ‘lagging far behind in culture’ (‘πολύ πίσω στον

<sup>39</sup> S [= Stefanos Dragoumis], ‘Επιστολή εκ Μεγάρων’, p. 413.

<sup>40</sup> M., ‘Από Αθήνας εις Μέγαρά’, *Pandora*, 22/506 (15 April 1871), p. 33. Compare also a later reference to Greek populations living outside Greek territory: In a topographical text on Demir Hisar, a small town in Macedonia inhabited by Greeks, Turks, Circassians and Gypsies, the writer notes in 1878 that the ‘purity’ (‘η καθαρότης’) of the Greek identity in the area is ‘manifest’ (‘είναι προφανεστάτη’), as observed among other things in the appearance of Greek women who ‘stand out by their exquisiteness’ (‘διακρίνονται διά την ωραιότητα’) and ‘their Greek physiognomy’ (‘την ελληνικήν φυσιογνωμίαν’) (S. ‘Υπομνηματικά τινές σημειώσεις περί Δεμίρ Ισάριου’, *Parnassos*, 2/7 [June 1878], pp. 538-539).

πολιτισμό’) and ‘inclined to larceny’ (‘ρέπουν προς την κλοπή’), or dominated by Ottoman depravity and corruption, that is considered to have passed from the ranks of ‘dominators’ and Greek local rulers to lower classes.<sup>41</sup>

Furthermore, the same decade marks in classification assessments of rural people a shift towards more positive representations, including temperamental traits of ‘western’ origin. The most important of them are intelligence (‘ευφυία’), natural inclination to education (‘το φιλομαθές’) and ‘industriousness’ (‘το φιλόπονον’). As indicated in Ioannides’s representation, intelligence is a feature observed in various peoples, attributed even to the ‘natural man’. It is considered, however, that intelligence constitutes a typical feature of the white European race, as it is associated with the sharpness of mind that led to the remarkably developed western world in the fields of science and technology. It is to be noted that in Greek representations, rural people’s intelligence is perceived in the same way, as it is often related to business and industrial acumen, and economic advances in general. In other words, it is associated with the development of a European-orientated material and technical civilisation. In the same vein, natural inclination to education is an attribute asserting the European temperament of rural people, as well as their ancient Greek origins. Indeed, literacy and intellectual development in general are considered to be typical traits of the ‘western’ world that distinguish it from any ‘eastern’ and other ‘non-western’ areas of deep ignorance, superstition and irrationalism (see section 3.3). Inherent traits of ‘non-Western’ people are also laziness, passivity and indolence, corroborated by their extreme penury and the intellectual stagnation. Consequently, ‘industriousness’ attributed to Greek peasants is a ‘western’ feature that proves their potential in terms of economic and intellectual development. The three aforementioned qualities are complemented by two other

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<sup>41</sup> Christoforos Parmenides, ‘Περιοδίαί Σπουδαστού. Επιστολή ΣΤ’. Άνδρος’, no. 222, p. 142, Ippokratis Tavlarios, ‘Περί της νήσου Καλύμνου’, p. 521, Miltiades Vratsanos, ‘Πλους και περιήγησις εις Σάμον’, no 31, pp. 200-204, Epameinondas Stamatiades, ‘Τρεις ημέραι εις Ικαρίαν’, p. 396.

attributes. The first one is the sense of hospitality, a stereotypical feature of the rural population supposedly inherited from the Homeric era. The second attribute is taste, a feature that contemporary inhabitants of rural areas are required to have in order to comply with the image of their ancestors. Finally, travel texts portray the Greek countryside as a peaceful, civilised and well-governed local society, determined by the inhabitants' gentle temperament, the simplicity of their mores, a sense of amiability and social cohesion, strict adherence to traditional customs, strong family ties and strict morality. All these features are of course diametrically opposed to the violent 'natural' impulses depicted in Ioannides's representation.<sup>42</sup>

Let us now examine an illustrative example of a 'western' representation of rural society in a topographical text on the island of Skyros, which published in *Ilissos* in 1868. The text concludes with a stereotypical depiction of the islanders' physical and temperamental traits:

Οι κάτοικοι εισί λίαν ευφυνείς και φιλόπονοι, αλλά και φύσει φιλεύθυμοι, η δε παρ' αυτοίς φιλοξενία και η προς τους ξένους γλυκεία και περιποιητική συμπεριφορά, μάλιστα δε η των γυναικών κοινωνική ελευθερία ηνωμένη μετ' αυστηράς ηθικής, εισί προσόντα, τα οποία οι των παρακειμένων τόπων κάτοικοι δεν δύνανται να διαμφισβητήσωσι προς αυτούς, και σπάνια παρομοίοις λαοίς, εις ους δια το απόκεντρον και δυσκοινωνήτον του τόπου ουκέτι εισέφρυσεν ο ευρωπαϊσμός· αξιάγαστος είναι προσέτι και η κλίσις αυτών προς τα γράμματα και τας επιστήμας, προς την σπουδήν των οποίων από μικράς περιουσίας ορμώμενοι και αυτοί οι γεωργοί και ποιμένες αποστέλλουσι τους υιούς τους προς τα Γυμνάσια και

<sup>42</sup> For the above-mentioned features of Greek people, see: Athanassios Sakellarios, 'Εύα ή Άγιος Πέτρος', p. 410, Christoforos Parmenides, 'Περιοδιαί Σπουδαστού. Επιστολή ΣΤ'. Άνδρος', no. 222, pp. 141-142, Epameinondas Stamatiades, 'Πέντε ημέραι εις Πάτμον', no. 13, p. 148, Ippokrakis D. Tavlarios, 'Περί της νήσου Καλύμνου', p. 521, Miltiades Vratsanos, 'Πλους και περιήγησις εις Σάμον', no. 31, pp. 200-204, S. N. V. 'Νέα Κόρινθος', *Ethniki Vivliothiki*, 3/86 (16 April 1868), p. 217, Michael Konstandinides, 'Βραχεία τινά περί της νήσου Σκύρου', pp. 86-87, M., 'Από Αθήνας εις Μέγαρα', p. 33. For certain key stereotypes of the 'western' world, as opposed to 'eastern' stereotypes in the context of the orientalist discourse, see John McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000, pp. 44-46.

τα Πανεπιστήμια· [...] θαυμάζω μάλιστα ότι από της αποκαταστάσεως του Βασιλείου το φιλομαθές ανεπτύχθη εν αυτοίς πρωιμότερον σχετικώς προς τους κατοίκους των γειτνιαζόντων μερών. Διό σήμερον η τοις πολλοίς άγνωστος αύτη νήσος, έχουσι μόλις τρισχιλίους κατοίκους, αριθμεί όμως πολλούς επιστήμονας και λογίους, οίον δικηγόρους, ιατρούς, Ελληνοδιδασκάλους και δημοδιδασκάλους. [...] Τα δε εγχώρια άσματα ενώ ευμοιρούσιν υψηλής ποιητικής φαντασίας εισί και περιπαθέστατα· το δε ιδιάζον μέλος δι' ου άδουσιν προξενεί γλυκείαν συγκίνησιν τω ακούοντι και αποδεικνύει την λεπτήν αυτών ευαισθησίαν. Εις την σωματικήν των ανδρών ανάπτυξιν επικρατεί το ισχνόν και λειπόσαρκον, αλλά και το νευρώδες και εύτονον· το δε φυσικόν των γυναικών κάλλος, όλως ακόμωτον και ανεπιτήδευτον, τυγχάνει απαραμίλλον και σπάνιον.<sup>43</sup>

The excerpt above encompasses almost all positive traits recounted previously: intelligence, industriousness, hospitality, moral conduct, inclination to education and taste. Special emphasis will be given to three aspects of this representation, as they reveal how the writer conveys an imaginary western, almost urban configuration of the local society of Skyros. The first aspect involves the inhabitants' energetic temperament, by contrast to the lack of energy indicated in the representation of gentle and submissive Cycladic people produced by De-Kigallas. This energetic temperament is reflected here in the particularly active way of life of the islanders of Skyros. In effect, the writer admires the locals not only for their education and culture in general, but also for their professional progress. The latter involves urban activities, since the inhabitants gradually abandon farming activities and they become scholars and scientists, doctors, lawyers and teachers. It is also worth mentioning that this dynamic temperament is consistent with the 'skinny' ('ισχνό'), 'slender' ('νευρώδες') and 'slim' ('εύτονο') appearance of the islanders, that is to say a physical constitution that also implies energetic activity. The

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<sup>43</sup> Michael Konstandinides, 'Βραχεία τινά περί της νήσου Σκύρου', p. 86-87.



second aspect of interest in Konstantinides's representation is that hospitality is not related here to the ancient Greek tradition, but to the European way of life. In fact, it is stressed that hospitality is a feature rarely encountered in isolated societies that 'are not infiltrated by Europeanism' ('ουκέτι εισέφρυσεν ο ευρωπαϊσμός'). Moreover, the fact that the writer describes the inhabitant's 'gentle and attentive behaviour' ('γλυκεία και περιποιητική συμπεριφορά') towards foreigners and the 'social freedom' ('κοινωνική ελευθερία') of women demonstrates that he probably implies the establishment of urbanised social relations. Such relations imply flattering and extrovert contacts, including also female participation. The writer points out of course that this kind of social freedom does not affect women's morality. Lastly, 'western' traits are also attributed to the folklore poetic production of the island. What is remarkable, though, is that the writer assesses folklore literature production on Skyros by attributing to it some key features of urban European romanticism, which he is, after all, familiar with: high-level poetic creativity, passion and sensitivity.

Should these characterological representations enhance and establish – as noted in the first chapter – a 'national' image of the rural population and, thus, contribute to raising national self-awareness, then the 'western' traits of such a 'national' image bear even greater importance. Representations like the one produced by Konstantinides demonstrate that, over the period in question, the knowledge of one's home country is essentially based on realising that modern Greece is now orientated towards Europe; that it seeks to adhere to the European family by establishing a modern, western-type, capitalist State and rejecting its 'eastern' cultural identity. This is, after all, the reason for which topographical texts – including the characterological representations of the peasants – are extensively updated with information about the economic and social development of rural areas: the reports on demographic growth of the rural population, residential and urban

reconstruction, agricultural production, advances in trade and industry, as well as the educational revival, demonstrate a western-type progress made by the newly established Greek State (see section 1.1).

Lastly, it is important to observe that the representations of rural people examined in this chapter are produced in direct dependence upon European depictions of modern Greece. As pointed out in the Introduction, from the Europeans' point of view, the Greek territory is located 'on the margins of Europe', and therefore in an 'ambiguous position' on the borderline between the East and the West. It is both a 'spiritual' land, connecting them to their roots, the ancient Greek civilisation, and an 'unfamiliar' territory, emblematically 'marked off by a distinctive otherness.'<sup>44</sup> On many occasions, European travel writing has promoted the image of Greek peasants as being 'wretched Orientals',<sup>45</sup> affected by typically oriental characterological traits. Amongst them, the most important traits are shiftiness, double-dealing, illiteracy, influence-peddling, rule-bending, disrespect for norms,<sup>46</sup> fatalism, indolence, self-regard, envy, feuding and 'an insuperable reluctance to dwell together', violent disposition and 'even –when circumstances demand it –killing for vengeance', animal-theft,<sup>47</sup> sexual incontinence.<sup>48</sup> From another standpoint, Greek otherness bears the traits of Balkanism and is represented by stereotypes compatible with those used by Europeans to depict poor social communities in European urban areas. Based on those stereotypes, Greek peasants are described as scoundrels, liars, cheats, crooks, fawners, obsequious, flatterers, superstitious, ungrateful, greedy and messy.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Vasiliki Galani-Moutafi, 'The Self and the Other: Traveler, Ethnographer, Tourist', pp. 207-209.

<sup>45</sup> Michael Herzfeld, *Anthropology through the Looking Glass*, p. 49.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 34-35.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>49</sup> Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 214-219, 230-231.

As indicated above, some of these temperamental features are also integrated into the Greek representations of rural population: passivity and lack of initiative, ignorance and illiteracy, violent temper, envy and vindictiveness – often leading to social discord and criminal behaviour, tendency to larceny and immorality. It appears therefore that, in reconstituting their own images of rural life, educated Greek travellers not only subscribe to the basic dichotomy between ‘western’ and ‘non-western’ world, but they also internalise elements of the European dichotomic distinction between the western world and modern Greek society. Comparing, however, the Greek characterological assessments of rural people to the European ones, it becomes evident that Greek writers use more generic symbols of Otherness, such as ‘the weakness of the lymphatic or tropical type’, or ‘the free expression of natural life’. Such symbols, along with those of the irrational, superstitious and pagan primitive man, discussed in the previous chapter (see section 3.3), dissociate rural landscape from its ‘Balkan’ and ‘Oriental’ context and place it in a primitive setting. Certainly, these representations demonstrate that Greek urban writers are dominated by anxiety in the face of their co-existence with an appalling Otherness that jeopardises the project of constructing a single national Greek State. On the other hand, they propagate controllable forms of primitivism, thus implying the possibility to reform and civilise the Greek peasants. On the contrary, in the ‘western’ representations of rural life, the Greek landscape is totally detached from any connotations of primitivism. However, such depictions also enter in direct discourse with the stereotypes encountered in the European travel writing. In effect, the image seeking to confirm the European character of Greek identity is bound by the main structural opposites that determine, as suggested in European travel texts, the fundamental distinction between the West and the East: activeness - passivity, education - illiteracy,

industriousness - laziness, harmonious co-existence - violent social relationships, strict morality - immorality.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **REPRESENTATIONS OF WOMEN**

The observation of local women is commonplace in travel descriptions of the Greek countryside. It is included in all forms of texts – be it encyclopaedic and topographical texts or travel narratives – and its principal purpose is to highlight features of local women's physical appearance. Although such observations relate first and foremost to racial classifications of the local population discussed in the previous chapter, they are also made for other purposes. In effect, representations of women equally fall within the scope of general information provided on various rural areas, or in the context of travellers' personal reactions on their encounters with local people. In fact, the frequency of reports on women's physical appearance, even in texts with no particular focus on contemporary rural life, demonstrates that they constitute fundamental information on rural landscape, highly expected by the readers. It should also be stressed that, subject to very limited exceptions, references to local women's physical appearance are in general positive: they may vary from merely confirming their allegedly renowned beauty to glowingly declaring their distinguished allure and – in more detailed depictions – to accentuating their particular feminine appeal to urban male travellers to the countryside.

In this chapter I will discuss the most representative depictions of peasant women encountered in several travel accounts. The key question of this analysis is to establish whether the praised beauty of rural women in Greek travel texts is related to the broader pronounced focus of European travel writing on native, primitive or oriental women of colonial setting. This specific focus has been the object of extensive studies in the context of colonial discourse analyses, since representations of women are associated with the

anthropological curiosity towards primitive tribes, on the one hand, and with imaginings of fertility, well-being and conquest of colonial lands, on the other.

### **5.1. Women and Primitiveness**

Firstly, I will address the issue of the way in which observation of peasant women relates to the racial classifications of rural people. As noted in the previous chapter, in such classifications, travel writers examine the character traits of the locals from an anthropological point of view, on the basis of biologically determined physiognomical, intellectual and temperamental features. The observation of women is common in the context of such classifications. It usually takes the form of a brief, positive assessment of their physique, which is rarely coupled with the identification of other, intellectual or moral, qualities they might have. This assessment appears to be a major contribution to the depiction of biologically-specific traits of the local population, as it is observed even in descriptions that do not involve similar observations on male physical appearance. Some representative examples are quoted below:

Οι Κύθνιοι, οφείλομεν να τ' ομολογήσωμεν, είναι εν τω μεταξύ των άκρως φιλήσυχοι και ευάγωγοι, ώστε εις τα δύο της νήσου χωρία ουδέ εις χωροφύλαξ υπάρχει, ουδέποτε δε συμβαίνουν συγκρούσεις ή κακουργήματα. Η νωθρότης όμως, αυτών είναι παραδειγματική. [...] Η καλλονή των Κυθνίων γυναικών μεταξύ της κατωτέρας μάλλιστα τάξεως, είναι αξιοπαρατήρητος. Καίτοι διάγουσιν όλην την ημέραν εις τους αγρούς, βόσκουσαι μικράν τινάν ποιμήνην ή θερίζουσαι, αλλά προφυλάττονται τόσον καλώς από τας ακτίνας του ηλίου, καλυπτόμεναι τον πρόσωπον, τας χείρας, τους πόδας, και αφίνουνσαι μόνον τους οφθαλμούς ελευθέρους, ώστε διατηρούσιν όλην αυτών την λευκότητα. Η συνήθεια αύτη, ως

επληροφορηθήκαμεν, εις ουδεμίαν άλλην νήσον, ή άλλο μέρος της Ελλάδος παρατηρείται, και άγνωστον πόθεν επεκράτησε.<sup>1</sup>

Οι κάτοικοι της ευδαίμονος εκείνης κοιλάδος [του χωριού Αποίκια της Άνδρου], ως και πολλών άλλων κωμών τας οποίας επεσκέφθην, μ' εφάνησαν γενικώς αγαθού χαρακτήρος. Το ήθος αυτών εμφανίζει υγείαν, ευζωίαν, αι δε γυναίκες φημίζονται, και δικαίως, διά την ευμορφίαν των. Αλλά την ευζωίαν ταύτην ασχημίζει η συμπαρομαρτούσα αμάθεια.<sup>2</sup>

Οι κάτοικοι [της Σκύρου] εισί λίαν ευφυείς και φιλόπονοι, αλλά και φύσει φιλεύθυμοι [...] Εις την σωματικήν των ανδρών ανάπτυξιν επικρατεί το ισχνόν και λειπόσαρκον, αλλά και το νευρώδες και εύτονον· το δε φυσικόν των γυναικών κάλλος, όλως ακόμωτον και ανεπιτήδευτον, τυγχάνει απαράμιλλον και σπάνιον, άξιον δε να παράσχη και τω ουκέτι προσβαλλομένω διά την ηλικίαν υπό τοιούτων εντυπώσεων τον φιλέρωτα λόγον εις το αποκαλέσαι ταύτας Νηρηίδας του Αιγαίου.<sup>3</sup>

[...] το ωραίον της Ναούσης φύλον [...] διατηρεί καλλονήν, λευκότητα και λεπτοφυΐαν ουχί τόσον συνήθη εις τα μεσημβρινά ταύτα της Μακεδονίας κλίματα [...] εις Βοδενά (αρχ. Έδεσσαν), [...] αι γυναίκες είναι τόσον δυσειδείς, ώστε κίνδυνος μη αφηρημένος τις εις την επιστημονικήν ταξινόμησιν των γενών και ειδών των ζώων του κόσμου φυσιодίφης εκ πρώτης όψεως υπολάβη αυτάς 'κυνοπιθήκους' ή τουλάχιστον είδος τι τούτων νέον και όλως άγνωστον τη Ζωολογική επιστήμη.<sup>4</sup>

Οι κάτοικοι των Μεγαρέων εισίν εν γένει νοήμονες και επιμελείς περί τας αγροτικές εργασίας. [...] Αι γυναίκες έχουσι χαρακτηριστικά κανονικά, και θεωρώ κατά το πλείστον τους Μεγαρείς ως διατηρήσαντας τον αρχαίον της φυσιογνωμίας τύπον.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Konstantinos Pop, 'Η Κύθνος και τα λουτρά αυτής', no. 95, pp. 543-44.

<sup>2</sup> Christoforos Parmenides 'Περιοδία Σπουδαστού. Επιστολή ΣΤ'. Άνδρος', no. 227, p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> Michael Konstandinides, 'Βραχέα τινά περί της νήσου Σκύρου', p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> Char. S. Karmitsis, 'Περί Νιαούσης', p. 114.

<sup>5</sup> M., 'Από Αθήνας εις Μέγαρα', p. 33.

The excerpts above encompass anthropological assessments on local people's temperament. As noted in the previous chapter, educated Greek travellers apply in their assessments criteria used in standard racial research carried out by Europeans on various 'primitive' lands. Indeed, Greek travellers use these criteria in order to record various physical and temperamental human groups encountered in the Greek countryside. Assessing such criteria implies in essence ranking Greek rural landscape to the level of primitive life subject to exploration, thus revealing various grades of cultural development or backwardness. In effect, the islanders of Kythnos are peaceful, with no criminal record, yet unutterably impoverished because of their typical indolence; the islanders of Andros are affable, healthy and advanced, with a good standard of living, but in another passage it is reported that they are ignorant and, to some extent, bellicose;<sup>6</sup> the islanders of Skyros, on the other hand, have the most civilised standard of living, marked by the energy and sociability encountered in European countries; the inhabitants of Megara are cautious and assiduous at their work and they preserve the physical traits of ancient Greeks. The last depiction reproduces a largely accepted point of view on racial superiority over the period in question. More specifically, it relates to the 'normal' and symmetric traits of the ancient Greek model, as identified by travellers among rural inhabitants. This element provides, of course, evidence of their ancient Greek origin.<sup>7</sup>

In any case, it should be stressed that observing the beauty of the female population constitutes an indispensable element which completes the temperamental evaluation of local people. It could be noticed, for example, that various anthropological types such as 'peaceful' ('φιλήσυχοι'), 'bellicose' ('φιλέριδες'), 'indolent' ('νωθοί'), 'industrious' ('φιλόπονοι'), 'intelligent' ('ευφυνείς'), 'ignorant' ('αμαθείς'), 'hospitable' ('φιλόξενοι'), 'light-hearted' ('φιλέθυμοι'), 'healthy' ('υγιείς'), 'skinny' ('ισχνοί'), 'slender'

<sup>6</sup> 'Περιοδίαι Σπουδαστού. Επιστολή ΣΤ'. Άνδρος', no 222, pp. 141-142.

<sup>7</sup> Such depictions are discussed in sections 1.1, 4.4 and 4.5.



(‘νευρώδεις’), or ‘preserving the ancient physiognomy type’ (‘διατηρήσαντες τον αρχαίον της φυσιογνωμίας τύπον’), go hand in hand with the group of ‘beautiful’ (‘όμορφες’) women, in particular women of ‘noticeable’ (‘αξιοπαρατήρητης’), ‘renowned’ (‘φημισμένης’), ‘unparalleled’ (‘απαράμιλλης’), or ‘rare’ (‘σπάνιας’) beauty, with ‘normal’ (‘κανονικά’) features.

Such repeated references to female beauty derive from a concurrent anthropological interest in women, particularly in primitive women. Since the eighteenth century, journeys of exploration and colonial expansion reveal an enormous variety of new specimens of plants, animals, climates and humans. Under the determinant influence of the Enlightenment – prominently fostering knowledge, classification and ‘manipulation’ of the natural environment – philosophers, explorers, geographers and anthropologists are engaged in the endeavour of discovering natural laws of universal applicability. It is under these circumstances that a keen and increasingly intense interest in female nature is being deployed. For female nature is a synonym of nature itself, as it is considered that, owing to her reproductive qualities, woman is totally determined by her biological traits. In addition, female nature is identified with various primitive races since it is also perceived as a ‘pre-cultural stage’ of human evolution, in accordance with nature, which represents a ‘raw (pre-social) material’.<sup>8</sup> However, a direct association of women with various primitive peoples derives from comparative exploration of their physiology to the white European man, who represents, in terms of race and gender, the superior body standard.<sup>9</sup> The differences observed between the female and various primitive tribe bodies, on the one hand, and the European man’s body type, on the other, are perceived

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<sup>8</sup> Athina Athanasiou, *Η μελέτη του φύλου ως αναλυτικού εργαλείου στο χώρο της υγείας. Μελέτη στο πλαίσιο του έργου ΕΠΕΑΚ ΠΜΣ – Γυναίκες και φύλα: ανθρωπολογικές και ιστορικές προσεγγίσεις*, University of the Aegean, September 2004, pp. 2-3.

<sup>9</sup> See Londa Schiebinger, ‘The Anatomy of Difference: Race and Sex in Eighteenth-Century Science’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 23/4 (Summer 1990), pp. 387-405.

as a deviation from ‘normality’ and, as such, they are considered pathogenic.<sup>10</sup> In this regard, the primitive woman – as a symbol of race and gender difference – is a primary focus of attention, and subject to extensive observation. The latter, reflected on an endless list of travel, anthropological and fictional colonial texts, goes as far as the anatomical examination of actual coloured female bodies, transported to Europe and examined in scientific laboratories.<sup>11</sup> Such an exploration is founded upon males’ desire to establish their scientific predominance over nature,<sup>12</sup> since it is indeed the coloured woman who ‘served as a primitive: she was both a female and a racial link to nature’.<sup>13</sup>

Persistent observation of female beauty in the Greek travel texts involves this very conception of female gender as a ‘pre-cultural stage’ of human evolution. This conception plays a crucial role in exploring the inherent nature of the Greek people and in recording biological traits of their character. As pointed out, this is the ultimate purpose of such texts. If woman, and particularly primitive woman, can reveal the secrets of nature and race, then asserting the appealing physical appearance of local women – and not that of men – in the countryside is equally the key element in confirming the quality of the peasants’ specific physical features and, of course, their racial purity and ancient Greek origin. Consequently, references to peasant women enhance the approach of anthropological classification in the passages quoted above and foster the impression that

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<sup>10</sup> For key race and gender stereotypes associated with the concept of pathology, see Sander L. Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race and Madness*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985.

<sup>11</sup> The case of African Saartjie Baartman, also known as Hottentot Venus, is an illustrative example, since her body was exposed in public view in London for a long period of time, whilst her corpse was subject to thorough post-mortem anatomical examinations. See Yvette Abrahams, ‘Images of Sarah Baartman: Sexuality, Race and Gender in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain’ in Ruth Roach Pierson, Nupur Claudhuri (eds.), *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998, pp. 220-236.

<sup>12</sup> Athina Athanasiou, *Η μελέτη του φύλου ως αναλυτικού εργαλείου στο χώρο της υγείας*, p. 9.

<sup>13</sup> Ann Fausto-Sterling, ‘Gender, Race and Nation: The Comparative Anatomy of “Hottentot” Women in Europe, 1815-1817’ in Jennifer Terry, Jacqueline Urla (eds.), *Deviant Bodies: Critical Perspectives on Difference in Science and Popular Culture*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995, p. 28.

urban travellers observe the Greek countryside as a primeval landscape subject to exploration.

Identifying woman with nature is explicitly suggested in the representation of women in Naousa and Edessa, in the extract above. That representation is included in a topographical text on the Macedonian town of Naousa by Karmitsis, and it mainly focuses on the locality's history, namely on the heroic resistance deeds of its inhabitants against the Turks during the Greek War of Independence. However, in the first part of the text one can identify elements of medical topography texts, referred to in the previous chapter (see section 4.3). As noted therein, medical topographies allow for the use of research methods applied in recording the pathogenesis of the Tropics – a recording process, which implies a strong connection between Otherness and morbidity. More specifically, medical topographies reveal the particular physical specificities of each 'locality' – extending from temperatures, humidity, soil quality and produce to the lack of sanitary conditions – in the pursuit of mapping and isolating pathogenic rural areas. In the previous chapter I analysed representations of such pathogenic localities that are also found in Greek texts. Karmitsis's topography on Naousa establishes in the Greek countryside yet another morbid locality. According to well-established concurrent medical views, Naousa owes its condition to 'poor-quality air' ('κακό αέρα'), humidity, marshy waters and impurities of sanitary facilities: Naousa is a mountainous town, located at an altitude of '104 metres above plain level' ('104 μέτρα υπεράνω της πεδιάδος'), traversed by a river and 'washed by abundant waters' ('διαβρέχεται υπό αφθόνων υδάτων'), has 'luxurious vegetation' ('λαμπρά βλάστηση') and magnificent natural environment. Nonetheless, it is a 'diseased' ('νοσώδης') town, because its inhabitants are exposed to the 'morbid influence of humidity' ('εις τας νοσηράς της υγρασίας επιρροάς') and to the 'freezing breezes' ('εις τας παγετώδεις αύραις') of the

mountain, which also ‘bear into the town other seeds of dangerous diseases’ (‘φέρουσι μεθ’ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἄλλα σπέρματα επικίνδυνων νοσημάτων’). The inhabitants are also exposed to the stench of the town’s roads that are ‘shady alleys’ (‘σκιεραὶ ἀτραποὶ’), ‘abounding with impurities’ (‘βρίθουσι ἀκαθαρσιῶν’). The town’s water, though, is ‘fresh and pellucid’ (‘ὕδατα [...] γλυκεὰ καὶ διαυγῆ’) compared to that of the neighbouring town of Edessa which is, on the contrary, ‘brackish and marshy’ (‘ὕφαλμα καὶ ἐλώδη’). Lastly, the soil of the town is of good quality, since it produces excellent wine and plenty of fruits.<sup>14</sup>

The description above also includes the observation of local women’s physical appearance. The writer notes in particular that, despite the morbid environment, the women of Naousa ‘are beautiful, with white complexions and fine features’ (‘διατηροῦν καλλονή, λευκότητα καὶ λεπτοφυΐα’). In his endeavour to explore the causes of the phenomenon, he compares those women to the ape-like women (‘κυνοπίθηκοι’) of Edessa and draws the conclusion that the beauty of the women in Naousa is attributable to the good quality of waters, whilst the ugliness of the women in Veria is associated with the ‘brackish and marshy’ waters of the region. In other words, woman, the quintessence of natural creatures, is explored as a physical object, similarly to vegetation or produce of the area, in order to establish the quality level of the natural environment. In the first case, the presence of beautiful, white and lean women exalts the picture of the natural landscape. In the second case, the appearance of simian women matching zoological descriptions of the black race,<sup>15</sup> as well as stagnant and marshy waters – typical features of tropical morbidity and cause of pestilential fevers – set up an image of obscure morbid primitiveness. Nonetheless both representations reflect the prolific scientific research

<sup>14</sup> Char. S. Karmitsis, ‘Περὶ Νιαιούσης’, p. 114.

<sup>15</sup> For interconnection, in particular, between women and apes in racial and sexual theories of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, see Ann McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, New York: Routledge, 1995, pp. 40-42, Ann Fausto-Sterling, ‘Gender, Race and Nation: The Comparative Anatomy of “Hottentot” Women in Europe, 1815-1817’, pp. 20-48.

carried out by the Europeans in the colonies, an activity which is also graphically illustrated in the Greek text by the allusion made to a naturalist, who would be completely absorbed in his research, focused on recording and classifying climates, localities, animals and humans.

## 5.2. Class and Gender Representations

All references to the female rural population examined so far are very brief and they do not describe any specific features that compose the female beauty observed by Greek urban writers in the Greek countryside. Thus, it is quite surprising that, in two of the aforementioned depictions – namely the depictions of women in Kythnos and Naousa – travellers seek to assert the white complexions of peasant women. In this regard, let us quote two more excerpts in order to further discuss the significance of peasant women's white complexions, but also the importance of their 'fine features' ('λεπτοφυΐα'), as stressed by Karmitsis in the description of women in Naousa. The representations are extracted from the texts compiled by Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos and Christoforos Parmenides, also presented in chapters one and two (see sections 1.2, 1.3), and they concern women of Albanian origin:

[...] επώπτευν από της λέμβου ωραίας κεφαλάς περικεκαλυμμένας με το κιτρινωπόν τζεμπέρι, χροιάν αρεστήν παρά τοις Πορίοις. Αι γυναίκες της νήσου ταύτης είναι εν γένει περικαλλείς, και εύζωνοι και ευσώματοι· έχουσι λευκοτάτην και λεπτοτάτην επιδερμίδα, οφθαλμούς στιλπνούς και ζωηρούς. Ευμοιρούσι προς τούτοις και πολλών ηθικών κοσμημάτων· εισίν αγχίνοες, χαρίεσσαι, εύτολμοι και εύαγωγοι. Αι Πόριαι, φίλε, με συνδιάλλαξαν με την Αλβανικήν φυλήν, καθ' ης ήμην, ως ηξέυρεις, προκατειλημμένος.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos, 'Εκδρομή εις Αίγιναν, Πόρον και Τροιζηνίαν', p. 517.

[...] μ' εφάνη περίεργος η κατά πάσαν δευτέραν γενομένη αγορά (παζάρι) εις την πλησίον των θαλασσιών τειχών πλατείαν. [...] Κινούσι προ πάντων ενταύθα την περιέργειαν αι απλοϊκαί και ποικίλαι ενδυμασίαι των χωρικών με τας πλεκτάς και εν είδει ψιάθου καταβαινούσας επί των ώμων κόμας, και με τα εκ χρυσών τουρκικών νομισμάτων περιδέραια, τα οποία χύνονται στιλπνώς και καλύπτουσι τα στήθη των. Η φυσιογνωμία των είναι ζωηρά ως επί το πολύ, αν και η αυχμηρά αυτών όψις μαρτυρεί τον εργατικόν βίον αυτών, η δε γλώσσα των είναι η Αλβανική· αλλ' αι νεώτεροι τούτων ομιλούσι την Ελληνικήν.<sup>17</sup>

It is obvious that the description of the Albanian women's appearance in these excerpts is more detailed compared to that of the Greek women cited earlier. Apparently, Albanian women draw the curiosity of travellers in a more intensive manner. Hence, by observing those women, the travellers discover and bring to the fore anatomical traits ('slender-waisted' [εύζωνοι], 'slim' [ευσώματοι]), physical features ('milky and delicate skin' [λευκοτάτην και λεπτοτάτην επιδερμίδα], 'shining eyes' [οφθαλμούς στιλπνούς], 'vivid' [ζωηρά] and 'dried face' [αυχμηρά όψις]), intellectual skills and behaviour ('quick-witted, graceful, courageous and submissive' [αγχίνοες, χαρίεσσαι, εύτολμοι και εύάγωγοι]), as well as peculiar elements of their dress ('yellowish headscarf' [κιτρινωπό τζεμπέρι], 'with necklaces made of Turkish gold coins' [με τα εκ χρυσών τουρκικών νομισμάτων περιδέραια]) and their hairdressing ('with their long matted strands hanging over their shoulders' [με τας πλεκτάς και εν είδει ψιάθου καταβαινούσας επί των ώμων κόμας]). Such a detailed report demonstrates that the Albanian women represent a less familiar, hence more exotic, part of the rural population. Therefore, they are described with greater freedom of expression.

<sup>17</sup> Christoforos Parmenides, 'Περιοδία σπουδαστού. Επιστολή Δευτέρα. Περιοδία εις Χαλκίδα', pp. 281-282.

Nevertheless, the exploration of female white complexions and delicate features in both excerpts does not present differences from the relevant explorations found in the texts compiled by Konstantinos Pop and Karmitsis regarding the Greek women on the island of Kythnos and in Naousa respectively. The way Greek writers seek to establish both Albanian and Greek women's white and delicate skin implies that it constitutes a rather unusual, or unexpected, phenomenon. Konstantinos Pop stresses that the milky complexions of 'noticeably beautiful' women of Kythnos, especially of those coming from 'the lowest social classes' ('της κατωτέρας μάλιστα τάξεως'), is attributed to an unusual practice that is not observed 'on any other island or in any other part of Greece' ('εις ουδεμίαν άλλην νήσον, ή άλλο μέρος της Ελλάδος'): while performing their everyday tasks, they have their bodies carefully covered, so as to protect them from sunlight. In the same vein, Karmitsis notes that the 'beauty', 'white complexions' and 'fine features' of the women in Naousa are incompatible with the morbidity of the natural environment, and undertakes to explore the causes. Besides, he reveals physical traits that are 'not so common under the southern climate conditions of Macedonia' ('ουχί τόσον συνήθη εις τα μεσημβρινά ταύτα της Μακεδονίας κλίματα'). Vretos also observes rather unexpected qualities in the female population of the island of Poros, including *inter alia* their 'milky and delicate skin'. Indeed, after he declares himself biased against the Albanians, he admits that those qualities 'reconciled' him with the 'Albanian race' ('αλβανική φυλή'). Parmenides, on the contrary, is the only writer to describe the local women's 'dried' face, which is imputable to their working life. He confirms however their 'vivid' facial traits, an element that reveals his own bias in terms of the Albanian population's feeble nature (see section 4.3).

Seeking white complexions in these extracts plainly indicates the colonial perspective of educated Greek travellers towards the countryside. Indeed, such observations

constitute a common practice in the description of primitive women in exploratory and travel texts recounting the Europeans' encounters with them. Black or dark-coloured skin represents a fundamental bias in the assessment of primitive woman's beauty, which is considered to be controversial.<sup>18</sup> This beauty might derive, for example, from their 'sufficiently white' complexion – as it is reportedly the case of women of the New World,<sup>19</sup> it might be 'proportionate' to the beauty of European women, 'blackness excepted' – as it is the case of Moorish women's beauty,<sup>20</sup> or it might well be subject to the reservation – as it is the case of 'beautiful' and 'delicate' Hindoo women of India – whether it is compatible with 'the olive complexion'.<sup>21</sup> Such a bias against dark-coloured skin appears to lie behind the emphasis given to the feature of white complexions in Greek texts. Certainly, it is to be noted that the Greek texts confirm the presence of white women in the Greek countryside, despite their writers' initial reservation whether this is actually the case or not. In other words, they confirm a European feature, a typical trait in northern climates rather than in 'southern' climates, as Karmitsis points out. This observation demonstrates that the rural population meets the racially and culturally superior European standard.

However, in Pop and Parmenides's descriptions, white and delicate skin also constitutes a class feature, since it is associated with the agrarian way of life. It is to be noted that milky skin and delicacy are features that are not considered to be related to women of working and agrarian classes in European societies. Elegance in particular, the

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<sup>18</sup> For the evaluation of white and black women's beauty, see Inderpal Grewal, *Home and Harem: Nation, Gender, Empire and the Cultures of Travel*, London: Duke University Press, 1996, pp. 23-56.

<sup>19</sup> Patty O'Brian, *The Pacific Muse: Exotic Femininity and the Colonial Pacific*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006, p. 23.

<sup>20</sup> See Londa Schiebinger, 'The Anatomy of Difference: Race and Sex in Eighteenth-Century Science', p. 395.

<sup>21</sup> Sindhu Menon, 'Constitutive Contradictions: Travel Writing and Construction of Native Women in Colonial India' in Chidananda Mohanty (ed.), *Travel Writing and the Empire*, New Delhi: Katha, 2003, p. 103.



quintessence of femininity in the nineteenth century,<sup>22</sup> is related to the ‘ascendancy’ of women of superior social classes. Such a feature is embodied by ‘the gallantry’ of their comfortable way of life.<sup>23</sup> Hence, in various colonial texts, local women of noble origin are represented as having ‘normal’, ‘symmetric’ and ‘delicate’ features, that is to say, traits deriving from the anthropological typology of the time and proper to the exemplified female beauty that the Europeans attribute to white European women.<sup>24</sup> On the contrary, European women from lower social classes do not have those physical appearance traits, due to hard living conditions, and they are often compared to dark-coloured primitive women. In fact, the comparison between the native population of colonies and the European peasants has been scientifically corroborated since the eighteenth century. More specifically, it relies upon the environmental racial theory, which objects to dogmatic biological determinism and imputes racial differences to the impact of external factors, including *inter alia* occupation, standard of living and social class. In this context, the European peasants are deemed to have undergone a degeneration process – similar to the one observed in primitive peoples – by the superior racial model, identified with the ruling European class.<sup>25</sup> What is remarkable, particularly in various travel texts of the nineteenth century, is the convergence of travellers’ observations that involve the physical appearance of peasant women in the European countryside and of native women in colonies. In both cases, women are depicted with dark-coloured complexions, coarse facial traits, rough skin, and angular and deplorable appearance. They are also marked by signs of early ageing, which are observed even in younger women. Such representations are often coupled with comments on the laziness and arrogance of the male population, comprised of farmers who would indulge their

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<sup>22</sup> Inderpal Grewal, *Home and Harem*, pp. 26-31.

<sup>23</sup> Zine Magubane, *Bringing the Empire Home*, p. 21.

<sup>24</sup> Georgia Gotsi, ‘Empire and Exoticism in the Short Fiction of Alexandros Rizos Rangavis’, pp. 28-30.

<sup>25</sup> See Londa Schiebinger, ‘The Anatomy of Difference: Race and Sex in Eighteenth-Century Science’, pp. 389-391.

contempt for hard labour and would have women serving as slaves. The fact that this issue is repeatedly addressed in such texts reportedly reflects the financial relations of the period in question, namely the necessity to integrate people in the workforce of a modern capitalist development process, both in continental Europe and in colonies. The key obstacle hindering such an evolution is deemed to be the financial self-provisioning ensured by the practice of family land exploitation, supported first and foremost by female labour-force. In other words, female labour – that distorts, according to travellers, the female gender's delicate nature – appears to be appalling, as it is female labour that ensures peasant's livelihood and exempts the male population from the necessity to engage in waged labour.<sup>26</sup>

The aforementioned standpoint cuts across Pop and Parmenides's representations of Greek and Albanian women working in the fields. In effect, it is no coincidence that the association of working life with the female physiognomy is included in texts suggesting the financial decline of the countryside and highlighting the necessity to expand agricultural production and trade. Parmenides's text recounting his journey to Euboea encompasses 'elegiac criticism' ('ελεγειακές επικρίσεις') on the 'backward' ('αργές') plains that the writer observes around him, and on the 'highly reprehensible neglect of agricultural activity' ('λίαν αξιόπεμπτον παραμέληση της γεωργίας').<sup>27</sup> Parmenides expresses his concerns about the causes of the phenomenon and imputes it, *inter alia*, to the 'limited movement of funds' ('μικρά κυκλοφορία χρηματικών κεφαλαίων').<sup>28</sup> Besides, his representation of peculiar Albanian women of coarse appearance is included in the description of a bazaar, which provides an example of the limited traditional financial activity in the region. In this bazaar, peasants come from various neighbouring towns and exchange local products and handicrafts. Further on, the same peasants are

<sup>26</sup> Zine Magubane, *Bringing the Empire Home*, pp. 14-39.

<sup>27</sup> Cristoforos Parmenides, 'Περιοδία σπουδαστού. Επιστολή Δευτέρα. Περιοδία εις Χαλκίδα', pp. 281.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 282.

accused of stealing timber and destroying the trees of surrounding forests, a practice that appears ‘incomprehensible’ (‘ακατανόητη’) to the writer, since it aggravates the region’s backwardness.<sup>29</sup> In the same vein, Konstantinos Pop’s text points to the indescribable impoverishment and endemic penury of the inhabitants of Kythnos (see section 3.3). Indeed, they live exclusively on the barley they grow in gorges and mountain ridges of their arid and rocky island. The writer notes in exasperation the lack even of essential food provisions on the island, such as wheat bread, since the islanders eat dry, rye bread, baked only once a week. He imputes this ‘extreme penury’ to the islanders’ ‘typical indolence’ and ‘arrogance of nobility’, as he observes that they could develop maritime shipping activity or establish ‘honest business and trade operations’. Thus, they could create the ‘adequate conditions’ of a prosperous standard of living.<sup>30</sup> Consequently, the image of working women goes hand in hand with the depiction of an indolent and arrogant male population in a representation emphasising the limited benefits of the local economy and the necessity of its further development. Besides, it is remarkable the fact that the unique picture of intense and hard work included in Pop’s text is associated with the well-covered – and therefore white-skinned – peasant women, who ‘spend the whole day grazing their small flocks or mowing in the fields’ (‘διάγουσιν όλην την ημέραν εις τους αγρούς, βόσκουσαι μικράν τινάν ποιμνην ή θερίζουσai’).

Lastly, it should be noted that Greek travellers’ representations of female physical appearance, including the physical appearance of Albanian women, do not have the intensity of the anthropological exploration found in the texts of foreign travellers to Greece. In other words, the representations of women adhere to the same approach as those discussed earlier, namely in the description of the Aegean islanders by the British traveller John Cam Hobhouse (see section 4.4). In fact, foreign travellers ‘dissect’ the

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Konstantinos Pop, ‘Η Κύθνος και τα λουτρά αυτής’, no. 94, p. 521.

female bodies they describe. Consequently, they often reveal malformations and grotesque features. In Hobhouse's description, for example, the Greek female islanders are below the average height, rather fat, flaccid and unwieldy, their eyes are languid and their complexions are pale. Such traits suggest 'the oriental female's stereotypical sensuality, vulgarity and idleness', and they are attributed both to Turkish and Greek women.<sup>31</sup> In Kyriakos Simopoulos's two-volume works, a compilation of foreign travellers' representations of Greece over the early nineteenth century, a common representation of Greek women is the picture of a fat, unwieldy and idle female figure.<sup>32</sup> By contrast, hard-working, robust, ugly and manly Greek women are encountered in more primitive settings, such as the communities of Vlachs.<sup>33</sup> As noted, the texts analysed above encompass features drawn from the second representation, but they do not make any allusion to oriental idleness.

### 5.3. Colonial Fantasies of Exotic Femininity

In this section I will discuss more detailed depictions of women, which demonstrate the particular appeal of Greek peasant women to urban writers. More specifically, I will analyse two travel narratives: 'Εν Σαλαμίνι Πανήγυρις της Φανερωμένης', by Konstantinos Pop, and 'Περίπλους Πελοποννήσου', by Miltiades Vratsanos. In these texts, women of the Greek countryside appear to derive from the western image of the eroticised native woman. Pop recites a story of sexual seduction of a peasant woman, while Vratsanos provides a portrayal of local women that evokes an exotic tropical paradise.

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<sup>31</sup> Efterpi Mitsi, 'Lady Elizabeth Craven's Letters from Athens and the Female Picturesque' in Vassiliki Kolokotroni, Efterpi Mitsi (eds.), *Women Writing Greece*, pp. 31-32.

<sup>32</sup> Kyriakos Simopoulos, *Ξένοι Ταξιδιώτες στην Ελλάδα*, vol. C1, p. 171, vol. C2, pp. 225-226, 318-319, 436.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., vol. C2, pp. 344-46.

Pop's travel account published in *I Efterpi* in 1851. It includes a dialogue between the writer and a friend of his, who visited the island of Salamis during a local festival and recites the events that took place during his stay on the island. The text focuses on the description of a romance. The writer's friend (narrator) describes his encounter with a beautiful peasant woman and the amorous play between them in his attempt to seduce her. In fact, as we will see further on, Pop reproduces in his text the theme of 'sexually charged encounters' of European men 'with exotic women', which is 'ubiquitous' in European travel writing and colonial literature production.<sup>34</sup> The Greek writer is aware of this widespread theme, and his decision to produce a travel account with a love story constitutes a conscious choice. At the beginning of the text, the narrator complies with the writer's recommendation to leave aside 'mythology' and 'history' – that constitute the standard content of Greek travel writing in the mid-century – and to describe the Faneromeni 'festival' ('πανήγυριν') and any 'peculiar events observed during the festivities' ('τί περίεργα παρετήρησεν εις αυτήν'). Thus, he 'mentally runs through the thread of narrative according to fiction rules' ('διαγράψας [...] νοερώς το σχέδιον της διηγήσεώς του, κατά τους μυθιστοριογραφικούς κανόνες') and immediately 'passes on' ('εμβαίνει') to the – love – 'story' ('υπόθεσιν').<sup>35</sup>

The romance takes place during a festival held on the occasion of a local religious feast at the monastery of Faneromeni on the island of Salamis. Villagers and visitors from Athens, Piraeus and the surrounding areas crowd in to attend the festivities. The narrator contemplates everything around him and paints the scene describing local festive customs. These customs reveal, in his opinion, both the simplicity and genuineness of modern Greeks' social relationships and the sense of religious devotion.<sup>36</sup> That said,

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<sup>34</sup> Michael Sturma, *South Sea Maidens: Western Fantasy and Sexual Politics in the South Pacific*, Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 2002, p. 3.

<sup>35</sup> Konstantinos Pop, 'Η εν Σαλαμίνι πανήγυρις της Φανερωμένης', p. 38.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

when he depicts scenes from the sumptuous feast and the festivities following the service, he states that he finds appalling the ‘n a t i o n a l’ (‘ε θ ν ι κ ή’) music of modern Greeks (emphasis by the writer) that ‘is shrill to the ear’ (‘σ χ ί ζ ε ι τ α μ έ γ ι σ τ α τ α ς α κ ο ά ς’), the ‘musical instruments of the mob’ (‘ό ρ γ α ν α μ ο υ σ ι κ ά τ ο υ ό χ λ ο υ’) and the dance performance of ‘men wearing breeches’ (‘τ ω ν β ρ α κ ο φ ό ρ ω ν’). In addition, he makes an ironic comment on the ‘Homeric scene’ of the whole lamb spit-roasting custom: the scene provides evidence for modern Greeks’ ancient descent despite the arguments of the German scholar Fallmerayer.<sup>37</sup>

Nevertheless, what particularly draws the narrator’s attention is the ‘graceful and alluring picture’ (‘χ α ρ ί ε ν κ α ι θ ε λ ξ ι κ ά ρ δ ι ο ν θ έ α μ α’) of so many women gathered at the monastery, and particularly of the local women of the island of Salamis. He wanders around ‘hither and thither’ (‘τ ή δ ε κ α κ ε ί σ ε’), drawing near bebies of girls like a ‘l i o n’ (‘λ έ ω ν’), contemplating them ‘with a certain Attic brazenness, with the A t t i c-l i k e g a z e, as our forefathers used to say’ (‘μ ε α τ τ ι κ ή ν τ ι ν ά α υ θ ά δ ε ι α ν, τ ο α τ τ ι κ ό ν ί σ ω ς β λ έ π ο ς, ω ς έ λ ε γ ο ν ο ι π ρ ο π ά τ ο ρ έ ς μ α ς’) (emphasis by the writer), and revealing particularly appealing images:

[...] αι Σαλαμίνιαι κόραι φημίζονται διά την καλλονήν των, και όντως καλλοναί ανόθευτοι, φυσικαί, παρίστανται εις τα όμματά σου. Βλέπεις ροδοπρόσωπον κεφαλήν με χάριν αμίμητον καλυπτομένην διά πέπλου διαφανούς, χρυσοπαρύφου· βλέπεις κόμας μακράς και πλουσίας συμπεπλεγμένας διά μεταξίνων θωμίγκων, εις θυσάνους αργυροηλάτους αποληγόντων, και πόδας ως αγάλματος κανονικούς και ευμόρφους, υποδεδυμένους κομψά πέδιλα, την στρογγύλην αυτών πτέρναν ουδόλως καλύπτοντα.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 39. See excerpt quoted in section 2.3.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

One of those ‘maidens’ (‘κόρες’) of Salamis magnetises the narrator because she is ‘the most beautiful of all’ (‘η ωραιότερα πασών’). Although he does not portray that woman, he remarks that her ‘natural beauty’ (‘φυσική καλλονή’) and ‘dress’ (‘ενδυμασία’) ‘revived his sensations’ (‘ανεγέννησεν τας αισθήσεις’), due to the feeling of ‘satiety’ (‘κόρου’) caused to him by the city girls:

των ακαλλών και επεισάκτων και επιμυθιωμένων καλλονών των πόλεων, και των κομψών λεγομένων κυριών, και του ασυναρτήτου πολλάκις και στρεβλύντος την φύσιν καλλωπισμού των<sup>39</sup>

This description of peasant women’s appealing natural femininity on the island of Salamis – by contrast to the artificial beauty of women in urban areas – relies upon stereotypes connected with the physical attractiveness of primitive women. More specifically, such a description could be related to the portrayal of Haidée in the renowned scene of Byron’s *Don Juan*. As Frank P. Riga notes, Byron portrays in that scene the sensuous woman of the South who appears in the oriental garb, associated in Europe with the harem woman. Her garments and ornaments, in particular, resemble those worn by women of the seraglio in popular literature and painting of the time.<sup>40</sup> Haidée wears a ‘many-coloured’ dress, she has a veil ‘of the richest lace’, ‘coins of gold’ ‘that sparkled o’er the auburn of her hair’, and ‘what was shocking, her small snow feet had slippers, but no stocking’.<sup>41</sup> Although Pop’s depiction does not emit the intense oriental colour of that portrait, it does present certain similarities: the veil, which is transparent and trimmed with golden lace (‘διαφανούς, χρυσοπαρύφου’), the elaborate

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Frank P. Riga, ‘Dismantling Traditionalist Gender Roles: An Exotic Counter-World in Byron’s *Don Juan*’ in Marilyn Demarest Button, Toni Reed (eds.), *The Foreign Woman in British Literature: Exotics, Aliens and Outsiders*, Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1999, p. 6.

<sup>41</sup> Byron, *Don Juan*, Leslie A. Marchand (ed.), Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958, Canto II, stanzas cxvi, cxxi.

ornament of her long hair (‘διά μεταξίνων θωμίγκων, εις θυσάνους αργυροηλάτους αποληγόντων’), and, above all, the naked heels (‘την στρογγύλην αυτών πτέρναν ουδόλως καλύπτοντα’). The latter is a typical trait of oriental women, since, according to conventional female dress codes, respectable European women never appear unstockinged.<sup>42</sup>

Besides, in the representation of the peasant women on the island of Salamis, it is possible to recognise the customary way of observing oriental women ‘as subordinate to the European (male) hegemonic gaze’.<sup>43</sup> Such a gaze thoroughly scrutinises the female body, closely follows its curves, exposes its secrets in public view and reveals the desire to conquer it. It is a widespread strategy of representation of colonial women, which relates to what Mary Louise Pratt has called ‘relation of mastery between the seer and the seen’.<sup>44</sup> For it is such a relation of dominance that turns the woman into an ‘object’ of description and legitimises the right to see it.<sup>45</sup> The Greek writer undoubtedly invokes this right, since he makes allusion to ‘Attic brazenness’ and to ‘A t t i c - l i k e g a z e’. Furthermore, it is to be noted that this ‘brazenness’ applies towards the peasant women of Salamis, and not to women coming from urban areas, to ‘maidens and ladies from Athens and Piraeus’ (‘τας κόρας και κυρίας εξ Αθηνών και Πειραιώς’) who attend the festivities. With regard to those women, the writer merely remarks their elegant and discreet garb: he notes that they wore ‘monochrome, yet neat and elegant dress’ (‘εσθήτα μονόχρουν μεν και απλή αλλά φιλόκαλον και κομψήν’).<sup>46</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Frank P. Riga, ‘Dismantling Traditionalist Gender Roles’, p. 6.

<sup>43</sup> Riga Pal-Lapinski, *The Exotic Woman in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction and Culture: A Reconsideration*, Lebanon: University of New Hampshire Press, 2005, p. xvi.

<sup>44</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London; New York: Routledge, 1992, p. 204.

<sup>45</sup> For an in-depth analysis of strategies of oriental women daring representations, see Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*, Myrna Godzich, Wlad Godzich (trans.), Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1986.

<sup>46</sup> Konstantinos Pop, ‘Η εν Σαλαμίνι Πανήγυρις της Φανερωμένης’, pp. 38-39.



Let us revert, however, to the subject of *Don Juan*, as the Greek peasant woman who fascinates the narrator by her beauty, appears, except for her physical appearance, to be closely affiliated to Byron's Haidée. In his analysis of the romantic encounter between Haidée and Don Juan, Riga maintains that, in the representation of Haidée, Byron brings together various controversial images of primitive or oriental women. Haidée does not comply with the portrait of the submissive and resilient figure of the erotically available primitive woman in literature production of the eighteenth century, since she plays an active role in the amorous play. She is depicted rather as the aggressive *femme fatale* of oriental harems, a woman representing a threatening, morally fallen and forbidden female sensuality. The dangerous charm of the oriental woman is graphically portrayed in Haidée's gaze: her eyes are 'black as death'; her glance flies like 'the swiftest arrow', and it is 'as the snake late coiled' who rears up and 'hurls at once his venom'.<sup>47</sup> At the same time, however, Haidée is represented as an innocent child of nature, who lives in harmony with the natural world; she is without guile and deceit, just as she is uncorrupted by the knowledge of conventional views of good and evil.<sup>48</sup>

Pop reconciles his depiction of the peasant woman of Salamis with the female figures described above. In effect, the peasant woman does not merely respond to the erotic signals sent by the urban male visitor, but she does so in an active and seductive fashion. First of all, the narrator notes that, owing to her beauty, the peasant woman is 'more spirited and resolute than the others' ('πνεύμα πλειότερον των άλλων και τόλμην ανάλογον'). On their first encounter, she attempts to keep him away from her; yet, he intrusively draws closer to her, like a 'lion' ('λέων'). She smiles, however, on him 'most arrogantly and favourably' ('πάνυ φιλαρέσκως και ευμενώς'), and seems to be flattered by his persistent gaze. The narrator observes in astonishment that feminine vanity can be

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<sup>47</sup> Byron, *Don Juan*, Canto II, stanza cxvii.

<sup>48</sup> Frank P. Riga, 'Dismantling Traditionalist Gender Roles', pp. 4-8.

found everywhere, both ‘in mansions and huts’ (‘και εις τα μέγαρα και εις την καλύβην’), both ‘in noble ladies’ (‘εις τας εξευγενισμένας κυρίας’) and ‘in peasant women’ (‘εις χωρικήν’), although the later expresses it ‘perhaps in a more innocent and natural manner...’ (‘αγνότερον και φυσικότερον ίσως...’). He also notes that a woman, albeit a peasant, immediately discerns the intentions of whoever contemplates her, and ‘her greatest pleasure is to be aware that she is adored’ (‘η μεγαλυτέρα της χαρά είναι το να εννοήση, ότι τη λατρεύουσιν’). It should be noted at this point that, contrary to Byron, Pop considers that his beautiful peasant woman is ‘guileful’ (‘πονηρή’), since she appears to know the rules of the amorous play. Yet, he integrates into his text the issue of a natural creature’s feelings, as is nevertheless the case of the peasant woman of Salamis. On the other hand, the glance of the maiden on the island of Salamis appears to have the energy of Haidée’s glance, since the narrator feels Cupid’s ‘arrow’ (‘βέλος’), flying from the young woman’s ‘black and cunning eyes’ (‘από των μαύρων και πονηρών βλεμμάτων’), gazing him ‘in such a lively’ and, at the same time, ‘alluring manner’ (‘βλέμμα [...] τοσούτον ιλαρόν και γλυκύν’), that he is ‘truthfully captivated’ (‘εμαγεύθη, εμάνη τη αληθεία’). In the end, however, it is the young woman who bestows her favours on the narrator, who crows over his success. When the ‘gentle and beautiful maiden’ (‘καλή και ωραία κόρη’) returns home at the end of the feast, she stands on the porch of her ‘poor little house’ (‘πενιχρού οικίσκου’), and through the glances they exchange, the narrator sees that he has conquered her: ‘ανταπεκρίθη λοιπόν, είπον κατ’ εμαυτόν μετ’ αλαζωνείας και ματαιότητος κατακτητού και με αγέροχον λέοντος αθηναϊκού, ανταπεκρίθη εις το αίσθημά μου.’ That said, the romance is cut short rather ‘plainly’ (‘πεζώς’), as a menacing, ‘portly’ (‘εύσωμος’) and ‘robust’ (‘εύρωστος’) peasant, a man ‘of the Ajax ethos indeed’ (‘Αιάντιον τωόντι ήθος’), comes out on the porch; the narrator assumes that he is probably the young woman’s husband or fiancé.

Nevertheless, he is compensated for the peasant's 'uncouth behaviour' ('βαρβαρότητα') towards him by the last glance of the young woman. Indeed, she is standing 'behind a partition wall of the hut' ('όπισθεν διαφράγματος τινός της καλύβης της') and stares at him as he walks away 'with a sadness on her face' ('μετ' ύφους λύπην εμφανίζοντος').<sup>49</sup>

Pop sets in the Greek countryside the plot of a suggestive story of sexual seduction. The main character is a female figure to whom are attributed the features of the morally fallen native woman: presumably dressed like her compatriots, she revives the narrator's emotions with the sensual ornament and her naked feet; she appears erotically available, as she immediately responds to the narrator's advances, and invites him, in her turn, to an amorous play by her enticing gaze; eventually, it is discovered that she is either married or engaged. The last element demonstrates that, just like her urban partner, the young woman engages in a specific 'kind of love' ('είδος έρωτα') – to use Pop's expression in another travel text, that is to say an extra-marital love affair.<sup>50</sup> This particular representation is directly related to the figure of sexually emancipated primitive woman. In effect, the latter personifies in essence a pornographic projection of western male fantasies.<sup>51</sup> In travel writing and romances of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such fantasies are associated both with the hedonistic landscape of the islands of the New World – deemed as the lost Golden Age of sexual emancipation –<sup>52</sup> and with the oriental harem, a place of intense and forbidden sensual pleasures.<sup>53</sup> Such settings accentuate the figure of disgraceful women, dominated by natural sexual impulses, often increased

<sup>49</sup> Konstantinos Pop, 'Η εν Σαλαμίνι Πανήγυρις της Φανερωμένης', pp. 38-40.

<sup>50</sup> Pop makes explicit references to that 'kind of love' in his travel account on Kythnos, when he comments the conduct of young urban men in their quest for romance intrigue on the island. More specifically, he recounts an incident with an Athenian entertained by a family of Kythnos who falls in love with the beautiful daughter of the family. He is not however allowed to see her because he does not want to be bound by marriage. The writer notes that the 'kind of love' sought by the young Athenian does not exist in the conservative society of Kythnos ('Η Κύθνος και τα λουτρά αυτής', no 95, 541).

<sup>51</sup> Frank P. Riga, 'Dismantling Traditionalist Gender Roles', pp. 4.

<sup>52</sup> Roy Porter, 'The exotic as erotic: Captain Cook at Tahiti' in G. S. Rousseau, Roy Porter (eds.), *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, pp.117-144.

<sup>53</sup> Rana Kabbani, *Imperial Fictions: Europe's Myths of Orient*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986, pp. 67-85.

libido and particularly enticing behaviour.<sup>54</sup> By attributing such libertine traits to the maiden of Salamis, Pop apparently portrays this ‘natural’ expression of eroticism, related to primitive women’s responsiveness.

Apart from the female figure, Pop’s story also encompasses both male character features and the conventional plot of colonial stories of seduction and conquest. The main characters in those stories are dynamic white European men, with typical heroic action and aggressive behaviour. European men represent the civilised western world, and, as such, they lay claim to sensuous native women over local men, identified with ‘primitive nature’: they adhere to the figure either of the ‘noble’ or of the ‘ignoble savage’. In the second case, they are often represented with extremely appalling images of brutality, atrocity and cannibalism. The outcome of the encounter between white and native men for the conquest of women is in favour of the former, as local women eventually give in to the charm of civilised invaders and consent to their sexual conquest, rape or their expatriation. Nevertheless, the final curtain falls tragically for those women. Indeed, they are abandoned by their white lovers, they often die, commit suicide or become the object of harsh reprisals on the part of their tribe. Moreover, in several stories, native women rescue the foreigners from the violence of their compatriots, in some others they learn the foreign language, convert to Christianity, or serve as an intermediary between the foreigners and their own tribe, which they often betray. Those love stories have systematically been studied as allegories of the actual conquest of colonial territories. More specifically, the female body has been highlighted as a symbolic and identifiable metaphor of colonial lands, associated with imaginings of tropical fertility and well-being, or oriental sensual appeal. Hence, sexual conquest of women insinuates the European intrusion on colonial lands, their appropriation and their forced annexation. On

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<sup>54</sup> Patty O’Brian, *The Pacific Muse*, pp. 26-33.

the other hand, their abandonment and violent end underscores the fact that it is impossible to achieve a harmonious and equal cultural co-existence in the colonial lands. Besides, the Europeans deem intermarriage between white and native people as being a dangerous abnormality.<sup>55</sup>

The romance deployed in Pop's travel account is not coloured with connotations of suggestive sensuality, licentiousness, extreme brutality and cannibalism, the tragic end of women, their rape, or betrayal of their compatriots. Yet, it reproduces the basic structure and character stereotypes of colonial love stories: the urban visitor of Salamis, a man of aggressive sexual behaviour (drawing like a 'lion' closer to unsuspecting peasant women) lays claim to the sensuous peasant young woman against her 'barbarian' fiancé. It is also to be noted that the latter is a representative male figure of a folk setting, the customs and mores of which are deemed by the narrator as simple and repellent. The peasant woman readily responds to his advances and eventually bestows her favours upon him. Sexual conquest is not accomplished, yet it is obvious that the narrator has already won the young woman's heart. In the end, he abandons her, since they cannot experience any other 'kind of love' except for an occasional romantic adventure.

By reproducing the basic structure of the 'sexually charged' colonial encounters in his travel account, Pop apparently perceives the relation between urban and rural areas through the colonial approach of conquest. This conquest involves the actual integration of land and agricultural production into a streamlined model of capitalist development, as recommended by Pop in his travel account on Kythnos. It also involves the imaginary

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<sup>55</sup> For the plot, the characters and the underlying ideology in the stories on the New World, see the chapters on the renowned stories of John Smith and Pocahontas, and of Inkle and Yarico, in Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797*, London; New York: Routledge, 1986, pp. 137-173, 219-263; chapter 'South Sea Fictions' in Michael Sturma, *South Sea Maidens*, pp. 103-122; Georgia Gotsi, 'Empire and Exoticism in the Short Fiction of Alexandros Rizos Rangavis', pp. 23-55. For respective oriental stories, see Robert L. Mack 'Introduction' in Robert L. Mack (ed.), *Oriental tales*, Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. vii-xlix; Suzanne Robin Pucci, 'The discrete charms of the exotic: fictions of the harem in eighteenth-century France', in G. S. Rousseau, Roy Porter (eds.), *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, pp. 145-174; Rana Kabbani, *Imperial Fictions*, pp. 67-85.

assimilation of primitive local mores into the single national cultural backbone. In respect of the latter, the love story in Pop's text suggests – just like colonial stories do – the impossibility of equal cultural co-existence between various groups of the Greek population, the extinction of localities and the advent of the 'homogenous, "centrally sustained" high culture' – to use the expression of Robert Shannan Peckham –<sup>56</sup> of the city of Athens in the Greek countryside. As noted in previous chapters, this culture is founded on Greek antiquity and is clearly orientated towards Europe.

Finally, it should be noted that such allusive references to the peasant women's licentiousness, as it is the case in Pop's text, can also be found in other texts produced over the same period. Let us cite some examples: Emmanouel Ioannides's text on Amorgos fires readers' imagination by evoking the impassioned, unstable and unrestrained sexuality of the inhabitants of Amorgos (see section 4.2).<sup>57</sup> In 'Περιοδίαι Σπουδαστού', Christophoros Parmenides makes implicit allusions to a romantic 'drama' of a young female islander of Andros. The young woman is the daughter of the 'noble family' of the island entertaining the writer and, therefore, she is depicted as discreet, shy and passive. Once again, however, the young woman gives in to the charm of the young urban traveller.<sup>58</sup> In his text entitled 'Πέντε ημέραι εις Πάτμον', Epameinondas Stamatiades 'recommends to single, yet well-disposed towards marriage, readers' ('συνιστά εις την εμβριθή μελέτη των αγάμων πλην φιλογάμων αναγνωστών') to thoroughly examine the issue of the 4:5 ratio of men and women recorded on the island of Patmos, and he invites them to resolve the problem.<sup>59</sup> In a brief description of Korinthos, published in *Ethniki Vivliothiki*, allusion is made to an 'arrogant and effervescent maiden, responsive yet innocent, who had long ago dedicated her chastity

<sup>56</sup> Robert Shannan Peckham, *National Histories, Natural States*, pp. 63.

<sup>57</sup> Emmanouel Ioannides, 'Αμοργός', p. 159.

<sup>58</sup> Christofores Parmenides, 'Περιοδίαι Σπουδαστού. Επιστολή ΣΤ'. Άνδρος', no. 221, pp. 119-120, no. 227 pp. 257-258, no. 228, p. 282.

<sup>59</sup> Epameinondas Stamatiades, 'Πέντε ημέραι εις Πάτμον', no. 13, p. 148.

belt', (‘αλαζόνα και αφρόεσσαν κόρην, νεύουσαν άμα παρθενικότατα, προ πολλού δε λυσίζωνον...’), and whom one could see behind the camp, on the outskirts of the town.<sup>60</sup> Even in the depiction of the inhabitants of Skyros, which appeared in *Ilissos* and highlights European features (see section 4.5), the writer seeks to clarify that ‘the gentle and attentive behaviour’ and the ‘social freedom’ of women is ‘governed by strict moral principles’.<sup>61</sup>

The above-mentioned implicit allusions to sexual availability of peasant women echo the widespread image of Greek women, perceived in many European travel texts as oriental women. As noted by Vassiliki Markidou, according to that perception, Greek women are often represented ‘as being highly embellished, theatrical, vain, beautiful, and prone to licentiousness and miscegenation, evils from which only a high social status can save them’.<sup>62</sup> Markidou cites an example of such a representation in relation to lower-class women of the island of Zakynthos, produced by the biographer of Lady Hester Stanhope, who travelled to Greece at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In that representation, by contrast to the almost imprisoned noble ladies of the island, the low-class women of Zakynthos appear to walk freely around the streets, and ‘having attached themselves to English officers’ on the island.<sup>63</sup> In an excerpt of ‘Αποδημητού αναμνήσεων’ (1868), by Stefanos Dragoumis, describing the writer’s journey to Zakynthos, there is a similar depiction of the female islanders by the German traveller Christian Muller. Nonetheless, it should be noted that, although Dragoumis defends the position of women on Zakynthos and regards them as victims of the so-called ‘Venetian villainy’ (‘της ενετικής κακοήθειας’) and tyrannical behaviour of men, he admits,

<sup>60</sup> S. N. V., ‘Νέα Κόρινθος’, p. 216.

<sup>61</sup> Michael Konstantinides, ‘Βραχεία τινά περί της νήσου Σκύρου’, p. 86.

<sup>62</sup> Vassiliki Markidou, ‘Travels Off-centre: Lady Hester Stanhope in Greece’, p. 44.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

nevertheless, that on Zakynthos there subsists, even in his days, a certain ‘licentiousness’ (‘ευκολία τις των ηθών’).<sup>64</sup>

The fourth excerpt of ‘Περίπλους Πελοποννήσου’, by Miltiades Vratsanos, which appeared in sequels in *Chrysallis* in 1864, includes an equally sensual depiction of local women. It will be recalled that Vratsanos’s text belongs to the ‘peripli’ category and, as such, it provides very limited images of the contemporary rural landscape, since the writer observes it only from the sea aboard the ship sailing around coastal areas (see section 1.1). Consequently, the sensual depiction of women of Missolonghi reveals the particular appeal of the imaginary beauty of countryside women to writers and readers of the period under consideration. More specifically, this representation establishes a direct link between Greek peasant women and male imaginings of a primitive and oriental landscape, as the writer literally recites a dream he had, when the steamboat approached Missolonghi:

Ενόμιζον, ότι ευρισκόμην (είνε το όνειρόν μου) εις κήπον τερπνότατον, (ίσως εις τον παράδεισον από του οποίου εξεκουμπίσθη ο Αδάμ) ένθα σκιά παχεία, αποτελουμένη εκ των ωραίων και πυκνών δένδρων, άτινα καθωράϊζον αυτόν και ρύακες ηρέμα [sic] και μελωδικώς ρέοντες ηύφραινον το ους και έτερπνον την όρασιν. Η ωδή των πολλών αηδόνων, των εν τοις κλάδοις των δέντρων καθημένων, ημιλλάτο με την αρμονίαν μουσικής πολυοργάνου, αρμονίαν συγκινητικωτέραν πολύ των μελοδραμάτων του Βέρδη. Εις το αρμονικόν της μουσικής ταύτης ήκουέ τις το εξ υπαμοιβής κρούσιμον ποδών καλλισφύρων και αργυροπέζων και ηννόει, ότι χορός εκεί που συνεκροτείτο. Αι Νύμφαι και αι Χάριτες της αρχαιότητας μετά των Μουσών της Πιερίας και του Ελικώνος και των Ουρί

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<sup>64</sup> S [= Stefanos Dragoumis], ‘Αποδημητού αναμνήσεων απόσπασμα τρίτον’, *Pandora*, 19/442 (15 August 1868), pp. 185-190.



των Οθωμανών απετέλουν κύκλους πολλούς και εχόρευον θελκτικώτατα και κανονικότατα!<sup>65</sup>

As the writer points out, he has this particular dream immediately after a harmonious sound he hears in his sleep. The sound comes from the boats coming alongside the steamboat for the passengers to embark. The passengers of the boats are the beautiful women of Missolonghi. Amongst them, there is a ‘pretty girl’ (‘καλλίμορφος νεάνις’), ‘whose figure calls to mind the beauty of ancient mythology’ (‘ανεπλήρου την αρχαίαν μυθολογίαν δια της παρουσίας της’), singing and playing a stringed musical instrument.<sup>66</sup> The writer graphically describes the picture he sees when he wakes up, which is, as he declares, a sight ‘even more wondrous than the wonder of wonders!’ (‘θαύμα θαυμάτων θαυμαστότερον!’):

Αι λέμβαι αύται ήσαν πλήρεις γυναικών πολυτελώς ενδεδειμένων, με τα χρυσά κοντογούνια των και τα μεγαλοπρεπή των φέσια, τα τοσούτον χαριέντως φορούμενα υπό των καλλιμόρφων γυναικών του ηρωϊκού Μεσολογγίου. Η φούντα του φεσίου με το παπάζι το αργυρόχρυσον έφθανε μέχρι σχεδόν της οσφύος, και μετά χάριτος το βάρος αυτής έκλινε την κεφαλήν της φερούσης αυτό. Μία δε λέμβος, η περί την αναβάθραν, ωμοίάζε προς κήπον περιέχοντα ατάκτως πεφυτευμένα τα ωραιότερα των ανθέων ήσαν εντός αυτής αι ωραιότεραι νεάνιδες της πόλεως ταύτης επιδεικτικώς εμβλέπουσai το ατμόπλοιον.<sup>67</sup>

The beautiful women of Missolonghi, as actually seen by the writer, present typical oriental traits in their appearance: they are opulently dressed, with elaborate ornaments (golden dolmans, silver-golden tassel pompom), and they wear the typical Oriental fez.

<sup>65</sup> Miltiades Vratsanos, ‘Περίπλους εις Πελοπόννησον’, no. 42, p. 558.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 559.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 558.

Such a picture of admirable beauty reflects in the writer's imagination the lost pre-Christian Eden of Adam and Eve, the houris of the Ottoman Paradise Garden, as well as the Nymphs, the Graces and the Muses of classical antiquity. This description invokes the standardised conception of exotic lands, in particular of those associated with the Pacific islands, deemed as a 'paradise on earth', on the one hand, and the standardised exotic traits that native women of tropical islands share with the oriental women of harems, on the other. Another stereotype is also the connection attempted herein between the legend of exotic femininity and the classical mythological figures of the Nymphs, the Graces, and the Muses.

The widespread identification, since the time of Columbus, of the Pacific islands with the prelapsarian paradise relies upon certain associations of ideas made by European explorers at the sight of the magnificent and luxurious tropical vegetation, of the nudity of native peoples and of the absence of shame for the human body and sexual urges. In European literature and painting, women living in this paradise are often represented as abandoned to pleasures, freely enjoying sexual intercourse. They often have the features of oriental women of harems, as they both derive from the 'mystagogy of primitive sensuality'. On the other hand, this exotic landscape appears to be – especially in the eighteenth century, with the rediscovery of the glorious ancient past – steeped in 'classical preoccupations, allusions and ways of imagining'.<sup>68</sup> Classical figures of female beauty, such as Aphrodite, the enchanting and dangerous Homeric women, like Calypso and Circe, or the monstrous, half-women and half mermaid sirens, both in the *Odyssey*, and the more gentle Nymphs, Neraids and Naiads, have a great impact on Pacific representations.<sup>69</sup> In other words, European explorers build on the 'comprehensive meanings' of classical mythology figures in an attempt to simplify strange and unfamiliar

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<sup>68</sup> Patty O'Brian, *The Pacific Muse*, pp. 33-43.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43-46.

colonial territories and make them more accessible to readers.<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, the representation of oriental women is also strongly influenced by ancient mythology and classical literature and painting. More specifically, ancient goddesses and figures such as the Graces contribute to idealising harems in the texts of eighteenth-century neoclassicism.<sup>71</sup>

Vratsanos's representation, therefore, invokes such 'comprehensive' meanings of the available stock of colonial images. The writer, however, is very cautious with this association, as he chooses to establish it indirectly, through his dream. Moreover, contrary to Pop's corresponding representation, there is no depiction of suggestive sensuality. The description of the exotic dance performance is brief. The writer merely comments that it was 'particularly alluring' ('θελκτικώτατος'), but he does not provide any further details, apart from the women's 'clattering beautiful-ankled' ('κρούσιμον ποδών καλλισφύρων'). In the same vein, the depiction of the real women of Missolonghi does not imply any suggestive gesture either. In effect, those women contemplate the ship with the 'arrogant' self-confidence of their beauty ('επιδεικτικώς'), but the way in which the weight of their fez pompom makes them lean their head to the side demonstrates innocence and juvenile naturalness. Lastly, although classical references may be directly related to the exotic landscape, they mitigate at the same time the intensity of the oriental colour, since they invoke the neoclassicist tradition.

#### **5.4. The Classical Female Beauty**

In the last representation, which involves however Albanian women, I will discuss the way in which archaising rural landscape extracts the depictions of peasant women from the colonial framework of reference. The representation concerns the

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid. p. 17.

<sup>71</sup> Efterpi Mitsi, 'Lady Elizabeth Craven's Letters from Athens and the Female Picturesque', pp. 30-31.

transformation of Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos's depiction of Albanian women discussed in section 5.2. It is included in the subsequent edition of the earlier travel text he had produced in 1852, entitled 'Ταξείδια' (1867). The Albanian women of the original text are now represented as girls ('νεάνιδες') of Poros, and they are portrayed as quoted below:

Αφορμήν χαριεστάτης εικόνας ηδύνατο να παράσχη εις ζωγράφον το πλοιάριον τούτο, όταν επαναφέρη εκ της πηγής τας νεάνιδας του Πόρου. Όρθιαι, εστηριγμέναι επί της υδρίας, έχουσιν εν τη φυσιογνωμία σοβαρόν τι, περιέργως αντικείμενον προς την δροσερότητα της μορφής και των μεγάλων μαύρων οφθαλμών την λάμψιν. Η ενδυμασία αυτών είναι απλή και απέριττος. Ποδήρης πολύπτυχος χιτών αναδεικνύει του αναστήματος την χάριν στενόν και βραχύ επιχιτώνιον δεσμεύει την ευλύγιστον οσφύν και ανοιγόμενον εις το στήθος, δεικνύει την άκραν καταλεύκου υποκαμίσου. Την πλουσίαν αυτών κόμην, ανηγερμένην ημικυκλοειδώς, περικαλύπτει χρωματιστόν, συνήθως κίτρινον, τζεμπέρι, καταπίπτων γραφικώς επί του τραχήλου.<sup>72</sup>

First of all, it should be noted, that burking the issue of racial identity of local women of Poros is coupled with the exclusion of the anthropological perspective of the first text . Vretos does not provide herein a general description of physical and moral traits of female inhabitants of Poros, as does in the first text, but rather an outline of a specific bevy of girls carrying hydriae, as they make their way back home from a water spring. In comparison with the first description, the depiction of those women stands out for its correctness and dignity. Graceful ('χαρίεσσαί') and courageous ('εύτολμαί') Albanian women are depicted with a 'ratherish serious' ('σοβαρόν τι') physiognomy, a feature that is in contradiction with their juvenility.

<sup>72</sup> Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos, 'Ταξείδια (Πόρος-Τροιζήν-Σύρος-Ναύπλιον-Υδρα-Αι Ιόνιοι νήσοι-Η Θεσσαλία-Το Πάσχα εις τας Αθήνας-Τελετή γάμου εις την Αθήνα)', p. 91.

Except for the yellow headscarf – which is the only element that the writer keeps from his initial depiction, their dress is simple (‘απλή’) and modest (‘απέριττος’). The simplicity of their garb is accentuated by the classical connotations of the pleated robes falling over the feet and the hydriae against which they steady. Moreover, their hairdressing is also severe, compared to the sensual, elaborate ornament of the peasant women’s long hair on the island of Salamis. Lastly, compared to Pop’s representation, which seeks to reveal the feminine body, although the depiction of the Albanian women’s dress may nourish aspirations of suggestive details, it ultimately disguises the feminine body: ‘the breast of their dolman [...] open, reveals the edge of a snow-white shirt’.

As noted in chapter two, Vretos edited his initial travel text and removed all the appalling images of the peasants related to representations from Chateaubriand’s *Itinerary* (see section 2.4). In doing so, he seeks to embellish and archaize the rural landscape. Such a development is associated with the aim of consolidating the national cultural space. This endeavour is expected to be systematically undertaken in folklore and ethnographical research by the end of the century. In this context, the above-mentioned representation conceals the Albanian origin of women in the Greek countryside. Indeed, it relates their beauty to classical figures and abrogates its colonial anthropological perspective. Furthermore, the suggestive sensuality of the primitive way of life observed in previous chapters is replaced by moral correctness.

In this chapter I discussed the way in which urban travellers’ representations of peasant women project various stereotypes of primitive women. Such projections are associated with the anthropological interest expressed over the period under consideration in the primitive way of life, on the one hand, and with the imaginings of sensuous native

women, on the other. More specifically, I examined how praiseworthy female beauty in the Greek countryside is integrated into anthropological observations on the local population and intensifies primitive traits in various regions. This goal is also achieved by the quest for white complexions and fine physical features in women, which is commonplace in colonial settings. In addition, I examined texts that integrate the colonial image of the eroticised primitive woman. This is the case of Pop's representation, which highlights the 'primitive female sensuality'. The latter accords, to a certain extent, with the perceived image of oriental woman that foreign travellers have of Greek women. Last but not least, I took note of the fact that classical features identified in such representations, are not always in conflict with oriental or primitive settings.

## CONCLUSION

The basic motives for travelling to the Greek countryside concern going on a ‘pilgrimage’ to the ancient ruins and topographically investigating the regions. The ‘pilgrimage’ to the ruins serves the traveller as a pretext for reviving the glorious classical past. Topographical texts collect and convey to the reader the national – geographical, historical and archeological – knowledge of homeland, while they highlight at the same time its economic and social advances. In ‘pilgrimage’ as well as in topographical texts, the depiction of everyday life is absent. This happens because the presence of the ‘inconspicuous’ and ‘modest’ contemporary peasants seems to be incompatible with the project of these texts, which either return to the radiant past or dream of the renaissance of Greece. The absence of real life is also apparent in texts that manifest an early interest in recording folk culture. This interest has a classical orientation and leads to a direct association of folk morals with the ancient Greek ones. Hence, travel texts contribute to the general effort of Greek scholars of the mid-nineteenth century to prove the Greek cultural continuity.

The observation of the peasants’ daily way of life is, on the contrary, common in texts that are influenced by the ethnographical impulse of travel writing, and they bring to light – for the reader’s amusement – the ‘curious’ customs and mores of rural people. Also frequent is the anthropological observation of physiognomical, intellectual and temperamental features of rural people, as well as the observation of the beauty of peasant women. In these ethnographical and anthropological depictions, Greek peasants take the features of a repulsive ‘colonial otherness’: the free impulses and the aggressive and sexually uncontrolled behaviour of the ‘natural man’; the irrationalism, childishness, dark superstitiousness and paganism of the ‘savage man’; the indolence and indifference

of the miserable ‘underdeveloped man’; the lymphatic languidness of the black race; the languidness of the inhabitants of tropical countries; and the sexual availability of the ‘native woman’. These depictions show the feeling of insecurity caused to Greek urban travellers by the intimate contact with the appalling rural Other, that menaces the national identity project. The repulsive primitiveness of the previous images underlines, therefore, the necessity to ‘humanise’, reform and civilise the Greek peasants, as well as the process of domination and imposition of a bourgeois culture on the local societies.

In the face of this double perception of the rural people as both primitive and descendant of a glorious civilisation, Greek travel texts adopt the dominant patterns of foreign travel in Greece. Following European travellers’ example, the Greeks visit the ‘spiritual’ sites of the ruins, they seek for ancient Greek patterns in folk morals, as well as on Greek peasants’ faces, while identifying at the same time in the countryside the colonial Other. Nevertheless, although they internalise the European perception of Greece as standing at a ‘borderline’ and ‘ambivalent’ position, between the western and the non-western world, they disconnect at the same time the rural setting from any oriental or Balkan elements that the Europeans may impute to it. Acknowledging the intimate contact with these ‘non-Western’ areas in the period under consideration might undermine the national effort of Greece’s integration in the European family. As a consequence, in the depiction of the rural environment, Greek writers use more general symbols of primitive otherness which draw, however, a clear line of demarcation between the urban centre and the countryside. According to the approach followed in the present analysis, travel descriptions of rural people reveal a case of fertile intersection of colonial patterns with the national ideology of a newly established State. They also reveal a complex process of ‘internal colonialism’, based on the external – European – perception of Greece as a colonial environment.



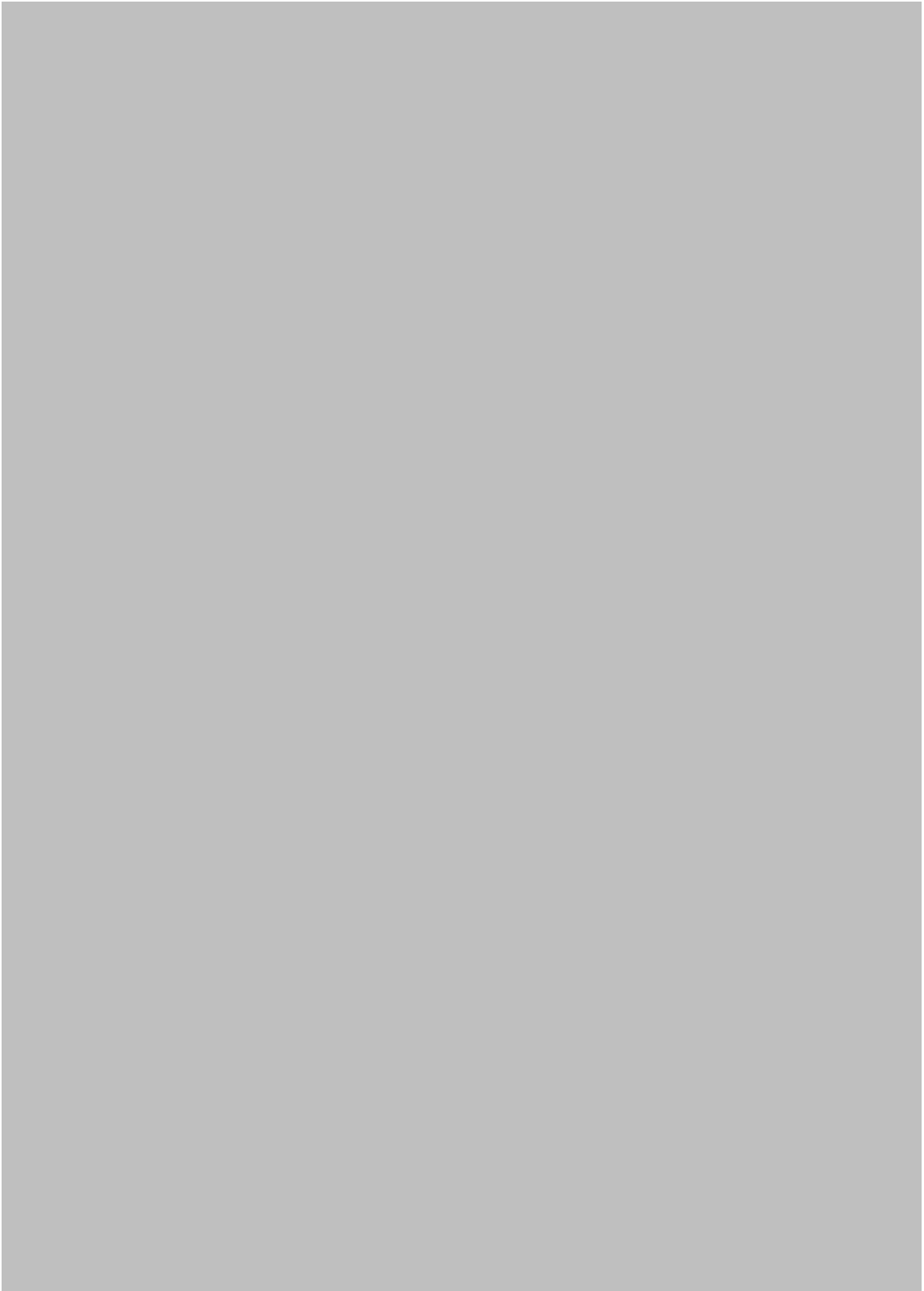
## ILLUSTRATIONS



**Image 1.** Eduard Hildebrandt, 'View of Athens' ('Άποψη της Αθήνας'), 1852. Watercolour. Benaki Museum (Fani-Maria Tsigakou, 'Το ελληνικό τοπίο του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα' in Panayiotis N. Doukellis (ed.), *Το ελληνικό τοπίο. Μελέτες ιστορικής γεωγραφίας και πρόσληψης του τόπου*, Athens: Bibliopoleio tis Estias, 2005, p. 210).



**Image 2.** Joseph Kartrait, 'View of Corfu' ('Άποψη της Κέρκυρας') 1820. Watercolour. Benaki Museum (Fani-Maria Tsigakou, 'Το ελληνικό τοπίο του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα', 213.).



**Image 3.** ‘Dance’ (‘Χορός’), *Pandora*, 12/281 (1 December 1861), p. 414.



**Image 4.** ‘Women of Naxos’ (‘Νάξιαι Γυναίκες’), *Pandora*, 3/51 (1 May 1852), p. 61.



**Image 5.** ‘Chinese Mandarin and his Wife’

(‘Μανδαρίνος μετά της συζύγου αυτού’), *Pandora*, 4/80 (15 July 1853), p.184.



**Image 6.** 'Chinese Married Woman' ('Κινέζα έγγαμος'), *Pandora*, 12/266 (15 April 1861) p. 47.

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