

ETUDES HELLENIQUES

HELLENIC STUDIES

MODERN GREEK STUDIES: PRESENT AND FUTURE LES ETUDES NÉOHELLÉNIQUES: PRÉSENT ET AVENIR

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Modern Greek Studies: Present and Future

Stephanos Constantinides*

Whither modern Greek studies? This question, asked in various parts of the world outside Greece, concerns both the present and future. In fact, the very context prompted us to devote the current issue of *Études helléniques/Hellenic Studies* to the topic. We had hoped for greater participation in this debate, but it proved difficult for various reasons not worth mentioning here. In the end however, we have compiled a series of articles that provide a global view of the situation and obviously a full portrait. Defining the area is already difficult, as perusal of the many different point of views expressed and websites indicates. Chairs of modern Greek are listed along with seemingly full programs or basic courses next to political, historical and Byzantine studies, not to mention classics departments. There is even a site from the University of Athens (Department of History) presented within the framework of a project¹ in which we find modern Greek studies plus the teaching of anything related to Greece, from the Golden Age to today!

Another example, provided by Thomas W. Gallant, lists 40 modern Greek studies programs in Canada; whereas there are only four². Even the official statistics from the Greek Ministry of Education refer to nine chairs of modern Greek studies in Canada. In reality, there are three at the following universities: McGill (Montreal), York (Toronto) and Simon Fraser (Vancouver). Furthermore, the latter two chairs are held by historians with the predictable consequences on the teaching of Greek language and literature. The other programs in Canada include classics and, in some instances, modern Greek.

Another instance of this phenomenon: there are supposedly 344 chairs of modern Greek studies around the world including 179 in Europe³. The plot thickens, however, when one consults the sites, even the official ones, on line. As Hans Eideneier points out in his article in this issue, the data are incorrect when it comes to modern Greek studies abroad. He demonstrates that chairs of classical Greek established in the Middle Ages, long before Greece even existed as a modern state, are counted as chairs of modern Greek. How, he

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asked, could anyone consider the Martinus Crusius professor *Utrius Linguae* (named after the professor who lived from 1526-1607) at Tübingen as a chair of modern Greek in the way that the Greek Ministry of Education proudly did in 2006? Moreover, Eideneier shows that one cannot count programs or chairs in which the teachers are lecturers named by the universities, or secondary school teachers who are sent and paid by Greece. As the German neohellenist said «On an official level, Greece paints a rosy picture of modern Greek studies flourishing outside Greece, including Germany in this optimistic, idealized image, without showing the necessary concern over future developments. Yet the harsh reality is either this ideal picture of university modern Greek studies never existed, or even if it once did, things have altered dramatically over the last few years».

On the other side of the Atlantic, in the United States, Gregory Jusdanis points out that «to do modern Greek today is to dissimulate; that is, to say one thing in public and another in private. In this modern Greek studies resembles a postcolonial situation. You learn to make the distinctions between the outside and the inside and offer different arguments, depending on the circumstances. Attend any meeting of modern Greek scholars and you will immediately notice this code-switching. On the podium we laud the many achievements of the field but over coffee we express our disquiet about its many problems and we worry about its future⁴».

There is obviously a methodological problem in counting modern Greek studies around the world. There is also a problem in how to measure their vitality or decline. Let us try to avoid misunderstandings through the following typology:

1. Modern Greek chairs which teach the Greek language, culture and literature with possible specialization in a specific period or topic.
2. Chairs of Greek history where the Greek language and possibly literature and culture are taught with the mention of a specific period or topic.
3. Political studies or foreign policy chairs with a mention of specialization in a specific period or area.
4. Modern Greek studies programs in which the language, literature and culture are taught.
5. Modern Greek programs which teach only language.
6. Research centres with specialization in one area or possibly with involvement in other activities.

Within each category, the level of education must be specified, e.g., undergraduate or post-graduate (MA and PhD). If not, it must be

mentioned that courses lead to credits in another degree or remain credit-free optional courses. In each category the issue of research must also be raised and details given.

Obviously not exhaustive, this typology could be refined but it does successfully exclude chairs and programs of ancient Greek as well as Byzantine studies. Even if we could make a link between the latter and modern Greek, we still need to count them separately. This is not a value judgment but rather an epistemological issue.

Given the difficult times, most universities are closing unprofitable programs which are usually found in the humanities. Of course modern Greek is one of the first on the chopping block. In fact it is within this context that the role of Greece - as well as that of the Greek diaspora communities - becomes necessary to the survival of modern Greek studies. Yes, Greece may have some interest in these studies; however, we see the lack of coordination among the various ministries involved. We can say the same thing for the diaspora, too. There is a lack of serious, in-depth research on the context in which modern Greek studies could develop in different parts of the world. In another time, another economic context, we could find Greek programs scattered around the globe. Some of these are no longer viable; moreover, it is impossible to save all these programs with the means available. It is, however, possible to make strategic choices. These choices will be difficult but necessary if we are to reinforce and regroup some of the programs. It may require closing those with no future, but nothing can be done without an overall vision of Greek cultural policy.

The efforts of the Greek diaspora in this field must be acknowledged, but sometimes local or personal ambitions take over. In some cases, modern Greek studies programs neglect the reality of diaspora Greek communities. In the United States, for example, until very recently, there was no interest in studying Greek-American literature. The big names of modern Greek literature sufficed: Cavafy, Seferis, Elytis, and Kazantzakis. In fact no links were seen among the modern Greek studies programs and Greek language courses for children of the diaspora in community schools.

There is no doubt that the decline in classics, especially in ancient Greek, has influenced modern Greek studies. It is well known that several programs came into being within classics departments as a sort of extension. In terms of Byzantine studies, modern Greek does not have the same attachment as before. In fact, Byzantine studies has turned towards countries other than Greece, e.g., the Balkans and Slavic-language countries. Actually, Byzantine

specialists no longer consider knowledge of modern Greek necessary.

In the current issue, two articles deal with modern Greek studies in Europe; one, with the USA; one with Australia and another tours the world from Europe to Canada via Africa, Asia and Latin America.

In his article, Hans Eideneier begins with the big picture before focusing on Germany. He notes a major change in education within Germany during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which led to a decline in the humanities including modern Greek. Although modern Greek is taught in several universities as a language, he points out that in this country of 82 million people including 350,000 Greeks, and 340 universities and institutions of higher learning, there are only two tenure positions in modern Greek studies in Germany. Note that these are not chairs. He explains how the structure of the German university has changed because of Bologna [the educational accord], which did not help modern Greek or other areas in the humanities. Within the current crisis of modern Greek studies, Eideneier suggests a new beginning. As he puts it, «[...] let us make a new beginning, the beginning after the crisis. Whether we will succeed under the conditions currently prevailing in Europe can neither be predicted nor ruled out in advance».

Moschos Morfakidis gives us a panoramic view of the situation in Spain. The growth of Greek studies in recent years seems impressive, but Morfakidis warns us that the foundation for the future is weak. He feels that soon we will be able to judge if modern Greek studies will succeed in growing or shrinking. He emphasizes the role of the Greek state and sees merit in its efforts over the past few years. According to Morfakidis, it is vitally important to outline a realistic policy in the funding of modern Greek studies so that the money will not be wasted through multiplication of events or programs of little importance. He would prefer contributions to reinforce the more promising university departments so that they survive the hard times which all languages, both major and minor, face.

Alexander Kitroeff gives us some background to modern Greek studies in the USA before presenting the current situation and debate on the future. In his opinion, modern Greek studies have developed in a slow, fragmented fashion in the United States for three reasons: incompatibility with established academic disciplines; effort by the discipline to follow academic trends without traditional bases; and lastly, dependency on outside funding. The author thinks that it is possible to surmount the obstacles and that modern Greek studies in the USA could move ahead.

Michael Psaromatis considers the history of the teaching of modern Greek in Australian universities since the very first program was established in Charles Darwin University in the north of the country. The author analyzes the factors which contributed to the decline and closing of certain Greek language teaching programs as well as the factors which contributed to the success and durability of others. The article concludes with proposals designed to ensure the survival of modern Greek studies in Australian universities.

Stephanos Constantinides offers a broad view of modern Greek studies in those areas not examined in other articles. He refers to English-speaking regions like Great Britain and South Africa; French-speaking states like France, Belgium and Switzerland, and various other countries like Italy. Regions like Latin America, Scandinavia, Eastern Europe, the Balkans, the former Soviet Union, Turkey, Africa and Asia are included. In the same article, Constantinides reviews the so-called dynasty chairs named after Greek personalities from the worlds of politics, business and literature.

George Prevelakis presents the recent, often contradictory, efforts made to revive interest in these chairs. He suggests three possible avenues for the government and foundations to follow when helping to promote the image of Greece abroad. His suggestions include relinking modern Greek studies to classics by supporting efforts to defend and promote the discipline; providing timely funding through research projects related to modern Greece and its diaspora rather than creating new chairs and centres; linking university structures already in place with local Greek diaspora communities and their socio-political milieus and reorienting their missions toward multicultural issues.

The overall balance sheet of modern Greek studies around the globe as presented herein is neither definitive nor exhaustive. This was a first attempt at providing a panoramic view. We hope to continue studying the situation so that we may develop some of the hypotheses and present more accurate, specific data for certain corners of the globe. More important, we would like to see continued efforts to answer the earlier question: *Whither modern Greek studies?* The question must include content and objectives without refusing to ask about the very pertinence of Greek history, culture and political life being introduced within broader educational institutional frameworks, e.g., European studies and Mediterranean or Balkan studies. Why teach Greek history at a chair of modern Greek studies when, after all, the course will be given in English or another language? In other words, one question is whether modern Greek studies chairs or programs should be limited to

teaching language for literary and cultural purposes and try to introduce other courses into the broader stream of the educational institution which will attract more students in the end.

In our globalized village, everything moves so quickly that the universities are obliged to reorganize disciplines and fields of research to meet new demands that serve economics and technology to the detriment of the humanities. However, at most universities, the same fields have been reorganized along the lines of multiculturalism or interculturalism within a post-colonial and post-modern context. The challenge now lies in finding a way to include the teaching of the modern Greek language and culture within that context. Given that classics departments which used to support modern Greek are in decline, the challenge is all the greater. In other words, we must find a strategy to promote modern Greek studies in an ever-changing world where the language and literature of a small nation does not garner the same attention as the economic giants like the USA, China, Japan or the European heavyweights like France, Italy and Germany.

NOTES

1. Hellenic Studies on the Net Research Project, University of Athens, Department of History, Research Project/Director: Prof. Antonis Liakos (e-mail: aliakos@cc.uoa.gr) Researcher: Despoina Valatsou (e-mail: dvalatsou@yahoo.com).

Hellenic Studies on the Net-Research Project: <http://history.arch.uoa.gr/hellenicstudies> An ambitious project of collected links, based in the University of Athens.

2. Thomas W. Gallant, «The Status of Modern Greek and Hellenic Studies in Higher Education in Canada and the York University Experience», *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Vol. 24, 2006.

3. *Kathimerini*, 30-04-2006.

4. Gregory Jusdanis, «The Status of Modern Greek Studies in Higher Education: Who Needs Modern Greek?» *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Volume 24, 2006.

Les études néoelléniques: présent et avenir

Stephanos Constantinides

Les discussions sur l'avenir des études néohelléniques à travers le monde, en dehors de la Grèce, sont en cours à l'heure actuelle pour déterminer leur présent et leur avenir. C'est dans ce contexte qu'*Études helléniques/Hellenic Studies* consacre sa présente édition à ce sujet. On aurait aimé avoir une plus large participation à ce débat, mais cela n'a pas été possible pour différentes raisons qu'on ne peut pour le moment exposer. Néanmoins, nous présentons des articles qui tracent un portrait global de la situation dans les différentes régions du monde. La question principale qu'on se pose à l'heure actuelle sur les études néohelléniques concerne évidemment leur avenir. Néanmoins, pour parler de leur avenir il faut d'abord tracer un portrait de la situation en ce moment même. Dresser un tel portrait n'est pas une tâche facile. Il existe une confusion sur la définition de la matière à un tel point que dans les différents sites qu'on peut consulter sur internet on trouve pêle-mêle des chaires d'études néohelléniques, des programmes d'une certaine envergure ou tout à fait limités à un enseignement rudimentaire du grec moderne, mêlés avec les études politiques, l'histoire, les études byzantines ou les études classiques. On trouve même un site de l'Université d'Athènes dans le cadre d'un projet dirigé par Antonis Liakos¹ où on mêle les études néohelléniques avec l'enseignement de tout ce qui est lié à la Grèce, de l'antiquité à nos jours. Ainsi, par exemple, comme l'a noté Thomas W. Gallant, on trouve quarante programmes d'études néohelléniques au Canada alors qu'en réalité il n'en existe que quatre². Même les statistiques officielles du ministère grec de l'Éducation font référence à l'existence de neuf chaires d'études néohelléniques au Canada. En réalité, il existe seulement trois chaires: une à l'Université McGill de Montréal, une à l'Université York de Toronto et une à l'Université Simon Fraser de Vancouver. De même les deux dernières chaires sont occupées par des historiens avec toutes les conséquences que cela comporte pour l'enseignement de la langue et de la littérature grecques. Le reste des programmes au Canada comprend des études classiques et dans certains cas l'enseignement du grec moderne.

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Dans un autre cas il a été rapporté qu'il existe 344 chaires d'études néohelléniques à travers le monde, dont 179 en Europe³. En plus de cela quand on consulte certains de ces sites, même officiels, on constate qu'ils ne sont pas à jour. Hans Eideneier dans son article publié dans ce numéro se réfère aussi aux données erronées qui circulent au sujet des études néohelléniques à l'étranger. Il note qu'on comptabilise comme des chaires d'études néohelléniques des chaires des études classiques qui ont été créées depuis le Moyen-Age, ou bien avant que la Grèce ne soit constituée en Etat national. Comment, se demande t-il, pouvons-nous considérer la chaire de Martinus Crusius (1526-1607), professor Utrius Linguae à Tübingen, comme une chaire des études néohelléniques, ainsi que le fait le ministère grec de l'Education avec fierté en 2006? En outre, il signale qu'on ne peut pas comptabiliser comme des chaires des programmes d'études néohelléniques dans lesquels enseignent soit des chargés de cours nommés par les universités, soit des enseignants de l'éducation secondaire envoyés et payés par la Grèce. Et le néohelléniste allemand continue: «Ainsi la Grèce officielle présente une image brillante des progrès des études néohelléniques en dehors de la Grèce et elle inclut aussi l'Allemagne dans cette image optimiste et embellie, sans s'inquiéter pour l'évolution de la situation. La réalité indéniable cependant démontre que cette image pour les études universitaires néohelléniques soit n'a jamais existé, ou si elle a jamais existé, a été déformée considérablement ces dernières années».

De l'autre côté de l'Atlantique, aux Etat-Unis, Gregory Jusdanis note : «To do Modern Greek today is to dissimulate, that is, to say one thing in public and another in private. In this Modern Greek Studies resembles a prostcolonial situation. You learn to make the distinctions between the outside and the inside and offer different arguments, depending on the circumstances. Attend any meeting of Modern Greek scholars and you will immediate notice this code switching. On the podium we laud the many achievements of the field but over coffee we express our disquiet about its many problems and we worry about its future»⁴.

Il est clair, compte tenu de ce qu'on a dit plus haut, qu'il existe un problème méthodologique d'un coté sur la façon dont on comptabilise la présence des études néohelléniques à travers le monde et de l'autre coté sur la façon dont on mesure leur vitalité ou leur déclin. Pour éviter tous ces malentendus et pour avoir une image claire de la matière qu'on traite nous proposons la typologie suivante:

1. Chaires d'études néohelléniques où on enseigne la langue, la littérature et

- la civilisation grecques avec mention éventuellement de spécialisation.
2. Chaires d'études d'histoire grecque où on enseigne aussi comme matière complémentaire la langue grecque et éventuellement la littérature et la civilisation grecques avec mention du domaine de spécialisation.
 3. Chaires d'études politiques ou de politique étrangère avec mention du domaine de spécialisation.
 4. Programmes d'études néohelléniques où on enseigne la langue, la littérature et la civilisation grecques.
 5. Programmes d'enseignement du grec moderne (langue seulement).
 6. Centres de recherches avec mention de domaines de la recherche et éventuellement d'autres activités.

Pour chacune de ces catégories il faudrait préciser le niveau de l'enseignement, si cela conduit à un diplôme de 1^{er}, 2^e ou 3^e cycle. Si ce n'est pas le cas il faut préciser si cela donne des crédits pour un autre diplôme ou s'il s'agit simplement d'un enseignement libre. Il faudrait aussi préciser pour chacune de ces catégories s'il se fait de la recherche et dans quel domaine.

Cette typologie n'est sans doute pas exclusive et on pourrait la compléter. Il est clair cependant qu'il faut en exclure les chaires et les programmes d'études grecques anciennes ainsi que des études byzantines. Même si on pouvait établir un lien entre ces deux catégories et les études néohelléniques, il faudrait les comptabiliser séparément. Il s'agit d'une question épistémologique et non pas d'un jugement de valeur.

Dans un contexte économique difficile la plupart des universités ont tendance à supprimer des programmes qui ne rapportent pas financièrement. Il s'agit des programmes du secteur des sciences humaines, et naturellement les études néohelléniques sont parmi les premiers touchés. C'est dans ce contexte que le rôle de la Grèce, mais aussi des communautés grecques de la diaspora, devient essentiel pour la survie des études néohelléniques. S'il est vrai que la Grèce porte un intérêt certain à ces études, on constate, néanmoins, le manque de coordination entre les différents ministères qui s'occupent de la situation. On pourrait faire le même constat pour ce qui est des efforts de la diaspora hellénique. Il manque aussi des études approfondies sur le contexte dans lequel elles peuvent se développer dans les différentes parties du monde. A une autre époque, dans un contexte économique différent, on a assisté dans diverses parties du monde au développement des programmes d'études helléniques qui ne sont pas aujourd'hui viables. Il ne sert à rien d'essayer de sauver tous ces programmes, car il est impossible de le faire avec les moyens disponibles. Il faudrait donc faire des choix stratégiques,

difficiles certes, mais nécessaires pour le renforcement et si possible le regroupement de certains de ces programmes quitte à abandonner d'autres qui n'ont pas d'avenir. Il est évident que tout cela ne peut pas se faire en dehors d'un cadre global d'une politique hellénique culturelle.

Les efforts de la diaspora hellénique dans ce domaine ne sont pas négligeables, mais là encore ce qui prévaut ce sont plus les ambitions personnelles ou locales que la réalité sur le terrain. Dans certains cas les programmes des études néohelléniques négligent les réalités des communautés grecques de la diaspora. Par exemple, aux Etats-Unies jusqu'à tout dernièrement on n'a pas montré d'intérêt pour étudier la littérature helléno-américaine, se contentant des grands noms de la littérature néohellénique, tels Cavafy, Seferis, Elytis, Kazantzakis, etc. On n'a pas non plus établi des liens entre les programmes des études néohelléniques et l'enseignement du grec aux enfants de la diaspora dans les écoles communautaires.

Il n'y a pas aussi de doute que le déclin des études classiques et en particulier du grec ancien a influencé aussi les études néohelléniques. Car il est bien connu que plusieurs de ces programmes ont vu le jour à l'intérieur des facultés et des départements d'études classiques, constituant en quelque sorte leur prolongement. En ce qui concerne les études byzantines elles n'ont plus l'attachement qu'elles avaient autrefois aux études néohelléniques, les considérant comme leur prolongement. En effet, aujourd'hui les études byzantines se tournent en grande partie vers d'autres pays que la Grèce, les pays balkaniques et les pays slaves. Ainsi le byzantinologue ne juge pas nécessaire, comme autrefois, d'avoir une connaissance du grec moderne.

Dans le présent numéro deux articles traitent de la situation des études néohelléniques en Europe, un troisième porte sur les Etats-Unis, un quatrième sur l'Australie, un cinquième fait le tour du monde de l'Europe au Canada, de l'Amérique Latine à l'Afrique et l'Asie et un sixième parle d'une institution en crise.

Hans Eideneier dans son article commence par des observations qui touchent l'ensemble du domaine avant de se tourner vers les particularités de l'Allemagne. Il constate un changement majeur de l'environnement éducatif tel qu'on l'a connu historiquement en Allemagne au 19^e siècle et une partie du 20^e, qui défavorise les sciences humaines et par conséquent aussi les études néohelléniques. Bien que le grec moderne soit enseigné dans plusieurs universités comme langue, il constate que dans un pays de 82 millions d'habitants avec la présence de 350 000 Grecs et plus de 340 universités et

Écoles Supérieures, il ne reste aujourd'hui que deux seuls postes de professeurs (et non pas de chaires) d'études néohelléniques dans toute l'Allemagne. Il explique encore comment la structure de l'université allemande change dans le cadre des accords européens de Bologne, changement qui défavorise les études néohelléniques, comme d'ailleurs l'ensemble des études humanistes. Dans le contexte de la crise actuelle des études néohelléniques il propose un nouveau départ, départ après la crise, comme il dit. «Dans le contexte européen actuel, conclut-il, nous ne pouvons pas prévoir le succès, mais en même temps nous ne pouvons pas l'exclure».

Moschos Morfakidis nous présente un panorama des études néohelléniques en Espagne. L'expansion de ces études ces dernières années paraît à première vue impressionnante. Mais Morfakidis nous met en garde, car les acquis sont fragiles. Il considère que «dans peu de temps on pourra juger si en fin de compte les études grecques modernes réussiront à se développer ou à rétrécir». Il mise beaucoup sur le rôle de l'Etat grec dont il juge les efforts ces dernières années méritoires. Il est selon lui «d'une importance vitale de tracer une politique réaliste dans le domaine de financement, de sorte que l'argent ne soit pas gaspillé à des manifestations multiples et sans importance, mais de contribuer au renforcement des départements universitaires les plus prometteurs, de façon à assurer leur survie dans les jours difficiles qui approchent pour toutes les langues sans exception, 'petites' et 'grandes'».

Alexander Kitroeff dans son article présente l'état des études grecques modernes aux Etats-Unis sans négliger leur passé. Il évalue tant leur état actuel ainsi que le débat qui porte sur leur avenir. Il juge le développement des études néohelléniques aux Etats-Unis lent et fragmentaire pour trois raisons principales : leur incompatibilité avec les disciplines académiques établies, les efforts du domaine lui-même à suivre des tendances académiques courantes malgré l'absence des fondations «traditionnelles» solides et leur dépendance au financement externe. En dépit de ces difficultés l'auteur juge le dépassement de tels obstacles possible, ce qui pourrait aider les études grecques modernes aux Etats-Unis de faire des pas en avant.

Michael Psaromatis examine l'histoire des programmes d'enseignement du grec moderne dans les universités australiennes depuis l'établissement du premier programme dans l'Université Charles Darwin dans les Territoires du Nord. Après une analyse des facteurs qui ont conduit au déclin et à la fermeture de certains programmes d'enseignement du grec parallèlement aux facteurs qui ont contribué au succès et à la durabilité d'autres, l'auteur fait

quelques propositions pour assurer la survie des études néohelléniques dans les universités australiennes.

Stephanos Constantinides dresse un bilan global de la présence des études néohelléniques dans différentes parties du monde qui n'ont pas été étudiées dans les articles précédents. Il se réfère entre autres à certains pays anglosaxons tels la Grande Bretagne et l'Afrique du Sud, à la francophonie (France, Belgique et Suisse) à certains pays européens tels l'Italie, les pays scandinaves et les pays de l'Europe de l'Est, aux pays balkaniques et à la Turquie, aux pays de l'ex-Union Soviétique et finalement à l'Amérique Latine, l'Afrique et l'Asie. Dans le même article l'auteur présente ce qu'il appelle les chaires des «dynasties» dressant un court bilan des chaires consacrées à des personnalités politiques grecques ainsi qu'à des personnalités du monde littéraire et du monde des affaires.

Le bilan qui est dressé des études néohelléniques à travers le monde dans ce numéro n'est ni définitif, ni exhaustif. Il s'agit d'une première tentative d'une présentation globale et nous espérons pouvoir continuer dans un avenir non lointain d'étudier la question, approfondir certaines hypothèses et présenter des données plus précises pour certaines parties du monde. Il ne faut pas non plus cesser de s'interroger ni sur l'avenir des études néohelléniques, ni sur leur contenu, ni sur les objectifs qu'on voudrait atteindre. Il ne faut pas par ailleurs refuser de se poser des questions sur la pertinence de voir l'histoire, la culture et la vie politique grecque s'introduire à l'intérieur des plus grands ensembles éducatifs, tels par exemple les études européennes, les études méditerranéennes, ou les études balkaniques. Pourquoi d'ailleurs enseigner l'histoire grecque, par exemple, à l'intérieur d'une chaire d'études néohelléniques puisque l'enseignement de toute façon aura lieu en anglais ou éventuellement dans une autre langue? Autrement dit il faut se poser la question s'il ne faut pas que les chaires et les programmes d'études néohelléniques se limitent à l'enseignement de la langue liée à la littérature grecque et de façon plus générale à la culture et tenter d'introduire les autres matières dans des ensembles éducatifs plus larges qui sont par ailleurs plus attrayants pour les étudiants.

Dans le contexte de la mondialisation tout évolue rapidement et les universités sont forcées de réorganiser leur champ de connaissances pour répondre aux nouvelles demandes plutôt de nature économique et technologique au détriment des études humanistes. Au même moment les champs de connaissances dans la plupart des universités sont reorganisés sur les lignes du multiculturalisme ou de l'interculturalisme dans un contexte de post-colonialisme et de post-modernisme. Le défi est évidemment de voir

comment on inclut dans ces champs l'enseignement du grec moderne et de la culture grecque en général. D'autant plus que les études classiques qui constituaient autrefois la locomotive du grec moderne sont aussi aujourd'hui en plein déclin. Autrement dit, il faudrait sans doute se mettre à la recherche d'une stratégie pour la promotion des études néohelléniques dans un monde qui est en plein mouvement et où la langue et la littérature des petits pays n'attirent pas le même intérêt comparés à ceux des géants économiques comme les Etats-Unis, la Chine et le Japon ou des pays européens d'un certain poids comme l'Allemagne, la France ou l'Italie.

NOTES

1. Hellenic Studies on the Net Research Project, University of Athens, Department of History, Research Project/Director: Prof. Antonis Liakos (e-mail: aliakos@cc.uoa.gr) Researcher: Despoina Valatsou (e-mail: dvalatsou@yahoo.com).

Hellenic Studies on the Net-Research Project: <http://history.arch.uoa.gr/hellenicstudies> An ambitious project of collected links, based in the University of Athens.

2. Thomas W. Gallant, «The Status of Modern Greek and Hellenic Studies in Higher Education in Canada and the York University Experience», *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Vol. 24, 2006.

3. *Kathimerini*, 30-04-2006.

4. Gregory Jusdanis, «The Status of Modern Greek Studies in Higher Education: Who Needs Modern Greek?» *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Volume 24, 2006.

The Past and Present of Modern Greek Studies in the United States

Alexander Kitroeff*

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article examine le passé et le présent des études grecques modernes aux Etats-Unis et évalue autant la situation de ce domaine d'études que le débat qui a cours autour de l'état actuel de ce dernier ainsi que de son avenir. L'auteur soutient que les études grecques modernes aux Etats-Unis ont subi un développement lent et fragmentaire à cause de trois facteurs principaux : 1) une incompatibilité avec les disciplines académiques établies; 2) les efforts du domaine lui-même à suivre des tendances académiques courantes malgré l'absence de fondations «traditionnelles» solides; 3) la dépendance au financement externe et autres arrangements spéciaux avec des universités qui ont mené à une fragmentation puisque chaque «centre» a dû s'adapter aux réalités des universités dont ils sont les hôtes. Le dépassement de tels obstacles pourrait aider au progrès des études grecques modernes aux Etats-Unis en s'appuyant sur les réalisations considérables au sein de la diversité de ses composantes, et ce en dépit des difficultés générales.

ABSTRACT

This article examines the past and present of Modern Greek Studies and assess the state of the field as well as the debate about its state and future which has unfolded over the past years. It argues that modern Greek studies in the United States has experienced a slow and fragmentary development because of three main factors: its incompatibility with the established academic disciplines and fields in the United States; the field's own attempts to become relevant to current academic trends despite the lack of a sturdy "traditional" foundation and its dependence on outside funding and special arrangements with universities that has led to fragmentation because each "center" has to adapt to the realities of its host universities. Overcoming such obstacles would help Modern Greek Studies in the United States build on the considerable achievements of several of its component parts, the general difficulties notwithstanding.

The field of modern Greek studies has been in a self-acknowledged state of decline at least since the 1990s. While not everyone working in this academic field might agree entirely with this assertion, there is consensus that the field has been facing serious difficulties in establishing itself in

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American academe as a respected and significant sub-discipline. As a result, there have been a series of essays and other interventions over the past two decades seeking an explanation of the problems facing modern Greek studies and recommending solutions. It is perhaps ironic that the level of self-reflexivity is extremely high, and collections of contributions such as those grouped under the rubric “Wither the Neohellenic?”, originally papers at a conference at Ohio State University in 1996 and published later on in the *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 15.2 (1997), confirm the high quality of scholarship in the field. Subsequent journal articles, as for example a *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* double issue [Vol. 27, 2001] devoted to a conference on the relationship of modern Greek Studies to the study of classical antiquity and another cluster of articles on the topic of modern Greek studies in the *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 24.1 (2006).

This article takes stock of both the state of the field and the debate about its state and future by way of arguing that modern Greek studies in the United States has experienced a slow and fragmentary development because of three main factors: its incompatibility with the established academic disciplines and fields in the United States; the field’s own attempts to become relevant to current academic trends despite the lack of a sturdy “traditional” foundation and thirdly the field’s dependence on outside funding that has led to fragmentation because each “centre” has to adapt to the realities of its host university.

Modern Greek and Classical Studies

The study of modern Greece never became an integral part of classical studies in the United States. Although it can be considered as the first form of “area studies” Classics departments, on the whole have shunned the idea of housing modern Greek studies, even language. One can speculate about the reasons for this repudiation of any acceptance of Greek cultural continuity or an unwillingness to consider modern Greece in conjunction with Classical Greece, a view that has a long history. Modern Greek has made some inroads in a few departments but it has remained on the margins of the discipline.

Stelios Vasilakis, who completed a doctoral study in classics at New York University, and is co-owner of the publishers *greekworks.com*, had this to say about the classics and modern Greece in his own intervention in the debate about the state of modern Greek studies:

“One would have thought that the emphasis on the continuity between

classical and modern Greek culture would have led departments of classics to embrace programs of modern Greek language and literature (the major areas of study in modern Greek studies). However, despite assertions of the classicists' embrace and acceptance of such coexistence, the reality suggests that they remain indifferent and in many cases hostile toward modern Greek. A large number of classicists today attribute a parasitic role to modern Greek in its relation to antiquity and view the "discipline" as a "poor relative," imposed upon them by university administrators in their never ending search for funding. The three-day conference at UCLA that inspired this essay, for example, was organized by the department of classics, but its faculty – with the exception of co-organizer Sarah Morris – was absent from the proceedings. To give another example, while the chair of modern Greek language and literature at New York University was appointed through the department of classics, collaboration between the two fields was kept at a minimum." (Vasilakis, 2002 – see also Vasilakis, 2001).

The exception to the rule, initiatives at Harvard and UCLA have been few and far between and have not become a widespread pattern. While there can be some optimism about the prospect of an acknowledgement of the continuity of Hellenism from antiquity to the present from within the sphere of classical studies, more work needs to be done if the isolated instances are to acquire permanency and epistemological legitimacy. (Morris, 2001).

There is a complementary problem in the integration of modern Greek studies within Classical studies, namely the unwillingness of many modern Greek specialists to condone such a development. The continuity of Greek culture, which is in fact part of Greek conventional wisdom, is treated as an issue of debate and dispute in academic circles. This has to do with the ideological uses that continuity was subjected to beginning in the nineteenth century when it was elaborated by the Greek thinker and political activist, Constantinos Paparigopoulos. Although his was a nuanced argumentation, albeit coloured by contemporary political concerns, its subsequent political uses in a crude manner by right-wing thought and by politicians interested in serving a variety of dictatorial or anti-communist agendas has made a large segment of academic wary of embracing continuity.

Finally, irrespectively of the ways that modern Greek studies correlate and are influenced by Classical studies, the status of Classical studies in U.S. academe plays an important role. The assertions of an all-round decline of the importance of Classical education in the United States made by Victor Davis Hanson and John Heath in their seminal study *Who Killed Homer?*

The Demise of Classical Education and the Recovery of Greek Wisdom (Encounter Books, 2001) has been disputed and has led to a debate that is beyond the scope of this article. Less controversial is the proposition that the study of Greek and Latin at the high school level has decreased. High school curricula are necessarily more diverse, a reflection of the growing sensitivity to cultural diversity over the past decades. While this is not a bad thing in general, it has made classical studies less central to American high school education and this affects, indirectly, the standing of modern Greek studies.

Area Studies

Area studies, as the institutionalized and interdisciplinary focus on particular regions of the world became known, proved to be another inhospitable domain for modern Greek studies. Area studies took off in the United States only after World War II, shattering what was until then an inward-looking perspective of American higher education. Up to 1940, there were only 60 PhDs produced in American universities that dealt with the non-Western world and many of those were concerned with antiquity. Area studies began to grow in the 1950s as a result of the United States' greater awareness and involvement with the rest of the world and, by the 1960s, one could find either area studies departments, centres or institutes at most major universities. Their emergence was thanks to the realization of several Foundations that the extent of the United States' global reach did not match the academic understanding of those parts of the world within American universities. By far the most important contribution came from the Ford Foundation. Concerns that the United States was falling behind the Soviet Union and other strategic Cold War considerations meant that several other foundations began funding area studies beginning in the 1960s. It is important to note that universities and scholars were able to resist serving American strategic concerns and that indeed within area studies one could find very often a variety of critiques of American policy in a particular region as well as scholars whose work appeared to be closely attuned to the perspective of the government or other policy makers. (Szanton, 2003).

The emergence of area studies was only of indirect benefit to modern Greek studies because the regionally-based fields that emerged did not include Greece. For well known historical reasons modern Greece has been considered as part of Western Europe rather than any other area. Therefore, Near and Middle Eastern Studies included the Greeks in the Ottoman Empire but not modern Greece after its independence in 1830. Slavic

Studies that were concerned with Russia primarily and secondly with the Balkans and Eastern Europe excluded Greece by virtue of the “Slavic” rather than geographical focus.

The emergence of European Studies beginning in the 1970s – the Council for European Studies at Columbia University was established in 1970 – were mostly concerned with Western Europe or the European Union.

There have been certain “sub-regional” study perspectives that might have featured Greece much more prominently than could the category “European studies”, but none of these initiatives acquired long term permanency. In the 1960s and 1970s, the development of Anthropology produced several efforts to establish a “Mediterranean” perspective. But by the 1980s, several anthropologists leveled criticisms and this regional perspective was pursued less extensively. And a movement among political scientists to conceptualize a “Southern Europe”, following the parallel events of collapse of dictatorship and transition to democracy in the 1970s, was short lived.

The Emergence of Modern Greek Studies

The difficulty modern Greek studies faced in being inserted into a broader field of area studies did not, of course prevent their emergence. This happened in the 1960s and it led to the establishment of the Modern Greek Studies Association. As Lambropoulos mentions, from the 1960s to the 1980s, the field “was dominated by the study of literature-specifically, poetry and prose. During this period, the majority of the people who taught and translated Modern Greek, the majority of those who helped establish the Modern Greek Studies Association and the first Modern Greek programs, the majority of those who became internationally identified with the field so far as magazines, journals, publishing houses, fellow scholars, or the general public, were concerned, focused on literature and especially on that of the twentieth century. Pioneer academic work took as its object the eminent authors C. P. Cavafy, Nikos Kazantzakis, George Seferis, Odysseus Elytis, and Yannis Ritsos. Literary methods were deployed for the artistic, intellectual, or cultural analysis of verse and fiction that people assumed possessed great and universal literary merit. Approaches varied, but the emphasis was normally on the importance of artistic complexity and on quality. Even history and political science adopted similar criteria, seeking to find processes of reconciliation and elements of synthesis in the Greek past and present. Simply put, at that time it was possible (indeed, customary) to structure the regular symposium of the Modern Greek Studies Association

around a single unifying theme. This era, since it was mainly driven by artistic appreciation, may be called *aesthetic* (although the term needs to be understood in the broadest possible sense)". (Lambropoulos, 1997, p. 197) The scholars who should be mentioned here include Peter Bien, Edmund Keeley, Kimon Friar, Rae Dalven, Philip Sherrard and their work in turn was informed by contributions by historians such as John Petropoulos and Speros Vryonis, Jr., as well as social scientists such as John Iatrides and Adamantia Pollis. They were joined gradually by others that included Gerasimos Augustinos, Nikiforos Diamantouros, Thanasis Maskaleris, Kostas Myrsiades, S. Victor Papacosma and Harry J. Psomiades.

It is very important to underscore the fact that the young field of modern Greek studies was dominated by literature and poetry, because it is precisely those studies that would experience the greatest intellectual upheavals beginning in the 1980s. However, prior to that, the contributions of pioneers in the field led to the establishment of modern Greek studies centres in several universities in the United States. These included the Center for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies established in 1974 at Queens College, New York, under the leadership of political science professor Harry J. Psomiades, and funded partially by contributions of Greek-Americans. In 1975 a Greek government grant of \$ one million established the George Seferis Chair of Modern Greek Language and Literature that was filled by the literary scholar George Savvides and was attached to the university's Classics Department. Precisely because he felt awkward at being a neohellenist in a Classics Department, Savvides stressed the vibrancy of modern Greek culture when he arrived in Cambridge, Mass. (Kennen, 1977). The Program of Hellenic Studies at Princeton University established in 1979, thanks to a generous donation of an alumnus of the University, Stanley J. Seeger in order to advance the understanding of the culture of ancient Greece and its influence and to stimulate creative expression and thought, in and about modern Greece.

A number of other modern Greek studies centres began appearing in American universities at that time. It is beyond the scope of this article to mention all of them. One of the earliest was the Kazantzakis Chair at San Francisco State University, established in 1983, was initially funded by a major gift from Angelos Tsakopoulos, which has been augmented by a number of donations by Eleni Kazantzakis, the members of the board of the Modern Greek Studies Foundation, a Bay Area non-profit organization, the J. F. Costopoulos Foundation and the Greek Ministry of Culture. Another

important initiative came in 1988 when a donation by another Greek American, Kimon A. Doukas established the Hellenic program at Columbia University in 1988.

However, the proliferation of these chairs, centres or programs, did not mean that the narrow field of modern Greek studies had somehow gained an autonomous and respected place in the curricula of U.S. universities. To understand why, we have to return to the chronological examination of the evolution of this field.

Modern Greek Studies in the 1980s & 1990s

According to Lambropoulos, by the end of the 1970s the field of modern Greek studies had become consolidated and proceeded to move to a next stage. While there is no doubt that a transition occurred, others have questioned the degree to which modern Greek studies had evolved at that point. In particular, Vasilakis argues that a genuine field had not emerged when the transition began. By the same token, the changes did not augment or undermine the “field”, as Lambropoulos suggests, simply because it did not really exist. Vasilakis writes: “modern Greek studies in North America are not just a discipline in decline, but rather a non-discipline. To begin with, the organization of modern Greek studies into a field or academic discipline has never really taken place. What we have in this instance is not an established field of literary studies or a discipline, but rather a group of individuals, in most cases teaching a large number of language and literature courses in other academic departments (classics, comparative literature) in which they may or may not be welcome, burdened with administrative responsibilities, and unable in most cases to dedicate sufficient time to research.” (Vasilakis, 2002).

This is a valid point borne out by subsequent developments. The field is experiencing so many structural problems currently; it behoves us to question its foundations in the first place. There is at least one major structural fault in the way the field was conceived in its earliest era. Although it was understood that modern Greek studies referred to a “unique” subject matter that could not be housed in any of the broader area studies, the specificities of the Greek case, which made it not fit in, were ignored. The most obvious unique feature is that the “Modern Greek” culturally and intellectually belongs to a broader category, the “neo-hellenic”, by which I mean not only Greece, but the Greek speaking world that includes Cyprus, the Greek diaspora and (at the risk of sounding nationalistic), the lands in

which there was in the past a significant Greek-speaking and Greek Orthodox presence. The absence of these aspects of Hellenic culture compounded the weakness of what was already a small sphere of study.

The absence of a Greek-American studies component was another serious omission, and a surprising one, given the rise of ethnic studies in the United States in the 1960s. Moreover, only a few years prior to the establishment of the Modern Greek Studies Association, Theodore Saloutos had published what remains to this day a classic study on the Greek-American experience, *The Greeks in the United States* (Harvard, 1964). But the MGSA apparently decided not to give any special emphasis to the study of Greek-Americans. It was only the Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies at Queens College that showed any real interest in promoting Greek-American studies. The situation has changed, thanks to the growth of interest in diaspora studies in the mainstream of American academe. The Greek studies centres at Michigan, Ohio State and San Francisco State Universities are engaged in valuable work in this area which had been neglected in the past. This omission may have discouraged the Greek American community from participating in those programs, as well as funding them.

Irrespective of what one thinks of the level and depth that modern Greek studies had achieved in the United States by the late 1970s, one has to acknowledge sweeping changes in perspective beginning in the 1980s. Around this time, the growth of area studies generated critiques that went beyond the accusation of these serving government policies – ironically, even though Greece did not benefit directly from their growth, modern Greek studies became caught up in the questioning of the value of area studies. The critiques, of area studies came from the more theoretically oriented disciplines such as political science and sociology and amounted to suggesting that a regional focus was too limited or by its nature empirical and even parochial. Some suggested that all area studies did was to act as a purveyor of exotica. The lack of theory, or question about what type of theory is applied in area studies, has been frequently debated. Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1987) alerted scholars to the danger that a particular area is examined through a Eurocentric set of considerations.

More specifically, the effects of these broader trends on modern Greek studies was a turn towards what Lambropoulos describes as ethnographic concerns: "Since the early 1990s, Modern Greek scholarly interests have taken a different direction. The number of literary monographs has diminished. So has the number of translations published by non-Greek

presses. No new names or titles have entered the canon of important authors and books. Literary scholarship has been largely neglected by other disciplines even though it was the first to champion poststructuralist methodologies. Instead, anthropology has become the dominant discipline in terms of both quantity (productivity) and quality (relevance). Contemporary Greece is more likely to come to the attention of colleagues and the sophisticated public via this route. Thus in a very short time the aesthetic era has been superseded by one that I call *ethnographic*.” (Lambropoulos, 1997, p. 198)

“The problem with the ethnographic turn, and its dominance, he goes on to suggest is that we are left with numerous studies of the Greek margins, excellent in their own right. “Modern Greek has been dramatically transformed into the study of Greek margins and aliens (linguistic, ethnic, religious, sexual, and other), documenting a long record of human rights abuses. Greek ethnography has dedicated itself overnight to the systematic advancement of the interests of marginalized minorities of all persuasions—avant-gardists, outcasts, leftists, women, patients, the poor, gays, Albanians, Pontians, Jehovah’s Witnesses, refugees. (It is worth noting that this development was preceded by the anti-Hellenism of the 1980s, manifest in diverse areas such as Afro-centrism, deconstruction, gynocriticism, multiculturalism, Third-Worldism, and the Martin Bernal controversy—an open season against the Greeks that seemed to annoy only a handful of Modern Greek specialists). It is not an exaggeration to say that taking apart dominant notions of Greek identity has now become the major project in the field. Given the meteoric rise of the ethnographic tendency everywhere, one cannot complain that Modern Greek is behind its times. As a field, it is impressively synchronized with major intellectual trends like critical race studies, microhistory, subaltern studies, postcolonialism...” (Lambropoulos, 1997, p. 200).

But while its practitioners have every reason to feel proud of its continuing vitality and responsiveness to broader scholarly developments, as a whole these form a series of interventions that undermine the entity of modern Greece while little had been done in the meantime to understand Greece and the ways it has been constructed. We know the margins without knowing well what is at the core, precisely because the field is so underdeveloped. As Lambropoulos explains, “the reason for the paradoxical inability of ethnography to advance the broader study of a culture, a tradition, a people, or a country beyond its own disciplinary confines is not its colonialist and

imperialist heritage, a Eurocentric legacy that contemporary scholarship has eloquently and convincingly exposed and denounced. Rather, it is its liberal—that is, its value-neutral, guilt-ridden-attitude to the world.” (Lambropoulos, 1997, p. 201).

In a response to this critique of the ethnographic turn in modern Greek studies, a respected anthropologist, Loring Danforth, stated that as an anthropologist “I am not convinced that it is intrinsically more worthwhile to study the Greek heroes of the War of Independence rather than the Turkish heroes, or the Greek heroes of the Macedonian Struggle rather than the Slav heroes. Finally, I cannot help but ask: «Does Hellenism, does Modern Greek culture, really have more ‘exemplary accomplishments’ to offer than French culture, Egyptian culture, or Navaho culture?» Again, as an anthropologist I must answer with a firm «No.» (Danforth, 1998)

At the core of Danforth’s thinking is an entirely legitimate disciplinary perspective, one that privileges anthropological concerns, over “modern Greek studies” concerns but something that also proves the point that modern Greek studies lacks the type of weight and value that commands the attention of practitioners in various disciplines. Could one for example, study World War I without taking into account the British perspective, or indeed understand a great deal about that war by examining it from the British standpoint?

But the ethnographic turn was not the only recent development that undermined the still coalescing field of modern Greek studies. There was a moment in between the earlier humanist-oriented work and the ethnographic work that a post-modernist turn became dominant in the field. It entailed, as it should have, a direct or indirect debunking of the premises of the older humanist school and was headed by Lambropoulos and his colleagues at Ohio State, including Gregory Jusdanis. The problem they created was the same one created by the ethnographic turn, namely a critique of an establishment that was not really very well established and in fact still on the margins of mainstream U.S. academe.

For better or for worse, the postmodernist turn was limited by its own intellectual premises. As Jusdanis has succinctly pointed out, “Greek antiquity, having borne the brunt of postmodernism’s generalized critique of Eurocentric values, has lost much of its former prestige. And this tarnishing of antiquity’s luster has also darkened the picture of modern Greece. Classical Greece’s displaced position in the West has adversely affected neohellenic culture’s claim for recognition. The postmodern discourses of

multiculturalism, postcolonialism, and poststructuralism that have spearheaded the attack on the classical model have shifted scholars' attention to other societies considered exemplary cases for study-societies evidencing globalization, anti-imperialism, and hybridity, qualities that are not felt to apply to Greece. In other words, modern Greece may not be as interesting today as in previous decades partly because the criteria for evaluating the «worthiness» of cultures have changed. A society claiming direct descent from ancient Greece is not going to be viewed with the same sympathy today as it was in the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth, when Europeans traced their own cultural origins to Hellas and celebrated the Athenian *polis* as the prototype *par excellence* of democratic government.” (Jusdanis, 1997, pp. 171-72)

In other words, it was structurally impossible for a “postmodern modern Greek studies” to somehow achieve the status and centrality in academe that eluded it before the post-modern turn. Ultimately of course, like all new innovatory approaches, postmodernism became absorbed – some might say domesticated – into modern Greek studies and in placing its emphasis on textual analysis and deconstruction has proved in some cases enriching and in other cases mystifying and confusing.

1990s: A Wave of New Centres

The institutional presence of modern Greek studies in the United States was strengthened in the 1990s with the establishment of a wave of new centres. The new era of globalization and affirmation of national and ethnic identity acted as a positive force in terms of the creation of new modern Greek studies centres with the help of funding from Greek institutions and Greek Americans. Among these was the Onassis Center at New York University in 1989 which has since been downgraded to a “program.” This was an ambitious project that included the creation of five faculty positions located jointly in university departments and the centre which had its own building and ran its own outreach program. The first director was Professor Spiros Vryonis, Jr. who served until 1995 until he was replaced by classics professor Phillip Mitsis. As a result of differences between the Onassis Foundation and the university over the direction the centre would take, and other conflicts that had caused Vryonis departure, the project was partially abandoned but the faculty positions remained. The “center” then curtailed its scope and became one of the “area studies” programs of NYU.

The problems Hellenic Studies faced at NYU are a reminder of the complexity of trying to introduce this small field in a large research university. Even an institution, like NYU was actively engaged in trying to attract funding to pursue the establishment of area studies chairs. The dynamics of a research university are such that the influence of area studies programs will depend on their ability to find graduate students and that was an area that the Onassis Center had either overlooked or had not been informed about very well when it was negotiating with the University. The Center was more invested in the undergraduate courses it was offering. But it is no great secret that many departments in research universities are less concerned with undergraduate teaching and focused more on graduate-level teaching. At the same time, the robust “outreach” program did not have a corresponding beneficial influence in the eyes of the academic departments.

In 1997, Socrates Kokkalis, founder and chairman of the Greek-based Intracom S.A., a global group of telecommunications, electronics and software development companies and the owner of the Greek soccer team Olympiakos, founded the Kokkalis Program on South-eastern and East-Central Europe. Based at Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government, the Kokkalis Program focuses on stability, democracy, prosperity and institutional vitality in South-eastern and East-Central Europe and it has a special interest in Greece and its regional role.

In 1999, the Foundation for Modern Greek Studies, a group of Greek community leaders from Ann Arbor and the Detroit area raised funds to create the Cavafy Professorship in Modern Greek at the University of Michigan in 1999. A modern Greek program has been formed around that chair which was awarded to Vassilis Lambropoulos. At the same time, the University of St. Louis acquired the Hellenic-Government-Karakas Family Professorship in Greek Studies. In St. Louis as well, Greek-American community contributions helped pay for the establishment of the program.

A Hellenic studies program at Yale was established in 2001 by the Stavros Niarchos foundation. The Program organizes lectures, symposia, conferences and supports faculty and student scholarly activities, as well as cultural events. The Program of Hellenic Studies offers a comprehensive program of instruction in the modern Greek language at the elementary, intermediate and advanced levels and cooperates closely with the Center for Language Study at Yale University for the development of technology-based teaching aids for the acquisition and mastering of modern Greek and the enrichment of other Hellenic oriented courses. In addition, the Program offers a variety

of courses in modern Greek literature and culture as well as in Ottoman and modern Greek history.

Finally, this representative example of the major centres includes a series of chairs and programs funded by the California-based Tsakopoulos family at Sacramento State University (formerly the Vryonis Center), Stanford University and most recently at Georgetown University with the Eleni and Markos Tsakopoulos-Kounalakis Chair in Hellenic Studies. The Spiros Basil Vryonis Center for the Study of Hellenism established in 1985 in Los Angeles, before it moved to Sacramento, was a cultural institution dedicated to studying, understanding, and promoting Hellenism and its role and significance in contemporary culture and society. At Stanford, the Tsakopoulos family of Sacramento donated \$2 million in honor of former Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis to create a professorship to support the study of Greek ideas in contemporary society. Matching funds from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation's gift to the School of Humanities and Sciences helped establish the chair, which was established in 2006 as the Tsakopoulos-Kounalakis Professorship in honor of conservative Greek politician Constantine Mitsotakis.

With the addition of these new centres, there are currently about thirty programs, centres or chairs of modern Greek studies housed in universities across the United States. Although this is a positive development its value should not be exaggerated. We come back to the problem that Modern Greek studies is not a clearly established or accepted field of study. Consequently, each program / centre / chair is obliged to adapt to the broader needs and goals of its host institution. In most cases this curtails the scope of their activity. For example, a program may be well endowed but cannot attract graduate students because of the standards of entry imposed by the university. Or in the case of an urban "commuter school" the program cannot be very ambitious in some areas due to lack of student interest. And in general, the low profile of modern Greek studies prevents the centres or chairs from playing as central role as they would like in the educational mission of each university.

There is, finally the problem of political motivation underlying the creation of a chair. In Vasilakis' words, «modern Greek studies in American universities are, to a large extent, the result of the involvement and financial support of individuals and the Greek American community. What has motivated this support to a certain degree, however, is the rather distorted perception that the establishment of such programs is essential for the

support of so-called 'Greek national interests.' For years, both a large part of the academic community and the general public have looked upon the creation of programs of Turkish studies in the United States as an effective lobbying tool, and have therefore relentlessly advocated creating comparable programs of modern Greek studies as a balancing mechanism to the 'invasion' of the academy by Turkish studies. The obvious problem with such an approach is that it lacks educational and intellectual motivation. The goal is merely the creation of a chair, with no concerns about its function, or its long-term perspectives and development.» (Vasilakis, 2002) This issue of political manipulation remains a serious problem but does not imply that modern Greek studies must shy away from developing a problematic and a position related to current affairs, economic, political and "national."

Overall, government funding or any other funding for that matter need not be antithetical to the academic mission of modern Greek studies. The Greek state and the Greek-American community simply have to respect the autonomy and integrity of academic interventions. This can only benefit them in the long run. There will always be foreign government funding in area studies in the United States, and this will inevitably be politically motivated. Turkey's attempts to influence scholarship surrounding the Armenian Genocide are well known. Furthermore, Turkey's interest in the broader area of history and politics outstrips that of Greece. In short, it is up to the scholarly community to resist the blandishments of government funds with strings attached, expose those within academe that go along with such plans and work towards consolidating academe's authority and its ability to manage such funds without outside influence.

The Suspended Step of Modern Greek Studies

If anyone believed that the new wave of chairs would lead to a strengthening of the field they would have been surprised by the findings of another cluster of essays on the state of modern Greek studies that appeared in the *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* in 2006.

The three contributions by scholars involved in the field in the United States, Gregory Jusdanis, Martha Klironomos and Mary Pittas-Herschbach strike a pessimistic note. They acknowledge the crisis the field has been facing recently and seek to offer strategies of survival, particular in the case of Pittas-Herschbach, organizational in Klironomos' case and more broadly epistemological on Jusdanis' part. (Jusdanis, 2006; Martha Klironomos, 2006; Mary Pittas-Herschbach 2006).

While all three levels of future strategy are useful, it is the area that Jusdanis addresses that is the most difficult. Yet what he proposes, “a clearly-defined research profile which connects scholarship on Greece to current epistemological developments” does not sound beyond the reach of the practitioners of the field. Indeed, even though one can speak of a troubled and narrow field over the past few decades, one can also single out academic book-length studies of Greece that have reached a broad readership precisely because they have linked Greece directly or indirectly to wider epistemological concerns. Jusdanis himself managed that with his book *Necessary Nationalism* published in 2001 where he discussed cultural nationalism by also alluding to the case of Greek nationalism. Other examples of work by U.S.-based historians of modern Greece, (the area I am most familiar with) include Molly Greene’s *A Shared World*, a study of inter-communal relations on Ottoman Crete, published in 2000 and Mark Mazower’s *Inside Hitler’s Greece* (1993). Both those studies cast the Greek experience in a broader academic context. The same applies to the work of social historian Thomas Gallant who now works in Canada.

Hopefully more studies can appear by neo-hellenists based in the United States that will connect their subject matter to broader epistemological trends. But this process will reflect creatively on modern Greek studies only if practitioners of the field avoid the overheated critique of older “establishment”, “canonical” or “mainstream” views of the modern Greek experience. Let them all remember there is no real mainstream or establishment in modern Greek studies, and thus their critiques strike the wrong tone in the broader academic environment. Currently, modern Greek studies possesses a number of well funded programs and centres. They need to work towards underscoring the relevancy of the modern Greek experience in a range of disciplines in order to gain respect in academe and draw in students. Otherwise, those centres will become a Potemkin village of empty houses. Much is to be done in modern Greek studies in the United States, and there is ample room for conventional and unconventional scholarship to be able to co-exist side by side. Jeffrey Eugenides’ *Middlesex*, as it were, could cohabitate with *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*.

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Modern Greek Studies in Present-day Germany

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RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur de cet article tente dans un premier temps de corriger les assertions de l'existence de certaines chaires d'études néohelléniques à travers le monde et l'image embellie présentée par la «Grèce officielle». Par la suite il se focalise sur l'Allemagne et évoque les problèmes rencontrés dans ce pays par les études néohelléniques, résultant de changements qui s'opèrent au sein des universités allemandes dans un nouveau contexte européen et mondial défavorable. Il propose un nouveau départ pour les études néohelléniques après la crise actuelle qui les frappe, sans être certain d'en assurer le succès mais aussi sans pouvoir en prévoir l'échec.

ABSTRACT

This article initially strives to correct claims about the existence of certain chairs of modern Greek studies around the world and the rosy image presented by "official Greece". The author then focuses on Germany, where modern Greek studies face problems caused by changes not only in the German university but also within the broader new European and international context now less favourable. The author proposes a new start after the current crisis in modern Greek studies. He is not sure of a successful outcome but does not foresee failure either.

"The total number of university chairs in Greek studies across all continents runs to 344. Most of these (179) are in European countries.(...) The last three years have seen an upsurge in Greek studies (...). And this interest is not only in Ancient Greek culture and its representatives. It is also in Modern Greece."

The above quotation comes from a recent issue of *Kathimerini* newspaper (April 30, 2006), drawing on data from the Greek Ministry of Education, in this particular instance from the "Special Secretariat for the Education of Greeks Abroad and Intercultural Education". Our first, fundamental objection - expressed numerous times in the past - is this: within the statistics, a distinction must be drawn between the age-old chairs in Classical Philology, dating back almost to the Middle Ages, and chairs in "Modern Greek Studies". Most of the former were established before Modern Greece had become a state. How, for example, can we include the Martinus Crusius (1526-1607)

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professor utrius linguae Chair in Tübingen in statistics the Greek Ministry of Education takes prides in? Though lectureships in modern Greek language genuinely do exist in several European universities, we cannot call them “chairs” and include them in statistics relating to university “Modern Greek Studies”; the teachers, not all of whom are philologists, are tenured staff specially commissioned by the university for the purpose, or are Secondary School teachers seconded from Greece and paid by the Greek government.

On an official level, Greece paints a rosy picture of modern Greek studies flourishing outside Greece, including Germany in this optimistic, idealized image, without showing the least concern over future developments. Yet the harsh reality is either this picture of university modern Greek studies never existed, or even if it once did, things have altered dramatically over the last few years¹.

Despite the passage of time, the views long ago expressed by Antonis Liakos in *To Vima* (October 31, 1993) contribute to a discussion on these matters. Liakos stated that “modern Greek studies in Europe are in crisis. In the changing academic landscape of the Old World, they find themselves isolated not only on account of the international division and prioritization of academic disciplines, but also on account of their introversion and Helleno-centrism”.

If we want to be candid, or even somewhat cynical, we have long passed that crisis point. Yet before offering an explanation for this critique of the crisis, let us take a brief look at the downward trend.

In 1993 we were still wondering about the following:

“Does modern Greek have the strength to survive as an independent “small language”, or will it have to remain incorporated in the wider perimeter zone of Institutes of Classics, at a time when classical studies are in dramatic decline?

An alternative solution would be for geographical and historical factors to step into the limelight: on the one hand, as the southernmost Balkan country, there is Greece’s proximity to neighbours speaking Slavic languages or Albanian to the north, and on the other there are its dynamic relations with countries in the east, in the Arab and Jewish world of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Would modern Greek studies be in a position to collaborate with other contiguous disciplines on various academic levels? Or rather, is it in a position to do so? And would a potential contribution on the part of the Greek state be seen as assistance or as interference?”

To answer difficult questions and sub questions such as these, we have to broaden the scope of the discussion somewhat and refer to the particularities of Germany. Here I will limit myself to the marked philhellenism typical of

the Germans and to the intense relations between Greece and Germany in the sphere of Greek migration, above all in the second half of the 20th century.

German Tradition

The first self-professed modern Greek scholar in Europe was the aforementioned Martinus Crusius from Tübingen in Württemberg, at a time when Greece was for the most part under Turkish rule, and Greeks were still called *Romioi*, or partly also *Graeci*. Crusius called himself a *philhellene*, making use of an age-old term still in the ‘pre-philhellenic’ sense of his time. He was a staunch Protestant at the University of Tübingen. The first “Humanists”, as they are known today, had wonderful Hellenized names - *Kapnion* (Reuchlin), *Melanchthon* (Schwarzerd) and so on. Moreover, as true supporters of Luther they included the New Testament in their studies of ancient authors. They thus went down in literary scholarship as observers of the historical development of the Greek language, which began with Homer but did not end with the New Testament, since they themselves often wondered what had become of Saint Paul’s Christian Greeks.

In other words, it is no mere coincidence that after the Italian Renaissance scholars working on ancient Greek and Latin broadened their interests to more recent forms of Greek, given that they lived in Protestant states suffused with Luther’s teachings. It is no coincidence that it was in precisely those states that “philhellenism” eventually took hold. Nevertheless, it was a philhellenism which left Modern Greeks beyond the bounds of intellectual life in central Europe.

The Enlightenment rivalled Romanticism, and Goethe marvelled at the “noble” figures and aristocratic dress of the Leipzig Greeks. Of course, while he may have been enthused by their songs in the form rendered in von Haxthausen’s collection, he drew comparisons between them and other folk songs by exotic bards.

Furthermore, rather than bringing the living, surviving Greeks closer to other Europeans, 1821 served as the cornerstone and crystallization of Romantic philhellenism among Europeans.

Perhaps the most decisive role of all was played by the Churches. On the one hand, there was the age-old Catholic propaganda against the Orthodox “brethren” and, on the other, fear of the conservative official Church in Greece in the face of any foreign, new element. After all, the Patriarch lived in Constantinople, which in time would be “ours once more”.

Save the large number of Cypriot migrants in Great Britain, Germany is currently the only European country outside Greece that can boast a significant

share of Greeks within its population. One in every five northern Greek has spent at least one lengthy period in Germany or is still living there. In fact, what took place in Germany from the 1960s to the 1990s was the greatest wave of migration in modern Greek history. Ten percent of the current Greek population nationwide has lived in Germany for several years or even decades. Of the 1.2 million Greeks involved, approximately one million have returned to Greece. This means that return migration has stood at up to 86%². The Greek population in Germany now ranges from 300,000 to 360,000. In proportion to that population we should also consider the high percentage of school-age children.

In the meanwhile, migrants arriving between the 1960s and the 1990s have led to the emergence of a European citizenry. Greeks who were born in Germany have received a German education study alongside Germans and other foreign students. Some of them discover a fondness for literature, using it as a route to search for their ancestral country and culture. The percentage of second-generation Greeks in Byzantine and modern Greek literature departments ranges from 50% to 60%. It should be stressed that on account of the fact that they have successfully completed their school career in Germany, these students are not equipped to study modern Greek language and literature in Greece, nor do they show any interest in doing so. They study in Germany, in most cases majoring in modern Greek language and literature (rather than Byzantine Studies). At least until recently, they were afforded the opportunity to obtain a *Magister* degree and in some cases a doctorate. Yet to this day it is not possible for them to obtain a degree allowing them to teach modern Greek at the secondary and tertiary level in Germany, despite the fact that this should be provided for by school policy, at least in the federal states with a significant Greek population. Although initiatives along these lines have been taken in Nordrhein-Westphalen, these have proved ineffective on account of the fact that universities are hesitant when it comes to introducing new courses.

The study of modern Greek language and literature in Germany is thus in a situation all of its own. It benefits from Greek-German concurrent education but has little in common with its counterpart in Greece. Furthermore, the gaps that emerge in Germany are difficult to bridge, and have less to do with academic issues than with knowledge of the country itself. Greek students in Germany often know the country whose culture they are studying less well than German travellers enamoured of Greece.

Yet what stance do we, as teachers, take towards the particular role modern Greek studies has to play on account of the Greek presence?

Two Proposals for the German Situation

Two main proposals have been discussed and are worth entertaining here. On the one hand there is “modern Greek for classicists”, and on the other “modern Greek in German Humanities High Schools”.

I shall only comment briefly on the first issue (“modern Greek for Classicists”). I see no reason why students of ancient Greek should not be able to acquire at least the rudiments of modern Greek from a brief, intensive course. This would enable them to come into contact with contemporary Greece and its people as well as with modern Greek literature, which is not only excellent but also in part derives its sources from ancient Greek. Similar measures in Italian universities should act as the paradigm on this score.

The second issue contains both a thesis and an antithesis. First the thesis: as a subject in German schools, modern Greek could be included in the curriculum at high schools for the humanities (*Humanistische Gymnasien*), where ancient Greek is still taught. As well as being positive from the point of view of a general grounding in culture, this would offer additional motivation for studying ancient Greek. If measures to this effect were taken, such high schools would or rather should become the fertile ground on which the small tree of Europe could thrive and bear fruit, nurtured by the tradition for the humanities in Central European culture and by the living culture of a present-day European Union partner.

What is more, such hothouses would be better suited to assuming responsibility for the schooling of Greek students than Greek-only schools or the Greek classes operating in most federal states. The primary and secondary school teachers working in such schools or classes run into the hundreds, and all of them are paid an extra relocation allowance by the Ministry of Education in Athens - a tremendous drain on the Greek economy!

That is all well and good on paper but would such an idea be realistic in Germany? Would it even have any meaning? I say this because there are two weighty arguments against it, which lie on both sides of the same coin: the technical realities of school life, and the ideological non-acceptance of modern Greek in humanities high schools in Germany.

As a subject, ancient Greek is incorporated into inflexible teaching timetables without any margin for extension to Modern Greek. For all their impressive names, German humanities high schools³ have seen the number of students doing ancient Greek slide towards zero. This has led to the point of stagnation, where new ideas are seen as competing against ancient Greek. Just as they have always done, the principals of humanities high schools,

which are prestigious on account of their ancient Greek past, must first take pains to satisfy the minimal interest of their few remaining pupils. For Germany, the time for experiments of the type seen at schools and universities in Italy and Great Britain has past. The idea of setting in motion a final attempt at saving ancient Greek at humanities high schools by calling on third-generation Greek children, who show a lively interest in Greek, has even lost its potential among the Greeks.

Unfortunately, the situation at universities is much the same. In a timely, dispiriting article entitled “The Descent from Olympus”, which appeared in the Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit* in March 1994, we read the following: “In 1972, university statistics still included the sector of ancient Greek as a separate branch. The number of students enrolled shrank from 286 in the 1963/4 academic year to 186. In our statistics ancient Greek is now given under the general heading “Classics and Modern Greek”.

Yet the ideological side of the problem should be taken more seriously than the quantitative one: any association made between the modern Greeks and the ancient forbears has long proved a double-edged sword. Now as in the past, the Philhellenes tend to appreciate the Greeks in terms of classical Greek criteria. And though the role of an Odysseus or a Socrates in his dealings with his legitimate wife may still be bearable with a cheeky wink, the majority of great ancient heroes, poets and wise men have created such stringent moral standards that the demand to live up to them lies well beyond the powers of today’s Yiorgos, Takis, Dimitra or Eleni.

Once again we touch upon the problem caused by the internationalization of the concept of Greek. If the term *Hellenism* is not perceived as a cultural notion, in the sense Isocrates conceived it, as “participation in Greek education”⁴, then the Greeks of today will not succeed in catching the interest of contemporary Philhellenes.

The more the concept of “Greek” within Greece is identified with what is strictly national, the more Greeks the world over feel spurned and wronged. In Greece itself, the root of the problem seems to lie in whether or not there is the capacity to formulate an innovative way of teaching ancient Greek that is Greek-centred in nature. Only a few insubstantial attempts have been made to date; the well-worn route to ancient Greek literature *via* modern Greek translation does at any rate appear to be any sort of solution.

What then is to be done outside Greece? Given that we are teaching the continuity of Greek language and culture from Homer to the present day, how can we cut ourselves off from periods in that culture? How much

academic responsibility can the field of Byzantine and modern Greek bear when it tries to make do with a superficial knowledge of ancient Greek? Yet can it bear responsibility for the fact that by necessity it comes into contact with the foundations of that culture, which are expressed in ancient Greek *via* German translation? Here one could point out that both Goethe and Hölderlin were forced to turn to translations. Yet are those studying Byzantine and modern Greek literature not in need of a comprehensive history of the language itself, and thus of the ancient one?

At this point, I shall leave such ponderings aside. I dare say the time will come when literary studies as an academic discipline will be limited to comparative literature and synchronic linguistics, as seen in the USA. It would be more to the point to reflect on the immediate future of Modern Greek. So here I shall draw a distinction between modern Greek studies and modern Greek language as a subject in its own right.

Modern Greek Studies and the Modern Greek Language

There is not much point in harping on the threatened survival or expansion of so called small languages. Of course, these small languages are not in any sudden danger of disappearing. Rather their expansion into neighbouring European countries remains as limited as it has always been. No unassailable arguments for a more dynamic expansion are to be found in an era in which we are all witnessing the domination of one European language, or of a global *Koine*. In broader political and cultural unions the establishment of one administrative hyper-language (*lingua franca*) is inevitable from an economic perspective. Extra-European reasons mainly dictated by economic factors have imposed English as the common language of the Europeans. The most prominent victim of linguistic assimilation in Europe is not of course Greek or German, but rather French, the relegation of which to a second common language is only a matter of time⁵.

A child only grows up to be bi- or multilingual when there are specific reasons for this to happen. By the same token, in terms of linguistic economy it would be illogical to demand that the majority of the population become multilingual at a time when even the bilingualism demanded in Europe cannot be secured. Ideals such as establishing Greek as an international language within Europe, or better still worldwide, will remain wishful thinking for as long as there are no serious economic reasons for the Greek language to become predominant.

As for the non-Greek who may happen to be interested in learning

modern Greek, we should ask ourselves what reason there could be for a French, English, Dutch, Italian, Spanish or German student to learn Greek. It is perhaps self-evident that we, as specialists, know the reasons. But how will it become possible for us to explain them to others? Vogues, trends and fashions exist in the cultural arena, and there is no reason why they should not exist especially when it comes to such language choices.

The military dictatorship in Greece from 1967-74 led to two phenomena. First, the ideas expressed in Paris in 1968 were late in arriving in the country. Secondly, figures from the world of literature, such as George Seferis and most especially Yiannis Ritsos, or from the world of music, such as Mikis Theodorakis, became ubiquitous outside Greece during the same period. European intellectuals and the youth in particular stood by their downtrodden friends in their fate, and for obvious reasons came into contact with the cultural output of Greece. After the fall of the dictatorship this led to a flourishing interest in the aforementioned figures, in the shade of whom other less well-known people made some impact.

This trend was subsequently bolstered to a significant degree by Greece's accession to the then EEC, but waned from the mid 1980's onwards, particularly after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union post-1989, to the point where it is now in utter decline.

Added to the above is the increased social integration of Greeks living in Germany. If they themselves show interest in culture and can be stirred into action, one notices that they are more oriented towards German paradigms. On the Greek side there have of course been a number of attempts to offer the Greeks added cultural value of various kinds to their language. These have often met with resounding success, but are almost exclusively limited to the field of music and are totally dependent on dominant trends in Greece.

Cooperation as Key

Thus far we have presented a number of thoughts relating not only to the past, but also the future of modern Greek Studies in Germany. In sum, the following conclusions may be reached:

In the face of the ever-dwindling presence of the humanities, modern Greek Language and Literature will only survive outside Greece if isolationism is transformed into co-operation. This does not mean that national traits should be obliterated, or that historical structures developed over time should be neglected. What it does mean is closer adjustment to Europe as a space, together with mobilization in favour of a field of study

that has not yet found the recognition it deserves.

There would be absolutely no sense in sealing the national borders and moving to a division between national and international modern Greek studies. This would be of no help whatsoever nor would it befit Greek culture. Within and beyond Greece, Greeks in the broader sense of the word do not simply have need of one another – they must form a community of mutual support for the common goal. There is no denying that in Greece, modern Greek studies must also serve national interests. Yet at the very least, the fact that the same branch of studies cannot play the same role outside Greece should be seen by students from the country as an opportunity for further training abroad, under the watchword “another perspective”. Quite apart from this, outside Greece there are Greek scholars who are of comparable international standing in their specialization, and it would be well worth anyone’s while to become acquainted with the method they adopt in approaching texts derived from Greek culture.

For example, Karl Krumbacher was the founder of both Byzantine and modern Greek studies in Germany; it is no coincidence that as a rule, modern Greek in Germany goes hand in hand with Byzantine Studies. Could that very fact not be seen as a contribution made by German scholarship, and one that could, within a European framework, have an influence on Greece and the field of modern Greek there?

In any case, the special emphasis placed on the autonomy of modern Greek literature *vis-à-vis* classics or even *vis-à-vis* Byzantine studies has no basis in scholarship, given that a modern Greece without its elder brother Byzantium and its kindly grandfather from ancient times is both historically and intellectually handicapped.

In the introductory remarks to this article we mentioned a critique of the crisis in the field of modern Greek studies which would lead us to final damnation. This critique calls for an explanation. In the 1980s it was possible to acquire a degree in Byzantine and modern Greek Literature at several German universities. There has never been a separate first rank chair in modern Greek studies anywhere. But a *Magister* degree and a *D.Phil.* title majoring in modern Greek literature could be earned at the universities of Berlin, Bochum, Hamburg, Cologne and Mainz-Germersheim (without Byzantine Studies, as a secondary subject with a major in other languages), as well as at Munich, and since 1994 at Leipzig (again as a secondary subject without Byzantine Studies).

Modern Greek is taught as a language at the universities of Bamberg, Bayreuth, Berlin, Bielefeld, Bochum, Bonn, Braunschweig, Bremen,

Cologne, Dortmund, Düsseldorf, Duisburg, Erfurt, Erlangen-Nürnberg, Essen, Frankfurt a. M., Freiburg, Germersheim, Giessen, Göttingen, Hamburg, Hannover, Heidelberg, Jena, Kassel, Kiel, Konstanz, Leipzig, Mainz, Marburg, Munich, Münster, Paderborn, Passau, Regensburg, Stuttgart-Hohenheim, Trier, Tübingen, Würzburg and Wuppertal.

As we said, the tutors either hold tenured lectureships and are paid by the university or they hold positions as instructors and are also paid by the university, or – ever more frequently – they are on secondment from Greek secondary schools and are paid by the Greek Ministry of Education, without the university where they are seconded selecting them or bearing responsibility for them. Yet recent years have seen a radical contraction in German universities across the board, above all in Schools of Arts. Thus in addition to the aforementioned teaching posts, positions have been abolished at the universities of Bochum, Cologne (where students in modern Greek language and literature are no longer accepted) and Leipzig. The position at Mainz-Germersheim was not re-advertised when the incumbent retired, while the Greek Ministry of Education has undertaken to fund the post of Stiftungsprofessor at Berlin.

There now only remain two tenured professorships (not chairs) in Germany, a country of 82 million people with approximately 350,000 Greeks and over 340 universities and institutes of higher education.

Yet this is not the most desperate news. The most desperate news is the radical restructuring of German universities being executed within the Bologna framework. In this case, Germany, just as Greece, signed legislation the consequences of which are still only dimly in sight. The Bologna decisions force universities to draw up and implement curricula for Bachelor (BA) courses, a move unprecedented in the history of German universities. German accordance with this new system must be completed by 2010 (just as in Greece!). Students must be able to acquire the BA in three years or six semesters. For the BA in modern Greek language and literature (as a major), they must have successfully completed one semester at a university in Greece or Cyprus. Studies are organized around points and modules, on the basis of a timetable of at least forty hours per week. In other words, in addition to totally abolishing the famed “Humboldt University” and consequently leading to the absolute “schoolification” of “university”, this system has repercussions in practical terms: in the last twenty years, I have not had a single student who did not also hold a job in order to survive. This work in parallel with studies often assisted students in forging a career. However, the

very nature of the new Bologna BA system makes it impossible for students to have such a job. In addition, the launch of the new system goes hand in hand with the introduction of fees, to start at 500 Euros per semester.

The Bachelor's degree is directly linked to some profession and is required to assist graduates in establishing a career faster. Yet what career path could modern Greek specialists follow? Should they not be educated or rather have been educated as "literary scholars", so that by using the methods involved in a literary scholar's treatment of texts, they are in a position to approach an exalted culture, which in our case is the oldest in Europe? In that way they would also secure the professional grounding for a wider field of employment. In any case, are literature, linguistics or comparative literary disciplines not a multicultural affair?

Here we are only talking of BA programs. At present, such a program only exists at the University of Hamburg; there is none at Munich, the capital of Bavaria, which has a tenured position, and none at Berlin, where the position is at least guaranteed by funds from the Greek Ministry of Education.

In terms of "higher" studies such as the Master or the D. Phil., no program exists for students now wishing to commence studies in modern Greek language and literature, nor is anyone in a rush to draw it up, for students will first have to have received a BA.

Conclusion

The main conclusion to be drawn is this: there is no point in fighting for chairs or positions in modern Greek language and literature in Germany, because from now on the struggle will be to find students in a position to study the discipline under such conditions, even at the remaining university places.

However idealistic such merits may have been, it would appear that the time has come to bid them farewell. They were merits we inherited from the time of Wilhelm von Humboldt, and which we preserved down to the present day. In the case of Schools of Arts this was even done as a dogma, i.e. as representing the unity of research and teaching. Thus far we believed that the knowledge teachers were in a position to transmit was only that which they themselves had acquired as the outcome of the creative process involved in their own research. We believed that education should activate creative faculties, contribute to character formation and be conducive to overall individual growth; rather than being a means to an end, it should be an end in itself.

All of the above were aims of the educated European bourgeoisie, mainly

laid down in non-Catholic countries during the 19th century. It would appear that in the wake of historical events in the 20th century, and above all “after Auschwitz”, this model of the educated citizen was so radically undermined that it is being irretrievably consigned to extinction.

The fundamental shift from the ideology of a *School of Arts* to the “schoolification” of university studies to which it has given way is even betrayed by the word *Ausbildung* (training), in place of the former *Bildung* (education). Of course, it was impossible for modern Greek studies to resist this radical change. There was and is no room for teaching the “end in itself”. When talking of the “schoolification” of universities, we include the development of modern Greek language and literature in the two directions the field has taken both in Greek universities and in other literatures in Germany: towards Comparative Literature and Theoretical Linguistics. These two particular fields may have some future. However, we not only require academic posts (there are two in Germany), but also broad-ranging institutes to teach them. One academic alone cannot master both disciplines, particularly when he or she should probably also be teaching Byzantine Studies. This broad range of related fields can thus only be offered at universities in Greece and Cyprus. In practice we are mainly referring to basic studies that must now end in a BA degree. Yet if we wish to salvage some final remainder of the “research and teaching” combination, we could imagine the following model: having acquired the BA at Greek universities, Greek and German students could come to German universities for postgraduate study, where they would be introduced to academic research, for which the new system has made absolutely no provision.

In the introduction we referred to the “crisis” which is currently facing Modern Greek, and which we have experienced right to the core. So let us make a new beginning, the beginning after the crisis. Whether we will succeed under the conditions currently prevailing in Europe can neither be predicted nor ruled out in advance.

NOTES

1. There is of course one separate chair in “Neogräzistik” in the German-speaking countries, at the University of Vienna.
2. Figures as per Diether Hopf and Chryse Hatzichristou, “Rückkehr in die Heimat. Zur schulischen und sozialpsychologischen Situation griechischer Schüler nach der

Remigration”, *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik* 40 (1994) Nr. 1, 147-170, plus Diether Hopf (oral communication).

3. The evolution of the percentages of students of Greek (by the term Greek we mean only Ancient Greek) from 27 837 students in 1982 (representing a percentage of 3,34%) to 18 441 in 1989 (a percentage of 0,29%), do come from the volume «Sprachen im Europa von morgen» edited by Thomas Finkenstaed and Konrad Schröder, Berlin 1992. The more recent numbers for 2006 are 14 650 students for Ancient Greek.

4. Isocrates, Leipzig edition 1902, 4,50: τους της παιδείσεως της ημετέρας μετέχοντες.

5. The current legislative act aimed at “Gallicisation of the French” bears striking witness to the path of national entrenchment. Yet national entrenchment has always been a sign of cultural decline.

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Modern Greek Programs in Australian Universities

Michael Psaromatis*

RÉSUMÉ

Durant les années 1960 on assiste à l'immigration massive d'Européens vers l'Australie. Les Grecs étaient parmi les groupes migratoires les plus nombreux vers ce pays à cette époque. Une fois établis, tout comme d'autres Européens, les Grecs ont travaillé inlassablement afin de promouvoir leur culture et leur langue. Ce faisant ils ont construit beaucoup de centres communautaires, d'églises, et d'écoles grecques. Avec l'écoulement du temps et avec l'augmentation des étudiants Grecs dans les universités, le besoin d'enseignement du grec moderne au niveau universitaire devenait pressant. Cet article examine l'histoire des programmes d'enseignement du grec moderne dans les universités australiennes depuis l'établissement du premier programme à l'Université Charles Darwin dans les Territoires du Nord. L'article examine les facteurs responsables de la fermeture de certains programmes d'enseignement du grec moderne mais aussi les facteurs qui ont contribué au succès, à la durabilité et au progrès de ces derniers. Finalement, l'auteur suggère quelques propositions indispensables à la survie des programmes d'enseignement du grec moderne et à leur avenir dans les universités australiennes.

ABSTRACT

The 1960s brought the mass migration of Europeans to Australia. Greeks were amongst the largest migrational groups to come to Australia in that period. Like other Europeans, the Greeks worked tirelessly to promote their culture and language. In doing so they built many community centres, churches and Greek schools. As time passed, the need for modern Greek at a university level was pressing, as the number of Greek students at universities had increased. This article explores the history of modern Greek programs in Australian universities from the first established program at the University of New England in New South Wales, to the most recently established program at the University of Charles Darwin in the Northern Territory. The author deals with the factors responsible for the closing of certain programs but also explores the factors which have contributed to the success, sustainability and progress of other programs. Finally, the author attempts to shed some light on considerations for the survival of modern Greek programs in Australian universities.

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General Overview of the Existence of Modern Greek Programs in Australian Universities

European languages in Australian universities thrived just after the year 1970 when the political idea of multiculturalism was introduced. Previously, languages such as French and German were quite popular and existed in certain Australian universities. The most prestigious universities were offering classical and Byzantine Greek successfully for several decades, into the twentieth century. These departments were not in favour or willing to introduce modern Greek programs into their departments. For the sake of multiculturalism a lot of Federal Government money was spent on developing and maintaining modern Greek and other European language programs at Australian universities¹. Due to a large influx of students of non-English-speaking background attending Australian universities, the federal and state governments had to not only financially support these language programs but also implement language policies.

These policies would ensure that language learning and teaching at tertiary level would be successful, especially to those languages such as modern Greek which were regarded as “languages of national priority”. These policies further enhanced the prosperity of modern Greek in Australian universities. Modern Greek programs were most certainly influenced by the relatively powerful lobbying by the Greek community. The Greek migrants of this era heavily promoted the learning of modern Greek. This is evident from the appearance of successful Greek Schools which were established by the Greek Communities. This fervent promotion of modern Greek by the Greek people further reiterated the fact that modern Greek was in demand and a necessity at tertiary level. Obviously, the demand for modern Greek in New South Wales and Victoria was initially, more greater than that of any other state or territory because of the large numbers of Greek speaking people in these states. In these instances and with the help of great donations by certain wealthy members of the Greek Community and the Church we see the first modern Greek language programs being established in Australia, firstly at the University of New England in 1968 and secondly at the University of Sydney in 1972³. In 1974 and 1975 we see modern Greek appearing in Victoria firstly in Melbourne University and secondly at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT).

By 1992-1993, the number of Australian universities offering modern Greek had reached a remarkable fifteen. Modern Greek was offered at six institutions in New South Wales, six institutions in Victoria, two in South

Australia, and one in Western Australia⁴. Unfortunately the twenty-five years of blissful reign came to an astounding halt after the year 1993, when a rapid decrease in the number of modern Greek programs throughout all the Australian universities, took place. The decline was evident in 2003 when the lowest number of Modern Greek programs reached six⁵.

In the early 1990s, the Modern Greek Studies Association of Australia and New Zealand was established in Australia. The objectives were to create a collaborative network among academics; promote Modern Greek Studies; organise biennial international conferences; and publish the journal *Modern Greek Studies* (Australia and New Zealand.) Unfortunately, given the dramatic loss of academic staff, the number of association members declined as did the activities. Having said this, the association still manages to publish the journal and organize the biennial international conferences.

General Factors for the Decline of Modern Greek Programs in Australian Universities

By the early 1990s, Greek migration to Australia had nearly become obsolete. The academic demand for Modern Greek would thus become lower than the previous decades⁶. Another factor entered: the increase of Greeks marrying outside their culture. It is recorded that 51.9% of children from these marriages use only English at home⁷. With the integration of cultures, the identity of the offspring is often questioned. Over the years mixed marriages, identity and the almost complete lack of Greek migration to Australia has watered down the “Greek desire” for language courses seen in the 1960s and 1970s. This is demonstrated by the decline in numbers of Australian-Greek students taking up modern Greek in Australian universities⁸.

The drop in Greek in the late 1980s and early 1990s coincides with an increase in German, French and Japanese. This statistic has made the smaller number of Greek programs almost completely unsustainable⁹. What should also be mentioned at this point is that modern Greek programs were unsuccessful in attracting high numbers of students of non-Greek background. This became all the more evident when other competitive European languages (French, Spanish, German and to an extent Italian) were able to attract students of the wider Australian community in much larger numbers. This was very challenging for modern Greek. It is important to note that the number of Spanish and French students in the Australian

universities is very impressive.

One of the main factors for the decline of Greek programs is the gradual downgrading of the multicultural philosophy by the government¹⁰. This took place in the early 1990s when Australia saw a shift of government interest towards Asia. With the huge trade deals occurring between the two continents, Australia saw an enormous influx of Asian immigrants and the demand of Australians wanting to learn Asian languages for business purposes¹¹. In the spirit of promotion of relations with Asia, the Australian government granted bountiful funding to universities to establish Asian language programs¹². This further increased the financial cuts in languages such as modern Greek thus paving the way for its disastrous decline in Australian Universities¹³. Another important factor for the decline of Greek in universities is that since 1992, Australian universities have introduced high tuition fees, rendering it difficult for able students to undertake extra subject overloads and further degrees and diplomas¹⁴.

Modern Greek Program Initiatives

Due to the factors described in the previous section which relate to the decline of modern Greek programs, departments have tried to implement new strategies designed to attract more students. In so doing, modern Greek programs were made more economically viable, signalling a re-emergence of Greek. First, modern Greek programs offered units of study taught in English as electives to all students. These courses are usually in Greek culture, history and Greek-Australian issues. This was not primarily nor specific to modern Greek programs, as other mainstream disciplines moved into collaboration with other departments and disciplines in order to establish what we now know as cross-discipline study. Second, Greek programs began to introduce two levels of modern Greek language topics: beginners and advanced. Both of these initiatives have enabled non-Greek-speaking students to undertake topics in modern Greek therefore boosting enrolment numbers.

The current programs, offer diplomas and certificates in modern Greek. Some programs also offer interpretation and translator training. The modern Greek programs also have single topics which can be taken as electives, a major or minor in an arts or international studies degree. At the post-graduate levels, there are also graduate diplomas and certificates offered, as well as masters and doctorates. Some institutions offer these educational opportunities by correspondence.

The Creation, Evolution, Closure and Existence of Modern Greek Programs in Australian Universities

In order to complete this paper, many interview questionnaires were sent to academics throughout Australia. Unfortunately only a small number of replies were received. This was due to the limited time. Unfortunately, we did not receive official statistical data. Any statistics we state are those which were provided to us through the interviews conducted.

In this section we will endeavour to look at the specific history of the main modern Greek programs in Australian universities. They will be explored by state.

New South Wales

Modern Greek in New South Wales has been overall quite successful. At one stage there appears to have been six university institutions which provided modern Greek. Today only three survive¹⁵. At least these surviving institutions appear to be sufficiently stable. The other three institutions of New South Wales which once offered such Greek programs are the University of New England (extended analysis is given below), Charles Sturt University and Wollongong University. Below light will be shed on the three surviving programs and also we will discuss the now obsolete program at the University of New England for historical purposes.

The first ever modern Greek program to be established in an Australian university was the program at the provincial university of New England in Armidale NSW¹⁶. This program was offered as a correspondence course. It was instituted by a scholar of ancient Greek, Peter Thomas, who had taken great interest in the study of modern Greek and convinced the board of the University of New England to establish a course there¹⁷. He was very successful as there were many Greek migrants who attended university and were then given the opportunity to study modern Greek formally¹⁸. The program at New England had a very comfortable number of students enrolled and hence with regards to enrolment, it was quite successful. Unfortunately though, due to university cutbacks and especially with the deteriorating financial situation of the School of Philosophy, the modern Greek program at New England closed at the end of 2001¹⁹. What is evident from this situation is that the closure was definitely not a product of the lack of student enrolment nor was it a lack of community lobbying. Primarily it appears that the program was a victim of the government's financial cutbacks²⁰.

In 1972 the modern Greek program was established at the University of

Sydney. It was established because of the donation from a very generous Kytherian migrant, Sir Nicholas Laurantus²¹. Sir Laurantus and other Greeks, who held high positions in business and politics, established a board to form and maintain a Chair of Modern Greek at the University of Sydney²². In the first three years of its operation, the modern Greek department employed two full-time and one part-time member of staff²³. The amount of students throughout the 1970s was on average 150 per year and the highest amount of student enrolment had reached 300 in the late 1980s²⁴. In the first five years, the Modern Greek Chair had seven post graduates²⁵. Now the number of post graduates remains healthy. In general, the modern Greek post graduates of the University of Sydney have undertaken research mainly in the area of literature, cultural studies, history and Greek Australian issues²⁶. Approximately 20–25 % of the students undertaking modern Greek are of non Greek speaking background or products of mixed marriages where one parent is of Greek origin²⁷. This figure is constantly on the rise²⁸. The remaining 80-75% of students are of predominantly Greek background²⁹. Currently, the modern Greek department at the University of Sydney is funded by faculty funds, whilst 75% of one position is covered by the Sir Nicholas Laurantus Fund³⁰.

The Macquarie University was established in 1988 by Vasilis Giorgiou. It was substantially funded by the Greek Studies foundation which gave the amount of \$375,000 to the university. Unfortunately Vasilis Giorgiou who was very energetic and who steered the initial success of modern Greek at Macquarie passed away. The foundation continues to support the Greek program at Macquarie. Macquarie University has good numbers of enrolments, offering various subjects and courses, both in the under graduate and graduate domains³¹. At this present moment there is one member of staff, however the Greek government has decided to supply another member of staff in 2007.

The modern Greek program at the University of New South Wales was established in 1989–1990. It currently has two members of staff one being a lecturer who has been granted by the Greek Ministry. Among the post graduates, there are four doctoral candidates exploring themes of Greek Literature, Politics and other areas. The Greek program also publishes an online modern Greek Journal called *Mirror*. The University of New South Wales is quite steady in its approach to ensure the continuation of the modern Greek program there.

Canberra

Modern Greek was introduced in 2001 at Canberra via the Australian National University. It was supported by the Classics department but was firstly run in outreach by the University of Sydney and then by Macquarie University. The program was greatly supported by the Greek Embassy and the Hellenic Club of Canberra³². Unfortunately extremely low enrolment led to the inevitable closure of the program after four years of operation in 2005³³.

Victoria

Comparatively, Melbourne has not fared that well with respect to the continuation of modern Greek programs, especially given that it is regarded the third largest Greek city after Athens and Thessalonica. Victoria once boasted six university institutions which offered modern Greek programs whilst now only three institutions: La Trobe University, University of Melbourne (which is outreached by Latrobe) and the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT). The other modern Greek programs which do not exist anymore were offered at: Deakin University, Monash University and the Victoria University of Technology.

In Victoria, modern Greek was introduced in 1974 at the University of Melbourne after the efforts of a long appeal by the Greek community to collect the required funds³⁴. In 1975 a course was established at RMIT. This course was specifically designed for interpreters and translators and was supported and funded by a Federal Government grant³⁵. In 1981 the translators and interpreters course was transferred to Victoria College³⁶. In 1982 Monash University began to hold classes of modern Greek. This was instituted to make life easier for Monash University students who were doing modern Greek through the Greek program offered at the University of Melbourne³⁷. In 1988 Monash University established a modern Greek program with Pavlos Andronikos as the first chairperson³⁸. Later the translators and interpreters courses at Victoria College amalgamated with Deakin University which had also established its own modern Greek program. This merger was the product of the Dawkins reform which was instilled in the late eighties by the then Minister of Education, John Dawkins. This policy made all colleges and technical education institutions amalgamate with universities so that there would only exist a unified university-only system³⁹. Unfortunately in 1996 the modern Greek program along with the translators and interpreters courses closed, due to the advent of government changes and a decreasing demand for

modern Greek translators and interpreters⁴⁰. The modern Greek program at RMIT continued until 2001 when for unknown reasons declined⁴¹. However, over the past few years there has been a lecturer who is granted by the Greek Ministry who administers to a small modern Greek program at RMIT⁴². Prior to 2001, modern Greek at RMIT was actively involved in all areas of language teaching at research. The program had organized many successful conferences; programs abroad with the University of Ioannina and it boasted an integral Centre, specializing in Greek-Australian migration.

In 1982, modern Greek was taught at La Trobe to help Latrobe University students who were undertaking Greek at the University of Melbourne⁴³. Greek became very popular at La Trobe. In fact, there were more students in La Trobe classes than at the University of Melbourne. In 1987 La Trobe established its own modern Greek program employing a Senior lecturer and two full time lecturers⁴⁴. The inaugural chairperson was Mr. Chris Fifis⁴⁵. In the first year of its operation the program had just over 100 under graduate enrolments and in the proceeding five years boasted four to five post graduates annually⁴⁶. The highest amount of student enrolment in this program was between the years 1990 – 1993, whilst the lowest amount of student intake has been in the last three years⁴⁷. Today there are about 200 students in total who are enrolled at least in one study topic unit, and about eighty students are enrolled in language topics⁴⁸. The areas of interest for the post graduates range from linguistics, literature, history and theatre. Some of the post graduates have worked in the university system in other fields, whilst others are secondary teachers looking to broaden their expertise⁴⁹. Students in the modern Greek program at La Trobe are mainly of Greek background with few exceptions⁵⁰. The modern Greek program is primarily funded by the university with some assistance from the Greek and Cypriot governments. The department is also very fortunate because it has a fully paid lecturer supplied by the Greek Ministry⁵¹.

South Australia and Northern Territory

In the early 1970s, there was a strong lobby by both the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia and the Greek Orthodox Community for modern Greek to be introduced at the university level. Finally with the support of the Australian Labour Party, modern Greek was introduced at the Adelaide Teachers College (later known as Adelaide College of Advanced Education) in 1973⁵². The primary idea was to produce teachers in the state school system who would be capable of teaching modern Greek at primary and secondary schools. This idea was promoted by the newly introduced policy

of Multiculturalism⁵³. In 1978 a two year interpreting and translating course was introduced at the Adelaide College of Advanced Education (ACAE)⁵⁴. Whilst this was a landmark in the journey of modern Greek studies in South Australia, it was far from ideal. Unfortunately, students of the Adelaide and Flinders Universities who sought to undertake modern Greek at this institution could not obtain any recognition by the universities. This meant that students would have to enroll separately to the ACAE and take on a study overload, doing modern Greek as well as their university degree⁵⁵. Later in the late 1970s and early 1980s, university students wanting to do modern Greek at the ACAE were not permitted because the ACAE was receiving funds for students enrolled in degrees not subjects, therefore it was claiming that these extra students (university) were being taught for free⁵⁶.

After very long and tiring lobbying by prominent members of both the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese and the Greek Orthodox Community, community petitions, backing of the Hellenic republic, the required funds from the governments of Australia and Greece and the funds raised by the Greek communities, the modern Greek program at Flinders University became a reality in 1989⁵⁷. The inaugural appointed Professor of Modern Greek at Flinders was Dr D. Dimiroulis, who had previously been a lecturer in modern Greek at the University of Sydney. At the same time in 1990, the Dawkins reform forced the merger and the transportation of the ACAE with the University of Adelaide. The Greek Program at the University of Adelaide only lasted until 1992.

During the first few years, the modern Greek program at Flinders experienced a healthy influx of student enrolments which gave rise to a certain enthusiasm. Unfortunately, this enthusiasm was shortlived because Flinders University would suffer the new government policies and other declining factors already explored. This was also not helped by the resignation of Dr Dimiroulis, who found a post at Panteion University of Athens⁵⁸. His resignation at that crucial time abolished the Modern Greek Chair at Flinders⁵⁹. In 1995, the department went through crisis⁶⁰. With the added support of the communities and later on with the monetary assistance of the Greek government, the modern Greek program was given a reprieve. This gave the department, time to devise certain structures and policies. Over time these measures were implemented. The modern Greek program was promoted and certain initiatives, (which have been discussed) improved enrolments and research outcomes. The academics built successful relationships with the Greek communities, and together they developed a successful, solid and sustainable

program⁶¹. This success was even more apparent with the establishment of the Biennial Conference. The conference is becoming more and more dynamic, with the appearance of high profile international and national academics. This conference produces a publication which incorporates all the proceedings of the conference. The conference also serves as a professional development period for primary and secondary modern Greek teachers. The success of the modern Greek program at Flinders is also attributed to the establishment of the Foundation for Modern Greek Studies. This recently established foundation will provide a solid financial and community base to promote modern Greek studies and culture in South Australia.

Modern Greek is now offered through the program at Flinders, to three Universities of South Australia. They are Adelaide, South Australia and Flinders. From 2005 the Modern Greek department of Flinders University also outreaches to Charles Darwin University via video conferencing. The establishment of modern Greek at Charles Darwin has been branded as unique and successful. It is unique because the students in Darwin have the chance to enroll in topic codes provided by the Charles Darwin University. Also lecturers do not only use videoconferencing as a sole means of teaching but travel to Darwin on a monthly basis, establishing a warm environment. There is a similar prospective program to be offered at Griffith University, Queensland in 2008⁶². Currently there are four members of staff one granted by the Greek Ministry. The other three positions are funded by Flinders University.

Western Australia

In Western Australia there appears to have been three institutions which have held a modern Greek program at one point. The two now non-existent programs appeared at the University of Western Australia and at Edith Cowan University (which closed in 1992⁶³). Today, Greek in a Western Australian university survives in the relatively newly established modern Greek program at the University of Notre Dame.

It appears that the first modern Greek program was established in the University of Western Australia in 1980 under the guidance of President Dr Michael Lekias⁶⁴. It was funded and supported by the Hellenic Community, federal and state levels of government, the Greek government and the Greek Consulate in Perth⁶⁵. Unfortunately, over a short period of time, the program lacked sufficient enrolment and for this reason the Chair was lost. Efforts were raised after the demise of the Modern Greek Chair to revive modern Greek classes for adult learners, who were possible prospective teachers at

Greek schools and public schools. This was initiated in 1983 and until 1998 these short courses, part of the university's outreach to the community, were held sporadically, analogous to the number of student enrolments.

The modern Greek program at the University of Notre Dame was established in 1999 after a Greek Consular initiative, which initiated the monetary support of the Greek government and certain individuals from the Greek Community⁶⁶. The program offers just about all the capabilities that one can undertake at the other universities mentioned, at undergraduate level, but does not offer post graduate studies. In its inaugural year, 30 students were enrolled and in the following years this number rose to about 50⁶⁷. An interesting statistic is that the percentage of Greek-background students as opposed to non-Greek students is approximately 50-50⁶⁸. Today there is one member of staff who is contracted by the Greek Ministry.

Considerations for the Future

It is evident from the above that modern Greek programs in Australia remain fragile. It is necessary to undertake measures to enable the existing modern Greek programs to continue and develop. There are three factions which need to work collaboratively together, in order to get the best possible results for modern Greek education at a tertiary level in Australia. These three factions are academics and the departments of modern Greek studies, Greek communities and Greek lobbying groups, and finally the Greek and Cypriot Governments.

Academics within the modern Greek programs in Australia should develop appropriate and successful strategies in promoting modern Greek studies inside the universities and in the wider society. This would ensure enrolment levels sufficient for the standards of Australian universities. It is important to emphasise that in Australia over 100 to 150 students per program are required. It appears that this number is comparatively higher than that of the equivalent programs at European universities. This naturally shows that modern Greek programs in Australian universities have a much higher pressure than that of modern Greek at European universities. Greek academics should actively be involved in research and publishing. They should also develop dynamic postgraduate program studies, but most importantly, they develop research initiatives relating to the historical and social Australian reality. In the past, the Greek departments were unable to receive any significant and competitive national grant. These grants will only be harder to obtain in the future due to the limited number of academics in the area of modern Greek studies and the multiple variety of activities in which they are engaged in. It seems that the

academics that were dynamically involved in the areas mentioned succeeded in developing and maintaining successful modern Greek programs.

The role of the lobbying by the Greek Community is extremely important in supporting the modern Greek programs research and cultural activities. After all, the modern Greek programs in Australia were introduced because of the initiative of the Greek community to lobby for each program. Again it is the academics' responsibility to approach the Greek communities and show leadership in guiding the community to take the most realistic and necessary steps. Finally it is absolutely vital that this Greek community – university relationship establishes foundations and trusts (at least one per major state New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia) like that in South Australia. The establishment of these institutions will provide financial support, community awareness and political support for the longevity of modern Greek at a tertiary level.

It is common knowledge that Greece and Cyprus are supporting Greek studies abroad with limited funds. This is a very welcome, positive and generous initiative, if we consider that no other European country offers equivalent support for their language in Australia. Also vital is the relatively recent decision of the Greek government to support Greek programs by sending qualified educators to service the Greek programs in Australian universities; this is something that other European countries were doing previously. There is however a need for the Greek and Cypriot governments to undertake research in order to understand the nature and dynamics of each Greek program in Australia so that their support can be more efficient and strategically effective for the distant future.

NOTES

1. M. Tsianikas, “Η Περίπτωση των Νεοελληνικών Τμημάτων Αυστραλίας, Πολυπολιτισμός, Ελληνική παιδεία, Έρευνα” in *Hellenic Studies In the Antipodes At the Dawn of the 21st Century*, pp. 69-73.
2. J. Hajek, N. Nicholas, “The Rise and Fall of Modern Greek in Australia's Universities, What can a quantitative analysis tell us?” in *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education*, Vol. 3 (2), pp. 195-209.
3. Christos N. Fifis, “The Teaching of Modern Greek in Australia: Expectations, Institutions, and the Politics of Multiculturalism” in Christos P. Ioannides (Ed), *Greeks in English Speaking Countries: Culture, Identity, Politics*, A.D Caratzas, N.Y 1997, pp. 122-124.

4. J. Hajek, N. Nicholas, "The Rise and Fall of Modern Greek in Australia's Universities, What can a quantitative analysis tell us?", *op.cit.*, p. 198.
5. *Ibid*, p. 200.
6. Michael Clyne, "Τα ελληνικά στην Αυστραλία" in Ρούλα Τσοκαλίδου, Μαρία Παπαρούση (Ed), *METAIXMIO επιστήμες: Θέματα ταυτότητας στην ελληνική διασπορά. Γλώσσα και λογοτεχνία*, METAIXMIO, Athens 2005. pp. 59-68.
7. *Ibid*, p. 64.
8. *Ibid*. pp. 64-68.
9. J. Hajek, N. Nicholas, "The Rise and Fall of Modern Greek in Australia's Universities, What can a quantitative analysis tell us?", *op.cit.*, p. 200.
10. Χ. Φίφης, "Η Ελληνο-αυστραλιανή παροιμία και τα προβλήματα της ελληνομάθειας" στο Anna Chatzinikolaou, Michael Jeffreys, (Ed), *Modern Greek Studies* (Australia and New Zealand) Vol 5-7, University Printing Press, Melbourne 1997-1999, p. 276.
11. Μ. Tsianikas, "Η Περίπτωση των Νεοελληνικών Τμημάτων Αυστραλίας, Πολυπολιτισμός, Ελληνική παιδεία, Έρευνα" *op.cit.*, p. 72.
12. *Ibid*.
13. Χ. Φίφης, "Η Ελληνο-αυστραλιανή παροιμία και τα προβλήματα της ελληνομάθειας" *op.cit.*, pp. 276-277.
14. Christos N. Fifis, "The Teaching of Modern Greek in Australia: Expectations, Institutions, and the Politics of Multiculturalism" *op.cit.*, p.133.
15. J. Hajek, N. Nicholas, "The Rise and Fall of Modern Greek in Australia's Universities, What can a quantitative analysis tell us?", *op.cit.*, p. 200.
16. *Ibid*, p. 198.
17. Χ. Φίφης, "Η Ελληνο-αυστραλιανή παροιμία και τα προβλήματα της ελληνομάθειας" *op.cit.*, pp. 276.
18. *Ibid*.
19. Νίκος Μαχαλιάς, "Τα Νεοελληνικά στα πανεπιστήμια της Νέας Νότιας Ουαλίας στην αυγή του 21ου αιώνα" in *Hellenic Studies In the Antipodes At the Dawn of the 21st Century*, p. 60.
20. The Hon. J. M. SAMIOS, Question to the Special Minister of State, NSW Legislative Council Hansard, 10 October 2000, Pages 8799 - 8800, article 11.
21. Νίκος Μαχαλιάς, "Τα Νεοελληνικά στα πανεπιστήμια της Νέας Νότιας Ουαλίας στην αυγή του 21ου αιώνα", *op.cit.*, p. 60.
22. Interview with Dr Anthony Dracopoulos, 12 September 2006.
23. *Ibid*.
24. *Ibid*. Also note that the means for measuring students now, differed to the way student numbers were measured in the 1970s. In the 1970s the raw number of students

was measured. Today, enrolments are calculated as enrolments to all units of study.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*

32. Interview with Assoc. Prof. Michael Tsianikas, 10th September 2006.

33. The Classic's Program Report for 2005, "Teaching", Australian National University College of Arts and Social Science: School of Language Studies, at http://arts.anu.edu.au/languages/classics/classics_annual_report2005.asp [accessed 20th September 2006].

34. Χ. Φίφης, "Η Ελληνο-αυστραλιανή παροικία και τα προβλήματα της ελληνομάθειας" *op.cit.*, pp. 276.

35. Interview with Mr. Chris Fifis, 8th September 2006.

36. Χ. Φίφης, " Η Ελληνο-αυστραλιανή παροικία και τα προβλήματα της ελληνομάθειας" *op.cit.*, pp. 276-277.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*

39. J. Hajek, N. Nicholas, "The Rise and Fall of Modern Greek in Australia's Universities, What can a quantitative analysis tell us?", *op.cit.*, p. 196.

40. *Ibid.* p. 201.

41. *Ibid.* p. 199.

42. Interview with Assoc. Prof. Michael Tsianikas, 10th September 2006.

43. Interview with Mr. Chris Fifis, 8th September 2006.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*

52. Nicholas Ganzis, "Politics and Greek Education in South Australia" in Elizabeth

Close, Michael Tsianikas, George Frazis (Ed) *Greek Research in Australia: Proceedings of the Annual Conference 23-24 June 2000*, Elikon Fine Printers, Melbourne 2001, p. 122.

53. *Ibid*, pp., 120-125

54. *Ibid*, p., 124.

55. *Ibid*, p., 125.

56. *Ibid*, pp.125-128. Please refer to this article by Nicholas Ganzis if you would like further information as to the reasons why Modern Greek was not welcomed at Adelaide University, and why the Flinders University attempt was put on hold.

57. *Ibid*, pp.127-133.

58. *Ibid*.

59. *Ibid*.

60. Interview with Assoc. Prof. Michael Tsianikas, 10th September 2006.

61. *Ibid*.

62. *Ibid*.

63. J. Hajek, N. Nicholas, "The Rise and Fall of Modern Greek in Australia's Universities, What can a quantitative analysis tell us?", op.cit., p.199.

64. Angela Yiannakis, "The past, present and future status of Modern Greek in Western Australia", in *Hellenic Studies in the Antipodes at the dawn of the 21st Century*, pp., 42-43. Note: Angela Yiannakis in this document also says "Modern Greek was offered at the UWA (University of Western Australia for a period of time in 1969, a feat which I am hoping to learn more about through my research". Unfortunately I was unable to verify this and because no other published document mentions any study I refrain from adding this in the main text. Hopefully in the future with some added research this fact can be verified.

65. *Ibid*, p. 47.

66. *Ibid*.

67. *Ibid*.

68. *Ibid*.

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Les études néohelléniques en Espagne

Moschos Morfakidis Filaktos*

ABSTRACT

This article gives a historical overview of the relationships developed between the Iberian Peninsula and Byzantine Greece since the Middle Ages. The author also highlights the Spanish interest in the Greek world during the Ottoman Empire. The current situation of modern Greek studies in Spain follows. The author describes a lively yet fragile field of study. He believes that the result of current efforts will depend on careful choices and coordination. He calls upon the Greek state to play a crucial role therein.

RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur présente un aperçu historique de relations développées depuis le Moyen-Age entre la péninsule Ibérique et le monde grec de Byzance, ainsi que l'intérêt des Espagnols pour le monde grec durant la période de l'occupation ottomane. Il présente par la suite la situation actuelle des études néohelléniques en Espagne, un portrait vivant mais fragile, comme il le laisse lui-même entendre. En effet, l'auteur pense que le résultat des efforts actuels pour développer les études néohelléniques dépendra des choix judicieux et de la coordination de mouvements et estime que l'Etat grec est appelé à y jouer un rôle crucial.

L'étude méthodique de la civilisation byzantine, mais aussi de la Grèce contemporaine n'a été développée en Espagne que récemment, malgré le fait que des conditions favorables y étaient présentes depuis longtemps.

Dans un bref parcours historique, nous pouvons constater que les peuples de la péninsule Ibérique au Moyen Age avancé, et principalement dès le 13^e siècle, et après, ont développé des relations politiques et culturelles étroites avec Byzance¹. Des voyageurs espagnols se sont fixés comme but de connaître et décrire l'Orient grec, tandis que des soldats originaires de Castille se sont battus aux côtés des derniers soldats défenseurs de Constantinople. La défaite de Constantinople a été accompagnée des chants plaintifs des peuples de la péninsule Ibérique, tandis que le roi d'Aragonie, Alfonse V, le Megathymos (1416-1458), rêvait à la création d'un Empire chrétien de la

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Méditerranée. Plus tard, Ferdinand le Catholique (1479-1516), en tant qu'héritier des droits d'Andreas Paleologue, fils du despote Thomas, a revendiqué officiellement le trône de Byzance.

Au 16^e siècle l'Espagne était devenue le principal espoir des Grecs sous occupation pour se libérer du joug ottoman². Les offres du trône de Byzance aux monarques espagnols et l'installation des populations grecques sur le sol de l'empire espagnol ont eu beaucoup de succès. Parallèlement, brillants ont été les exemples de la présence grecque dans le domaine de l'art, tel le cas de Dominicos Theotokopoulos, alors qu'un nombre important d'hommes de lettres³ ont laissé leurs traces dans les grandes bibliothèques espagnoles et dans les archives qui ont été créées à cette époque, parmi lesquelles on distingue les bibliothèques d'Escorial et la bibliothèque Nationale de Madrid⁴.

Après la bataille navale de Lépante (1571), l'intérêt pour l'Orient grec a augmenté considérablement. Francisco de Moncada a écrit l'histoire de la fameuse Compagnie Calatalane en puisant entre autres dans des sources grecques et Jerfinimo Zurita dans les très connues *Annales de la Corona de Aragon* donne assez d'informations sur Byzance. À son tour, la littérature du siècle d'or des lettres espagnoles nous a laissé des œuvres importantes, telles le fameux «Voyage en Turquie», centré sur les régions grecques de l'Empire Ottoman.

En 1775 nous rencontrons le moine franciscain Antonio Fuentes, qui enseigne le grec moderne au Collège de la Sainte Croix à Nicosie, et qui publie une grammaire de la langue grecque démotique, tandis qu'au début du 19^e siècle l'intérêt des Espagnols pour la Grèce contemporaine se manifeste de façon plus systématique, principalement grâce à l'influence du philhellénisme anglais et français et à l'admiration portée à l'insurrection grecque de 1821. Dans ce climat on remarque justement l'intérêt du politicien et écrivain andalou Juan Valera (1824-1905), qui en 1850 nous a donné les premières traductions connues de la poésie néohellénique dans le livre de Salvador Constanzo portant le titre «Manuel de la littérature grecque avec une brève référence à la littérature grecochrétienne... et à la langue et la littérature de la Grèce contemporaine».

Dans la même période, une série de grands philologues et historiens originaires de Catalogne s'inspirent tant de la Grèce ancienne que des luttes des Grecs contemporains pour recouvrer leur indépendance. Le cas de l'helléniste Antoni Bergnes de las Casas (1801-1879) est caractéristique. Celui-ci s'est préoccupé de démontrer la continuité ininterrompue de la nation grecque et de sa langue, tandis qu'il a imposé à l'Université de Barcelone la prononciation du grec moderne dans la lecture des textes anciens. Ses enseignements ont été

suivis par Joseph Balari (1844-1904), qui fut son étudiant et continuateur de son oeuvre au sein de la même université. J. Balari commençait ses leçons avec Homère, arrivait à Jean Chrysostome et aux premiers textes chrétiens, poursuivait avec les chroniqueurs byzantins et terminait par Loukis Laras de Demétrios Vikelas⁵. A été également son étudiant et professeur de philologie romaniste, Antoni Rubif i Lluch (1856-1938), qui a consacré sa vie à l'étude de la présence catalane dans l'Orient grec⁶, tandis que son oeuvre comprend également des études sur la langue néohellénique et des traductions des auteurs grecs contemporains⁷. En 1928 celui-ci a introduit l'enseignement de grec moderne à l'Université Centrale de Barcelone, qui cependant a été aboli immédiatement après sa mort (1937)⁸. L'exemple de Bergnes de las Casas a été suivi fidèlement également par Sebastian Civac Estopanan, qui a publié dans un texte bilingue (grec et espagnol), «Χρονικό της Ηπείρου και τα Ιωάννινα των αδελφών Κομνηνού και Προκλου» «la Chronique d'Epire et de Ioannina des frères Comnène et Proclus»⁹, traduction de la Chronique de Skytzi¹⁰ et a fondé une bibliothèque spécialisée sur Byzance et la Grèce moderne au Département de la philologie grecque de l'Université de Barcelone.

Tout indiquait que vers la moitié du 20^e siècle ont été posés les jalons pour le développement des études byzantines et avec elles des études néohelléniques en Espagne. Les choses cependant n'étaient pas si simples parce que, comme cela a été démontré, leurs principaux représentants ont été des cas isolés. Il est également très probable que l'orientation des philologues espagnols classiques ait influencé favorablement l'orientation vers les études indo-européennes avec l'imposition de l'Ecole de Salamanque. Et encore il n'est pas suffisant d'expliquer pourquoi les choses n'avaient pas le résultat escompté à Barcelone, où l'enseignement du grec moderne a été réintroduit seulement en 1960.

Le successeur de S. Cirac Estopanan à l'*Université Centrale de Barcelone*, José Alsina Clota et son étudiant Carles Miralles, se sont adonnés sporadiquement à l'étude de la littérature néohellénique en traduisant principalement de la poésie, tandis qu'en 1966 ils ont publié également une histoire de la littérature néohellénique. Ils sont demeurés cependant fidèles à la philologie classique. Mais les traductions de *Digenis Akritas* et de la *Diigisis tou Velisariou* par le professeur Juan Valera de la même université ne constituent pas un mobile déterminant pour la connaissance plus ample de la littérature médiévale populaire.

La seule exception a été le cas d'Eudald Solà Farrés, qui a traduit Cavafy en catalan (comme d'ailleurs le poète Carles Riva), et qui a imposé l'enseignement

de grec moderne au programme d'études de la philologie romanique¹¹. Parallèlement celui-ci a fondé le *Centre d'études byzantines et néohelléniques*, qui a été abrité à l'Académie des Lettres de Barcelone¹², mais qui après sa mort a traversé une crise profonde, mettant en évidence une fois de plus le caractère personnalisé des études néohelléniques. Aujourd'hui, les étudiants de Ernest Marcos Hierro et Eusebi Ayensa enseignent le grec moderne aux Universités de Barcelone (Centrale) et de Girona.

Dans le reste de l'Espagne l'intérêt pour la Grèce contemporaine, et un peu moins pour Byzance, a commencé à se manifester au sein des cercles universitaires de Salamanque¹³ et de Madrid¹⁴ de la part d'enseignants connus de la philologie classique: Antonio Tovar a jeté les bases des études indo-européennes comme professeur de l'Université de Salamanque. Luis Gil, étudiant de Tovar s'est occupé de l'humanisme en Espagne et avec la politique espagnole en Méditerranée Orientale et le Proche Orient. Manuel Fernandez Galiano à l'Université Autonome a traduit des poèmes de Seferis et a été le premier président (et unique membre pendant longtemps) de la Société Espagnole d'Etudes Byzantines. Francisco Rodriguez Adrados à l'*Université Complutense*, connu entre autres pour la rédaction du dictionnaire de grec ancien (qui inclut aussi la période des premiers siècles chrétiens) s'est intéressé plus récemment au grec moderne qu'il a inclut dans son histoire de la langue grecque. Des plus jeunes, comme Goyita Nunes, ont commencé en étudiant les lettres grecques médiévales (*Chronique de Morée*) et par la suite se sont intéressés à la Génération des années 30 (Elytis, Ritsos, Seferis). D'autres encore plus jeunes, tels José Maria Floristàn ont étudié les archives espagnoles pendant la période de l'occupation ottomane. A l'Université Complutense Pénélope Stavrianopoulou, en commençant par l'Institut des Langues et après par le Département de Philologie classique, développe une importante activité, tant pour l'enseignement du grec moderne que pour d'autres activités, telles l'organisation des rencontres scientifiques et la publication de la revue *Mas cerca de Grecia* (publiée depuis 1993).

A l'*Université Nationale de Formation à Distance (UNED)* l'enseignement du grec moderne est offert de 1991-1992 à deux niveaux par Pabon.

A l'*Université Autonome de Madrid*, où durant les dernières années se développe également une activité importante pour ce qui est des études néohelléniques, on offre depuis trois ans un diplôme de master d'une éducation non programmée, sous la responsabilité du professeur de la philologie classique Jesus de la Villa. Sont organisés également de façon sporadique des séminaires et des rencontres scientifiques avec des sujets analogues.

A l' *Université de Granada*¹⁵ l'enseignement du grec moderne est offert depuis 1981, au début comme sujet de choix de la Philologie classique. Aujourd'hui, des séries de cours sont dispensés à l'Ecole de la Philosophie et à l'Ecole de Traduction et d'Interprétation, où le grec moderne est offert désormais comme matière de spécialisation (3^e langue). En 2000 a été formée l'équipe de recherche sur les «Etudes Byzantines, Néohelléniques et Balkaniques», reconnue par le gouvernement autonome d'Andalousie, basée au Département de Philologie Grecque et Slave, tandis que depuis 2004 fonctionne-ce qui est unique au monde – un programme ispanophone de 3^e cycle, d'études byzantines et néohelléniques (PhD). En 1992 l'enseignement du grec moderne a été introduit également au Centre de Langues Contemporaines. La responsabilité d'études néohelléniques appartient au Dr. Moschos Morfakidis.

Depuis 1987 sont organisées les *Rencontres Internationales sur la Grèce* sur des sujets de nature monographique. En 1992 celles-ci ont coïncidé avec le symposium international pour la religion à Byzance et à la Grèce contemporaine, en 1996 avec le 1^{er} *Congrès des Néohellénistes de la Péninsule Ibérique et de l'Amérique Latine* et en 1997 avec le Symposium international sur Nikos Kazantzakis.

Depuis 2000 opère le *Centre d'études byzantines, néohelléniques et chypriotes*, qui a été fondé avec l'initiative du gouvernement grec. Il a pour objectif l'avancement des études néohelléniques dans le monde hispanophone avec le fonctionnement d'une importante bibliothèque (qui aujourd'hui compte plus de 15 000 titres) et la réalisation des programmes de recherche et de traduction qui regroupent des spécialistes à travers toute l'Espagne, l'Amérique Latine mais aussi l'Europe. Il développe également une importante activité d'édition (publication d'archives, des monographies et traductions), organise de séries de cours de grec moderne et des rencontres scientifiques (Symposium International sur Seferis, et Congrès International «Constantinople: 550 ans depuis la conquête ottomane»), en continuant la tradition de l'Université de Grenade avec laquelle il collabore étroitement à tous les niveaux (éducation, recherche, culture). Le Centre développe également des activités vouées à l'avancement des études greco-slaves.

A l'*Université du Pays des Basques*, où depuis 1985 sont offerts des cours de lettres médiévales et de grec moderne. Y ont enseigné jusqu'à récemment le Dr. José Egea (médiévale) et le Dr. Olga Omatos (lettres néohelléniques). Leur œuvre est continuée aujourd'hui par Javier Alonso Aldema. A cette université ont été organisés le Congrès international Neograeca Medii Aevi

III (1994) et le 3^e *Congrès des néohellénistes de la Péninsule Ibérique et de l'Amérique Latine* (1995).

A l'*Université de la Laguna* (Ténériffe)¹⁶, l'enseignement du grec moderne a été introduit depuis 1987 par le professeur Dr. Isabel Garcia Galvez. Y est publiée une série de traductions de littérature grecque contemporaine, tandis qu'à des intervalles réguliers précis sont organisées des journées consacrées à la culture grecque moderne. En 2001 y a également été organisé le 2^e *Congrès des néohellénistes de la Péninsule Ibérique et de l'Amérique Latine*.

A l'*Université de Salamanque* l'enseignement du grec médiéval et moderne a été introduits en 1987 dans le programme d'études de philologie classique. Depuis 2003 on offre un diplôme spécialisé (3^e cycle) à l'*Ecole de traduction et d'interprétation*. Le Dr. Anastassios Kanaris est le responsable de ce programme.

A l'*Université de Malaga* les cours de grec moderne ont commencé à être dispensés en 1989-90 au sein des études classiques. En 1994, à la même université, le grec a été reconnu également comme matière de spécialisation (3^e langue) à l'Ecole de Traduction et d'Interprétation. Les responsables d'enseignement sont le Dr. Manuel Serrano Espinosa et Ioanna Nikolaidou.

Depuis 1997-1998, le grec moderne comme matière de spécialisation (3^e langue) a été introduit également à l'*Université de Alicante*, sous la responsabilité de Dr. Manuel Serrano Espinosa.

Des cours isolés dans le cadre d'études classiques sont donnés également aux universités:

- *Valladolid* (depuis 1994-1995). Professeur Responsable: Amos Lopez Jimeno.
- *Cadiz* (depuis 1994-1995). Professeur Responsable : Dr. Javier Ortola Salas.
- *Murcia* (depuis 1998-1999). Professeur Responsable : Dr. Alicia Morales Ortiz.
- *Valencia* (depuis 2000). Professeur Responsable : Dr. Antonio Melero Bellido.
- *Oviedo* (depuis 2003). Cours donnés par des enseignants envoyés par la Grèce.
- *Cordoba* (depuis 2006).
- A l'*Université d'Almeria*¹⁷ l'enseignement du grec moderne est inclus depuis 1993-1994 au programme d'études humanistes sous la direction du Dr. Juan Luis Lopez Cruces.

Le grec moderne est enseigné seulement dans des Instituts de langues dans les Universités:

- *Zaragoza* (depuis 1987). Responsable d'études : Emmanuel Yiatsidis.
- *Séville* (depuis 1994). Responsable d'études : Raquel Pérez Mena.

L'existence d'établissements éducationnels tels *les Ecoles Officielles de Langues* (*Escuelas Oficiales de Idiomas*) rend plus facile aussi la promotion du grec moderne au grand public non universitaire. Il s'agit d'établissements étatiques, qui offrent divers niveaux de langue et dispensent un certificat officiel de connaissance de la langue après les examens de niveaux correspondants¹⁸. Jusqu'à maintenant le grec moderne a été introduit aux *Ecoles officielles des Langues de Madrid* (1985), de Barcelone (1986)¹⁹, de Malaga (1991) et d' Alicante (2002).

L'*Association hispano-hellénique* développe depuis 1979 une importante activité pour l'avancement et la promotion de la culture néohellénique. Cette Association publie la revue annuelle d'études byzantines et néohelléniques *Erytheia*. Dans ses activités sont également inclus l'organisation des rencontres scientifiques, des cours de grec moderne et des activités culturelles.

L'activité des associations qui ont des buts semblables, telles les *Prfimacos*, qui opèrent à Séville depuis 1982, et *Yéfira*, basée à Ténériffe est aussi importante.

En 1996, à l'occasion du 1^{er} Congrès des néohellénistes de la Péninsule Ibérique et d'Amérique Latine, a été fondée à Granada la *Société hispanique d'études néohelléniques* (*Sociedad Hispanica de Estudios Neogriegos*). Son but est la promotion d'études néohelléniques au niveau de l'éducation primaire et secondaire, l'organisation des rencontres scientifiques, l'édition d'oeuvres de littérature grecque et la solution d'aspects techniques de l'enseignement du grec. Bien que membre de la Société européenne d'études néohelléniques, son activité couvre tout le monde hispanophone. Présidents de la Société ont été le Dr. Moschos Morfakidis (1996-2001) et le Dr. Olga Omatos (2001 jusqu'à aujourd'hui). Depuis 1997 elle publie la revue annuelle *Estudios Neogriegos*, tandis qu'elle a organisé parallèlement deux congrès internationaux et un nombre important de rencontres scientifiques.

Conformément à ce qui a été exposé plus haut, nous constatons qu'au niveau universitaire, l'enseignement du grec moderne est dispensé: a) dans les programmes d'études de la Philologie Classique de quatre universités, b) dans les programmes d'études de traduction et d'interprétation de quatre universités et c) dans trois instituts universitaires de langues.

Fonctionnent également un programme de 3^e cycle (PhD), un programme de maîtrise (master) d'éducation non spécialisée, une équipe de recherche et deux centres d'études byzantines et néohelléniques.

Il existe une société scientifique, des néohellénistes; sont publiées trois revues scientifiques et opèrent différentes associations culturelles, qui ont des activités scientifiques.

Le grec moderne est enseigné également dans quatre Ecoles officielles des langues et a été aussi introduit à l'école secondaire dans un petit nombre de centres d'éducation.

Même si les messages pour l'avenir des études néohelléniques en Espagne apparaissent optimistes, cependant, dans la réalité le danger de leur marginalisation est évident. Le fait que le grec moderne n'a pas encore été reconnu juridiquement comme un champ de connaissance constitue un obstacle réel pour son développement en tant que branche autonome d'études avec l'octroi d'un diplôme équivalent, malgré le nombre important d'étudiants, pour les données européennes, qui suivent les cours se rapportant à la matière.

La solution de ce vide juridique important constitue un besoin vital parce qu'il contribuerait à la solidification de ces études à l'Université et faciliterait l'introduction de l'enseignement du grec moderne dans l'enseignement secondaire, ouvrant de cette façon la voie pour la plus ample promotion des lettres néohelléniques dans un pays comme l'Espagne, dont le peuple semble être particulièrement réceptif à la Grèce contemporaine et à sa culture.

Aujourd'hui les conditions sont plus favorables que jamais. Le nouveau cadre juridique permet l'enseignement du grec moderne au niveau de l'enseignement secondaire comme deuxième et troisième langue, tandis qu'est évident le désir de beaucoup de professeurs de grec ancien de connaître et d'enseigner le grec moderne et la culture grecque contemporaine. Un pas important, de toute façon serait la réciprocité s'agissant des sujets d'études de langues, avec la promotion de la langue grecque, parallèlement avec la langue espagnole tant dans les universités qu'au niveau de l'éducation secondaire des deux pays. Cependant, pour ce faire est requise la vigilance de l'Etat grec, surtout au niveau diplomatique.

L'unification du système universitaire européen, à travers l'accord de Bologne, qui doit se réaliser jusqu'en 2010, peut dès le départ effrayer avec les changements drastiques qu'il va apporter. Parallèlement cependant ce système peut donner une nouvelle occasion aux dites «petites langues» pour les transformer en deuxième spécialité dans le nouveau système du double certificat d'études. Il suffit que les responsables de la matière bougent à temps et fassent avancer correctement le grec moderne comme deuxième choix de diplôme d'études de langues.

L'envoi de personnel de support pour l'enseignement du grec à des universités, qui est d'une importance vitale, à travers le programme de détachement d'enseignants grecs au niveau d'éducation secondaire, devrait être appuyé d'une collaboration plus étroite des intéressés de façon à éviter le mauvais choix de ce personnel. Étant donné que le sujet est particulièrement important, on doit y faire face ayant comme guide l'expérience qui a déjà été acquise dans l'espace universitaire : a) une première preselection des candidats de la part d'un comité spécial, dans laquelle devraient participer entre autres des enseignants universitaires de l'étranger et b) le choix de ceux qui ont réussi de la part de l'Université d'acceptation.

Pour ce qui est du domaine des traductions, on assiste à une augmentation spectaculaire des anthologies de poésie et d'œuvres de Cavafy, Seferis, Elytis et Ritsos, tandis que pendant les dernières années on observe aussi un intérêt en augmentation constante pour la prose (en dehors de Kazantzakis qui est connu depuis des décennies). Cependant les petits tirages et le manque des rééditions (à l'exception de Cavafy) montrent que les œuvres traduites se font suite aux choix et aux préférences des traducteurs et non suivant la demande du public, qui d'habitude n'a pas l'information nécessaire, tandis que souvent celui-ci fait face à de grandes difficultés pour les obtenir.

Les raisons de cette situation doivent être recherchées bien-sûr également chez les éditeurs, qui, comme il est naturel, ne donnent pas toujours l'attention requise à la littérature d'un petit pays quand ils ont devant eux le champ vaste de la production littéraire internationale. La contribution des revues littéraires, qui par moment acceptent de publier des traductions des textes d'auteurs grecs contemporains, est sans doute importante. Dans leur majorité, cependant, il s'agit de revues à caractère local qui s'adressent à un public restreint, tandis que sont complètement absentes les éditions spéciales consacrées à des écrivains grecs contemporains. Il est donc clair qu'ici aussi on a besoin d'une promotion plus systématique et efficace de la littérature néohellénique de la part des responsables au niveau du gouvernement grec, qui finance les traductions de la littérature grecque contemporaine. Il faut ici signaler le manque de programmes spéciaux pour la traduction d'écrivains grecs classiques contemporains.

Il est évident, que dans peu de temps on pourra juger si en fin de compte les études grecques modernes réussiront à se développer ou à se rétrécir. Le résultat, sans aucun doute dépendra de choix judicieux et de la coordination des mouvements, pour laquelle l'État grec peut jouer un rôle important en intensifiant les efforts qui sont sans contredit méritoires ces dernières

années. Il est d'une importance vitale de tracer une politique logique et réaliste dans le domaine du financement, de sorte que l'argent ne soit pas gaspillé pour des manifestations multiples et sans importance, mais contribue au renforcement des départements universitaires les plus méritoires. De façon à assurer leur survie dans les jours à venir, qui seront difficiles pour toutes les langues sans exception, «petites» et «grandes».

NOTES

1. Les cas des relations familiales entre les rois d'Aragon et de la dynastie de Lascaris de Nice sont caractéristiques. Voir M. Morfakidis, «La politique de la Couronne d'Aragon dans l'Orient Chrétien au 14^e siècle», in J. De la Villa – S. Galimataki (sous la direction de), *Ellada kai oi Eschaties tis Evropis (La Grèce et les fins fonds de l'Europe)*, Madrid, 2004, pages 31-44). Autre caractéristique le rôle de la dynastie des Catalans et la présence des Navarejons (habitants de Navarre) dans le monde grec, l'activité culturelle du Grand Maître (Magister) des Chevaliers de Rhodes Juan Fernandes de Heredia, et les relations d'Émanuel V Paleologue (1391-1402) avec les monarques espagnols.
2. J.M. Floristan Imizcoz, *Fuentes para la politica oriental de los Austrias: la documentacifn griega del archivo de Simancas (1571-1621)*, Lefin, 1988, 2 tomes.
3. Voir à ce sujet J. Hasiotis, *Schesis Ellinon kai Ispanon sta hronia tis tourkokratias Les relations entreles Grecs et les Espagnols dans la période de l'occupation ottomane*, et du même auteur «Grecia en el marco de la politica mediterranea espanola desde el siglo XV hasta principios del XIX», *Erytheia*, 4 (1984), pp. 73-84. L. Gil Fernandez, «Griegos en Espana», *Habis*, 21 (1990), pp. 165-171 et du même auteur «Griegos en Espana», (siglos XV-XVII), in M. Morfakidis-I. Garcia Galvez, *Estudios neogriegos en Espana e Iberoamérica*, II, Granada, 1998, pp. 123-143. Gregorio de Andrés, «El helenismo en Toledo en tiempo del Greco», *Cuadernos para la Investigación de la Literatura Hispánica*, 11 (1989), pp. 167-175 et du même auteur *El helenismo en España en el siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1976.
4. Le sujet a été étudié en détails par L. Gil Fernandez, *Panorama social del humanismo espanol (1500-1800)*, Madrid, 1981.
5. Les premiers intellectuels Catalans qui ont étudié la langue et la littérature grecques modernes ont été étudiés par Victoria Hatzigeorgiou Hasioti. V. Hatzigeorgiu de Hassiotis, «Los primeros contactos de los espanoles con la literatura neogriega», in M. Morfakidis – I. Garcia Galvez, *Estudios neogriegos en Espana e Iberoamérica*, II, Granada, 1998, pp. 407-422.
6. En plus d'une série importante d'articles et de monographies, l'œuvre la plus importante de *Diplomatari del Orient Catala*, Barcelona, 1947, inclut le corpus des

documents qu'il a retracé dans les archives d'Espagne, d'Italie et de la France.

7. En 1878, il a traduit l'œuvre d'Ath. Christopoulos «O Pligomenos» (*Le Blessé*) et en 1869 l'œuvre historique de Ep. Stamatiadi «Oi Katalanoi en ti Anatoli», (*Les Catalans en Orient*), tandis qu'en 1890 il a publié une anthologie de nouvelles des auteurs grecs de son époque.

8. Des informations importantes sur son oeuvre nous sont fournies par E. Sola Farrés, *Antoni Rubifi i Lluch, bizantinista i grecista, Reial*, Academia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona, Barcelona, 1988.

9. C'était le sujet de son doctorat.

10. A partir du code de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Madrid.

11. Pour son oeuvre voir J. Hasiotis, «Alexis Eudald Sola Farrés (1946-2001)», dans Moschos Morfakidis (sous la direction de), *Filoptaris, édition consacrée à Alexis-Eudald Sola*, Granada 11-18.

12. Pour plus d'informations concernant les études néohelléniques à l'Université de Barcelone voir E. Sola, *Procès-Verbaux de la rencontre des néohellénistes européens* (4-4-1995), Athènes, 1996, pp. 261-265.

13. Philip Metzidakis, *La Grecia de Unamuno*, Madrid, 1989.

14. Pour ce qui de la problématique reliée aux études néohelléniques en Espagne, voir l'intervention de Goyita Nunez dans *Procès Verbaux de la Rencontre des néohellénistes européens*, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-135.

15. Voir Moschos Morfakidis, dans *les Procès Verbaux de la Rencontre des néohellénistes européens*, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-162.

16. Voir à ce sujet Theodora Polychrou, «El griego moderno en la Universidad de La Laguna. Problemas de metodologia», *Griego: Lengua y cultura. Cuadernos del tiempo libre*. Coleccifin Expolingua, Madrid, 1995, pp. 17-22.

17. Pour l'intervention de Juan Luis Lopez Cruces voir *les Procès verbaux de la Rencontre des néohellénistes européens*, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-143.

18. Pour le caractère et le fonctionnement des Ecoles Officielles de Langues de l'Espagne voir Maria Teresa Magadan, «Classes experimentales de civilizacifin griega moderna en la Escuela Oficial de Idiomas de Barcelona», in M. Mofrakidis-I. Garcia Galvez, *Estudios neogriegos en Espana e Iberoamérica*, II, Granada, 1998, t. I, pp. 155-166 et l'intervention du même auteur dans *les Procès-verbaux de la Rencontre des néohellénistes européens*, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-155. Voir aussi l'intervention d'Elias Danelis lors de la même rencontre, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

19. Voir Maria Teresa Magadan, «Ta nea Ellinika Stin Kratiki Scholi Xenon Glosson tis Varkelonis», «Le grec moderne à l'Ecole Etatique des Langues Etrangères de Barcelone», *Procès-Verbaux de la Rencontre des néohellénistes européens*, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-155.

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G. Myrtsioti (sous la direction de) «*O ellinismos tis Ispanias*» (*Les grecs de l'Espagne*), *Epta Imeres*, encart du journal *I Kathimerini* (17-1-1999).

Miguel Cortés Arrese (sous la direction de), *Toledo y Bizancio*, Madrid, Cuenca, 2002.

J. De la Villa – S. Galimataki (sous la direction de), *Ellada kai oi eschaties tis Evropis*, (*La Grèce et les fins fonds de l'Europe*), Madrid.

Les études néohelléniques à travers le monde

Stephanos Constantinides*

ABSTRACT

This article provides a panorama of modern Greek studies in several European countries, in Canada and on two continents (Africa and Asia). The author also treats the issue of chairs named after political families or after personalities from the business and literary world in Greece.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article tente de présenter un aperçu global des études néohelléniques dans un certain nombre de pays de l'Europe, au Canada en Afrique et en Asie. L'article tente aussi de cerner la question de chaires consacrées aux dynasties politiques grecques ainsi qu'aux personnalités du monde littéraire et financier.

Les études néohelléniques à travers le monde sont présentes dans les universités anglosaxonnes (Etats-Unis, Australie, Grande-Bretagne, Canada), dans le monde francophone (France, Belgique, Suisse, Canada), dans le monde germanophone (Allemagne, Suisse) et dans le monde hispanophone (Espagne, Amérique Latine). Il existe aussi des programmes d'études néohelléniques dispersés dans d'autres pays comme l'Italie, les pays balkaniques, l'Europe de l'Est, la Russie, les anciennes républiques soviétiques, le Japon, l'Inde et la Chine.

Dans cet article nous allons nous référer aux études néohelléniques dans les différentes parties du monde qui ne sont pas incluses dans les articles précédents de ce numéro. Ainsi nous allons parler de ces études dans les pays francophones, la Grande-Bretagne, le Canada, l'Italie, les pays balkaniques, les pays de l'Est, les républiques de l'ex-Union Soviétique et la Russie, la Turquie, l'Amérique Latine, l'Afrique, l'Inde, la Chine et le Japon.

Nous allons nous référer aussi aux chaires dites «politiques» créées par les élites grecques pour perpétuer la mémoire des personnalités du domaine politique, économique et littéraire.

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Les études néohelléniques dans les pays anglosaxons

Comme il y a déjà deux articles dans ce numéro qui se réfèrent aux États-Unis et l'Australie, nous allons nous limiter ici à la Grande-Bretagne, au Canada et à l'Afrique du Sud.

Grande-Bretagne

En Grande-Bretagne la plupart des programmes d'études néohelléniques cohabitent avec des études byzantines ou classiques. C'est ainsi que le Département d'études helléniques sans doute le plus important en Grande-Bretagne, celui du King's College de l'Université de Londres est coiffé du nom «Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies». Ce département a une longue tradition dans le domaine de l'étude de l'histoire byzantine et néohellénique ainsi que de la langue et de la littérature grecques. Son histoire commence en 1919 avec l'inauguration de *la chaire Koraes* (Chair of modern Greek and Byzantine history, Language and Literature) dont le premier titulaire était le grand historien britannique Arnold J. Toynbee. D'autres éminents byzantinologues tels Romilly Jenkins, Cyril Mango et des néohellénistes ou historiens tels Peter Mackridge, Richard Clogg, et Philip Sherrard ont œuvré dans ce département.

A l'Université de Birmingham des études néohelléniques coexistent avec les études byzantines et ottomanes au sein du «Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies». Dernièrement les études néohelléniques du premier degré ont été supprimées au profit des études byzantines. A l'Université de Birmingham survivent maintenant seulement les études néohelléniques du deuxième et troisième cycles¹. Les études néohelléniques ont été introduites à cette université aux années 1930 par le grand philologue classique anglais George Tompson. Bien que philologue classique, Tompson croyait à la continuité de l'hellénisme, de l'antiquité jusqu'à nos jours. Durant les années '60 la fille de Tompson, Margaret Alexiou, enseigna sur Byzance et le grec moderne, avant d'occuper plus tard la chaire Seferis à Harvard. Durant les années '80 a été créée la chaire autonome des études byzantines et en même temps a été fondé le Centre des études byzantines, ottomanes et néohelléniques².

A l'Université d'Oxford les études néohelléniques coexistent aussi avec les études byzantines. C'est ainsi qu'à l'intérieur de la Faculté des langues médiévales et modernes il y a la «Subfaculty of Byzantine and Modern Greek».

A l'Université de Cambridge il y a le «Modern Greek Section» à la Faculté des langues médiévales et modernes.

Ces quatre universités britanniques sont les seules à offrir des cours conduisant à l'obtention d'un diplôme d'études néohelléniques. Elles offrent des cours de langue, de littérature, et de civilisation grecques³.

Selon Dimitris Tziovas les études néohelléniques en Grande Bretagne sont en décroissance, comme d'ailleurs l'ensemble des sciences humaines. Cette décroissance est due aux nouvelles orientations économiques et politiques de la Grande Bretagne et aux changements plus larges qui s'opèrent dans son système d'éducation. Tziovas constate déjà le recul de l'étude des langues au niveau secondaire où leur enseignement n'est plus obligatoire. Pour les études néohelléniques le recul est dû aussi au déplacement de l'intérêt vers les pays balkaniques qui sont entrés au sein de l'Union Européenne, ou vers les pays de l'Asie et en particulier vers la Chine, où existe un intérêt économique marqué. Tziovas note le fait que les autorités britanniques considèrent comme important l'enseignement de la langue arabe et de la langue turque, des langues russes et des autres langues des ex-républiques soviétiques, ainsi que des langues japonaise, chinoise, et d'autres langues de l'extrême Orient⁴. En fait, tout est relié aussi aux intérêts économiques et stratégiques du pays concerné, à savoir de la Grande Bretagne. Tziovas note encore qu'un des désavantages des programmes grecs est le manque de ressources éducatives. Il y a le manque des manuels pour l'enseignement du grec moderne, le manque de livres en anglais pour l'enseignement de l'histoire culturelle de la Grèce (musique grecque, cinéma grec, art grec, médias, etc.). Le même auteur est aussi critique à l'envoi d'enseignants Grecs pour enseigner la langue grecque dans les universités britanniques ou autres universités à travers le monde, parce qu'ils ne sont pas bien formés pour un tel travail. Un autre point qu'il a soulevé concerne l'inféodation des études néohelléniques aux études classiques et byzantines. A une autre époque cela aurait pu être avantageux, puisque les universitaires dans ce domaine avaient une connaissance de la langue grecque, ancienne, médiévale et moderne. Ce n'est plus le cas, d'autant plus que les études classiques et byzantines ne sont plus reliées seulement à la Grèce, comme autrefois. S'agissant des études classiques il y a plus d'intérêt pour le latin et Rome et quant aux études byzantines l'intérêt se tourne vers les pays balkaniques et ceux de l'Europe de l'Est. C'est pourquoi celui-ci implique une reconnaissance académique propre aux études néohelléniques, considérant qu'à l'heure actuelle ces études ne sont pas traitées comme une discipline académique sérieuse (is not treated as a serious academic discipline⁵). Il est évident que l'enseignement d'autres langues, jugées d'un intérêt stratégique, se combine avec l'enseignement de l'histoire et de la civilisation des pays concernés. Si on ajoute

à cela le fait que les universités britanniques fonctionnent de plus en plus comme des entreprises commerciales, on comprend que les études qui n'attirent pas un grand nombre d'étudiants et donc n'apportent pas de l'argent, ne constituent pas des priorités dans leur programmation. Dans ce contexte le petit département dont le nombre d'étudiants est limité risque de souffrir le premier. On pourrait aussi considérer comme une faiblesse des études néohelléniques en Grande Bretagne, ce qui est d'ailleurs le cas pour la plupart des autres pays où ces études existent, le fait que le plus grand nombre des étudiants qui les suivent sont des Grecs, ou d'origine grecque.

Canada

Au Canada les études néohelléniques sont enseignées à l'Université York de Toronto, à l'Université Simon Fraser de Colombie Britannique, à l'Université McGill de Montréal, à l'Université de Montréal et à l'Université Concordia. A l'exception de l'Université de Montréal, les autres sont des universités anglophones. La chaire à l'Université York a été créée en 2003 grâce au travail de la Fondation pour l'héritage hellénique (Hellenic Heritage Foundation) qui a recueilli les fonds nécessaires à sa création. Il s'agit en fait d'une chaire d'histoire grecque moderne.

Dans le cas de l'Université Simon Fraser la chaire a été créée en 1996, aussi grace aux contributions de la communauté grecque de la Colombie Britannique. La communauté a été déchirée par la suite, car au lieu des études néohelléniques, la chaire a été attribuée à l'histoire, releguant l'enseignement du grec en matière secondaire⁶. En plus, l'Etat grec a été obligé d'investir de sommes considérables, (en plus de celles investies par la communauté), pour sauver l'enseignement du grec.

A l'Université McGill la chaire des études néohelléniques a été créée au debut des années 2000 grace à un don légué par l'armateur grec Frixos Papachristidis et une contribution du gouvernement grec. En principe cette chaire est attribuée à trois universités de Montréal: McGill, Concordia et l'Université de Montréal. C'était à cette condition que le gouvernement grec a apporté son soutien financier pour la création de cette chaire. En pratique, cela n'a pas été clairement établi, laissant des zones grises qui mettent en danger l'existence de la chaire elle-même, ou son détournement vers d'autres domaines. McGill a déjà exprimé des velléités de nommer comme professeur quelqu'un ne parlant pas le grec, provenant du domaine des études ethniques.

Il faut noter qu'au Québec existaient des programmes d'enseignement du grec aux Universités Laval, McGill et Montréal, depuis les années '60-'70.

Des cours de langue grecque sont aussi donnés périodiquement dans d'autres institutions universitaires ou collégiales du Canada, comme c'est le cas du Collège Dawson à Montréal.

Il existe aussi des Centres reliés aux études helléniques, le Centre pour la civilisation hellénique (Centre for Hellenic Civilization) au département d'études classiques de l'Université du Manitoba et le Centre de recherches helléniques du Canada-KEEK, basé à Montréal. Le premier est un Centre interdisciplinaire qui s'oriente surtout vers les études classiques avec quelques cours de grec moderne, le second est un Centre de recherches. Le Centre de recherches helléniques du Canada connu par son sigle KEEK, est une organisation à but non lucratif fondée par une équipe de chercheurs et d'universitaires qui partagent un intérêt commun : l'étude de l'hellénisme tant de la Grèce que de la diaspora- la promotion de la langue et de la culture grecques. Fondé en 1979, le Centre a été l'instigateur d'une variété d'activités, telles de projets de recherche, de séminaires et des conférences. Dans le cadre de ses efforts de recherche et de promotion de la culture hellénique, le Centre publie la revue académique bilingue *Etudes helléniques-Hellenic Studies*. Le Centre a été aussi à l'origine de plusieurs autres publications.

Afrique du Sud

Des cours de langue et de civilisation grecques sont dispensés dans certaines universités de l'Afrique du Sud. Ceux-ci sont dispensés à l'intérieur des départements des études classiques. Il est évident que l'intérêt est porté essentiellement sur le grec ancien et beaucoup moins sur le grec moderne. On trouve des cours de grec à l'Université de Cape Town, au département des langues et littératures classiques, au Rand Afrikaans University, au département d'études grecques et latines et à l'Université de Praetoria, et au département de philosophie.

Les études néohelléniques dans les pays francophones

France

Dans les pays francophones il y a une longue tradition de l'enseignement de la langue et de la littérature grecque. En partie cette tradition est liée à l'enseignement du grec ancien dans le cadre des études classiques. Dans la mesure où il y a de plus en plus un déclin des études classiques, on assiste au même déclin des études néohelléniques.

En France l'Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (INALCO) fut depuis le début du 20^{ième} siècle un carrefour pour l'enseignement de la langue et de la civilisation grecques. C'est là où enseigna

Jean Psycharis et André Mirambel, figures bien connues, le premier pour l'imposition du grec démotique (de la langue grecque démotique) et le second pour la promotion de la langue et de la littérature grecques en France.

D'autres universités françaises ont développé aussi le domaine des études néohelléniques: à l'Université de Nancy II où il existe l'Institut d'études néohelléniques, à l'Université Charles de Gaulle Lille III, à l'Université de Nice-Sophia Antipolis où il existe le Centre universitaire d'études grecques modernes, à l'Université de Lyon III, à l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV) où il y a l'Institut d'études néohelléniques, à l'Université de Strasbourg II, à l'Université Paul Valéry Montpellier III, etc. Dans la plupart de ces universités il s'agit de l'enseignement de la langue grecque et parfois de la littérature et de la civilisation grecques. A l'exception de l'Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (INALCO) qui décerne des diplômes de langue et de civilisation grecques, les autres universités accordent seulement des crédits d'études. Dans ce même cadre il faut signaler l'existence de la chaire de l'histoire grecque à l'Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales.

Les autres pays francophones

En Belgique le grec est enseigné à l'Université Catholique de Louvain, à l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, à l'Université de Liège et à l'Université Jent.

En Suisse la langue et la littérature néohelléniques sont enseignées à l'Université de Genève. Des cours de grec sont aussi dispensés aux Universités de Zurich et de Berne.

Au Canada francophone la langue et la littérature néohelléniques sont étudiées à l'Université de Montréal.

Les études néohelléniques en Turquie

A l'Université d'Ankara on a commencé à étudier le grec ancien en 1935. Le grec moderne et la littérature grecque ont été introduites à la même université, à la Faculté de langues, histoire et géographie, en 1990.

On trouve aussi des études néohelléniques à l'Université de Constantinople (Istanbul University), alors que des cours de langue grecque sont dispensés aussi à l'Université Bogazici University et à la Sabanci University.

Les études néohelléniques dans les pays de l'ex-Union Soviétique et les pays de l'Est

Il existe une longue tradition de l'enseignement de la langue et de la civilisation grecques en Russie et dans les autres pays de l'ancienne Union

Soviétique. Cependant, après les bouleversements politiques qui ont suivi l'effondrement de l'Union Soviétique, les études néohelléniques rencontrent beaucoup de difficultés, étant donné la situation difficile que traversent les universités de la Russie et des autres pays qui ont accédé à l'indépendance. De plus, les programmes dans les universités de l'ex-Union Soviétique sont reorganisés et restructurés et par conséquent les études néohelléniques s'efforcent de maintenir leur statut, ce qui n'est pas toujours facile.

En Russie les études néohelléniques coexistent, soit avec les études byzantines, comme c'est le cas à l'Université Lomonossov, soit avec des études linguistiques, comme c'est le cas de l'Université de St. Petersburg.

En Georgie les études néohelléniques sont présentes à l'Université de Tbilissi, avec les études classiques, ainsi que les études byzantines. Malgré les problèmes auxquels ils font face, les néohellénistes de ce pays ont créé en 1999 la Société des néohellénistes de Georgie.

La langue et la littérature grecque sont enseignées aussi à l'Université de Sofia en Bulgarie, à l'Université de Zagreb en Croatie, dans les universités albanaises de Tirana et de Gjirokastra, l'Université Charles de Prague, dans certaines universités de Hongrie et de la Pologne, ainsi que dans plusieurs universités roumaines.

Pour ce qui est de la Roumanie il faut signaler la longue tradition de l'enseignement de la langue et de la littérature grecque dans ce pays. La présence des Grecs à des positions dominantes en Roumanie pendant la période ottomane a permis l'épanouissement des lettres grecques et la naissance déjà à cette époque du mouvement des lumières grecques. Aux temps modernes les études néohelléniques célèbrent déjà une longue présence dépassant les 90 ans. C'est le grand historien Nicolae Iorga qui a introduit les études byzantines et néohelléniques en Roumanie il y a maintenant 70 ans avec la fondation de l'Institut d'Etudes de l'Europe Sud-Est. Depuis, les études néohelléniques sont présentes dans diverses universités et centres de recherche roumains comme celle de Bucarest, Iasi et Craiova. Il existe aussi la Société roumaine des études néohelléniques. Les archives roumaines sont pleines de documents se référant à la présence intellectuelle des Grecs dans ce pays depuis l'époque ottomane. On dit d'ailleurs, que la langue grecque a une présence de 350 ans en Roumanie.

Italie

Les études néohelléniques ont une longue tradition en Italie depuis la chute de Constantinople et l'immigration des intellectuels grecs vers ce pays. Il est

d'ailleurs bien connu que ces intellectuels ont contribué au mouvement de la renaissance italienne. Les études néohelléniques en Italie sont développées dans diverses universités italiennes et dans certains cas conjointement avec les études byzantines. C'est le cas de l'Université de Rome, ainsi que de l'Université de Padoue, où les études néohelléniques cohabitent avec les études byzantines. Ailleurs, des études néohelléniques sont dispensées à l'intérieur des départements des langues et des littératures méditerranéennes.

Il faudrait aussi signaler en Italie la présence de l'Institut hellénique d'études byzantines et post-byzantines de Venise.

Hollande et pays scandinaves

En Hollande les études néohelléniques sont jumelées aux études byzantines. Nous avons ainsi à l'Université de Groningue le département «of Modern Greek and Byzantine Studies» et à l'Université d'Amsterdam le Séminaire d'Études Byzantines et Néohelléniques.

Au Danemark le grec est enseigné au Département de «East European Studies» de l'Université de Copenhague, en Suède l'enseignement du grec est dispensé au département d'études classiques de l'Université Göteborg et à l'institut des langues classiques de l'Université de Stockholm.

Amérique Centrale et Amérique Latine

Au Mexique le grec est enseigné à l'Université nationale autonome du Mexique. En Argentine le grec est étudié à l'Université nationale de Sur, au département des sciences humaines. Au Brésil le grec est enseigné à l'Université de Sao Paulo (Faculté de philosophie, lettres et sciences humaines), à l'Université fédérale de Minas Gerais (département des langues classiques et à l'Université de Brazilia (département de linguistique et langues classiques vernaculaires). Au Chili le grec est enseigné à l'Université de Playa Ancha (Faculté de philosophie, Centre des études helléniques), et à l'Université de Chili (Faculté de philosophie et sciences humaines).

Asie

En Asie des cours de grec sont dispensés dans certaines universités chinoises, indiennes et japonaises. En Chine ces cours sont dispensés aux Universités de Pekin et de Shangai à un nombre limité d'étudiants. Il s'agit plus ou moins de cours de langue à des personnes qui s'intéressent au grec pour des raisons pratiques. Au Japon (Université de Tokyo, Université de Kyoto, Université de Hiroshima) et aux Indes (Jawaharland Nehru University, Rohikhand

University), c'est à l'intérieur des départements d'études classiques qu'on enseigne sporadiquement des cours de grec moderne.

Afrique

En Afrique, les études néohelléniques ont une présence en Egypte, pays où l'existence autrefois des communautés grecques importantes a permis le développement d'une littérature grecque dynamique. En Alexandrie, la ville de Constantin Cavafy et de dizaines d'autres intellectuels grecs, il ne reste aujourd'hui que des vestiges d'une présence hellénique. La langue grecque est enseignée au département des études classiques. A l'Université du Caire le grec est étudié au département des langues étrangères. Dans les deux cas le nombre d'étudiants reste limité et ne dépasse pas la trentaine.

Cette présentation de l'enseignement grec dans les diverses universités du monde n'est sans doute pas exhaustive. Il est aussi important de ne pas exagérer cette présence qui reste modeste, avec un nombre d'étudiants limité et dans la plupart des cas un enseignement rudimentaire qui ne conduit à aucun diplôme. Tout au plus, ceux qui suivent ces cours obtiennent quelques crédits d'études. Bref, il n'est pas exagéré de parler de statut marginal de l'enseignement du grec moderne et de la littérature néohellénique ⁷.

Les Chaires «de dynasties»

Les dynasties politiques grecques ont découvert ces dernières années une nouvelle façon de conserver leur renommée posthume : en créant des chaires universitaires dans les différentes universités étrangères, de préférence américaines. Ces chaires s'ajoutent aux fondations créées en leur nom en Grèce même, ce qui est aussi nouveau pour les coutumes politiques grecques. A côté des hommes politiques, d'autres personnalités grecques du monde littéraire ou du monde des affaires ont tenté aussi leur chance avec la création des chaires ou des fondations, essentiellement dans des universités américaines. La mode de création des chaires universitaires au nom des personnalités grecques commence aux années 70 avec la création de la chaire «George Seferis» à l'Université Harvard. Les autres tentatives vont suivre avec la Fondation Onassis à l'Université de New York, la chaire Constantin Karamanlis à l'Université Tufts, la Fondation Kokkalis à l'Université Harvard, la chaire Eleftherios Venizelos au London School of Economics, et dernièrement, la chaire Constantinos Mitsotakis à l'Université Stanford de Californie. On note qu'Andreas Papandreou qui a enseigné pendant des années dans les universités américaines et canadiennes n'a pas eu une chaire dans ces pays. Il est vrai que

la famille Papandreou n'a pas voulu une chaire d'études néohelléniques à l'Université York de Toronto, financée par la communauté hellénique. Par contre, elle a porté son intérêt sur la création d'une chaire d'études économiques et politiques à la même université, mais apparemment elle n'a pas reçu le financement escompté du gouvernement grec de Constantin Simitis⁸.

La chaire George Seferis à Harvard

Créée au milieu de la décennie 70, cette chaire a été financée par le gouvernement grec. Même si au début elle a bien commencé, avec le temps elle a perdu beaucoup de son prestige et risque de perdre son caractère grec. Il semble que le gouvernement grec n'a pas bien négocié l'entente avec Harvard pour pouvoir préserver sa mission. Ainsi après G.P. Savvidis qui fut le premier professeur de la chaire, son successeur Margaret Alexiou, même si elle était une anthropologue de renommée mondiale, n'était pas une spécialiste des études néohelléniques. Pire encore, après sa retraite (la retraite de cette dernière), la chaire reste vacante et on craint même un changement de son orientation⁹.

D'ailleurs, le changement d'orientation de la mission initiale des chaires néohelléniques n'est pas un problème concernant seulement Harvard. On a eu le même problème pour la chaire des études néohelléniques de l'Université Simon Fraser à Vancouver et on risque d'avoir le même problème à l'Université McGill de Montréal.

Le Centre Onassis à l'Université de New York

Créé en 1989 par la Fondation Onassis dont le siège est à Athènes, ce Centre n'a pas été un succès. Au début il s'agissait d'un projet ambitieux incluant la création de 5 postes académiques dans différents domaines des études helléniques. Après le départ de son premier directeur, l'éminent historien Spyros Vryonis junior, ce projet a été dévalorisé¹⁰.

La chaire Eleftherios Venizelos au London School of Economics

Cette chaire a été financée par des armateurs grecs de Londres en 1996. Active aux questions helléniques contemporaines cette chaire risque aussi de changer d'orientation et de s'éloigner de ses objectifs premiers. En effet, la London School of Economics tente de l'intégrer dans un programme beaucoup plus large, loin des études grecques¹¹.

La chaire Constantin Karamanlis

La chaire a été créée à l'Université Tufts sur l'initiative de la famille de

l'ancien premier ministre grec, ainsi que de ses amis politiques. Celle-ci a été financée par des armateurs grecs ainsi que par certaines fondations helléniques et a été inaugurée en 2000.

La chaire Constantin Mitsotakis

Inaugurée en 2006 en présence de Constantin Mitsotakis lui-même, ancien premier ministre grec, à l'Université Stanford, cette chaire a été financée par la famille du richissime helléno-américain Angelos Tsakopoulos¹².

D'autres chaires ont été dédiées à des personnalités de lettres ou à des entrepreneurs. Historiquement, sans doute, la première chaire, qui a été dédiée à une personnalité des lettres, a été la chaire Koraïs, qui a été inaugurée en 1919 au King's College de l'Université de Londres, en Grande Bretagne. Son premier titulaire fut le grand historien britannique Arnold J. Toynbee.

Aux Etats-Unis nous avons la chaire Constantin Cavafy à l'Université de Michigan, du nom du grand poète grec, inaugurée en 2001¹³ et la chaire Nikos Kazantzakis à l'Université San Francisco, inaugurée en 1983¹⁴. A Montréal nous avons la chaire Frixos Papachristidis à l'Université McGill, du nom d'un armateur grec qui a vécu dans cette ville. Il faudrait aussi signaler le Programme de la Fondation Niarchos à l'Université Yale, du nom d'un autre Crésus grec l'armateur Stavros Niarchos, établi en 2001. Enfin, à l'Université Harvard nous avons le Programme Kokkalis, du nom de Socratis Kokkalis, un homme d'affaires grec dans le domaine de télécommunications et propriétaire de l'équipe grecque de football Olympiakos. Même si ce Programme couvre l'Europe du Sud-Est et l'Europe Centrale, il porte aussi un intérêt sur la Grèce en tant qu'acteur régional des relations internationales¹⁵.

Un cas particulier est constitué par le Spyros Basil Vryonis Centre pour l'étude de l'hellénisme, établi en 1985 à Los Angeles et transféré par la suite à Sacramento. Il s'agissait d'une institution autonome, en dehors de l'Université, financée par la famille d'Angelo Tsakopoulos et ayant comme but l'étude de l'hellénisme, son rôle et sa présence dans le monde contemporain. Le Centre a été pratiquement fermé après que la famille Tsakopoulos a cessé de le financer et sa riche bibliothèque a été transférée à l'Université de Sacramento¹⁶.

À une époque où les universités américaines cherchent par tous les moyens à attirer le financement des grands entrepreneurs, il semble qu'il existe un potentiel certain parmi les politiciens grecs en compagnie des armateurs et des entrepreneurs grecs qui ont l'ambition de voir leur nom associé à ces lieux sacrés du haut savoir. Le problème qui se pose est celui de parvenir à conserver le caractère initial de ces chaires comme lieu d'enseignement de la langue et

de la civilisation grecques. Vu l'expérience qu'on a eue jusqu'à maintenant, il n'est pas exclu, si on ne prend pas les mesures appropriées, de voir toutes ces chaires changer complètement d'orientation dans un avenir pas si lointain¹⁷.

NOTES

1. Mikella Hartoulari «Kati einai sapio...»- (*Quelque chose est pourrie...*), *Ta Nea*, 08-04-2006.
2. Dimitris Tziovas, *interview à l'Agence Athénienne de Presse SA-Athens News Agency, ANACulture.gr*, Voir aussi Dimitris Tziovas, *The Future of Modern Greek Studies in Higher Education in the United Kingdom: Lost in Academia; Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Volume 24, Number 1, May 2006.
3. Dimitris Tziovas, *op. cit.*, qui a d'ailleurs succédé en 1985 à Margaret Alexiou comme professeur des études néohelléniques.
4. Dimitris Tziovas, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies, op.cit.*, page 202-204.
5. Dimitris Tziovas, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies, op. cit.*, page 206.
6. *Gnomi*, journal grec de Vancouver, 1^{er} décembre 1998. Aux archives du *Centre de recherches helléniques Canada* il y a des dizaines de documents, lettres, points de vue, etc. suscités par le débat sur le détournement de la chaire de l'Université Simon Fraser.
7. L'information sur la présence des études néohelléniques à travers le monde provient de sources suivantes : Ministère de l'éducation de Grèce, Secrétariat de l'éducation pour la diaspora grecque, Ministère grec de la culture, [www. Culture.gr](http://www.Culture.gr), Archives du Centre de recherches helléniques Canada-KEEK.
8. Alexis Papahelas, «I mahi ton edron» (*La bataille des chaires*), *To Vima*, 9-10-2005.
9. Mikella Hartoulari, «To Kalo kai to Kalytero» (*Le bon et le meilleur*), *Ta Nea*, 20-08-2005, ainsi que du même auteur «Kati Einai Sapio» («Quelque chose est pourrie»), *Ta Nea*, 08-04-2006.
10. Voir l'article d'Alexandre Kitroeff dans ce numéro.
11. Alexis Papahelas, «La bataille des chaires», *To Vima*, 09-10-2005.
12. Alexis Papahelas, «La bataille des chaires», *To Vima,op. cit.*, *I Kathimerini*, 25-05-06.
13. Entrevue, Vasilis Lambropoulos, Radio grecque, EPAS, 06-04-2006.
14. Thanasis Maskaleris, Entrevue, *Antifonitis*, 10-12-1998.
15. Voir l'article d'Alexandre Kitroeff dans ce numéro.
16. Entrevue avec Spyros Vryonis, jr.
17. Alexis Papahelas,« Le combat des chaires», *op.cit.*.

Modern Greek Studies Around the World

Stephanos Constantinides*

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article tente de présenter un aperçu global des études néohelléniques dans un certain nombre de pays de l'Europe, au Canada, en Afrique et en Asie. L'article tente aussi de cerner la question de chaires consacrées aux dynasties politiques grecques ainsi qu'aux personnalités du monde littéraire et financier.

ABSTRACT

This article provides a panorama of modern Greek studies in several European countries, in Canada and on two continents (Africa and Asia). The author also treats the issue of chairs named after political families or after personalities from the business and literary world in Greece.

Modern Greek studies have been developed in universities in English-speaking, French-speaking, Spanish-speaking and German-speaking countries. Various modern Greek programs may also be found scattered throughout in Italy, India, China, the Balkans and the former Soviet republics.

Here we will refer to modern Greek studies in those parts of the world not mentioned in the preceding articles. We will treat programs in French-speaking countries, Great Britain, Italy, the Balkans, Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union and Russia, Turkey, India, China and Japan.

We will also mention the so-called political chairs created by the Greek elites in order to perpetuate the memory of political, economic or literary personalities.

Modern Greek Studies in English-Speaking Countries

Two articles in this thematic issue have already referred to the USA and Australia, so we will limit ourselves to Great Britain, Canada and South Africa.

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Great Britain

In Britain, most of the modern Greek studies programs coexist with classics or Byzantine studies. Undoubtedly the most important department of modern Greek in Great Britain is that of King's College of the University of London. It is actually called «Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies». This department has a long history in the study of Byzantine and modern Greek history as well as Greek language and literature. Begun in 1919 with the inauguration of the *Korais Chair*, the first chair holder was the great British historian Arnold J. Toynbee. Other eminent Byzantine specialists followed, including Romilly Jenkins and Cyril Mango. Historians or specialists in modern Greek such as Peter Mackridge, Richard Clogg and Philip Sherrard have also served in this department.

At the University of Birmingham, modern Greek exists alongside Byzantine and Ottoman studies in the aptly named *Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies*. Recently the undergraduate modern Greek studies program was phased out in favour of Byzantine studies so that modern Greek may be found only in Birmingham's graduate-level programs¹. Modern Greek studies were introduced there in the 1930s by the great classics philologist George Tompson. Although a philologist of classical Greek, Tompson believed in the continuity of Hellenism, from antiquity to nowadays. During the 1960s, Tompson's daughter, Margaret Alexiou, gave courses on the Byzantine period as well as modern Greek before taking the Seferis Chair at Harvard University. In the 1980s, both the autonomous Chair in Byzantine Studies and the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies were established².

At the Oxford University, Bywater and Sotheby Professorship of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language and Literature belongs to the «Subfaculty of Byzantine and Modern Greek» within the Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages. Similarly, at Cambridge there is a Modern Greek Section in the Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages.

These four British universities provide courses in Greek language, literature and culture. They are the only ones that offer courses leading to a degree in modern Greek studies. It should be noted, according to Roderick Beaton, that the chairs in Modern Greek held by Dimitris Tziovas at Birmingham and (from October 2006) by David Holton at Cambridge are «personal chairs,» i.e., the result of promotion based on individual merit, and normally not renewable beyond that person's tenure³.

According to Dimitris Tziovas, modern Greek studies in Great Britain are

declining, as are all departments in the humanities. This decline stems from the new economic and political orientations adopted by Great Britain combined with broader changes within the education system. Tziovas points out the decrease in language studies at the secondary level where they are no longer obligatory. The decline in modern Greek studies may also be attributed to a shift in interest to the Balkan countries, which are now members of the European Union, or to the Asian nations, especially China, where the economic motivation to communicate is strong. Tziovas also highlights the fact that British authorities value the teaching of Arabic, Turkish, languages from the former Soviet republics as well as Japanese, Chinese and other Oriental tongues⁴. Actually, this newfound importance stems from the Great Britain's economic and strategic interests. He points out that there are disadvantages inherent in the Greek programs, notably the lack of educational resources. He cites the lack of both manuals for teaching modern Greek and English books for teaching the cultural history of Greece (art, media, music, cinema). Tziovas is critical of how teachers from Greece are sent to teach modern Greek in British or other universities around the world when they have not been adequately trained for the job. He also criticizes the placing of modern Greek studies in classics or Byzantine studies. This regrouping may have been advantageous in the past when academics had some knowledge of ancient, medieval and modern Greek. Unfortunately this is no longer the case. The problem is all the more obvious because classics and Byzantine studies are not linked only to Greece, as in the past. In classics, there is more interest in Latin and Rome; whereas in Byzantine studies, interest has shifted to the Balkans and Eastern European countries. Hence Tziovas demands academic recognition of modern Greek studies because at this point they are not treated as a serious academic discipline⁵.

Obviously teaching those languages considered of strategic interest goes hand in hand with teaching the history and culture of the corresponding countries. If we take into account the fact that British universities are operating increasingly like businesses, we can easily understand why subjects that do not attract a lot of students and thus fail to make money certainly are not priorities in program development. In this context, a small department with a limited number of students will be hit first. Lastly, the British case shares the weakness symptomatic of several other countries where modern Greek studies exist, namely that the majority of students enrolled in these programs are Greek or of Greek origin.

Given that the northern part of Ireland is within the United Kingdom, we

mention under this rubric the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies at Queen's University in Belfast. Founded in 2000, the Centre aims to make a significant advance in the interdisciplinary study of Byzantium, to foster existing collaborations and encourage others, and to create a series of research training courses which will produce literary scholars who can read material culture as well as literature, and art historians and archaeologists with a facility for using text. This Centre does offer graduate degrees. What is said above about English universities may also apply to some extent to Belfast.

Canada

In Canada, modern Greek studies are offered at York University in Toronto; at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia; at McGill University, Concordia University and the Université de Montréal in Montreal. The latter is a French-language university. A chair of modern Greek history was created at York University in 2003 through the efforts of the Hellenic Heritage Foundation which raised the necessary funds.

In 1996, a chair was created in Simon Fraser University, through donations from the Greek community of British Columbia. The community became seriously divided later when it became a chair of history instead of modern Greek studies and Greek language teaching became secondary⁶. Moreover, the Greek Government was obliged to invest a significant amount of money to preserve Greek language courses.

At McGill University, the Chair in Modern Greek and Canadian Greek Studies was created in the early years of the new millennium, thanks in part to the endowment left by the Greek ship-owner, Frixos Papachristidis, and to a contribution from the Greek Government. In principle, this chair was attributed to three Montreal universities: McGill, Concordia and the Université de Montréal. The Greek Government even made its financial support conditional upon this three-way sharing of the chair. In practice, however, the situation was not clearly set out, an ambiguity which has left this chair in a grey area that threatens its very existence or, at the least, its vocation. In fact, McGill University has already expressed a certain attitude to name as chair a non-Greek-speaking professor from the field of ethnic studies.

It should be noted that Greek-language programs had been available in Quebec at McGill University, Université Laval and Université de Montréal since the sixties and seventies. In fact, language courses have been given

periodically at other colleges or universities in Canada, as is the case at Dawson College in Montreal.

There are also centres related to Greek studies, for example, the Centre of Hellenic Civilization within the Classics Department of the University of Manitoba. Outside the university walls, there is the Centre of Hellenic Studies and Research Canada, known by its Greek acronym KEEK. The KEEK is a non-profit organization founded by a team of researchers and academics who share common interests: the study of Hellenism, both in Greece and in the diaspora, and the promotion of the Greek language and culture. Founded in 1979, KEEK has initiated a variety of activities including research projects, seminars and conferences. One of the Centre's efforts to promote Greek culture is the bilingual academic journal, *Études helléniques/Hellenic Studies*. The Centre has also played a key role in the development of several other publications.

South Africa

Greek language and culture courses are given in some South African universities. The courses exist within classics department (Rand Afrikaans University (RAU), Dpt. Of Greek and Latin Studies, University of Cape Town (UCT), Dpt. Of Classical Languages and Literatures, University of Pretoria, Dpt. of Philosophy (South African Society for Greek Philosophy and the Humanities). Obviously there is more interest in ancient rather than modern Greek.

Modern Greek Studies in French-Speaking Countries

France

In French-speaking countries, there is a long tradition of teaching Greek and Greek literature. This tradition stems in part from the teaching of ancient Greek in classics departments. Given the ongoing decline in classics, there is an equivalent slide in modern Greek studies.

In France, the Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (INALCO) has served as a cross-roads for the teaching of Greek, both language and culture since the beginning of the twentieth century. In fact INALCO academics have included such figures as Jean Psycharis, known for supporting demotic Greek, and André Mirabel, known for promoting Greek, both language and literature in France.

Other French universities have worked to develop modern Greek studies. At the Université de Nancy II there is an Institute for Modern Greek studies. At the Université Charles de Gaulle Lille III and the Université de Nice-

Sophia Antipolis, there are university centres for modern Greek studies. There is the Institut d'études néohelléniques at Paris IV (la Sorbonne). At the Université de Lyon III, the Université Paul Valéry Montpellier III, and the Université de Strasbourg II, there are Greek courses and sometimes literature or culture courses.

The INALCO does grant degrees in Greek language and culture; whereas, other universities give only credits. It is worth pointing out that there is a chair of Greek history at the Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales in Paris.

Other French-Speaking Countries

In Belgium, Greek is taught at the Catholic University of Louvain, the Université Libre de Bruxelles, as well as at the Universities of Liege and of Gent.

In Switzerland, modern Greek language and literature courses are given at the University of Geneva. Some Greek courses are also offered at the Universities of Zurich and of Berne.

In the French-speaking province of Canada, modern Greek language and literature are taught at the Université de Montréal.

Modern Greek Studies in Turkey

The University of Ankara began teaching ancient Greek in 1935. Modern Greek language and literature were introduced in the faculty of languages, history and geography in 1990. Some modern Greek courses are offered at the Istanbul University and modern Greek language classes are given at the Bogazici University and Sabanci University.

Modern Greek Studies in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union

There is a long tradition of teaching Greek language and civilization courses in Russia and other counties of the former Soviet Union. After the republics broke away, modern Greek studies were in the same difficult situation as the universities themselves. On the other hand, the university programs in former Soviet universities have been reorganized and restructured so that modern Greek studies are striving to maintain their status. This is not an easy task.

In Russia, modern Greek studies are taught along with Byzantine studies as is the case at Lomonossov University or within linguistics as is the case at St. Petersburg University.

In Georgia, modern Greek studies are taught at the University of Tbilisi in the classics department along with Byzantine studies. Despite the problems present in this country, modern Greek specialists created the *Georgian Society of Neohellenists* in 1999.

Greek language and literature courses are taught at the University of Sofia in Bulgaria, the University of Zagreb in Croatia, the Charles University in Prague, the Albanian universities of Tyrana and Gjirokastra, as well as at certain Hungarian, Polish and Romanian universities.

Romania has a long tradition in teaching Greek language and literature. The presence of Greeks in key positions in Romania during the Ottoman Empire led to the spread of Greek letters and the rise of a Greek enlightenment. In modern times, modern Greek studies has celebrated over 90 years of life in Romania. Indeed, the great historian Nicolae Iorga introduced Byzantine and modern Greek studies some 70 years ago when he founded the Institute of South-Eastern European Studies. Since then, modern Greek studies may be found in various universities and research centres across the country, for example in Bucharest, Iasi and Craiova. There is a *Romanian Society of Modern Greek Studies*. Romania's archives are full of documents that refer to the Greek intellectual presence since the Ottoman Empire. It is said that the Greek language has a 350-year old presence in Romania.

Italy

Modern Greek studies have a long tradition in this country ever since the Fall of Constantinople and the immigration of Greek intellectuals to Italy. It is well known that these same intellectuals contributed to the Italian Renaissance. Closer to today, modern Greek studies have blossomed in various Italian universities, in certain cases in conjunction with Byzantine studies. Indeed, this is the case of the Universities of Rome and of Padua. Here modern Greek studies are offered with Byzantine studies. Elsewhere, modern Greek studies may be found within Mediterranean language and literature departments. There is, of course, the *Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies* in Venice.

Holland and Scandinavia

Modern Greek studies and Byzantine studies are usually paired in Holland. In fact, at the University of Groningen, there is a department of

Modern Greek and Byzantine Studies. At the University of Amsterdam, there is the Seminar in Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies.

In Denmark, Greek is taught at the University of Copenhagen's Department of East European Studies. In Sweden, Greek is offered through the classics department of the University of Göteborg and at Stockholm University's Classical Language Institute.

Asia

Some Chinese, Japanese and Indian universities do offer Greek courses. In the Universities of Beijing and Shanghai, there are a few students who take primarily language courses for practical reasons. In Japan (University of Tokyo, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Kyoto University, Dept. of Classics, Faculty of Letters, Hiroshima University, Faculty of Letters) and India (Jawaharlal Nehru University, Chair in Classical Greek Studies in the School of Language, Literature and Cultural Studies, Rohikhand University, Department of Ancient History and Culture, Indian Society for Greek and Roman Studies), modern Greek courses may occasionally be found within other classical language departments.

Some Chinese, Japanese and Indian universities do offer Greek courses. In the Universities of Beijing and Shanghai there are a few students who take primarily language courses for practical reasons. In Japan (Tokyo University, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Kyoto University, Dept. of Classics, Faculty of Letters, Hiroshima University, Faculty of Letters) and India (Jawaharlal Nehru University, Chair in classical greek Studies in the School of Language, Literature and Cultural Studies, Rohikhand University, Department of Ancient History and Culture, Indian Society for Greek and Roman Studies), modern Greek courses may occasionally be found within the classics departments.

Africa

In Africa, modern Greek studies have existed in Egypt where there once were large Greek communities. In Alexandria, city of Constantine Cavafy and dozens of other Greek intellectuals, there remain mere vestiges of the Greek presence. The modern language is taught within the classics department of the Alexandria University. At the University of Cairo, Greek is taught in the foreign languages department. In both cases, there are no more than 30 students.

This presentation of the teaching of Greek in various universities around

the globe is far from exhaustive. We should not exaggerate this modest presence with a limited number of students and in most cases only rudimentary courses that do not lead to a degree. At the most, those who take Greek courses receive a few credits. All in all, the term marginal seems applicable to modern Greek language and literature courses⁷.

The “Dynasty” Chairs

In recent years, Greek political ‘dynasties’ have discovered a new way to keep the family name alive: chairs in various foreign universities, especially in the USA. These chairs usually follow the creation of eponymous foundations in Greece, another relatively new custom in Greek politics.

Besides politicians, other Greek personalities from the literary or business world have tried their luck with a chair or foundation. Again, these chairs are usually established in American universities. The fashion of naming university chairs after Greek personalities began in the 1970s with the George Seferis Chair at Harvard University. Other efforts include the Onassis Foundation at New York University; the Constantin Karamanlis Chair at Tufts University; the Kokkalis Foundation at Harvard; the Constantinos Mitsotakis at Stanford University in California. Ironically, Andreas Papandreou, who taught for years at universities in Canada and the United States, does not have a chair named after him in these countries. It is true that his family did not want a Papandreou chair of modern Greek studies financed by the Greek community to be established at York University. On the other hand, there were efforts to create a chair of economics and politics at the same university, but the required funding from the Greek government under Simitis did not materialize⁸.

The George Seferis Chair at Harvard

This chair, created in the mid-seventies, was financed by the Greek government. Although it began well, with time the chair lost its prestige and risks losing its Greek character. It seems that the Greek government did not negotiate the Harvard agreement very carefully. As a result, after G.P. Savvidis, the first professor to hold the chair, his successor, Margaret Alexiou (world-renowned anthropologist) was not a specialist in modern Greek studies. Worse, after her retirement, the chair has remained empty and many fear that it will change its vocation⁹.

In fact, this type of change in the mission of a chair that occurred in the modern Greek chair at Harvard is not unique. We have seen a similar pattern

at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver and risk seeing it again at McGill University in Quebec.

The Onassis Centre at the New York University

Created in 1989 by the Onassis Foundation, headquartered in Athens, this Centre has not been successful. Initially there was an ambitious project that included the creation of five academic positions in different areas of modern Greek studies. After the first director, eminent historian Spyros Vryonis Jr. left, the project was downgraded¹⁰.

The Eleftherios Venizelos Chair of Contemporary Greek Studies at the London School of Economics

This chair was funded by Greek ship-owners in 1996. Originally concerned with contemporary Greek issues, this chair also may change missions and move away from its initial goals. In fact the London School of Economics is trying to integrate the Chair into a much larger program far from Greek studies¹¹.

The Constantin Karamanlis Chair

This chair was created at Tufts University by the family of the late Greek prime minister with the help of his political friends. Inaugurated in 2000, it was funded by Greek ship-owners and Greek foundations.

The Constantin Mitsotakis Chair

This chair was inaugurated at Stanford University in 2005 with the former Greek Prime Minister Constantin Mitsotakis himself present. It was financed by the extremely wealthy American-Greek family of Angelos Tsakopoulos¹².

Other chairs have been dedicated to personalities from the literary or business sectors. Undoubtedly the first historically was the *Koraeos Chair* inaugurated in 1919 at King's College at the University of London. The first chair holder was the great British historian Arnold J. Toynbee.

In the United States, there is the *Constantin Cavafy Chair* established in 2001 at the University of Michigan¹³ and the *Nikos Kazantzakis Chair* founded in 1983 at San Francisco University¹⁴. As already mentioned, the *Frixos Papachristidis Chair of Modern Greek and Canadian Greek Studies* in Montreal was named in honour of a Greek ship-owner who lived in the city for many years. At Yale there is the program of the *Niarchos Foundation*,

established in 2001 and named after the Greek ship-owner Stavros Niarchos. At Harvard, there is the *Kokkalis program* which honours Socratis Kokkalis, a Greek businessman in the telecommunications sector and owner of the Olympiako soccer team. This last program covers South-eastern and Central Europe but with Greece as a regional actor in international relations¹⁵.

One odd example in between chairs was the *Spyros Basil Vryonis Center for the Study of Hellenism* was established in Los Angeles in 1985 and later transferred to Sacramento. This was an independent institution outside academia but financed by the Angelo Tsakopoulos family. The Vryonis Center's goal was the study of Hellenism, its role and presence in the contemporary world. The Centre was practically closed when the Tsakopoulos family stopped financing it. The Center's rich library was transferred to the University of Sacramento¹⁶.

At a time when American universities are using all means possible to attract endowments from major business figures, there seems to be a potential for Greek politicians, alongside their compatriot ship-owners and entrepreneurs, who wish to have their name associated with these hallowed halls of learning. Problems arise usually in maintaining the founding mission of these chairs, namely that of teaching Greek language and culture. On the basis of what we have seen thus far, it seems that if the appropriate measures are not taken, these chairs may change vocation completely in a future not too far-off¹⁷.

NOTES

1. Mikella Hartoulari «Kati einai sapio...» (*Something is rotten...*), *Ta Nea*, 08-04-2006.
2. Dimitris Tziovas, *interview Athens News Agency, ANACulture.gr*, Cf. Tziovas, Dimitris *The Future of Modern Greek Studies in Higher Education in the United Kingdom: Lost in Academia*, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Volume 24, Number 1, May 2006.
3. Dimitris Tziovas, *op. cit.*, who succeeded Margaret Alexiou as professor of modern Greek studies in 1985.
- Roderick Beaton, *Modern Greek Studies in the United Kingdom: Suggestions for the Future*, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 24.2 (2006) 447-453, note 1.
4. Dimitris Tziovas, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, *op.cit.*, pages 202-204.
5. Dimitris Tziovas, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, *op. cit.*, page 206.
6. *Gnomi*, the Greek newspaper of Vancouver, December 1, 1998. The archives of

the Centre of Hellenic Studies and Research Canada there hold dozens of documents related to the debate over the change in the Chair at Simon Fraser University.

7. Information on the presence of Modern Greek Studies around the world coming from the following sources: Greek Ministries of Culture and Education; Secretariat for Education for the Greek diaspora on the web.

8. Alexis Papahelas, «I mahi ton edron» (*The Battle of the Chairs*), *To Vima*, 09-10-2005.

9. Mikella Hartoulari, «To Kalo kai to Kalytero» (*The Good and the Better*), *Ta Nea*, 20-08-2005, also by the same author, «Kati Einai Sapio» (*Something is rotten...*), *Ta Nea*, 08-04-2006.

10. See Alexandre Kitroeff in this issue.

11. Alexis Papahelas, «The Battle of the Chairs», *To Vima*, 09-10-2005.

12. Alexis Papahelas, «The Battle of the Chairs», *To Vima*, *op. cit.*, *I Kathimerini*, 25-05-06.

13. Interview, Vasilis Lambropoulos, Greek radio, EPAS, 06-04-2006.

14. Thanasis Maskaleris, Interview, *Antifonitis*, 10-12-1998.

15. See Alexandre Kitroeff in this issue.

16. Interview with Spyros Vryonis, Jr.

17. Alexis Papahelas, «The Battle of the Chairs», *op.cit.*

Une institution en crise: les chaires «grecques» dans les universités étrangères

Georges Prevelakis*

ABSTRACT

The Greek chairs abroad certainly generate interest in Greece. However, the international public pays only scant attention to the activities of these chairs which, moreover, are losing students. Overall the result is both frustrating and disappointing. The author presents the recent, often contradictory, efforts made to revive interest in these chairs. He suggests three possible avenues for the government and foundations to follow when helping to promote the image of Greece abroad. His suggestions include relinking modern Greek studies to classics by supporting efforts to defend and promote the discipline; providing timely funding through research projects related to modern Greece and its diaspora rather than creating new chairs and centres; linking university structures already in place with local Greek diaspora communities and their socio-political milieus and reorienting their missions toward multicultural issues.

RÉSUMÉ

Les chaires « grecques » à l'étranger sont l'objet d'un vif intérêt en Grèce. Mais en même temps, le public international ne porte qu'une attention limitée pour les activités de ces chaires qui de plus perdent leurs étudiants: le résultat est somme toute décevant et frustrant. L'auteur présente d'abord les efforts récents et souvent contradictoires menés dans le but de revigorer l'intérêt pour ces chaires. Il propose ensuite trois pistes pour la politique du gouvernement et des fondations qui souhaitent apporter leur soutien à la promotion de l'image de la Grèce à l'étranger : lier à nouveau les études néohelléniques avec les études classiques, en appuyant les efforts pour défendre le maintien et la promotion de ces études; financer ponctuellement et sous conditions des projets de recherche liés à l'étude de la Grèce moderne et de la diaspora grecque, plutôt que de créer des chaires ou des centres nouveaux; associer enfin les structures universitaires existantes avec les communautés diasporées grecques locales et leurs milieux sociaux et politiques et réorienter leurs thématiques vers les questions du multiculturalisme.

Au sein de la société hellénique, il y a peu de questions qui font autant l'unanimité que la «cause» des chaires grecques à l'étranger. L'Etat grec consacre en effet une énergie considérable pour assurer leur maintien et leur

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développement, tandis que beaucoup de fondations grecques leur apportent leur soutien. Mais en même temps, les résultats de cet investissement «national» sont une source de grande déception: rayonnement limité, baisse des effectifs des étudiants, fermetures ou changements de profil des chaires existantes. Cet écart entre les attentes et la réalité, source de frustrations, de critiques et d'accusations, demande une explication.

Une des principales raisons de l'intérêt de l'Etat grec aux chaires grecques concerne le rôle - réel, potentiel ou supposé - de celles-ci dans la diffusion et la promotion d'une image positive de la Grèce à l'étranger. Dans cette vision, les universités, et surtout les plus grandes comme Oxford, la Sorbonne ou Harvard, influencent ceux qui forment l'opinion publique : les journalistes, les politiques, les artistes, les écrivains. Les colloques, conférences et autres manifestations qui s'y organisent constituent autant de foyers où se débattent les grandes questions internationales. Une présence permanente sous la forme d'un centre ou d'une chaire est considérée comme un moyen efficace pour exercer son influence au sein de ces centres névralgiques d'une opinion publique occidentale qui joue un rôle de plus en plus déterminant dans la politique internationale.

Cette présence paraît d'autant plus urgente au sein d'un monde universitaire global où les acteurs internationaux sont en compétition croissante. Qui peut ignorer l'influence turque dans beaucoup de centres d'études du Moyen-Orient qui ne s'engagent que peu dans des débats sur la question arménienne ou kurde? Dans un tel contexte, la Grèce peut-elle être absente? On ne pourrait dès lors que difficilement douter de l'utilité d'une présence grecque forte au sein des grandes universités. Mais -nous l'avons dit- les résultats des chaires existantes sont pour le moment décevants ; la question des formes et des moyens à adopter pour qu'elles atteignent leur objectif pose actuellement problème.

La présence grecque au sein des grandes universités occidentales n'est pas un phénomène nouveau. Tout au long du XIXe siècle, les universitaires philhellènes défendaient la cause grecque par leurs écrits et par leurs discours. Cette influence grecque était à l'époque liée à un véritable «poids lourd» du monde universitaire: les départements d'études classiques, dominés hier comme aujourd'hui par les spécialistes de l'Antiquité. Même si les chaires de grec moderne y ont souvent fonctionné comme des «parents pauvres», elles ont en échange énormément profité de la notoriété de leur département d'accueil. Mais au moment où le prestige des études classiques est en déclin, ce lien paraît beaucoup moins intéressant. L'attache aux études

classiques est souvent remise en cause et d'autres voies sont recherchées.

Une possibilité alternative est de lier les études néohelléniques aux départements et chaires de langues et civilisations étrangères. Cette option, parfaitement adaptée aux logiques d'organisation des universités, prive néanmoins le grec moderne de sa spécificité qui lui apportait un rang privilégié par rapport aux autres langues balkaniques. Il s'agit d'une solution qui réduit considérablement l'impact des chaires néohelléniques. Elle n'apporte donc pas de réponse valable aux attentes grecques d'une présence prestigieuse dans les grandes universités étrangères.

On s'est enfin interrogé sur une troisième voie. Pour élargir les champs des chaires grecques et pour renforcer leur attractivité, pourquoi ne pas ouvrir leur thématique à l'ensemble des sciences humaines et sociales? Pourquoi ne pas créer des chaires grecques pluridisciplinaires, lieux de rencontre des historiens, des sociologues, des économistes, des géographes, des anthropologues et autres scientifiques qui s'intéressent à la Grèce? Cette option, certes intéressante, conduit pourtant aussi à une voie d'impasse. Elle transforme les chaires grecques en chaires d'*areal studies*, décriées depuis longtemps dans les milieux universitaires américains comme archaïques et dépassées. Elle ignore ensuite la place relative de la Grèce sur l'échiquier mondial. Certes, vue d'Athènes, la Grèce peu paraître le centre du monde. Pour un étudiant californien, bostonien -ou même parisien-, elle constitue un minuscule point sur la carte de l'Eurasie. Pourquoi s'intéresser à ce point précis qui, de plus, ne fait partie ni de l'Axe du Mal ni des Etats-voyous? Ainsi, à la lumière d'un examen plus attentif, l'approche pluridisciplinaire se révèle comme une «fausse bonne idée».

En constatant l'intérêt réduit pour la Grèce en tant que pays, on a pensé élargir le champ géographique des chaires grecques. La Grèce se faisait intégrer dans une région plus large, dans l'espoir d'attirer plus d'attention du côté des étudiants, des universitaires, des chercheurs et des analystes. Le contexte géopolitique des années 1990 -guerre en ex-Yougoslavie à la source d'un grand intérêt pour les conflits balkaniques- a ainsi conduit certains acteurs grecs à créer des programmes, chaires ou centres d'études balkaniques -pudiquement appelées «d'études du sud-est européen»- dans des grandes universités américaines ou européennes.

Ces tentatives ont d'abord eu à résoudre un problème de crédibilité. Les autres Balkaniques sont réticents à collaborer avec des chaires qui paraissent à leurs yeux comme une expression nouvelle de l'hégémonisme grec. Les Américains et les Européens ont du mal à admettre l'objectivité et

l'impartialité d'une chaire grecque déguisée en balkanique. Le seul moyen pour la rendre crédible est de confier une telle chaire à une personnalité, grecque ou étrangère, au-dessus de tout soupçon de nationalisme; elle devrait même, pour donner des gages de son indépendance, ne rater aucune occasion pour critiquer la Grèce: d'être plus royaliste que le roi! On imagine pourtant les réactions des milieux grecs –en Grèce comme dans la diaspora– face à un tel Professeur ! Le précédent de Toynbee¹ suffit pour montrer les contradictions d'une telle approche.

En tout cas, l'intérêt pour les Balkans n'a pas survécu à l'attaque des *Twin Towers*; par conséquent la stratégie d'élargissement géographique des chaires grecques n'a plus beaucoup de sens.

Au final, ce sont toutes les nouvelles options jusqu'à maintenant essayées qui sont décevantes. La véritable raison du déclin de l'influence grecque dans les universités étrangères est à rechercher dans le rétrécissement de ce qui constituait son véritable capital dans le passé, le prestige des études classiques. Les différentes astuces imaginées pendant les dernières décennies ne peuvent compenser cette perte. L'érosion de l'intérêt pour les études grecques a diminué l'avantage comparatif de la Grèce par rapport aux autres pays en affaiblissant ainsi un des principaux outils diplomatiques de l'Etat grec depuis que celui-ci existe: l'influence dans l'université occidentale.

Doit-on dès lors continuer à défendre les chaires grecques? Faut-il au contraire les laisser périr? La réponse à cette question dépend des objectifs recherchés. Ils sont différents chez les responsables de la diplomatie, pour qui il est primordial de défendre les intérêts nationaux et qui se soucient moins des problèmes de crédibilité des universités et des universitaires ; différents chez les néo-hellénistes, qui sont angoissés par la perspective de disparition de leur spécialité; différents chez les universitaires «purs», spécialistes de la Grèce ou non, pour qui l'université doit se protéger de toute tentative de politisation; différents chez les Grecs de la diaspora, qui voient les chaires grecques comme un moyen pour préserver leur identité; différents enfin chez ceux, hommes politiques grecs ou riches Grecs de la diaspora, qui considèrent les chaires grecques comme une voie vers la reconnaissance sociale. Indépendamment de ces différences de priorité, prendre conscience des enjeux politiques, des contradictions des politiques menées et des impasses peut dissiper beaucoup de malentendus. On pourrait alors rechercher des voies réalistes pour sauver l'héritage des chaires grecques qu'il faut adapter à un monde et à une université qui changent rapidement. Il y a quatre éléments qui paraissent fondamentaux pour un tel débat:

1. Si l'Etat grec souhaite véritablement résister à l'érosion de l'influence des chaires néohelléniques, il faut agir à la source du problème et se soucier du déclin des études classiques. Il faut donc s'allier aux acteurs qui défendent l'orientation humaniste de l'université et contribuer à la préservation du lien des études néohelléniques avec les études classiques. L'idée de sauver les études néohelléniques tout en abandonnant le bateau en détresse des études classiques ne peut que précipiter leur disparition. La préservation à l'étranger de l'enseignement universitaire du grec moderne au sein d'une multitude de langues plus ou moins exotiques ne peut avoir pour l'Etat grec qu'un intérêt limité.
2. Il est illusoire de croire à la possibilité d'une instrumentalisation d'institutions universitaires spécialisées dans les questions internationales par la création de centres jouissant d'un financement grec. Plus les enjeux géopolitiques sont importants et les institutions visées sont influentes, plus celles-ci sont jalouses de leur indépendance. Si parfois elles acceptent de la sacrifier, c'est pour suivre les consignes de leurs propres autorités nationales et sous des pressions autrement plus puissantes. En réalité, c'est la chaire grecque qui risque d'être manipulée par l'institution qui l'accueille, plutôt que le contraire.
3. La diaspora universitaire grecque constitue un capital sous-estimé. Ses membres qui font partie d'universités importantes offrent beaucoup plus de possibilités qu'une chaire créée à l'initiative d'acteurs qui ignorent presque tout de la réalité de ces mondes opaques que sont aujourd'hui les institutions universitaires. Les acteurs grecs (Etat, Fondations) peuvent soutenir des initiatives pour promouvoir la connaissance de la Grèce en s'appuyant sur cette diaspora universitaire, à laquelle il faut, bien entendu, ajouter les spécialistes de la Grèce, indépendamment de leur nationalité et de leur discipline. Des financements ponctuels et conditionnels de projets (recherches, colloques, publications et autres manifestations) sont beaucoup plus rentables que la création de chaires grecques qui, une fois financées et créées, échappent en général à tout contrôle. Les autorités grecques peuvent s'inspirer des politiques incitatives européennes ou nationales (menées par exemple par la France), avec définition de priorités, appels d'offre etc.
4. Il reste enfin une question de très grande importance qu'on ne peut qu'évoquer dans cet article: le rapport entre la diaspora grecque et les universités des lieux d'accueil. Les communautés grecques à l'étranger constituent des enjeux éducatifs, politiques et sociaux pour leurs sociétés

d'accueil qui, en règle générale, se posent de plus en plus la question de l'organisation multiculturelle. Les universités locales peuvent développer en ce sens un intérêt authentique pour l'étude de la situation et de la culture de ces communautés. Une nouvelle piste de collaboration entre les autorités grecques, les communautés grecques diasporées, les pays d'accueil et les universités locales pourrait ainsi conduire à la création de chaires grecques, solidement ancrées cette fois dans leur milieu social. De telles chaires pourraient donner lieu à un renouveau sain de la tradition des chaires grecques. Elles ne peuvent et ne doivent cependant devenir les instruments de promotion des «intérêts nationaux» ; céder à une telle tentation conduirait à leur marginalisation instantanée. La question des chaires grecques se retrouve ainsi liée au champ épineux de la relation entre la diaspora et l'Etat.

La question des chaires grecques n'a rien d'exceptionnel. Elle constitue une manifestation supplémentaire du problème général de l'Hellénisme d'aujourd'hui: «pour rester le même, il faut changer». La tradition des chaires grecques ne peut survivre que par une révision radicale de leur fonctionnement, de leurs finalités, de leur statut, de leurs logiques, de leur personnel. Une telle mutation ne peut que bouleverser des habitudes et menacer des intérêts professionnels. C'est pour cette raison qu'il est difficile d'être optimiste en ce qui concerne une évolution rapide. Pour un véritable renouveau, il faut espérer que s'affirme un jour une nouvelle génération d'universitaires, plus ouverte aux enjeux nouveaux d'un monde qui change à une étonnante vitesse. Le devoir de notre génération est de préparer, de soutenir et d'encourager cette relève.

NOTES

1. La fameuse affaire de la démission d'Arnold Toynbee de la Chaire Korais d'Oxford, chaire financée par les armateurs grecs, parce qu'il avait critiqué la politique grecque en Asie Mineure, montre bien l'ancienneté du débat -ainsi que les problèmes d'ordre moral que pose une présence obtenue en grande partie par des donations. Voir: Richard Clogg, *Politics and the Academy :Arnold Toynbee and the Korais Chair*, Frank Cass, 1986.

Costas Montis a Cypriot Poet (1914 -2004)

Eleftherios Papaleontiou*

RÉSUMÉ

Costas Montis a principalement écrit de la poésie, plus particulièrement de courts poèmes, mais il a également écrit de la prose, et, à un degré moindre, des pièces de théâtre, de la critique et de la traduction. Sa principale oeuvre poétique s'intitule *Moments*, une série de courts poèmes qu'il a publiés pour la première fois en 1958 et qu'il a continué à enrichir jusqu'en 2002. Il a aussi produit la trilogie *Grammata sti mitera/ Lettres à la Mère*, trois poèmes «complexes» dans lesquels sont développées les structures poétiques des *Moments*. Les problèmes politiques, les angoisses existentielles, les variations d'humeur et les remarques se rapportant à lui-même se rencontrent, convergeant de façon abstraite, tantôt avec humour et sarcasme et tantôt avec une satire amère ou une ironie limpide, et sont résumés dans des poèmes denses, concis, comprenant deux, trois ou quatre lignes et parfois même une seule.

ABSTRACT

Costas Montis cultivated poetry, particularly short poems, but he also wrote prose and, to a lesser extent, theatre, revue and translation. His poetic output is defined mainly by *Moments*, a series of short poems that he published in 1958 and that have been supplemented up to 2002, and by the trilogy *Grammata sti mitera/ Letters to Mother*, three «complex» poems in which the poetic nuclei of his *Moments* are developed. Political problems, existential anxieties, mental changes and remarks about himself are conveyed in an abstract way, sometimes with humour and sarcasm and sometimes with bitter satire or limpid irony. They are summed up in concise poems that are short, sometimes even a single line.

Costas Montis composed mainly short poems, but he also wrote prose and, to a lesser extent, theatre, revue and translation. Although best known as a poet, the rest of his work is important and in recent years his work has interested more and more scholars in Cyprus, Greece, and even other countries. His poetic output is defined mainly by *Moments*, a series of short poems that he published in 1958 and that have been supplemented up to the present day, and by the trilogy *Grammata sti mitera/ Letters to Mother*, three complex poems in which the poetic nuclei of his *Moments* are developed.

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Montis was born in Famagusta, as the sixth and last child of the large family of Theodoulos Montis, a civil servant from Lapithos (Kyrenia District) and Kalomoira Batista from Famagusta, who was from an old Venetian family. From 1915, the young Costas lived for four years in Limassol, where his father had been transferred, and from 1919 he settled in Larnaca. His childhood was marred by the successive deaths of members of his family. In 1922 his older brothers died; Yiorgos, aged 21, of tuberculosis and Nikos, aged 16, of leukaemia. Four years later, his mother died of tuberculosis, while in 1930 his father died of cancer. These deaths left an indelible mark on the poet's character and work.

Immediately after his mother's death, the Montis family settled in Nicosia where Montis attended the Pancyprian Gymnasium. He stood out as an excellent pupil and even rejected an offer from the colonial government of free education at the English School and a scholarship to study in England. In 1932 he enrolled in the Law School of Athens University, although he knew that, after the anti-British uprising of 1931, the colonial government had forbidden graduates of the Greek university to practise law on the island.

From his earliest years as a student, Montis was writing. He collaborated with the Nicosia newspaper *Eleftheria* (*Freedom*), sending reports from the Greek capital on current political and artistic trends. His first short stories were also published in this paper. At age 20, he published his first book in Nicosia *Me metro kai choris metro/ With measure and without measure* (1934). It contains early poems and prose that justifiably received negative or guarded comments from critics. The poet himself makes no reference to them in his later publications. Nonetheless, although inept, these pieces reveal the youthful experiments of the author: for example, the light approach to daily and insignificant aspects of life and his use of parenthetical discourse as a second, different voice.

He returned to Cyprus (1937) with a law degree but never practised his profession. He accepted various positions, initially as an accountant and manager at the Hellenic Mining Company (he was later transferred to the mines at Mitsero and Kalavassos). Later he would teach at the Morphou School of Commerce.

In 1939, he published his collection *kamiles kai alla diigimata/Camels and other stories*, while five years later he brought out a second collection of short stories called *Tapeini zoi/Humble Life* (1944). In the first stories he outlines with emotion the humble figures of simple people (the camel driver, the nut seller, the shoemaker and the carpenter), who emerge as totally dedicated to

their work. He goes on to deal again with small and insignificant beings, with animals and also inanimate objects, which he personifies to hint at problems of contemporary man, such as loneliness, alienation, social injustice and human cruelty.

From 1942 on, he settled permanently in Nicosia, and together with Achilleas Lymbourides and Phivos Mousoulides, founded the first professional theatre on the island. He began to write lyrics in the idiom that were set to music and became very popular (especially *Drosoulla's song*), as well as revue numbers. For two years (1944-1945), he brought out the magazine *The Theatre* with Phivos Mousoulides, the first periodical of its kind in Cyprus. Some of his own work was published therein: poems and short stories, lyrics for revues, notes on the writing of verse and comments on the theatre and books.

In 1945, Costas married Ersi Constantinou by whom he would have four children, Theodoulos, Marios, Lellos and Stalo. In the same year, he brought out the short-lived newspapers *Eleftheri Foni* (*Free Voice*) and *The Cyprus Chamber of Commerce Journal*. At the same time, he published a column in the newspaper *Ethnos* (*Nation*), wrote revues and translated film subtitles.

His first collection of poems, *Minima* (1946), contains mainly light love poems. There are also, however, poems that intimate/hint at the subsequent development of the poet. We pause at the poem *O misthoforos apo tin Atlantida/The Mercenary of Atlantis*, which seems to converse with but also to clash with the anti-heroic *Michalios* of Karyotakis. This relatively developed piece refers to a labourer in the Anglo-Cypriot mines, who loses his job because of the war and is compelled to enlist in the army. He fights on various war fronts and kills men to earn a living. His new life does not seem to him as hard as his work in the underground galleries of the mines. At the end of the poem, when the mercenary soldier returns to his family, he presents himself as happy, since he has secured a sizeable fortune. The mental alienation and the suffocation of human feeling are complete; the lament of the mother of his dead childhood friend sounds to his ears as a "frightful row"! But three texts in the collection, that are characterised by the poet as "forerunners" echo the poetry of Cavafy: the psychological vacuum and the loneliness that follow a grand ceremony (*Sternos fovos/Last Fear*), the litter that remains after a fair (*Panegyri/Fair*) and the fear that a long absence alienates people (*Mi fovitheis/Don't be afraid*), convey in an allegorical or metaphorical way existential and other problems of contemporary man: the transience of life, the passing of joyful moments, the upsetting of inter-

personal relationships, human loneliness and psychological desolation. It is of note that in these three pieces the verse has escaped traditional moulds and rhyme has disappeared.

Eight years elapsed between *Minima* and the publication of his next collection of poems (*Ta tragoudia tis tapeinis zois/Songs of the Humble Life*, 1954). During this period, Montis collaborated with various periodicals and newspapers (*Agonistis*, *Ethnos*, *Kypriaki*), while in 1953 he published the *Cyprus Trade Journal* in both Greek and English. In 1950 he was appointed General Secretary of the Cyprus Federation of Trade and Industry. During this same period, another two deaths left their mark on his family. In 1950 his sister Elengo died of cancer, while in 1954 his sister Chrystalla died of intestinal collapse.

In his third collection, *Songs of the Humble Life*, although traditional poems are there, the quests of the poet in the direction of “contemporary style” gain strength. These would lead to his collection of poems *Moments*. The poet himself classifies nineteen of the poems in the volume as “forerunners”. The grief at the death of his loved ones, the extinguishing of youth, human vanity and frivolity, the sense of the futility of worldly matters, the inner vacuum and the tyranny of loneliness, tender family moments and stoic endurance are conveyed in free, blank verse and sometimes in melancholic, Karyotakis-like mood or with Cavafian sagacity. In other poems closer to traditional verse, the (sometimes renewed) conversation of Montis with the Greek poetic tradition, and particularly with his favourites, Cavafy and Karyotakis, is worth noting. In the poem *Oi grammes/The Lines*, the speaker feels that his city is being transformed into a lethal spider’s web that is tightening round him. His former hopeful self is developing into a melancholy Karyotakis and dull Nicosia is compared to “merciless” Preveza. Also, in *Ein’ ligo na prosmeneis tous varvarous/It is a small thing to await the barbarians* he converses openly with Cavafy’s well-known poem *Perimenontas tous varvarous/Waiting for the Barbarians*, to give the reply that it is more dramatic for someone not to wait for anything. Desolation and abandonment leave no room for the Karyotakian speaker of the poem to hope that something will change his life. Yet, even here, there are also light, erotic songs with joyous moments and experimentation, that are written in regular metrical verses (*Kordella.../Ribbon ...*, *Matia/Eyes*, *Ki’alli lemonia/And another lemon tree*, *Kakologimata/Slander*, *The mou/My God*, *Figi/ Flight*, *Poli mou viazesai/ You’re in a great hurry* etc.).

The outbreak of the Cypriot struggle against the British (1955-1959) did

not leave the poet indifferent. He took on the role of political advisor to the members of EOKA in the Nicosia District. From 1956 he was in charge of the literary pages of the non-specialised Greek magazine *Times of Cyprus*, which was published in Nicosia by Charles Foley. He published a number of pieces in this magazine, poems, prose, comments on literary and other subjects, and later a correspondence column. The national exuberance which the Cypriots' struggle for freedom from British colonialism aroused, and also the frustration of the vision of unification with Greece by the Treaties of Zurich and London, in accordance with which the Republic of Cyprus was founded, inspired and sealed the subsequent literary work of Montis.

The collection of short poems entitled *Stigmes/Moments* (1958), the *Simpliroma ton stigmon/Addendum to Moments* (1960) and the supplementary edition entitled *Poetry of Costas Montis* (1962) constitute the prelude to his new poetic course and are a milestone in the development of his work. The bulk of his later poetic work (with the exception of the three *Letters to Mother*) is nothing other than a continuation and an elaboration of Moments. In these "telegraphic" poems, the inspirations of the poet, the themes from the daily aspects of life which preoccupy him, are concentrated and laconically imprinted. Political problems, existential anxieties, mental changes and remarks relating to himself are conveyed in an abstract way, sometimes with humour and sarcasm and sometimes with bitter satire or with limpid irony, and are summed up in concise poems that are short in form, of two, three or four lines, sometimes even of a single line. The poet avoids developing the theme. He keeps only the poetic nucleus to leave the reader the possibility of "finding the steps that lead to the nucleus/core and the steps that lead beyond the nucleus". In other words, the reader is called upon to fill in the gaps and silences, to suspect the allusions which underlie or glimmer through the cracks of the discourse, to investigate the ambiguous and untold layers of irony or to develop and extend sibylline phrases and dark or rather vivid metaphors and personifications.

Critics have justifiably called the poet of *Moments* "Socratic", "tragically dialectical" and "dual-natured". Utilising lessons from the irony of Cavafy or from the satire of Karyotakis, Montis approaches people and things, bigger events and the small, insignificant moments of daily life from an unexpected and subversive viewpoint. He lays bare established values, removes the halo from august figures, satirises and mocks, plays with the words themselves, plays seriously and is serious in a playful way. He creates puns and paradoxes; he dissembles and hesitates, has doubts about his doubts, retracts all that he

has claimed earlier, matches the unmatched and undermines the certainty and seriousness with an ironic and cagey smile. The darts of his irony and satire are not directed solely at others; he often turns his irony and sarcasm against himself or lays bare his own poetic adventure, his continuous and Sisyphean endeavour to touch elusive poetry.

The shortness of the poems and the ironic approach to things do not allow the poet to develop clear positions and inviolate views. Matters great and small, personal, private moments and collective or universal problems, existential anxieties and individual impasses, national exaltation and political disappointments, are all summarised in poetic *Moments* of a single breath, that are condensed with exceptional economy of discourse, with abstract expressions, persistent repetitions or variations. The discourse is frequently fragmented and carved up into apothegms or it becomes intensely self-referring and lets the limits of the writing and speechlessness appear. He ends in a pun, a witticism, a joke. The poet “plays” between discourse and silence, between what is said and what is hinted at. His informed reader is called upon to suspect concealments and innuendos and to recognize (according to the theoretical view of Linda Hutcheon) the latent ironical point at which the spoken and the unspoken culminate.

In general, Montis avoids naming people and things or calling events by their name. He prefers the innuendo, concealments and ambiguity, the most unlikely personifications and metaphors. He often transfers his attention to inanimate objects and to images from nature, in order to conceal personal worries and collective problems in them. Even when he is called upon to demonstrate his national enthusiasm and emotion over the heroic sacrifices of young men during the Struggle for Freedom against the British, he does not break out into high-flown and enthusiastic words, but confines himself to indicating in an exceptionally abstract way and with pointed expression, the reflection of a supreme act or self-sacrifice in the mental world of the speaker or in the way in which the speaker faces the simple and commonplace things that surround him. The latter (for example the Greek flag, a photograph, an inscription, the song of a bird, the rain, the wind) often acquire autonomy and absorb the emotion and the emotional outburst. The tone of expression is controlled and confined to low tones. Pain, anger and disappointment are conveyed discreetly, often with unexpected imagery or with eloquent concealment.

With the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus and appearance of the first cracks in the relations between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots

(the inter-communal disturbances of 1963, the activities of extremist elements on both sides, the bombing of the Tillyria region by Turkish planes etc.), the demand for the union of Cyprus with Greece was rekindled on the one hand and for the partition of the island on the other. Montis was one of the ardent supporters of the ideology of union. In 1961, he was appointed Director of the Department of Tourism and he served in this position until 1976. Alongside his creative work, he continued to play a role in the cultural affairs of the island. In 1964, he began his cooperation with the Cyprus State Radio. He had a programme in which he followed and encouraged the first steps of young writers.

In 1964 he published his novelette-chronicle entitled *Kleistēs portes/Closed Doors*, a dissenting work of post-colonial literature, in which he refutes the positions of the English writer Lawrence Durrell put forward in his novel-chronicle *Bitter Lemons*. It is clear that the Cypriot writer does not aspire to exploit myth-making in a substantial and complex way, but hastens to set down his testimony about the struggles of his compatriots against the British in emotionally charged language that would convey national elation. In all probability this work constitutes a direct reply to the novel of Rodis Roufous, *I chalkini epochi/The Bronze Age* (1960) as well, in which the author wanted to give a more mythical depiction of the Cypriot struggle, reproducing and overturning the myth-making ways and ideological positions of Lawrence Durrell.

In 1965, a new, different poetic statement by Montis came out, *Letter to Mother and other verses*, in which a composite poem, the first part of a trilogy, dominates. In this developed text, the poet finds the opportunity to accumulate and analyse further the nuclei of his poetic *Moments*. Here, also, he tries to include and combine the big and small matters that occupy him. The sensitive speaker of the text addresses his words to his dead mother (or to the ideal maternal figure), to expound to her his personal anxieties, national yearnings and universal problems : personal impasse, existential stress, carefree memories of childhood, the thwarting of dreams at a personal and national level, the heightening of political affairs and the threat of war, the death from starvation of little Ali in Somalia, human cruelty and psychological desolation etc. The discourse now flows analytically, while there is a return here to persistent repetitions, personifications and metaphors.

In the same year, in collaboration with the critic Andreas Christofides, Montis published an *Anthology of Cypriot Poetry* from ancient times to the

contemporary period. This anthology also came out in English (1972), while a second, enriched edition in Greek was published in 1973. A first selection from *Moments* was printed in English in 1965, translated by Amaranth Sitis and Charles Dodd.

There followed a spate of collections of poems: *Agnosto anthropo/To an unknown human being* (1968), *Ex imertis Kyprou/From beloved Cyprus* (1969), *En Lefkosia ti.../In Nicosia the...* (1970), *Second Letter to Mother* (1972), *Kai tote en enalia Kyprou/Then in sea-washed Cyprus* (1974). In 1970 he brought out the collection *Short Stories*, in which elaborated versions of stories from his earlier publications are also included. He also supervised the publication of an *Anthology of Young Cypriot Poets* (1969), which stemmed from his collaboration with the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation, a volume of *Cypriot Folk Songs* (1970), pieces of criticism developed by himself, and worked with Gaston Henry Aufrère and A. Christofides on the French edition *Anthologie de la poésie chypriote* (Paris 1972).

The first official recognition came with his collection *To an unknown human being*, for which he was awarded the First State Prize for Literature by the Cyprus Ministry of Education. Then, in 1973, he was awarded the State prize for his overall contribution to Cypriot Literature. The poetry of Montis began to claim the attention of more critics, both in Cyprus and in Greece. G.P. Savvides considers that the poetic coming-of-age of Montis is completed by his collection *Ex imertis Kyprou/From Beloved Cyprus* (1969). In any case, both in these collections and in his later books of poetry, he elaborates with his familiar techniques the short poems he inaugurated with *Moments*. More and more the poet captures mature simplicity. He draws his inspiration directly or in retrospect from local and international events (the sufferings of Hellenism during the years of the Occupation, aspects of the struggle for freedom (1955-59), clashes between Greek and Turkish Cypriots during the inter-communal disturbances of 1963, the Russian invasion of Prague etc.), which, however, are summarised and presented with emphasis on human moments. Or he meditates on life, man, God, or his poetic art, turning to advantage and effectively promoting the technique of personification and metaphor, abstract expression and innuendo, humour and irony.

Gradually he began composing with greater frequency poems that deal with poetics, in which he reveals his poetic experience and expresses doubt about the possibilities and the limits of poetry and his poetic art. The self-referring speaker sets down his anxieties and his ups and downs in relation

to the effectiveness of writing; he attempts to capture and enclose in words the elusive figure of the Muse of Poetry; he converses and clashes with his personified verses or accepts their harsh censure. He sketches with humour or irony the character of the poet (and indeed the tenacity and megalomania of every aspiring poet), his inharmonious or intense relationship with people and objects. Also, he makes a theme of the struggle and the anguish of the poetic subject to shake the anxiety of the poetic tradition off his shoulders and converses teasingly and subversively with the earlier, respected poets whom he chooses to be his poetical forbears, Montis is perhaps one of the few modern Greek poets to occupy himself to such an extent and with such intensity with his poetic experience, a fact which indicates his obsessive friction with the art of poetry.

The *Second Letter to Mother* (1972) is considered a “crowning poetic achievement” by well known critics and scholars (A. Christofides, Y. Kechagioglou, Y.P.Savvides, M. Pieris). Savvides wrote with admiration that the work “constitutes one of the most revealing and at the same time victorious testimonies possessed by modern European art, after the music of Bach, on the daily struggle of the conscientious craftsman to give a positive meaning and new shape to our disruptive, incoherent age, which has been rightly named ‘the age of non-continuation’, or more simply ‘the age of the fission of the atom’”, and that Montis “has managed to overcome the fission, transforming the very elements of the fission into an unprecedented unity.” Truly, the *Second Letter to Mother* is more demanding and more compact in relation to the first or the third. In contrast with the latter (1980), metaphorical language and personification, associative and allegorical expression dominate in the second. Yet again, the subject of the disruption and cohesion of the structure, the coherence of the writing, occupy him. The “I” of the narration blends with the collective “we”, local matters are linked with international problems. The hungry children of Africa, the self-immolation of the fifteen year old Jan, the death of the twenty-three year old officer in Vietnam, the murder of the child with the kite and other subjects occupy him in connection with personal anxieties, existential impasses and the thwarting of the “enosis” dream (union of Cyprus with Greece).

Towards the end of the 1960s and the early years 1970s, the political situation on the island degenerated. The activity of EOKA B’ on the one hand and of the TMT on the other divided the people of Cyprus and sowed discord between the leftists, who supported Archbishop Makarios, and those on the right, who were led by General Grivas, and also between Turkish and

Greek Cypriots. The seven-year dictatorship in Greece (1967-1974), that repeatedly tried to overthrow the government of Makarios, made the situation even harder and, finally, served the partition plans of Ankara and Denktash. The military coup d'état against the life of the Archbishop (15 July 1974) gave the pretext to Turkey to invade the island with her troops five days later, and since then she has occupied a large part of the island. The Turkish invasion shattered every aspect of life in Cyprus and fed the inspiration of the poet with new, painful material.

The poetic output of Montis written after the unlucky year of 1974 is stamped conclusively by the tragedy of Cyprus: *Pikramenos en eafto/Embittered in oneself* (1975), *Kypros en Avlidi/Cyprus in Aulis* (1976), *Kypria eidolia/Cypriot Idols* (1980), *Third Letter to Mother* (1980), *Antimacha/Fighting against* (1984), *Os en katakleidi/As in conclusion* (1984) and others. The bitterness and disappointment are epitomised in a number of short poems with the favourite techniques of the poet. Often the pain is filtered and transposed into inanimate objects or elements of nature for it to be shown that the destruction of war touched these too: the doll with the broken arm drooping at the window of a bombed house, the sea of Kyrenia that allowed the passage of the Turkish warships, the occupied mountain range of Pentadactylos, that evokes terror and suspicion in those who once lived there, the lemons of Karavas that were likely nourished with the blood of dead soldiers are just some of the images to which he transposes the drama of Cyprus. None the less, the other side of the story is also shown. Nature appears to bloom carefree, as a dissonant contrast to the dismal climate of the war and post-war reality. Indeed, these collections contain a large number of poetic *Moments* that refer to a variety of other themes familiar from Montis' previous books.

More than at any other time, the poet allows his bitterness and disappointment to overflow in the *Third Letter to Mother* (1980). Here he writes "in violence and in sorrow and in pain" to describe things as they really are. The discourse is now openly referential. The poet is no longer interested in concealing the painful results of the tragedy behind metaphorical and allegorical images or to take refuge in personifications and concealment. He speaks of the drama of the missing, talks of the dead and informers, names the Turkish occupation, severely criticises Greece for not being able to support the defence of Cyprus and avert the evil. In the end the poet wishes that this letter may never reach the hands of his mother, and he declares that he is not going to write to her again. The emotional

charging, the anger and the bitterness do not leave the creator much scope to recast his material more calmly in this third part of the trilogy, which is more condensed and vociferous and perhaps inferior in quality in comparison with the previous two parts.

In the meantime, the poetry of Montis also attracted the interest of critics at universities in Greece. In 1977, he was invited to a class by Professor Y.P.Savvides and he read his poems to the students of literature at the Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki. A year later *A Selection from Moments (1958-1975)*, edited by Y. Kechagioglou, was published by the Athenian publishing house Kedros. In the same year, Kechagioglou published an essay on the poem *Mia lefka stin Kakopetria/A Poplar Tree at Kakopetria*. Then Y.P.Savvides gave a lecture on the poet at an event of the National Association of Greek Writers of Cyprus (1979) and shortly afterwards wrote his prologue to the collection of poems *Meta fovou anthropou/In Fear of Man* (1982). Under the editorship of Y. Kechagioglou and M. Pieris, a collection of twelve essays was published, mainly referring to the poetry of Montis.

His only novel, *O afentis batistas kai i'alla/Master Batistas and the others* was published in Athens by Hermes in 1980. Here the author makes use of, but also upsets, techniques of the historical novel. Sometimes with the innocent glance of a child and sometimes with the demystifying mature conception of the basic narrator, he aspires to make memorable autobiographical memories, to feel the identity of himself and his country and to sum up personal and collective experiences from the period of Turkish rule to the present day. At the same time, he sets out, with self-referring comments, his anxieties and his impasses with regard to the art of writing, he attacks the illusion of plausibility and lays bare the imaginary world of mythmaking.

In the same year the collection *Sti glossa pou protomilisa/In the language I first spoke* (1980) was published, with a prologue by Y. Kechagioglou. This is the first concentrated edition of his poems written in the Cypriot idiom. As mentioned earlier, Montis had been writing verses in the local linguistic idiom since 1940. Writing in the idiom became much more frequent later on, after 1970 and particularly in his late work. The poet, himself, authoritatively maintained in a speech in 1980 the view that Cypriot poets should write in the linguistic idiom of their island too, because it can offer "unique and precious sap to the trunk of the Greek language." At the same time it can make known the cultural peculiarities and the character of the world of Cyprus and the invisible aspects of its history. The output of Montis in the idiom is noteworthy and increases and is enriched still more

in the late phase of his work. Y. Kechagioglou was right when he observed that this output is basically traditional and prosodic. At an initial stage at least, his texts in the idiom constitute “intervals of joy” (to quote A. Christofides), since they shake off the pessimism of the rest of his work and deal with carefree love or other happy moments of life. Nevertheless, his idiomatic poetry gradually extends to “serious” subjects as well, such as the historical vicissitudes and the political problems of Cyprus, the existential man, poetics etc.

The creative use of the Cypriot idiom is extended to other areas as well: to the theatre, revue or to the elaboration of folk songs. In 1981, the Cypriot version of the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes (an earlier work by Montis) was successfully put on. A second comedy by Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazousae/Women at the Assembly* was also performed in the Cypriot idiom. Also, in 1981, he published in a collective Athenian edition, his one-act play *Apagorevetai I eisodos sto agchos/No Entry for Stress* (written in 1973), in which he approaches modern, existential man.

After 1980 recognition of the poet extended to the international plane. In 1981 he was awarded the title of Poet Laureate by the World Academy of Arts and Culture. The Hungarian scholar Kalman Szabo published a notable study on the short story *Ena palio aftokinito/An Old Car* (from the collection *Tapeini zoi/Humble Life*) in the Budapest journal *Homonoia* (1982). In the year that followed his books were translated into European languages: *Letters to Mother and other verses* (translated by A. Sitis and C. Dodd, 1984), *Momenten* (translated by V.H. Hokwerda, Leiden 1987), *Afendi Batistas und das Übrige* (translated by K. Jablonowski, Köln 1988), *Brieven aan Moeder* (translated by V.H. Hokwerda, Gronigen 1991), *Poems* (translated by M.B. Raizis, Athens 1999). In 1984 he was nominated by PEN Cyprus for the Nobel Prize. He was nominated for the same prize a second time in 1999 by the School of Philosophy of the University of Cyprus and by the Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture. Among other awards, he was honoured with the Award for Excellence in Letters and Arts of the Republic of Cyprus (1994) and awarded an Honorary Doctorate by the School of Philosophy of the University of Cyprus (1997).

From 1986 onwards, with financial assistance from the A.Y. Leventis Foundation, the poet has been working on a revised edition of his *Complete Works*, which is being supplemented up to the present time with his most recent poems. This edition, however, in which the poet spreads his poems over a variety of units, is rather difficult to use. The recent dedicatory

volume of the Athenian Journal *Lexi* (edited by M. Pieris, 1999), to which critics and scholars from Cyprus and Greece have contributed, is an important contribution to the poet's becoming known and respected in the Greek world.

In summary, it can be said that the poetry of Montis, whether in the form of the short *Moments* or with the developed compositions *Letters to Mother*, constitute an important stage in the poetic output of Cyprus and possibly contribute something new to the body of contemporary Greek poetry. Already in Cyprus, a series of young poets are making use of the poetic example of *Moments*. Also recently, in Greece too, younger notable poets are discovering his poetry and sometimes converse fruitfully with it. Among these poets, what seems to be gaining ground is the opportune and well-condensed expression of his short poems, which permits the instantaneous promotion of the thematic core, without this being lost in the development of the discourse or in peripheral themes.

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With a Little Help from Edgar Allan Poe (Deciphering a cryptographic text produced by a Modern Greek writer)

Savvas Pavlou*

When I was fourteen years old I discovered the American Center in Nicosia. It is in an old building surrounded by a garden, near the archaeological Museum of Cyprus. Its library is rich in books by American authors written in English. There was however only a poor section of books on American history and American literature translated into Greek in a far away corner. It was then that I began to study American literature. I have read virtually all the Greek section of the American Center. It was also there and then that I read books by Edgar Allan Poe for the first time in my life. One of his books, *The Gold-Bug*, amazed me when I was fifteen years old. I was amazed then and still I am now because of his other books. After so many years, I still admire this great man. He remains one of my favorite writers.

The following quotation of a critic speaks of Poe's talent and importance: "The 1830s and the 1840s American literary world that he inhabited was at once genteel and rough-and-tumble, and Poe was its enfant terrible, a prolific but unpredictable talent of distinctive opinions and little restraint".

For Baudelaire, Edgar Allan Poe was "a fallen angel who remembered heaven". Whereas Emerson looked down upon that "jingle man" who shook his bells and called their sound poetry, Tennyson admired him as an equal and Yeats (on an official occasion, however), proclaimed that he was "so certainly the greatest of American poets, and always, and for all lands, a great lyric poet".

In 1843, Poe published his famous tale *The Gold-Bug* and won a prize of one hundred dollars offered by the *Dollar Newspaper*. This brought him belated fame. Poe's tale was a popular success. One newspaper reviewer called *The Gold-Bug* the most remarkable American work of fiction in the past fifteen years. *The Gold-Bug* became famous world-wide and one of the most popular stories ever written.

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The Gold-Bug is a treasure-hunting tale. William Legrand, the hero of this tale, discovered by accident, a scrap of parchment containing a cryptographic message. Cryptography deals directly with secrets. It is the medium through which secrets are hidden. In this tale, if Legrand manages to decipher the message he will be the owner of the secret, a pirate's treasure.

Later, in an anonymous review of himself, Poe attributed the popularity of his tale *The Gold-Bug* to the same materialistic predictions of the American mass audience: money, and the finding of money being chosen as the most popular thesis". A similar desire to exploit or control the mass audience underlies Poe's great innovations in literary form, such as the tale of "ratiocination" or, more, specifically, the detective story (which Poe is credited with inventing). Attentiveness to an emerging mass market even informs Poe's aesthetic writings, for his is perpetually investigating the possibility of creating a single literary text capable of satisfying both "the popular and the critical taste".

Poe was very interested in cryptography and had written texts on the subject (see "A few words on Secret Writing"). As the Reverend Mr. Cudworth claimed: "The most profound and skilful cryptographer who ever lived was undoubtedly Edgar Allan Poe." Poe, with his belief that no cipher devised by the human mind could go unresolved by human examination, himself claimed he would solve any cryptogram sent to him in challenges published in both *Alexander's Weekly Messenger* and *Craham's Magazine*. In his own words, Poe's challenge is stated as follows:

"It would be by no means a labor lost to show how great a degree of rigid method enters into enigma-guessing. This may sound oddly; but it is not more strange than the well fact that rules really exist, by means of which it is easy to decipher any species of hieroglyphical writing—that is to say writing here, in a place of alphabetical letters, any kind of marks are made use of at random. For example, in place of A put % or any arbitrary character—in place of B, a *, etc., etc. Let an entire alphabet be made in his manner, and then let this alphabet be used in any piece of writing. This writing can be read by means of a proper method. Let this be put to the test. Let anyone address us a letter in this way, and we pledge ourselves to read it forthwith—however unusual or arbitrary may be the characters employed".

The challenge initiated numerous responses. Edgar Allan Poe found the solutions of all the ciphers that fall into the simple substitution category that Poe gave as a condition for the challenge.

Let us return to *The Gold-Bug*. The cryptographic message about the pirate's treasure was the following:

'53†††305))6*;4826)4†.) 4†) ;806*;48†8¶(60))85;1†(:;†8†83(88)
5*†;46(;88*96*?;8)*†(:485) ;5*†2:*†(:4956*2(5*—4)8¶8*; 40692
85);)6†8)4††;1 (†9;48081;8:8†1;48†85;4) 485†528806*81(†9;48;
(88;4(†?34;48)4†;161;:188;†?;'

William Legrand, the hero of this tale, tried to break the code of this cryptographic text. His first step was to ascertain the predominant letters, as well as the least frequent. Counting all, he constructed a table with the cryptographic characters and the frequency of them. In the first position was one cryptographic character like the number 8, it was written in the text 33 times. The most frequent letter in the English language is "E". So the first cryptographic letter had been recognized. The symbol 8 represents the letter e. Second step: Of all the words in the English language "the" is the most usual. So he recognized two other cryptographic characters that represented the letters t and h. In this way he managed to decipher the cryptographic text.

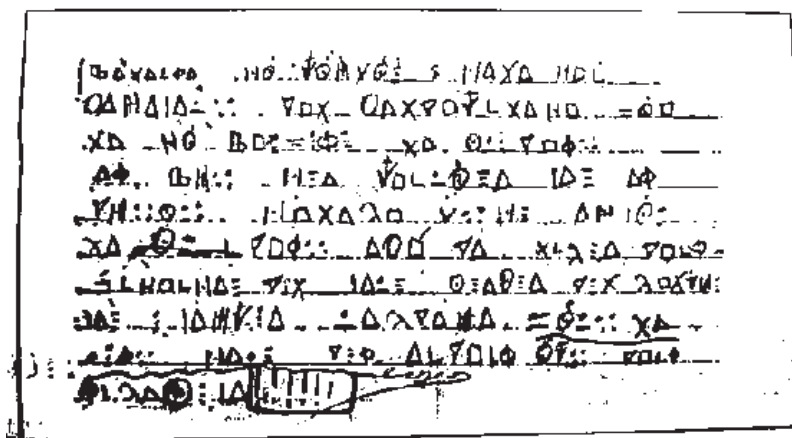
This is the deciphered text:

"A good glass in the Bishop's hostel in the devil's forty – one degrees and thirteen minutes northeast and by north main branch seventh limb east side shoot from the left eye of the death's – head a bee-line from the tree through the shot fifty feet out."

After the decipherment, it was very easy to discover the location of the treasure trove of gold, coins and diamonds worth one and a half million dollars in those days.

Let us proceed to the second cryptographic text. Giorgos Ioannou (1927 – 1985), the famous Greek prose writer of the post-war period, started writing a diary about his every day life during the Nazi occupation of Greece when he was only 16. Topics included hunger, oppression and other problems of the occupation, the progress of the Second World War, the weather, the situation at home, his personal thoughts and experiences). The future author stopped writing his diary after four months. In ten pages of his diary, some sentences were written in a cryptographic way using a symbolic alphabet created by the young man himself. He did that to hide some personal thoughts and experiences that he did not want to share with

anybody. At the beginning of the diary, he had written his self-created alphabet with the explanation for every symbol but he destroyed that first page because he was afraid that somebody might find out what he had written. Giorgos Ioannou himself admitted that even he was unable to decipher the cryptographic texts from his diary written such a long time before. The diary was published many years ago when Giorgos Ioannou was alive. In this edition a photo of one of his cryptographic texts was included. What follows was dated 13 December 1943:



When I saw it I was reminded of the decipherment in Edgar Allan Poe's *The Gold Bug*. I wondered if I could decipher this text. I re-read *The Gold Bug* to remember the method and started working. After many hours of working hard and following Poe's guidelines, I managed to decipher the first word and then with more ease the first sentence: "[They behave to me] in a cruel way, my mother hit me", this was the first sentence.

I was in tears, I realized that I was possibly the first man in the world to read this personal and cryptographic text. My favourite writer, Giorgos Ioannou, expressed himself in this text in 1943, at age sixteen, and after 57 years, in 2000, I was the first to receive his message. I continued and deciphered the whole message, which goes as following: "[They behave to me] in a cruel way, my mother hit me. I pray to God to help me and save me. I wish I could find a job to be able to have even only bread but to be saved from these people's hands. I remember the fat grandmother and my heart wants to live with her. All those in the house, I loath them, I am disgusted."

There is more, though. The novelist Giorgos Ioannou visited Kalavryta in

1963. There, thirty years before, on 13 – 12 – 1943 the Nazi troops of Germany executed all the men of Kalavryta, 1,200 victims age 16 and over. During his visit, the brother and sister of one of the victims, who was sixteen years old on the day of the execution, came to have their sibling's bones exhumed. In this place of martyrdom Giorgos Ioannou was curious to find out what was written in his Diary on that very date, December 13th 1943, promising himself to check the Diary entry when he returned home. This visit and his subsequent intention to check his diary is referred in a short story written by Giorgos Ioannou himself entitled: “13 – 12 – 43.”

This is unbelievable! In his Diary, on December 13th, 1943, Giorgos Ioannou wrote the cryptographic text that in 2000 I, myself, deciphered.

So in Kalavryta a sixteen-year-old boy was faced with an execution squad of the Nazi troops and at the same time, on the same day, another boy of the same age, in Salonica, confronted hell in his home. It is important to understand that the major tragedies of a people and a nation go side by side with the tragedies of ordinary people, or the tragedies of every day life. The latter must not be ignored if we want to understand our society and our environment.

In conclusion, we have examined the decipherment of a literary text by Edgar Allan Poe and a diary entry by Giorgos Ioannou. Of course, we are living in a time when scientists have deciphered the human genetic code, and with telescopes, we are trying to understand the evolution of the universe from the Big Bang to today. I believe that the liberation process of humanity is really a process of decipherment: deciphering ourselves, deciphering society and nature, and deciphering the universe.

Chronologies

Chypre: 1er mai – 31 octobre 2006

21 mai: Elections législatives: les cinq partis de la coalition gouvernementale recueillent 65,66% des suffrages.

Partis politiques	% de voix	Nombre de sièges
AKEL	31, 1	18
DISY	30, 3	18
DIKO	17, 9	11
EDEK	8, 9	5
EUROKO	5, 8	3
VERTS	2	1
DEMOCRATES UNIS	1, 6	0

12 juin: A la suite de la levée du veto chypriote, formulé le 9 juin, la Turquie a clos le premier des 35 chapitres - relatif à la science et la recherche- de ses négociations d'adhésion à l'UE.

16 juin: Le Conseil européen réuni à Bruxelles invite la Turquie à intensifier les réformes et à les mettre en œuvre complètement et effectivement. Le président français Jacques Chirac et le Premier ministre luxembourgeois Jean-Claude Juncker ont menacé de suspendre les négociations d'adhésion si Ankara n'autorise pas l'accès de son territoire aux navires et aux avions chypriotes.

8 juillet: Rencontre du président Tassos Papadopoulos avec Mehmet Ali Talat, chef de la communauté chypriote turque qui adoptent un «ensemble de principes» en cinq points concernant le règlement de la question chypriote et décident la création de deux comités techniques devant étudier les problèmes quotidiens communs aux Chypriotes grecs et turcs et traiter aussi des questions de fond.

20 juillet: Le président français Jacques Chirac remercie le président Papadopoulos pour l'aide de Chypre à l'évacuation des réfugiés français du Liban.

30 août: Le Commissaire européen à l'élargissement Olli Rehn salue la déclaration approuvée le 29 août du Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU demandant «*la pleine mise en œuvre sans ultérieur délai de l'accord du 8 juillet*» entre Chypriotes grecs et turcs.

7 septembre: La Commission européenne refuse de lier le respect des engagements turcs sur l'union douanière à la question chypriote alors que la Turquie considère que la mise en œuvre de cette union à l'égard de Chypre ne peut avoir lieu tant que l'UE n'aura pas mis fin à l'isolement commercial des Chypriotes turcs.

24 octobre: Les restes de 49 Chypriotes disparus commencent à être identifiés dans

la zone tampon de Nicosie par un laboratoire financé par la Grèce et la Turquie.

25 octobre: Le ministre chypriote des affaires étrangères Georges Lillikas annonce que Chypre étudie un rapport américain faisant état de l'utilisation dans des laboratoires turcs de Chypriotes grecs capturés lors de l'invasion de 1974.

31 octobre: La présidence finlandaise de l'UE propose une réunion les 5 et 6 novembre des ministres des affaires étrangères de Turquie et de Chypre afin de trouver un compromis sur l'extension à l'Etat chypriote de l'accord d'union douanière entre Ankara et l'UE (annulation, le 2 novembre, de cette réunion).

Grèce: 1^{er} mai – 31 octobre 2006

18 mai: *Le président de la République grecque Carolos Papoulias déclare au Parlement européen à Strasbourg:* «l'Europe doit revenir aux principes de liberté, égalité, et humanisme qui sont à sa base. Elle doit aussi donner un sens à la notion de sécurité, en assurant la défense contre le terrorisme mais jamais au détriment des libertés».

23 mai: 2 avions F-16 grec et turc sont entrés en collision au dessus de l'Egée. Mort du pilote grec.

10 juin: accord établissant un téléphone rouge entre les chefs d'Etat major de Grèce et de Turquie (QG de Larissa et de Eski Sehir).

21-22 juin: Visite à Paris du ministre des Affaires étrangères Dora Bakoyannis qui participe aux travaux de l'Assemblée parlementaire de l'UEO et rencontre son homologue Philippe Douste Blazy et le ministre français de l'Intérieur Nicolas Sarkozy.

15 juillet: Mort à 93 ans du philhellène Roger Milliex, qui a joué toute sa vie un rôle important pour le développement des relations culturelles de la France avec la Grèce et Chypre.

28 juillet: Mort de Pierre Vidal Naquet à 76 ans, spécialiste de la Grèce antique et opposant actif au régime des colonels grecs.

17 août: Réunis à Athènes, les représentants des gouvernements libanais, syrien, turc, chypriote et grec adoptent un plan de nettoyage de la côte du Liban polluée au fioul lourd à la suite du bombardement par Israël d'une centrale électrique au sud de Beyrouth les 13 et 15 juillet.

1^{er} septembre: La Grèce préside pour un mois le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU.

5 septembre: Rencontre à Athènes des Premiers ministres grec et bulgare avec le président de la Russie qui expriment leur volonté de signer avant la fin de 2006 un accord pour la construction de l'oléoduc Bourgas – Alexandroupolis.

29 septembre: Le budget 2006 présenté par le ministre de l'Economie et des finances Georges Alogoskoufis accuse un déficit de 2,6%.

15 et 22 octobre: 1^{er} et 2^{ème} tour des élections municipales et préfectorales. Bonne tenue de la Nouvelle démocratie, le Pasok ne parvenant pas à réduire l'écart le séparant du parti gouvernemental. La nouvelle loi électorale qui permet à une liste ayant obtenu au moins 42% des voix d'obtenir une majorité de sièges a entraîné l'élection dès le 15 octobre de la plupart des conseils municipaux et préfectoraux (élection à Athènes de Nikita Kaklamanis de la ND et au Pirée de Panayiotis Fassoulas du Pasok ; réélection de Fofo Yenimata du Pasok à la tête de la super-préfecture Athènes-Le Pirée). Le 22 octobre élection à Patras de Andréas Fouras (ok) et réélection de Vassilis Papageorgopoulos (ND) à la mairie de Thessalonique.

30 octobre: Après 5 semaines de grève les instituteurs ont mis fin à leur mouvement.

Marios Vaianos, an Ambassador of Greek Letters

Marios Vaianos was born in 1905, in Cairo, where his father, a Chios cotton merchant, had settled. When Marios was only 3 years old, the Vaianos family left for Chios. Marios completed elementary school and part of his secondary education on the island before moving to Piraeus at age 17. He arrived in the port city in 1922 along with thousands of refugees fleeing the Asia Minor Catastrophe. After finishing high school, Vaianos enrolled in pharmacy at the University of Athens. He soon began his many cultural activities, however, and did not finish a university degree.

Early in 1923, Marios Vaianos started the *Acropole*, a cultural association. He then began to frequent the Athenian literary crowd of the day. One of the personalities, Tellos Agras, put Vaianos in touch with the Educational Association (Ekpaideutikos Omilos), a progressive group which played a vital role in reforming Greek education. Soon after Vaianos founded the literary magazine, *New Art* (Nea Techni) which also had a progressive and modernizing mission. Along the way, Tellos Agras introduced him to the poetry of Constantin Cavafy, an Alexandrian poet as yet unknown in Greece. Another intellectual, I.M. Panagiotopoulos furthered Marios' appreciation of Cavafy by showing him the poems printed on the single leafs that circulated in those days. At that time, Vaianos also happened to read the important and prophetic article about Cavafy by Grigorios Xenopoulos in the cultural magazine *Panathinaia* (1903).

Vaianos' admiration for Cavafy's poetry incited him to write to the poet at the end of 1923. Cavafy replied and thus began the correspondence between the young Marios Vaianos and the Alexandrian poet. Vaianos did all he could to promote Cavafy's work. He went to meet him for the first and last time in 1932, when the poet came to Athens to be treated for the cancer that was slowly ravaging his body.

Now, Cavafy has become not just a great Greek poet but an internationally well-read and acknowledged poet. Marios Vaianos has been forgotten while others claim to have helped Cavafy earn his status as one of the immortal writers. There are, however, a few authors such as Stratis Tsirkas, a fellow member of the Greek-Egyptian diaspora, who have recognized Vaianos' efforts to promote not only Cavafy but also other Egyptian writers working in Greek.

Many of Cavafy's letters to Vaianos were printed in a variety of magazines

such as the *Philologiki Protochronia* (1964). Others were presented to the public in an exhibition that Vaianos organized in April 1964, at the Cultural Cooperation Agency (Praktoreio Pneumatikis Synergias) which he had founded.

Vaianos' cultural activities are obviously not limited to Cavafy. Once he had created the above-mentioned agency, he undertook to meet and promote writers throughout the diaspora. His agency served as a crossroads between the diaspora and mainland for many artists. Dozens of diaspora authors would pass through the doors of his agency where they found what they needed to promote their work. Cypriot writers also received a warm reception at Vaianos' agency. Among the well-known Cypriots who visited the agency are Kostas Montis, Kypros Chrysanthis, Antis Pernaris, Yiannis Katsouris. During the sixties, Kyriakos Charalambidis, Anthos Lycavgis and Stephanos Constantinides were among the many young Cypriot students in Athens who frequented Vaianos' agency. Other regulars were Loukis Akritas, Melis Nikolaidis, Pavlos Krinaios and Avgi Shiakalli - all Cypriot authors living in Athens. Also in attendance were Greek authors such as Yiorgos Theotokas, Stratis Myrivilis, Ilias Venezis, Alkis Thrylos, Evangelos Papanoutsos, Photis Kontoglou, Kostas Varnalis, younger ones like Vassilis Vasilikos to name but a few and painters such as Kontoglou, Tsarouchis, Gounaropoulos, Bouzianis and others. The same agency occasionally served also as a gallery.

More than a meeting place for literary types, Vaianos' agency was a hub for actors, reporters, politicians, professors and even ecclesiastics. The most famous man of the cloth was George Pirounakis, a progressive priest who was subsequently tried for his ideas by both the official Church and the Junta.

Throughout the years, Vaianos was in touch with several neohellenists around the world. They were able to have books by Greek authors through his agency. In this respect, he created an international network for the promotion of Greek letters around the globe. With his limited means and frugal existence, Marios Vaianos managed to succeed where the Greek state had failed. Indeed, to survive Vaianos worked occasionally as a journalist and turned part of his agency into an art gallery. A few benefactors also helped him get through particularly hard times.

Although he was a poet himself, Marios Vaianos focused on the work of others rather than on his own. Various texts by Vaianos may be found in newspapers and literary journals in Greece and the diaspora. Some say that

he was going to draw upon his rich archives to write a book on Cavafy; however, no such manuscript was found after his death. He did claim to be preparing his own “Literary Memories”, but only a few scattered notes were ever found. Vaianos’ vast, rich archives also scattered after his death in 1976. Perhaps it would be fitting if the dozens of writers in Greece and the diaspora who benefited from his generous spirit could honour his memory with testimonials and the publication of the correspondence that he maintained with them.¹

Stephanos Constantinides

NOTES

1 This short piece was prepared by someone who knew Marios Vaianos from 1960-67. In fact, during those years, he was a young student warmly received by the generous man of letters. He has based this text on his memories of that period. Some of the biographical details do come from the book by E.I. Moschos, *K.P. Cavafis Epistoles sto Mario Vaiano* (C.P. Cavafy Letters to Marios Vaianos) published by Estia, Athens, 1979. The letters from Cavafy to Vaianos put as an appendix, do come also from the same book.

APPENDIX
Letters from Cavafy to Vaianos

2
Αγελίνδρια
23 Αυγίου 1924

Φίλε κ. Βαϊάνε,

Έχεται ~~το~~ βράδυ σας της 1^{ης}
Αυγίου, και κλείνει της 11^{ης}, και
σας εύχεστώ.

Είπα, ότι δει νιος της ουλεθίας
της ~~Αγελίνδριας~~ ^{Αγελίνδριας} τον ήσαν από τον ημεραν
στην μου, ότι ενδομυκτη να χέβετε
λα ~~φύλλα~~ φύλλα του περσικού σας, και
με είχαν ότι δα σας λα ολίγον.

Σας είπα εύρωμων με την
~~καρδιά~~ ^{καρδιά} ύστερα σας ολίγους
και με την φρονίδα σας ει οχίον
με ειδήν. Έρεφε ολίγ κ. Παπαδιώτη
και τον εύχεστώ ενίμω. Η διαμερσία
αλεχωνιάς εις το "Σινεμά" της 19^{ης}
Αυγίου. Ο κ. Σιλβανος Παύλος του
είχε δαυτε πτό δαμσίονων και
προδίδε να σας βράζει. Ποχό έχωμεν
διαβάλλας εις ύστερας, και έχωμεν

ὅτι ἔχω σὺς Ἀθήνας ~~λίαντα~~ λίαντος
καλοῖς φίλους - καὶ τοῖς εὐχαριστῶ
θερρῶς. Σὺς παρκαλῶ, πῦρ ἐν
μέσῳ μου στὸν κ. Βουλουῖα ὅτι μὲ
περιστοιῦ διέμειν ἡ ἔγγραφίς σου. εἰς
τοῖς κ. Παυλιδιώτῃ εἶπες ποτὶ
ὕποχρεωμένος καὶ μὰ τοῖς εὐγενεῖς
σου γράμμα στὸ "ἔθνος" τοῦ 10.4
Απριλίου, καὶ μὰ ἄλλην φορά πρὸς
ἐκδύμω μὲ ὑπεσθῆριζ.

Προσφέρεις, σὺς παρκαλῶ, τοῖς
χαρῆσι μου στὸν κ. Δρακοπούλου,
καὶ πῦρ ἴν' ὅτι τὴν θερμῶσαι πάντα,
καὶ τοῖς χάρις εὐχαρίστες συγκεντρώσεις
μας ὅταν ᾖσαν ἐδῶ.

Σὺς εὐχαριστῶ εὖ νῦν μὲ τὴν
φιγία σου.

Με πολλὴν ἐντίμωσι,
Κ. Π. Καβάφης.

4 'Ιουλίου 1925

Αθήναι

10 Rue Lepsius

Φίλε κ. Βαϊάνε,

Σας έσωχαίνω οὕτω ἀντίλογα
εὐκόλου διὰ τοῦ ποιήματός μου —
"Τὸ 25^{ον} ἔτος τοῦ βίου σου" καὶ
"Εἰς Ἠλυσίαν παραχρῆν" — ἐὰ
ὅσα ἐβίωσα διὰ περικοπῆς
Τεῖχος.

ἔδωκα διὰ ἐρασιφιλῶν Ἀθηνῶν
(21 καὶ 29 'Ιουλίου)
* διὰ ἀδελφῶν τοῦ Κορομυλά περὶ
ἡμῶν τοῦ ποιήματός μου.

Σας ἔγραφα λεχθέντων διὰ
25^{ης} 'Ιουλίου.

Με πολλὴν ἐνδύμνησι,
Κ. Π. Καβάφης.

29

Αγγελίνα

10 Rue Lepsius

1 Ιουλίου 1928

Φίλε κ Βαίανε,

"Έλαβα το γράμμα σας της
24 Μαΐου.

Θα σας δείξω μερὰ σπουδαι-
οποιήματά ^{μου} μετὰ τὸν Μαρτυρολόγιον, τὸν
θαυμάσιον αὐτὸν ποιητή. Ἡ ὑπερῶς
ποῦ ἔχει διὰ τὸν Μαρτυρολόγιον μετὰ τὰ
ποιήματά μου μετὰ εἶναι μετὰ τοῦ Μαρτυρο-
λόγιου, ὡς τὰ τὰ τὰ τὰ τὰ τὰ τὰ τὰ τὰ τὰ τὰ τὰ
παρκαλῶ.

Έλαβα ἐπιστολὰς ἀπὸ σας αὐτὴν
τὴν σελίδα τὴν ἐξ ἑξῆς ποίησιν
μετὰ τὰ σπουδαιὰ τὴν ἐξῆς καὶ τὴν
ἐπιστολὴν τὴν ἐξῆς.

Έλαβα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν ἐξῆς.

Έλαβα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς
Σιδεὶς τὴν "Τραγουδοῦσα" ἐξῆς
ἐν μετὰ μου, παρκαλῶ.

Ποιὸ χεῖρμας ὅτε δὲ εἶδεν ὁ
Ὀμήρου. Περὶ γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον οὐ
οὐκ ἔμελλεν δὲν ἔμελλεν δὲν αἰσθῆναι, ὅ
ὅσοις μὲν εἴπαι ἔμελλεν ὅτε ἐκείνῳ
ἔμελλεν ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς.

Ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ τῆς Πίκα Σερκουόχου
ὅτε ἐγράφε ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὸν
"Ποτα". Σας εἶμαι δερμὴν ἐνὶ πλάτῃ.
Ἀλλὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς μου περὶ τὴν πρῶτην
ὅτε δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἢ "Ποτα". Ὁμοίως
καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν. Σας εἶμαι πρὸς τὸν
ἢ Πίκα Σερκουόχου.

~~Πρὸς τὸν~~ ^{εἶτα} ὅτε "Journal des
Hellènes" καὶ δὲ τὸν "Ἑθνικὸν Κρόνον" μὲν
πρὸς τὸν εἶτα μὲν ἐνὶ πλάτῃ.

ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐνὶ πλάτῃ,
Κ. Π. Καβάφης

RECENCIONS/ BOOK REVIEWS

A. Platias & C. Koliopoulos
Thucydides on Strategy
Eurasia Publications, Athens, 2006

Yet another book on Thucydides has just come out in Athens. One would think that after the countless studies on the Greek classics, there could not be anything new to say on them. But such thoughts would be wrong because this book at least looks at Athenian and Spartan grand strategies in the Peloponnesian War from the particular angle of their contemporary relevance. From that optic, the authors pour the old wine of ancient history in the new bottle of modern strategy.

This interesting study by two professors of Panteion University in Athens tries to show that in spite of the quantitative increase and qualitative advance in warfare, the logic of organized conflict has remained the same throughout the millennia. The basic thesis here is that Thucydides is the father of strategic theory and his history is the prototype-archetype case study of interstate war.

To prove its thesis the book is divided into five chapters and a citation annex, with the relevant map, chronology and bibliography. The first and foremost chapter builds the conceptual framework for strategic analysis. Defined as a state's security policy by coupling means and ends in the face of international competition, strategy comes in many levels, from grand to tactics; the most well-known being military strategy, whether offensive or defensive, compellent or deterrent.

Grand strategies studied in the book have one of two goals: annihilation or exhaustion of the enemy by political, economic or social means. It is how a state attains its policy objectives and allocates its resources that grand strategy is planned and whether a state's capabilities match its commitments that its strategy is evaluated.

On the basis of their general model, the authors proceed to demonstrate it with the particular case of the Peloponnesian War, as presented and analyzed by Thucydides.

The authors agree with the ancient sage that the fundamental cause of this war was the rise of Athenian power and the attempt of Sparta to stem and reverse it. This structural thesis of Thucydides marks a revolution in strategic

thought from the mythical thesis of Herodotus' Persian War, because it explains historical causality by socio-economic factors rather than psycho-theologic ones.

The authors interpret this basic premise of power transition from one state to another as having led to a hegemonic war where a *status quo* Athens was checked by a revisionist Sparta. By their focus on strategy, however, the authors reversed the broader politico-ideological tradition that regards Sparta as the conservative *status quo* power and Athens as the revolutionary revisionist one.

Be that as it may, the inherent antagonism between the two great powers in a bipolar interstate system and the expected utility of war are the necessary and sufficient conditions of impending hegemonic conflict, as it did happen then and throughout history. Since it takes at least two to make a war, the authors view war is a contest between opposing grand strategies. The opposition in this case was between the annihilation strategy of Sparta and exhaustion one of Athens.

The authors devote two chapters deal with each one in turn. It is evident that since Athens was in the ascendant and time was on its side, it could afford a defensive dissuasive deterrent to exhaust Sparta's offensive persuasive efforts to reestablish the *status quo ante*. Sparta, on the other hand, required the more difficult aim of dissolving the Athenian Empire completely by decisive but risky land battles.

When, as in this case, one side is a naval and the other a land power, the situation favors the defense, as it did when Pericles correctly chose to outwait Sparta and avoid battle in its terms. The fact that Athens ultimately lost the war was due to the reversal of this reactive Periclean strategy. After his untimely death, unwise politicians underestimated their enemies and overextended Athenian reach in peripheral expeditions of military conquest. These costly strategic blunders, along with the entry of Persia on the side of Sparta, eventually outweighed the resources of the Athenian Empire and spelled its downfall.

The final chapter looks at Thucydides and strategy in historical perspective and concludes with some future prospects. To do so, the authors tabulate an evaluation of Spartan and Athenian grand strategy and construct a matrix of its determinants, cross-cutting interstate threat levels with balance of power tendencies. These and other interesting tables throughout the book are welcome because they should clarify complex concepts. Yet they sometimes prove formidable to interpret by too much information or oversimplify

reality by their Procrustean encapsulation of messy historical events.

Moreover, the complexity and multidimensionality of the subject forces the authors into apparent contradictions, as when they persuasively argue that a rising power seeks to change the *status quo*, a strategy they previously assigned to Sparta as a falling power.

Such inconsistencies could have been avoided had they put greater weight to a broader perspective that framed strategy within its political, technological and ideological environment.*

Perhaps such excessive concentration in one aspect cannot be avoided completely because what one can gain by breadth must be paid by loss of depth and vice versa. In any case, this and other limitations become more apparent in giving specific examples of general principles, especially those of different historical periods and geographical regions when and where *ceteris paribus* do not apply.

Nevertheless, general principles and their corollaries must be formulated as guides to action, even if they are based on past examples and cannot be applied literally in all present situations and future conditions. With this *caveat*, we may agree with the authors that any war between super-powers has now become obsolete because of its unprofitable cost-risk-benefit calculation. Our main remaining fear is the recurring theme of history in underestimating the enemy and overextending oneself, the twin bane of many lost wars. This *hubris* of power, personified in Alcibiades, is now mostly manifest by the USA, so all we can hope for is that with the panoply of contemporary constraints we shall not repeat the gravest mistakes of the past.

Whether one agrees with the authors that we do not know anything about strategy that Thucydides did not know, there is no question about the primogeniture of his theory as the first classic of grand strategy. To this fact alone, the authors should be thanked for their latest scholarly tribute.

* A great help to this end is the reviewer's *Exopolitics: Polis-Ethnos-Cosmos; Classical Theories and Praxis of Foreign Affairs*. Nova Science Publishers, NY, 1999.

Or its Greek translation *Exopolitika*, published by Leader Books in Athens, 2001.

P. J. Arnopoulos

Montreal, October 2006

DOCUMENTS

Archives du Quai d'Orsay

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Les deux textes ci-dessous, qui datent de 1956, permettent de comprendre la politique chypriote du gouvernement de Constantin Caramanlis à une époque où la France est confrontée à la guerre d'Algérie et à la crise née de la nationalisation du Canal de Suez par l'Égypte.

Le premier texte, du 8 juin, relate les conversations du ministre grec des Affaires Étrangères, Evanghélos Averof avec Christian Pineau, ancien président du Conseil désigné et ministre des affaires étrangères depuis février 1956 du gouvernement de Guy Mollet. Au cours de ces conversations, auxquelles participent M. Charpentier, l'ambassadeur français en Grèce, E. Averof évoque une solution de la question chypriote dans le cadre de l'OTAN: l'union de Chypre à la Grèce avec des bases britanniques dans l'île, une très large autonomie accordée à la minorité turque et une possible démilitarisation du territoire chypriote pour rassurer la Turquie. C. Pineau propose l'aide de la France pour résoudre le problème de Chypre, qu'accepte E. Averof en suggérant une médiation du président de la République française René Coty.

Le second texte se réfère aux conversations des 14 et 15 septembre du ministre Averof avec Raymond Laporte, directeur du Cabinet du secrétaire d'Etat aux affaires étrangères, Maurice Faure. Ces conversations se déroulent alors que les Français ont envoyé des contingents à Chypre, qui interviendront en novembre à Suez avec des troupes britanniques. S'agissant de la crise avec l'Égypte, Athènes ne peut prendre parti contre ce pays où vivent 120 000 de ses ressortissants. En ce qui concerne Chypre le ministre grec indique à son interlocuteur français l'inquiétude de son gouvernement face à l'agitation de la minorité turque de l'île et à la surenchère de son opposition. La Grèce se contenterait d'une «constitution instaurant une large autonomie et prévoyant une consultation populaire sur le statut futur de l'île, même si la date de cette consultation n'est pas précisée». Prêt à consentir de larges concessions à Ankara, E. Averof va jusqu'à accepter «un échange de populations entre les Grecs du Phanar et toute l'organisation du Patriarcat oecuménique, d'une part, les Turcs de Thrace, d'autre part».

Jean Catsiapis

CONVERSATIONS ENTRE LE PRESIDENT Christian PINEAU et le MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES DE GRECE

8 Juin 1956 - 17 h.30

En dehors des indications données par M. Christian PINEAU à son interlocuteur au sujet de l'Algérie, la conversation a été toute entière consacrée à Chypre.

M. AVEROF insiste sur le fait que son pays poursuit, en l'occurrence, une politique réaliste et qu'il ne recherche pas dans l'immédiat, l'union de Chypre à la Grèce. Aucun progrès n'est toutefois accompli dans cette voie; aucun pourparler n'est du reste en cours. Athènes ne peut prendre aucune initiative depuis l'arrestation de Mgr Makarios. Divers gouvernements, dont les Etats-Unis, s'intéressent à l'affaire. Washington presse Athènes de s'accommoder avec Londres et sans doute exerce-t-il une action correspondante dans la politique britannique. Les choses en sont là.

Certaines idées sont toutefois en l'air. On pourrait imaginer que dans trois ans le Conseil de l'OTAN, à l'exception des Puissances intéressées, décide de la date et des modalités de la réunion de Chypre à la Grèce. M. Averof est du reste disposé à tenir le plus grand compte de la sécurité atlantique. Il est prêt à offrir aux Anglais des bases dans l'Ile ou dans une autre île grecque si la Grèce devait, pour rassurer le Gouvernement turc, envisager la démilitarisation de Chypre.

Sur le plan économique, on pourrait envisager pour l'Ile un statut économique spécial. Deux ou trois de ses ports pourraient, en tout cas, devenir ports francs, ce qui faciliterait ses échanges avec l'Asie Mineure.

Quant à la minorité turque, Athènes pourrait, se basant sur le sort déjà fait aux Turcs de Thrace, lui offrir l'autonomie complète de ses institutions religieuses et culturelles ainsi que de ses communautés, la double nationalité, enfin l'exemption du service militaire en Grèce. Les concessions que M. Averoff médite pourraient être acceptées, croit-il savoir, par le Gouvernement britannique, n'était l'obstination intransigeante de Sir Anthony Eden.

L'évolution de la situation intérieure grecque mettra toutefois un terme à l'attitude conciliante du Gouvernement d'Athènes au moment de la réunion de l'Assemblée de l'O.N.U. L'opinion publique réclame en effet de plus en plus de son Gouvernement l'adoption d'une politique nouvelle «à la Tito».

M. Pineau ayant demandé à son interlocuteur s'il croyait que, dans le respect absolu de ses liens avec l'Angleterre, la France pût aider au règlement de ce douloureux problème, M. Averof répond que son Gouvernement souhaite l'amitié et la compréhension françaises. Si les parties se mettaient d'accord pour estimer une médiation désirable, le Gouvernement grec aimerait que le Président Coty s'en chargeât. S'il n'en était pas ainsi, la Grèce souhaite que nous gardions tous les contacts utiles et, si des pourparlers s'amorcent, que nous observions bien entendu une attitude correspondant à nos relations traditionnelles avec la Grande-Bretagne et la Grèce. Le Gouvernement grec n'était pas informé de l'ensemble des indications que venait de donner le Ministre, mais celui-ci serait heureux que nous les fissions connaître à Londres sans, bien entendu, les présenter comme une offre d'Athènes.

M. Charpentier pose alors au Ministre grec une question sur les émissions de la radio d'Athènes et sur le rétablissement de l'ordre à Chypre.

M. Averof répond que, dès son entrée en fonction il a licencié le chef du service des émissions radiophoniques vers l'Angleterre et qu'il a donné pour instructions à son successeur de faire baisser progressivement le ton de la radio. L'Angleterre en est informée.

M. Averof a donné, par ailleurs, au Gouvernement anglais sa parole d'avoir cherché, par tous les moyens, à entrer en contact avec l'E.O.K.A. Contrairement à ce que croit Londres, il n'avait jamais pu y parvenir. Il n'y avait, entre Athènes et les insurgés, aucun lien, et M. Averof estimait impossible de faire cesser les attentats sans le concours de Mgr Makarios. Il a promis à Londres que si un accord venait à se produire, le Gouvernement grec demanderait publiquement aux insurgés de cesser leur action.

Le Ministre répète que son Gouvernement tient à éviter un changement radical de politique et qu'il désire vivement aboutir à une solution.

M. Christian Pineau ayant indiqué qu'à l'occasion de son voyage à Londres M. Maurice Faure pourrait faire part à ses interlocuteurs britanniques des dispositions du Ministre grec, M. Averof insiste, en terminant, sur l'attachement du Gouvernement grec à l'OTAN; il formule le vœu que la majorité de l'OTAN ne prenne pas position contre le désir d'Athènes. Il souhaite vivement que l'appartenance de la Grèce à l'OTAN ne devienne pas un enjeu électoral, car en ce cas les réactions de l'opinion publique, dans laquelle la politique de neutralité gagne du terrain, seraient imprévisibles.

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CONVERSATIONS DE MONSIEUR LAPORTE AVEC MONSIEUR AVEROF 14 - 15 septembre 1956

Au cours des deux entretiens qu'il a eus avec M. LAPORTE M. AVEROF ministre des Affaires Etrangères hellénique a repris et développé les arguments qu'il dit avoir fait valoir lors de son entretien quelques jours plus tôt avec le Président PINEAU.

QUESTION DE CHYPRE

A - M. AVEROF s'inquiète de voir s'envenimer chaque jour davantage les réactions de l'opinion publique de ses compatriotes. On n'a pas compris à Athènes le rejet par la Grande-Bretagne des propositions de trêve faites par l'E.O.K.A. On a guère mieux compris l'arrivée récente dans l'île de nouvelles troupes britanniques et de contingents français.

Les populations chypriotes sont plus que jamais surexcitées. A l'agitation des Grecs de l'île correspond désormais celle de la minorité turque. Dans toute la Grèce, la presse et l'opinion ont atteint un degré d'énervement croissant. Les mois qui viennent peuvent conduire la Grèce à modifier complètement la ligne politique qu'elle a suivie au cours des dix dernières années.

Pour M. AVEROF, le rôle essentiel du Gouvernement auquel il appartient consiste à tenter d'endiguer toute cette agitation à maintenir la Grèce dans le droit chemin. La tâche n'est pas facile. La surenchère de l'opposition est constante. Le ministre pense cependant que les dernières déclarations faites à Londres sur la constitution que le Colonial Office envisage de promulguer à Chypre pourraient fournir une solution à la grande rigueur acceptable. On serait prêt en effet désormais à Athènes pour sortir enfin de l'impasse à se contenter d'une constitution populaire sur le statut futur de l'île, même si la date de cette consultation n'est pas précisée.

Il faudrait, en outre, que deux conditions soient réalisées par les autorités britanniques:

1) La constitution, en aucun cas, ne doit paraître être octroyée. Il faut que d'une façon ou d'une autre on puisse annoncer avant l'entrée en vigueur de ce nouveau texte qu'Athènes a été consulté.

2) Il est également indispensable que Mgr. MAKARIOS soit autorisé à faire connaître publiquement son point de vue et s'il en est ainsi, M. AVEROF se fait fort d'obtenir l'acquiescement de l'Ethnarque.

B- Parlant ensuite de l'intransigeance de plus en plus grande du Gouvernement turc à l'encontre de la Grèce et de la violente campagne des journaux d'Istanbul et d'Ankara, M. AVEROF se demande à quels desseins correspond cette évolution d'autant plus surprenante que le Gouvernement grec pour sa part serait prêt s'il obtenait satisfaction des Britanniques à donner aux Turcs tous apaisements et toutes garanties; notamment un statut de minorité contrôlé par les Nations Unies, une complète franchise douanière, une dispense d'obligations militaires et une autonomie culturelle et administrative aussi large que possible.

Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères hellénique n'exclut pas l'hypothèse suivant laquelle la Turquie aurait adopté cette attitude dans le but de rendre inévitable un échange de population entre les Grecs du Phanar et toute l'organisation du Patriarcat œcuménique d'une part, les Turcs de Thrace d'autre part. Un tel échange entre les riches commerçants grecs d'Istanbul et les misérables paysans turcs du district de Komotini serait de toute évidence catastrophique pour la Grèce.

M. AVEROF tient cependant à faire savoir que son gouvernement est prêt à y consentir.

C - Au sujet du prochain recours de la Grèce à l'ONU, le Ministre grec a confié à M. LAPORTE, en le priant de n'en pas faire état, que si, comme il l'espère, la délégation hellénique obtenait l'inscription de la question de Chypre à l'Ordre du Jour de l'Assemblée, il se contenterait de cette satisfaction et renoncerait pour la session qui vient, à engager un débat sur le fond.

II. QUESTION DE SUEZ

La crise de Suez vient de démontrer à nouveau de façon éclatante de quel poids pesait l'affaire de Chypre sur la diplomatie hellénique. Soucieux de se concilier, en vue de son prochain recours à l'ONU la voix des puissances musulmanes et du groupe afro-asiatique, le Gouvernement hellénique ne peut actuellement se résoudre à prendre parti contre l'Egypte. Il doit de plus songer à sauvegarder la position et les intérêts des 120.000 grecs d'Alexandrie, qui, d'après M. AVEROF représentent une puissance

économique supérieure à celle de tous les habitants de la Macédoine de l'Egée. Mais en contre-partie, le Cabinet CARAMANLIS mesure pleinement l'impossibilité pour la Grèce, de rejoindre le camp des adversaires de ses alliés occidentaux.

Ces deux préoccupations contradictoires incitaient jusqu'ici la Grèce à adopter une attitude de prudente neutralité. La récente évolution de la crise du Canal la place désormais devant un dilemme délicat. Si elle venait à être conviée à Londres pour la constitution du Club occidental des usagers la Grèce déclinerait l'invitation. Bien qu'officiellement sa position n'ait pas encore été arrêtée, elle n'acceptera pas davantage de se rendre au Caire à la Conférence convoquée par le Colonel NASSER.

Mais plusieurs centaines de navires, battant pavillon hellénique, transitent chaque année par Suez. Feront-ils à l'avenir appel aux pilotes du Comité intérimaire de gestion que s'apprêtent à créer les occidentaux, ou s'adresseront-ils à l'organisation égyptienne qui depuis le 26 Juillet remplace en fait la Compagnie universelle?

Contraint de faire un choix qu'il redoute, le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères se déclare fort ennuyé. D'après lui, le Gouvernement hellénique continuera sans doute à utiliser les services des autorités égyptiennes. Il souhaite que les alliés atlantiques de la Grèce ne lui tiendront pas rigueur de cette décision.

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