

Poetry and National Identity in Cyprus and Scotland:

CREATIVITY, CONFLICT AND CULTURALLY DOMINANT NEIGHBOURS

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ABSTRACTS

Poetry and National Identity in Cyprus and Scotland: Creativity, Conflict and Culturally Dominant Neighbours

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Short Abstract

This thesis aims to engage with the poetry of Scotland and Greek-speaking Cyprus, and examine the relationship between poetry defined as high culture and articulations of national identity in the two places. Scotland and Cyprus share characteristics that make the establishment of a single, coherent national identity with the appearance of permanence challenging, including their relationships with culturally dominant neighbours, competition between local and official languages, and the insecurity of their status as nations.

Both Scotland and Cyprus have historically had hybrid identities; in Scotland, British identity is made problematic by England's cultural dominance, while in Cyprus Greek-speakers have a conflicted relationship with Greece. This is made more complex by the fact that Scotland's political union with England may be ending, while Cyprus is divided in half as a result of tensions between Christian and Muslim populations and the unsubtle past involvement of Greece and Turkey in the island's affairs. This thesis aims to locate trends of national identity through the analysis of poetry and its reception in three distinct contexts. Part 1 analyses the evolution of Scottish and Greek-speaking Cypriot 'national character' through the poetry of national poets Robert Burns and Vasilis Michailidis, and the poets Walter Scott and Dimitris Lipertis.

Part 2 explores the effects of modernity on the expression of national identities in literature through the lens of the Modernist movement, and how this was adopted and modified in Scotland and Cyprus. This is discussed with reference to three poets, Hugh MacDiarmid, Kostas Montis and Edwin Morgan, and their treatment of the national past and search for a national literary language. Finally, Part 3 analyses deliberate engagements of poets with national identity and issues of national importance, using Seamus Heaney's idea of 'adequate' poetry as a guide. Two functions of poetry are considered: the role it can play in transforming the landscape into the national homeland, and its potential to address communal trauma, and transform it into a unifying experience.

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Long Abstract

This thesis explores the interaction between poetry and national identity in two ‘small’ literatures, to borrow the term from Clémence Scalbert-Yücel: Scotland and Greek-speaking Cyprus. Though they are different, they share several characteristics and challenges in the expression of national identity and the production of local literature: both places are home to multiple languages, where local unofficial and imported official languages compete for literary status; both negotiate their cultural identity against culturally dominant neighbours (England in Scotland, Greece for Greek-speaking Cypriots); and both occupy an uncertain position as political nations.

Cyprus became independent in 1960, after a period of British colonial rule, but this resolution satisfied neither the Greek-speaking Christian population, who had hoped to be united with Greece (*enosis*) nor the Turkish-speaking Muslim population, who had hoped for a division of the island (*Taksim*). A constitutional deadlock in 1963 led to inter-communal violence and the separation of populations in the capital, Nicosia, and a mainland Greek attempt at a political coup in 1974 precipitated the Turkish invasion and occupation of the north of the island, which remains occupied today. However, bi-communal talks were recently reopened as a result of a discovery of large oil and natural gas deposits off the coast of Cyprus. There are high hopes of success, as the current economic depression of the island combined with the potential wealth the newly discovered resources could provide gives both communities an unprecedented incentive to arrive at a solution. The conflict between the two main populations of Cyprus, combined with the extensive foreign involvement in Cypriot politics since its independence in 1960 have resulted in an insecure national culture among Greek Cypriots, who in extreme cases see the expression of a Greek identity as vital to avoid becoming absorbed by Turkey.

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Scotland became part of the United Kingdom in 1707 with the Act of Union, which merged the parliaments of Scotland and England. In the mid-twentieth century support for Scottish independence emerged in the form of the Scottish National Party (1934), which gradually gained support. In 1979, there was a referendum on Scottish parliamentary devolution which did not pass; a second referendum on devolution was held in 1997, leading to the opening of the Scottish Parliament in 1999. A referendum will take place in Scotland on 18 September 2014 to decide the question of independence from the United Kingdom. Though the Scottish nationalist movement has become increasingly vocal over the last few decades, many believe it possible to express Scottish identity within Britain. Since the emergence of modern nationalism in Europe, Scottish people have found themselves faced with the question of whether it is possible, or indeed desirable, to express a national identity without taking political form as a nation-state. This has affected many poets discussed in this thesis.

In order to explore the interaction between poetry and national identity in Cyprus and Scotland, this thesis focuses on three different literary contexts:

Part 1 explores the emergence of national identity in Scotland and Cyprus between the late eighteenth and early twentieth centuries. Chapter 1 analyses the role of the national poet in the creation of a 'national character' in literature. In Scotland, Robert Burns is widely recognised as national poet. In Cyprus, Vasilis Michailidis, a local vernacular poet, and Dionysios Solomos, national poet of Greece, are both claimed as national poets by Greek Cypriots. Chapter 2 explores the relationship between folk poetry and literary poetry through the works of Walter Scott and Dimitris Lipertis.

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Part 2 analyses the attempts of post-First World War poets to renew the image of the nation in poetry and make it relevant to a new generation. The interaction of Scottish and Cypriot poets with Modernism is explored through the work of Hugh MacDiarmid, Edwin Morgan and Kostas Montis. Chapter 3 explores their engagement with the narrative of the national past. Their attempts to find a literary language and poetic form suitable for their local identities are analysed in Chapter 4.

Part 3 explores the role of poetry in transforming the landscape into the national homeland, and transforming communal trauma into a unifying national experience. Poetry in these two functions is explored through the lens of Seamus Heaney's idea of 'adequate' poetry, poetry as an alternative recourse to truth. Chapter 5 deals with three types of poems which transform landscape into homeland: poems of homecoming, written from outside the nation, poems which transform landmarks into monuments, and poems narrativizing the nation's cities. The last part is focused on poems engaging with city margins in Scotland, and poems about lost cities in Cyprus. Chapter 6 explores poetic responses to trauma, in the context of the First World War in Scotland and the invasion of 1974 in Cyprus.

Though the exploration of interactions between literature and national identity is not new, this thesis takes a new approach. It is rare to see a comparison between two 'small' literatures – it would be more common to see Scottish literature contrasted with English. However, because of the complex relationship between the two in this case, it is difficult to make a pure comparison between cultural responses to any phenomenon, not least because often Scottish and British writers are the same people. Comparing Cyprus, a small nation that is not part of the United Kingdom and belongs to a different linguistic tradition, to Scotland is an opportunity to compare

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how they react to cultural developments as small nations, enabling a new perspective on Scottish and Cypriot literature.

In the case of Cyprus, the literature of Greek-speakers is hardly ever discussed as a body of literature, as most scholars identify it as un-problematically Greek. For example, *Από το μερτικό της Κύπρου*, by Michalis Pieris is a collection of essays on Cypriot literature in relation to the modern Greek literary establishment in which Pieris sees Cyprus as ‘another Greece’, perhaps seeking Seferis’ revelation when visiting the island. Because mainstream Greek criticism does not see Cypriot literature as an independent body of work, it cannot contextualize it in world literary discourse.

Indeed, in addition to denying the particularities of the Cypriot-Greek experience, often the unproblematic categorization of Cypriot literature as Greek excludes Turkish-Cypriot writers. Though Turkish-Cypriot poetry is not discussed directly in this thesis, Cypriot-Greek poetry is considered as a local/national literature of a specific group, which has a distinct and different experience from mainland Greeks, as well as a history shared with Turkish Cypriots, some periods characterized by violent conflict and some not. The ideological position of this thesis should leave space for the discussion of Turkish-Cypriot literature as a product of inhabitants of the island who have a complex relationship with their Cypriot-Greek neighbours as well as their culturally dominant Turkish neighbours. In the light of renewed negotiations between the two communities, new analyses of literature by Cypriots that recognise them as separate from both Greece and Turkey have the potential to re-contextualize Cypriot identity in a way that is less fraught with conflict.

In comparing and contrasting the relationship between poetry and national identity in Scotland and Cyprus, this thesis has uncovered many parallels between the

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two. In both places, national poets were envisioned as ‘heaven-taught’ poets, many critics ignoring Burns’ and Michailidis’ educational achievements to perpetuate this image. In both places the vernacular tradition was considered important for the establishment of national identity, but not granted the same level of literary recognition as the official language. Finally, in both Scotland and Cyprus, poets often express the desire to actively contribute to the creation of a national community, through the exploration of the nation’s character and the resolution of communal traumas.

These parallels show that ‘small’ literatures face similar challenges in articulating local identities, though Scotland and Cyprus often approach the same problems from opposite directions: Scottish writers often protest their non-Englishness, while Cypriot writers see their roots in ancient Greece as insurance against the invasion of foreign cultures. Yet they ignore the differences between their approach to their ancient roots and those of the Athenian centre.

European ‘small’ literatures have historically received little attention – post-colonial literatures from further afield are more regularly examined in terms of their relationships with culturally dominant neighbours, because the hegemonic relationships of the past have a strong shaping influence on new national identities in post-colonial societies, making issues of what to do with the language of the oppressor centrally important to most post-colonial writers and critics. However, there is a growing trend of trying to approach small literatures without going through the narratives of the centre. In *Scottish and Irish Romanticism* Murray Pittock observes that the exploration of Scottish and Irish Romanticism as movements separate from English Romanticism is faced with two key problems: ‘the historiography of our critical assumptions and the range of dialogues permitted between cultures as a

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consequence of these assumptions.’¹ By comparing two ‘small’ European literatures this thesis aims to contribute to the disruption of this historiography of critical assumptions. This is a similar objective to that pursued by Gregory Jusdanis in his latest project, comparing how Greek and Latin American authors ‘have dealt with the overwhelming cultural influence of Europe upon their respective societies’.²

In ‘small’ literatures that are not post-colonial, such as Scotland, and to some degree Cyprus (though it was under British administration from 1878-1960, Greece is Cyprus’ culturally dominant neighbour and their relationship is not colonial), it is possible for writers to ignore the relationship with the culturally dominant neighbour. Furthermore, when writers wish to raise the issue of this relationship, they tread more uncertain ground, as there is a possibility that it may be desirable to be part of the culturally dominant group that is absent in the case of post-colonial societies.

Nevertheless, in Scotland there has long been enthusiastic engagement with the question of what Scottish literature is and whether or not it is needed. Hugh MacDiarmid’s Scottish Renaissance ushered in a new era of activity in Scottish studies, which has increased proportionately with the political independence of Scotland. The lead up to the 2014 referendum has brought forth a flurry of publications on Scottish culture and Britain, making the debate over the nature of Scottish identity more visible than before.

In Cyprus, Greek-speaking academics still tend to conflate Cypriot and Greek literature, and culture in general, though there have been some significant publications that have questioned that position – Vangelis Calotychos’ *Cyprus and Its People*

¹ Murray Pittock, *Scottish and Irish Romanticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 1.

² Gregory Jusdanis, Keynote Lecture, The Modern Greek Studies Association of Australia and New Zealand 12th biennial conference, 4th - 6th December 2014, The University of Sydney, citation from Abstract, printed in Conference Program, p.14
http://sydney.edu.au/arts/modern_greek/downloads/MGSAANZ_conference_program.pdf

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(1998) contains essays by academics from a range of institutional and national backgrounds, and tries to address the myths underpinning the nationalisms of Cyprus, and Rebecca Bryant's *Imagining the Modern: The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (2004) compares the Turkish and Greek communities and their nationalisms from a neutral perspective, as entities separate from Greece and Turkey. However, in most Greek-language publications Cypriot culture is still considered an extension of Greek culture, and Turkish Cypriot culture is largely ignored.

This thesis tries to use the comparison between two 'small' literatures to identify common elements in their cultural experience and trace the development of local identity in opposition to culturally dominant neighbours. In the case of Cypriot literature in Greek this enables the analysis of its interaction with mainland Greek literature from a neutral perspective.

Summary of Conclusions

There are many similarities in the way Scottish and Cypriot-Greek poets approach issues of national identity in their writing in the period covered by this thesis. Both communities have national poets (Burns and Michailidis) who are presented as uneducated and wrote poetry in local languages which romanticized the nation's past. In both places vernacular literature was accorded national significance, and was collected or imitated by poets like Scott and Lipertis. In both places modernist ideas took time to take hold (1920s in Scotland, 1950s in Cyprus), and were modified to suit a local context before they were introduced. Finally, in both nations poets consider it their duty to address issues that are important for their compatriots, and poets have used their art creatively to imprint the nation's image on the landscape, as well as to address communal traumas and transform them into communal

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understanding. These similarities suggest that in 'small' literatures, 'high' culture is often harnessed to produce a coherent image of the nation, through the promotion of mythical iterations of the national past and local interpretations of international literary movements, as well as the promotion of local languages for the purpose of 'high' literature.

One significant difference between Scotland and Cyprus is that in Scotland after the First World War, an independent Scottish identity was mooted by many writers, who argued it was impossible for Scotland to develop culturally to its full potential within the United Kingdom. In Cyprus, although the Turkish invasion of 1974 caused Cypriot Greeks to reevaluate their relationship with Greece, it is still controversial to express an identity that is not purely Greek, or to observe differences between Cypriot Greeks and mainland Greeks except when accompanied by the claim that Cypriot Greeks are more like ancient Greeks. However, the positive tone of the joint declaration issued by the leaders of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities to reopen negotiations over the island's division suggests the issue of Greek-Cypriots' Hellenism may become less contentious in the future. Furthermore, many Cypriot poets after 1974 question the role of the Greek state in Cyprus and the value of war, and observe experiences they have in common with the Turkish-Cypriot community, addressing subjects which are taboo in many settings.

INTRODUCTION

2014 is a year of potential great change for Cyprus and Scotland, two small European countries, on islands at opposite ends of the continent. On 18 September 2014, a referendum will decide whether Scotland will remain a part of the United Kingdom or become an independent nation-state. In Cyprus, the discovery of large offshore reserves of natural gas has precipitated the reopening of negotiations between the Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus over the division of the island.

This thesis explores the relationship between poetry and national identity in Cyprus and Scotland. Both places are culturally diverse, and have a long history of negotiation and conflict between different elements of society for the establishment of local and 'national' communal identities. In Cyprus, the largest communities have historically been Greek-speaking Christians and Turkish-speaking Muslims; both groups have worked to identify themselves against each other, but also against their culturally dominant neighbours, Greece and Turkey. This thesis will be focusing on the Greek-speaking community of Cyprus, with occasional references to the Turkish-speaking community. In Scotland, three languages coexist: Gaelic, Scots and English;

this thesis will be focusing primarily on poets who write in Scots and English, with occasional references to Gaelic poets.³

In both Cyprus and Scotland, poetry plays a significant part in the articulation of national identity. By comparing and contrasting the approach of poets to issues of national identity in the two places, this thesis aims to examine the relationship between poetry and national identity, and explore the effects of perceived minority status on 'small' literatures.

Because of the differences and distance between Scotland and Cyprus, comparing them allows the observation of trends in the interaction between poetry and national identity, highlighting general ideological trends regarding national identity and literature in Europe and how small cultures approach these. Two movements are discussed in this context: the rise of nationalism between the eighteenth and early twentieth centuries in Part 1, and the modernist movement after the First World War in Part 2. Part 3 explores the participation of poetry in the construction of two narratives of national identity: the transformation of the landscape into the national homeland, and the transformation of communal trauma into a unifying experience. Consequently, Part 3 shifts between different periods to examine historical events that had a powerful effect on each place.

Scotland and Cyprus appear culturally and physically different; yet they share characteristics which enable productive comparison: both are small nations in which writers feel compelled to define themselves against culturally dominant neighbours; both are linguistically diverse, and each shares a language with a culturally dominant

³These decisions were made on linguistic grounds and because of considerations of space; the Turkish-Cypriot and Gaelic poetic traditions are equally rich and interesting, and negotiate many similar issues to those discussed in this thesis. These may form the basis of future studies, as discussed in the Conclusion of this thesis.

neighbour; and finally, in both places there is cultural and political tension surrounding definitions of what the nation is and should be. Consequently poets attempting to express a national identity in the two places negotiate similar issues in their work.

One significant difference in the nature of the relationship of Scotland and of Cyprus with their respective culturally dominant neighbours, which affects the way that national identity is articulated, is that while Scotland and England are politically unified within the United Kingdom, Cyprus and Greece have never been part of the same modern nation-state, though many would refer to the Greek-speaking Christians in Cyprus as members of a wider Greek nation. Consequently, nationalism in Scotland is often expressed in terms of the desire for independence, while among Cypriot-Greeks it is expressed as a desire for the unification with Greece. Scottish nationalists glorify the kingdom of the past, in a narrative of national continuity interrupted by the Union, making independence the ideal manifestation of Scottish nationhood. Cypriot-Greek nationalists, on the other hand, use a narrative of enslavement and liberation to create a coherent national past, but this liberation is historically defined as union with the modern Greek state: despite their achievement of national independence in 1960, according to their foundation narrative, liberation of the Cypriot-Greek people has never been fully realized. Since 1974, there has been a shift away from the view of unification with Greece as the only way of expressing a Cypriot-Greek identity, but this is not currently the mainstream ideology. Despite the differences in trajectory of national ideology in Scotland and Cyprus, poetry has a similar role in the expression of national identity in the two places.

In both Scotland and Cyprus, national identity is a common theme in literature, as writers often feel the need to define themselves against other cultures,

including culturally dominant neighbours. Greek speakers in Cyprus inevitably position their identities in relation to the Greek nation-state, while Scottish speakers of Scots and English similarly define their identity in relation to England. This is a situation unique to cultures in this position of marginality; the centre does not feel compelled to define itself in terms of the margins, so English and Greek writers remain mostly unaffected by Scotland and Cyprus.⁴

The relationship between poetry and national identity is one of mutual influence: As members of the nation, poets are inevitably shaped by narratives of national identity. The interaction between poets and national identity resembles the relationship between a language and its users as described by Jacques Derrida: ‘The writer writes *in* a language and *in* a logic whose proper system, laws, and life his discourse by definition cannot dominate absolutely. He uses them only by letting himself, after a fashion and up to a point, be governed by the system.’⁵ At the same time, poets and poetry are involved in shaping narratives of national identity, whether directly focused on the nation or not. This is because poetry, and literature in general, is a cohesive element of national identity, providing people with common experiences on which a common identity can be founded. So, for example, Robert Burns’ ‘Auld Lang Syne’ has a cohesive effect on Scottish identity, as it is traditionally sung at the arrival of the New Year, and at the end of significant celebrations like weddings. Though it does not address Scottish identity directly, the use of the song creates common Scottish experiences.

⁴ It is important to distinguish this need to respond to the culturally dominant neighbour from Edward Said’s description of the dynamics of Orientalism: in the Orientalist model, Western travellers control the Orient by objectifying it and defining their culture against this objectified other. In the case of marginal cultures, it is they who are being othered. They must express themselves in the culturally dominant neighbour’s terms in order to achieve recognition, and are still relegated to second-class status, as will be seen in the discussion of the poetry of Robert Burns. See Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991).

⁵ Jacques Derrida, ‘Of Grammatology’, In *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, ed. by Vincent Leitch, et al. (London: Norton, 2001), pp. 1822-1830 (p. 1825).

This introduction consists of four main parts; firstly, it provides an overview of theories of nationalism and national identity, contextualizing this thesis in the theoretical discourse of nations and nationalism; secondly, a brief historical background on Cyprus and Scotland is given covering the periods relevant to the literature analysed in this thesis, from the eighteenth to the twenty-first century; third, a rationale for the selection of poetry is provided; finally, the contents and function of each chapter are outlined.

The Nation in Theory

Can a nation be ancient? The past as a national invention

There is an on-going debate about the age of nations, as well as the definition of nationhood, national identity and nationalism. There are three main positions: those who think nations have their origins in the distant past, including perennialists and primordialists; those who think nations have their origins in the advent of modernity, broadly referred to as modernists; and those who believe a combination of historical factors and modern developments is responsible for the rise of nationalism, called ethno-symbolists.

This thesis takes a modernist position. While there is arguably evidence for Scottish and Cypriot identity having roots in pre-modern times, it is the post-Revolutionary Romantic nationalism of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that has provided the conceptual framework for the articulation of their contemporary national identities, and influences most modern poets in their writing. Furthermore, the idea of national self-determination and its desirability has had a large impact on the formation of the national self in both places; arguments about the antiquity and identity of the Scottish and Greek nations have been used extensively for political manoeuvring in the twentieth century, which has affected the emergence of contemporary Cypriot-Greek and Scottish identity.

Because of the political motives for mythologizing the past in both places, it is important to recognise the modern context of their emergence as national identities. Though it can be argued that nations evolved from previous communal organizations,

if one looks for signs of continuity one risks creating a teleological argument, with the nation as the inevitable end-product of an evolution of communal structures. Therefore, this thesis will take the modernist approach to the definition of the age of the nation. In order to support this position, an overview of literature on nations and nationalism will be provided.

The modernist view maintains that nations in their current form are a product of modernization, and that before the advent of modern communications and transport, it was not possible to have a nation which engaged any more than a small educated elite, as the illiterate masses only felt allegiance to their immediate locality.⁶ However, John Breuilly and Eric Hobsbawm also acknowledge the existence of ‘proto-national’ communities, out of which modern nations could grow. According to Hobsbawm, in many places ‘states and national movements could mobilize certain variants of feelings of collective belonging which already existed and which could operate, as it were, potentially on the macro-political scale which could fit in with modern states and nations.’⁷ However, as Smith points out, Hobsbawm only describes pre-modern communities as ‘proto-national’ in cases where a clear line can be traced between the pre-modern institution in question and a modern nation.⁸ Furthermore, Hobsbawm discusses these feelings of collective belonging as something that national movements could mobilize, rather than a prerequisite for the emergence of national identity. Consequently, in Hobsbawm’s model ‘proto-national’ communities are potentially present, but not necessary for the formation of modern nations. The nation-

⁶ Anthony D. Smith, *The Cultural Foundations of Nations: Hierarchy, Covenant and Republic* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), pp. 1-4.

⁷ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 46.

⁸ Smith, *The Cultural Foundations of Nations*, p. 3.

state is seen as a modern development, arising directly from the cultural changes brought about in the West by modernization.⁹

According to non-modernist schools of thought, even where there is no direct line of descent in the form of surviving institutions such as monarchies or legal systems, nations can be said to originate from communal structures of the past. Perennialism, proposed by Adrian Hastings, maintains that while nations as we know them now are a recent phenomenon, they emerged out of pre-existing nation-like communities as a result of the establishment of written vernaculars; he argues that ‘for the development of nationhood from one or more ethnicities, by far the most important and widely present factor is that of an extensively used vernacular literature.’¹⁰ According to Hastings, this vernacular literature allows multiple ethnicities to join into one nation by becoming a unified reading public.

Primordialists, on the other hand, argue that there are certain ties such as kinship and territoriality that can be described as ‘primordial’, and that these ties form the basis of definition for ethnic groups and nationalities, the occurrence of which is a natural progression.¹¹ Both these theoretical positions tend to represent contemporary national communities as inevitable products of the past; while it is interesting to compare medieval ‘nations’ to modern nation-states, modernists believe it is inaccurate to represent present European nationalisms as surviving entities from the pre-modern past. Post-Revolutionary Romantic nationalism introduced new ideas, such as citizenship and the concept of universal human rights (at least for parts of the population), leading to the fundamental reorganization of the way people

⁹ For a summary of objections to Smith’s ethnosymbolism, see Len Scales and Oliver Zimmer, *Power and the Nation in European History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 16.

¹⁰ Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 2-3.

¹¹ Smith, *The Cultural Foundations of Nations*, p. 9.

conceptualized their position within human communities. An example is the equating of individual freedom with national self-determination. The idea of national self-determination as a panacea only took hold after the First World War when the Versailles treaty redrew the world map on nationalist lines. Self-determination is an important idea in the articulation of national identity in both Cyprus and Scotland today. This is why the modernist position is most suited to the subject of this thesis.

Smith's 'ethno-symbolist' approach seeks a middle ground between modernist and non-modernist schools of thought. According to Smith, there are two distinct categories of collective identity, *ethnies*, defined as ethnic communities, and *nations*. An ethnie can develop into a nation, or be absorbed into an existing nation, or merge with other ethnies to form a larger nation; according to Smith, 'an ethno-symbolic perspective places the link between nations and core *ethnies* (or ethnic communities) at the centre of its concerns'.¹² While ethnies may appear to resemble the pre-existing nation-like communities described by primordialists and perennialists, Smith argues that ethno-symbolism differs in that categories of 'nation' and 'ethnie' are never conflated: nation-states of the present arise from collective communities of the past, but constitute a new category.¹³

The concept of *ethnies* may appear useful when considering the cases of Cyprus and Scotland; however, Smith's model underplays the politically constructed nature of nations in the late nineteenth and twentieth century, which is particularly significant for the understanding of the political turmoil centred on Cyprus in this period. In order to keep the concept of the nation as construct constantly in view, this thesis will adopt the modernist definition of the age of the nation. As Breuille argues,

¹² Anthony D. Smith, *The Antiquity of Nations* (Cambridge: Polity, 2004), p. 18.

¹³ *Ibid.*

even if there were forms of national consciousness in existence in medieval Europe, these were not the same as contemporary national consciousness, rendering the ethno-symbolist, perennialist and primordialist models inadequate for the discussion of Scotland and Cyprus as modern nations. As Breuille explains, the age of the word ‘nation’ does not correspond to the age of the modern concept of the nation:

Only the modernist approach, which understands how old names which have survived or have been revived for many different reasons are appropriated for new purposes under modern conditions, can adequately explain why appeals to an ethnic or national past are central in modern nationalisms.¹⁴

Modern nations often represent the past in ways that support the continued existence of the modern nation. While it is true that nations did not emerge from a vacuum, it is important to recognize that modern nationalism is different from medieval and early modern models of group identity, and has arisen from specific historical and technological developments of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Similarly, modern uses of the words ‘nation’ and ‘nationalism’ differ from medieval usage.

Despite nationalism’s modern origins, the past and its narrative presentation are highly significant for the articulation of national identity, as age is often seen as synonymous with national legitimacy. Robert Crawford argues that the past can be particularly significant for small cultural groups:

Often what small or vulnerable cultural groups need is not simply a deconstruction of rhetorics of authority, but a construction or reconstruction of a ‘usable past’, an awareness of a cultural tradition which will allow

¹⁴ John Breuille, ‘How Old is an Old Nation?’, in *When Is the Nation?: Towards an Understanding of Theories of Nationalism*, ed. by Atsuko Ichijo and Gordana Uzelac (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 15-39, (p. 19).

them to preserve or develop a sense of their own distinctive identity, their constitutive difference.¹⁵

According to Smith, a ‘usable past’ has a number of dimensions: it can be used by elites to manipulate mass emotions, to legitimize social change and territorial claims, and can provide *exempla virtutis* in the form of national heroes.¹⁶ It is also malleable, representing ‘a construct of present generations, to serve their needs and interests, with each generation tending to change ‘its’ past in line with its perspective, providing new selections of, and interpretations for, what it considers significant’.¹⁷

Thus the past as defined by the present affects the shape of the future. This is reminiscent of Hugh Trevor-Roper’s caution regarding the power of myth in creating the historical record: ‘at different times, and in various places, myth has played an important part in history. For what people believe is true is a force, even if it is not true.’¹⁸ Poetry, and literature in general, plays an important role in the creation of ‘usable pasts’, as it disseminates mythological versions of the nation’s history; in particular, national epics tend to focus on the exploits of *exempla virtutis* from the national past, such as the Archbishop in Michailidis’ ‘Η Επνύατη Ιουλίου’, or Robert the Bruce in John Barbour’s *The Brus* and William Wallace in *The Wallace*, attributed to Blind Harry.¹⁹ Consequently, the study of poetry can give valuable insights into the narratives underpinning national identity in different historical periods. These narratives are particularly significant in Scotland and Cyprus, where the position of the modern nation is uncertain, making its anchorage in the past more vital.

¹⁵ Robert Crawford, *Devolving English literature*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 5.

¹⁶ Anthony D. Smith, ‘The “Golden Age” and National Renewal’, in *Myths and Nationhood*, ed. by Geoffrey A. Hosking and George Schœpflin (London: Hurst & Company and The School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, 1997), pp. 36-59, (pp. 38-59).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹⁸ Hugh Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland: Myth and History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), p. xix.

¹⁹ Julius W. Friend, *Stateless Nations: Western European Regional Nationalisms and the Old Nations* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 10-11.

The significance of language

Many theorists place language at the centre of the formation of nations and national identity. Although some, like Ernest Renan, have argued that a common language is not a sufficient prerequisite for the formation of national identity (as he puts it, ‘la langue invite à se réunir ; elle n’y force pas’²⁰), it is undeniable that language often plays a significant part in this process. In *The Construction of Nationhood*, Adrian Hastings argues that the emergence of a vernacular literature is a principal requirement in order for an ethnicity to become a nation:

ethnicities naturally turn into nations or integral elements within nations at the point when their specific vernacular moves from an oral to written usage to the extent that it is being regularly employed for the production of a literature, and particularly for the translation of the Bible.²¹

Hastings goes on to argue that in addition to being an indication of the development of national identity in Western nations, the translation of the Bible into the vernacular also furnished the common people with a template for the nation in the form of Israel: ‘a unity of people, language, religion, territory and government’.²²

According to Benedict Anderson, European nationalisms emerging between 1820 and 1920 were all linked to the emergence of a ‘national print language’.²³ Anderson relates this to what he calls ‘print-capitalism’, and argues that the latter enabled people to think about themselves and their relationships to others differently.²⁴

²⁰ Ernest Renan, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* (Sorbonne: Ancienne maison Michel Lévy Frères, 1882), pp. 19-20.

²¹ Hastings, p. 12.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn (London: Verso, 2006), p. 67.

²⁴ Anderson, p. 37.

Hobsbawm argues that although language may not be central to the formation of proto-national communities, it becomes central in the case of the modern nation. This is because a common vernacular spoken and written by an elite can easily spread to become a language of common usage among a larger population of the ‘intercommunicating community of “the nation”.’²⁵ Conversely, Hobsbawm argues that ‘dead ‘classical’ or ritual languages, however prestigious, are ill-suited to become national languages’,²⁶ citing the example of Greece, where the modern nation-state ultimately failed to revive the ancient Greek language, which it attempted in order to legitimize the population’s claim to be descended from the ancient Greeks.

According to Hobsbawm, with the appearance of printing and linguistic standardization practices,

a common language, just because it is not naturally evolved but constructed, and especially when forced into print, acquired a new fixity which made it appear more permanent and hence (by an optical illusion) more "eternal" than it really was.²⁷

Language is by nature variable; as George Steiner writes in *After Babel*, ‘the language of a community, however uniform its social contour, is an inexhaustibly multiple aggregate of speech-atoms, of finally irreducible personal meanings.’²⁸ In modern nations, the cohesiveness and uniformity of the national language is often greatly exaggerated for the purpose of building a uniform national identity. The illusion of linguistic permanence makes language useful for the ideological construction of national identity. However, Hobsbawm contends that language in most cases is not the unique identifying feature of national groups, and often convenience will favour

²⁵ Hobsbawm, pp. 59-60.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 60.

²⁷ Ibid, p. 61.

²⁸ George Steiner, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 46.

the use of multiple languages, or languages imported from other places.²⁹ Therefore, while a national language can be useful for the establishment of national identity, it is not always necessary.

In the case of both Cyprus and Scotland, language has played an important part in defining and defending national identity. This is complicated by the fact that in both places there is a form of diglossia, resulting from the presence of a local language or dialect competing with an official language imported from a culturally dominant neighbour. Diglossia is defined as a situation in which two languages or varieties of the same language coexist in the same community by fulfilling different social and cultural functions.³⁰ Emmanouil Roïdis coined the term in 1885 to describe the linguistic situation in Greece, where Demotic and Katharevousa coexisted in the same space of linguistic expression.

As Peter Mackridge describes it, Roïdis' term denoted 'the use, by the same speakers in different circumstances, of two lexically and grammatically distinct varieties of Greek.'³¹ The term 'diglossia' was subsequently adopted in discussion of other multilingual societies. In 1959, Charles Ferguson re-defined diglossia as denoting 'the complementary use, by the same speech community, of two forms of the same language, each of which has a restricted range of registers (different varieties used in different social situations)'.³² This definition can be broadened to encompass

²⁹ Hobsbawm, pp. 115, and 162.

³⁰ OED definitions include 'In many speech communities two or more varieties of the same language are used by some speakers under different conditions.' quoted from C. A. FERGUSON in *Word XV*. 325 in 1959, and 'a situation where a community uses both a more colloquial idiom of less prestige and another of more learned and refined status.' (E. PALMER tr. A. Martinet *Elem. Gen. Ling.* v. 139, 1964). The first definition is more in keeping with the purpose of this thesis, which does not wish to present any one language as inferior or superior.

³¹ Peter Mackridge, *Language and National Identity in Greece, 1766-1976*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 27.

³² Mackridge, *Language and National Identity*, p. 27.

any situation where there is a division of spheres of use for different languages, where one is considered culturally superior to the other.³³

There are several competing languages in Cyprus today: Greek, Turkish, English, and Cypriot variants of both Greek and Turkish. However, the situation within each separate community can be described as diglossic. In the Greek-speaking community, most people speak Cypriot Greek as their mother tongue and Standard Modern Greek in professional or formal situations. According to Peter Trudgill and Daniel Schreier, the two varieties function on the Fergusonian model of diglossia, with Standard Modern Greek operating as the High language and Cypriot Greek as the Low.³⁴ Similarly, most Turkish Cypriots speak Cypriot Turkish as a mother tongue, and standard Turkish in professional or formal situations, while some older members of the population also speak Standard or Cypriot Greek.³⁵ In both Cypriot communities use of English has become widespread, especially among the younger generation.

In the Greek community of Cyprus, the presence of the Greek language is used as evidence of the descent of Cypriot Greeks from ancient Greece, and therefore as a defence of their 'Greek' identity. Consequently, Cypriot Greeks are sometimes resistant to attempts to introduce Cypriot Greek into the public sphere, as they fear that the difference of the language from Standard Modern Greek could lead to questioning of their Greekness. This is evident, for example, from the debate about the nature and origins of Cypriot Greek that followed the official encouragement of

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ulrich Ammon, Norbert Dittmar, Klaus J. Mattheier, and Peter Trudgill, eds., *Sociolinguistics: An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society*. 2nd edn (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), p. 1887.

³⁵ Kamil Z. Özerk, 'Reciprocal Bilingualism as a Challenge and Opportunity: The Case of Cyprus', *International Review of Education* 47, no. 3/4, Globalisation, Language and Education (July 2001), pp. 253-265, (pp. 261-262).

the use of Cypriot Greek in schools in 2013 in which those supporting the wider use of Cypriot Greek were labelled anti-Greek.³⁶

The argument about the Greekness of their language is extended by some Cypriot Greeks to assert the Greekness of their literature. There is an on-going debate over whether there is a ‘Cypriot Literature’ or a ‘Greek Literature of Cyprus’. Lefkios Zafeiriou writes in his introduction to the 1985 *Anthology of Contemporary Cypriot Literature*, ‘το κυπριακό κράτος δεν αναστέλλει ούτε αλλοιώνει το χαρακτήρα της κυπριακής λογοτεχνίας η οποία είναι ελληνική.’ (The Cypriot state neither inhibits nor alters the character of Cypriot literature which is Greek.)³⁷ This is a commonly held position, which not only subordinates Cypriot-Greek writing to the Greek cultural centre, but also denies the existence of Turkish-Cypriot writing. Mehmet Yashin addresses this denial in ‘Three Generations of Turkish-Cypriot Poets’, an essay published in Calotychos’ *Cyprus and its People*. He argues that according to Greek critics, writers and poets of Cyprus, the category of ‘Cypriot Poetry’ ‘includes

³⁶ In 2012, the government of the Republic of Cyprus advised the use of Cypriot Greek in schools to aid the teaching of Standard Modern Greek by teaching children to distinguish consciously between the two. The introduction of the policy is described by Kyriakos Penintaex in the newspaper *Σημερινή* (*Simerini*) on 15/01/2012, available online <http://www.sigmalive.com/simerini/news/social/455436>. A response is published in the same paper on 24/02/2012, available online <http://www.sigmalive.com/simerini/analiseis/other/466883>, by Prodromos Prodromou, president of the Ινστιτούτο Πολιτισμού (Cultural Institute) and member of the political party Δημοκρατικός Συναγερμός (Democratic Alarm) criticized the policy as an attempt to preserve and outdated language and block progress, motivated by the desire to create a non-Greek national identity which would marginalize the Cypriot people. This debate entered academic circles when Georgios Xenis, lecturer in Ancient Greek at the University of Cyprus, published an article in the newspaper *Φιλελεύθερος* on the 25/03/2012, in which he argued that Cypriot Greek cannot be described as a language separate from Standard Modern Greek, and a minority of Cypriot Greeks calling themselves Νεοκύπριοι (Neocypriot) define their identity as Cypriot and not Greek, and consequently are attempting to present Cypriot-Greek as an independent language to be used in all settings and not limited to the oral and private. This elicited a response from Konstantinos Giangoullis, published in the same paper on 01/04/2012, in which he criticizes the academic merits of Xenis’ article, to which Xenis responded on the 08/04/2012, eliciting a further response from Giangoullis in *Μικροφιλιλογικά* on the 09/04/2012. All articles mentioned in the debate above center on whether the use and study of Cypriot Greek undermines the Greek identity of Cypriot Greeks. The aggressive and defensive positions taken by all participants, with the exception of Penintaex who merely describes the new educational policy, suggests that this was a sensitive topic in Cyprus in 2012, highlighting the importance of language for the expression of national identity.

³⁷ Lefkios Zafeiriou and Loukas Axelos, *Ανθολογία Σύγχρονης Κυπριακής Ποίησης* (Athens: Stochastis, 1985), p. 11.

only poets writing in Greek who refer to Hellenic literary traditions and who appear as outsiders, or “minor” to metropolitan Athens’.³⁸

Indeed, even writers supporting the existence of an independent Cypriot literature often argue that this term should refer only to texts written in Greek: as K. G. Giangoullis writes in *Μικροφιλολογικά (Mikrophilologika)*, a Cypriot-Greek literary journal, ‘στην κοινή συνείδηση ο όρος ‘Κυπριακή λογοτεχνία’ [...] σημαίνει κυρίως την ελληνική λογοτεχνία της Κύπρου, και τη σημασία αυτή είχε ανέκαθεν, χωρίς αυτό ν’ αποτελεί λάθος.’³⁹ (‘In common consciousness the term ‘Cypriot literature’ refers mainly to the Greek literature of Cyprus, and it has always had this meaning, without this constituting an error’.) Giangoullis argues that this is the case because between 1878, when printing presses appeared and 1974, there were very few books published in Turkish on the island, and many Turkish books were printed at Greek presses. From the above, it is apparent that there has been a tendency for Greek-Cypriots to assume that a ‘national’ literature must be linguistically uniform, as well as a tendency to either deny the existence of Turkish-Cypriot literature as in Zafeiriou’s case, or to try and take possession of it as in Giangoullis’ argument. Turkish-Cypriot writers, like Yashin cited above, have tried to redress this balance in recent years, and lay claim to an identity that is neither mainland Turkish nor Greek; however, Calotychos’ book remains one of few attempts to bring Turkish-Cypriot and Cypriot-Greek perspectives into one volume.

In Scotland, there is a similar multilingual environment, but again linguistic dynamics can be interpreted as mainly diglossic. The official language is English,

³⁸ Mehmet Yashin, ‘Three Generations of Turkish-Cypriot Poets’ in *Cyprus and its People: Nation, Identity and the Experience in an Unimaginable Community*, ed. by Vangelis Calotychos (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998), pp. 223-233, (p. 223).

³⁹ Giangoullis, K. G, “‘Κυπριακή Λογοτεχνία’ ή ‘Νεοελληνική Λογοτεχνία της Κύπρου’;”, *Μικροφιλολογικά* Blog, 31 March 2008, first published in *Φιλελεύθερος*, 16 May 1990.

with a large proportion of the population speaking Scots as their native language, and a smaller proportion speaking Gaelic. In most cases, either Scots or Gaelic is the language of the private sphere, while English is the language of the public sphere. There has been a lack of consensus on whether writers should attempt to create a Scottish literary language out of contemporary spoken and old written Scots, or whether writers should attempt to become integrated in a greater British tradition by writing in English.⁴⁰ In the first half of the twentieth century, Hugh MacDiarmid and Edwin Muir embodied the two sides of this argument. MacDiarmid advocated the creation of a Scots literary language, while Muir argued that there was not enough literary sustenance in the Scottish tradition. This debate will be discussed in more depth in Part 2 of this thesis.

There is a tendency in Western culture to ascribe qualitative values to languages, and to place them in a hierarchy; in medieval and early modern times, sacred and ancient languages such as Latin and Greek were considered to be purer, and more able to express truth. Indeed, arguments for the sacredness of Greek were made in Greece even in the twentieth century; as Peter Mackridge writes,

some extreme nationalist Greeks have argued that God chose the Greek language to record and disseminate His message, and even that Divine Providence had ensured that in pre-Christian times Greek had developed into a medium capable of expressing the Word of God.⁴¹

These arguments were put forward in the Greek parliament twice by Konstantinos Papamichalopoulos (1852-1923), a Greek author and politician, in response to the 1901 Gospel Riots, when Greeks protested against the translation of the New

⁴⁰ Though some writers have argued that Gaelic should be the national language of Scotland, the community of Gaelic speakers has been too small in modern times for that to be practicable.

⁴¹ Peter Mackridge, 'Textual Orientations: Writing the Landscape in Elytis' "The Axion Esti"', in *Greek Modernism and Beyond: Essays in Honour of Peter Bien*, ed. by Dimitris Tziouvas (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997), pp. 111-120, (p. 179).

Testament into Demotic Greek, and during a debate on the language of school readers in 1907.⁴² These claims of the divinity of the Greek language could be read as an attempt to bridge the gap between Orthodox Christianity and ancient Greek culture as the foundations of Modern Greek identity; by arguing that the ancient Greek language was divine, the issue of the paganism of the ancient Greeks is resolved, and ancient Greek culture can be absorbed into an identity shaped by a system of Christian values.

Though it is rare for people to argue for the divinity of languages today, occasionally some languages are considered to be more suited to the production of ‘high’ culture than others. According to Pascale Casanova, ‘certain languages, by virtue of the prestige of the text written in them, are reputed to be more literary than others, to embody literature.’⁴³ This can make it difficult for local vernaculars to become established as literary languages. Yet Casanova observes that even for languages with a literary reputation, this is an acquired status:

For a language to acquire a high degree of literariness it has to have a long tradition, one that in each generation refines, modifies, and enlarges the gamut of formal and aesthetic possibilities of the language, establishing, guaranteeing, and calling attention to the literary character of what is written in it. This tradition functions, in effect, as a certificate of literary value.⁴⁴

Sometimes writers will attempt to establish a new literary language by producing monumental texts in order to imbue the language with literary value. For example, Hugh MacDiarmid’s approach to ‘Synthetic Scots’, discussed in Part 2, followed this logic, as did the practice of translating ‘Classic’ texts into Scots and Cypriot-Greek. For example, Montis translated Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* into Cypriot-Greek in 1972.

⁴² Ibid, 180. For more information on the Gospel Riots, see Mackridge, *Language and National Identity*, Chapter 8.

⁴³ Casanova, Pascale, *The World Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), p. 17.

⁴⁴ Casanova, p. 18.

William Neill translated Homer's *Odyssey*, Douglas Young translated Aristophanes' *Birds*, and Edwin Morgan translated Mayakovsky's poetry and *Cyrano de Bergerac* into Scots.⁴⁵

In addition to concerns about the literariness of languages, emerging national identities are often concerned about proving the age of their language, as this can be linked to claims of legitimacy. Languages, however, are constantly evolving and changing; as George Steiner writes in *After Babel*,

No semantic form is timeless. When using a word we wake into resonance, as it were, its entire previous history. A text is embedded in specific historical time; it has what linguists call a diachronic structure. To read fully is to restore all that one can of the immediacies of value and intent in which speech actually occurs.⁴⁶

Therefore, linguistic meaning is inherently contextual, and context is determined by time. Nevertheless, claims of linguistic continuity are often part of the nation's argument for its own legitimacy.

Given the importance of language in the emergence of national identities, poetry often has a prominent role in this process. Poetry is often instrumental in the transformation of spoken vernaculars into national languages, as Hastings argues is the case with vernacular versions of the Bible in Christian nations. Printed poetry can promote the standardization of vernacular languages, expand vocabulary and functionality, and ultimately make a case for the vernacular's literary value in its role as a genre of 'high culture'.

⁴⁵ For more detail, see Kostas Montis, *Άπαντα* (Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation, 1986) and Bill Findlay, ed., *Frae Ither Tongues: Essays on Modern Translations into Scots*. (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2004).

⁴⁶ Steiner, p. 24.

Historical Background

The emergence of a modern Scottish nation

Scotland is a nation within the larger state of the United Kingdom. Although there was no Scottish representative political body between 1707 and 1999, Scotland developed a modern national identity during the same period as other European nation-states. The fact that this was not realized in the form of an independent nation-state has led to uncertainty about how to discuss Scottish culture. This was addressed in David McCrone's *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation*, first published in 1992. Although the re-opening of Scottish Parliament in 1999 gave Scottish culture a new confidence, Scottish identity-as-nation is in particular turmoil at present, as the lead up to September's referendum has brought forward public debate about what Scottishness should mean, in the form of the 'yes' against 'no' campaigns. There are compelling arguments for both sides, as Scotland has both a strong independent identity and a long history of association with England, the dominant nation of the United Kingdom.

Unlike Cyprus, Scotland has a past manifestation of an independent Scottish 'nation' onto which the identity of the modern nation can be projected, in the form of the Scottish kingdom of the ninth to twelfth centuries. This preceded both the Union of Parliaments and the Union of Crowns, providing a useful example of a 'Scottish nation' independent of England. However, the Scottish kingdom was not a nation in the modern sense. It was an ethnically and linguistically diverse entity, held together by a Scoto-Celtic monarchy, in which, according to Colin Kidd, the kingdom's identity was located; this identity was expressed through 'the royal genealogy recited

as part of the coronation ritual by a Highland sennachie or bard.⁴⁷ Consequently, the legitimacy of the nation was intimately linked to the legitimacy of the monarchy, and the role of the poet was to declare this legitimacy in the coronation ritual.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the Scottish kingdom did not include all levels of population as active members of the ‘nation’: national identity, if it existed at all, was limited to the elite, along with education. Consequently, it is important not to confuse the medieval Kingdom of Scotland with the modern Scottish nation, even if the latter roots its identity in the former.

Some origin myths of the modern Scottish nation have their roots in the medieval royal family’s attempts to legitimate their claim to the Scottish throne. Associations with the great Ancient Civilisations were particularly important for the legitimacy of European monarchies in the ninth century, even when geographical realities made these scarcely credible. The Gathelus and Scota story locates the origins of the Scottish Royal Line at 330 BC, in the mythical king Fergus MacFerquhard, the descendant of Scota, daughter of an Egyptian Pharaoh, and the Greek prince Gathelus, whose descendants, it is claimed, gradually migrated across Europe to Scotland.

Robert Crawford argues that ‘such an origin narrative and plea for national independence may have been fiction, but it was empowering mythic fiction’; this, according to Crawford, underlay the spirit of the Declaration of Arbroath, now a foundation story for the modern Scottish nation.⁴⁹ The Declaration itself, a letter composed by Bernard, Abbot of Arbroath, arguing for the right of the Scottish people

⁴⁷ Kidd, Colin, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689-c. 1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 15.

⁴⁸ Robert Crawford, *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and Literary Imagination, 1314-2014* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), p. 21.

⁴⁹ Robert Crawford, *Scotland's Books: The Penguin History of Scottish Literature* (London: Penguin, 2007), p. 59.

to dispose of tyrannical kings, suggests that there was a definite Scottish identity as early as 1320. However, it would be a mistake to describe this as a Scottish nation, since the society of the time had none of the structures or values of contemporary nations: the letter was signed by Scottish nobles, not elected representatives. Rather than Scotland being a nation in a world of nations, it was a kingdom in a world of kingdoms and empires, where power was hereditary, and there was no concept of citizenship. Nevertheless, the Declaration of Arbroath constitutes a plausible origin myth for contemporary Scottish national identity, because its defiant spirit resonates with concepts of liberty and citizenship which evolved in the Age of Revolutions when the ideology of modern nationalism emerged.

The two Wars of Independence against England (1296-1328 and 1332-1357) are also significant for modern Scottish national identity. They produced two of Scotland's most significant national heroes: William Wallace and Robert the Bruce. The narrative of these wars also constructs England as the encroaching other, like the Ottoman Empire for Greece in popular narratives of the 1821 Revolution.

In reality, Scotland has a long history of attachment to England; the two nations have shared a monarchy since the Union of Crowns in 1603 when James VI of Scotland acceded to the English throne, becoming James I of England and Ireland. In 1707 the English and Scottish parliaments were joined under the Act of Union, creating the United Kingdom. Consequently, they shared a parliament from 1707 until the new Scottish Parliament was formed in 1999.

Neither the Union of Crowns nor the Union of Parliaments resulted from hostile action from England, yet Scottish nationalism views the relationship between Scotland and England within the Union as one dominated by England at Scotland's

expense. The parliamentary Union with England had far reaching consequences for Scottish identity, as Scottish people had to contend with a dual identity as Scottish residents and British citizens, and the centre of power moved from the Scottish cities to London. This led to the dominance of English as the language of government and business, which affected the cultural standing of Scots.

The causes and effects of the parliamentary Union are complex; Thomas Devine argues that the Scottish parliament had become more independent than England was willing to accept, though 'there was nothing inevitable about a parliamentary Union between the two nations.'⁵⁰ Colin Kidd, conversely, suggests it was as a result of mutual, primarily economic, benefit; either way, the Act of Union was a contentious development.

A series of parliamentary acts led up to the Union, the first being the English Act of Settlement in 1701, which guaranteed English and Scottish succession would pass to Electress Sophia of Hanover and her descendants after the death of Queen Anne. This was a response to fears that the son of exiled James VII would attempt to claim the throne, and was passed in haste without consulting the Scottish parliament.⁵¹ The Scots responded with the Act of Security in 1703, asserting the Scots' right to choose a different successor. This could have ended the regnal union, threatening the Jacobite restoration that the Act of Settlement had aimed to prevent. In response, the English passed the Alien Act (1705), which defined Scots as aliens in England, and imposed a trade embargo on Scottish goods imported into England and her colonies.⁵² This was unpopular in Scotland, causing displays of anglophobia; however, both

⁵⁰ Devine, T. M, *The Scottish Nation, 1700-2007* (London: Penguin, 2008), p. 4.

⁵¹ Whatley, Christopher A. , 'The Making of the Union of 1707: History with a History', In *Scotland and the Union, 1707-2007*, ed. by T. M. Devine (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), pp. 23-38.

⁵² Kidd, pp. 42-43

Scottish and English politicians soon realized that the degeneration in the relationship of the two nations could only benefit France's aspirations of European hegemony.⁵³

Although Anglo-Scottish relations were tense before the Union of Parliaments took place, Kidd argues that the Scots saw it as an opportunity for economic development. In addition to securing trade with England and her colonies, the Scots were also compensated for their losses in the Darien scheme, a failed attempt to set up a colony in America that brought the Scottish government close to bankruptcy, and is often cited as the primary cause for Scotland entering the Union of Parliaments.

Some Scottish historians argue that too much significance is attached to the role of the Union of 1707 in the subsequent development of the Scottish economy. Until the nineteen-seventies, there was a trend in Scottish historiography to present the periods immediately preceding and following the Union as analogous to darkness and light, the Union symbolising a dawn. As Craig Beveridge and Ronald Turnbull write in *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture*,

The concepts of the industrial and agricultural "revolutions" which (though less fashionable than formerly) are associated in the history of England with general socio-economic changes stretching over lengthy periods, are related here [in the discussion of Scotland's past] to a single event in Scottish history, to the watershed of 1707.⁵⁴

This can be interpreted as a colonial narrativisation of the Scottish past, the Scots being presented as a primitive people in need of the English civilising influence to achieve progress towards modernity. Beveridge and Turnbull argue that this trend in historiography has damaged contemporary Scottish identity, and must be countered in

⁵³ Whatley, p. 28.

⁵⁴ Craig Beveridge and Ronald Turnbull, *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture*, Determinations, ed. by Cairns Craig (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989), p. 20.

order for Scottish culture to evolve. This highlights the significance of narratives of the past for the establishment of national identity in the present.

As a result of the material benefits of the Union to the Scottish middle classes, Scottish nationalism lacked a political dimension until after the First World War. This was because the political classes lacked the motivation to argue against the Union, as their constituencies were benefitting from it too much to be opposed to it on ideological grounds. It is often argued that while there was little political nationalism in Scotland in that period, cultural nationalism survived in conjunction with the development of a British identity. There were certainly many cultural manifestations of Scottish identity in the eighteenth century, perhaps central among them the activities of literary societies. According to Corey Andrews,

The artistic production of eighteenth-century Scottish club poets contributed to the creation of a counter-hegemonic strain that sustained nationalist sentiment across generations alongside the dominant structures of feeling that promoted assimilation of English culture.⁵⁵

In this case, poetic licence enabled an expression of a counter-hegemonic alternative national identity without threatening the supremacy of official British nationalism. The work of poets of this period, such as Robert Burns and James Macpherson, has subsequently become significant in the assembly of texts that underpin Scottish national identity. It is important to note that it has been historically possible to express Scottish identity without arguing for Scottish independence: Walter Scott (1771-1832), for example, wrote poetry and novels romanticizing rural Scotland and worked towards the preservation of Scottish local culture, and was a Unionist and Tory.⁵⁶ This

⁵⁵ Corey Andrews, *Literary Nationalism in Eighteenth-Century Scottish Club Poetry* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2004), p. 8.

⁵⁶ Douglas Gifford, Alan Riach, and Susan Neil, *Scotlands: Poets and the Nation* (Manchester: Carcanet, 2004), p. xxiii.

suggests it is often possible to separate the political and cultural aspects of Scottish identity.

The first body to represent Scottish national interests was the Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights, formed in 1853; its intention was to ensure fair representation of Scotland's interests within the Union, rather than to advocate Scottish independence.⁵⁷ According to Linda Colley, there was interest in the idea of regional representation within the United Kingdom not only for Scotland, but for Wales and Ireland as well before the outbreak of the First World War.⁵⁸ These debates were put on hold by the outbreak of war, which increased the power of British identity through the shared experience of the traumas of war and shared participation in institutions such as the British army and the Voluntary Aid Detachment, as well as the narrative of opposition to the German other.

In the Inter-War period, arguments for an independent Scottish identity re-emerged more powerfully. This period saw the publication of many seminal texts of Scottish literature, including Hugh MacDiarmid's *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* (1926), which marked the starting point of the Scottish Renaissance, led by figures such as MacDiarmid and Edwin Muir.⁵⁹ Increased interest in Scottish identity was evident in political developments of the period as well: the centre-left National Party of Scotland, of which MacDiarmid was a member, was formed in 1928 to forward the cause of Home Rule, in contrast to the Society for the Vindication of Scottish Rights. In 1934 it merged with the right-wing Scottish Party to form the Scottish National

⁵⁷ Guibernau, Montserrat, *Nations Without States: Political Communities in a Global Age* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), p. 47.

⁵⁸ Linda Colley, *Acts of Union and Disunion: What has Held the UK Together - and What is Dividing It?* (London: Profile Books, 2014), p. 83.

⁵⁹ Gifford, Riach and Neil, *Scotlands*, p. xxvi.

Party (SNP).⁶⁰ Yet the SNP did not enjoy immediate success either, mainly because it had no solutions to offer to the economic problems that were at the centre of the voting public's concerns.⁶¹ Following another lull in the debate of Scottish identity caused by the unifying experience of the Second World War, the Scottish national movement became more vocal and influential, particularly in 1966, as a result of the discovery of North Sea Oil, which suggested the possibility of Scottish financial independence.⁶²

The SNP gained popularity as the party was reorganized and made more efficient; however, its greatest boost came during the Thatcher years, when many Scots felt their interests were being compromised in favour of the prosperity of the South of England.⁶³ Neil Davidson argues that the rise in Scottish nationalism runs parallel to the successive victories of the Conservative Party in 1979, 1983, 1987 and 1992:

this heightened sense of Scottishness was not an assertion of primordial being but a response to a particular political conjuncture, often described as involving a 'democratic deficit' whereby the majority of Scots regularly voted for parties other than the Conservatives, but nevertheless ended up with Conservative governments.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Richard Finlay, 'The Early Years: From the Inter-War Period to the Mid-1960s', in *The Modern SNP: From Protest to Power*, ed. by Gerry Hassan (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), pp. 19-30, (p. 24).

⁶¹ Richard Finlay, 'The Turbulent Century: Scotland since 1900', in *Scotland :A History*, ed. by Jenny Wormald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 201-224, (p. 214).

⁶² Guiberneau, p. 47.

⁶³ Stewart, David, *The Path to Devolution and Change: A Political History of Scotland under Margaret Thatcher* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2009), pp. 1-3. Also see Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London: Pimlico, 2010), p. 448.

⁶⁴ Neil Davidson, *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), p.1.

At the same time, there was a movement asserting Scottish cultural identity, led by publications such as Daniel O'Rourke's *Dream State*, a poetry anthology making a case for Scotland as an independent nation.⁶⁵

A referendum on the creation of a separate Scottish assembly was held in 1979, but failed (by 7.1%) to attain the required 40% of the electorate voting in favour. Another referendum was held in 1997, which was successful, with 74% of participants voting in favour of a Scottish parliament.⁶⁶ The Scottish Parliament sat for the first time in 1999, and the new Parliament building opened in 2004. At present, the Scottish National Party is in power, and a referendum on Scottish Independence is scheduled for 18 September 2014.

⁶⁵ Two editions of this book were published, one before devolution and one after: O'Rourke, Daniel, ed., *Dream State: The New Scottish Poets* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1994); O'Rourke, Donny, ed, *Dream State: The New Scottish Poets*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2002)

⁶⁶ Guiberneau, pp. 47-48.

The birth of modern Cyprus and the involvement of foreign powers

Cyprus today is *de jure* in its entirety under the authority of the Republic of Cyprus, a member of the European Union and a nation-state recognized by the UN, but the north is *de facto* controlled by the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, recognized only by Turkey. The Republic of Cyprus joined the European Union in 2004, and all Cypriots from both sides of the border have the right to carry a passport of the Republic of Cyprus.

The lead up to the current political situation is long and complex. Cyprus has historically often been colonized, and was never part of a Greek nation-state. Cyprus was part of the Byzantine Empire until it was invaded in 1191 by Richard the Lionheart while on Crusade; he sold the island to the knights Templar. It was subsequently occupied by the Lusignans, who established the Kingdom of Cyprus, but it was later sold again, this time to the Venetians.⁶⁷ Between 1489 and 1571 it was under Venetian control. In 1571 it was conquered by the Ottoman empire, and remained under Ottoman administration until 1878, when it was leased to the British empire. Following the declaration of war in 1914, where Britain and the Ottoman Empire found themselves fighting on opposite sides, Cyprus was annexed by the British; the newly founded republic of Turkey relinquished all rights to Cyprus under the treaty of Lausanne in 1923, and Cyprus was declared a Crown Colony in 1925.⁶⁸ After armed insurrections by both the Cypriot-Greek majority and the Turkish-Cypriot minority populations, Cyprus became independent in 1960.⁶⁹ In 1974, in

⁶⁷ For further detail, see Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusaders 1191-1374* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁶⁸ Vangelis Calotychos, ed., *Cyprus and its People*: (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1998), p. 5.

⁶⁹ For more detail, see William Mallinson, *Britain and Cyprus: Key Themes and Documents Since World War II* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2011); Murat Metin Hakki, *The Cyprus Issue: A Documentary History, 1878-2007* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007).

response to an attempted coup d'état by the Greek military dictatorship, Turkey invaded and occupied the north of the island.

According to Hobsbawm, 'for the purposes of analysis nationalism comes before nations. Nations do not make states and nationalisms but the other way round.'⁷⁰ Part of the mythology of nationhood is that the nation is in the process of expanding to incorporate all members of the nationality in question; in the nineteenth century, 'national movements were expected to be movements for national *unification* or expansion. All Germans and Italians thus hoped to come together in one state, as did all Greeks.'⁷¹ This idea is particularly relevant to the development of the Greek nation-state: 're'-unification or *enosis* with 'unredeemed' lands was a major component of Greek foreign policy until 1922; Greece's borders expanded for the last time in 1947, and hopes that Cyprus would become part of the Greek state did not dissipate until the ultimate failure to achieve unification in 1974.

The irredentist policies of the Greek state until 1922 were carried out in pursuit of an ideology named *Megali Idea* (Great Idea) by Ioannis Kolettis in a speech he made in 1844.⁷² According to Yiannis Papadakis, the *Megali Idea* encapsulated three aspects of unity:

- (1) the synchronic unity of people in space as members of the same nation;
- (2) the diachronic unity of the narrative of Greek history from the classical glory of the ancients through the grandeur of the Byzantine Empire and the modern state;
- (3) the concomitant unity of the core values of Greek national identity as "Hellenic Christian".⁷³

⁷⁰ Hobsbawm, p. 10.

⁷¹ Ibid, p. 33.

⁷² Gourgouris, Stathis, *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization and the Institution of Modern Greece* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 144.

⁷³ Papadakis, Yiannis, 'Greek Cypriot Narratives of History and Collective Identity: Nationalism as a Contested Process', *American Ethnologist* 25, no. 2 (1998), pp. 149-165, (pp. 154-155).

Consequently, it was the ambition of successive governments to incorporate all people who could be defined as culturally Greek through language and religion in one territorially cohesive nation-state, covering the area once occupied by the Byzantine Empire. Nevertheless, Cyprus was not considered a priority under this plan; this is evident from the fact that at the Versailles Peace Conference of 1919, Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos of Greece did not mention Cyprus to British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, instead pressing for British support for the Greek army in Anatolia, who were on campaign with the ultimate goal of capturing Istanbul.⁷⁴ Indeed, Venizelos instructed the Cypriot deputation led by Archbishop Kyrillos III of Nicosia, who attended the Peace Conference fringe intending to argue for *enosis*, to accept the priorities set by the National Centre to avoid jeopardizing his agenda.

The *Megali Idea* emerged from the fact that the identity of the modern Greek state was founded in the ancient Greek past; as Alexis Politis writes,

όλοι αυτοί οι ελληνόφωνοι ήταν, ή θα μπορούσαν να θεωρηθούν, απόγονοι των αρχαίων Ελλήνων. Κανένας άλλος δεν διεκδικούσε ετούτην την ταυτότητα, και ακόμα, καθώς υπήρχε μια πανευρωπαϊκή αντίληψη για την εικόνα των αρχαίων Ελλήνων, η ταυτότητα δεν χρειαζόταν να προσδιοριστεί με ειδικά χαρακτηριστικά: αρκούσε η καταγωγή.⁷⁵

All these Greek-speakers were, or could have been considered to be, descendants of the ancient Greeks. Nobody else was laying claim to this identity, and moreover, as there was a universal European perception of the image of ancient Greeks, the identity did not need to be established by special characteristics: descent was sufficient.

⁷⁴ Robert F. Holland and Diana Markides, *The British and the Hellenes: Struggles for Mastery in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1850-1960* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 180.

⁷⁵ Alexis Politis, *Ρομαντικά χρόνια: ιδέες και νοοτροπίες στην Ελλάδα του 1830-1880*. (Athens: Eteria Meletis Neou Ellinismou, 1993), p. 32.

The ready-made identity founded on the Western perception of ancient Greece reinforced the ideas of Romantic Nationalism with regard to the modern Greek state. However, the extent to which modern Greek identity was shaped by outside interests inevitably affected its articulation: proving descent from the ancient Greeks became a central concern in determining the legitimacy of the modern Greek state, particularly after J. P. Fallmerayer published a book entitled *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters* in 1830, in which he claimed that the Greek race had been entirely replaced during the medieval period, and that there was no genetic connection between modern members of the Greek nation and the ancient Greeks.⁷⁶ This made Greek intellectuals particularly anxious to prove cultural descent from ancient Greece, making language more central than ever before as a determinant of Greek identity.⁷⁷ Consequently, the Greek-speaking population of Cyprus was naturally assumed to be part of the same national community as the rest of the Greeks.

The Greek nation-state was formed as a result of a nine-year War of Independence against the Ottoman Empire, which commenced in 1821; significantly, the Cypriot Greeks did not join the 1821 revolution. This was partly because of a string of pre-emptive executions of clergymen and members of the intelligentsia carried out by the Ottoman rulers. Nevertheless, these executions are presented as a moment of national realization for the Cypriot-Greeks, particularly in a poem written by Vasilis Michailidis at some point after 1888 and first published in 1911, which will be discussed in Chapter 1.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Fallmerayer, Jacob Philipp. *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. by Georg Martin Thomas (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1861).

⁷⁷ Mackridge, *Language and National Identity*, pp. 159-160.

⁷⁸ Lefkios Zafeiriou, *Η νεότερη Κυπριακή λογοτεχνία: γραμματολογικό σχέδιασμα* (Nicosia: [n.pub.], 1991), p. 22; see Chapter 1, pp. 82-93.

However, it was also partly as a result of the role of the British Empire as a colonial power that it seemed natural for Greek-speaking Orthodox Christian Cypriots to assume that they would eventually become part of the Greek nation state. In particular, since the Ionian Islands were ceded by the United Kingdom to Greece in 1864 as a gesture of support to the newly installed pro-British king George I, it was assumed that eventually Cyprus, too, would become part of the Greek nation-state.

This assumption was given more credibility by the example of Crete, which became autonomous in 1898 as a result of an uprising in 1896, declared union with Greece in 1908 and became officially recognized as part of Greece under the Treaty of London in 1913.⁷⁹ As Holland and Markides write, ‘both Ionian and Cretan experiences were held to validate the ultimate triumph of a ‘steady and persistent will’ [in terms of the achievement of *enosis*] within Hellenic society. The complex international and regional factors which triggered the climaxes of 1863-64 and 1912-13 subsequently tended to be airbrushed away.’⁸⁰ Indeed, Evanthis Hatzivasiliou argues that these two Greek experiences shaped the two political schools of thought in Cyprus between 1878 and 1974: the proponents of the ‘Ionian’ model argued for a peaceful, long-term pursuit of *enosis* by seeking greater independence under the British colonial regime, while the proponents of the ‘Cretan’ model were in favour of a more instant demand for self-determination in the form of an armed revolution.⁸¹ Until the First World War, the ‘Ionian’ model was favoured; however, the disappointment caused by Cyprus being annexed by Britain in 1914 instead of achieving self-determination led to the increased popularity of the ‘Cretan’ model,

⁷⁹ Koliopoulos, John S., and Thanos M. Veremis, *Modern Greece: A History Since 1821* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 56 and 75.

⁸⁰ Holland and Markides, p. 162.

⁸¹ Evanthis Hatzivasiliou, *Στρατηγικές του Κυπριακού: η δεκαετία του 1950*, 2nd edn (Athens: Patakis, 2005), p. 25.

characterized by the attitude that ‘η ελευθερία δε χαρίζεται, αλλά κατακτάται με αίμα’ (‘freedom is not given as a gift, but conquered with blood’).⁸²

Perspectives on the future of Cyprus changed somewhat after the decisive defeat of the Greek armies in Anatolia in 1922, which was followed by a large-scale population exchange between Greece and Turkey under the Treaty of Lausanne (1923).⁸³ This undermined the assumption that the international community would eventually ensure that all peoples were incorporated into the most appropriate nation by allowing new nations to expand, as it demonstrated that homogeneous nationhood could be achieved by the expulsion of minorities instead.

Though it ceased to be the assumed outcome, Cypriot-Greeks still considered *enosis* with Greece possible and desirable; the emergence of Greek nationalism in Cyprus resulted in the protests of 21 October 1931, when Government House was burned down by Cypriot-Greek demonstrators. The British responded by suspending the constitution, and taking measures to suppress Greek nationalism on the island. During this period, the Greek government was more concerned with the maintenance of a good relationship with Britain than the incorporation of Cyprus into the Greek state. As a result, according to Holland and Markides, there was ‘a strong sense amongst Greek Cypriots, born of bitter experience, that they had to look to themselves, and not to Athens, to secure their Hellenic goals’.⁸⁴

Indeed, Greece passed up several opportunities for unification with Cyprus. Britain offered Cyprus to Greece in 1915 in exchange for the latter’s entering the First

⁸² Ibid, p. 26.

⁸³ Holland and Markides, p. 182. For more detail on the 1923 population exchange, see Renée Hirschon, *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange Between Greece and Turkey* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2003).

⁸⁴ Holland and Markides, p. 187.

World War on the Allied side, but Greece declined;⁸⁵ as mentioned above, discussions of the unification of Greece and Cyprus during peace talks in 1919 were side-lined by Venizelos' desire for support for the Greek campaign in Asia Minor.⁸⁶ After the Second World War, during discussions in London in September 1945, Archbishop Damaskinos, the Greek regent, again argued for the cession of Cyprus to Greece, but the issue was overshadowed by the planned referendum on the return of George II to the Greek throne. Furthermore, by this point Britain had started to see Cyprus as potentially significant in the context of its position in the Middle East, creating a reluctance to pursue the *enosis* route.⁸⁷ By 1954, Britain was no longer willing to consider the possibility of *enosis*. This led to Greek threats to take the issue of Cyprus to the United Nations.

The seeming impossibility of a solution through international diplomacy led to the commencement of an armed insurgency movement against the British in the form of EOKA (Εθνική Οργάνωσις Κυπρίων Αγωνιστών; National Organization of Cypriot Fighters), declared on 1 April 1955.⁸⁸ Initially, this was a conflict purely between the Greek-Cypriots and the British colonial administration. The Turkish Cypriots were expressly excluded from the target group. However, inter-communal strife soon became a central feature of the conflict, largely because Turkish Cypriots came to make up a large proportion of the Security Forces, who were targeted in retaliation once the British administration started to crack down on EOKA terrorists.⁸⁹ As Caesar Mavratsas writes, ‘The “Cyprus problem”, as we understand it today, emerged out of the clash between the two nationalisms and, perhaps more importantly, out of the

⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 177.

⁸⁶ Tabitha Morgan, *Sweet and Bitter Island: A History of the British in Cyprus* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010), p. 97; Holland and Markides, pp. 179-80; see p. 46 of this thesis.

⁸⁷ Holland and Markides, p. 217.

⁸⁸ William Mallinson, *Britain and Cyprus: Key Themes and Documents Since World War II* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2011), pp. 4-5.

⁸⁹ Tabitha Morgan, p. 232.

manipulation of this clash by foreign interests.’⁹⁰ The two nationalisms wanted different futures for the island: the Greeks wanted unification with the Greek state, referred to as *enosis* (union),⁹¹ while the Turks wanted to divide the island, a policy referred to as *taksim* (partition).⁹²

Despite the interest of foreign powers in the region, when the terms of independence were negotiated in 1959, these were discussed by Turkish Foreign Minister Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and his Greek counterpart, Evangelos Averoff-Tossizza; the Americans deliberately absented themselves from the talks for fear that pressuring either nation would lead Turkey and Greece to leave NATO, while the British left it up to Zorlu to keep them informed about the talks’ progress and to safeguard their interests on the island.⁹³

Cyprus was made independent in 1960, with a constitution designed to protect the interests of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots, by providing both communities with government representation but also by specifically prohibiting both *enosis* and *taksim*.⁹⁴ Under the constitution, there was a Greek-Cypriot President and a Turkish-Cypriot Vice-President elected by their respective communities, and a Council of Ministers comprising seven Greek-Cypriot and three Turkish-Cypriot representatives.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Caesar V. Mavratsas, ‘National Identity and Consciousness in Everyday Life: Towards a Sociology of Knowledge of Greek-Cypriot Nationalism,’ *Nations and Nationalism* 1, no. 14-18 (1999), pp. 91-104, (p. 91).

⁹¹ William Mallinson, *Cyprus: A Modern History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009), p. 10.

⁹² James Ker-Lindsay and Hubert Faustmann, *The Government and Politics of Cyprus* (Oxford: P. Lang, 2008), pp. 18-19.

⁹³ Evanthis Hatzivasiliou, *Britain and the International Status of Cyprus, 1955-59* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, 1997), p.156.

⁹⁴ Hatzivasiliou, *Britain and the International Status of Cyprus*, p. 157.

⁹⁵ Norma Salem, Salem, Norma, ‘The Constitution of 1960 and its failure’, in *Cyprus: A Regional Conflict and its Resolution*, ed. by Norma Salem (London: Macmillan and The Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, 1992), pp. 117-125, (p. 119).

Unfortunately, there was insufficient co-operation between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in government, and repeated deadlocks led Archbishop Makarios, the first President of the Republic of Cyprus and head of the Orthodox Church on the island, to propose a series of thirteen amendments to the constitution on 30 November 1963. These were immediately rejected by the government of Turkey. The Turkish Cypriots were in the process of preparing a detailed reply when inter-communal armed conflict broke out. This prompted an intervention by the United Nations, who established UNFICYP, a neutral peacekeeping force.⁹⁶ The inter-communal fighting also led to the *de facto* separation of the two communities.⁹⁷

In Greece, on 21 April 1967, the Greek military, led by Colonel Papadopoulos, staged a coup d'état, driving tanks into the centre of Athens. This regime had little concrete policy, and was guided by a strong, conservative Greek nationalism, leading them to take an interest in Cyprus and the *enosis* question. The regime became increasingly unpopular, as it employed brutal tactics of suppression of any opposition, including the imprisonment and torture of dissidents, among them many artists and intellectuals. In November 1973, students occupied the Athens Polytechnic University for three days, demonstrating against the regime. Papadopoulos suppressed the protests with the use of armed force, resulting in the death of several students and a sharp drop in his popularity.

The same month, a bloodless coup led by Dimitrios Ioannidis, head of the military police, displaced Papadopoulos on the pretext that he had 'adulterated the

⁹⁶ Ibid, pp. 122-123.

⁹⁷ For details on the separation of communities from a Turkish-Cypriot perspective, see Mete Hatay and Rebecca Bryant, 'The Jasmine Scent of Nicosia', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 26, no. 2 (2008), pp. 423-449.

principles of April 21, 1967'.⁹⁸ In an attempt to improve the regime's popularity in Athens, and as a response to President Makarios' attempts to reduce the interference of the Greek military dictatorship in Cypriot affairs, Ioannidis staged a coup, in which he attempted to assassinate President Makarios and replace him with Nikos Sampson, a right-wing journalist and murder suspect.⁹⁹ The assassination was unsuccessful, as Makarios was forewarned and fled the country, so the political coup never took place; but these events precipitated a Turkish invasion of the north of the island, which remains occupied today. As a result of the invasion, the majority of Greek Cypriots living north of the Green Line were displaced, losing possessions and property. Many were killed, and others went missing and their remains have yet to be found.

It was only after the events of 1974 that unification with Greece ceased to be seen as a viable option for Cyprus. The Greek involvement in the coup against Makarios, coupled with the failure of the Greek army to provide military support against the Turkish invasion and protect Cypriot Greeks and their property made the Cypriot Greeks 'feel betrayed by their motherland Greece'.¹⁰⁰ According to Van Coufoudakis, following 1974, the political leadership of the Republic of Cyprus 'perceive their relationship to Greece as one of equals and not, any longer, as one of dependence on the "national centre of Hellenism"'.¹⁰¹

The Turkish invasion and occupation of 1974 had a constitutive effect on the identity of Cypriot-Greeks: the invasion created a trauma shared by the whole

⁹⁸ Koliopoulos and Veremis, p. 148.

⁹⁹ Jan Asmussen, *Cyprus At War: Diplomacy and Conflict During the 1974 Crisis* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008), pp. 19-23.

¹⁰⁰ Dimitra Karoulla-Vrikki, 'Education, Language Policy and Identity in Cyprus: A Diachronic Perspective (1960-1997)', in *Sociolinguistic and Pedagogical Dimensions of Dialects in Education*, ed. by Andreas N. Papapavlou and Pavlos Y. Pavlou (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), pp. 80-100, (p. 85).

¹⁰¹ Van Coufoudakis, *Cyprus: a Contemporary Problem in Historical Perspective* (Minneapolis, MN: Modern Greek Studies, 2006), p. 5.

Cypriot-Greek community, which acted as a unifying force, and became the founding principle of Cypriot-Greek identity over the past forty years. Renan defined the nation as ‘une grande solidarité, constituée par le sentiment des sacrifices qu’on a faits et de ceux qu’on est disposé à faire encore.’¹⁰² Consequently, past conflicts can provide evidence for the sacrifices made for the nation; the invasion of 1974 and the armed conflict with the British between 1955 and 1960 are the two most significant historical events providing a history of Cypriot-Greek sacrifice for the nation. 1974 is particularly significant, as the communal trauma excludes not only Turks, but also mainland Greeks, who carry a portion of the blame for causing the crisis, but were not present to experience it.

This national trauma also forms a basis for identification of Cypriot-Greeks with Turkish-Cypriots, as it is acknowledged that Turkish-Cypriot families and individuals were also adversely affected by inter-communal violence, and that many of them were also displaced between 1955 and 1974. The suffering of Turkish Cypriots is alluded to several times in Kyriakos Charalambides’ collection *Θόλος* (*Dome*), and particularly in his poem ‘Ev Γαστρί’ (‘In Utero’), in which God offers a grieving pregnant woman the chance to bring a man back from the dead in exchange for the loss of her land. When she hesitates, and asks if she could have some of the land back as well, God tells her she may bring back a dead Turkish man. She refuses, and then eternally regrets her decision. The moral of the poem, which is often repeated in Charalambides’ work, is that conflict leads to mourning for everyone involved, and that human lives are more precious than land. As the inter-communal strife is often considered to have been caused, or at least exacerbated, by policies pursued by Britain, Greece and Turkey, communal trauma is seen as a shared burden

¹⁰² Renan, p. 27.

among Greek and Turkish Cypriots. As Smith writes, ‘myths of war and sacrifice have helped to forge powerful bonds between the dead, the living and the yet unborn, often through monuments and ceremonies for the fallen, creating a cult of the “glorious dead”’.¹⁰³ In Cyprus, there is both a cult of the ‘glorious dead’ and a cult of the ‘mourning mother’, which can both form a basis for division of the two main communities and a common ground on which they can identify with each other. This is apparent in much post-1974 poetry, which will be discussed in Part 3 of this thesis.

Though many attempts have been made, the Cyprus Problem remains unresolved, and the island remains divided. The borders have been open since 2003, allowing Cypriots and visitors to move between the two parts. Since Cyprus joined the EU in 2004, there have been hopes that the tensions on the island will dissipate through integration into a broader European community, which may come to include Turkey as well as Greece, rendering the territorial dispute obsolete. However, this is a long way from being realized, and the victims of both the inter-communal violence and the invasion have never been compensated for their losses. This makes the search for an identity by Cypriot writers on both sides fraught with difficulties, as there are multiple internal contradictions caused by the relationship of each with their respective culturally dominant neighbour, as well as unresolved tensions between the two communities which claim the same homeland.

Negotiations have recently reopened as a result of the discovery of natural gas off the coast of Cyprus.¹⁰⁴ Both the Cypriot-Greek and the Turkish-Cypriot community see benefits in being united for the exploitation of this mineral wealth, which could be the answer to the financial problems faced by the Republic of Cyprus

¹⁰³ Smith, *The Antiquity of Nations*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁴ Michael Emerson, ‘Fishing for Gas and More in Cypriot Waters’, in *IAI Research Papers* ([n.p.]: Edizioni Nuova Cultura, 2013), pp. 65-84.

since 2008. Turkish Cypriots could benefit more from being part of a financially secure Cypriot Republic or Federation, as it has been argued that they would get a higher proportion of the oil and natural gas income than if the resources were to be exploited by Turkey. The Republic of Cyprus can potentially offer Turkish Cypriots the opportunity to become a significant part of a small but fiscally secure nation, rather than a marginal province of a large nation. It remains to be seen whether the traumas of 1963-1974 have healed sufficiently to allow reconciliation.

Why Poetry?

The official history of the nation is often structured as a myth of origin. Past events are built into a narrative structure that depicts the emergence of the modern nation as the inevitable evolutionary result of its prior incarnations, thus legitimizing its existence. All histories are to some extent subject to the imposition of external narratives. As Hayden White describes it,

No given set of casually recorded historical events can in itself constitute a story; the most it might offer to the historian are story *elements*. The events are *made* into a story by the suppression or subordination of certain of them and the highlighting of others.¹⁰⁵

Poetry, and literature in general, can be instrumental in creating and perpetuating images of the past, as it is often more readily consumed by the public than academic histories. It is also easier to embed poetry in the day-to-day reality of the nation: poems can be engraved on monuments or displayed on public transport, and regularly form a significant part of primary education.

One aspect of poetry which makes it particularly appealing for the establishment of national identities is its relationship with form; the visual appearance of the poem's text on the page is an important component of the way poems make meaning. This concept interests Modernist poets, who frequently play with the relationship between language and presentation in genres such as concrete poetry. In these cases, the poem appears to be what the nation purports to be: a defined object, permanent and fixed in form. A poem's essence does not consist of its message, or plot, or atmosphere: it cannot be paraphrased, because it is an object of fixed form, the

¹⁰⁵ Hayden White, 'The Historical Text as Literary Artifact', in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, ed. by Vincent Leitch et al. (London: Norton, 2001), pp. 1712-1729, (p. 1715).

precise words and rhythms used to express its content as significant as the content itself.

In these circumstances, a poem can function in the same way as a physical monument designed to embody national identity, such as archaeological sites or government buildings. It is interesting to compare poems to Anderson's description of the national function of cenotaphs:

No more arresting emblems of the modern culture of nationalism exist than cenotaphs and tombs of Unknown Soldiers. The public ceremonial reverence accorded these monuments precisely *because* they are either deliberately empty or no one knows who lies inside them, has no true precedents in earlier times.¹⁰⁶

Similarly, a poem constitutes a stable text that can be imbued with a variety of meanings and interpretations, which may change over time. In fact, a poem could be seen as the opposite of a basic plot, such as those found in folk tales: the form is closed, but the meaning transferred remains open to interpretation. Consequently, while cenotaphs are physical structures, and poems are verbal constructs presented in print, the two can perform a similar symbolic function in the context of nation-building.

As Gilbert Murray describes it, 'poetry, in the old Aristotelian view, is an "artefact" – I mean it is a thing made. The poem consists in the written or spoken words, and the chief art of the poet consists in choosing and arranging these words.'¹⁰⁷ Partly as a result of this stable form, poetry has a privileged relationship with language. Elements of form, such as rhythm, rhyme and line separations, enable patterns of association to develop within poems in a more controlled manner than in prose, allowing poetry to develop a more freely associative relationship with

¹⁰⁶ Anderson, p. 9.

¹⁰⁷ Gilbert Murray, *The Classical Tradition in Poetry* (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), p. 243.

language, and to exploit more levels of linguistic meaning. As Anthony Easthope writes in *Poetry as Discourse*, 'a poetic discourse is distinguishable from other, non-poetic discourses by the way it accords precedence to the signifier.'¹⁰⁸ This precedence of the signifier allows poetry to make more free associations with the signified: poetic features such as rhythm, rhyme and line breaks emphasize the interaction between words within the text, drawing the reader's attention to features such as the word's sound and appearance. Furthermore, poetic devices such as metaphor and metonymy encourage readers to explore the multiple potential meanings of each word. Poetry's privileged relationship with language is particularly important if a writer wishes to extend the range of a language, as in the case of Hugh MacDiarmid's creation of Synthetic Scots.

Although other types of literary texts can be considered national (such as Jane Austen's novels, or Shakespeare's plays in England) poetry is arguably more permanent and more adaptable than prose or drama, a more effective medium for texts representing an evolving national identity which is imagined as static, precisely because of its alleged fixity of form described above. This makes poems ideal vessels for a narrative of national identity that imagines the nation as spatially fixed and chronologically infinite, glossing over evidence of change. In addition to lending themselves to public display in their written form, poems can also be performed at commemorative events for significant moments in the nation's past in an almost ritual repetition. By setting a historical moment in verse, the poet transforms the narrative into a cultural memory with a fixed interpretation, which is defined both by the stable form and associations within the poem, and its contextualization in commemorative ceremonies.

¹⁰⁸ Anthony Easthope, *Poetry as Discourse* (London: Methuen, 1983), p. 17.

Poetry often challenges linguistic norms; however, it can also preserve old linguistic dynamics or nuances. Consequently, poetry can be instrumental in the development of a language, both through the coinage of new terms, and the re-integration of old words and forms into the contemporary language. At the same time, it can be argued that a poem can only ever be fully expressed in the language of composition, making poetic translation a difficult and contentious subject.

However, the conception of poetry as formally fixed does not always apply. In *Strange Likeness*, Chris Jones observes that one tends to discuss *Beowulf* as ‘the poem’, regardless whether the text being read is the original Old English version, or any of a number of translations of varied style: ‘despite the material constitution of the text being fundamentally different in each case, we tend to assume that we can all discuss ‘the poem’ underlying these differing verbal manifestations’.¹⁰⁹ In this sense, *Beowulf* is something like a cenotaph in reverse: rather than a fixed empty vessel to be imbued with meaning, it is a malleable representation of a ‘fixed’ content.

It is possible that this is as a result of the underlying narrative of the poem, which is a traditional epic tale that can survive many permutations, as it has its origins in an oral tradition. One could argue that the same analysis could be applied to the approach of readers to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; perhaps once a language is classed as dead, its poetry enters the public domain, and its classics retain their significance in translation. For marginalized national literatures written in vernacular languages, translation is far more problematic, as there is ideological significance attached to the original language of composition. Consequently, many writers argue that their work is untranslatable (for example Kostas Montis, who will be discussed in Part 2).

¹⁰⁹ Chris Jones, *Strange Likeness: The Use of Old English in Twentieth-Century Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 148.

Ultimately, arguments made about poetry in this thesis are applicable to other types of literature as well. However, poetry is a particularly interesting genre to study as regards the interaction of literature with national identity in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, because although it currently has limited popular appeal, it appears disproportionately significant in the creation of national literatures and the promotion of national identity.

Outline of Chapters

The main body of this thesis is divided into three parts:

Part 1 examines the emergence of a 'national literature' in Scotland and Greek-speaking Cyprus, in the context of the emergence of nationalist discourses between the late eighteenth and early twentieth century. In Chapter 1, the institution of the national poet and its emergence in each nation is examined through readings of the works of Vasilis Michailidis (1853?-1917) and Robert Burns (1759-1796). Chapter 2 explores the effects of Romantic nationalist ideas about vernacular language and folk literature on European high literary cultures, with particular focus on the works of Walter Scott (1771-1832) and Dimitris Lipertis (1866-1937).

Part 2 focuses on revisions of both poetic form and the discourse of national identity in the twentieth century, in the context of the Modernist movement as a response to historical events and technological and industrial changes of the period. In both Scotland and Cyprus, the works of the national poets became inadequate vehicles for the expression of a contemporary national identity, leading twentieth-century poets to produce works reinterpreting the literary canon and the national past, in an attempt to represent the experience of contemporary citizens. These themes are explored through the works of Hugh MacDiarmid (1892-1978), Edwin Morgan (1920-2010) and Kostas Montis (1914-2004). Chapter 3 focuses on their interpretations of the nation's past, and Chapter 4 on their interactions with language.

Part 3 examines the function of poetry in modern discourses of national identity. Chapter 5 explores the role of poetry in the transformation of a nation's

landscape into the homeland, both through poetry written about the national landscape and through poetry which romanticizes the physical imprints of the nation on the landscape, such as cities, industrial structures, ancient ruins and monuments. Chapter 6 examines poetry addressing communal trauma. While the inter-communal violence in Cyprus between 1964 and 1974 and the Turkish invasion of 1974 have no exact parallel in modern Scottish history, poets in the two places have a similar view of the responsibilities of the poet towards their home nation and the reading public. Furthermore, Scottish poets responded to the trauma of the First World War in a similar way to Cypriot poets responding to intercommunal violence and the 1974 invasion. In Cyprus trauma has had a constitutive effect for the independent identities of Greek Cypriots. In Scotland, on the other hand, traumas such, as the World Wars, have historically functioned to strengthen British identity. Yet it is possible that the First World War functioned as a catalyst for the Scottish Renaissance, led by Hugh MacDiarmid.

The concluding chapter will draw together the observations made about the relationship between poetry and national identity in the three parts of the thesis, and assess how the similarities and differences of this interaction in Scotland and Cyprus can give new insights into the function of literature in society. Finally, recommendations will be made for future studies, as particularly in the case of Cypriot poetry there are many gaps in academic scholarship, and filling these would make works more accessible for study and general consumption outside Cyprus.

Part 1

PART 1:

THE INVENTION OF A NATIONAL LITERATURE

Introduction

The creation of a national literary canon is a complex process in any nation, involving a broad cross-section of society, from government policy-makers and institutions to publishing companies, authors and readers. Part 1 of this thesis aims to locate the origins and chart the establishment of national literatures in Scotland and Greek-speaking Cyprus. The emergence of ‘national’ literatures is, unsurprisingly, linked to the emergence of the nations they claim to represent, whether this is the emergence of the nation-state as a political entity, or of a national consciousness within a different political structure. Discussion in the following two chapters will focus on concepts, ideologies and institutions involved in the creation of national literatures.

Chapter 1 deals with the institution of the National Poet. Modern nation-states can be given ideological foundations and shape by the selection of a national poet. In Scotland, this is indisputably Robert Burns (1759-1796). In Cyprus, on the other hand, the title is applied to both Vasilis Michailidis (1853?-1917) and Dimitris Lipertis (1866-1937). Furthermore, it is applied interchangeably to the above and to Dionysios Solomos (1798-1857), author of the national anthem and national poet of Greece. Michailidis and Lipertis have different ideas about what it means to be a Cypriot Greek, while Solomos is not Cypriot at all. The fact that they are all described as ‘national poet’ of Cyprus suggests there Cypriot-Greek national identity is fluid.

Chapter 2 looks at the works of Walter Scott (1771-1832) and Dimitris Lipertis, who were highly influential in the search for a ‘national character’ in Scotland and Cyprus respectively. Though Scott lived a century before Lipertis, both responded to the idea that folk culture was a significant source for determining

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‘national character’, and both engaged with folk poetry, traditions and vernacular language in their work.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, nations justified their emergence based on a combination of the arguments of ethnicity and descent; folklore played an important part throughout Europe in the quest to divide the populace into homogeneous nations, and was particularly popular with Romantic nationalists as a means of justifying the nature and boundaries of new nations. According to Anthony Smith, Romantic nationalists believed each nation had a ‘national character’; this precipitated the rise of historicism, where ‘national genius’ was explained in terms of each nation’s own historical development. Within the discourse of historicism there were two cultural patterns: neo-classicism and nativism or medievalism. According to Smith, neo-classicism ‘derived from a reading of classical antiquity as a plateau of civilization that was being realized again in modern Europe but on an even higher plane.’¹¹⁰

In the period between the classical model and its modern realization, it was believed there was a return to a barbaric, rural feudal society. It was this rural society that interested the nativists or medievalists, who believed that vernacular traditions and ancestral heritage were important for national identity. ‘Literary medievalism’ was the movement of return to the European past through medieval literature. According to Smith, ‘the movement began in poetry, mainly in Britain, with the cult of ancient British poetry, Ossian and the Edda’.¹¹¹ Smith observes that despite their differences, the two cultural patterns were often combined in official nationalism; he writes ‘both neo-classicism and medievalism (or nativism) are variants of a wider

¹¹⁰ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin, 1991), p. 88.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 88 and 90.

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romanticism, a yearning for the ideal golden age and a heroic past that can serve as exemplars for collective regeneration in the present'.¹¹²

Medievalism was founded on the Herderian idea that the 'national character' of modern nations resided in *Volk*. Herder did not define the *Volk* clearly, but indicated that the group excluded 'the rabble', meaning vagrants and the urban poor, and the aristocracy. As Bauman and Briggs explain,

In its most general use, Volk designates a nation, a people, but it may also designate that portion of a more complex, stratified society that remains most firmly grounded in its inherited language and traditions and still open to feeling, as distinct from those who have been distanced from their roots and their feelings by over-rational refinement or the cosmopolitan adoption of foreign languages and alien ways.¹¹³

Herder believed that people were shaped by their languages, which were in turn shaped by the landscape, and that therefore the culture of the common people, or *Volk*, was the true manifestation of 'national character'. According to Bauman and Briggs, for Herder 'the true Volk are the source of authentic poetic expression and the bearers of poetic tradition'.¹¹⁴ The interest in the common people and their culture and traditions made folklore studies popular, leading many European poets to engage with traditional texts in their writing. As connections to folk culture were viewed as evidence of artistic value, critics often emphasized poets' engagement with the *Volk*, occasionally exaggerating the evidence.

In Greek-speaking Cyprus, folklore studies were influenced by the desire to show a clear line of descent between ancient and modern Greeks. In addition to

¹¹² Smith, *National Identity*, 91.

¹¹³ Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs, *Voices of Modernity: Language Ideologies and the Politics of Inequality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 183.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

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various traditional poems collected in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Cyprus also had a living tradition of oral poetry until the mid-twentieth century, in the form of *poietarides* (ποιητάρηδες).¹¹⁵ *Poietarides* participated in various activities relating to vernacular poetry: they performed poetry in informal settings, such as at village fairs and at weddings, they competed against each other in improvised verse, and sold written poems in broadsheet form. Most *poietarides* were familiar with traditional oral songs, which they relied on for phraseology, diction and meter, yet they seldom performed these publicly.¹¹⁶ After independence in 1960, there was a revival of folklore studies focused on the *poietarides* as evidence of the Greek identity of the Cypriot people, because the right wing believed there was need to prevent the ‘de-Hellenization’ of Cyprus.¹¹⁷ This resulted in the *poietarides* becoming absorbed into the general tradition of the Greek folk song, so that when critics trace the connection of Cypriot poets to the *poietarides*, really they are making an argument for their pure Greekness.

Within any national literature, poets described as ‘National’ are particularly significant, as they constitute a template for what the ‘national character’, and therefore national literature, should be. In addition to National Poets, poems which are said to originate in a heroic national past also contribute to the emergence of a national literature. The following two chapters explore the role of national poets and the invention of national literatures in the emergence of modern national identities in Cyprus and Scotland.

¹¹⁵; Roderick Beaton, *Folk Poetry of Modern Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

¹¹⁶ George Syrimis, ‘Ideology, Orality and Textuality: The tradition of the *Poietaridhes* of Cyprus’, in *Cyprus and its People: Nation, Identity and Experience in an Unimaginable Community, 1955-1997*, ed. by Vangelis Calotychos (Oxford: Westview Press, 1998), pp. 205-222, (p. 208).

¹¹⁷ Syrimis, p. 211.

Chapter 1: National Poets: Robert Burns and Vasilis Michailidis

The figure of the National Poet plays a significant role in the creation of a coherent national identity, as the poet in question is represented as the embodiment of ‘national character’. In many cases, the figure of the National Poet becomes established when the discourse of nationhood emerges. However, this does not necessarily coincide with the time in which the National Poet is publishing, nor with the time the National Poet writes about; in most cases a poet becomes National Poet after death, and having written about a historical moment onto which the nation wishes to project its birth.

Thus the National Poet is of fixed character, and deals with significant events from a historical past-perfect, which have been fixed into a narrative of cause and effect and are no longer evolving. Although National Poets are subject to fashion in academic circles as much as any other writer, in educational and political contexts they are imagined as eternal figures ‘looming out of an immemorial past’, and ‘gliding into a limitless future’, much as Benedict Anderson argues that nations are.¹¹⁸ This contrasts with Poet Laureates or the Scots Makar, who are living poets invited to fulfil an official role by the government, which involves responding with poetry to current events and the real contemporary nation. Poets in this role often try to challenge mainstream conceptions of national identity, and to bring the literary image of the nation in line with its reality. Furthermore, often part of their role is to promote poetry. The Scots Makar’s job description was ‘to represent Scottish poetry in the public consciousness, to promote poetic creativity in Scotland, and to be an ambassador for Scottish poetry’.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Anderson, pp. 11-12.

¹¹⁹ ‘The Scots Makar’, published on The Scottish Government Website.
<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2004/02/5075>, accessed 23 August 2014.

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By contrast, the creation of the National Poet generally results from several kinds of discourse labelling the poet as such, including academic writing, media representation, government propaganda and educational discourses. While a poet laureate's function is to address poetry into the nation, the image of the National Poet is often projected outwards towards other nations as a manifestation of national character.

The transformation of poet into National Poet is achieved through publications such as biographies and complete works editions, commemorative events, the erection of physical monuments, as well as critical and journalistic writing which defines a particular poet as the National Poet. Once the title is bestowed, the way the National Poet's works are read is affected: it becomes assumed that their poetry captures the nation's 'character'. Furthermore, knowledge of the National Poet's work becomes synonymous with the expression of national identity; thus, for example, many Cypriot-Greeks can spontaneously recite excerpts of Vasilis Michailidis' 'Η Ενώπη Ιουλίου του 1821'.

Poetry, like other forms of literature, is inextricably linked to two of the primary determinants of national identity: language and education.¹²⁰ The language poets choose to write in inevitably has implications for the way their work is read, while the experience of education gives them a common knowledge-base with fellow-

¹²⁰ Occasionally poets may manage to escape the confines of national identity; for example, Grigor Parlichev, a Bulgarian writer and translator, won the Rallis Greek National Poetry Competition in 1860, entered under the name Grigorios Stavridis, with his poem 'Ο Αρματολός'. At the time of the competition, if anything his Bulgarian roots made him a more desirable contestant. As Moullas writes, 'on caressait avec plaisir l'idée que l'Université d'Athènes devint un centre de rayonnement international et que la langue grecque, en dehors de son rôle dans l'unité nationale, obtint une audience plus large.' (Moullas, Panayotis, *Les Concours Poétique de l'Université d'Athènes: 1851-1877* (Athens: Secrétariat général à la Jeunesse, 1989), p. 154.) However, after 1862, Stavridis changed his name back to Parlichev and became a supporter of Bulgarian nationalism, advocating that schools change the language of instruction to Bulgarian instead of Greek. (Ibid, p. 153.) This led to heated debates over whether he could still be the victor of a Greek National Poetry Competition.

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members of their national community. The significance of language choice is heightened in communities like Greek-speaking Cyprus and Scotland, where there are competing languages which represent either local identity (Cypriot-Greek, Scots) or a broader national identity (Mainland Greek, British), where the broader national identity is under the influence of a culturally dominant neighbour (Greece, England).

Poets are governed to a certain extent by the discourse of nationhood that surrounds them, whether they deliberately contribute to it or not, as this discourse permeates language, education and historical narratives. Furthermore, the work of each poet is to some extent the product of interaction with poets of their national canon, because poetry shapes the definition of poetry. As T.S. Eliot observes in his essay ‘Tradition and the Individual Talent’, ‘we shall often find that not only the best, but the most individual parts of [a poet’s] work may be those in which the dead poets, his ancestors, assert their immortality most vigorously’.¹²¹ This poses a challenge for the poets discussed in the next two chapters; as there was no fully established poetic tradition in either Scotland or Cyprus, Burns and Michailidis had to invent their own traditions. Their work laid the foundations for later poets, such as MacDiarmid and Morgan in Scotland and Montis in Cyprus, to elaborate on these traditions and create their own poetic genealogies.

The Scottish and Cypriot poets discussed in this chapter are acutely aware of their relationship with and debts towards the literary past; rather than lightening the effects of the past on their work, this awareness makes them more emphatic. Because they are representing a minority culture, they have to work towards building a literary genealogy to which they can belong, and which can be differentiated from those of

¹²¹ Eliot, T. S. ‘Tradition and the Individual Talent’, in *The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism* (London: Methuen, 1920), pp. 42-54, (p. 43).

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their culturally dominant neighbours; rather than emphasising individuality, these poets prefer to emphasize tradition. Thus, for instance, Vasilis Michailidis used the metre associated with Greek folk songs in his poetry. Robert Burns used the Standard Habbie, or Scottish stanza, so frequently it was renamed the ‘Burns Stanza’.

There are three commonly appearing characteristics in National Poets of marginal literatures; firstly, there is an engagement, in their poetry, with a significant historical moment at which the nation’s birth is located. Secondly, they commonly display a connection to the physical landscape of the nation, often suggesting that their poetry is inspired directly from this association, rather than a knowledge of methods of poetic composition, or exposure to large volumes of other poetry. Consequently, poets who become ‘National’ often play down their formal education, or critics play it down for them. Finally, in places like Cyprus and Scotland, where there is a marginalized vernacular language, the National Poet often writes in this language, and tests its literary capabilities.

Robert Burns (1759-1796) is widely referred to as the National Poet of Scotland, in addition to being an internationally popular poet, renowned for being both reveller and rebel. In 1786 Henry Mackenzie described him as a ‘Heaven-taught ploughman’, a phrase which captures both the way Burns was seen by admirers and critics, but also the way he liked to present himself: a poet inspired directly by the national landscape and unencumbered with formal education.¹²² Burns’ endorsement of this image is evident from the way he presented himself and his poetry to friends and patrons in his letters, and from friends’ reminiscences.

¹²² Donald A. Low, ed., *Robert Burns, the Critical Heritage*, The Critical Heritage Series, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), p. 70.

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In Cyprus, as discussed above, there is some confusion over the identity of the national poet in the Greek-speaking community, which demonstrates the hybrid identity of Cypriot-Greeks. Many consider themselves Greek and then Cypriot, few consider themselves Cypriot and then Greek, and some believe that the two terms are synonymous. Dionysios Solomos' position as national poet is supported by the fact that his "Ύμνος εις την Ελευθερίαν" ('Hymn to Liberty'), national anthem of Greece since 1865, was adopted as the national anthem of the Republic of Cyprus in 1966. 'Hymn to Liberty' is a poem of 158 stanzas written in 1823, during the Greek war of independence, which was set to music by Nikolaos Mantzaros. Mantzaros' 1829 setting of the first two stanzas became the national anthem of Greece in 1865, because King George heard it on a visit to the newly acquired Ionian Islands and chose it as national anthem. Many Greek intellectuals objected to the fact that it was written in Demotic Greek and not Katharevousa.¹²³

The poem is about the liberation of the Greeks from the Ottoman Empire, and is built on the personification of Liberty as a woman, which is reminiscent of the appearance of 'Liberty' in paintings depicting the French Revolution. Solomos was not from Cyprus, but he was not from the centre of the Greek establishment either, as he was from the Ionian Islands, and was famously bilingual in Greek and Italian. The Ionian Islands were not made part of the Greek nation-state until 1864; consequently, they retain some of their cultural individuality, which enables Cypriot Greeks to adopt Solomos as a national poet without fully embracing the Greek identity of the centre, as dictated by Athens. Furthermore, the 'Hymn to Liberty' personifies general principles such as Liberty herself, popularized by the discourse of the French and American Revolutions which form the foundations of republican nationalism. Thus it

¹²³ Mackridge, *Language and National Identity*, p. 172.

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can function as a foundation text for Cypriot-Greek national identity even though it is about a revolution in which they did not participate.

In parallel with Solomos, Vasilis Michailidis has long been described as the national poet of Cyprus, or even just ‘the poet of Cyprus’, as he is called by Yiannis Lefkis in his 1937 biography of the poet. Michailidis represents a local Cypriot-Greek identity which cannot find expression through Solomos’ poetry, as the latter had no connection to Cyprus. Lefkis describes Michailidis as follows:

Ο πιο γνήσιος ποιητής του τόπου αυτού· ο πρώτος που μπόρεσε νικώντας την πνευματική και γλωσσική κακομοιριά του καιρού του, να ξαναδώσει ζωή στην πεθαμένη ποιητική παράδοση του τόπου και παίρνοντας στα χέρια του την παλιά μυθολογική λύρα του Στασίνου να τραγουδήσει με μαστοριά και δύναμη άγνωστη ως τότες δω κάτω, τις συμφορές και τα όνειρα της μικρής του πατρίδας.¹²⁴

The most genuine poet of this place; the first who succeeded in, by defeating the cultural and linguistic meanness of his time, revitalizing the dead poetic tradition of his home and taking in his hands the mythic lyre of Stasinus singing with art and power heretofore unknown down here, the woes and the dreams of his little fatherland.

In his introduction to the 1942 edition of Michailidis’ selected poems, A. Indianos describes him as ‘ο μεγαλύτερος, ο ενδοξότερος, ο εθνικότερος Κυπριώτης ποιητής ίσως όλων των αιώνων της Κυπριακής Λογοτεχνικής Ιστορίας’ (‘the greatest, the most glorious, the most national Cypriot poet, perhaps of all the ages of Cypriot Literary History’).¹²⁵ In this context, the adjective ‘εθνικότερος’ (‘most national’) is an endorsement of Michailidis’ work, suggesting both that Cypriot-Greeks need a national poet, and that poetry of a national kind is good. However, neither Indianos

¹²⁴ Yiannis Lefkis, *Βασίλης Μιχαηλίδης, ο ποιητής της Κύπρου* (Nicosia: Typografeio Kyriakidi, 1937), p. 2.

¹²⁵ Vasilis Michailidis, *Εκλογή από τα ποιήματα*. ed. by Antonios K. Indianos (Nicosia: ‘Neos Kosmos’, Typografeio Kyriakidi, 1942), p. ια’

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nor Xioutas, editor of the 1960 edition of *Ποιήματα*, describe him as *the* national poet. The process of Michailidis' becoming the national poet of Cyprus begins in 1953, with the creation of a committee in Limassol to discuss the production of a Complete Works and biography of the poet.

The publication in question was intended to be an exhaustive collection, both of Michailidis' complete works and 'παντός ότι σχετίζεται με τη ζωή και το έργο του ποιητού' ('everything related to the life and works of the poet'). In practice, this endeavour was unsuccessful, because of lack of cooperation from some of the owners of Michailidis archives. As a result, the objective was revised to be the production of a volume of selected poems, accessible to the general public, which was realized in the form of the 1960 *Ποιήματα*.

It is no accident that this volume was published in the year that Cyprus was declared independent; in its introduction, the 1960 edition of Vasilis Michailidis' poetry is presented as fulfilling an urgent need for the Cypriot nation. Nikos Xioutas describes the committee's decision to produce the volume as 'απόφαση ν'ανταποκριθεί σε μιαν άμεση πνευματική ανάγκη του Παγκυπρίου' ('a decision to respond to an immediate cultural need of the entirety of Cyprus').¹²⁶ Michailidis is referred to as 'Εθνικός Βάρδος της Κύπρου' (National Bard of Cyprus). Xioutas' use of the word 'Παγκυπρίου' is remarkable, as it refers to an 'entire Cyprus' as opposed to Cyprus as a part of the 'Πανελλήνιο' ('the entirety of Greece'). This suggests that in 1960 there was a need to express a Cypriot-Greek identity independent of Greece, even if this was not directly acknowledged, a need which was addressed by the publication of specifically Cypriot texts.

¹²⁶ Vasilis Michailidis, *Ποιήματα*, ed. by Nikos Xioutas (Nicosia: Ekdotis Dimotikis Vivliothikis Lemesou, 1960), p. 4.

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The ambition of producing an exhaustive publication on Michailidis was finally realized in 1987, with the publication of a two-volume edition (complete poems and biography), funded by the Cultural Foundation of the Bank of Cyprus. Indeed, one can trace a direct connection to the 1960 selected poems, as the biographical volume is entitled *Βασίλης Μιχαηλίδης: Η ζωή και το έργο του (Vasilis Michailidis: His life and works)*, echoing the phrase describing the original intentions of the 1960 edition. Yiannis Katsouris, author of the biography, writes from a neutral perspective and only mentions the term national poet in his conclusion, where he describes Michailidis as a poet ‘που στην Κύπρο χαρακτηρίζεται ως “εθνικός”’ (‘a poet who in Cyprus is described as “national”’).¹²⁷ Katsouris seems to see Michailidis as a Greek poet who happened to be from Cyprus. Yet in the introductions to both the biography and the complete works volumes, Michailidis is referred to as the national poet of Cyprus.

It is evident that his position as national poet of Cyprus is currently strong; Giorgos Kechagioglou and Lefteris Papaleontiou, in their 2010 *Ιστορία της Νεότερης Κυπριακής Λογοτεχνίας (History of Modern Cypriot Literature)*, state that Michailidis ‘θεωρείται ορθά, ίσως, ο “εθνικός” ποιητής της νεότερης Κύπρου. Είναι και ο πρώτος μη “δημοτικός” ποιητής των δύο τελευταίων αιώνων που τόλμησε και κατόρθωσε να καταξιώσει λογοτεχνικά το γλωσσικό ιδίωμα του νησιού του.’¹²⁸ (‘[Michailidis] is considered, perhaps correctly, to be the «national» poet of modern Cyprus. He is also the first non «folk» poet of the last two centuries who dared and managed to put the local language of his island to literary use.’)

¹²⁷ Yiannis Katsouris, *Βασίλης Μιχαηλίδης: η ζωή και το έργο του* (Nicosia: Chrysostomou Andreou, 1987), p. 307.

¹²⁸ Giorgos Kechagioglou and Lefteris Papaleontiou, *Ιστορία της νεότερης Κυπριακής λογοτεχνίας* (Nicosia: Kentro Epistimonikon Erevnon Kyprou, 2010), p. 223.

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Like Burns, Michailidis is often presented as lacking in formal education, although there is little documentation available to either confirm or disprove this. Michailidis writes in both registers of Mainland Greek, Katharevousa and Demotic, as well as Cypriot Greek. Most of his mature poetry is written in Cypriot Greek. On the one hand, this makes the texts inaccessible to many Greek readers; however, it also gives him insider status. Cypriot Greek is the language of the private sphere, as opposed to Mainland Greek which is and historically has been the language of education, but also of the culturally dominant neighbour.

In order to discuss the establishment of Michailidis and Burns as National Poets, this chapter will focus on representations of the poets' education, interactions between their poetry and history, and commemorations of the poets after their deaths. These three areas are significant in the creation of the figure of the National Poet, who is imagined as being able to channel the spirit of the nation through his natural attachment to the landscape and understanding of the nation's past.

Illusions of continuity: the past in poetry

The creation of a national history is frequently cited as one of the chief necessities for the emergence of a national identity; as Anderson describes it, the nation 'is conceived as a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history'.¹²⁹ In order to imagine the nation as a solid and permanent object, a specific view of history is required; as Gourgouris explains, 'unconcerned with the actual workings of societal memory, oblivious to its own oblivion, national history is a lithe genre, aspiring to the creation and justification of a legendary object'.¹³⁰ Michailidis and Burns have both

¹²⁹ Anderson, p. 26.

¹³⁰ Stathis Gourgouris, *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization and the Institution of Modern Greece* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 242.

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contributed to the creation of a national historical narrative in their respective homelands.

In both Scotland and Cyprus, the nation is imagined as a complete entity in the past that has been disrupted by historical developments. However, in each period, the perception of the past changes depending on present realities. As Alexis Politis puts it, ‘για κάθε εθνική συνείδηση, η ιστορία είναι ο μαγικός καθρέφτης. Δείχνει όποιο πρόσωπο ζητήσει η κάθε εποχή’¹³¹ (for every national consciousness, history is the magic mirror. It shows whichever face the period demands). So, for example, in Michailidis’ Cyprus the exclusion of the island from the Greek nation-state was seen as a disruption of the natural historical trajectory of the Greek people of Cyprus, while after 1974 the Turkish invasion of the North is seen as the chief factor disrupting Cypriot national integrity, and the need to be united with Greece is becoming increasingly irrelevant to the expression of Cypriot-Greek identity.

Politis argues that in the eighteenth century Greek historians were interested in world history, and there was no concept of a ‘national history’ of Greece. By the middle of the nineteenth century, a proliferation of publications on the subject suggests an interest in the above had developed. The creation of a historical narrative for the modern Greek people affected the expression of Greek identity on Cyprus, as most Christian, Greek-speaking Cypriots identified themselves un-problematically as Greek. The most significant new history was Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos’ *Ιστορία του ελληνικού έθνους* (*History of the Greek nation*), first published in 1853. It was re-issued in an expanded five-volume edition between 1860 and 1874,¹³² which Paschalis Kitromilides claims ‘could be characterized without serious exaggeration as

¹³¹ Politis, *Ρομαντικά Χρόνια*, p. 36.

¹³² Ibid.

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the most important intellectual achievement of nineteenth-century Greece.’¹³³ This publication reflects two significant changes to the perception of Greek history: both the Macedonian and the Byzantine empires, which were previously described as conquerors and oppressors, have been absorbed into the Greek narrative of the past, and are described as Greek.¹³⁴ Thus Paparrigopoulos creates a continuous narrative of Greek history, stretching uninterrupted from ancient times through the Byzantine period to the present day.

This had a significant impact on Greek political thought; as Kitromilides explains, Paparrigopoulos

was instrumental in establishing the image of the Byzantine Empire under the Macedonian and Comnenian dynasties, into a form of teleology for the Greek state: [...] into an ideal territorial and geographical model which was felt in Greek political culture to be a pointer to the future destiny and mission of Greece.¹³⁵

Paparrigopoulos’ model of historical continuity for the Greek nation has been extremely influential on popular conceptions of the nation, and is often reflected in literature produced all over the Greek-speaking world. Paparrigopoulos divided Greek history into five periods: ancient, Macedonian, Christian, medieval and modern. In this narrative construction, the Ottoman period from 1453 until the declaration of the Greek Revolution in 1821 is seen as a dark age, interrupting the freedom of the Greek people. This schema is reproduced in many Cypriot-Greek poems, despite the fact that Cyprus did not participate in the Greek Revolution. Furthermore, Paparrigopoulos’

¹³³ Paschalis Kitromilides, ‘On the Intellectual Content of Greek Nationalism: Paparrigopoulos, Byzantium and the Great Idea’, in *Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity*, ed. by David Ricks and Paul Magdalino (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 25-33, (pp. 27-28).

¹³⁴ Politis, *Ρομαντικά Χρόνια*, pp. 39-46.

¹³⁵ Kitromilides, p. 31.

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schema cast Cyprus as a rightfully Greek land, leading to the emergence of Greek identity on the island, predicated on the dream of *enosis*.

Within the national historical narrative, one may locate a point of origin for the nation. If, as Antonis Liakos describes it, the national historiography is a ‘biography of the nation’, there is a necessity to imagine a moment of the nation’s birth.¹³⁶ In most cultures this is a moment of violent conflict where the identity of the nation is tempered with blood, its birth firmly connected to the ‘cult of the “glorious dead”’, as described by Smith.¹³⁷ Although these moments are based on historical facts, it is their re-enactment through various cultural discourses, such as poetry, folk song or commemorative ceremonies, which mythologizes them as points of origin for the nation.

For Cypriot-Greek identity, the primary historical event onto which their national origins are projected is the execution of the Archbishop Kyprianos by the Ottoman rulers of the island on 9 July 1821, which is the subject of Michailidis’ most famous poem. While the events of 1974 hold a more prominent place in contemporary Cypriot-Greek consciousness, as a result both of their recent occurrence and their traumatic nature, the Turkish invasion and division of the island constitute a disruption of the Cypriot-Greek historical narrative rather than a point of origin. It is worth noting, however, that it was the events of 1974 that put an end to hopes of *enosis* for the Cypriot-Greeks, and led them to look for a Cypriot-specific origin of

¹³⁶ Liakos, Antonis, ‘Historical Time and National Space in Modern Greece’, in *Regions in Central and Eastern Europe: Past and Present*, ed. by Tadayuki Hayashi and Hiroshi Fukuda (Sapporo: Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, 2007) pp. 205-227, (p. 208).

¹³⁷ Smith, *The Antiquity of Nations*, p. 20, see p. 54 of this thesis.

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Greek identity, enhancing the significance of the events of July 1821 for Cypriot-Greek identity.¹³⁸

Vasilis Michailidis' 'Η Εννάτη Ιουλίου του 1821 εν Λευκωσία [Κύπρου]', ('The Ninth of July 1821 in Nicosia [of Cyprus]) tells the story of the execution of Archbishop Kyprianos and three of his colleagues by the Ottoman authorities, beginning with the Ottoman meeting where it is decided they should be killed, and ending with the bodies of the four men lying unburied after their execution. The poem is written in Cypriot Greek, in a style influenced by Greek folk songs, and has become an emblem of Cypriot Greek national identity. According to Indianos,

«Η 9^η Ιουλίου» [...] είναι το Έπος της Κύπρου, που με όλες τις χαρακτηριστικές ενότητες, μ' όλη τη ζωντάνια του, μ' όλη την αρμονία ύλης και πνεύματος, προτάσεων, φράσεων, τόνων, ήχων, παρηχήσεων, ανεβαίνει από τη Γη προς τον ουρανό ένα υπέροχο καλλιτέχνημα.¹³⁹

“The 9th of July” [...] is the Epic of Cyprus, which with all its characteristic units, with all its liveliness, with all the harmony of substance and spirit, sentences, phrases, tones, sounds, echoes, alliterations, rises from the Earth towards the sky a fabulous work of art.

The poem is a fitting National Epic of (Greek-speaking) Cyprus, as the image of a specifically Cypriot Greek nation emerges over the course of the text through the Cypriot-Greek community's juxtaposition with Turkish Cypriots, mainland Turks and mainland Greeks. Within a landscape of shifting and conflicting identities and loyalties, Cypriot Greekness is defined by the willing sacrifice of Kyprianos, which is expressly defined as being for the Cypriot Greeks, rather than any of the other groups

¹³⁸ The effects of 1974 on Cypriot poetry will be discussed in more detail in Part 3.

¹³⁹ Michailidis, *Εκλογή*, ed. by Indiano (1942), p. 1β'

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mentioned above, setting the Cypriot Greeks apart from the mainland Greeks, as well as the Ottomans and Turkish Cypriots.

‘Η Εννάτη Ιουλίου του 1821’ consists of fifty-six ten-line stanzas in iambic lines of fifteen syllables, and with an ababccdede rhyming scheme. Iambic lines of fifteen syllables are characteristic of Greek folk songs (referred to in Greek criticism as ‘Iamvicos dekapentasyllavos’), a form which is considered characteristically Greek; as Indianos, describes it, ‘ο ηρωικός δεκαπεντασύλλαβος, ο μόνος κατάλληλος, που θα μπορούσε ν’αναμετρηθεί με το υπέρψηλο θέμα και να χωρέσει μέσα του την ξέχειλη, δυνατή, πατριωτική πνοή’ (‘heroic fifteen-syllable verse, the only suitable, which could contend with the loftiest subject and fit within itself the overflowing, powerful, patriotic breath.’)¹⁴⁰ Indianos’s superlative appreciation of the fifteen-syllable form is indicative of its value in Greek literary criticism. However, the Greekness of the poem is given a distinctive local identity, as Michailidis chooses to write in Cypriot Greek, and uses rhyme, which is reminiscent of the Cypriot *poiatarides* rather than of Greek folk song.

It is believed that the poem was composed between 1884 and 1895, but it was only published in the 1911 *Ποιήματα (Poems)*, ninety years after the events it describes. Lefkios Zafeiriou dates its composition after 1888, since he argues that Michailidis used a memoir, *Απομνημονεύματα των κατά το 1821 εν τη νήσω Κύπρω τραγικών σκηνών (Memoir of the tragic scenes on the island of Cyprus in 1821)* by Georgios I. Kipiadis as a source for his poem, which was published in Alexandria in 1888.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Michailidis, *Εκλογή*, ed. by Indiano (1942), p. ιβ’.

¹⁴¹ Zafeiriou, *Η νεότερη κυπριακή λογοτεχνία*, p. 22.

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The poem opens with the description of a gathering storm over Turkey. The storm proceeds to break over the 'Morea', now known as the Peloponnese, where the Greek Revolution began. The sublime imagery and the ascription of emotions to nature are reminiscent of Romantic poetry; the presentation of the Greek revolution against the Ottoman Empire as a storm suggests that it is an inevitable natural phenomenon, implying that the Greek nation-state is destined to break away from the Ottoman Empire.

Michailidis presents Kyprianos' execution as a willing sacrifice, necessary for the salvation of his people. This is reminiscent of the role of Jesus in Christianity. As discussed in the introduction, Orthodox Christianity plays an important role in defining the identity of Cypriot Greeks. Therefore, it is not surprising that Michailidis uses the trope of martyrdom to establish Kyprianos as a national hero. Indeed, the idea of Kyprianos as martyr is not confined to Michailidis' poem; he is popularly referred to with the adjective 'εθνομάρτυρας' (ethnomartyras), which literally translates as 'national martyr'. The term pre-dates Kyprianos' execution, as it was used to describe other martyrs of the 1821 revolution, including Grigorios V.¹⁴² It is through texts such as Michailidis' poem that Kyprianos has been constructed as an 'ethnomartyras'.

There are two principal discourses in the poem which construct Kyprianos as a national hero, and martyr of the nation. The first is Kyprianos' claim that the Greek people¹⁴³ can never be destroyed in response to Mousselim-Agas' threat to annihilate them. The second is Kyprianos' three refusals of help from the Turkish Cypriots, reminiscent of Jesus's temptations in the Judaeen desert. Although the temptation scenes are significant in constructing Kyprianos as national martyr, the moment which

¹⁴² Clogg, Richard, *A concise history of Greece*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 36.

¹⁴³ Michailidis uses the word 'φυλή' ('fili'), which means race.

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establishes him as a national hero is his refusal to accept Mousselim-agas' charges of treason, which is the most frequently cited section of the poem.

The scene of his arrest establishes Kyprianos as 'ethnomartyras' of the Cypriot Greeks specifically, and not the Greek nation as a whole: it is made clear that the Cypriot-Greeks are being unjustly punished for the mainland Greek revolution in which they want no involvement. Kyprianos tells the Turkish officials that it was a mainland Greek who was spreading propaganda about the revolution, and that he was sent away. He also reminds:

Εν τζ' ήρταν Μουσελίμ-αγά, πάνω στον τόπον άλλοι
 τζι εφέραν άρματα κρυφά τζι εννά μας καταγνώσεις.
 Εδώκαμέν σου τ' άρματα ούλοι μιτσοί και μιάλοι
 ευτύς ότι τζι εγύρεψες να μας ι-ξαρματώσεις.
 Είντα λοής εθέλαμεν εμείς ν' αρματωθούμεν
 τζαι να σμιχτούμε μ' άλλους λας τζαι να σας πολεμούμεν;¹⁴⁴

No strangers came, Mousselim-aga, to this place
 and brought weapons secretly and you would condemn us.
 We gave you our weapons all of us, young and old
 as soon as you sought to disarm us.
 Why should we want to arm ourselves
 and join with other peoples and fight you?

This statement differentiates Cypriot Greeks from the Revolutionary Greeks, and declares loyalty to the mixed community of the island's inhabitants. In addition to differentiating the Cypriot Greeks from the Greeks participating in the Revolution, this protestation of innocence casts Mousselim-agas' decision to execute their leaders as a betrayal, as well as an act of oppression.

Mousselim-agas declares his intention to execute the leaders of the Cypriot people, and refuses to listen to Kyprianos' logical arguments about the absence of desire for uprising among his flock, cited above. He says he will never change his

¹⁴⁴ Vasilis Michailidis, *Ποιήματα: η έκδοση του 1911*, Έργα Βασίλη Μιχαηλίδη, ed. by Kostas Vasiliou (Nicosia: Aigaion, 2007), p. 97.

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mind, and would like to kill all the Greeks in Cyprus, and if he could he would kill all the Greeks in the world; Kyprianos' response in stanza 18 is the most commonly quoted section of this poem:

Η Ρωμιοσύνη εν' φυλή συνότζιαιρη του κόσμου,
 κανένας δεν ευρέθηκεν για να την ι-ξηλείψει,
 κανένας, γιατί σιέπει την που τ' άψη ο Θεός μου.
 Η Ρωμιοσύνη εν' να χαθεί, όντας ο κόσμος λείπει.¹⁴⁵

The Greek race is as old as the world,
 nobody has been found who can eradicate it,
 nobody, because it is protected from on high by my God.
 The Greek race will only be lost when the world is gone.

Kyprianos' statement lists the elements Anderson identifies in the nation: the first and last lines establish the Greek nation as originating in the distant past and gliding into a limitless future. In the middle lines, Kyprianos claims invincibility and divine protection for the Greek people. This statement declares the legitimate nationhood of the Greeks. It also claims that they are a more legitimate nation than the Turks, as they, according to Kyprianos, have God's protection. Kyprianos' faith in the indestructibility of his nation in the face of his own death also constructs him as heroic, and suggests that it is the willingness of individual members of the nation to sacrifice themselves which makes the nation indestructible. This is reminiscent of Renan's assertion that the nation consists of sacrifices its members have made and are willing to make in the future.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, his protestation of innocence constructs the Turkish rulers as unjust oppressors, further emphasising the value of his sacrifice.

Michailidis choses the word 'Ρωμιοσύνη' (Romiosini) to describe the Greek people, both within and outside Cyprus. 'Ρωμιοσύνη' was used in the nineteenth century to refer to the broad category of the 'Greek people', who were not necessarily

¹⁴⁵ Michailidis, *Ποιήματα*, ed. by Vasileiou (2007), p. 98.

¹⁴⁶ See p. 54

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living within the Greek nation-state. A rival term for this group was *Ellinismos*. According to Artemis Leontis, '*Romiosini* is a vernacular coinage [...]. It signifies the national-popular body and its Byzantine-Ottoman-Christian popular heritage, the traditions and language of the *Volk*.'¹⁴⁷ Consequently, Michailidis appears to be constructing Cypriot-Greek identity in the context of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, as opposed to connecting it to an ancient heritage, which was a more common strategy at the time. This association of national identity with the *Volk* is in harmony with his decision to write poetry with literary ambitions in Cypriot-Greek, a local language.

Romiosini is also associated with the church, as Orthodox Christians within the Ottoman Empire, referred to as the *Millet-i Rûm*, came under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which was granted many independent powers by the Sultans, provided the ecclesiastical leaders guaranteed the loyalty of their flock to the Ottoman empire.¹⁴⁸ In this context it would be a fitting description, as Kyprianos is being executed for his alleged failure to prevent his flock from joining the Revolution, which was his responsibility under the *Millet* system. Yet it is important to note that although Michailidis slips into generalization in this passage, throughout the poem Kyprianos emphasizes the significance of his sacrifice as local and specific to the Cypriot Greeks.

The three scenes of temptation, in addition to highlighting the heroic nature of Kyprianos' sacrifice, draw a parallel between Kyprianos and Christ, as they mirror Christ's three temptations in the Judaeen desert. The fact that the national hero for Greek Cyprus is a church leader, as well as the way he is portrayed as a Christ-like

¹⁴⁷ Artemis Leontis, *Topographies of Hellenism: Mapping the Homeland* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 80.

¹⁴⁸ Clogg, p. 11.

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figure in the poem, is indicative of the centrality of Orthodox Christianity in Cypriot-Greek national identity.

The first temptation is delivered by ‘Κκιόρ-ογλους που’τουν καλή, πολλά καλ’ η ψυσιή του’ (Kior-oglous who had a good, very good soul), a Turkish Cypriot, who leaves the meeting the poem begins with to warn Archbishop Kyprianos that he is in danger. He offers to save Kyprianos by smuggling him away from Nicosia before he is arrested.¹⁴⁹ After considering Kior-oglous’ offer, Kyprianos graciously declines, explaining that his escape would result in retaliations against Greek Cypriots:

Εν φεύκω, Κκιόρ-ογλου, γιατί αν φύω, ο φευκός μου
 εν’ να γενεί θανατικόν εις τους ρωμιούς του τόπου.
 Να βάλω την συρτοθηλειάν εις τον λαιμόν του κόσμου;
 Παράν το γαίμαν τους πολλούς εν’ κάλλιον του πισκόπου. (stanza 5, p. 92)

I won’t go, Kior-oglous, because if I go, my leaving
 will cause slaughter among the local Greeks.
 Should I place the noose about the people’s neck?
 Rather than the blood of many better to shed the Archbishop’s.

With this statement, Kyprianos establishes himself as protector of his people. Furthermore, his choice to stay transforms his execution into a willing sacrifice, transforming Kyprianos from victim to hero.

The second temptation takes place when Kyprianos and his colleagues are praying in their cell, awaiting execution. This scene is reminiscent of Christ’s vigil in the garden of Gethsemane before his crucifixion, where his disciples fall asleep when they are meant to be keeping watch over him.¹⁵⁰ The junior bishops, like the disciples, fail to properly support Kyprianos in his vigil. They protest the injustice of being

¹⁴⁹Michailidis, *Ποιήματα*, ed. by Vasileiou (2007), p. 91, stanza 3, hereafter references in parentheses in main text.

¹⁵⁰ Matthew 26: 36-46

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executed for something they have not done. Like Jesus, Kyprianos is the only one who understands the necessity of sacrifice for the salvation of his people.

The moment Kyprianos says their fate is sealed, the son of Kior-oglous appears. He is described in idealized terms: ‘παίδκιος όμορφος, μακρύς τζιαι στολισμένος, / χαρούσιμος, τζι εφάινετουν που γαίμαν τζιαι που σόρταν’ (p. 106, stanza 33, lines 2-3: a handsome boy, tall and adorned, /happy, and seemingly of good family and fortune). The boy’s attractive appearance emphasizes the temptation facing Kyprianos when the boy offers to rescue him: like the boy, the prospect of survival is attractive. He opens a secret door, and offers to smuggle Kyprianos to safety. Kyprianos refuses as before, but the boy protests that he is too embarrassed to return to his father alone. At this point, it appears Kyprianos’ resolution to die may falter, as allowing himself to be rescued would protect the boy from his father’s wrath, making the choice to live no longer entirely selfish. This shows that even the pure of heart can be tempted. A noise at the main door scares the boy away, saving Kyprianos from making a decision.

Ironically, the noise heralds the third temptation, an unnamed Turkish Cypriot, who offers to sabotage the execution by demolishing the gallows and shredding the execution orders. Although it is possible that he is meant to be mocking the incarcerated bishops, he does not get an opportunity to reveal his temptation as a hoax. He is refused most forcefully of all; Kyprianos tells him:

Πάψε τζι εν’ κρίμαν τζι άδικον τα λόγια σου να χάννεις;
 άνου να φύεις γλήγορα, να πας εις την δουλειάν σου
 τζι ο Χάρος εν γλυκύτερος απού την συντυσιάν σου. (stanza 39)

Be silent, it is a crying shame for you to waste your words;
 get up and go quickly, get back to your own business
 because Death is sweeter than your words.

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The progression from polite to firm refusal makes the temptation of the Archbishop with freedom reminiscent of the temptation of Christ in the desert. Although the Devil tempts Christ with different things, the refusals increase in firmness; to the first temptation, Christ responds ‘Γέγραπται, Οὐκ ἐπ’ ἄρτω μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ.’¹⁵¹ (It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.¹⁵²) To the next, he responds ‘Πάλιν γέγραπται· Οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου.’¹⁵³ (‘It is written again, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God’¹⁵⁴) Both of the above are implied refusals given through explanation about why he cannot comply. This is similar to Kyprianos’ refusals of the first two offers of salvation: he explains that he cannot save himself because his departure would leave his people exposed.

However, Kyprianos’ third refusal is more abrupt; he says ‘Death is sweeter than your words’, and he tells the Turk to ‘get up and go quickly’. Christ’s response to the Devil’s final temptation when he offers Christ the world if he will worship him, is similarly final: ‘Ὑπαγε, Σατανᾶ· γέγραπται γάρ· Κύριον τὸν θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις.’¹⁵⁵ (‘Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.’¹⁵⁶) In his final refusal, Christ tells the devil to be gone, and then declares his loyalty to God’s word as his previous refusals. This emphasizes Christ’s agency in this situation: it is his decision to refuse temptation, because he believes in God’s word, it is not God who is forcing him to be loyal.

¹⁵¹ Matthew 4:4

¹⁵² Matthew 4:4, King James edn..

¹⁵³ Matthew 4:7

¹⁵⁴ Matthew 4:7, King James edn..

¹⁵⁵ Matthew 4:10

¹⁵⁶ Matthew 4:10, King James edn..

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In his refusal to be saved by the Turkish Cypriots, Archbishop Kyprianos makes the distance between the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots clearer. By becoming the sacrificial victim for the Greek Cypriot community, Kyprianos enables their becoming a nation distinct from the Turkish Cypriots, for whom he is making no sacrifice; indeed, the sacrifice to the Turkish Cypriots would be for Kyprianos to save himself to assuage their feelings of guilt and sadness, which all of them convey. Narrating his execution as a deliberate sacrifice rather than an imposition gives agency to Kyprianos, transforming him from victim into hero.

Michailidis also distinguishes between Turkish Cypriots and Ottoman Turks; the Turkish Cypriots, as exemplified by Κκιόρ-ογλους and his son, are sympathetic characters, while the Ottomans are the agents of oppression. As Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou put it,

ο ποιητής, παρόλο που αποδίδει αρνητικά τις μορφές των οθωμανών αξιωματούχων, αναφέρεται θετικά στους Τουρκοκυπρίους: διαγράφονται πολύ συμπαθητικά – έως, κάποτε, και με μειωμένη αληθοφάνεια – οι μορφές του καλού Τουρκοκυπρίου Κκιόρ-ογλου και του γιού του.¹⁵⁷

The poet, even though he presents the Ottoman officers in a negative light, refers positively to the Turkish Cypriots: the figures of the good Turkish Cypriot Kkior-oglous and his son are outlined very sympathetically – even, sometimes, reducing the authenticity of their representation.

The positive representation of Turkish Cypriots in Michailidis' poem suggests that in the late nineteenth century Cypriot Greeks saw Turkish Cypriots as a benign presence on the island, and did not assume them to be the agents of the Ottoman rulers. As is evident in Dimitris Lipertis' poem 'Στους τζιυπριώτες μάρτυρες της εννάτης Ιουλίου του 1821, discussed in Chapter 2, this attitude changed by the twentieth century.

¹⁵⁷ Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou, p. 229.

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Michailidis' poem also forges a connection between the executed clergymen of the poem and the physical landscape of Cyprus. In stanza 55, Michailidis describes the blood of the executed clergymen and the murdered shepherd Dimitris who was forced to betray them at start of the narrative, pooling on the ground, and describes the Turks going off to pray and leaving the bodies unburied:

Το γαίμαν εκολύμπωσεν χαμαί στην γην τζι επέσαν
 τζι ελαχταρούσαν τα κορμιά τζι οι τζιεφαλάδες μέσα.
 [...]

 Ακούστην εις τον μιναρέν δειλίς τζι εποσπαστήκαν,
 τζι εφύασιν τζι αφήκαν τους δίχως θαφκίον τζιαι μνήμαν.¹⁵⁸

The blood pooled there on the ground and in it fell
 and languished the bodies and the heads.

[...]

From the Minaret the evening prayer was called and they were torn away
 and went and left them without burial and gravestone.

In the final stanza, representatives of the surviving Cypriot-Greeks go to ask Mousselim-Agas for permission to bury the bodies, and he decrees that they must be left unburied for three days. The denial of proper burial as a means of oppression is reminiscent of the premise of Euripides' *Antigone*; but the detailed descriptions of the blood and the bodies in relation to the nation's soil is part of a narrative which assimilates the nation's dead into the landscape, as will be discussed in relation to Lipertis' poem about the same incident in Chapter 2.

Overall, though this was not his intention, Michailidis' poem 'Η Εννάτη Ιουλίου' enables the establishment of a Cypriot Greek national identity. Archbishop Kyprianos is established as national hero, and the Cypriot Greeks, defined against both Cypriot Turkish people and Ottomans are reborn through the hero's sacrifice. The Cypriot Greeks are also differentiated from the Greeks participating in the Revolution, as it is the Revolutionaries who have indirectly caused the death of

¹⁵⁸ Michailidis, *Ποιήματα*, ed. Vasiliou (2007), p. 117.

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Archbishop Kyprianos by attempting to involve the Cypriot Greeks, who decline to participate because they are peaceful by nature. Consequently, this poem is ideally suited to becoming an emblem of Cypriot-Greek national identity. Yet Michailidis strongly believed in the Greek identity of Cyprus, as is evident from his poem ‘Το Όραμα του Ρωμιού’ (‘The Vision of the Greek’) written shortly before he died in 1917.

Scotland is an older political entity than Cyprus and its recent past is significantly less violent. The moment of the nation’s birth is located further in the past, in the Scottish Wars of Independence, fought against England. Robert Burns has written poetry about the Scottish past, but he approaches the topic quite differently from Michailidis. While Michailidis’ ‘Εννάτη Ιουλίου’ is long, and has aspirations of historical accuracy, Burns’ poems are more lyrical and anthemic.

Like many national poets, Burns celebrates the idea of liberty in many of his historical and political poems. His support of Scottish heroes, the French Revolution and the American war of independence identifies Burns as a supporter of the oppressed and voiceless, a characteristic which appeals to minority literary cultures when choosing a national poet. However, this occasionally made him unpopular with contemporary critics. For example, Robert Nares deplores Burns’ support of the French Revolution in an anonymous review published in 1800 in *British Critic*.¹⁵⁹

In his autobiographical letter to John Moore (August 1787), Burns provides a narrative of his intellectual development, and locates the origins of his poetic inspiration.

¹⁵⁹ Low, p. 156.

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The first two books I read in private, and which gave me more pleasure than any two books I ever read again, were, the life of Hannibal and the history of Sir William Wallace. – Hannibal gave my young ideas such a turn that I used to strut in raptures up and down after the recruiting drum and bagpipe, and wish myself tall enough to be a soldier; while the story of Wallace poured a Scottish prejudice in my veins which will boil along there till the flood-gates of life shut in eternal rest.¹⁶⁰

Thus Burns himself links his earliest literary inspiration to a Scottish national hero, lending his compositions national credibility by association. His professed source of poetic inspiration connects his discovery of poetry to the awakening of his Scottish national consciousness.

This link is a manifestation of the poet's attempts to cast himself as uniquely Scottish in his inspiration. At the same time, it is potentially through this text that Burns himself acquired the desire to become National Poet of Scotland: Hamilton, the translator of Blind Harry's *William Wallace*, was an Ayrshire local, so the biography was littered with place names which would have been familiar to Burns, helping him to link the idea of the Scottish nation to his local roots.¹⁶¹

Burns' Scottish poetic roots find their expression in 'Robert Bruce's March to Bannockburn', which he sent to his publisher George Thompson on 30 August 1793.¹⁶² In the accompanying letter, Burns explains that it is traditionally believed that the air *Hey Tutti Taitie* was Robert Bruce's March at the battle of Bannockburn, which inspired him to write the poem. However, he clarifies that the past alone was not sufficient inspiration: 'I had no idea of giving myself trouble on the Subject, till the accidental recollection of that glorious struggle for Freedom, associated with the

¹⁶⁰ Robert Burns, *The Letters of Robert Burns*, ed. by J. De Lancey Ferguson, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), I, p.104.

¹⁶¹ Robert Crawford, *The Bard: Robert Burns, a Biography* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2009), pp. 47-48.

¹⁶² George Scott Wilkie, *Robert Burns: A Life in Letters* (Glasgow: Neil Wilson, 2011), pp. 344-345.

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glowing ideas of some other struggles of the same nature, not quite so ancient, roused my rhyming Mania'.¹⁶³ This suggests that Burns' real inspiration for the poem was the French Revolution and the ideals it represented; hence Nares' disapproval.

According to Anne Dhu Shapiro, 'originally a bawdy drinking song, [Robert Bruce's March] was converted by Burns into a stirring patriotic rallying cry, supposedly addressed by Robert Bruce to his men at the battle of Bannockburn in 1314.'¹⁶⁴ The poem connects the two national heroes of Scotland, by making Robert the Bruce call on his soldiers in the name of William Wallace. It opens with a reference to bleeding, which establishes the link between nation and landscape through a historical blood sacrifice, like Michailidis' '9^η Ιουλίου 1821'.

Scots, wha hae wi' Wallace bled,
Scots, wham Bruce has aften led,
Welcome to your gory bed,
Or to victorie!¹⁶⁵

The significance of the blood and bodies on the battlefield is reminiscent of Renan's idea that the nation is founded on past sacrifices (see p. 54); the order of terms in this stanza almost suggests that victory is the consolation prize that true nationhood can only be achieved by fusing one's body with the national landscape through death in battle.

The direct tone of the poem gives the sense that it is a call to arms for Burns' readers as much as it is for the long-dead soldiers. The poem covers many of the National Poetic themes, similar to Solomos' 'Hymn to Liberty';¹⁶⁶ there is a glorification of liberty, and reference to the English oppressors, prompting an

¹⁶³ Wilkie, pp. 344-345.

¹⁶⁴ Shapiro, Ann Dhu, 'Sounds of Scotland', *American Music*, no. 8 (1990), pp. 71-83, (p. 78).

¹⁶⁵ Robert Burns, *The Poems and Songs of Robert Burns*, ed. by James Kinsley, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), II, 707.

¹⁶⁶ See pp. 129-130.

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identification of the Scottish self against the English other, and associating this Scottish self with liberty in the process.

In this poem Burns expresses the French Revolution ideal of Liberty as Citizenship, pledging blood in exchange for freedom:

Wha for Scotland's king and law,
Freedom's sword will strongly draw,
Free-man stand or Free-man fa',
Let him follow me. –

By Oppression's woes and pains!
By your sons in servile chains!
We will drain our dearest veins,
But they *shall* be free!

Lay the proud Usurpers low!
Tyrants fall in every foe!
Liberty's in every blow!
Let us Do – or Die!!!¹⁶⁷

Burns uses many emblems of the French Revolutionary discourse: the sword of freedom, the chains of servitude, and crucially, the idea that freedom is attained through the sacrifice of blood. These concepts appear in many poems of the Greek Revolution of the 1820s, as will be discussed below.

According to Murray Pittock, the poem has a resonance in Burns' contemporary Scotland as well as events in the past. He writes:

'Scots Wha Hae' [...] was written in combined reference to the valiant struggles of "the desperate relics of a gallant Nation, devoting themselves to rescue their bleeding Country, or perish with her!" in the fourteenth century, and Thomas Muir, the contemporary nationalist radical with whom Burns identified as the inheritor of the Wars of Independence.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ Burns, *Poems and Songs*, II, 707-708.

¹⁶⁸ Pittock, p. 151.

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Consequently, the poem functions on three historical levels: Robert Bruce, the speaker in the poem, refers his audience back to William Wallace, while Burns is projecting these historical struggles for Scottish independence onto the present.

However, Robert Burns' ideological expressions were of necessity nuanced. As Marilyn Butler points out, Burns' employment by the government as an exciseman meant that he needed to be discreet about any radical ideas he had.¹⁶⁹ Indeed, he faced criticism for being present at an incident at Dumfries Theatre where part of the audience sang 'Ça ira' instead of 'God Save the King'.¹⁷⁰ Consequently, his decision to join the Dumfries Volunteers, and the patriotic verses he wrote during this period, were as much a survival strategy as an expression of a political position. Butler observes that even in his most loyalist verses, Burns remains ambiguous.¹⁷¹ For example, 'The Dumfries Volunteers' ends as follows:

Who will not sing, God Save the King
Shall hang as high's the steeple
But while we sing, God Save the King
We'll ne'er forget the People!¹⁷²

Crawford argues that it is 'hard for anyone with a knowledge of Burns and his work' to read the end of the poem 'without suspecting that what is being signalled here is that it is alright to pay lip-service to the king as long as the cause of the people is always remembered.'¹⁷³ Crawford argues that in Burns' original manuscript he does not follow the contemporary conventions of capitalisation, writing 'king' in small letters, and capitalising 'People', suggesting this betrays a republican tendency in Burns' thinking. Whatever the case, Burns was careful not to be direct with his

¹⁶⁹ Marilyn Butler, 'Burns and Politics', in *Robert Burns and Cultural Authority*, ed. by Robert Crawford (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), pp. 86-112.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

¹⁷² Burns, *Poems and Songs*, II, 766.

¹⁷³ Robert Crawford, 'Robert Burns and the Mind of Europe', in *Robert Burns in Global Culture*, ed. by Murray Pittock (Plymouth: Bucknell University Press, 2011), pp. 47-62, p. 56.

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expression of radical views, which is why the historical theme of ‘Robert Bruce’s March to Bannockburn may have functioned as a helpful smokescreen for the exploration of a radical agenda.

Robert Burns and Vasilis Michailidis engage with the historical past differently, in terms of the way they narrativize events: while Michailidis goes to great lengths to narrate the events of July 1821 in detail, in ‘Robert Bruce’s March to Bannockburn’ Burns does not even explain whom the Scots are being roused against—one reference to ‘proud Edward’s power’ suffices for his audience to know that the enemy are the English, so it seems Burns assumed his readers would have prior knowledge of the events at Bannockburn, which is mentioned only in the title, which is not included in all editions.¹⁷⁴ Similarly, with the exception of the title, Burns does not indicate that Robert the Bruce is the speaker, allowing the voice of poem’s speaker and poet to merge. In particular, the final line of the fourth stanza, ‘Let him follow me!’ casts the poet in the role of the patriotic leader, blurring the line between national poet and national hero.

‘Robert Bruce’s March to Bannockburn’ is in a language easily understood by readers of Standard English. This allows Burns to ensure the exportability of his message, by allowing the poem to be read and understood by a broad range of English language users. However, he subtly signposts the Scottishness of his poem. For example, the regular rhyme between the final line of each stanza, ‘victorie’, ‘flee’, ‘me’, ‘free’ and ‘die’ highlights the Scots pronunciation of ‘Let us do or die!’ without obscuring the meaning for readers of standard English. Burns succeeds in finding the linguistic middle ground, making his voice Scottish enough that it can inspire a

¹⁷⁴ Burns, *Poems and Songs*, II, 707.

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Scottish audience to nationalist feelings, but not quite so Scottish that it alienates foreign readers in search of quaint Scottish character. One is inclined to agree with Pittock's claim that Burns 'brought the songs of a literature which engaged critically with England into English drawing-rooms'.¹⁷⁵ The message of 'Robert Bruce's March to Bannockburn' is both exportable and locally relevant. Burns' poetry is instrumental in the construction of contemporary Scottish identity; as Nairn argues 'nationalism involves the reanimation of one's history,' a project with which Burns' poetry certainly engages.¹⁷⁶

The (un)education of national poets

The issue of education is often prominent in the discussion of the works of both Burns and Michailidis, as it is closely connected to the way that both poets and their work were perceived at the time of publication. It is also considered an important determining factor in their choice to write in their respective local vernaculars. There was, and in many circles still is, a desire to see them as divinely inspired uneducated poets, as this would make them reliable vessels for national identity, uncorrupted by outside influence. Neither poet received higher education, so they lend themselves to this image; however, both received some degree of literary training, which is often played down by critics, and both were more educated than the average person of their time.

Raised on a farm by a poor father with seven children to support, Burns had little formal education. When he was six, Burns' father hired John Murdoch, a recent graduate of Ayr Grammar School, to teach his two eldest sons, Robert and Gilbert.

¹⁷⁵ Pittock, p. 164.

¹⁷⁶ Tom Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism*, 2nd expanded edn (London: NLB, 1981), p. 132.

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Burns' father, William, was educated enough to examine Murdoch before hiring him, and was important for Robert's development after Murdoch left. William encouraged his sons to read, even though he needed their help on the farm, and did his best to aid their intellectual development through conversation.¹⁷⁷

As mentioned on page 95, Burns wrote an account of his own education in an autobiographical letter to John Moore in 1787. The letter tells Burns' life story from his birth until the publication and success of the Kilmarnock edition of his poems, which caused him to abandon a plan to emigrate to Jamaica, and move to Edinburgh instead. The letter is indicative of the function of the poet's past in the construction of his image in his present: Burns frames his autobiographical narrative in terms of justifying Moore's interest in him, and attempts to demonstrate his acquisition of qualities that Moore might find attractive in a poet:

You have done me the honour to interest yourself very warmly in my behalf; and I think a faithful account of, what character of a man I am, and how I came by that character, may perhaps amuse you in an idle moment.¹⁷⁸

Burns constructs a version of his past that credits people like Moore for his poetic development. Although he records his childhood precociousness, he does so in a joking, self-deprecating manner, emphasizing the contribution of his socially superior friends to his intellectual development: he says they gave him books, and one of them taught him French.¹⁷⁹ This is an indirect way of showing his appreciation for John Moore's friendship: Burns claims all his intellectual achievements result from the kindness of friends. Thus he credits John Moore, whom he repeatedly thanks for his friendship, with his success as a poet.

¹⁷⁷ Crawford, *The Bard*, p.50.

¹⁷⁸ Burns, *Letters*, p. 104.

¹⁷⁹ Burns, *Letters*, p. 107.

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Although he plays down the extent of his reading, Burns lists the works he considers to have been formative of his understanding of the world. The length and variety of this list suggests that he was well read. He lists fifteen respected authors in a single paragraph, including Shakespeare, Locke and Pope.¹⁸⁰ He also uses citations throughout the letter which demonstrate his erudition, from Shakespeare, Pope, Milton and the Bible. In this letter, Burns says he is an uneducated farmer who dabbles in verse ('I first committed the sin of rhyme'; 'I now began to be known in the neighbourhood as a maker of rhymes'). However, his writing style, use of citations and references to his reading in the same letter show that he is a well-read able writer. This is indicative of the illusory nature of Burns the poet-ploughman.

It was similarly clear from Burns' use of epigraphs in his poetry that he had read widely. His poetic epigraphs were a public display of his learning, which makes the willingness of people to ignore it all the more noteworthy. As Fiona Stafford argues in *Starting Lines in Scottish, Irish and English Poetry*, Burns' use of epigraphs shows that he had both read a substantial amount of English canonical literature, but had also understood it: each poem where an epigraph is used interacts with the epigraph's source-text.¹⁸¹ Yet the apparent erudition of his work has not raised Burns entirely out of the stereotype of rustic bard. In *Scottish and Irish Romanticism*, Murray Pittock argues that Burns must be 'divorced from the false paradigm into which he is consigned by a contemporary literary history which equates deviation from standard English with an inadequate command of it.'¹⁸² This suggests that the cause of Burns' perceived lack of education was his choice to write in Scots;

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 109.

¹⁸¹ Fiona Stafford, *Starting Lines in Scottish, Irish and English Poetry: From Burns to Heaney* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 43-90.

¹⁸² Pittock, pp. 164-165.

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however, it appears that Burns was interested in maintaining the image of rustic bard, because at the time it was a good selling point for his work.

Burns' contemporaries seemed happy to ignore his learning, and he did not discourage them. When the Kilmarnock edition was published, the sentimental novelist and critic Henry Mackenzie wrote a review, in which he praised the collection, and emphasized Burns' humble background:

Though I am very far from meaning to compare our rustic bard with Shakespeare, yet whoever will read his lighter and more humorous poems [...] will perceive with what uncommon penetration and sagacity this Heaven-taught ploughman, from his humble and unlettered station, has looked upon men and manners.¹⁸³

Mackenzie's review is positive overall, but here he contextualizes Burns as a particular type of poet, a *rustic* bard, not comparable to Shakespeare, 'The Bard'. It is likely because Burns occupied this position outside the mainstream of English literature that his work could be enjoyed without its difference being interpreted as a threat to the English cultural establishment.

The description of Burns as 'Heaven-taught ploughman' was indicative of the way he was perceived by the gatekeepers of 'high' culture in Scotland, but also integral to his success as a poet. As Marilyn Butler explains,

The adjective [Heaven-taught] had a special significance at the time: it conveyed the rationalist and intrinsically democratic precept that right reason was universally available (without of course implying, as some modern commentators appear to think, that Burns was uneducated).¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ Low, pp. 69-70.

¹⁸⁴ Robert Crawford, ed. *Robert Burns and Cultural Authority* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 69-70.

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By applying this adjective to the noun ‘ploughman’, Mackenzie suggests that Burns’ experience of divine inspiration results from his closeness to the land through his occupation as ploughman; this is precisely what Burns implies in his description of his poetic awakening in the letter to John Moore (see p. 104).

Though the adjective ‘heaven-taught’ doesn’t imply lack of education, Mackenzie’s reference to Burns’ ‘humble and unlettered station’ does. Yet it is suggested that this humble and unlettered condition makes Burns the ideal vessel for divine inspiration: education is a hindrance to true poetic expression. By emphasizing his lack of formal education, Mackenzie presents Burns as a poet by nature, a genius whose poetry is superior to that of the educated non-genius, if not to that of the great English poets. The sentiment is echoed in James Montgomery’s 1809 unsigned review:

It was probably fortunate for Burns, that by a partial education his mind was only cleared of the forests, and drained of the morasses, that in a state of unbroken nature intercept the sun, chill the soil, and forbid the growth of generous thought; higher cultivation would unquestionably have called forth richer and fairer harvests, but it would have so softened away the wild and magnificent diversity that makes the objects within the range of his genius resemble the rocks and mounds, the lakes and glens of his native country, that, instead of being first and unrivalled among the Scottish minstrels, he might with difficulty have maintained a place in the third rank of British poets.¹⁸⁵

The consensus of Burns’ reviewers was that the attraction of his work was that it was different from the English and British cultural establishment: the value of his poetry lay in its Scottish identity. What most of his reviewers overlooked was that Burns was capable of writing in English and did not lack the education to write in the styles

¹⁸⁵ Low, pp. 211-212.

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popular in London. He chose a Scottish poetic identity. Burns was not anxious to point this out, because he understood the appeal of his work was linked to his image as rustic bard.

Burns cultivated his rustic image with the Edinburgh literati. According to Robert Anderson, who helped publicize the Kilmarnock edition,

It was, I know, part of the machinery, as he called it, of his poetical character to pass for an illiterate ploughman who wrote from pure inspiration. When I pointed out some evident traces of poetical inspiration in his verses, privately, he readily acknowledged his obligations and even admitted the advantages he enjoyed in poetical composition from the *copia verborum*, the command of phraseology, which the knowledge and use of the English and Scottish dialects afforded him; but in company he did not suffer his pretensions to pure inspiration to be challenged, and it was seldom done where it might be supposed to affect the success of the subscription for his *Poems*.¹⁸⁶

Robert Anderson's reference to Burns' 'machinery' of 'poetical character' implies that Burns was aware of the artificially constructed nature of his poetic identity, even if his readers were not. Furthermore, he was aware of the potential effect of his poetic image on the sales of his collection, and took action to shape it in such a way that he reflected contemporary attitudes about poetry. Therefore, Burns was complicit in the creation of his image as 'Rustic Bard', and he laid the foundations for its continuation after his death.

Robert Anderson also claims that Burns was aware that his fluency in the Scots dialect was an asset to his capability of expression, rather than a sign of rusticity. Burns' use of Scots to control his self-presentation to his readers is also

¹⁸⁶ Jeremy J. Smith, 'Copia Verborum: The Linguistic Choices of Robert Burns', *Review of English Studies* 58 (2007), pp. 73-88, (p. 4).

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evident in his letter to Moore. In particular, Burns claims his poetic awakening took place the summer before he turned sixteen, when his harvest partner was a young girl. He writes: 'My scarcity of English denies me the power of doing her justice in that language; but you know the Scottish idiom. She was a bonnie, sweet, sonsie lass.'¹⁸⁷ Burns' pretence at being unable to express his feelings in English simultaneously downplays his erudition and constructs Scots as a language more suited to the expression of true emotion, a characteristic typically projected onto marginal languages considered 'more primitive', as will be discussed in Part 2.

In his description of the summer of his discovery of love and verse, Burns combines intense emotions, poetry and the Scottish landscape. The awakening of his poetic self comes as a result both of his falling in love and of the effects of working the land; Scotland and the object of his affections are brought together symbolically as he describes picking thistles, the national emblem of Scotland, out of her hands.

The poem Burns claims to have written as a result of this encounter is connected to both the landscape and the folk-culture of Scotland, as he was allegedly inspired to write the words to the girl's favourite tune, which she would hum while working the fields. He explains that he was not intimidated by this tune, because it was by the son of a minor laird who was no more educated than Burns. He claims that he 'was not so presumptive as to imagine that I could make verses like printed ones, composed by men who had Greek and Latin.' This is an ironic statement, as the Kilmarnock edition was published in 1786, a year before this letter was written; Burns' verses were not 'like' printed ones, they were in print. This story links Burns'

¹⁸⁷ Burns, *Letters*, p. 108.

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poetry directly to the land, as the poem is inspired by working on the land. It also links Burns' poetry to a specific locality: it is a local tune that inspires the poem.

The epigraph of the Kilmarnock edition emphasizes the conscious nature of Burns' construction of his poetic self:

The Simple Bard, unbroke by rules of Art,
He pours the wild effusions of the heart:
And if inspir'd, 'tis Nature's pow'rs inspire;
Her's all the melting thrill, and her's the kindling fire.¹⁸⁸

Burns' denial of any poetic education contributes to his creation of a public image that is in line with what a nation like Scotland might expect of a national poet; the 'rules of Art' are the province of the culturally dominant neighbour, so his poetic expression outside them makes his poems more relevant to the creation of a Scottish cultural identity. By introducing himself as 'The simple Bard, unbroke by rules of Art', Burns is positioning himself outside the conventional literary world culturally dominated by England, and aligning himself with 'natural' poetic expression: 'And if inspir'd, 'tis Nature's pow'rs inspire; / Her's all the melting thrill, and her's the kindling fire.'

A similar message is sent by the rhyming couplet used to preface the first three editions of Vasilis Michailidis' poetry:

Συ που σκοτώθης για το φως σήκου να δεις τον ήλιο,
ξύπνα, να δεις το αίμα σου πως έγινε βασίλειο¹⁸⁹

You who were killed for the light arise and see the sun
Awake, to see how your blood has become a kingdom.

While Michailidis' lines do not refer directly to the nature of his poetry, they suggest that he is a poet inspired by folk culture, as they are written in the style of *poietarides*, in a rhyming couplet of fifteen-syllable lines. Furthermore, they are dedicated to the

¹⁸⁸ Robert Burns, *Poems: Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* (Kilmarnock: John Wilson, 1786), title page.

¹⁸⁹ Vasilis Michailidis, *Ποιήματα* (Limassol: [n.pub.], 1911), title page.

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hanged archbishop, presumably Kyprianos, so they locate his poetic inspiration in the history of Cyprus, just as Burns locates his poetic inspiration in the Scottish landscape by describing himself as the ‘Simple Bard’, inspired by ‘Nature’s pow’rs’.

A significant aspect of Romantic poetics was that poetry was considered to be an expression of pure sentiment, uninterrupted by intellect, which is in line with the image Burns cultivated of himself. This theory originated in the eighteenth century. As M. H. Abrams explains, in *The Mirror and the Lamp*,

The Lucretian theory that language began as spontaneous expression of feeling was bound sometime to merge with the concurrent belief that the first elaborated form of language was poetic, into the doctrine that poetry preceded prose *because* poetry is the natural expression of feeling.¹⁹⁰

This argument was put forward by Giambattista Vico in his *Scienza Nuova*, published in 1725, where he paralleled poetry with imagination and instinct.¹⁹¹ The idea that poetry was associated with nature and divorced from reason and intellect pre-dated both Burns and the Romantics; it was enthusiastically espoused by critics and readers of poetry during Burns’ lifetime, and became central to the perception of poetry during the Romantic period. This explains the desire to present Burns as a ‘Heaven-taught ploughman’, despite his evident learning, and why Burns encouraged this image. Burns was considered the quintessential natural poet for the Romantics, many of whom, such as Keats and Wordsworth, visited his grave.

As in the case of Scotland, the linguistic situation in Cyprus is complex, involving multiple languages competing for space, and differs in each historical period. Assessing Michailidis’ level of education is made complicated by the

¹⁹⁰ M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 79.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

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multiplicity of languages in use in nineteenth-century Cyprus. Rather than a simple dichotomy between the language of the centre and local dialect, there were three registers of language in his linguistic community: Cypriot Greek, Katharevousa and Demotic. Judgements of Michailidis' education or lack thereof often focus on his language use; it is commonly suggested, for example, that he was not well educated, because he made errors in Katharevousa, and wrote his best poems in dialect.

Though we know less detail about Michailidis' education than about Burns', it is generally accepted that he did have formal education as a child in Cyprus. He also went to Italy to study painting, between 1875 and 1876. He abandoned that venture, partly through lack of funds, and partly to join the Greek army as a volunteer in the Greek campaign against the Ottomans in Thessaly (1877-1878).

It is not known precisely where or when Michailidis learned to read and write; it is assumed he learned when he was fostered by his uncle Chrysanthos Papakonomos, after the death of his mother. Nikos Xioutas, editor of the 1960 edition of Michailidis' poems, describes Papakonomos as 'ποιητάρη, ζωγράφο' ('poietaris, painter'), suggesting that he was both creative and engaged in the cultural traditions of Cyprus.¹⁹² Xioutas, Indianos and Katsouris suggest that the artistic inclination of his uncle enabled Michailidis to develop a poetic sensibility. According to Katsouris, both Michailidis's father and his uncle were engaged in the tradition of the poietarides, Cypriot folk poets.¹⁹³ Consequently, it is likely he was exposed to Cypriot-Greek folk poetry and a broader range of folk poetry in Greek through his father and uncle. His influence by the poietarides at least is evident in his writing.

¹⁹² Michailidis, *Ποιήματα*, ed. by Xioutas (1960), p. 6.

¹⁹³ See page 69.

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Because Michailidis showed promise as a painter, he was sent to Nicosia to study religious icon-painting under Kyprianos Oikonomidis, though it is not known when. Based on Oikonomidis' arrival in Nicosia, it is assumed that Michailidis travelled there after 1863. It is also unknown whether Michailidis attended the Hellenic School in Nicosia, as the school's records were destroyed in a fire in the 1930s.¹⁹⁴ Though Xioutas claims that he did, Katsouris argues that this is unlikely, because there is an advertisement for his first poetry collection in the Limassol newspaper 'Αλήθεια' ('Truth'), which states that the poet was, unfortunately, never able to attend the higher grades of the mutual-instruction primary school.¹⁹⁵ However, this is not conclusive proof, as the author of the advertisement could have been exaggerating Michailidis' lack of education to endear him to readers. Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou claim that he lived at the Archbishopric as a boarder, and attended the Hellenic school and had lessons in religious icon painting concurrently, though they do not indicate how they were able to ascertain this without the school's records.¹⁹⁶ Michailidis attempted to expand his education later in life under Andreas Themistokleous but had limited success, according to Katsouris, who maintains that the fact that his spelling continued to be erratic was proof that he remained uneducated.¹⁹⁷

In his biography of Michailidis, Yiannis Katsouris presents Michailidis as a divinely inspired, uneducated poet, describing his formal schooling as 'insignificant':

Ο Μιχαηλίδης, παρ' όλη την αποδεδειγμένη
ασήμαντη σχολική του μόρφωση, κατάφερε, με την
έμφυτη εξυπνάδα του και την προσαρμοστικότητα

¹⁹⁴ Katsouris, p. 85.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 122.

¹⁹⁶ Kechagioglou and Papaleontiou, p. 223.

¹⁹⁷ Katsouris, pp. 84 and 105.

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του, να μάθει σχετικά καλά την ελληνική γλώσσα και την ιστορία του ελληνισμού της Κύπρου¹⁹⁸

Michailidis, despite his proven insignificant schooling, managed, through his innate intelligence and his adaptability, to learn the Greek language and the history of the Greeks of Cyprus relatively well.

The emphasis on the ‘innate’ qualities of the poet and undermining of the significance of his education presents an essentialist image of the poet as a naturally-occurring genius, suggesting that true poetry cannot be learned.

Katsouris’ assessment of Michailidis education marginalizes Cypriot-Greek authors. In particular, his claim that Michailidis managed to ‘learn the Greek language relatively well’ suggests that Michailidis’ native Cypriot Greek is not a Greek language. Furthermore, by paralleling ‘learning Greek’ and education, Katsouris denies Cypriot Greek the status of literary language, as it implies that in order to be educated, one must speak and write in Standard Modern Greek; this marginalizes Cypriot writers in relation to the Greek centre.

Emilios Chourmouzos, in his introduction to Michailidis’ 1911 *Ποιήματα* (*Poems*), is impressed by the poet’s learning given his scarcity of formal education; as he writes when discussing ‘Η Εννάτη Ιουλίου’, ‘φωτίζει δ’ έστιν ότε και γνώσις τις της πατρίου ιστορίας, ατελής βεβαίως, καθόσον – τις θα το πιστεύση; - ο ποιητής μας ουδέ της στοιχειώδους καν παιδείσεως υπήρξε ποτέ τρόφιμος.’¹⁹⁹ (‘He also also shows glimpses of knowledge of the history of the homeland, incomplete of course, as – who would believe it? – our poet never even received the basics of education.’) Expressing wonder at the poet’s lack of education reinforces the idea that poetry that

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 175.

¹⁹⁹ Michailidis, *Ποιήματα* (1911), p. β’.

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is the result of natural genius is more valuable or genuine than poetry that results from learned skills.

This sense of wonder at the achievements of the poet despite his lack of education in later biographers develops into an argument that education would have prevented the poet from expressing the spirit of Cypriot-Greek culture as clearly, similar to James Montgomery's ideas about Burns' education cited above (see p. 102). Katsouris repeatedly states that it is fortunate that Michailidis was not formally educated for too long, as this may have spoiled his poetic integrity. For example, he claims it is highly unlikely Michailidis attended secondary school, and that this was fortunate, because had he completed his education, 'ίσως να εξελισσόταν αργότερα σε καθαρολόγο, ψυχρό ποιητή, όπως τόσοι άλλοι της γενιάς του. Και πάλι με τα λίγα γράμματα που έμαθε, δεν απέφυγε πάντοτε τον κίνδυνο' ('he may have later turned into a purist [advocate of Katharevousa], cold poet, like so many others of his generation. Even with the few letters he did learn, he did not always evade the danger).²⁰⁰

This assessment of Michailidis' education and the effects it had on his writing discounts the element of choice from his decision to write in Cypriot Greek, suggesting he turned to writing in Cypriot Greek because he did not have the education or ability to write in Katharevousa; yet his choice of subject matter in his Cypriot-Greek poems would suggest that his choice of language was motivated as much by ideology as it was by ease of expression.

In Xioutas' introduction to the 1960 *Ποιήματα (Poems)*, a more positive view is expressed of Michailidis' works in Katharevousa. Xioutas describes Michailidis as

²⁰⁰ Katsouris, p. 84.

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‘θύμα της αρχαιοπληξίας της εποχής του’ (‘a victim of the obsession with antiquity of his time’), but he describes Michailidis’ poetry in Katharevousa as competent, though unable to stand the test of time: ‘ο στίχος του, σ’ όποια γλώσσα κι αν γράφει, πάντα είναι ευκίνητος και καθαρός, διαυγέστατο το νόημά του και μουσικότητα η φωνή του’ (‘his verse, whichever language he writes in, is always agile and clean, his meaning most clear and his voice most musical’).²⁰¹ However, Xioutas goes on to emphasize the superiority of Michailidis’ writing in Cypriot Greek:

Άφθαστος όμως και σ’ αυτά είναι όταν γράφει στην Κυπριωτική διάλεκτο, γιατί είναι η πραγματικά δική του φυσική γλώσσα, που την ξέρει χορταστικά και κινείται άνετα, ενώ τις άλλες, καθαρεύουσα και δημοτική, ποτέ δεν τις καλόμαθε κι ούτε του ήταν δυνατό να τις καλομάθει.²⁰²

But he is inimitable at these when he writes in the Cypriot dialect, because it truly is his natural language, which he knows intimately and in which he moves comfortably, while the others, Katharevousa and Demotic, he never learned well, nor was it possible for him to learn them well.

Here Xioutas seems to be arguing that Michailidis is a non-native speaker of mainland modern Greek, rather than that he is uneducated. While Michailidis’ loose grasp of Katharevousa does indicate that his formal education was limited, it is not so much his limited linguistic ability that results in poor poetry when he chooses to write in Katharevousa as it is his choice of poetic models. The poetry of the First Athenian School has not aged well, and neither have Michailidis’ imitations of it.

Katsouris suggests we should be thankful for the incompleteness of Michailidis’ education, and especially thankful that he wasn’t influenced too strongly by Themistokleous, because ‘ίσως να χάναμε μια για πάντα έναν ποιητή που

²⁰¹ Michailidis, *Ποιήματα*, ed. by Xioutas (1960), p. 12.

²⁰² Ibid.

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εκφραζόταν σωστά, μόνον όταν άφηνε τη λαϊκότητά του ελεύθερη' ('perhaps we would have lost once and for all a poet who expressed himself correctly only when he let his folk character free').²⁰³ The use of the word 'correctly' to describe Michailidis' expression in Cypriot Greek implies a value judgment of both poetry and poet relating to the latter's identity: as a Cypriot-Greek poet, Michailidis should write in Cypriot Greek. Michailidis produced poetry in all three registers of Greek, much of which showed poetic ability despite his spelling. It appears that the definition of education is modified depending on how educated critics want the poet to be. The fact that Xioutas in 1960 was more positive about Michailidis' poems in mainland modern Greek than Katsouris in 1987 suggests that a different image of the poet is being constructed in these two situations.

Overall, there is a tendency to downplay the educational background of the National Poets of both Cyprus and Scotland. Though there is little evidence of where and how Michailidis was educated, it is evident from his poetry that he did receive some historical and linguistic education in Cyprus; however, critics often interpret lack of evidence as evidence of lack, favouring an image of Michailidis as a rustic, uneducated poet. Though there is more evidence of the educational background of Robert Burns, from his letters, epigraphs, and the writings of his family and friends, this has also often been downplayed by both critics and the poet himself in favour of presenting him as a 'heaven-taught ploughman', inspired directly by the Scottish landscape. This suggests a stereotype for the Western national poet: a poor man of the people, close to the soil, disconnected from the intellectual elite: the national poet must be a Heaven-taught ploughman. It is this perceived connection

²⁰³ Katsouris, p. 105.

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between poet and landscape that makes the national poet useful for the evocation of a common identity, the foundation of an imagined community.

Though they belong to different historical periods, Michailidis and Burns occupy similar places in the Cypriot-Greek and Scottish narratives of national identity. Both engaged with the national past, writing poems suitable for the creation of a nationalist narrative, which create national heroes and demonstrate how the present nation owes its existence to heroic sacrifices made in the past. Vasilis Michailidis' 'Η Επνάτη Ιουλίου' is a narrative poem which attempts to position itself as a trustworthy historical source, while Burns' 'Robert Bruce's March to Bannockburn' is a lyrical piece more suited to performance, and favouring emotion over detail; yet both fulfill the function of a national text, creating heroes who are specifically Cypriot-Greek and Scottish, regardless of the accuracy of these historical claims.

Chapter 2: Finding the *Volksgeist*: Oral and Literary Poetry in Dialogue

Despite the emphasis on the significance of the ‘National Poet’ in official representations of literary tradition, there are other poets of equal importance in the establishment of a national literary tradition. In countries such as Scotland and Cyprus, where the absence of linguistic uniformity leads to and expresses various literary and political tensions, poets who engage with folk literature are instrumental in the establishment of a literary tradition distinguishable from that of culturally dominant neighbours. One means of engagement is the collection and publication of traditional oral texts. In both Scotland and Cyprus intellectuals have collected folk tales and poems, which have found their way into ‘high’ literature. Furthermore, in both places the connections of new writing with folk traditions have been exaggerated in order to link contemporary literature to the national past.

In Cyprus, Dimitris Lipertis (1866-1937) has been described as a collector of folk language, wisdom and customs, travelling the island and mixing with common people to collect their stories and songs. For example, in his history of Cypriot literature, Kleitos Ioannidis claims that through a series of agricultural jobs, Lipertis developed an understanding of the Cypriot countryside and rustic people:

Οι μετακινήσεις του από επαρχία σε επαρχία και από χωριό σε χωριό τον πλούτισαν και τον φόρτισαν συγκινησιακά με ότι καλύτερο σε ήθος και γλώσσα είχε να του προσφέρει η Κυπριακή ψυχή, την οποία θα εκφράσει και θα καταξιώσει τέλεια μέσα στην ποίησή του, τη γραμμένη στην Κυπριακή τοπιολαλιά.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁴ Kleitos Ioannides, *Ιστορία της νεότερης Κυπριακής λογοτεχνίας* (Nicosia: Kentro Epistimonikon Erevnon Kyprou, 1986).

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His movements from county to county and from village to village enriched him and charged him emotionally with the best, in terms of customs and language, the Cypriot soul had to offer, which he would express and honour perfectly through his poetry written in the Cypriot local dialect.

Ioannidis constructs Lipertis as a poet in communion with the landscape and the common people, giving voice to the naturally-occurring Cypriot(-Greek) soul. However, according to Pavlos Paraskevas, there is evidence that he actually drew the majority of his knowledge of the Cypriot-Greek people from Athanasios Sakellarios' *Τα Κυπριακά*, a three-volume encyclopedic work on Cypriot geography, history, language and culture first published between 1855 and 1863, and reprinted in 1890. This is evident from the fact that he uses many words from the glossary Sakellarios includes in his work, that were subsequently proven to have been misunderstood by Sakellarios.²⁰⁵ Paraskevas also observes that Lipertis borrows several Cypriot-Greek proverbs from Sakellarios.

There is no doubt that Lipertis engaged with Cypriot-Greek tradition; although he wrote his two first collections in mainland Modern Greek, his mature poems are in Cypriot Greek, published in four volumes entitled *Τζυπριώτικα Τραούδκια* (Cypriot Songs). Lipertis tried to make the Cypriot-Greek language more suitable for literary use by expunging loanwords from Turkish as far as possible, which suggests a nationalist angle to his work. Paraskevas argues that he was not especially successful in this endeavour.²⁰⁶

In Scotland, many writers also collected and edited, or rewrote, folk poetry, Robert Burns included. Walter Scott (1771-1832) collected ballads from the border area between Scotland and England, which he published in *The Minstrelsy of the*

²⁰⁵ Dimitris Lipertis, *Άπαντα* (Nicosia: Ekdoseis Chr. Andreou, 1988), pp. 19-20.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 18-19.

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Scottish Border (1802-1803). He was greatly influenced by the ballad tradition in his poetry, and reproduced Scottish language and customs in his historical novels, creating an image of Scotland simultaneously reflective of local truths and accessible to outsiders. Lipertis and Scott were both instrumental in the creation of a national literature in Cyprus and Scotland respectively.

Walter Scott

Walter Scott (1771-1832) had as formative an effect on the articulation of Scottish identity as Robert Burns. Like Burns, Scott achieved great literary success in his lifetime. Indeed, Lord Byron estimated in 1813 that Scott was more popular than Rogers, Moore, Campbell, Southey, Wordsworth and Coleridge.²⁰⁷ Although Byron claims to be expressing the opinions of the public rather than his own with his ranking, he describes Scott as ‘undoubtedly the Monarch of Parnassus, and the most *English* of bards’, showing that Byron had great respect for Scott as well.²⁰⁸ It is interesting that Byron describes him as ‘most *English*’, given that both Scott and Byron were Scottish. The characterisation suggests that it was possible to have Scottish and English identities in parallel.

Indeed, Scott was a firm supporter of the Union, but was simultaneously dedicated to the preservation of Scottish culture within the United Kingdom. Scott’s approach to Scottish identity highlights the distinction between Scotland as a political and cultural entity, suggesting there can be national identity without this being embodied by a nation-state. Scott’s Scottishness resembles the rhetoric of the Society for the Vindication of Scottish Rights (founded 1853), who argued for increased Scottish representation, but toasted the British monarchy at the start of each meeting.²⁰⁹

Scott’s literary success was not limited to the United Kingdom; his poems were read widely across Europe, and often translated. As a result of his popularity with foreign readers, Scott’s presentation of Scottish culture had a shaping influence

²⁰⁷ James Reed, *Sir Walter Scott: Landscape and Locality* (London: Athlone, 1980), p. 23.

²⁰⁸ Byron, Baron George Gordon Byron, and Thomas Moore, eds. *Life, Letters and Journals of Lord Byron, Complete in One Volume with Notes* (London: John Murray, 1839), p. 206.

²⁰⁹ *Acts of Union*, p. 92.

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on how Scotland was perceived from abroad; as Grosby and Leoussi explain, ‘Scott’s narrative poems helped to define Scottish national identity within Great Britain. Scottish customs, speech, dress and landscape first became widely known through Scott’s narrative poems.’²¹⁰

Scott was interested in Scottish history, which led to a detailed evocation of the past in most of his works. According to David Daiches, ‘Scott was led into history by his deep emotional involvement with the recent past of his own country, and what this involvement taught him he then applied to other times and other countries.’²¹¹

Though he was born in Edinburgh, Scott grew up in the Borders, where he acquired a taste for both the local dialect and folk tales. Scott began his literary career with a translation of two ballads by Gottfried August Bürger, a German poet who had translated Ossianic poetry.²¹² Scott then turned to Scotland, with the publication of *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, which consisted of a collection of traditional ballads from the Borders region. Although this can be read as ‘an emphatic public statement of Scott’s local attachments’, the idea of collecting ballads, and of the importance of regional traditions, was imported from Germany.²¹³ It has been argued that Scott’s desire to write poetry arose from the desire to enter the Edinburgh literary establishment. As Stafford puts it,

Scott’s debut as a poet resulted from a desire to follow
the latest literary fashion and to excel others in the

²¹⁰ Steven Elliott Grosby and Athena S. Leoussi, *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism: History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 90.

²¹¹ David Daiches, ‘Scott and Scotland’, in *Scott Bicentenary Essays: Selected Papers Read at the Sir Walter Scott Bicentenary Conference [Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, University of Edinburgh, 15-21 August 1971]*, ed. by Alan Bell (Edinburgh and London: Scottish Academic Press, 1973), pp. 38-57, (p. 39).

²¹² Gottfried August Bürger, *The chase, and William and Helen, two ballads from the German*, trans. by Walter Scott (Edinburgh: John Murray, 1807)

²¹³ Fiona Stafford, *Local Attachments: The Province of Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 136.

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field. It was hardly an expression of local attachment or a serious attempt to uphold the traditions of his nation. And yet, as is often the case, personal ambition rapidly led to the discovery of things of wider significance and to the recognition of local work as a legitimate basis for serious art.²¹⁴

Despite his personal ambitions at the outset, and perhaps because of the literary climate he was writing in, Scott's poetry came not only to express and disseminate the traditions of Scotland, but also to shape them. The legitimatization of local culture was already well under way in Germany, and resulted in interest from the most established poets in traditional literatures across the world.

Scott's first two publications are indicative of the influences on his own poetry, which he started to publish soon after the *Minstrelsy*. He wrote nine long narrative poems, of which the most famous are *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805), *Marmion* (1808), *The Lady of the Lake* (1810), and *Rokeby* (1813). After he turned to prose, Scott continued to compose short poems which he incorporated in his novels. Today, Scott's novels are held in far higher regard than his poetry. However, his poetry is still appreciated in terms of his treatment of his local surroundings, which was new in many ways, and, like Macpherson's *Ossian*, influenced many Romantic poets. According to James Reed, 'taken on its own terms, Scott's poetry is effective insofar as it uses the natural physical environment and its associations to increase the reader's awareness not only of, say, the medieval Borders, but of the rich potential of his own locality.'²¹⁵

The Lay of the Last Minstrel was written with the declared purpose of illustrating 'the customs and manners which anciently prevailed on the Borders of

²¹⁴ *Local Attachments*, p. 137.

²¹⁵ Reed, p. 24.

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England and Scotland'.²¹⁶ In his introduction to the poem, Scott explains his choice of subject, saying 'The inhabitants, living in a state partly pastoral and partly warlike, and combining habits of constant depredation with the influence of a rude spirit of chivalry, were often engaged in scenes highly susceptible of poetical ornament.'²¹⁷ This statement is indicative of contemporary poetic fashion: some subjects were considered more 'susceptible' to poetry than others, and Scott's success resulted partly from his ability to distinguish between them.

An anonymous review published in the *Literary Journal* in the same year, describes Scott's project as follows:

The author of this poem has already distinguished himself by his regard to the remains of the minstrelsy of the Scottish border. He has now attempted to imitate what he admired; or rather to dress in such a garb as may not disgust a modern taste, the manners and customs of the Scottish borderers which are handed down to us by tradition, and by the remains of their poetry.²¹⁸

One could argue that this is very similar to what James Macpherson was doing in the Ossian poems. The main difference, of course, is that Scott describes himself as an author, while Macpherson presented himself as a translator of a text which turned out not to exist in the form he claimed it did.²¹⁹ The line between author and translator/collector remains somewhat blurred in the case of Scott, because Scott describes himself as a collector of ballads in the case of *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish*

²¹⁶ Walter Scott, *The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott: With the Author's Introductions and Notes*, ed. by J. Logie Robertson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913), p. 1.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

²¹⁸ John O. Hayden, ed., *Scott: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge, 1970), p. 25.

²¹⁹ Whatever judgement is made of Macpherson's work, the fact remains that the Ossian poems do have sources in Gaelic, which were not accessible to most Scottish readers. Therefore, Macpherson's translations were necessary for the dissemination of the material, and his embellishments can be compared to alterations made by other collectors to folk material. The outraged response to his 'forgeries' was partly due to the enhanced status of epics as compared with ballads, which makes their origins more important.

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Border, while in fact he extensively revised many of the collected poems, and wrote some of them entirely.

Nevertheless, the two poets were saying different things about Scottish literature: Macpherson's 'hoax' suggested that Scotland needed to invent a great ancient bard to compete with Homer, while Scott showed that one could write new poetry which 'may not disgust a modern taste' based on the traditions of the Scottish borders. Both are glorifying the Scottish past; but Macpherson's Ossianic deception condemns his admirers to disappointment, while Scott's fictional 'Last Minstrel' satisfied the desire for a beautified Scottish past without the sense of betrayal. Walter Scott's *Last Minstrel* is a strikingly similar character to Macpherson's Ossian: a blind ragged bard, last of his race. Macpherson inherited the idea from Gaelic tradition, but Scott was likely exposed to it through him.²²⁰

Stuart Kelly argues that the revelation of Macpherson's deception led Scott to write about Scotland: 'for the young Scott, [...] Ossian was a problem. It had inflicted a national cringe. It was the most successful ever version of Scottishness, and it was a fake'.²²¹ However, all images of the nation have some element of ideological construction inherent in them, and require an act of faith to be accepted. In terms of exporting an image of Scotland, the debatable origins of Macpherson's Ossianic epics had next to no effect on their success. While they were condemned in academic circles, they were consumed avidly by readers and influenced many authors, because they resonated with the aesthetic of the period.

²²⁰ Howard Gaskill, ed., *The Reception of Ossian in Europe*, series ed. Elinor Shaffer, The Athlone Critical Traditions Series: The Reception of British Authors in Europe (Bristol: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004), p. 3.

²²¹ Stuart Kelly, *Scott-land: The Man Who Invented a Nation* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2010), p. 29.

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Furthermore, Scott's reaction to the Ossian scandal did not seem like a 'cringe'. In his 1805 review of two inquiries into the authenticity of Macpherson's poems, Laing's and Mackenzie's, he concludes that although the poems are probably not really ancient, they are still valuable:

while we are compelled to renounce the pleasing idea that 'Fingal lived, and that Ossian sung', our national vanity may be equally flattered by the fact, that a remote and almost barbarous corner of Scotland, produced, in the eighteenth century, a bard, capable not only of making an enthusiastic impression on every mind susceptible of poetical beauty, but of giving a new tone to poetry throughout all Europe.²²²

It appears Scott poetry was significant for the evocation of national identity, but was happy to accept recent compositions, without the appearance of great age, as signs of a valuable Scottish literary culture.

Though most of their review consists of a list of the poem's failings, the 1805 *Literary Journal* authors grudgingly accept that *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* is a good poem: 'and if we have met with considerable blemishes, we have also derived very considerable pleasure from the perusal of this performance.'²²³ What seems to swing their opinion is Scott's representation of the past. The reviewers begin by questioning the feasibility of Scott's attempt to represent the 'customs and manners' of another time; they observe the impossibility of representing the past accurately, and without perceptions being distorted through the lens of present sensibilities, criticising Virgil, Voltaire and William Wilkie's *The Epigoniad* for having tried. Yet they express satisfaction with Scott's choice of style:

²²² Walter Scott, quoted in Moore, Dafydd, 'The Reception of *The Poems of Ossian* in England and Scotland', in *The Reception of Ossian in Europe*, ed. by Howard Gaskill (Bristol: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004), pp. 21-39, p. 31.

²²³ Hayden, p. 28.

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To write coarse doggerel because coarse doggerel was written in the age in which the scene is placed, is a strange depraved affectation of being natural, into which many inferior writers have fallen, but which Mr Scott has had both good taste and good sense enough in general to avoid.²²⁴

Though they are critical of Virgil, Voltaire and Wilkie's attempts to represent the past accurately, they seem in favour of dispensing styles of writing that disagree with contemporary sensibilities. They appear to be calling for the invention of a past suitable for the Scotland of the present to show the outside world, 'as may not disgust a modern taste'.

Yet the reviewers take exception to Scott's versification, deploring his use of 'irregular verses' and 'limping lines', which they blame on 'the present depraved model of the German poets.'²²⁵ The 'German poets' in question probably represent the Romantic Movement, suggesting that the reviewers favoured neoclassicism.²²⁶ Rather than betraying his Scottish roots, Scott's use of European form makes his poetry more exportable, enabling it to represent Scotland as a literary nation on the world stage.

Despite their criticisms, the reviewers conclude that 'Mr Scott, both in this and in other instances, deserves praise for the zeal with which he has laboured to throw light on the ancient manners and customs of one portion of our countrymen.'²²⁷ This suggests Scottish readers thought Scott's interest in the customs and traditions of Scotland relevant. The reference to 'our countrymen' draws the culturally ambiguous Borders into the broader scheme of Scottish identity, while the commendation of

²²⁴ Hayden, p. 30.

²²⁵ Ibid, p. 34.

²²⁶ The use of 'German' to connote 'Romantic' was common, as a result of Mme de Staël's book *De L'Allemagne*, published in 1813, on the Romantic Movement in Germany. It is in here the Romantic Movement is first named. See Hayden, pp. 26-27.

²²⁷ Hayden, p.34.

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Scott ‘both in this and other instances’ suggests that the reviewers approve of *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*.

Walter Scott had a formative influence on later Scottish writing, both as a result of his prolific output, and as a result of his immense success south of the border. As Scott’s works came to be seen as the embodiment of Scottish literature, subsequent writers both emulated him and reacted against him. Scott’s writing succeeded in representing the local and parochial in a way that could captivate a foreign audience. He did this by mixing local detail with imported literary styles; while his erudition and high social standing during his lifetime deny him the status of Heaven-taught national poet, he has nonetheless become a significant figure in the genealogy of Scottish literature.

Dimitris Lipertis

Following in the footsteps of Vasilis Michailidis, Dimitris Lipertis wrote his mature poetry in Cypriot Greek.²²⁸ Michailidis’ influence on Lipertis is evident from the title of his first collection, *Χαλαρωμένη Λύρα* (*Untuned Lyre*: 1891); Michailidis’ first collection was *Ασθενής Λύρα* (*Ailing Lyre*: 1882). *Χαλαρωμένη Λύρα* was only the fifth poetry collection to be published in Cyprus; Michailidis’ collection *Ασθενής Λύρα* was the second.²²⁹ Printing was brought to Cyprus in 1878,²³⁰ with the English administration, giving Cypriot writers access to a local press for the first time. Previously, they had been obliged to publish in Athens, Cairo or Alexandria, the main centres for Greek printing, but these had literary circles of their own which would not

²²⁸ See pp. 114-115.

²²⁹ Paulos Paraskevas, *Δημήτρης Λιπέρτης: Η ζωή και το έργο του* (Nicosia: Ekdoseis Chr. Andreou, 1988), p. 81.

²³⁰ See p. 30.

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necessarily be welcoming to Cypriot-Greek writers.²³¹ Consequently, this was the first opportunity for a Cypriot literary scene to emerge. It is not surprising that Lipertis chose Michailidis as his Cypriot inspiration, given that there were very few other Cypriot poets who had succeeded in publishing collections of their work, and hardly any used Cypriot-Greek.

Lipertis wrote his first two collections, *Χαλαρωμένη Λύρα* (*Untuned Lyre* 1891) and *Στόνοι* (*Lamentations*) (1899), in the two variants of Mainland Greek: Katharevousa and Demotic. Nevertheless, he still positioned himself as a Cypriot poet by emphasising his connection to Michailidis. His first collection is mainly in Katharevousa, while the second is dominated by Demotic. It is likely that this is because it took time for the shift of the Greek literary mainstream from Katharevousa to Demotic, which was signalled in Athens by Psycharis' publication of *My Journey* (1888), to reach Cyprus.²³² Though many poets, including Solomos, had written exclusively in Demotic for years before this, the publication of the first large-scale prose work in Demotic Greek was a significant step in Demotic becoming the dominant literary language. Poets of the First Athenian School had written in Katharevousa and high Romantic style, and their influence is evident in Lipertis' early works. The arrival of the New Athenian School, who supported the use of Demotic in poetry, may have prompted Lipertis to focus on writing in Cypriot Greek.

Lipertis' access to Demotic Greek was limited, as the official and formal language was Katharevousa; as Lefkis explains, referring to Vasilis Michailidis' writing, 'η Ελληνική "δημοτική" ήτανε τότες ολότελα άγνωστη στους Κυπριώτες' ('the Greek 'demotic' was at the time completely unknown to the [Cypriot-

²³¹ Katsouris, p. 51.

²³² For more detail on the Demoticist movement in Greece, see Mackridge, *Language and National Identity*, pp. 203-240.

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Greeks]’).²³³ The language that Cypriot-Greeks were exposed to as the official language of Greece was primarily Katharevousa, while Lefkis differentiates between their spoken variety and demotic, calling the former ‘καθομιλουμένη’ (the ‘everyday spoken language’), ‘που δεν ήτανε παρά οίχτρο μείγμα λίγης ή πολλής καθαρεύουσας με λέξεις της κοινής ομιλίας’ (‘was nothing but a pitiful mixture of more or less Katharevousa with some words of common speech’).²³⁴

Most of the poems in Lipertis’ first collection are written in the pessimistic spirit of Romanticism as practised by the First Athenian School (Πρώτη Αθηναϊκή Σχολή 1830-1880), while in the second collection he writes in a broader variety of moods, even including a comic poem. *Στόνοι* (1899) also includes Lipertis’ first patriotic poem, ‘Εις την Κρήτην’ (‘To Crete’).²³⁵ Crete was an engaging topic for Cypriot-Greek intellectuals, as the island had become autonomous after a revolution in 1896, and eventually became incorporated in the Kingdom of Greece in 1913.²³⁶ It was thus seen as an example to be emulated in order to achieve the goal of unification with the Greek homeland. Consequently, many Cypriot-Greeks, including Lipertis and Michailidis, wrote poems in honour of Crete’s achievement of autonomy. These poems reproduce elements of Greek folk songs, laments, and the poetry of Dionysios Solomos, national poet of Greece. In order to contextualize Lipertis’ poem, brief overview of Michailidis’ three Crete poems is provided, showing how they engage with the personification of Liberty and other Romantic nationalist themes, as well as how they resemble Dionysios Solomos’ ‘Hymn to Liberty’.

²³³ Lefkis, p. 28.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Lipertis, *Άπαντα*, p. 60.

²³⁶ See pp. 49-50.

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Michailidis published one poem entitled ‘Εις την Κρήτην’ (hereafter referred to as ‘Εις την Κρήτην α’) on 20 November 1896 in *Σάλπιγξ* (*Salpinx*) a Limassol newspaper.²³⁷ This was in response to a Greek Revolution in Crete, which was supported by the Greek national army; though the Greek army was defeated decisively, international pressure led the Ottoman Empire to make Crete autonomous in 1898. On this occasion, Michailidis published two more poems, again one entitled ‘Εις την Κρήτην’ (dated 8/12/1898 and published in *Σάλπιγξ* 20/03/1899, hereafter referred to ‘Εις την Κρήτην β’), and the other ‘Δια την ένωση της Κρήτης’ (‘For the incorporation of Crete in the kingdom of Greece’, published in March 1900).²³⁸ ‘Εις την Κρήτην α’ consists of thirty two lines in iambic tetrameter, divided into four stanzas in each of which the second line rhymes with the sixth and the fourth with the eighth. It is addressed to Crete, personified as a young woman, who is promised reunification with her mother, presumably a personification of Greece.

According to Nektaria Klapaki, female figures were a key component of Greek Romanticism’s ‘religion of nationalism’, whose role was to assist and admonish insurgent Greeks in their revolution.²³⁹ Blood is a theme that appears in all three of Michailidis’ Crete poems as well as Lipertis’. Each instance in which blood is used is reminiscent of the symbolic function of blood in Solomos’ ‘Hymn’. In the eighth stanza, Solomos describes Liberty being soaked in the blood of the oppressed

²³⁷ Michailidis, *Άπαντα*, p. 146.

²³⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 157 and 164-165

²³⁹ Nektaria Klapaki, *Modern Greek Literature and the Religion of Greek Nationalism: Kalvos and Solomos*, conference paper presented at the MGSA Symposium 2013, Session 12 Panel A, Saturday 16 November 2013.

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Greeks dripping onto her from above: ‘και εις το ρούχο σου έσταζ’ αίμα / πλήθος αίμα ελληνικό’ (‘and into your clothing dripped blood/ masses of Greek blood’).²⁴⁰

In Michailidis’ ‘Εις την Κρήτην α’, the speaker addresses the personified Crete directly, instructing her to become the image of Liberty seen in many Romantic nationalist paintings, semi-nude and clean despite being in the midst of a battlefield; she is specifically instructed to wash away the blood (‘πλύθου που ’σαι ματωμένη’ line 13).²⁴¹ In ‘Εις την Κρήτην β’ lines 25-26 the speaker appears to address a personified Greece, urging her to take her daughter Crete into her ‘bloody arms’: ‘Στην ματωμένη σ’ αγκαλιά που ’χει αμαζόνος χάρη, / σφίξε της μάνας μας παιδί, της μάνας μας καμάρι’ (‘In your bloodied arms which have an Amazon’s grace, / embrace our mother’s child, our mother’s pride and joy’).²⁴² The significance of blood in all these poems is indicative of the main premise of the Cretan model of ‘liberation’: Liberty is attained with blood.²⁴³

‘Δια την ένωση της Κρήτης’ contains an image of blood soaking the national landscape; the poem is in the first person, the speaker appears to be the personified Crete who is marvelling at her newfound freedom and unification with her mother Greece. In the third stanza she says: ‘Σ’ όλα τα χρόνια της σκλαβιάς που ολ’ η γη μου εσεισθη / που από τουφέκι και σπαθί με αίμα εποτίσθη’ (‘In all the years of slavery where all my earth was rocked/ when by rifle and sword with blood it was soaked); this is reminiscent of stanza 72 of Solomos’ ‘Hymn to Liberty’:

Σάν ποτάμι τὸ αἷμα ἐγίνη
καὶ κυλάει στὴ λαγκαδιά,

²⁴⁰ Dionysios Solomos, ‘Υμνος εις την Ελευθερίαν’, stanza 8, in *Άπαντα: Ποιήματα και πεζά*, ed. by Linos Politis, 3rd edn, 2 vols (Athens: Ikaros, 1958-1961), pp. 71-100, (p. 72), stanza 8, lines 3-4, further references in parentheses in text.

²⁴¹ Michailidis, *Άπαντα*, p. 146.

²⁴² *Ibid*, 157.

²⁴³ See p. 49.

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καὶ τὸ ἀθῶο χόρτο πίνει
αἷμα ἀντὶς γιὰ τὴ δροσιά. (stanza 72, p. 83)

As a river the blood has become
and it flows in the valley
and the innocent grass is drinking
blood instead of the dew.

The blood of the revolution floods the landscape, altering its character and making it participate in the conflict. There are several other echoes of Solomos' poem in Michailidis' Crete poems, which suggest he had read the 'Hymn to Liberty' and therefore it is likely that he was influenced in his use of the symbolism of blood; for example, in 'Δια την ένωση της Κρήτης' he exclaims that her enemies will recognize Crete from the blade of her sword: 'καὶ τα κορμιά των ξέρουνε την κόψη του σπαθιού σου'.²⁴⁴ This is reminiscent of the first line of Solomos' 'Hymn', which is also part of the national anthem of Greece: 'Σε γνωρίζω από την κόψη / του σπαθιού την τρομερή' ('I know you by the terrific/ blade of your sword').²⁴⁵ Thus Liberty and Crete are both given an active part in the liberation of the Greek people, even though they are female personifications.

Dimitris Lipertis' 'Εἰς την Κρήτην', published in *Στόνοι* in 1899, one year after Crete was made autonomous, was clearly influenced by Michailidis' 'Εἰς την Κρήτην β', and also contains echoes of Solomos' 'Hymn to Liberty', as well as 'The Free Besieged'. The poem consists of eight sestets, with an ababcc rhyming scheme. The poem is influenced by Greek folk songs in its use of iambic fifteen-syllable lines, but also in the diction of specific descriptive passages. In particular, in the third

²⁴⁴ Michailidis, *Άπαντα*, p. 165.

²⁴⁵ Solomos, *Άπαντα*, p. 71, stanza 1.

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stanza, the third and fourth lines are modifications of lines appearing in folk songs such as ‘Της Πάργας’, ‘Του Χρήστου Μηλιόνη’ and ‘Του Λαβωμένου Κλέφτη’.²⁴⁶

Due to the popularity of Greek folk songs on the island when this poem was written, the use of folk elements makes it familiar to readers; furthermore, it is likely that the poet uses iambic fifteen-syllable lines because the main sources of inspiration available to him either were folk songs, or were inspired by folk songs. In addition to the few poetry collections that had been published on Cyprus, as mentioned above, there was a strong tradition of *poietarides*, who used fifteen-syllable verse, but also used rhyme and wrote about current affairs, as *Lipertis* is doing in this poem. However, the particular songs *Lipertis* refers to are actually not Cypriot at all; they come from the northern Greek tradition. Whether these poems were brought to the island by printed editions such as Claude Fauriel’s or were transmitted orally by the *poietarides*, *Lipertis*’ use of their text suggests that he is trying to position his poetry within a broader Greek tradition, rather than specifically trying to express a Cypriot-Greek identity. In terms of form, Cypriot-Greek and mainland Greek folk songs were similar, so although it is unlikely that his readers would have picked up the specific references, they still would have recognized these as ‘Greek’ poems.

Lipertis reproduces the narrative of Liberty being awoken by the blood and bones of the nation’s dead, which, as discussed above, appears in Solomos’ ‘Hymn’. The first three stanzas describe the blood and bodies of the nation’s dead coating the nation’s landscape, while the wind becomes a series of sighs. In the fourth stanza, blood and sighs merge in darkness, and give birth to Liberty, who rises from the earth

²⁴⁶ Paraskevas, p. 90.

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described as a ‘ray of Paradise’ and brings freedom along with the resurrection of nature:

Προβάλλει κόρη φωτεινή, του Παραδείσου αχτίδα
κρατώντας εις τα χέρια της τα δάφνινα στεφάνια,
το όνειρο του Έλληνα, η μόνη μας ελπίδα²⁴⁷

A bright girl appears, a ray of paradise
holding in her hands the laurel wreaths,
The dream of the Greek, our only hope.

This personification of liberty is reminiscent of Solomos’ ‘Υμνος’, addressed to a personified Liberty, in which she is described glowing.

Λάμπιν έχει όλη φλογώδη
χείλος, μέτωπο, οφθαλμός·
φως το χέρι, φως το πόδι,
κι όλα γύρω σου είναι φως. (stanza 95, p. 87)

A flaming glow she has all over
lips, forehead, and eyes;
light the hand, light the foot,
and everything around you is light.

The preceding stanzas describe a female personified Religion (‘Θρησκεία’) inviting Liberty to stand tall on the Greek land. This is echoed in Lipertis’ description of Liberty as a ‘ray of Paradise’.

The distress of the Cretan landscape as a result of its enslavement, described in detail in the third stanza, is reminiscent of the tropes of traditional laments, but also of Solomos’ ‘Ελεύθεροι Πολιορκημένοι’ (Free Besieged):

Η γη της φαρμακώθηκε, χορτάρι δε φυτρώνει.
γεννά τ’ αγέρι στεναγμούς, τα δάση μαραμμένα
γέρνουνε και ψυχομαχούν, πουλάκι δεν ζυγώνει
μοιρολογά από μακρυά, κοιτάζει τρομασμένα
κ’ οι βρύσες με το μυστικό αυτό μουρμούρισμά τους
αφήνουν γογγητό βαθύ, ματώνουν τα νερά τους.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷ Lipertis, *Άπαντα*, p.60, stanza 1.

²⁴⁸ Ibid, stanza 3.

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Her earth has been poisoned, no grass sprouts,
 the air gives birth to sighs, the forests withered
 lean over and die, the smallest bird does not approach
 it laments from afar, looks with fear
 and the springs with that secret murmuring of theirs
 release a deep groan, bloody their waters.

Although the function of nature is different in this passage, it is represented by the same symbols used in Solomos' poem. The bird, in particular, brings to mind the middle of the opening stanza of 'The Free Besieged':

Άκρα του τάφου σιωπή στον κάμπο βασιλεύει·
 λαλεί πουλί, παίρνει σπυρί, κι η μάνα το ζηλεύει.

[...]

Μάγεμα η φύσις κι όνειρο στην ομορφιά και χάρη·
 η μαύρη πέτρα ολόχρυση και το ξερό χορτάρι.
 Με χίλιες βρύσες χύνεται, με χίλιες γλώσσες κρένει:
 «Όποιος πεθάνει σήμερα χίλιες φορές πεθαίνει».²⁴⁹

Absolute silence of the tomb prevails on the plain;
 Singing bird plucks a seed, and the mother envies it.

[...]

Nature a spell and a dream in its golden beauty and grace,
 The black stone turns bright gold and the grass too;
 With a thousand springs it gushes, with a thousand tongues cries out:
 "Whoever dies today, a thousand deaths will die."²⁵⁰

In both Lipertis and Solomos, nature is signposted by the same elements: the bird, the grass, the springs of running water. The two poets use the same stereotypes, yet the function of nature is different.

In Lipertis' poem, nature reflects human misery, which is typical of Romanticism, as well as folk poetry. For example, the bird is scared off by the horror of events, and participates in human emotion by mourning. In Solomos' poem, the bird is an unknowing participant in the action; it is watched by the mother of a starving

²⁴⁹ Dionysios Solomos, 'Ελεύθεροι Πολιορκημένοι', in *Άπαντα*, ed. by Politis, pp. 215 and 217.

²⁵⁰ Dionysios Solomos, *The Free Besieged and Other Poems*, trans. by Peter Thompson, Roderick Beaton, Peter Colaclides, Michael Green and David Ricks, ed. by Peter Mackridge (Nottingham: Shoestring Press, 2000), pp. 19 and 21.

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child, but remains unaware. The function of nature in Lipertis' poem is reminiscent of Michailidis' use of a looming storm to symbolize the fermenting Greek revolution in 'Η Εννάτη Ιουλίου'.²⁵¹ This is similar to Lipertis' description of the revolution as a storm and earthquake immediately before his Liberty rises from the earth: 'μα ξάφνου αστραπόβροντα, σεισμός, ανεμοζάλη' ('but suddenly, thunder and lightning, earthquake, storming winds').²⁵² Although Lipertis uses similar imagery to Solomos for the evocation of the natural world, he uses it for a different purpose; nature, in Lipertis' poetry, not only reflects human emotion, it also illustrates the emotions the reader should be experiencing at any moment.

Rather than using nature to signpost the emotions the reader should experience, Solomos emphasizes the tragic irony of death in the context of the beauty of nature in spring; the black rock and dry grass, gilded by sunlight, make the besieged feel the bitterness of death a thousand times over. The poet himself wrote about the intended effect of the descriptions of nature:

Η ζωή που ανασταίνεται με όλες τις χαρές,
αναβρύζοντας όλουθε, νέα, λαχταριστή, περιχυνόμενη
εις όλα τα όντα· η ζωή ακέραιη, απ' όλα της φύσης τα
μέρη, θέλει να καταβάλει την ανθρώπινη ψυχή [...] Η
ωραιότητα της φύσης, που τους περιτριγυρίζει,
αυξάνει εις τους εχθρούς την ανυπομονησία να
πάρουν τη χαριτωμένη γη, και εις τους
πολιορκημένους τον πόνο, ότι θα τη χάσουν.²⁵³

Life which is being resurrected with all its joys,
bubbling up everywhere, new, delectable, pouring
over all creatures; life in its entirety, from all parts of
nature, wishes to overpower the human soul [...] The
beauty of nature, which surrounds them, increases in
the enemies their eagerness to take the charming land,
and in the besieged the pain, that they will lose it.

²⁵¹ See p. 84.

²⁵² Lipertis, *Άπαντα*, p. 60, stanza 5, ln. 2.

²⁵³ Solomos, *Άπαντα*, p. 216.

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In ‘Ελεύθεροι Πολιορκημένοι’, nature functions as a temptation, somewhat similar to the myth of Tantalus: the besieged are surrounded by the resurrection of spring, while they themselves must sacrifice living for the ideal of freedom.

Lipertis expresses a hellenocentric national identity in this poem; with his references to mainland folk songs and Solomos, Lipertis creates an image of unified Greek identity. It is apt that he chooses Crete as his subject, as Crete’s achievement of autonomy through violent revolution was seen by many as an example to be emulated in order to achieve eventual unification with Greece.²⁵⁴ Indeed, both Michailidis’ post-1898 Crete poems and Lipertis’ Crete poem, express hope that Cyprus will eventually follow in Crete’s footsteps, which they imagine leading to unification with Greece. For example, in ‘Εις την Κρήτην α’ Michailidis appears to address Cyprus:

και το ’χεις μέσα στην καρδιά, πικρό παράπονό σου,
παράπονο αλησμόνητο, αλλά λησμόνησέ το,
εις την μεγάλη σου χαράν κι αυτό συγχώρησέ το.²⁵⁵

and you have it in your heart, your truly bitter sorrow
a sorrow unforgettable, but now you must forget it,
in your great joy even that, forgive it.

In the poem’s opening he pities those who have died wishing for the freedom of Crete and never witnessed it; it appears Michailidis is referring to the continued colonial status of Cyprus, and the possibility that he may die before that changes (which he did). This is addressed more directly in ‘Δια την ένωση της Κρήτης’, where the personified Crete says:

κι όλα τα σκλαβ’ αδέρφια μου, τα σκλάβα τα παιδιά σου
ν’ αξιωθούν καθώς κι εγώ την θείαν αγκαλιά σου

²⁵⁴ Crete became autonomous in 1898, and became part of the Greek nation-state in 1913, thirteen years after the latest of these poems was written. Yet all three poems written after 1898 seem to assume that her independence was a prelude to becoming part of an extended Greek nation.

²⁵⁵ Michailidis, *Απαντα*, p. 157.

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κ' ένα κορμί και μια καρδιά να γίνει η φυλή μας
κ' η πανελλήνιος χαρά να είναι η γιορτή μας.²⁵⁶

and all my slave brothers, your enslaved children
may they receive their just rewards as I did, your divine embrace
and may our race become one body and one heart
and may the panhellenic joy be ever our celebration.

A similarly direct reference to the situation in Cyprus is made at the end of Lipertis'

‘Εις την Κρήτην’:

Άμποτες να ῥθει ο καιρός κι εμείς καθώς εσένα
τέτοια γιορτή να κάμουμε κι ευθύς ας ξεψυχήσω,
δεν είμαι σκλάβος μα ποθώ ελεύθερος να ζήσω.²⁵⁷

May the time come for us like you
to have this celebration and let me die straight after,
I am not a slave but I yearn to live free.

This suggests the achievement of liberation is equated with the incorporation of Cyprus into a larger Panhellenic state: the autonomy of Crete is greeted by the jubilation of all Greeks (‘γιορτάζουν όλοι οι Έλληνες’, line 50), who would respond in the same way to the autonomy of Cyprus.

Lipertis later wrote specifically Cypriot nationalist poetry. His most significant patriotic poem is ‘To the Cypriot martyrs of the ninth of July 1821’ (‘Στους Τζυπριώτες Μάρτυρες της εννάτης Ιουλίου του 1821’), written to be performed at the unveiling of a monument housing the bones of the executed clerics, which took place on the ninth of July 1930.²⁵⁸ This commemoration can be interpreted as part of a broader awakening of Cypriot-Greek identity, which culminated in the protests and arson of Government House in Nicosia in 1931.

Comparing Lipertis’ poem to ‘Η Εννάτη Ιουλίου 1821, εν Λευκωσία Κύπρου’, Michailidis’ poetic re-enactment of the same historical event suggests Cypriot-Greek

²⁵⁶ Michailidis, *Άπαντα*, 165.

²⁵⁷ Lipertis, *Άπαντα*, p. 61.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 274.

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identity changed between the eighteen nineties and the nineteen thirties. Relationships between the different cultural groups on the island changed substantially, as did attitudes to the interference of the outside powers of Greece and Turkey. Lipertis' poem presents a less independent image of Cypriot Greeks than Michailidis'. In 'Στους Τζυπριώτες Μάρτυρες', the focus of desire is indisputably on *enosis*, and the Turks are presented as uniformly evil. Michailidis, on the other hand, distinguishes between Turks, Turkish Cypriots, Greek Cypriots, and other Greeks. Michailidis and Lipertis construct different images of the nation, yet both are occasionally referred to as 'national' poets of Cyprus. This suggests Cypriot-Greek identity is flexible and not clearly defined.

In addition to the differences in the identity articulated, Lipertis also approaches his material differently from Michailidis, giving a more symbolic rendering of the events of the ninth of July 1821. The poem addresses an audience that knows the historical significance of the title's date, as he does not describe events in detail. The speaker describes a vision of the execution in the first stanza. He begins by describing the noose hanging from a tree, and the sharpened swords; however, the execution he is witnessing is not of the bishops, but of the homeland itself. In the third line, he states: 'Φαίνεσται μου τον τόπον μας θωρό ματζελλεμένον'²⁵⁹ ('It seems to me I see our home butchered').

In the second stanza, Koutsouk Mehmet, one of the Turkish leaders is identified; once again, this is part of the speaker's vision, and Mehmet serves as a metonymy for Turkish brutality against the Orthodox Cypriots:

²⁵⁹ Lipertis, *Απαντα*, p. 723, 'Στους Τζυπριώτες Μάρτυρες', stanza 1, line 3, hereafter line references are given in parentheses in main text.

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Ψης τον Κουτσούκ Μεχμέτ θωρώ, τους Τούρκους, τα κακά τους,
Τζείνους που ξημερτζίσασιν τζι αδικοθανατίσαν. (stanza 2, ln. 1-2)

As if I see Koutsouk Mehmet, the Turks, their evil deeds,
Those who they dismembered and lost their lives in vain.

Lipertis goes on to elaborate on the ‘evil deeds’, and refers to the ‘heaps of bones’ left behind by the martyrs of the nation: ‘Εν’ τούτοι πον’ τζαι δαχαμαί στοίβες τα κόκαλά τους’ (stanza 2, lines 1-2: they are the ones whose bones are heaped here). This particular reference to martyrs’ remains, though made in the context of the execution of the Bishops, and meant to be recited outside their mausoleum, also refers to the suffering of the Cypriot-Greek populace. The third stanza details how the Turks tortured the people, referring to rape, disembowelment, impaling and robbery.

The first time Lipertis addresses the Bishops directly is in the fourth stanza, where he recounts their sacrifices and virtues, and calls upon them to be a guiding influence on new generations of clerics:

Πίσκοποι που συρτοθηλιάν για του Χριστού την πίστην·
Για την Πατρίδα τζαι σπαθί εβάλαν στον λαιμόν σας,
Που τζι η καρκιά σας σταλαμήν εν εσαλαονίστην,
Για να σωθεί η μάντρα σας με το μαρτύριόν σας,
Το γαίμαν σας που πότισεν τα χώματα του τόπου
Να ’ν’ δείχτης, φως και συντυσιά, στράτα κάθε Πισκόπου. (stanza 4)

Bishops who were hanged for their faith in Christ;
For the Fatherland they even put a sword to your throats,
Whose hearts was never even slightly swayed,
So your flock could be saved through your suffering,
Let your blood which soaked the soil of the place
Be a beacon, light and a statement, the path of every Bishop.

Blood is a recurring symbol in discourses of national identity, as is the sacrifice of the dead; Lipertis repeatedly links the blood of the martyrs to the physical landscape. In this first instance, he describes the blood sinking into the soil, transforming the landscape into the homeland.

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Throughout the poem, Lipertis draws the audience's attention to the physical presence of the nation's martyrs in the surrounding landscape, as seen above. In stanza 5, Lipertis addresses the Bishops' bones: 'Κόκκαλα, που πουπάνω σας σιφφούνια επεράσαν/ Τζι εγίνηκεν δαμέσα δα του χάρου παναύριν' (stanza 5, lines 1-2: Bones, over whom they passed like whirlwinds/ And this place became a festival of death). The personified bones are a metonymy for the Bishops themselves, which links the Bishops to the national landscape through their burial.

The use of bones in this context resembles Solomos' "Ύμνος", where he repeats the following stanza at four different points:

Απ' τα κόκαλα βγαλμένη
των Ελλήνων τα ιερά
και σαν πρώτα αντρειωμένη
χαίρε, ω χαίρε Ελευθεριά!²⁶⁰

Literally translated, this means: 'Emerging from the sacred bones of the Greeks, and like at first filled with valour, hail, oh hail Liberty!' Liberty is represented as something residing in the physical body of the people, which can only be released by blood-sacrifice through armed struggle, which is reminiscent of Renan's view on the role of sacrifice for the nation (see page 55).

Lipertis describes rivers of blood growing the immortal tree of liberty:

Το γαίμαν που σονώσετε, εν επήεν χαμένον
Έπεσεν μες στους ποταμούς τους άλλους των γαιμάτων
Τζι εβλάστησεν της λευτερκάς τζείντο δεντρόν τ' αθθάτον. (stanza 6,
lines 4-6)

The blood you shed did not go to waste;
It fell in the other rivers of blood
and planted that immortal tree of liberty.

²⁶⁰ Solomos, *Άπαντα*, p. 71, stanza 2, repeated later.

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The tree of Liberty is a concept introduced by the American Revolution, then adopted by the French. In this case, liberty is equated with the birth of a Greek nation; in the next stanza, the speaker claims that the blood that was shed hardened the nation: ‘Το γαίμαν που σονώστηκεν έβκαλεν στρατιώτες’ (The blood that was shed created soldiers, stanza 7, line 3). All of the above suggests the loss of blood in armed struggle is necessary for the emergence of the nation.

At the end of the seventh stanza, Lipertis describes how ‘Mother’ Greece was freed as a result of the Greek revolution of 1821: ‘Τζι εξηκαθάρισεν η γη η Τουρκοπατημένη/ Και ζει τωρά η Μάνα μας σγοιαν πριν κορονιασμένη’ (stanza 7, lines 5-6: And the Turk-trodden land cleared/ And now our Mother lives crowned like before). He goes on to describe how Cypriot-Greeks are separated from ‘Mother Greece’, but predicts that if they are patient and persistent they will be reunited.

The two final stanzas are a plea to the Martyrs to teach the ‘enslaved’ Cypriot-Greeks (‘οι λας οι σκλαβωμένοι’, stanza 9, line 3) how to fight for their freedom. The moral of the poem is that without sacrifice, freedom cannot be achieved; the poet calls for the martyrs he addresses to teach this to the Cypriot people:

Τζι ακόμα δασκαλεύκετε είντα λοής να ζούσιν,
Πως εν πολευτερόννουνται με τζεφαλήν σηκώννουν,
Αν λοαρκάζουν βάσανα τζι ανέρκητα βωβώννουν. (stanza 10, lines 4-6)

Also teach them how to live,
How they will not be free with their head high,
If they consider suffering and passively stay silent.

The ending of this poem echoes the ending of Solomos’ ‘Υμνος’: in the last eighteen stanzas, Liberty directly tells the Greek people how to be free. She warns them that they will be tempted by the personification of Discord, and that they must resist, or they will not be taken seriously by other nations. Finally, she tells the people to

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address the kings of Europe and ask them to observe the struggle of the Greek people and come to their aid.

However, Solomos' ending is a more direct call to arms. By putting the rousing speech in the mouth of a newly empowered Liberty, Solomos legitimizes the Revolution, constructing the formation of the Greek state as 'liberation'. Liberty's ability to speak is indicative of the fact that the Revolution is already in progress, and the awakening of the Greek national consciousness has already taken place. Lipertis' speaker is calling for the Martyrs to give the sort of guidance that Liberty has already given within the text of 'Υμνος'; this suggests that the Cypriot-Greeks are still far from the possibility of Revolution. Unlike Solomos' Liberty, the Martyrs in Lipertis' poem do not speak, which shows their lack of agency. This contrasts with the heroic character of Kyprianos in Michailidis' version.

Although Lipertis' poem is not the same sort of call to arms as Solomos' 'Υμνος', it is still a call for the assertion of a national identity. It is important to note that the identity promoted is not Cypriot-Greek, but mainland Greek. The only way for the image of Cypriot-Greek identity Lipertis presents to be realized is for Cyprus to become a part of Greece. This contrasts with Michailidis, who presents a more ambiguous image of Cypriot-Greekness, particularly since he points out that the Cypriot-Greeks did not participate in the 1821 Revolution.

Lipertis' function within the contemporary canon of Cypriot-Greek literature is difficult to identify, as he is most commonly discussed in relation to Michailidis as a 'second' national poet, and seldom alluded to independently; however, his prolific output in Cypriot Greek constitutes a significant contribution to the literary canon in that language. This both bolsters the credentials of Cypriot-Greek as a literary

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language, and provides material for poets and readers interested in the literary potential of the language. Therefore, Lipertis is an important figure in the Cypriot-Greek poetic genealogy.

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Conclusion

Poets and poetry can play a significant part in the emergence of a national consciousness. In the case of both Cyprus and Scotland, there is an official national poet, whose work is seen as an embodiment of ‘national character’.

Furthermore, in both places many poets have used folk literature to inspire and inform their works, linking themselves to the national landscape and the common people. This engagement with locality has often taken the form of writing high literature using local languages; the output of the poets discussed above has contributed significantly to the viability of Cypriot-Greek and Scots as literary languages.

In both Cyprus and Scotland, the image of the nation presented in poetry altered between the national poets’ writing and the later engagement with the nation by Dimitris Lipertis and Walter Scott, respectively. However, Burns’ radicalism and Michailidis’ differentiation between Cypriot-Greeks and mainland Greeks are ignored by nationalists wishing to present them as vessels of the nation’s identity.

The idealized image of the nation as presented in the poetry discussed above has persisted as the stereotypical image of the nation. The following section investigates how this image was challenged and re-interpreted by the advent of modernity and the resultant Modernist thought.

PART 2:

UPDATING NATIONAL IDENTITY

Introduction

Though nations purport to be permanent and immutable in character, politics, society and culture change constantly in response to historical and technological developments. Consequently, the image of the nation onto which feelings of national identity are projected gradually becomes different from the nation's present reality. Texts forming the foundations of national identity, such as the works of national poets, become gradually less relevant to the daily lives of the nation's members. New texts, which engage with the reality of the nation in the present, often break with traditions as embedded in the nation's foundation texts, challenging definitions of both the nation and literature.

In marginal national cultures, there is often strong resistance to change, as the preservation of the nation's integrity is seen as vital for its survival; consequently, new literary movements can take longer to be adopted, as experimentation may be seen as capitulation to culturally dominant external influences. As a result, international literary movements often take on local characteristics as they are adapted for local use; for example, Odysseus Elytis' 'Greek' modernism gave the Greek nation centre-stage, while other European modernisms rejected nationalism. Despite a culture of resistance to change, in both Scotland and Cyprus poets have responded to changing realities, and have engaged with international literary movements to produce works which bring the image of the nation into their present day. However, as Elytis did in Greece, poets have adapted formal and ideological innovations to suit their local literary cultures.

In Cyprus, an awakening of Cypriot-Greek nationalist feeling led to the installation of a repressive regime under Governor Palmer from 1931-1939.

According to Kleitos Ioannidis, this led Cypriot-Greek writers to try more decisively to express a Greek identity: ‘στα λογοτεχνικά κείμενα της περιόδου φαίνονται διάχυτα τα αγωνιστικά δρώμενα των καιρών και η τιτανική προσπάθεια της πνευματικής Κύπρου να διατηρήσει ελεύθερη και ελληνική την παιδεία και τη φυσιογνωμία του τόπου’ (‘in the literary texts of the time the revolutionary activity of the period is clearly evident as is the titanic effort of intellectual Cyprus to maintain a free and Greek education and local character’).²⁶¹ Combined with changes in society brought about by modern advances in technology and transport, this led to stylistic developments in Cypriot-Greek writing, as writers tried to reflect the new world in which they lived.

In Scotland, the experience of World War I and the gradual dissolution of the British Empire rekindled a desire to express an independent Scottish identity. The First World War had a cataclysmic effect on the established order of society in Europe. The high death toll among young men led to women remaining part of the work force after the war, which altered the social landscape, but also led to loss of faith in military and political leaders all over Europe. Furthermore, the new experience of total war changed the way people thought about combat and sacrifice, and the way these relate to the nation, which undermined the foundation narratives of most European nationalisms, which relied on ideas of divine protection and willing sacrifice for the nation. As Peter Childs writes, ‘World War I shattered any remaining belief in natural or supernatural benevolence, in terms of aristocratic *noblesse oblige* or providence’.²⁶² The search for new identities after the war popularized the modernist movement throughout Europe. In Scotland, this took the form of the Scottish Renaissance.

²⁶¹ Ioannidis, p. 125.

²⁶² Peter Childs, *Modernism* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 55.

As discussed on page 42, arguments for a distinct Scottish identity were strengthened after the Second World War, as the discovery of North Sea Oil in the nineteen-sixties gave Scottish Nationalists a new base upon which to argue for independence.²⁶³ The cultural differences between Scotland and England became more pronounced during the Thatcher years, when it became apparent that it was possible for the Scottish people to be ruled by a government they did not elect.²⁶⁴

The following two chapters explore the importation of modernist poetic ideas by Hugh MacDiarmid and Edwin Morgan in Scotland, and Kostas Montis in Cyprus. Chapter 4 discusses their engagement with the nation's past and visions of its future. Chapter 5 explores their experimentations with language and contributions to the creation of a modern local literature.

²⁶³ *Acts of Union*, p. 31.

²⁶⁴ See p. 42.

Chapter 3: (Re)imagining the Nation's Past: Modernist Visions of Time

As Michael H. Whitworth describes it, “modernism” is not so much a thing as a set of responses to problems caused by the conditions of modernity’.²⁶⁵ Some locate the artistic movement’s beginning in the late nineteenth century, with the appearance of new styles, such as Impressionism in painting, or Realism in drama. Some locate it in the mid nineteenth century, with the crisis of belief arising from industrialization, the disruption of traditional social patterns, as well as change brought about by scientific discoveries, such as Darwin’s theory of evolution. According to Margery Palmer McCulloch,

just as new political and social practices had to come into being to deal with the human and social actuality of this changing world, so new art forms had to be created to give it expression, and new philosophical and intellectual approaches had to be developed to analyze its implications and possibilities.²⁶⁶

Many writers and artists in Scotland and Cyprus took up the challenge, despite their cultural establishments’ resistance to change.

This chapter will discuss poets who engaged with European Modernist ideas and adapted them for the realities of their homelands; in Scotland the most significant were Hugh MacDiarmid (1892-1978) and Edwin Morgan (1920-2010), while in Cyprus the most important poet writing in Greek was Kostas Montis (1914-2004). All three re-engaged with the past in order to evoke a cultural identity that is relevant in the present, and takes cataclysmic changes of the recent past into account. MacDiarmid and Morgan address the effects of technological and social change on

²⁶⁵ Michael H. Whitworth, *Modernism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), p. 5.

²⁶⁶ Margery McCulloch, *Scottish Modernism and its Contexts, 1918-1959: Literature, National Identity and Cultural Exchange* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p. 2.

Scotland, while Montis searches for a new identity first in the independent Cyprus of the 1960s and then in the aftermath of the 1974 Turkish invasion.

Hugh MacDiarmid was a poet, journalist and essayist, who was politically active as both a Scottish nationalist and Communist. Edwin Morgan came of age as a writer in a literary environment dominated by MacDiarmid, and to a great extent continued the latter's quest for an independent Scottish literature. Both MacDiarmid and Morgan were advocates of Scottish political independence. Edwin Morgan bequeathed £918,000 to the SNP in his will, which is being used to fund the 'yes' campaign for the 2014 referendum.²⁶⁷ In Cyprus, Kostas Montis stands out for his revision of poetic form: he challenged the definition of poetry, and argued there was a close relationship between poetry and trauma, and that therefore the function of poetry in society was to address trauma.

Modernist literature seeks new ways to interact with the past. The experience of the First World War led to a great wave of pessimism for many European writers. T. S. Eliot, in "Ulysses", Order and Myth' claims that Joyce manipulates 'a continuous parallel between contemporaneity and antiquity', and argues that other writers must follow Joyce's example, as it is a way 'of controlling, of ordering, of giving a shape and a significance to the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history'.²⁶⁸ This desire to give shape and order to the chaotic experience of modernity motivates many writers after the First World War, and is a significant element of the ideology of modernism.

²⁶⁷ Angus Robertson, 'Roadmap to Independence', Angus Robertson MP Addresses the SNP Conference in Inverness, 23 October 2011 <http://www.snp.org/blog/post/2011/oct/angus-robertson-roadmap-independence> accessed 23 August 2014

²⁶⁸ T. S. Eliot, *Selected Prose of T.S. Eliot*, ed. by Frank Kermode (London: Faber, 1975), p. 177.

Hugh MacDiarmid's mythical vision of time

In his New Year's speech on 31 December 2011, Alex Salmond, Scottish First Minister, quoted the final couplet of Hugh MacDiarmid's poem 'Gairmscoile':²⁶⁹

For we ha'e faith in Scotland's hidden poo'ers
The present's theirs, but a' the past and future's oors.²⁷⁰

Salmond's speech advocated Scottish independence through a tripartite vision of Scotland in past, present and future, and was delivered from the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh. The location of Salmond's delivery emphasises the significance of possessing the narrative of the past in order to build a nation in the future; in the independence debate, the 'yes' campaign is using the idea of a historically independent Scotland to argue for a modern Scottish nation.

Hugh MacDiarmid (1892-1978) believed that Scotland needed both political independence and cultural regeneration. Scotland's lack of independence was simultaneously a driving force and a frequent stumbling point in MacDiarmid's writing. His belief in the necessity of Scottish independence motivated prolific and inventive writings of both poetry and prose; yet the absence of an independent Scottish cultural tradition made him feel creatively isolated. These feelings are summarized in 'The Mavis of Pabal', a section of the long poem *To Circumjack Cencrastus*:

I am the mavis o' Pabal,
A pool cut aff frae the sea,
A tree without roots that stands
On the ground unsteadily.²⁷¹

[...]

²⁶⁹ David Maddox, 'The future's oors, Alex Salmond tells Scotland' *Scotsman*, 31 December 2011.

²⁷⁰ Hugh MacDiarmid, *Complete Poems, 1920-1976*, ed. by Michael Grieve and William Russell Aitken, 2 vols. (London: Martin Brian & O'Keefe, 1978), I, 75.

²⁷¹ Macdiarmid, *Complete Poems*, I, 191.

For poetry's no' made in a lifetime
 And I lack a livin' past;
 I stand on the tap o' the hill
 -But the miracle canna last!²⁷²

The feasibility of writing Scottish poetry within the United Kingdom was often questioned by poets and intellectuals of the mid-twentieth century. MacDiarmid supported the possibility of independent Scottish literature, despite his worries of creative isolation. The mavis's lament for her lack of *living* past refers to the lack of a continuing literary tradition in Scots, which caused MacDiarmid to turn to dead poets and antiquarian works on the Scots language for inspiration. He created his own literary language from these sources as well as his knowledge of spoken Scots, which he called 'Synthetic Scots'.

Hugh MacDiarmid, born Christopher Murray Grieve, was as active in politics as he was in literature. He was a founding member of the National Party of Scotland, one of the SNP's precursors, as well as a member of the British Communist Party, and he continued writing articles as C. M. Grieve on Scottish politics and contemporary affairs even after adopting the pen name Hugh MacDiarmid for his poetry. Yet he was never entirely in agreement with either nationalists or Communists, and was expelled from the NPS in 1933 and from CPGB in 1936.²⁷³ The poet Hugh MacDiarmid can be credited with bringing modernism to literature in Scots, as well as leading the establishment of a new, vibrant Scottish poetic scene in the twentieth century.

MacDiarmid began writing from a position of disillusionment with Scotland's people and literature; Edwin Morgan compares this to the position from which James Joyce wrote *Dubliners* in Ireland: 'an intense exasperation with the state of the

²⁷² Macdiarmid, *Complete Poems*, I, 192.

²⁷³ Alan Norman Bold, *MacDiarmid: Christopher Murray Grieve, a Critical Biography* (London: Paladin, 1990), pp. 289 and 343-344.

country, focused especially on the apathy or indifference of the people.’²⁷⁴ MacDiarmid challenged the indifference of the people to Scottish culture by producing demonstrably Scottish poetry that would be classed as ‘high literature’ by Western European standards. In order to do this, he experimented with Scots and English language and modernist poetic form.

MacDiarmid’s poetic projects were ambitious in scope; he wrote several long, complex poems, two of the most significant being *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* (1926) and *To Circumjack Cencrastus* (1930). These belong to the same school of modernist poetry as Eliot’s *The Waste Land* and *Four Quartets*. According to Margery McCulloch, MacDiarmid’s *Cencrastus* and Eliot’s *Four Quartets* share a common theme: ‘Both poets seek to catch hold of a moment out of time and both realize that only through time is time conquered.’²⁷⁵ This search for the universal moment which transcends time grounds MacDiarmid in the Modernist tradition: through all his use of fragmentation in his work, he believes in the existence of Grand Narratives.

In both *Cencrastus* and *A Drunk Man*, MacDiarmid attempts to decode the relationship between past, present and future, and to evoke a functional Scottish identity in a changing world. It is widely held that *A Drunk Man* is a more successful work than *Cencrastus*, yet the two broach similar subjects. W. N. Herbert argues that the two poems have opposite trajectories; *A Drunk Man* opens with a promise to begin ‘Wi’ what’s still deemed Scots’ and to ‘spire up syne by visible degrees/ To heichts

²⁷⁴ Edwin Morgan, *Hugh MacDiarmid, Writers & their Work*, ed. by Ian Scott-Kilvert Harlow ([n.p.] Longman for the British Council, 1976), p. 3.

²⁷⁵ Margery McCulloch, ‘The Undeservedly Broukit Bairn: Hugh MacDiarmid’s *To Circumjack Cencrastus*’, *Studies in Scottish Literature* 17, no. 1 (1982), pp. 165-185, (p. 169).

whereo' the fules ha'e never recked.'²⁷⁶ *To Circumjack Cencrastus*, on the other hand, 'starts "in heichts whereo' the fules ha'e never recked" and finds itself inexorably descending to the temporal, the local, and the quasi-autobiographic'.²⁷⁷ This difference in trajectory could account for some of *Cencrastus*' difficulty, as the reader is plunged into a philosophical exploration with no preamble. It also alienates the reader from the personal and local elements of the poem, as the downward trajectory from universal to individual tends to belittle the latter.

It has, alternatively, been argued that *Cencrastus* is less successful because the symbol of the snake is not as effective as the Drunk Man's Thistle at unifying the disparate material within the poem; McCulloch argues that *Cencrastus* needs symbols to 'help objectify and structure' the poet/speaker's responses to his situation and 'embody his metaphysical search', but the serpent is unable to carry out this function, because 'its essential core of meaning is not sufficiently realized and consistent.'²⁷⁸ What makes the coherence of the symbolism particularly important in *Cencrastus* is the fact that the speaker is the poet himself. In *A Drunk Man*, on the other hand, the poet speaks through a persona whose cultural relevance to contemporary Scotland at the time, McCulloch argues, is comparable to the medieval Italian cultural significance of the journey through hell, purgatory and heaven, as used by Dante in the *Divina Comedia*.²⁷⁹ Furthermore, the symbols of thistle and moon are more effective and resonant than the serpent.

In *A Drunk Man*, the abrupt changes in tone and ambitious flights of philosophical fancy are legitimized by the largely sympathetic persona of the drunk

²⁷⁶ W. N. Herbert, *To Circumjack MacDiarmid: The Poetry and Prose of Hugh MacDiarmid* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 71.

²⁷⁷ Herbert, p. 71.

²⁷⁸ McCulloch, 'The Undeservedly Broukid Bairn', p. 167.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 166.

man, lying on a hillside looking at the moon through a thistle, a Scottish performance of Oscar Wilde's lying in the gutter and looking at the stars.²⁸⁰ The playful nature of the presentation warms the reader to the poem's content, and makes the poem's difficulty less confrontational: after all, one does not feel obliged to understand every element of the ramblings of a drunk man. *Cencrastus*, on the other hand, is presented from the point of view of the poet. While it covers similar themes to *A Drunk Man*, the context makes the polemic passages more confrontational and philosophical tangents more open to scrutiny. *Cencrastus* is let down by the lack of internal humour, which allows *A Drunk Man* to be successful despite its difficulty.

Cencrastus makes direct challenges to the accepted narrative of Scottish history, most prominent of which is its rejection of the narrative of the Union as salvation in 'The Parrot Cry':

Tell me the auld, auld story
 O' hoo the Union brocht
 Puir Scotland into being
 As a country worth a thocht.
 England, frae whom a' blessings flow
 What could we dae without ye?
 Then dinna threip it doon oor throats
 As gin we e'er could doot ye!
 My feelings lang wi' gratitude
 Ha'e been sea sairly harrowed
 That dod! I think it's time
 The claith was owre the parrot!²⁸¹

The aggressively sarcastic tone of this passage makes MacDiarmid's feelings about the Union clear: he sees it as the agent of Scotland's oppression rather than its liberation or financial salvation. The parrot in this six-stanza segment of *Cencrastus* represents the voice of the outsider, repeating stereotypical statements about Scotland

²⁸⁰ Wilde, Oscar, 'Lady Windermere's Fan', Act 3, in *The Importance of Being Earnest and Other Plays*, Oxford World's Classics, ed. by Peter Raby (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 44.

²⁸¹ MacDiarmid, *Complete Poems*, I, 184.

and Scottish identity; in each stanza, MacDiarmid lists a selection of stereotypes, and ends with the refrain ‘think it time/ The claith was owre the parrot!’, arguing that it is time new ideas were expressed and debated rather than repeating the same interpretations of the Union as truth.

The poet deviates from this form in the fourth stanza, where the foreign identity of the parrot becomes clear:

Fetch ony native Scottish bird
 Frae the eagle to the wren,
 And faith! you’d hear a different sang
 Frae this patterned foreigner’s then.
 The marine that brocht it owre
 Believed its every word
 -But we’re a’ deeved to daith
 Wi’ this infernal bird.²⁸²

Here MacDiarmid is arguing for the need for Scottish people to articulate their own identity, and assert themselves against stereotypes imposed upon them from the outside, a project with which he engages enthusiastically in the majority of his works.

The call to repossess the Scottish past from outsiders is repeated many times in *A Drunk Man*; this is often expressed through reference to Scottish institutions the speaker claims have been adulterated, starting with the whisky that made him drunk (lines 18-20):

And a’ that’s Scotch aboot it is the name,
 Like a’ thing else ca’d Scottish nooadays
 -A’ destitute o’ speerit juist the same.²⁸³

In one of his more memorably xenophobic moments, the Drunk Man complains that even the Burns Supper is no longer the Scottish institution it once was (lines 37-40):

²⁸² MacDiarmid, *Complete Poems*, I, 193.

²⁸³ Hugh MacDiarmid, *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle; An Annotated Edition*, ed. by Kenneth Buthlay (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1987), p. 6.

You canna gang to a Burns supper even
 Wi'oot some wizened scrunt o' a knock-knee
 Chinee turns roon to say, 'Him Haggis – velly goot!'
 And ten to wan the piper is a Cockney.²⁸⁴

MacDiarmid's resentment of the foreign appropriation of Scottish traditions is a result of his worry that true Scottish culture will be suffocated by the tourist-board approved version, and will therefore be unable to evolve independently and be eclipsed by dominant cultures, such as the English literature Scottish poets are alleged to belong to. The racist treatment of the Chinese Burns fan is an example of the Drunk man persona deflecting offence.

Despite their differences in tone and presentation, *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* and *To Circumjack Cencrastus* both argue that in order for a Scottish culture to develop independently in the future, it is necessary to reframe the narrative of the past from a Scottish perspective. This argument appears repeatedly in Christopher Murray Grieve's journalistic writings.

²⁸⁴ MacDiarmid, *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle*, p.6.

A skin to be shed, a memory to embrace: Edwin Morgan and the past that creates the future

Edwin Morgan (1920-2010) was a prolific poet with a broad range of interests, from history to technology and science fiction. While he shared MacDiarmid's reservations about official historical narratives, he still considered engagement with the past worthwhile, but demonstrated that it was important for that engagement to be critical rather than sentimental. As McGuire and Nicholson describe it, 'Morgan invites us to consider the past as not always something to be embraced and held close, but also a skin to be shed.'²⁸⁵ Morgan constructs the past, present and future in a post-modern relationship, as non-linear, interacting entities, subverting traditional concepts of time and history. This interaction constitutes a central concern in his attempts to articulate a viable identity for the Scottish present.

Many of Morgan's poems about the past turn out to be about the future. For example, 'The Archaeopteryx's Song' is narrated by a fossil, a symbol of the past, but turns out to be about evolution, a vision of the future. Initially, the Archaeopteryx laments its inability to fly, because it is encased in rock. Then, it lists the things it needs to change:

It's feathers I need, more feathers
for the life to come. And these iron teeth
I want away, and a smooth beak
to cut the air. And these claws on my wings, what use are they
except to drag me down, do you imagine
I am ever going to crawl again?²⁸⁶

Morgan's prescient Archaeopteryx connects the past to the future through the imagined evolution of its body. The poem centres on a paradox, as the Archaeopteryx

²⁸⁵ Matt McGuire and Colin Nicholson, 'Edwin Morgan', in *The Edinburgh Companion to Contemporary Scottish Poetry*, ed. by Matt McGuire and Colin Nicholson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), pp. 97-110, (p.103).

²⁸⁶ Edwin Morgan, *Collected Poems* (Manchester: Carcanet, 1996), p. 403.

making its plans for future evolution is a fossil, and thus, proverbially, beyond change. To resolve the paradox, the reader imagines continuity from creature to creature: the Archaeopteryx's desire for feathers gives birth to birds. The poem parallels imagination and science, as the Archaeopteryx fossil was likely valuable for the study of avian evolution. In giving the Archaeopteryx a voice and desires, Morgan highlights the significance of the past for the formation of the present. Rather than the key to understanding avian evolution, the Archaeopteryx becomes its agent.

This vision of interconnected time informs Morgan's ideas about Scottish poetry and its relationship to the past. In 'The Beatnik in the Kailyard' (1962), Morgan argues that it is important for poetry to change with the times in order for it to retain its relevance:

material differences in society imply spiritual, moral and aesthetic differences, and although writers can struggle along for a time on language, on myth, on nature, on 'eternal emotions', there comes a day of reckoning when they realize that they are not speaking the same terms as their audience.²⁸⁷

Yet Morgan still recognizes the significance of the past in shaping the poetry of the present. This is playfully illustrated in 'Seven Headlines', in which he creates English words by taking letters from the final line of the poem, a citation from Arthur Rimbaud's *Une Saison en Enfer*: 'il faut être absolument moderne'. The first of the 'headlines' is 'old solemn ode sold for fender iron', while the seventh is 'no fetter for the absolute modern men'.²⁸⁸ While the 'old ode' is disposed of at the beginning of the poem, it still functions as a point of origin, showing that even the absolute modern men have a past. The technique of the poem also shows that the 'old ode' is

²⁸⁷ Edwin Morgan, 'The Beatnik in the Kailyard', in *Essays* (Cheadle: Carcanet New Press, 1974), p. 175.

²⁸⁸ Edwin Morgan, *The Second Life* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1968), p. 49.

physically contained within the phrase ‘il faut être absolument moderne’, demonstrating that the future, no matter how remote, is formed by the past.

While Morgan is in favour of poetic innovation, he cautions against a wholesale rejection of the past. In particular, he defends the Kailyard school, which MacDiarmid rejected because he objected to the idea it promoted of Scottish literature as unchallenging and sentimental. The Kailyard school emerged in the 1890s, and consisted of a group of novelists who wrote fiction set in an idealized, rural Scotland and did not engage in contemporary Scottish issues. Morgan writes:

No one would blame the modern Scottish Renaissance writers for their violent reaction against the Kailyard, but such a reaction was liable to depreciate certain central qualities, as if a man should refuse bread because he finds he can eat oysters.²⁸⁹

From Morgan’s point of view, all past literary movements, including the Kailyard, have contributed to the development of contemporary Scottish poetry, and are consequently historically significant. Kailyard is not only important as a past literary movement; its rejection by the Scottish Renaissance is also significant, as it was an attempt to reinvent literary Scottishness, which could not be understood if the Kailyard school were erased from history. Rather than rejecting the Kailyard, Morgan embraces it as an aspect of the Scottish literary past which formed the present.

Morgan concludes the *Beatnik* by arguing that it is important not to reject incongruous combinations of past and present elements of Scottish poetry, as these are a manifestation of true Scottish culture:

There are patterns and meaning in modern Scottish literature but writers who are most conscious of their Scottishness are often afraid to look for them in case the vivid image of the truth should overturn their

²⁸⁹ Morgan, ‘Beatnik’, p. 168.

notions of what “Scottish” ought to mean. If we see a beatnik in the kailyard, he is as well being studied as shot down.²⁹⁰

Morgan cautions against the idea of fixed identity, opening the way for Scottish poetry to explore new themes and concepts, and encouraging the creative use of traditions to enable the continued evolution of contemporary poetry. The past becomes a fluid entity, which changes to accommodate new developments: an extension of the present, rather than a time entirely divorced from it.

The above exemplifies Morgan’s general attitude to poetry, which is evident from the progression in his own collections; while he has a definite interest in experimental poetry and futuristic subjects, he is equally interested in Scotland’s literary past and linguistic origins. As Chris Jones writes, ‘Morgan is a Medievalist as well as a futurist’.²⁹¹ This is evident from Morgan’s engagement with Old English poetry, discussed in the following chapter. Although Morgan has written much poetry about the future, and regularly uses innovative and futuristic methods, according to Jones, ‘any notion that [Morgan] has eschewed the past for a brave new vision of the space-age future is crudely reductive.’²⁹² Morgan’s visions of the future have their origins in the past; he sees the past as a gateway to the future. This interaction is illustrated in his science fiction poems, as well as ‘The Archaeopteryx’s Song’ discussed above.

Morgan published *Stargate: Science Fiction Poems* in 1979, a collection focused on scientific developments such as cloning, particle physics, space travel and astronomy. Yet images of the past often appear in his descriptions of these futuristic

²⁹⁰ Morgan, ‘Beatnik’, p. 175.

²⁹¹ Jones, p. 149; Morgan, *Collected Poems* p. 176.

²⁹² Morgan, ‘Beatnik’, p. 176.

discoveries. In 'Particle Poems' Morgan personifies particles, humanizing the world of quantum physics, while observing its uncanny nature through the use of humour:

The old old old old particle
smiled. 'I grant you I'm not beautiful,'
he said, 'but I've got charm.
It's charm that's led me where I am.'

Opened up his bosom, showed me a quark.
It gleamed. He grinned like a clam. 'Sort of
heart, really, though I've got four.
They're in orbit, and what for'²⁹³

The six numbered 'Particle Poems' are reminiscent of riddles, which bring to mind the Anglo-Saxon riddles from the Exeter book. The reader feels compelled to guess the identity of the particle; for example, the 'old' particle above gives the clue of its age, the quark in its bosom, and its four orbiting 'hearts', which are probably electrons. Based on the 'hearts', one might guess the particle is Beryllium, which has an atomic number of four.

Beryllium is used in the construction of atomic clocks, which are the most accurate devices for measuring time; this is another hint at the identity of the particle, as in lines 20-24 there is a reference to time:

a book
of hours, and hours themselves like days
in love, and even nanoseconds raised
by charm to higher powers, wait
until I make them, and fade.²⁹⁴

The above can be interpreted as a description of the atomic clock: a 'book of hours' has the connotation of defining time, while the image of the creation of nanoseconds and their subsequent fading is reminiscent of a clock's creation of divisions of time. The image of the book of hours links this modern clock to medieval practices of time

²⁹³ Morgan, *Collected Poems*, p. 384.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

keeping, suggesting another link between Morgan's riddle and the riddles of the Exeter book. This is an incongruous intrusion of medieval history in the discussion of modern science, which illustrates Morgan's vision of human culture and development as one broad category, comprising past, present and future. Though very different, both book of hours and atomic clock were invented to address the same eternal human problem: measuring time.

Morgan also wrote poems on more mundane contemporary technological developments. He wrote a series of poems about a personified computer attempting various human activities, such as writing Christmas cards, with variable, but generally limited, success. The personification of the computer acknowledges technology's significant role in our everyday lives, while Morgan's language games in the Computer poems draw parallels between human language and code. For example, in 'The Computer's First Christmas Card', the Computer struggles to arrive at a Christmas greeting; it begins by combining Christmas-related words:

jollymerry
hollyberry
jollyberry
merryholly²⁹⁵

Several lines later, it becomes further removed from what it is trying to express:

Jerryjolly
bellyboppy
jorryhoppy
hollymoppy²⁹⁶

Morgan appears to be testing the elasticity of language, experimenting with sounds to see how far from the original words he can venture without losing the connection to the underlying meaning. If, as Saussure says, 'the sign unites, not a thing and a name,

²⁹⁵ Morgan, *The Second Life*, p. 50.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

but a concept and a sound-image', Morgan is testing to what extent he can modify the sound-image while continually drawing the reader back to the same concept.²⁹⁷

Finally, the computer gets hold of the word it is looking for, and it looks like the riddle may have been solved:

merrymerry
 merrymerry
 merryChris
 ammerryasa
 Chrismerry
 asMERRYCHR
 YSANTHEMUM²⁹⁸

At the last moment, the Computer changes tack, surprising the reader; Christmas may easily be confused with a Chrysanthemum, from the machine's perspective. This misappropriation of the signifier reveals a gap in language; although the computer is unsuccessful in its enunciation of a Christmas wish, the reader still makes the connection between 'MERRYCHR' and 'MERRYCHRISTMAS'. The disruption of the reader's expectation by the final line does not simply divert the reader onto the signified normally accessed via the word 'chrysanthemum', as the word 'merry' is still attached to the sign. This leads to the overlapping images of two signified, 'merry Christmas' and 'chrysanthemum' setting the religious celebration against a product of nature, causing amusement by surprise. 'The Computer's First Christmas Card' also challenges the reader's assumptions about language. The computer's use of language as a series of sounds in a trial-and-error process of looking for the right word emphasizes the arbitrary nature of the sign.

Morgan's poems often incorporate echoes of the past when dealing with the future, and to look to the future when dealing with the past. In all the instances

²⁹⁷ Saussure, Ferdinand de, 'Course in General Linguistics', in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, ed. by Vincent Leitch et al. (London: Norton, 2001), pp. 960-977, (p. 963).

²⁹⁸ Morgan, *The Second Life*, p. 50.

discussed above, Morgan demonstrates that technological, scientific and social developments in the present require that we look at the past with fresh eyes, allowing potentially embarrassing chapters such as the Kailyard school to acquire new meaning with the evolution of contemporary culture. Morgan shows that narratives of the past are shaped by the present, and affect visions of the future.

An immense panorama of futility? Kostas Montis and history

Kostas Montis (1914-2004) was poetically subversive and politically engaged. He participated in the EOKA Cypriot-Greek independence movement between 1955 and 1960, and often expressed anti-Athenian views. While Montis is interested in the past, many of his poems condemn History, suggesting that he is dissatisfied with official narratives of the past. In addition to challenging historical narratives, Montis also challenged the definition of poetry. He published several collections of ‘moments’ (‘στιγμές’), short poems of between one and four lines, often untitled, each of which was meant to capture a particular thought or emotion.

Montis wrote several ‘moments’ entitled ‘Ιστορία’ (‘History’) in which he challenges the usefulness of history for contemporary society. Montis inherited an evolved tradition of ‘historical’ poetry, as many canonical Greek poets of the late nineteenth and twentieth century considered history to be a highly significant subject in their work. One of the most notable is Constantine Cavafy (1863-1933). Cavafy used history in different ways in his poetry; in some poems the past is a moral allegory for the present, in others he writes exclusively about the past with no reference to the present, and in some the experience of the historical past is juxtaposed with the experience of one’s personal past. According to Roderick Beaton, ‘what is represented, questioned and constantly re-examined in Cavafy’s historical poems are not the facts of history (“What happened?”) but history itself (“How is history made?”)’.²⁹⁹ Cavafy was fascinated by history, and found solace in its order.

²⁹⁹ Roderick Beaton, ‘The History Man’, *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 10 (1983), pp. 23-44, (p. 31).

While Montis is, like Cavafy, aware of the constructed nature of history, he is not fascinated by it in the same way. He rejects history and presents it as a source of trauma. As Georgis puts it,

Η προσέγγισή του είναι αντιεθνικιστική, ανατρεπτική.
[...] Επιχειρεί μια αποδόμηση της παραδεδομένης
αντίληψης της Ιστορίας. Αμφισβητεί την εγκυρότητα,
τη χρησιμότητα και την αντικειμενικότητά της.³⁰⁰

His approach is anti-nationalist, subversive. [...] He attempts a deconstruction of the accepted notion of history. He questions its validity, usefulness and objectivity.

This position is evident in many of Montis' 'moments', where he attacks history for being invented, unnatural and useless.

In *Πικραϊνόμενος εν εαυτώ* (*Bitter Sadness Inside*, Nicosia 1975), Montis calls for the demolition of history:

Αρχίστε λοιπόν να κατεδαφίζετε την Ιστορία,
αρχίστε, επιτέλους, να κατεδαφίζετε την Ιστορία!³⁰¹

So start demolishing History,
start demolishing History at last!

The capitalisation of the 'I' in 'Ιστορία' is both a convention in modern Greek when referring to 'history' as opposed to 'the story', but also functions as a personification of History in some of Montis' poems. The poet's call for the demolition of history suggests he is disillusioned by it, and views it as redundant, or even as a hindrance to progress. The image of history as a physical structure to be torn down is a metaphor for history as a narrative structure, in which national foundation narratives support particular interpretations of the recent past. Montis' call to 'start' demolishing this structure hints at its embedded complexity, suggesting the demolition of history

³⁰⁰ Giorgos Georgis, 'Η Αποδόμηση της Ιστορίας', *Η Λέξη* 152 (July - August 1999), pp. 362-370, (p. 364).

³⁰¹ Kostas Montis, *Πικραϊνόμενος εν εαυτώ: ποιήματα* (Nicosia: [n.pub.], 1975), p. 4.

would be a long process, or even that it is a perpetual process that must be begun but can never be completed.

This poem echoes a fragment on history published in *Και τότε' εν ειναλίη Κύπρω...* (*And then Cyprus was invaded*, Nicosia 1974) under the bracketed title [Σκέψεις για την Ιστορία] ('Thoughts about history'):

Λοιπόν, φαντασθείτε την Ιστορία να καταρρέει,
φαντασθείτε το γδούπο της!³⁰²

Well now, imagine History collapsing,
imagine her thud!

There is an undercurrent of glee in imagining history's collapse emphasized by the colloquial word 'γδούπο'. The colloquial tone also undermines the intellectual superiority of history: were it to collapse, it would fall with a thud like any other structure.

In *Πικραινόμενος εν εαυτώ*, there is a more direct denunciation of history, in which the speaker addresses history's personification:

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ

Καταραμένη η στιγμή
που άνοιξες τα ντεφτέρια σου
να γράψεις το πρώτο συμβάν!³⁰³

HISTORY

Cursed be the moment
when you opened your books
to write down the first event!

The personification of history constructs it as an entity able to bear blame, transforming the abstract notion of history into a concrete individual with agency, capable of tormenting the poet. Montis personifies history as a woman and then levels

³⁰² Kostas Montis, *Και Τότε' Εν Ειναλίη Κύπρω: Ποιήματα* (Nicosia: [s.n.], 1974), p. 85.

³⁰³ Montis, *Πικραινόμενος*, p. 16.

accusations against her in many poems. In [Σκέψεις για την Ιστορία], the poet incites the reader to rebel against history:

Αντεπιτεθείτε, παιδιά,
γράψτε τη δική της Ιστορία
να δούμε πώς θα της αρέσει!³⁰⁴

Counterattack, guys,
write her History
let's see how she likes that!

In these poems it appears that Montis sees the recording of history as a violent act, and believes the narrative of history compromises his personal freedom. This combative relationship with history is reminiscent of the sentiment expressed repeatedly in James Joyce's *Ulysses*: 'It seems history is to blame'.³⁰⁵ Like Stephen Dedalus, Montis views History as a nightmare from which he is trying to awake.³⁰⁶ The narrative of the past hinders his personal expression in the present.

Elsewhere, Montis combines the observation of history's artificial nature with the expression of his disillusionment by the concept of statehood:

Ποιο «κράτος», κύριοι, ποιο «κράτος»;
Σ' αλλεπαλλήλους σωρούς «κρατών» πατάμε.
Δεν καταλαβαίνετε πως με τεχνητά μέσα
κρατάμε την Ιστορία στη ζωή;³⁰⁷

What "state", gentlemen, what "state"?
On repeating mounds of "states" we tread.
Do you not understand that by artificial means
we keep History alive?

Here, Montis draws attention to the artificial nature of history, but also connects the artificial construct of history to the state. The image of walking over mounds of deceased states suggests the survival and demise of political states is arbitrary like the

³⁰⁴ Montis, *Και Τοτ'Εν Ειναλίη*, p. 85.

³⁰⁵ James Joyce, *Ulysses: The 1922 text*, ed. by Jeri Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 30 and elsewhere.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

³⁰⁷ Kostas Montis and Andreas Christophides, eds., *Κυπριακή Ανθολογία Ποιήσεως* (Athens: Alvin Redman Hellas, 1965), p. 290.

historical narrative. This cynical view shows Montis has no faith in the state's ability to support or protect his individual identity, which he envisions as separate, walking on the remains of previous states. The phrase 'τεχνητά μέσα' refers both to artificial methods of constructing history, and to life support used on a dying person.

By comparing history to a dying person, Montis suggests that it is obsolete, as well as corrupt, as the image of the dying person carries associations with disease, death and decay. At the same time, he is drawing attention to the 'artificial' narrative techniques used to create history in the first place, and suggesting that it cannot be perpetuated without human participation. This contrasts with the 'demolition' poem, cited on page 162, where Montis suggests history is a well-established structure that will be difficult to get rid of; in the life support poem, on the contrary, he claims history requires constant input from people for its continued existence.

In addition to history's artificially constructed nature, Montis takes issue with the unilateral structure of official history. In 'ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΙΙΙ' ('HISTORY III'), Montis suggests that there are not enough narratives of the past to satisfy him:

Ας ανοίξει επιτέλους και κάνας άλλος μαγαζί πλάι της.³⁰⁸

Let someone else finally set up shop next to her.

The personification of History as a shopkeeper is interesting, because it constructs the past as a commodity. Montis' call for someone else to set up shop next to her suggests that he feels the official historical narrative, symbolized by the personified History, has a monopoly of the image of the past, and rather than presenting the distilled truth, she is simply suppressing other narratives by monopolizing the market. The idea of monopoly, and history as a shopkeeper, suggests that someone is gaining financially from the perpetuation of this unitary narrative.

³⁰⁸ Montis, *Και Τοτ'Εν Ειναλίη*, p. 24.

One could interpret some of Montis' history poems as reactions specifically against the Greek national centre. For example, some poems can be read as an attempt to differentiate himself from Cavafy, who despite having spent most of his life outside the Greek nation state as a peripheral literary figure, was part of the modern Greek literary canon by the time Montis was writing. Cavafy considered himself to have a special relationship with history; towards the end of his life, he is reported to have said:

Εγώ είμαι [...] ποιητής ιστορικός· ποτέ μου δεν θα μπορούσα να γράψω μυθιστόρημα ή θέατρον· αλλά αισθάνομαι μέσα μου 125 φωνές να με λένουν ότι θα μπορούσα να γράψω ιστορίαν.³⁰⁹

I am [...] a poet historian; I could never have written a novel or play; but I feel 125 voices inside me telling me that I could have written history.

This draws history close to poetry, suggesting that the two practices are similar, but also that poetry is an effective genre for engaging with the past.

In the following two single-line untitled 'moments', Montis expresses the opposite sentiment :

Εγώ δεν κάνω Ιστορία, για όνομα του Θεού!³¹⁰

I do not do History, for God's sake!

Όχι, είμαι αθώος από Ιστορία.³¹¹

No, I am innocent of History.

Montis' protestation of innocence casts history as something one can be guilty of, suggesting that engaging with it is a reprehensible activity. Despite this declaration of difference from Cavafy, Montis was deeply influenced by him, and acknowledges his

³⁰⁹ Lechonitis, G., *Καβαφικά αυτοσχόλια*, ed. by Timos Malanos, 2nd edn. (Athens: [D. Harvey], 1977), pp. 19-20.

³¹⁰ Montis, *Και Τοτ'Εν Ειναλίη*, p. 64.

³¹¹ Montis, *Εν Λευκωσία Τη... Ποιήματα* (Nicosia: Proodos, 1970), p. 7.

debts in interviews. For example, in an interview in *Διαβάζω* (*Diavazo*) magazine, he says ‘με συγκίνησε πολύ ο Καβάφης. Ήμωνα και θαυμαστής του. Νομίζω ότι είναι πάρα-πάρα πολύ μεγάλος ποιητής.’³¹² (Cavafy moved me deeply. I was a fan of his as well. I think he is a very-very great poet.) Andri Melki-Christidi argues ‘η παρουσία του Καβάφη είναι σχεδόν καθοριστική στη διαμόρφωση της ποιητικής του [Μόντη]’.³¹³ (‘Cavafy’s presence is almost decisive in the formation of Montis’ poetics.’) Nevertheless, Montis takes the opposite approach to history; where Cavafy sees history as a source of reassurance for the present, Montis alternately sees it as damaging and irrelevant. Ultimately, he rejects the nation’s infatuation with history; as he writes in *Και τότε εν ειναλίη Κύπρω...*, ‘Το ξέρετε πως το παρακάναμε με την Ιστορία;’ (‘Do you know that we have overdone it with History?’).³¹⁴

However, as is evident from the ‘moment’ of history as shopkeeper, Montis’ dissatisfaction lies with specific dominant historical narratives. Montis wrote several ‘moments’ opposing Hellenocentric versions of history. In addition to the poems cited above, which reject the official historical record in general, he writes poems against archaeology:

Αν εξαρτόταν από εμένα
θ’ απαγόρευα τις ανασκαφές.³¹⁵

If it were up to me
I would ban excavations.

The poet’s rejection of excavations constitutes a rebellion against a modern Greek identity that roots itself in the ancient past. Indeed, the previous ‘moment’ is a single line proclaiming ‘Λοιπόν, πολύ κάθισε απάνω απ’ τα κεφάλια μας η Ακρόπολη!’

³¹² Giorgos Galantis, “Κώστας Μόντης: Μόνο με το αίσθημα μπορείς να διδάξεις.” *Διαβάζω* 123, (12-25 June 1985), pp. 66-72, (p. 67).

³¹³ Melki-Christidi, Andri, ‘Ο καβαφικός Μόντης’, *Η Λέξη* 152 (1999), pp. 449-455, (p. 449).

³¹⁴ Montis, *Και Τότε Έν Ειναλίη*, p. 68.

³¹⁵ Montis, *Πικραινόμενος*, p. 11.

(‘Well, that Acropolis has hung over our heads for long enough!’), a theme which is reprised on the following page:³¹⁶

Δε μπορείς να γεννιέσαι με την Ακρόπολη απάνω απ’ το κεφάλι σου,
δε μπορείς να’ χεις ισοβίως την Ακρόπολη απάνω απ’ το κεφάλι σου.³¹⁷

It won’t do to be born with the Acropolis looming over your head,
it won’t do to have the Acropolis looming over your head for life.

This could be interpreted as both a rejection of the modern Greek identity broadcast by the modern Greek state, and a rejection of the Western image of Greeks as descended from ancient Greece. ‘Ισοβίως’ refers to the life sentence in prison, colloquially referred to as ‘ισόβια’. Montis sees the fetishized ancient past as the agent of the imprisonment of the present.

Montis’ claim that he would like to ban excavations is aggressive, the preceding ‘if it were up to me’ demonstrating his powerlessness before the force of national culture. The anti-excavation poem may also be a reaction against Seferis’ excavation poems, such as ‘Ο Βασιλιάς της Ασίνης’ (‘The King of Asine’)³¹⁸, or ‘Εγκωμη’ (‘Engomi’) and ‘Σαλαμίνα της Κύπρος’ (‘Salamis of Cyprus’) which he wrote following his visits to Cyprus in the 1950s.³¹⁹

Elsewhere, Montis questions the importance of the ancient past in a more light-hearted tone:

Σοφοί άνθρωποι οι αρχαίοι μας πρόγονοι
μα, ξέρω κ’ εγώ, κανένας δεν επέζησε.³²⁰

Wise people, our ancient ancestors
but, I don’t know, none of them survived.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Ibid, p. 12.

³¹⁸ George Seferis, *Ποιήματα*, 18th edn (Athens: Ikaros, 1994), pp. 185-187.

³¹⁹ Seferis, *Ποιήματα*, pp. 267-269. See pp. 237-243.

³²⁰ Kostas Montis, *Ανθολόγηση από τις "Στιγμές" 1958-1975*, ed. by Georgios P. Savidis (Athens: Kedros, 1978), p. 106.

By highlighting the fact that the ancient Greeks are, in fact, dead, Montis suggests that they are not immediately relevant to Greek or Cypriot-Greek identity. Furthermore, the poem demonstrates the humanity of the ancient Greeks, against a culture that visualizes them as super-human, verging on the divine. The observation of their mortality liberates Greeks of the present day from their shadow, and suggests that modern Greek culture is not necessarily lesser.

In another ‘moment’, Montis reacts more forcefully against fetishizing ancient history:

Αυτά τα συρματοπλέγματα των προγονικών αρετών,
αυτά τα συρματοπλέγματα της προγονικής Ιστορίας.³²¹

These barbed wire fences of ancestral virtues,
these barbed wire fences of ancestral History.

The reference to wire fences recollects the barbed wire used on the border dividing Cyprus; if Montis is drawing a parallel between ‘ancestral virtues’ and the physical barriers dividing Cyprus, perhaps he places a portion of the blame for the island’s division on those who are overly concerned about ancestral virtues. The reference to barbed wire also evokes the image of a concentration camp, comparing the fixation with ancient history to physical and mental confinement.

Overall, Montis relationship with the national past in his poetry is ambivalent. His rejection of history and archaeology suggests that he considers a past to be a burden to the nation’s present; however, his engagement with and criticisms of the practice of writing history suggest that he still considers the past to be significant, and is calling for new ways of engaging with the past rather than its complete erasure. As he phrases it, ‘let someone else open up shop next to her’.

³²¹ Montis, *Και Τοτ’ Εν Ειναλίη*, p. 63.

Chapter 4: Local Literary Languages: Invention or Revival?

In ‘The Beatnik in the Kailyard’, Edwin Morgan argues that the cultural dominance of England has a determining effect on the development of Scottish literature:

Although Englishmen do not have to worry about their relation or attitude to Scotland, the Scots have, and have long had, to worry about their relation and attitude to England, or to the English-speaking world. No country which has once been independent, and is then overshadowed in union with a more powerful partner, can develop naturally and happily.³²²

The unequal relationship between English and Scottish culture makes Scottish literature what Clémence Scalbert-Yücel describes as a ‘small literature’. That the term ‘small literatures’ emerged as a response to Pierre Bourdieu’s ‘field theory’; Bourdieu defined the field as an autonomous space of literary production with its own rules, situated within a broader culture. This schema, Scalbert-Yücel argues, becomes problematic in the case of ‘small’ literatures, because their field of cultural production cannot be described as ‘autonomous’.

Pascale Casanova borrowed the term ‘small literatures’ from Franz Kafka to describe ‘literary worlds that exist only in their unequal structural relationship to large (“great”) literatures.’³²³ Casanova differentiates the concept of ‘small literatures’ as expressed by Kafka from Deleuze and Guattari’s interpretation of Kafka’s diary, based on which they coined the term ‘minor literatures’. Casanova claims their interpretation is anachronistic, and that ‘anachronism is a form of literary

³²² Morgan, ‘Beatnik’, p. 166.

³²³ Casanova, p. 203; Clémence Scalbert-Yücel, ‘Languages, Politics and Field Theory – the Question of the Autonomy of Small Literatures’, *Nationalities Papers* 40, no. 3 (2012), pp. 315-320, (p. 316).

ethnocentrism used by the centres to apply their own aesthetic and political categories to texts.³²⁴

Small literatures often use ‘small languages’, which Scalbert-Yücel describes as ‘non-national, non-official, non-recognized and/or “dominated” languages.’³²⁵ The use of languages of this kind brings small literatures closer to identity movements or political worlds, even if not directly; she argues ‘language is not merely a tool; literature, a place where language issues are discussed and framed, is also a means to develop (and to affirm the existence of) these languages.’³²⁶ The affirmation of the existence of these languages also constitutes the affirmation of the existence of the cultures they represent.

The concept of ‘small’ literatures is useful in the discussion of Scottish and Cypriot literature. The relative position of their writing to the productions of the culturally dominant neighbour is at the forefront of the minds of the three poets discussed in this chapter. MacDiarmid supported the use of Scots as a literary language in defiance of critics such as Edwin Muir, who claimed there was no literary community in Scotland to support such an endeavour. Morgan took a more experimental approach to both poetry and language, but followed in MacDiarmid’s footsteps, trying to establish a uniquely Scottish literary discourse which could be in dialogue with international literary movements without going through the filter of ‘English’ literature. In Cyprus, Montis often engaged with questions of identity, but never fully defined his position as Cypriot or Greek, instead writing about both as ‘small’ literatures, leading one to wonder if he was using the terms ‘Cypriot’ and ‘Greek’ interchangeably.

³²⁴ Casanova, p. 204.

³²⁵ Scalbert-Yücel, p. 317.

³²⁶ Ibid.

This chapter explores the attitudes towards and experimentations with language of MacDiarmid, Morgan and Montis, contextualizing their literary practices within the dynamic of ‘small’ and ‘dominant’ literatures. While there are significant differences both in their attitudes and their approaches to questions of language, all three poets were affected by the perceived status of their literature as marginal, making the juxtaposition of their responses revelatory of the effects of a perceived marginality on literary culture. All three attempted to establish new relations between local languages and literature, arguing for local languages as a suitable medium for modern literature.

The language of poetry: Hugh MacDiarmid and the new Scots

In the first half of the twentieth century, Scottish writers were faced with a dilemma over which language to write in. While a Scottish identity was emerging which encouraged writers to distance themselves from English tradition, there was no obvious alternative literary language to English. In 1936, Edwin Muir summed up the problem as follows:

a Scottish writer who wishes to achieve some approximation to completeness has no choice except to absorb the English tradition, and [...] if he thoroughly does so his work belongs not merely to Scottish literature but to English literature as well. On the other hand, if he wishes to add to an indigenous Scottish literature, and roots himself deliberately in Scotland, he will find there, no matter how long he may search, neither an organic community to round off his conceptions, nor a major literary tradition to support him, nor even a faith among the people themselves that a Scottish literature is possible or desirable, nor any opportunity, finally, of making a livelihood by his work.³²⁷

MacDiarmid did not agree with this position. He believed that it was possible to create a Scots literary language through the simple act of writing literature in Scots. He created his own literary community, and adopted Fergusson and Dunbar as his poetic ancestors. MacDiarmid believed it was necessary to recreate a specifically Scottish language to enable the production of a truly Scottish literature. In many ways, MacDiarmid's views on language parallel Montis', as will be seen below; both poets take the position that language has an essential function in the ability of the writer to express their inner world. In 1927, MacDiarmid wrote 'English is incapable of affording a means of expression for certain of the chief elements of Scottish

³²⁷ Edwin Muir, *Scott and Scotland: The Predicament of the Scottish Writer* (London: Routledge, 1936), p. 15.

psychology.’³²⁸ This essentialist position on language is not entirely aligned with Edwin Morgan’s interpretation of the issue; however, his determination to engage Scots as a literary language enabled Hugh MacDiarmid to raise its status and make it a viable medium for the production of poetry, which had a significant effect on Edwin Morgan and subsequent generations of poets. As Douglas Dunn puts it, ‘MacDiarmid *made a language* as he wrote – not just “an individual voice”, but a language.’³²⁹ He achieved this by mixing different regional variants of Scots with words he found in old Scots poetry and antiquarian works on the language.

Edwin Muir was not impressed with MacDiarmid’s efforts. While he was willing to accept that MacDiarmid’s poetry was something new and creative, he contended that it left Scottish poetry ‘very much where it was before’.³³⁰ This was, he claimed, because MacDiarmid was feeling in English while writing in Scots, and ‘the major forms of poetry rise from a collision between emotion and intellect on a plane where both meet on equal terms’; he concludes that ‘Scots poetry can only be revived [...]when Scotsmen begin to think *naturally* in Scots. The curse of Scottish literature is the lack of a whole language, which finally means the lack of a whole mind.’³³¹

MacDiarmid was not deterred by Muir’s scepticism, writing increasingly complex and challenging long poems in Scots, like *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* (1926) and *To Circumjack Cencrastus* (1930), discussed in the previous chapter. MacDiarmid internalized Modernist aesthetics and philosophies, and modified them to suit his version of Scottish nationalism, in much the same way as mainland Greek poets adapted European modernism to allow them to promote a Greek nationalist

³²⁸ Hugh MacDiarmid, *Albyn: Shorter Books and Monographs*, ed. by Alan Riach (Manchester: Carcanet, 1996), p. 14.

³²⁹ Douglas Dunn, *The Faber Book of Twentieth-Century Scottish Poetry* (London: Faber, 1992), p. xxi.

³³⁰ Muir, p. 22.

³³¹ *Ibid.*

agenda, as will be discussed in Part 3. MacDiarmid's treatment of language was a significant part of this project.

Margery McCulloch argues that MacDiarmid was influenced by Stéphane Mallarmé in his views on language; Mallarmé perceived the choice of words to be of more central importance than the poem's meaning, claiming that 'Ce n'est pas avec des idées qu'on fait des vers, c'est avec des mots'.³³² This influence is evident in MacDiarmid's poem 'Gairmscoile', first published in *Penny Wheep* in 1926:

It's soon', no' sense, that faddoms the herts o' men,
And by my sangs the rouch auld Scots I ken
E'en herts that ha'e nae Scots 'll dirl richt thro'
As nocht else could - for here's a language rings
Wi' datchie sesames, and names for nameless things.³³³

Here MacDiarmid expresses an essentialist vision of the Scots language, claiming that it has a privileged connection with human emotion. MacDiarmid claims Scots has the ability to touch even those who do not understand the language, 'herts that ha'e nae Scots'. Locating knowledge of Scots in the heart rather than the mind suggests the language is more attuned to emotion than intellect. In addition to privileging signifier over the signified, 'It's soon', no sense, that faddoms the herts o' men' makes a universal claim about the artistic value of the Scots language. It's professed ability to provide 'names for nameless things' appropriates for it an almost supernatural power, claiming that it is not only as good as other literary languages, but better. This is a common claim to make when re-appropriating a local language and constructing it as literary.

Gavin Miller argues that the tendency to emphasize the sound quality of Scots constitutes an inferiorist mythology of the Scots language: arguing that a speaker or

³³² McCulloch, *Scottish Modernism*, p. 31.

³³³ MacDiarmid, *Complete Poems*, I, 74.

writer of Scots ‘possesses a magical language which communicates through direct sound-sense connections’, in addition to being inaccurate, ‘merely continues the familiar colonial opposition between English intellectualism and Scots sensuality.’³³⁴ This brings to mind Edward Said’s theory of Orientalism, in which the Western is always envisioned as intellectual and in opposition to the sensuality of the East: ‘The Oriental is irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, "different"; thus the European is rational, virtuous, mature, "normal"’.³³⁵

As a result, the language occupying the Oriental position is damned with praise: it is described as being more effective for articulating emotions, for expressing the speaker’s internal world, carrying the implication that it is useless for all practical and intellectual purposes. As Miller puts it,

In their eagerness to throw off the myth of Scots as substandard, broken English, Scottish writers and critics have tended to substitute a new, and equally inferiorist mythology – that of Scots as a primitive language which is naturally expressive of feelings, and naturally imitative of things.³³⁶

One could argue that this is precisely what MacDiarmid is doing when he claims ‘It’s soon’, no’ sense, that faddoms the herts o’ men’ and that Scots provides ‘names for nameless things’; yet MacDiarmid uses Scots to treat a broad variety of subjects, from the personal to the political, making a case for it as a living literary language. Consequently, although his own position on language is often essentialist and inferiorist, the effect of his language use is to create an independent Scottish literature, rather than to reinforce the stereotypes he occasionally voices about Scots as a language.

³³⁴ Gavin Miller, “‘Persuade without convincing...represent without reasoning’: The Inferiorist Mythology of the Scots Language’, in *Scotland in Theory*, ed. by Eleanor Bell and Gavin Miller (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), pp. 197-209, (p. 197).

³³⁵ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 40.

³³⁶ Miller, p. 208.

Miller's idea of linguistic inferiorism is based on Fanon's statement that the colonized individual tends to internalize the colonizer's criticisms of indigenous culture. The term 'inferiorism' is based on Alfred Adler's definition of an inferiority complex, in which the sufferer is convinced of his own eventual superiority.³³⁷ Fanon writes:

Every colonized people – in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality – finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country.³³⁸

Though Scotland was never a colony of England, this hegemonic relationship between languages could be argued to have developed after the Union. In the Scottish case, this was because English became the language of government and business, and so mastery of English for the Scots became a means of achieving financial and social success. This led Scots writing to become marginalized, though it was never specifically suppressed.

MacDiarmid's approach to writing in Scots was to try and expand the vocabulary and flexibility of the language as much as possible by using a mixture of spoken Scots and words found in historical or literary written sources. According to David Murison, MacDiarmid was inspired to write 'Gairmscoile', cited above, by the Norwegian linguistic situation, where the Laandsmal movement favoured the use of any words of Norwegian vocabulary in literature, regardless of local origin.³³⁹

³³⁷ Miller, p. 198.

³³⁸ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. by Charles Lam Markmann (London: Pluto, 1986), p. 18.

³³⁹ David Murison, 'The Language Problem in Hugh MacDiarmid's Work', in *The Age of MacDiarmid: Hugh MacDiarmid and his Influence on Contemporary Scotland*, ed. by P. H. Scott and A. C. Davis (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1992), pp. 83-99, (p. 85).

‘Gairmscoile’, meaning ‘school for poets’, is a poetic call to arms, urging the addressee to rise up against those who would suppress the Scots language.

It appears that C. M. Grieve conceived of the poetic persona of Hugh MacDiarmid to enact the changes the former identified as being necessary for the Renaissance of Scottish literature. MacDiarmid was invented in September 1922, when Grieve published ‘The Watergaw’ in *The Dunfermline Press*, attributing it to an anonymous friend. The poet MacDiarmid emerged from the Scots language, like the goddess Athena out of Zeus’ head: Grieve draws him out of an antiquarian work on Scots, Sir James Wilson’s *Lowland Scotch as spoken in the Lower Strathearn District of Perthshire* (Oxford University Press, 1915). Grieve describes reading the book, explaining ‘I possess a great delight in words: and the obsolete, the distinctively local, the idiomatic, the unusual, attract me strongly’.³⁴⁰ He then claims ‘a friend’ gave him the poem ‘The Water Gaw’, a two-stanza poem about a rainbow that experiments with the use of Synthetic Scots in poetry.

The persona of MacDiarmid was named and presented in an article Grieve wrote for *The Scottish Chapbook* in October 1922, where he presented ‘The Watergaw’ along with an editorial introducing the poet MacDiarmid, attributing to him independent thoughts and feelings. Alan Riach, editor of MacDiarmid’s *Selected Prose*, observes that the poet MacDiarmid was ‘born’ in the ‘*annus mirabilis* of modernism, the year which saw the publication of Joyce’s *Ulysses*, Eliot’s *The Waste Land* and Wittgenstein’s *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*’. This suggests that MacDiarmid was both part of the modernist movement and a response to it. The Kailyard school of sentimental local literature did not enable the daring

³⁴⁰ Christopher Murray Grieve, ‘North Middle Scots’, Dunfermline Press 1922, in *The Raucle Tongue: Hitherto Uncollected Prose*, ed. by Angus Calder, Glen Murray and Alan Riach, 3 vols (Manchester: Carcanet, 1996), I, 30-33, (p. 31).

experimentation characteristic of modernist literature. In order to participate in this discourse, Grieve needed a new language, and in order to create this new language he created the persona of MacDiarmid.

Grieve writes that MacDiarmid is interesting because he is ‘the first Scottish writer who has addressed himself to the question of the extendibility [...] of the Vernacular to embrace the whole range of modern culture’.³⁴¹ Grieve goes on to separate himself more explicitly from the poet, saying ‘it is an excessively difficult task, and I envy him his enthusiasm.’³⁴² In addition to establishing Grieve and MacDiarmid definitively as different characters, this statement suggests that Grieve felt unequal to the task of reviving Scots as a literary language, and needed the persona of MacDiarmid to lend him the confidence to do so.

Grieve explains that ‘the value of the Doric lies in the extent to which it contains lapsed or unrealized qualities which correspond to “unconscious” elements of distinctively Scottish psychology’.³⁴³ According to Grieve, the Scots language contains elements of Scottish identity which cannot be expressed in translation; this is similar to Kostas Montis’ ideas about Cypriot Greek, as will be discussed below. Grieve suggests that Scots can be ‘extended’ if it is used by more people in new contexts: ‘the whole trouble with the Doric as a literary language today is that the vast majority of its exponents are hopelessly limited culturally – and that the others [...] only use it for limited purposes’.³⁴⁴ The works of the poet MacDiarmid were largely an attempt to address this gap. For example as MacDiarmid explains in his *Glasgow Herald* advertisement for *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle*, the poem was ‘expressly

³⁴¹ Hugh MacDiarmid, ‘Introducing “Hugh M’Diarmid”’, in *Selected Prose*, ed. by Alan Riach (Manchester: Carcanet, 1992), pp. 9-12, (p. 10)

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Ibid, p. 11.

³⁴⁴ MacDiarmid, ‘Introducing “Hugh M’Diarmid”’, p. 11.

designed to show that braid Scots can be effectively applied to all manner of subjects and measures.³⁴⁵

By writing in Scots and championing an independent Scottish culture, MacDiarmid created a body of literature that can be used for the expression of a contemporary Scottish identity almost forty years after his death. As Clémence Scalbert-Yücel writes, ‘literature is a concrete tool that builds the nation as a community; literature also serves to build and spread a national identity.’³⁴⁶ MacDiarmid’s development of Scots as a literary language contributed to the establishment of a local Scottish literature that could continue to function as a foundation for Scottish identity in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

³⁴⁵ Hugh MacDiarmid, advertisement for *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle*, *Glasgow Herald*, 17 December 1925.

³⁴⁶ Scalbert-Yücel, p. 315.

Whose heritage? Edwin Morgan, Old English and the language of Scotland

Edwin Morgan continued Hugh MacDiarmid's search for a Scottish literary language; however, Morgan's approach became increasingly outward-looking, moving from a search for the roots of Scottish literature in Old English to an exploration of how far language can stretch the definition of poetry. This included experimentation with concrete poetry, translations, and poetry in foreign languages, spoken by neither Morgan nor most of his readers. MacDiarmid was not supportive of Morgan's approach; in a letter to Maurice Lindsay he wrote a scathing rejection of concrete poetry and Morgan's involvement in it:

Morgan's prominence in connection with 'Concrete Poetry' and with Ian Hamilton Finlay rules him out completely as far as I am concerned. I will not agree to work of mine appearing in any anthology or periodical that uses rubbish of that sort, which I regard as an utter debasement of standards but also a very serious matter involving the very identity of poetry. These spatial arrangements of isolated letters and geometrically placed phrases, etc. have nothing whatever to do with poetry – any more than mud pies can be called architecture.³⁴⁷

This chapter will argue that Morgan's concrete poetry plays an important role in stretching the definitions of both poetry and Scottishness, allowing the writer to function within the complexities of modern society and produce work that is relevant as well as innovative. In particular, it will explore how Morgan uses concrete poetry to free himself from the constraints of language, and to acquire an enhanced poetic licence which allows him to escape the Caledonian Antisyzygy, the condition identified by G. Gregory Smith in his 1919 *Scottish Literature: Character and*

³⁴⁷ Colin Nicholson, *Edwin Morgan: Inventions of Modernity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 42.

Influence, in which he argued that ‘in his literature the Scot [always] presents two aspects which appear contradictory’.³⁴⁸

Morgan successfully negotiates the difficulties of language in his writing, mainly by embracing Scots, English, Old English, and all the possibilities in between. He locates identity in different aspects of the past from MacDiarmid, who in his more moderate moments believed Scottish poets should trace their origins to Scots and Gaelic, and said “Anglo-Saxon is not for us”.³⁴⁹ Rather than choosing his allegiance to one camp or the other, and writing either in English or in Scots, Morgan blurs the boundaries between the two, calling into question the need for, or indeed, the feasibility of choice.

The tone for Morgan’s approach to language is set by his early engagement with Old English literature; between 1947 and 1950, he translated *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer* and *Beowulf* into English, because he felt earlier translations were no longer satisfactory once he studied the texts in their original.³⁵⁰ Morgan is not overly concerned about Scottish diglossia. As Jones puts it,

Morgan is not a poet excised by the dilemma of being born with a forked tongue, of having to choose between allegiance to English or to Scots. Both these dialects are united in an Anglo-Saxon root, a common grounding which acts for Morgan as an apotropaic preventative against the linguistic schizophrenia suffered by many Scots poets.³⁵¹

Jones argues that it would be a mistake to interpret Morgan’s embracing of the Old English roots of Scots, and his and other poets’ translation of Old English poems and use of Anglo-Saxon poetic techniques as ‘the attempt of a post-colonial devolved

³⁴⁸ Smith, G. Gregory, *Scottish Literature: Character and Influence* (London: Macmillan, 1919), p. 11.

³⁴⁹ McGuire and Nicholson, p. 98.

³⁵⁰ Jones, p. 169; Marco Fazzini, ‘Edwin Morgan - Two Interviews’, *Studies in Scottish Literature* 29, no. 1 (1996), pp. 45-57, (p. 53).

³⁵¹ Jones, p. 164.

nation to write itself into and over the former imperial centre by appropriating its own literary origins (origins in which certain custodians of “The English Tradition” were quite uninterested)’.³⁵² According to Jones, this is because the parallel evolution of Old English in Scotland and England is a historical fact, rather than a post-colonial projection.

However, Morgan’s emphasis on Old English poems and techniques in his work is politically significant regardless of the truth of its historical connection, or how the ‘custodians of “The English Tradition”’ may have felt about it. By drawing on the common roots of Scots and English Morgan displays cultural confidence. He highlights the fact that Scots, as a language, developed in parallel with English, rather than being derived from it, and thus makes a case for it as a national language of equal standing. Morgan’s return to the Old English roots of Scots is an affirmation rather than a betrayal of independent Scottish identity; as Jones writes, ‘this non-exclusivist attitude to Scots and English does not undermine the sincere deep-rooted nationalism of Morgan’s work; rather, it marks it as far more mature and thoughtful than that of a poet such as MacDiarmid.’³⁵³

The above attitude to Scots contrasts with the ‘inferiorist mythology’ as described in Miller’s article discussed with reference to Hugh MacDiarmid’s views on language.³⁵⁴ Thus Morgan’s return to the Old English roots of Scots transcends the hegemonic interaction between Scots and English, as it largely removes the need to negotiate the value of Scots against English. In reducing the idea to the absurdity of comparing value of any languages with a common root, he diffuses some of the cultural tension between England and Scotland. At the end of his article, Miller

³⁵² Jones, p. 164.

³⁵³ Ibid, pp. 122-123.

³⁵⁴ See p. 179.

concludes that ‘if Scotland is to change, then it must abandon its inferiorist ideas about its own language – in particular, the myth which insists that the truest Scot is one incapable of rational thought.’³⁵⁵ Morgan’s work addresses this by including pieces of high intellectual and artistic merit in both Scots and English, including his translation of *Beowulf* which is still in print today.

Furthermore, it is worth noting that *The Dream of the Rood*, though it is carved into the Ruthwell Cross, found in Dumfriesshire, was not claimed as a Scottish cultural production until it was included in *The New Penguin Book of Scottish Verse*, edited by Robert Crawford and Mick Imlah in 2001.³⁵⁶ Consequently, when Morgan published his first translations of *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* in 1950, his interaction with Old English texts as a Scottish Poet was both new and somewhat subversive.

The way Morgan interacts with his Old English sources is revealing of his attitude towards the past; for example, in his translation of ‘The Ruin’ he fills many of the original text’s gaps. According to Jones,

In rebuilding *The Ruin*, filling the gaps and manufacturing a fluency not warranted by the original, we see Morgan’s willingness to interfere with the monuments of the past. Morgan does not believe in preservation of the past for the past’s sake.³⁵⁷

This suggests Morgan wants a productive relationship with the past; his commitment to exploring the past suggests that it is not possible to escape its influence without first becoming familiar with it. In the case of *The Ruin*, by granting the poem a

³⁵⁵ Miller, p. 208.

³⁵⁶ Fiona Stafford, “‘What is the language using us for?’: Modern Scottish Poetry”, in *The Cambridge companion to Scottish literature*, ed. by Gerard Carruthers and Liam McIlvanney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 233-247, (p. 235).

³⁵⁷ Jones, p. 149.

fluency it previously lacked, Morgan is complicit in the creation of a coherent past which belies the fragmentation of the historical record just as his reconstructed version of *The Ruin* belies the fragmentation of the original text. Morgan recognizes the necessity of this vision of a coherent past for the establishment of a Scottish literary identity in the present.

Morgan's modes of speech stretch beyond forms of English and Scots. For example, 'The Loch Ness Monster's Song' is structured as a series of questions and answers, in 'words' constructed to convey the sounds a mythical lake monster may make. It is an extended use of onomatopoeia based on a series of imagined sounds, and is interesting as an articulation of Scottish identity: by giving the monster a voice, Morgan gives solid form to a Scottish myth. This can be interpreted as a counterargument to linguistic inferiorism, as Morgan demonstrates that even the Loch Ness monster, which is both non-human and imaginary, is worthy of its own literary tradition in its native language. The monster says:

Sssnnnwhuffffll?
Hnwhuffl hhnwfl hnfl hnfl?
Gdroblboblhobngobl gbl gl g g g glbgl.³⁵⁸

Although no meaning emerges from the monster's sounds in the conventional sense, there is a definite pattern and rhythm to the poem, as though Morgan is pointing out that there is more to language than words. The monster has its own grammar and sentence structure, highlighted by the many questions posed in the poem.

Nevertheless, there are echoes of real language behind the Monster's sounds; the first line could say 'snuffle', the second 'huff', and the first 'word' of the third 'Good rob bull bobble hob and gobble'. This is because if one tries to read the series

³⁵⁸ Morgan, *Collected Poems*, p. 248.

of consonants aloud, inevitably a vowel sound emerges between. Thus ‘Gdroblboblhobngbl’ becomes ‘Gudrobulboblhonungobul’, which can be separated into the words mentioned above.

However, it seems that the monster is cosmopolitan, as line six of the poem is far more reminiscent of Russian or other Eastern European languages than of English:

Hovoplodok – doplodovok – plovodokot – doplodokosh?

The ending of words in ‘k’ rather than ‘ck’ is not characteristic of English, nor are the multiple ‘o’ sounds. Indeed, the –ok ending is the Russian diminutive suffix; for example ‘Gorodok’, from the root ‘Gorod’, means small town. ‘Hoplodok’ is similar to the Russian word ‘Holodok’, from the root word ‘Holod’, which means cold. ‘Holodok’ is the colloquial name for breath mints. The word ‘doplodovok’ resembles to the word ‘doplodok’, meaning diplodocus. The Loch Ness monster is usually imagined as a creature with a long neck, resembling a diplodocus, so perhaps the monster is trying to describe itself in Russian.³⁵⁹ It is known that Morgan was interested in Russian language and literature, as he translated many poems by Mayakovsky. By showing an emblem of Scottish identity such as the Loch Ness Monster emitting sounds from another language, Morgan suggests that hybridity can emerge from the most stereotypical manifestations of national identity.

The Loch Ness Monster’s speech exhibits elements of a variety of other Eastern European languages. The line cited above also resembles Hungarian, in terms of the structure of the words with alternating consonants and vowels, as well as the word endings.³⁶⁰ A few words within the poem have meanings in Eastern European

³⁵⁹ Information provided by Elena Vasilieva, Russian native speaker.

³⁶⁰ Information provided by Menya Horvath, Hungarian native speaker.

languages; for example, ‘Grof’ means Count in Hungarian, and ‘fok’ is the word for foresail in Polish as well as Serbian, while it means ‘degree’ in Hungarian.

It is evident from other poems that Morgan was interested in Eastern European languages; for example, ‘Siesta of a Hungarian Snake’ makes the shape of a snake using the letters ‘s’ and ‘z’:

s sz sz SZ sz SZ sz ZS zs ZS zs zs z

This play on the common Hungarian phoneme ‘sz’³⁶¹ suggests that poetry can bridge the gap between languages, regardless how distant they are from one another: the shape of the snake emerges regardless of language choice, and the sibilant ‘s’ is associated with snakes in many languages.

A similar example is the poem ‘Hortobágy’, in which Morgan repeats the word ‘ló’, which is Hungarian for horse, in the shape of a horse’s mane.³⁶² Although the horse’s mane image is not as obvious as the snake mentioned above, by using the name of a region famous for its horses as its title, Morgan gives a clue to the non-Hungarian speaker of the poem’s content.³⁶³ His use of concrete poetry enables him to explore the interaction between language and meaning, as well as the function of the poem as object.

Comparing concrete poetry to abstract painting, Morgan argues that the very use of words inhibits the abstraction of poetry:

In poetry you get the oyster as well as the pearl, and the pursuit of purity is self-defeating. The best concrete poems it seems to me acknowledge this fact inversely; their anatomy may be rigid and exoskeletal,

³⁶¹ Nicholson, p. 95.

³⁶² Morgan, *Collected Poems*, p. 212.

³⁶³ Nicholson, p. 94.

but there is something living and provocative
inside.³⁶⁴

Morgan used the poetic licence afforded by concrete poetry to explore linguistic as well as political issues: his focus on Eastern Europe is representative of his left-leaning political views. Each of his concrete poems contains layers of meaning, which emerge through interpretation of every element of the poem, demonstrating the capabilities of fixed poetic form. As Fiona Stafford writes, Morgan's experimental poetic practices cause choices between English and Scots to appear 'suddenly displaced by different questions about the constitution of words, grammar, poetic form and the way in which meaning emerges from the page.'³⁶⁵ By observing the social construction of language and bringing it to the reader's attention, Stafford argues, Morgan 'challenged Scots poetry to embrace new methods of representation', moving from a binary to a multiple understanding of the world.³⁶⁶ In addition to issuing this challenge, Morgan's multiple view of reality and language contextualized Scottish poetry in an international literary universe, enabling it to cease defining itself against the English canon.

Morgan's renewed interpretation of the origins of the Scots language through both his explorations of its roots, and his challenges of our perceptions of language, is important for the development of Scottish poetry in general. It indicates a movement away from the search for a pure culture and towards what Cairns Craig advocates: 'we have to see our cultural space precisely as the intersection of many narratives: an acceptance of simultaneity.'³⁶⁷ By expanding the intersection of narratives underpinning Scottish identity into Eastern Europe, Morgan transcends and challenges

³⁶⁴ Nicholson, p. 94.

³⁶⁵ Stafford, 'What Is the Language Using Us For?', p. 238.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ Cairns Craig, *Out of History: Narrative Paradigms in Scottish and English Culture* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1996), p. 223.

the cultural dominance of England, showing that Scottish culture can interact with others despite barriers of distance and language, and without the intervention of England.

The language you first spoke: Kostas Montis and the poetic kernel

Kostas Montis writes in both Cypriot Greek and Mainland Greek; some critics have argued that his use of Cypriot Greek is limited to the treatment of lighter subjects, but Montis disagrees with this claim. Like Morgan, Montis uses formal innovation to circumvent some of the problems of writing from the position of a minority culture and in a local language. His ‘moments’ have an ideological foundation geared towards accessing the truth; as he explains:

Προσπάθησα να αποβάλω την περιφέρεια, τον περίγυρο του ποιήματος και να κρατώ μονάχα το κουκούτσι, το εσωτερικό κουκούτσι, να δίνω τον πυρήνα του ποιήματος και να αφήνω τον αναγνώστη να βρίσκει τα σκαλιά που οδηγούν στον πυρήνα και τα σκαλιά που οδηγούν πέρα από τον πυρήνα. Κι όπως καταλαβαίνετε, τα σκαλιά είναι διαφορετικά για κάθε αναγνώστη.³⁶⁸

I tried to expel the outer parts, the surrounding of the poem, and to keep only the kernel, the inner kernel, to give the nucleus of the poem and leave the reader to find the stairs that lead to the nucleus and the stairs that lead beyond the nucleus. And as you understand, the stairs are different for each reader.

Montis believes there is a fixed entity that is the poem, which his writing enables the reader to access through a decoding process. The process of reading is subjective, but the truth accessed through the act of reading is objective and shared by both readers and writer. Montis imagines a journey between signifier and signified which varies for each reader, but has fixed points of origin and end: the steps are different, but the kernel remains.

The idea of the kernel suggests the poem is something which exists *a priori*, the poet’s function being to faithfully convey the poem to the audience. This idea of

³⁶⁸ Kostas Montis, ‘Στους Λογοτέχνες ο Πόνος Είναι Έμπνευση’, *Η Λέξη* 152 (1999), pp. 405-407, (p. 405).

the kernel is reminiscent of Chris Jones' account of the reception of *Beowulf*, discussed in the introduction: Jones argues that although readers experience the poem through a broad range of different translations, 'despite the material constitution of the text being fundamentally different in each case, we tend to assume that we can all discuss "the poem" underlying these differing verbal manifestations.'³⁶⁹ Montis imagines an inalienable poetic centre to his 'moments' comparable to the imagined *Beowulf* poem discussed in the introduction.³⁷⁰

In Montis' thought, however, the idea of the kernel does not negate the significance of the language in which the poem is written; rather, the language is determined by the nature of the kernel. This is evident in his single-stanza untitled poem about poetry in Cypriot Greek, published in 1975:

Και τι θα γίνει η ποίηση
που πρέπει να γραφτεί στην Κυπριακή διάλεκτο
και τι θα γίνει η ποίηση
που δεν έχει άλλη εκλογή;³⁷¹

And what will happen to the poetry
which must be written in the Cypriot dialect
and what will happen to the poetry
that has no other choice?

Here Montis questions the dominance of Standard Modern Greek, suggesting that there are some things that can only be fully expressed in Cypriot Greek. It is particularly interesting that he chooses to make this point using Standard Modern Greek, as this opens the poem to a non-Cypriot Greek audience, suggesting either that this is an issue that affects non-Cypriot Greek speakers, or that the lack of recognition of Cypriot-Greek poetry is an injustice inflicted from the outside to which he wishes to draw the world's attention.

³⁶⁹ Jones, p. 148.

³⁷⁰ See p. 59.

³⁷¹ Montis, *Πικραινόμενος*, p. 9.

Montis has claimed in essays and interviews that there are certain things only one's native language can express, explaining his position with regard to Cypriot Greek:

είναι μερικά πράγματα που περιέργως δεν μπορείς να τα δώσεις σ' άλλη γλώσσα απ' τη γλώσσα που πρωτομίλησες, πράγματα που αξίζουν τον κόπο να λεχθούν και που θα χαθούν αν δεν τους δώσουμε το γλωσσικό ένδυμα που ανεξήγητα απαιτούν από μόνα τους.³⁷²

there are some things which strangely you can't convey in any other language, aside from the one you first spoke, things which are worth the effort of being said and which will be lost if we do not give them the linguistic apparel which inexplicably they demand of their own accord.

While Montis supports the use of Cypriot Greek here, he also takes an essentialist position on language, which could be an expression of linguistic inferiorism: he is internalizing the criticisms of Cypriot Greek that position it as an inferior language that is more suited to emotional than rational states, and restating them as virtues.

Papaleontiou has argued that Montis' use of Cypriot Greek is limited to certain lighter subjects appropriate for the composition of poetry in a local dialect. As he puts it,

τα ιδιωματικά κείμενά του συνιστούν 'διαλείμματα χαράς' (κατά την έκφραση του Α. Χριστοφίδη), αφού ξεφεύγουν από τον πεσιμισμό της υπόλοιπης παραγωγής του και καταπιάνονται με τον ανέμελο έρωτα ή με άλλες ευφρόσυνες στιγμές της κυπριακής ζωής.³⁷³

his Cypriot-Greek texts constitute 'intervals of joy' (to use A. Christophides' expression), since they escape the pessimism of the rest of his production and deal with carefree love or other pleasant moments of Cypriot life.

³⁷² Michalis Pieris, 'Κώστας Μόντης ο "ενοχλητικός" ποιητής', *Πολίτης* (1981), pp. 62-69, (p. 62).

³⁷³ Papaleontiou, p. 24.

Montis categorically denies this, and argues that some poems need to be written in Cypriot-Greek as a result of their poetic essence:

Ελέχθη ότι η γραφή ποιημάτων στο κυπριακό γλωσσικό ιδίωμα είναι μια προσπάθεια φυγής. Κλείνω δηλαδή την πόρτα στα μεγάλα θέματα για να βγω έξω να ξεκουραστώ. Νομίζω ότι δεν είναι αυτός ο λόγος. Μερικά πράγματα από την υφή τους πρέπει να γραφτούν στη γλώσσα που πρωτομίλησες.³⁷⁴

It has been said that the composition of poems in the Cypriot linguistic vernacular is an attempt at escapism. In other words that I close the door on the grand subjects to go outside and rest. I do not believe this is the reason [for their composition]. Some things by their very texture must be written in the language you first spoke.

Although Montis expresses the essentialist position that certain subjects demand a certain linguistic medium of expression, he resents the suggestion that the poetry he writes in Cypriot Greek is easier or more frivolous.

Critics have interpreted Montis' poems in Cypriot Greek or referencing Cypriot Greek culture as attempts to avoid the restrictions of literary writing. On the subject of Montis' poems 'Οι ποιητές για τους άλλους (με τον ποιητάρικο τρόπο)' ('Poets on others (in the poietarides' style)') and 'Ένας ποιητάρης (ή και ποιητής) παραπονιέται' ('A Cypriot Poietaris (or even poet) complains'), Papaleontiou interprets Montis' use of the Poietaris' persona as follows:

ο λόγιος ποιητής Μόντης, χωρίς να παύει να εκτιμά τους ποιητάρηδες ως αυθεντικούς φορείς της τοπικής λαϊκής παράδοσης, προτιμά να χρησιμοποιήσει την πρωτόγονη, κάποτε απλοϊκή αλλά για την κάθε περίπτωση δραστική φωνή τους για να διατυπώσει πράγματα που, αν λέγονταν αλλιώς, δηλαδή στην κοινή νεοελληνική ή από την σκοπιά ενός έντεχνου

³⁷⁴ Montis, 'Στους λογοτέχνες', p. 407.

ποιητή, ίσως ακούγονταν ως άκομψα ή υπερβολικά και μη πειστικά.³⁷⁵

the intellectual poet Montis, without ceasing to appreciate the poietares as authentic bearers of local folk tradition, prefers to use their primitive, sometimes simplistic but for every situation effective voice in order to enunciate things which, if they were said differently, as in using the common Standard Modern Greek language or from the perspective of a refined poet, might sound inelegant or exaggerated and unconvincing.

Papaleontiou represents Cypriot Greek in inferiorist terms: he describes it as ‘primitive’ (‘πρωτόγονη’) and ‘simplistic’ (‘απλοϊκή’), common criticisms of ‘non-literary’ languages, but also describes it as always highly effective (‘δραστική’), suggesting that in a limited range of cases simplicity and primitiveness are advantages. In fact, the above adjectives apply to the voice (‘φωνή’) of the poietares, suggesting that both their language and style of expression are inferior, while also attaching them to oral rather than printed poetry. Though it is true that the poietares are traditionally oral poets, their poetry has been printed as well as performed for more than a century, so describing them as uniquely oral is inaccurate.

The word ‘simplistic’ (‘απλοϊκή’) and the juxtaposition of the poietares to the ‘refined poet’ (‘έντεχνος ποιητής’) suggests incompatibility of poietares with intellectualism. The adjective ‘δραστική’, while meaning effective, emphasizes action over contemplation, supporting the image of the Cypriot language as more physical and emotional than mainland Greek, following Said’s Orientalist schema. It appears that Papaleontiou has ‘come to internalize the message that local customs are inferior’ in this case to the customs of culturally dominant Greece, as each adjective he applies

³⁷⁵ Lefteris Papaleontiou, *Όψεις της ποιητικής του Κώστα Μόντη* (Athens: Sokoli, 2006), p. 48.

as a compliment to Cypriot Greek also establishes it as an intellectually inferior language.³⁷⁶

Although the vast majority of Greek-speakers in Cyprus are native speakers of Cypriot Greek, there has been little support for Cypriot Greek as a literary language in the last two centuries. In contrast to Scotland, where Scots has been mooted as a literary language on and off since the Union made English the official language, and has been closely related to the expression of Scottish national identity, in Cyprus the majority of respondents to a linguistic survey in 1996 considered Standard Modern Greek a more appropriate language for official and literary purposes.³⁷⁷ This results in what Miller would call an inferiorist view of Cypriot Greek.

The above is evident in critics' readings of Montis poetry. When commenting on Kostas Montis' use of Cypriot Greek and the persona of a traditional poet, Papaleontiou writes:

η περσόνα του ποιητάρη ίσως λειτουργεί ως δικλείδα ασφαλείας, που επιτρέπει στον ποιητή να εκθέσει προβληματισμούς του γύρω από τη θέση του λογοτέχνη στην κοινωνία ή να υποβάλει την έγνοια του για την τύχη του έργου του, χωρίς να φανεί αλαζονικός ή υπερβολικά αυτάρεσκος. Από μια σκοπιά, η χρήση της περσόνας του ποιητάρη σε όψιμα κείμενα του Μόντη θα μπορούσε να θεωρηθεί ειρωνική αποστασιοποίηση. Ας θυμηθούμε παρενθετικά εδώ ότι «αφελείς» ή αναξιόπιστοι ήρωες υπάρχουν και στην καθαφική ποίηση.³⁷⁸

the persona of the poetaris may function as a sort of safety valve, which allows the poet to articulate worries about the position of the writer in society or to state his worry about the fate of his work without seeming conceited or too self-satisfied. From a certain perspective, the use of the persona of the poetaris in

³⁷⁶ Miller, p. 197.

³⁷⁷ Lydia Sciriha, *A Question of Identity: Language Use in Cyprus* (Nicosia: Intercollege Press, 1996), p. 12, (pp. 84-86).

³⁷⁸ Papaleontiou, p. 46.

important texts by Montis could be interpreted as ironic distancing. Let us remember parenthetically at this point that ‘innocent’ or unreliable heroes are also found in Cavafy’s poetry.

Papaleontiou’s reading of Montis’ use of the *poietaris*’ persona as ironic denies the possibility that an educated poet could find inspiration in that tradition. He sets the *Poietaris* as the intellectual poet’s antithesis, a filter to enable the poet to address his audience without appearing too conceited. He also suggests that ‘ironic distancing’ is a device used by Cavafy, contextualizing Montis’ style in the Greek literary canon and erasing any local attachment his engagement with the *poietarides* might imply.

Yet Montis is in favour of the use of Cypriot Greek and the engagement with Cypriot culture in poetry, and he does not distinguish between topics which are appropriate for Cypriot Greek and topics which need to be expressed in intellectual Standard Modern Greek, even if he does take the essentialist position that some things demand expression in a particular language. Montis supports the idea of Cypriot Greek as a living, evolving language, which should be used rather than simply preserved. As he says:

Η μουσειακή διάσωση του κυπριακού ιδιώματος τίποτα συναφές δεν έχει να προσφέρει ούτε καν τις δυνατότητες να μελετηθεί σωστά και κατά βάθος ο χαρακτήρας, ο πολιτισμός κι η Ιστορία, ή άλλη, αθέατη όψη της Ιστορίας του Κυπριακού λαού.³⁷⁹

The preservation of Cypriot Greek as a museum exhibit has nothing tangible to offer, nor does it provide the prerequisites for the correct and in-depth study of the character, civilisation and History, or another, invisible aspect of the History of the Cypriot people.

Montis’ interest in Cypriot Greek is not folkloric; it constitutes an aspect of his identity, which he is not willing to ignore in order to fit into the literary establishment.

³⁷⁹ Pieris, ‘Μόντης ο “ενοχλητικός” ποιητής’, p. 62.

It appears Montis wishes to present Cypriot-Greek poetry as equal in value to poetry in Standard Modern Greek, which is evident from his publication practices: Montis was one of the first Cypriot-Greek poets since Michailidis to publish poems in Cypriot and Standard Modern Greek in the same volume, thus refusing to position himself as either literary or local. Indeed, Pasiardis argues that Montis' decision to publish in this way enabled the production of mixed collections for future generations of poets. On reading Montis' collection 'Songs of the humble life' («Τραγούδια της ταπεινής ζωής») he writes:

Τότε σκέφτηκα ότι «νομιμοποιείται» να περιλαμβάνονται σε μια συλλογή ποιήματα, άλλα γραμμένα στην πανελλήνια κοινή και άλλα στην τοπική λαλιά.³⁸⁰

Then I thought it was 'legitimated' to include in one collection poems of which some were written in Standard Modern Greek, and others in the local vernacular.

Although many poets before Montis, including Lipertis and Michailidis, wrote in both Standard Modern Greek and Cypriot Greek, few of them published mixed collections including poetry in both languages, Michailidis' 1911 *Ποιήματα* being a notable exception.

However, rather than a sign that he has amalgamated the Cypriot and Greek aspects of his identity into one flawless whole, Montis' refusal to take sides could be a manifestation of his internal confusion. In several poems he strongly identifies either as Cypriot or as Greek, but he does not deal with both identities simultaneously in any. Furthermore, he does not write about the presence of other types of Cypriot identity as some other poets do; Turkish Cypriots are largely absent from his work.

³⁸⁰ Michalis Pasiardis, 'Στιγμές για τον Μόντη', *Η Λέξη* 152 (1999), pp. 402-403, (p. 402).

This suggests that he merges the ideas of Greekness and Cypriotness by ignoring the differences between the two, using the terms interchangeably.

This has led some critics, such as Giorgos Georgis, in his article cited earlier about Montis' deconstruction of history, to read Montis' expressions of Greek and Cypriot identities as proof that Cypriot identity is purely Greek.³⁸¹ Georgis cites two poems in support of his argument: an untitled 'moment' about being Cypriot, and a poem entitled 'Έλληνες ποιητές' ('Greek poets'):

Φαίνεται πως ήμουνα Κύπριος
πριν έχω πατέρα Κύπριο,
φαίνεται πως ήμουνα Κύπριος
πριν έχω μητέρα Κύπρια,
πριν γεννηθώ στην Κύπρο,
εκ προγενετής.³⁸²

It seems I was Cypriot
before I had a Cypriot father,
It seems I was Cypriot
before I had a Cypriot mother,
before I was born in Cyprus,
from before birth.

ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ ΠΟΙΗΤΕΣ
Ελάχιστοι μας διαβάζουν,
ελάχιστοι ξέρουν τη γλώσσα μας,
μένουμε αδικαίωτοι και αχειροκρότητοι
σ' αυτή τη μακρινή γωνιά,
όμως αντισταθμίζει που γράφουμε ελληνικά.³⁸³

GREEK POETS

Few read us,
few know our language,
we remain unvindicated and unapplauded
in this distant corner,
but our writing in Greek restores the balance.³⁸⁴

³⁸¹ Georgis, p. 368.

³⁸² Kostas Montis, cited by Georgis, p. 369

³⁸³ Ibid.

³⁸⁴ Cavafy wrote several poems about poets writing in Greek in distant corners of the Greek speaking world, possibly because he felt marginalised himself, writing from Alexandria. It is possible that Montis had him in mind when writing this poem; indeed, Georgis observes that there are certain

Georgis prefaces his citation of these poems with a denunciation of those who would promote an independent Cypriot identity, whom he describes as remaining ‘δυστυχείς που γεννήθηκαν Έλληνες και όχι Άγγλοι’ (‘unhappy to have been born Greek and not English’), claiming that they consider everything Greek to be a barrier to inter-communal communication and want to suppress Greekness in favour of a new Cypriot identity.³⁸⁵ He claims that Montis ‘ανατρέπει αυτές τις ιδεοληψίες και τους ακροβατισμούς καταθέτοντας την περηφάνια της κυπριακής του καταγωγής και της ελληνικής του συνείδησης’ (‘overturns these obsessions and acrobatics, declaring his pride in his Cypriot origins and Greek consciousness.’)³⁸⁶ Georgis cites the two poems as proof of the above without providing any analysis that might reveal how this is the case, so it is not clear how he believes they support his argument.

Reading the two poems side by side reveals that they do not overlap at all in their treatment of Cypriot and Greek identity. The first makes no direct mention of Greece; instead, it projects the Cypriot origins of the poet into the past, beyond his birth and ancestry, constructing an image of ‘Cypriotness’ as something primordial and inevitable. The only way one could argue that this poem amalgamates Cypriot and Greek identity is by the observation that it is written in Standard Modern Greek and uses no Cypriot Greek linguistic elements; yet Montis, as discussed above, has argued forcefully for the equality of the two languages, and has refused to position himself as a user of one or the other, which reduces the significance of his language choice in this instance.

similarities between this poem and Cavafy’s unpublished ‘Return from Greece’ (‘Επάνοδος από την Ελλάδα).

³⁸⁵ Georgis, p. 368.

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

The second poem makes no mention of Cyprus or Cypriot Greek; it is a lament of the fate of Greek poets who occupy a marginal position on the world literary stage. Kostas Vasileiou, in his article ‘Κώστα Μόντη "Έλληνες Ποητές"’ claims that Montis must be writing specifically about Cypriot-Greek poets rather than Greek poets in general, because when this poem was composed, Greek poetry was receiving a great deal of recognition, mainly as a result of the Western Modernist interest in Cavafy’s poetry:

δεν δικαιολογείται να αισθάνονται ότι ζουν απομονωμένοι “σ’ αυτή τη μακρινή γωνιά”, επειδή η Ελλάδα, αν δεν βρίσκεται στο κέντρο της Ευρώπης (και κατ’ επέκταση του κόσμου), βρίσκεται πολύ κοντά, πολύ πιο κοντά εν πάση περιπτώσει παρά η Κύπρος, που εύλογα, λόγω της γεωγραφικής και πολιτικής της απομόνωσης, κατέχεται από ένα ακριτικό συναίσθημα, ότι ζει “κάτω στις άκρες των άκρων στην τελείωση του κόσμου”.³⁸⁷

they are not justified in feeling they live isolated ‘in this distant corner’, because Greece, though it is not at the centre of Europe (and by extension the world), it is very close, much closer at any rate than Cyprus, which obviously, because of its geographic and political isolation, is consumed by a marginal feeling, that she lives ‘down by the ends of the ends at the end of the world’.

This is a poor argument; the fact that Cypriot poets are more marginalized does not preclude Greek poets from feeling marginalized themselves, unfair though that may be. Furthermore, there is no evidence within the poem to suggest that Montis is writing about Cypriot poets; on the contrary, he appears to be positioning himself within a community of poets writing in Greek, with whom he shares the experience of marginalization.

³⁸⁷ Kostas Vasileiou, ‘Κώστα Μόντη “Έλληνες Ποητές”’, *Μικροφιλολογικά*, no. 16 (Autumn 2004 2004), pp. 37-41, (p. 37).

It is evident that Montis considers himself to be part of a community of poets writing in Greek from poems such as this ‘moment’ on the impossibility of translating Greek poetry:

Άδικα θ’ αποπειραθούν οι μεταφραστές
 αυτός ο στίχος γράφτηκε για να μείνει Ελληνιστί,
 αυτός ο στίχος είναι μονάχα για Έλληνες.³⁸⁸

Translators will try in vain
 this line was written to remain Greek
 this verse is only for Greeks.

Here Montis presents Greek writing as an elite production, accessible only to those who speak the language; this contrasts with MacDiarmid’s ideas about the universal transferability of the powerful sounds of Scots discussed earlier in this chapter.³⁸⁹ This position constitutes a declaration of independence; Montis is arguing that Greek poets can feel fulfilled by writing only for Greeks, who are in any case the only ones capable of fully appreciating their poetry. This relieves Greek writers of the responsibility to compete on a world literary stage. Like in ‘Έλληνες Ποητές’ cited above, Montis makes no mention of his Cypriot identity in this poem.

Sometimes, however, Montis does differentiate himself from the Greek cultural establishment; for example, in several of his ‘moments’ he rejects the cultural supremacy of the Acropolis, which could be read as a metonymy for Athens; for example, ‘Λοιπόν, πολύ κάθισε απάνω απ’ τα κεφάλια μας η Ακρόπολη!’ (‘Well, that Acropolis has hung over our heads for long enough!’), cited earlier in this chapter.³⁹⁰ This suggests that Montis has a hybrid identity about which he is mostly in denial. He does not represent himself as un-problematically Greek, yet he does not engage with

³⁸⁸ Montis, *Ανθολόγηση*, p. 143.

³⁸⁹ See p. 179.

³⁹⁰ See p. 171.

the contrast between 'Greekness' and 'Cypriot-Greekness', perhaps because at the time when he was writing this was not considered necessary.

Montis' unresolved identity issues do not prevent his poetry from constituting a significant body of texts in the genealogy of culturally independent Cypriot-Greek literature. While he does not refer to the differences between Cypriot-Greeks and mainland Greeks directly or consistently, his refusal to classify his poetry in Cypriot Greek as less challenging sets an important precedent for those wishing to write in Cypriot Greek today. Rather than erasing his Cypriot-Greek identity, Montis' refusal to distinguish between Cypriot Greek and mainland Greek constructs a worldview where there is one Hellenic community in which Cyprus is not marginal.

Conclusion

In both Scotland and Cyprus, modernist ideas affected the articulation of national identity in poetry after the First World War. In both places, modernist ideas about the relationship between past present and future, language and the nature of poetry affected the types of writing that were produced, and were often in tension with local concerns about the production of a locally appropriate poetry. This resulted in new, local modernisms which challenged local literary traditions and merged them with literary narratives of the centre.

Hugh MacDiarmid invented his own version of literary Scots which he used to explore the aspects of the Scottish psyche he claimed English could not touch. He also countered the historical narrative of Scotland being rescued by Union with England, and argued for a culturally and politically independent Scotland. Finally, with his Synthetic Scots poems he tried to create a new language to represent a new Scottish culture and free it from the Caledonian Antisyzygy.

Edwin Morgan followed partly in MacDiarmid's footsteps, but was simultaneously more moderate in his views and more radical in his linguistic and formal experimentation. In addition to Scots and English, Morgan used other languages, like Hungarian and the imagined voice of the Loch Ness Monster. He imagined the Scottish literary and historical past as the key to understanding the present and enabling a vibrant future for Scottish literature.

Kostas Montis expressed similar ideas to both Morgan and MacDiarmid about the significance of language and the past. He reacted more powerfully against established historical narratives than either of the above, and challenged assumptions about the origins of Cypriot-Greek identity in ancient Greece. Like Morgan, Montis

was formally experimental, creating his trademark poetic 'moments', which were radically different from other poetry written in Cyprus at the time.

All three poets discussed in these two chapters searched for a balance between modernist revisions of the concepts of history, identity and language, producing original works which challenged the definition of local poetry. Their formal and linguistic experimentation, as well as their ideological explorations of identity laid the groundwork for new movements in Scottish and Cypriot poetry.

PART 3

'ADEQUATE POETRY', TRAUMA AND THE CREATION OF THE HOMELAND

Introduction

The power of poetry to evoke and consolidate an image of the nation as a united whole has remained significant for the expression of national identity in Scotland and Cyprus throughout the twentieth century to the present day. Poets have argued for the importance of poetry in expressing complex identities and providing closure where more direct interpretative means have failed. As Seamus Heaney argues,

As long as the coordinates of the imagined thing correspond to those of the world that we live in and endure, poetry is fulfilling its counterweighting function. It becomes another truth to which we can have recourse, before which we can know ourselves in a more fully empowered way. In fact, to read poetry of this totally adequate kind is to experience something bracing and memorable, something capable of increasing in value over the whole course of a lifetime.³⁹¹

Heaney's 'adequate' poetry provides alternative access to a 'truth' which may be difficult to approach directly. This can be because it is difficult to articulate, as in the case of personal and collective identities, or because it is associated with a traumatic experience that the reader and even the writer have not been able to process.

'Poetry of place', a term used extensively by Fiona Stafford in *Local Attachments*, refers to poetry attached to a specific geographical location;³⁹² while this poetry is not often written with a view to nation-building, it nevertheless inscribes human identity on the landscape which is inevitably nationally inflected as a result of the individual poet's relationship with the nation. The inscription of the nation's identity onto the landscape is a significant process in the emergence of the nation as an imaginable community. This is evident in many examples from the Golden Age of

³⁹¹ Seamus Heaney, *The Redress of Poetry: Oxford Lectures* (London: Faber, 1995), p. 8; Colin Williams and Anthony D. Smith, 'The National Construction of Social Space', *Progress in Human Geography* 7, no. 4 (1983), pp. 502-518, (p. 504).

³⁹² Stafford, *Local Attachments*.

Nationalism, like the Greek novel *O Leandros* (Panayiotis Soutsos, 1834), where the eponymous hero travels the area of the new Greek nation-state, identifying the ruins of antiquity embedded in the landscape.³⁹³

The concept of the ‘homeland’ is significant for the emergence of a national identity. As Williams and Smith write,

A ‘national’ territory is more than a specially demarcated area or a self-sustaining resource; it is an ‘historic’ territory, a ‘homeland’, a rightful possession from one’s forefathers through the generations. It is distinctive, a unique territory; the identity of the nation is bound up with memory, and this memory is rooted in a homeland.³⁹⁴

Therefore, representations of the past are instrumental for the establishment of the nation as a physical space. These past narratives must be connected directly with the physical landscape in order for a landscape to become ‘the homeland’.

There are many ways for the past to become imprinted on the landscape. As Williams and Smith explain,

Its [the homeland’s] mountains are sacred, its rivers are full of memories, its lakes recall distant oaths and battles, all of which have been commemorated in national epics and ballads, and attracted countless legends (Wilson, 1976; Snyder, 1978). History has nationalized a strip of land, and endowed its most ordinary features with mythical content and hallowed sentiments.³⁹⁵

The narratives of the past which must become attached to the landscape are the narratives legitimating the nation and positioning its origins. The idea of the sanctity of the national landscape is reminiscent of Anderson’s suggestion that even if Western

³⁹³ Panayiotis Soutsos, *O Léandros* (Nafplio: Typographeio Konstantinou Tompra, 1834).

³⁹⁴ Williams and Smith, p. 509.

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

nationalism was not filling a void left by the God-crisis of the nineteenth century, it was certainly informed by the belief structures of Christianity.³⁹⁶

R.S. Peckham argues that to the extent that all communities throughout the ages have imagined themselves to be in some way connected to the landscape, it could be argued that ‘the homeland is a transhistorical category that harks back to pre-modern and immemorial affiliations of people with territory’.³⁹⁷ According to Peckham, this was the position taken by emergent national states in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when ‘territorial claims were legitimated through reference to providential myths of the nation’s pedigree and rootedness.’³⁹⁸ It is not surprising, therefore, that the nation’s relationship to the landscape and the idea of a homeland remains a pressing concern for those writing from a position of cultural marginality.

Although more recent poets are often ambivalent towards the nation in both Cyprus and Scotland, their writing sometimes provides readers with ways to make personal connections with the landscape, inscribing a collective identity upon it which of necessity intersects with nationalism. In the case of Cyprus, ‘poetry of place’ is often also ‘trauma poetry’, as writers attempt to guide their readers through the process of grieving for the division of the island and the lost lands in the north.

Communal trauma can have a strong unifying effect on national communities; the experience of loss, particularly when narrativized as a sacrifice for the nation, draws communities together, while those with whom they are in conflict, in addition to being the cause of the trauma, become the other the community is defined against. Thus in Cyprus the Greek community defined themselves successively against the

³⁹⁶ Anderson, pp. 11-12.

³⁹⁷ Robert Shannan Peckham, *National Histories, Natural States: Nationalism and the Politics of Place in Greece* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001), p. 1.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

Ottomans, the British and the Turks, while gradually moving away from identification with a wider modern Greek nation.

The invasion of 1974 is a watershed moment for the formation of contemporary Cypriot-Greek identity, as it caused Cypriot-Greeks to question their identification with the Greek nation-state, given their involvement with the attempted coup d'état, which precipitated Turkish intervention, and subsequent failure to protect Cypriot-Greek interests.³⁹⁹ Thus in Cyprus the experience of trauma has fostered the development of an independent local identity, and weakened the attraction of a panhellenic identity centred on the Greek nation-state.

In Scotland, on the other hand, trauma and the threat of violence have historically strengthened British identity. According to Linda Colley, the success of the Union of Parliaments in 1707 was greatly facilitated by a series of wars with France, including the French Revolutionary Wars (1793-1802) and the Napoleonic Wars (1802-1815), which provided an external threat and religious other against which the English and Scots could unite as Britons.⁴⁰⁰ Conversely, in Britain it was extended periods of peace which lead to increases in the appeal of local self-government in Scotland as well as in Wales and Ireland.

The National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights was founded in 1853, when the Napoleonic Wars had begun to fade from the collective memory,⁴⁰¹ and discussions of increased autonomy for Scotland, as well as Wales and Ireland, were a common occurrence at Westminster until the outbreak of the First World War.⁴⁰² During the War, once again the War Effort took precedence over local

³⁹⁹ See pp. 53-54.

⁴⁰⁰ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 1994), pp. 4-5.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² *Acts of Union*, p. 83.

identities and discussions of independence lay dormant until the inter-war period, when the Scottish National Party was formed (1934), and the Scottish Renaissance took place.⁴⁰³ There was a similar setback to the growth of Scottish Nationalism during the Second World War; however, the economic pressures of post-war Europe coupled with an unpopular government in Westminster caused a growth in nationalist sentiment throughout the second half of the twentieth century.

Nevertheless, until recently the increase in Scottish nationalist sentiment still primarily contextualized Scotland within the United Kingdom; according to Linda Colley, the second half of the twentieth century saw ‘not so much a *rise* in Scottish nationalism, as the emergence of a different *kind* of Scottish nationalism’.⁴⁰⁴ It appears from this reading of Scottish history that different kinds of communal trauma elicit different expressions of national identity; the presence of an external enemy and the shared traumas of military action reinforced British identity, while class conflict and economic hardship encouraged the emergence of a Scottish identity envisioned as separate from England. However, it is possible that the experience of the First World War led to the Scottish Renaissance, as there was widespread loss of faith in the British government as a result of the large number of casualties, which led to the questioning of British identity, leaving a gap in which Scottish identity could flourish.

The following two chapters will explore the role of the poet in society, as well as the function of poetry in the construction of communal identities in the later twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Chapter 5 will focus on poetry and the inscription of national identity on the landscape. Chapter 6 will address trauma poetry,

⁴⁰³ Gerry Hassan, *The Modern SNP: From Protest to Power* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p. 24.

⁴⁰⁴ *Acts of Union*, p. 93.

focusing primarily on the First World War in Scotland, and the 1974 invasion in Cyprus.

Chapter 5: Poetries of Place: Transforming Landscape into Homeland

Poetry participates in the process of inscribing the nation on the landscape, which creates the homeland. This chapter will explore two types of ‘poetry of place: ‘poetry of homecoming’, which constructs an idealized image of the homeland which hinges on its inaccessibility, and poetry of place focused on human structures modifying the landscape, like bridges, monuments or entire cities.

Poetry of homecoming is written both by poets who cannot return and poets who have never left the homeland; Robert Crawford (b. 1959) has written several poems of homecoming about Scotland while living there. Though he did live in England for six years in the 1980s, which may have led him to experience feelings of disconnection from his homeland, he has since returned to Scotland. His nostalgia in these poems of homecoming is not only about physical absence, but also the impossibility of return to a time as well as a place. In ‘Inner Glasgow’, he describes the Glasgow of his youth as a girl in a red coat, who grows into a woman:

But you refuse these foisted images, stay
Too true, still here, grown up in your red coat.

My inner Glasgow, you don’t leave me, I
Do not leave you.

Crawford’s ‘inner Glasgow’ remains true to his memories of the city, but also shapes him. Crawford’s poems of homecoming function in a similar way to the Cypriot poems of exile that will be discussed below, written by Risos Charalambides and Mona Savvidou-Theodoulou, who were unable to visit the north of Cyprus at the time they were writing about it. Risos Charalambides is a journalist, photographer and the son of the acclaimed poet Kyriakos Charalambides. Mona Savvidou-Theodoulou (b.1949) is the headmistress of a secondary school and secretary of the Cyprus PEN

association, and has published seven collections of poetry and four poetry anthologies.⁴⁰⁵

The transformation of a landscape into a national homeland is achieved both through the narrativisation of the landscape as homeland, but also through the construction of practical and monumental physical manifestations of human occupation. The landscape can be imbued with significance both through the production of texts which inscribe meaning on pre-existing natural features, and the erection of signifying structures which constitute a physical manifestation of the nation. Poetry can enhance this process through the transformation of practical structures into monumental ones. Furthermore, poetry often engages with the concept of lost landscapes, which have either disappeared as a result of the passage of time, as in the case of post-industrial Scotland, or as a result of a disruption of the nation's borders, as in the case of Cyprus after 1974.

Cities can be described as physical manifestations of the nation's identity; as Yves Calverton states in *Mapping the Memory of Cities*,

city planning – a rationalisation of space – might be considered as a means of disciplining society through the City and building a nation. A number of different types of symbol carriers, such as monuments, statues and street names which can be transformed into a cornerstone of historiography, can be distinguished.⁴⁰⁶

Through the incorporation of symbolic structures and the practice of naming streets, parks and buildings after nationally significant figures, the city becomes a metonymy for the nation; all significant elements of national identity are embodied by real structures, making the nation a visible reality. This is a similar idea to the effects of

⁴⁰⁵ S. L. Skartsis and S. P. Varnavas, eds., *Ανθολογία Κυπρίων Ποιητών*, p. 727.

⁴⁰⁶ Yves Clavaron, 'Mapping the Memory of Cities', in *La Memoire des Villes / The Memory of Cities*, ed. by Yves Clavaron and Bernard Dieterle (Saint-Etienne: Publications de l' Universite de Saint-Etienne, 2003), pp. 13-19, (p. 13).

place names in imprinting the nation's past on the landscape. However, in the case of cities the element of deliberate planning combined with the physical presence of buildings creates the impression of a physical manifestation of an official nationalism.

Literary texts can attach moments of national significance to specific physical locations, and appropriate recognisable features of the landscape as characteristic of the Nation's identity. Signifying structures function in a similar way, providing a visible footprint of the nation's past on the landscape. These include monuments commemorating moments of national significance, such as the EOKA monument and the statue of Makarios in Cyprus, landmark engineering structures like the Forth Road Bridge and Falkirk Wheel in Scotland, and buildings of historical or administrative significance, like the Scottish Parliament building. Poetry can contribute to the signifying power of these structures; in both Scotland and Cyprus there are poems which connect structures evocative of national identity to the landscape on which they are built.

Poetry is a particularly effective literary form for inscribing significance on the landscape, because poems are objects of specific form. Therefore, they can function as monumental objects themselves, lending their content the appearance of permanent universal truth. Poems are often reproduced on monumental objects, or recited at commemorative occasions, when physical monuments acquire their national significance. For example, Dimitris Lipertis' poem 'To the Cypriot martyrs of the ninth of July 1821', discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis, was performed at the unveiling of a monument dedicated to the bishops that the poem commemorates in Limassol in 1930. The poem provides the narrative establishing the significance of the

historical moment to the nation, connecting the executed bishops with the physical landscape by describing their blood and bones being assimilated by the earth.⁴⁰⁷

Inscribing the nation onto the landscape merges diverse localities and natural features into a uniform national ‘homeland’. Some structures propagate a narrative of national uniformity by acting as a symbolic representation of the nation; for example, the Vittoriano in Rome incorporates a synthesis of the main narratives of national identity, symbolising an Italian unity that has always been largely imagined. Built in 1885 to honour Vittorio Emanuele, first king of the unified Italian nation, it contains the museum of the unification of Italy, the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and is topped with a large sculpture of Vittorio Emanuele himself on horseback. These represent three significant characteristics of an imagined nation: tomb of the Unknown Soldier represents sacrifices for the nation and the nation’s dead (see Anderson, cited on page 59), the sculpture of Vittorio Emanuele embodies the national hero, and the museum of unification provides a teleological historical narrative of the Italian nation’s unification. The building also casts modern Italy as a continuation of the Roman Empire, both through its neoclassical style and through its location facing Capitol Hill. Finally, it unifies the city itself through the viewer’s gaze; it is visible from many places as a monumental landmark, and provides a viewing platform, from which the city can be observed as a whole, bounded by the viewer’s gaze.

In Scotland, various attempts have been made to construct monuments that symbolically represent the whole Scottish nation; the most famous is the notoriously incomplete National Monument on Calton Hill in Edinburgh. Many Scottish poems have transformed more mundane structures into symbolic representations of the

⁴⁰⁷ See pp. 136-142.

Scottish nation instead. Furthermore, some of Edwin Morgan's poems question the narrative of uniform Scottish identity by focusing on marginal spaces, which either occupy the border between urban and rural, or exist on the margins of the city through abandonment. While these poems present a fragmented image of Scotland, they argue for a new kind of unity, which includes all the nation's members.

In Cyprus, the nation can only be imagined as whole through texts, as it is in reality divided. Many Cypriot poems imagine the nation as a unified whole by visiting the occupied north, or by imagining journeys of homecoming and projecting the image of a Hellenic nation onto the sea. Kyrenia and Ammochostos (Famagusta), the two northern Cypriot cities, are often used as metonymies for the lost homeland, and addressed as lost lovers or personified as women.

This chapter is divided into three parts: the first analyses poems that imagine the homeland from an outside perspective through imagined homecoming, the second is focused on poems which monumentalize the national landscape through human structures both ancient and modern, and the third considers poems that depict the nation's cities and their role in the production of national identity.

The unreachable homeland

Imagining the homeland from outside its borders has a two-fold effect: on the one hand, it enables the representation of an idealised image, uninterrupted by the real nation's imperfections; on the other hand, it allows the homeland to be imagined as one uniform and bounded place, glossing over considerations of the landscape's diversity.

Cavafy's 'Ιθάκη' ('Ithaca'), in which the speaker advises the reader to take pleasure in the journey home rather than expecting the homeland itself to provide wealth and satisfaction, is a universal poem of homecoming. Ithaca takes on an emblematic role as the archetypal homeland; the poem appears to be addressed to Odysseus, as several elements of the *Odyssey* are alluded to. This connection to one of the foundation texts of Western civilization positions the journey of homecoming Cavafy describes as an archetypal narrative, making the homeland 'Ithaca' emblematic of what a homeland should be. The fact that it is an island enables one to imagine it as a unified, coherent space, a single destination. Thus 'Ithaca' becomes a stable signifier of 'home', while 'home' (the signified) can take a variety of forms.

Cavafy had never visited Ithaca, and it is, in any case, not known exactly which island Homer's Ithaca was. One could, therefore, interpret Cavafy's poem as an engagement with the idea of the national 'Homeland' by someone writing from the margins. As an Alexandrian Greek, Cavafy lived outside the borders of the Greek nation-state, and was not embraced by the Greek cultural establishment during his lifetime. The vagueness of Ithaca's position makes it a mythical landscape, which can be accessed and possessed by those who do not belong to the national centre.

The poem sets up a relationship between the journey and the homeland whereby the homeland is given significance through its absence; there is a double meaning to Cavafy's 'Ithaca', as it is both a physical place and a notional destination. It is this vagueness of the island's identity that gives the poem its universality; every reader has a homeland, and Cavafy's Ithaca can be any homeland: the poem addresses everybody.

'Ithaca' constructs the homeland as a historical territory through reference to the *Odyssey*, as the poem is addressed to Odysseus when he begins his journey home. However, he is never named; the poem is written in the second person addressing an anonymous traveller. It is apparent from the first stanza that the Odysseus myth is used as an allegory for the journey through life:

Σα βγεις στον πηγαιμό για την Ιθάκη,
να εύχεται νάναι μακρύς ο δρόμος,
γεμάτος περιπέτειες, γεμάτος γνώσεις.
Τους Λαιστρυγόνες και τους Κύκλωπας,
τον θυμωμένο Ποσειδώνα μη φοβάσαι,
τέτοια στον δρόμο σου ποτέ σου δεν θα βρεις,
αν μόν' η σκέψις σου υψηλή, αν εκλεκτή
συγκίνησις το πνεύμα και το σώμα σου αγγίζει.
Τους Λαιστρυγόνες και τους Κύκλωπας,
τον άγριο Ποσειδώνα δεν θα συναντήσεις,
αν δεν τους κουβανείς μες στην ψυχή σου,
αν η ψυχή σου δεν τους στήνει εμπρός σου.⁴⁰⁸

As you set out for Ithaca
hope the voyage is a long one,
full of adventure, full of discovery.
Laestrygonians and Cyclops,
angry Poseidon—don't be afraid of them:
you'll never find things like that on your way
as long as you keep your thoughts raised high,
as long as a rare excitement
stirs your spirit and your body.
Laestrygonians and Cyclops,

⁴⁰⁸ Constantine Cavafy, 'Ιθάκη', in *Ποιήματα*, ed. by G. P. Savvidis (Athens: Ikaros, 1963), pp. 23-24, (p. 23).

wild Poseidon—you won't encounter them
 unless you bring them along inside your soul,
 unless your soul sets them up in front of you.⁴⁰⁹

Locating the journey's dangers within the traveller's soul signposts that this journey is intellectual and spiritual, not physical; this is reiterated in the speaker's instruction to 'Keep Ithaca always in your mind./ Arriving there is what you are destined for.'⁴¹⁰ (Πάντα στον νου σου νάχεις την Ιθάκη./ Το φθάσιμον εκεί είν' ο προορισμός σου.)⁴¹¹ The existence of Ithaca affects the nature of the journey, as well as the development of the traveller's identity. 'Προορισμός' can be translated as both 'destination' and destiny, making the function of Ithaca as 'προορισμός' dual: home is the destination that enables the journey, but it is also an inescapable fate; homecoming is inevitable.

The trope of voyage and return is a common one in poems which embody the concept of the homeland, and it appears in both Scottish and Cypriot poetry. The direct influence of Cavafy's 'Ithaca' is apparent in many; Robert Crawford created a Scots version of 'Ithaca' for an anthology of poetry commemorating two hundred and fifty years from the birth of Robert Burns, entitled *New Poems Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*. Crawford's contribution to the anthology consists of five translations of Cavafy poems into Scots.

Crawford's decision to pay tribute to Robert Burns with translations from Modern Greek may at first appear puzzling; however, there are several elements, which make this act of translation an exercise in strengthening Scottish poetry. When establishing a spoken language as literary, authors often bolster its literary credibility by translating accepted 'classics' into that language, in order to demonstrate its

⁴⁰⁹ Constantine Cavafy, 'Ithaca', Translated by Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard. In *Collected poems*, ed. by G. P. Savvidis (London: Chatto & Windus, 1990), pp. 29-30, (p. 29).

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹¹ 'Ιθάκη', p. 24.

capability to convey the subtleties of expression and emotion associated with high literature. The Scottish Renaissance movement of the mid-Twentieth century placed great importance on translation; according to Cobrett and Findlay, Douglas Young (1913-1973), playwright, polemic poet and translator, argued that translations were ‘indispensable’ for the establishment of Scots as a literary language. His translations of ancient Greek drama as well as poetry from various languages into Scots were an enactment of his ideological belief in the significance of translation for the ‘revival’ of Scots not only as literary, but also as a national language.⁴¹²

Ezra Pound argues that translations have a central role in enabling the development of new ideas in literature: ‘a great age of literature is perhaps always a great age of translations; or follows it’.⁴¹³ This idea was shared by Hugh MacDiarmid, who incorporated adaptations of and references to European poetry in some of his most Scottish works, such as *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* discussed in Chapter 3.⁴¹⁴

Each of Crawford’s translations appropriates Cavafy’s poem for Scotland, replacing Greek mythological and cultural references with Scottish ones. His translation of ‘Ἰθάκη’, entitled ‘Hame’, can be seen as an appropriation of the classical myth of the *Odyssey* through Cavafy’s re-imagining. Crawford’s choice of title both broadens the poem’s scope and links it specifically to Scotland, as it refers directly to the transnational concept of ‘home’, but does so in Scots, a local language.

In ‘Hame’, Crawford transfers many of the messages of Cavafy’s poem to a specifically Scottish context, while retaining some of the latter’s universality. While

⁴¹² John Corbett and Bill Findlay, eds., *Serving Twa Maisters: Five Classic Plays in Scots Translation* (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2005), p. xiv.

⁴¹³ Ezra Pound, *Literary Essays of Ezra Pound*, ed. by T. S. Eliot (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), p. 232.

⁴¹⁴ McCulloch, *Scottish Modernism*, p. 42.

the tone of Cavafy's poem is calm and didactic, embodying the instruction to keep one's thoughts 'raised high', Crawford's version is more boisterous and provocative:

As ye stert for hame
 Tak tent o the lang road bak,
 Aa mervels, aa whigmaleeries.
 Margaret Thatcher, Sawney Bean,
 Butcher Cumberlan – dinna fear thaim;
 Ye'll no bump intae trash like yon
 As lang as ye keep a guid, stoot hert,
 As lang's a really guid carfuffle
 Fires ye up boadie an sowl,
 Margaret Thatcher, Sawney Bean,
 Butcher Cumberlan – ye'll ne'er meet thaim
 If ye dinnae cairt thaim along in yir ain sowl,
 If yir sowl disnae caa thaim tae greit ye.⁴¹⁵

Crawford converts 'as long as you keep your thoughts raised high' into 'as lang as ye keep a guid, stoot hert', changing the mode from one of intellectual exaltation into active courage, a characteristic often included in Scottish stereotypes. Similarly, 'as long as a rare excitement / stirs your spirit and your body' becomes the much more emphatic 'as lang as a guid carfuffle / Fires ye up boadie and sowl.' The phrase 'fires up' combined with the reversal of position of body and soul in this version makes the image more tactile, and gives the experience of the physical primacy over the experience of the mind, contrasting with Cavafy's 'rare excitement'.

In addition to the above, Crawford replaces Cavafy's mythical monsters of the mind with people who have had an impact on Scottish society. Margaret Thatcher, conservative Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1979 until 1990, pursued aggressive policies of economic reform that were seen to favour the rich and the south of England. Sawney Bean is the head of a mythical clan of cannibal highwaypersons, said to have lived during the reign of James VI. Finally, Butcher Cumberlan was Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, responsible for suppressing the

⁴¹⁵ Robert Crawford, ed. *New Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2009), p. 25.

Jacobite rebellion of 1745 at the Battle of Culloden in 1746. This choice of peculiarly Scottish monsters, and in particular Margaret Thatcher and Butcher Cumberland, makes the poem's advice not to set them up before oneself read as advice not to let one's Scottish identity be dictated by outsiders, but also not to let Scottish identity be an impediment to one's individual development. At the same time, this humorous evocation of characters from the Scottish historical past as mythological monsters promotes the familiarization and acceptance of the Scottish national past for both Scottish and other readers.

However, the most significant divergence from the original is that Crawford omits the final stanza of 'Ithaca' from his translation, ending with the line 'An noo yir hame hes naethin left tae gie ye.'⁴¹⁶ This emphasises the marginal status of 'hame'; however, it also erases the didactic tone of Cavafy's final stanza:

Κι αν πτωχική την βρεις, η Ιθάκη δεν σε γέλασε.
Έτσι σοφός που έγινες, με τόση πείρα,
ήδη θα το κατάλαβες η Ιθάκες τι σημαίνουν.⁴¹⁷

And if you find her poor, Ithaca won't have fooled you.
Wise as you will have become, so full of experience,
you will have understood by then what these Ithacas mean.⁴¹⁸

Cavafy's reference to 'Ithacas' in the plural is what extends this poem from a specific address to Odysseus to a universal contemplation of the meaning of home. Crawford's omission of the final stanza both denies the possibility of a homecoming, and situates the poem more firmly in a specifically Scottish setting than Cavafy's is positioned in a Greek one: there is no pluralizing of homes in this case. This translations of Cavafy's 'Ιθάκη', in its playfulness, audacity and ambition constitutes a declaration of

⁴¹⁶ Crawford, *New Poems*, p. 25.

⁴¹⁷ Cavafy, 'Ιθάκη', p. 24.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 30.

the independence of Scottish literature, and makes a compelling argument for the value of literature in Scots, as well as its relevance for non-Scottish audiences.

Crawford's translation of Ithaca fits into a Scottish tradition of writing about the homeland in its absence, exemplified by Robert Burns' 'My Heart's in the Highlands', which repeats the refrain:

My heart's in the Highlands, my heart is not here;
My heart's in the highlands a-chasing the deer;
A-chasing the wild deer, and following the roe;
My heart's in the Highlands wherever I go.⁴¹⁹

The speaker's insistence that his heart is in the Highlands suggests that the Highlands have a shaping influence on him even when he is not there. He bids farewell to four physical features of the Highland landscape in the third stanza: high, snow-covered mountains, green valleys, wild forests and fast-flowing rivers. These construct the homeland as a wilderness, an image that is inaccurate for much of Scotland, significantly including the part Burns was from: Burns was not from the Highlands, and never lived there, though he did visit in 1787.⁴²⁰ Yet there is a persistent sense that the real Scottish homeland lies in the wilderness; this may be what motivated Hugh MacDiarmid to move to the Shetland Isles.⁴²¹

Unlike Burns' poem, Crawford's 'Hame' does not give the Scottish landscape any specific characteristics, except the experience of its particular monsters. Crawford acknowledges that all Scottish people are shaped by Scotland, but stops short of defining Scotland itself; he merely cautions his readers to accept the characteristics they have acquired from 'Hame', and not ask for more, or less:

⁴¹⁹ Burns, *Poems and Songs*, II, 528.

⁴²⁰ Burns, *Letters*, pp. 119-128.

⁴²¹ MacDiarmid spent most of the 1930s on the Shetland island of Whalsay with his second wife.

It wis yir hame that gied ye this lang road.
 Wi'oot hame, ken, ye'd ne'er hae stertit oot.
 An noo yir hame hes naethin left tae gie ye.⁴²²

There are several poems by Cypriot-Greek writers that construct a journey not as a homecoming, but as an act of inscribing Greek identity on the sea, and joining Cyprus to the Greek mainland through this act of mapping. This could be because the reality of the island's division negates the vision of homecoming as political unification with Greece, leading to the creation of alternative narratives.

When writing about the occupied city of Kyrenia, some poets focus on the ancient shipwreck of Kyrenia, a fourth century BC wreck of a merchant ship, discovered in 1965 by Greek-Cypriot diver Andreas Cariolou. It was excavated between 1968 and 1969 by a team of archaeologists from the University of Pennsylvania Museum, and is now on display at the Ancient Shipwreck Museum in Kyrenia castle.⁴²³ The ship has acquired a symbolic significance for Greek Cypriots. In 2008, the Cypriot Olympic Committee named the ship as one of the mascots for the 2009 Games of the Small States of Europe. In their magazine, they explain the significance of the ship as follows:

Για την Κύπρο, η ανεύρεση και ανέλκυση του αρχαίου αυτού караβιού δεν έχει μόνο αρχαιολογική αλλά και ιστορική και εθνική σημασία. Το καράβι αποτελεί μια ακόμη απόδειξη της συνεχούς επαφής, κατά την Αρχαιότητα, της Κύπρου με τον ελληνικό κόσμο και τον ελληνικό πολιτισμό.⁴²⁴

For Cyprus, the discovery and recovery of this ancient ship has not only archaeological but also historical and national significance. The ship constitutes one more piece of evidence for the continuous contact,

⁴²² Crawford, *New Poems*, p. 25.

⁴²³ George Haber, 'Cargo Ship from the Depths of the Past', *New Scientist* 59, no. 861 (30 August 1973), pp. 508-510.

⁴²⁴ Cypriot Olympic Committee, 'Το Καράβι της Κερύνειας' Ολυμπιακοί Ρυθμοί 2 (2008), pp. 8-9.

during Ancient times, between Cyprus and the Greek world and Greek civilization.

The ship is presented as a link to the Greek heritage of Cyprus. As it provides evidence of trade and travel, it demonstrates that Cyprus has historically been part of a larger Hellenic community. For Greek-Cypriots it is a tangible link with ancient Greece, as there is evidence that the ship's trade route connected many islands in the Hellenic archipelago, which draws Cyprus into the same geographical cluster despite the fact that it is significantly further from the Greek mainland. Consequently, the ship is used by Greek Cypriots to emphasise the Greek connections of Cyprus.

A replica of the ship named 'Kyrenia II' was begun, supervised by Michael Katzev and Harry Tzalas, in Piraeus 1982 and completed in 1985, using historically accurate methods of construction. 'Kyrenia II' was sailed from Piraeus to Cyprus in 1986, making calls at several ports of cultural significance to Greeks and Greek Cypriots, attempting to replicate the route the original ship would have followed as closely as possible.⁴²⁵ The ship's journey was intended to study ancient shipbuilding, but the choice of route re-mapped the ancient Hellenic world onto the modern Mediterranean. Ports visited on the way to Paphos included Sounion, Naxos and Rhodes. The ship was loaded with the same cargo as the original, making this voyage a re-enactment of the one which ended in the wreck of the first ship; this inspired the Cypriot poets below to imagine the ship as an emblem of the Greek identity of Cyprus.

Avraam Konstantinou (b. 1977 in Limasol) wrote 'Το Καράβι της Κερύνειας' ('The Ship of Kyrenia'; date of poem's first publication unavailable), a poem which

⁴²⁵ Harry E. Tzalas, 'The Kyrenia II: An Attempt in Experimental Archaeology, in *Great Moments in Greek Archaeology*, ed. by Panos Valavanis (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007), pp. 300-305; Katzev, Michael, 'An Analysis of the Experimental Voyages of Kyrenia II, in *The Second International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity*, ed. by H. Tzalas (Delphi: Hellenic Institute for the preservation of Nautical Tradition, 1990), pp. 245-256.

focuses on the discovery of the ancient ship, describing its recovery as a resurrection. Although the poem does not discuss the city of Kyrenia directly, the connections between the ship and ancient Greek culture are made clear when the personified remains of the ship ask after the fate of Alexander the Great:

Τσακισμένα κατάρτια και κουπιά,
που κείτονται στο βασίλειο του βυθού,
όλο ρωτούν και ξαναρωτούν:
‘Ζει ο βασιλιάς Αλέξανδρος;’⁴²⁶

Broken masts and oars,
which lie in the kingdom of the deep,
keep asking and asking again
“Does king Alexander live?”

The reference to Alexander the great refers to the age of the ship, which sailed during his reign. The question ‘does king Alexander live?’ refers to the myth that Alexander the Great’s sister was a mermaid, who asked sailors if Alexander lived, and the only answer she would accept was ‘ζει και βασιλεύει’ (he lives and reigns). Should any sailor say Alexander is dead, the mermaid would cause a storm out of grief, drowning everybody on board.⁴²⁷ It is ironic that in this case the remains of the ship, which has already sunk, are asking if Alexander lives. The myth of Alexander has a unifying effect on the Greek-speaking cultures of the Mediterranean; he is regularly used as a reference point for a time when the Hellenic ‘nation’ was united. Furthermore, myths which project him onto the sea are particularly effective, as the sea is both timeless and in constant flux, so that one can more easily project multiple identities onto it.

There are other poems that use Alexander in a similar way, projecting Panhellenic mythologies onto the sea. Perhaps the most significant is Seferis’ poem ‘Αργοναύτες’ (‘Argonauts’), which describes the Argonauts rowing through an ocean

⁴²⁶ Avraam Konstantinou, ‘Το Καράβι της Κερύνειας’, in S. L. Skartsis and S. P. Varnavas, eds., *Ανθολογία Κυπρίων Ποιητών* (Athens: Taxideftis, 2008), p. 275.

⁴²⁷ Nikolaos G. Politis, *Μελέται περί του βίου και της γλώσσης του Ελληνικού λαού: Παραδόσεις*, 2 vols. (Athens: Εργάνη, 1904, repr. 1965), I, 307-308.

of Greek history, travelling through both space and time, where they encounter various symbolic characters. One of their encounters is with mourning women, who are searching for Alexander the Great to demand an explanation for the loss of the Greek empire:

Δυστυχισμένες γυναίκες κάποτε με ολολυγμούς
κλαίγανε τα χαμένα τους παιδιά
κι άλλες αγριεμένες γύρευαν το Μεγαλέξαντρο
και δόξες βυθισμένες στα βάθη της Ασίας.⁴²⁸

Unhappy women sometimes with sobs
mourned their lost children
and others angrily sought Alexander the Great
and glories sunk in the depths of Asia.

Alexander becomes the symbol of a Hellenic nation; in Seferis' poem, the glories lost in the depths of Asia refer to the defeat of the Greek army in Asia Minor in 1922. Despite the aura of defeat, however, the poem projects the ghost of Alexander onto the modern seascape of the Mediterranean, superimposing an image of a 'whole' Greece onto the contemporary fragmented landscape: the imaginary national landscape stretches beyond its physical boundaries. Seferis' poem represents the negation of the vision of resurrected ancient Greece, as Alexander is nowhere to be found, and the Argonauts' journey only creates a coherent vision of Greek historical time for the duration of the poem, which dissipates with their burial at the end. Konstantinou' poem is more ambiguous; while Alexander does not make an appearance, the ship rises again, suggesting the possibility of a revival of the Hellenic ideal.

In his poem 'Τραβώντας Ανατολικά' ('Heading East'), Kyriakos Charalambides, who will be discussed more fully later, addresses the absent ghost of Alexander, reminding him that once he was king, and asking why he has been absent;

⁴²⁸ Seferis, *Ποιήματα*, p. 47,

again, Alexander is presented as a symbol of Greek national unity, as the poet tells him ‘Συ από μας καλύτερα γνωρίζεις / πατρίδα τι λογιέται.’⁴²⁹ (‘You know better than we do what the homeland is.’) The absence of Alexander in Konstantinou’s poem is emblematic of the perceived disruption of Greek identity in Cyprus.

Konstantinou’s ‘Το καράβι της Κερύνειας’ ends with the resurrection of the ship; it rises broken from the bottom of the sea, awoken by the touch of a man’s hand, and declares itself ready for great new journeys.

Όσπου ένα αντρίκειο χέρι,
σε χάιδεψε στοργικά,
ξυπνώντας σε από ύπνο βαθύ ...⁴³⁰

Until a man’s hand,
caressed you tenderly,
waking you from a deep sleep...

One can interpret the resurrection of the apparently broken ship as a prophesy for the resurrection of the Cypriot Greeks as part of the mythical Hellenic nation. The masculinity of the awakening touch suggests the role of masculinity in narratives of reclamation; it is the men of the nation who participate in the struggle for its realisation, through military action, while the role of women is to mourn the death of their sons.

Risos Charalambides and Mona Savvidou-Theodoulou have both written poems about Kyrenia II, the replica of the ancient shipwreck. Both poems seem to draw a stronger parallel between the ship and Cyprus. In her poem ‘Κερύνεια II’ (‘Kyrenia II’), Mona Savvidou-Theodoulou describes the journey of the Kyrenia II as a dream state:

⁴²⁹ Kyriakos Charalambides, *Μεθιστορία* (Athens: Agra, 1995), p. 15.

⁴³⁰ Konstantinou, p. 275.

Σε διάπλου ονείρου
ταξιδεύω
με καράβι αρχαίο⁴³¹

In a dream of crossing
I travel
on an ancient ship

The ship, like Seferis' Argonauts, travels through time as well as space; she passes Byzantine trophies, renaissance castles, and embryos in prehistoric jars, waiting to be born, creating the impression of circular time (lines 4-9). The poem is written in free verse with no punctuation, like a stream of consciousness.

The eclectic mixture of images in the poem adds to the dreamlike feeling; yet despite these incongruous combinations, a concrete image of the nation emerges making the poem an exercise in dreaming the nation:

Σε διάπλου ονείρου
ταξιδεύοντας χαρτογραφώ
σαν νιογέννητος γεωγράφος
σαν αρχαίος Αναξιμανδρος
νοερές ευλογίες τυφλών ποιητών
σε σχήμα ιχθύος
σε σχήμα νησιού, του δικού μου νησιού (lines 26-32)

In a dream of crossing
travelling I map
like a new-born geographer
like an ancient Anaximander
mental blessings of blind poets
in the shape of a fish
in the shape of an island, my island

The poet is referring to the physical journey of the ship as a mapping of the Cypriot nation. In this verse, the poet incorporates all important ideological elements of the Cypriot nation: the blind poet referred to is Homer, the highest symbol of Hellenic culture, which highlights the 'Greekness' of the identity the poet promotes. The shape

⁴³¹ Mona Savvidou-Theodoulou, 'Κερόνεια II', lines 1-3, in Skartsis and Varnavas, eds., *Ανθολογία Κυπρίων Ποιητών*, p. 540, line references from henceforth in parentheses in main text.

of the fish refers to the symbol of Christ; the poet uses the ancient word for fish, ‘ιχθύς’, which is also an acronym for Christ: ‘Ιησούς Χριστός Θεού Υιός Σωτήρ’ (‘Jesus Christ the Son of God is Saviour’). The shape of the island refers to its physical landscape, and by identifying it as ‘her island’ the poet claims it in its entirety.

Risos Charalambides’ poem is also called ‘Κερόνεια ΙΙ’ (‘Kyrenia ΙΙ’; poet’s date of birth and poem’s date of first publication unavailable), and is similarly postmodern in its construction. Images of the ship are mixed seemingly at random with images of the night sky and the nation. Unlike Savvidou-Theodoulou and Konstantinou, Risos Charalambides does refer directly to the city of Kyrenia in this poem. In the fourth stanza, he describes the city:

Πόλη του μύθου,
των λαϊκών παραμυθιών,
του βροχερού καιρού
με πεύκα και βαλανιδιές
σε καπνιστήρια,
ροδοστάγματα και εικόνες.⁴³²

City of myth,
of folk tales,
of rainy weather
with pines and oaks
in smoking rooms,
rosewater and icons.

The eclectic list of attributes gives the sense of a personal image of the city. Like Savvidou-Theodoulou’s poem, the images chosen emphasise the connection of Kyrenia with both ancient Greece and Orthodox Christianity; identifying Kyrenia as a city of myth connects it to ancient mythology, while the final line’s reference to rosewater and religious icons connects it to Orthodox Christianity.

⁴³² Risos Charalambides, ‘Κερόνεια ΙΙ’, lines 15-20, in Skartsis and Varnavas, eds., *Ανθολογία Κυπρίων Ποιητών*, pp. 634-635, (p. 634), line references hereafter in parentheses in main text.

The following stanza refers directly to the inaccessibility of the city since the Turkish invasion:

Πρωινά βασανισμένα
στο συρματοπλέγμα.
Απόγευμα η Κερύνεια
στον καφέ μας. (lines 21- 24)

Tortured mornings
at the wire fence.
Evening Kyrenia
in our coffee.

The reference to both morning and evening suggests that the memory of the city is ubiquitous in the daily lives of the poem's inhabitants. The city's appearance in the coffee emphasizes the ubiquity of its memory in daily life, suggesting that the enjoyment of simple things is affected by the city's loss. It may also refer to the practice of reading the future in coffee grounds, casting Kyrenia as the destiny of the coffee drinker. The impossibility of return leads to the impossibility of fulfilment for this destiny.

The final stanza highlights the connection between Cyprus and the ship; Risos Charalambides refers to the mill stones and almonds that the original ship had transported, which were included in the cargo of the replica.

Χαμένος
στις μύλοπετρες του πλοίου,
μ' αμύγδαλα στις χούφτες,
στην Πράσινη Γραμμή
ο γύρος του πελάγου
ν' αγναντεύει
την ανέλκυση
της νέας Βασιλείας. (lines 32-39)

Lost,
among the millstones of the ship,
with almonds in my fists,
on the Green Line
the expanse of the sea

watching
the hoisting
of the new Kingdom.

The declaration that the speaker is 'lost' suggests that he has lost a point of reference for his identity in the form of the inaccessible city. The millstones and almonds, while they are examples of the original cargo, also create an image of the speaker's emotions: the millstones suggest he is weighed down with the city's memory, while the almonds in his fists suggest this memory is bittersweet.

The wrecked ship is a particularly emotive symbol of the city of Kyrenia; the displaced residents could no more access the city than the ship, and though it can be replicated and set on its original course, this does not represent a true resurrection. The original ship remains a wreck, like the city remains lost to its erstwhile inhabitants.

The image of the homeland: archaeology and modernity

Some poets create images of the real landscape and its landmark features. In Greece and Cyprus, the exaggerated significance of the connection to ancient Greece for the establishment of Greek identity gives special significance to the physical remains of ancient Greek culture, such as monuments and ruined temples. These are often explored and given contemporary cultural significance through poems focused on particular archaeological sites such as George Seferis' 'Ο Βασιλιάς της Ασίνης' ('The King of Asine'), about a site in mainland Greece.

George Seferis, as well as being a poet, was a diplomat, and first visited Cyprus on his way to a posting in Beirut in 1952.⁴³³ He was captivated by the island, and returned in 1953, 1954 and 1955. Inspired by these visits, he wrote a collection (published in December 1955) entitled *...Κύπρον ου μ' εθέσπισεν...* (*...Cyprus, Where It Was Ordained For Me...*). The title was changed to *Ημερολόγιο Καταστροφώματος, Γ'* (*Logbook III*) in 1959. This collection was poorly received both in Greece and in England, Seferis being caught between expressing a Greek identity by exploring the Greekness of Cyprus, and trying to maintain a positive relationship with the British as a diplomat. The British thought the poems were too political and the Greeks thought they were not political enough. Furthermore, the Greek literary establishment were put off by Seferis' focus on a place considered marginal.⁴³⁴ Nevertheless, his poems about Cyprus have had a significant effect on the way it is imagined as a homeland by its Greek-speaking inhabitants, but also as a 'Greek' place by mainland Greeks.

⁴³³ Roderick Beaton, *George Seferis: Waiting for the Angel: A Biography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 300.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 329-330.

Seferis had some controversial opinions about Cyprus; although he did not question its Greekness, one of his first responses upon arrival was to question the potential benefits of *enosis*:

Ερώτημα: είμαστε άξιοι να διοικήσουμε την Κύπρο, χωρίς να βλάψουμε αυτό τον κόσμο, κάνοντάς τον καλύτερο, χωρίς να τον κάνουμε ελλαδική επαρχία, σαν την Κέρκυρα, σαν την Θεσσαλονίκη;

Question: are we worthy of governing Cyprus, without harming this world, making it better, without making it a Greek province, like Corfu, like Salonica?⁴³⁵

Seferis viewed Cyprus as a culturally independent locus of Greek identity; he believed its independence from the Greek state allowed the expression of an unencumbered Greekness:

Απ' εδώ νιώθει κανείς την Ελλάδα (ξαφνικά) ευρύχωρη, πιο πλατιά. Το αίσθημα πως υπάρχει ένας κόσμος που μιλά ελληνικά είναι ελληνικός. Που δεν εξαρτάται από την Ελληνική Κυβέρνηση, και το τελευταίο τούτο συντελεί στο αίσθημα αυτής της ευρυχωρίας.⁴³⁶

From here one experiences Greece as (suddenly) spacious, broader. The sense that there exists a world where people speak Greek: a Greek world, but one that doesn't depend on the Greek government – and this last contributes to the sense of spaciousness.⁴³⁷

This sentiment arises from the main project of Greek modernism, with which Seferis was engaged: the attempt to explore a Greek identity which was not shaped by the necessities surrounding the emergence of the Greek nation-state in the nineteenth century, based on an interaction with Greek antiquity which was mediated neither by the aforementioned Greek state, nor by the philhellene classicists who helped to shape

⁴³⁵ George Seferis, *Μέρες VI* (Athens: Ikaros, 1975), p. 98.

⁴³⁶ Seferis, *Μέρες VI*, p. 98.

⁴³⁷ Beaton, *George Seferis*, p. 307.

it. Thus the political independence of Cyprus from Greece was important to Seferis' vision of the island as a repository of 'true Greekness'.

Greek modernists, like Seferis and Odysseus Elytis, looked for connections between Greek culture and Greek landscapes; however, there is a distinct difference in the way the two poets represent the legacy of antiquity. As Peter Mackridge observes, broken statues and columns 'burden' Seferis' poetry, a prime example being the marble head in *Μυθιστόρημα* (*Mythistorema*),⁴³⁸ while Elytis' landscape is punctuated by undamaged structures, which 'speak of an unbroken continuity of culture'.⁴³⁹ Marinos Pourgouris argues that modernists from marginal cultures tried different methods to bring art into contact with reality. In Greece, this involved escaping the influence of ancient Greece, and engaging with the present-day reality.⁴⁴⁰ Elytis does this by focusing on the evidence of recent Greek culture on the landscapes, exemplified by his dovecotes and domes. Seferis, on the other hand, discovered a new, 'pure' Greekness in Cyprus.

Logbook III included two poems inspired by archaeological sites: 'Σαλαμίνα της Κύπρου' ('Salamis of Cyprus') and 'Έγκωμη' ('Engomi'). 'Σαλαμίνα της Κύπρου' describes the shore at Salamis, where the seabed is littered with the shards of broken ancient Greek pots. The poet reflects on the shards of pottery, then his train of thought meanders, and he discusses the British, 'Φίλοι του άλλου πολέμου' ('friends of the other war'), reflecting on the experience of death in battle without clearly

⁴³⁸ George Seferis, 'Μυθιστόρημα', in *Ποιήματα* (Athens: Ikaros, 1976), p. 45:

Έπνησα με το μαρμάρινο τούτο κεφάλι στα χέρια μου
που μου εξαντλεί τους αγκώνες και δεν ξέρω πού να
τ' ακουμπήσω.

⁴³⁹ Mackridge, 'Textual Orientations', p. 117.

⁴⁴⁰ Marinos Pourgouris, *Mediterranean Modernisms: The Poetic Metaphysics of Odysseus Elytis* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 3.

stating his position with regard to Britain. He then references the prayer by Lord Hugh Beresford, who fell in the Battle of Crete in 1941:

«Κύριε, βοήθα να θυμόμαστε
 πώς έγινε τούτο το φονικό·
 την αρπαγή το δόλο την ιδιοτέλεια,
 το στέγνωμα της αγάπης·
 Κύριε, βοήθα να τα ξεριζώσουμε...». ⁴⁴¹

‘Lord, help us to remember
 how this massacre happened;
 the abduction the cunning the obsession,
 the drying-up of love;
 Lord, help us uproot them...’

This is followed by what appears to be a short dialogue, in which the first speaker advises forgetting ‘on these pebbles’ (‘πάνω σ’ αυτά τα χαλίκια’), because speaking is meaningless.

The speaker then asks who can change the opinion of the powerful, and who can be heard, as each is dreaming separately and does not hear the burden of the others. A second speaker responds:

- Ναι· όμως ο μαντατοφόρος τρέχει
 κι όσο μακρύς κι αν είναι ο δρόμος του, θα φέρει
 σ’ αυτούς που γύρευαν ν’ αλυσοδέσουν τον Ελλήσποντο
 το φοβερό μήνυμα της Σαλαμίνας. ⁴⁴²
- Yes; but the messenger is running
 and long though his road may be, he will bring
 to those who sought to chain up the Hellespont
 the terrific message of Salamis.

The messenger running across the land draws the poem back to the ancient Greece from whence the broken urns originate, delivering the message of a Greek victory in naval battle against the Persians in 450 BC. Thus Seferis superimposes the story of the ancient battle on a contemporary landscape. He also plays on the fame of the other

⁴⁴¹ Seferis, *Ποιήματα*, p. 365.

⁴⁴² Seferis, *Ποιήματα*, p. 365.

battle of Salamis, fought again between the Persians and Greeks thirty years earlier; this is a particularly significant event in the national narrative of Greek history, as the victory in Salamis of the Saronic turned the tide in the Greco-Persian war. The battle of Salamis in Cyprus was the last of the Greco-Persian war, but is rarely alluded to in nationalist narratives of Greek history. By focusing on this battle in this location, Seferis expresses his feeling of rediscovering ancient Greece in Cyprus.

‘Engomi’ is rather different; it was inspired by Seferis’ visit to an archaeological dig at Engomi in 1953, where he saw a village girl who was participating in the excavation and was struck both by her beauty and the sparse beauty of the flat and barren landscape. Seferis recorded his impressions of the visit in his diary:

Η πλατωσιά του κάμπου σαν προσφορά, και στη χούφτα αυτής της παλάμης η αρχαία πολιτεία, οι χαραματιές μιας ακίνητης μοίρας. Θα ήταν κάτι μέσα σ’ όλα αυτά που αγκύλωνε στο λαρύγγι. Οι κοπέλες – χορεύοντας – τις έβλεπες γυμνές. Και η μια.⁴⁴³

The broadness of the plain like and offer, and in the palm of this hand the ancient city, the carvings of an immovable fate. It would have been something in all that which caught in the throat. The girls – dancing – you saw them naked. And one of them.

The poem follows the speaker as he sees the archaeological dig progressing in the distance and moves towards it; thus the site is situated in the landscape through the initial wide-angle viewpoint. The poem’s opening privileges the significance of the landscape over that of the dig; the first stanza describes the landscape in detail, presenting the people digging as an element in the tableau:

Ήταν πλατύς ο κάμπος και στρωτός· από μακριά φαίνονταν
το γύρισμα των χεριών που σκάβαν.
Στον ουρανό τα σύννεφα πολλές καμπύλες, κάπου-κάπου

⁴⁴³ Seferis, *Μέρες IV*, p. 103.

μια σάλπιγγα χρυσή και ρόδινη· το δείλι.
 Στο λιγοστό χορτάρι και στ' αγκάθια τριγύριζαν
 ψιλές αποβροχάρισες ανάσες· θα'χε βρέξει
 πέρα στις άκρες τα βουνά που έπαιρναν χρώμα.⁴⁴⁴

It was wide, the plain, and level; from a distance one could see
 the turning of hands that dug.
 In the sky the clouds made many curves, now and then
 a trumpet gold and rosy; the evening.
 In the sparse grass and the thorns wandered
 fine rain-dampened breaths; it must have rained
 away on the edges the mountains that were taking colour.

The speaker gradually moves closer to the excavation, observing first the city being revealed, and then the diggers revealing it. Finally, he focuses on one young woman, who in his mind rises naked from the soil, referencing the birth of Aphrodite. In 'Engomi', Seferis is far more taken with the landscape than with the ruins in it; the excavation's sole purpose in the poem is to bring the vision of the young woman to him, and what rises from the ground is the living woman, who could be interpreted as a representation of the people of the present, as opposed to the broken city, representing antiquity, which stays in the ground. It is through the living body of the woman that Seferis finds his unbroken cultural continuity, which Elytis represented with domes and dovecotes in *The Axion Esti* (1959).⁴⁴⁵

While Seferis is not a Cypriot poet, his poems had a significant influence on Cypriot-Greek poets; Kostas Montis, as discussed in Part 2 of this thesis, rejected the significance of ancient Greece for modern Cypriot-Greek writing, arguing for the importance of local and contemporary experience. Kyriakos Charalambides, on the other hand, wrote many poems focused on ancient Greek archaeology and mythology, adapting Seferis' archaeological poetry to his own purposes and providing his own interpretation of history.

⁴⁴⁴ Seferis, *Ποιήματα*, p. 267.

⁴⁴⁵ Mackridge, 'Textual Orientations', p. 117.

Kyriakos Charalambides was born in 1940 in Achna, near Famagusta. He is one of the most significant living poets of Cyprus, and has also received critical acclaim in Greece. Like Montis, Charalambides differentiates himself from Cavafy's self-definition as a historical poet. He writes:

Μπορεί να φαντάζει παράδοξο, αλλά η Ιστορία καθ'αυτή δεν μ' ενδιαφέρει· εννοώ η ειδωλολατρική προσκόλληση στο συγκεκριμένο ιστορικό γεγονός. Η αίσθηση της Ιστορίας σημαίνει στο βάθος για μένα την αίσθηση του μύθου. Λάβετε ως παράδειγμα την *Ιλιάδα* ή τις αρχαίες τραγωδίες και πώς μεταποιείται ο Ιστορικός πυρήνας τους. Αυτό μου ενισχύει την πεποίθηση ότι η Ιστορία προηγείται του μύθου – ότι δηλαδή ο μύθος αποτελεί μια προσπάθεια μεθιστορικής ερμηνείας.⁴⁴⁶

It may seem strange, but history in itself does not interest me; I mean the idololatric fixation with any particular historical fact. The sense of history to me essentially means the sense of myth. Take, for example, the *Iliad* or the ancient tragedies and how their historical core is transmuted. This reinforces my belief that history precedes myth – in other words that myth constitutes an attempt at meta-historical interpretation.

Charalambides has written several poems about archaeological remains in Cyprus; in his second collection, *Η άγνοια του νερού* (*The innocence of water*) he published 'Άλογα θολωτού τάφου' (Horses from a domed tomb), his own poem about Salamis, where many royal tombs were found containing the remains of sacrificed horses.⁴⁴⁷ In fact, many poems in his early collections are about ancient sites and artifacts on Cyprus. This interest is not surprising: he studied archaeology at university. In his collections published after the 1974 invasion, Charalambides looks for new ways to interact with the ancient artifacts of Cyprus in the light of its new reality.

⁴⁴⁶ Kyriakos Charalambides, 'Σε β' Πρόσωπο' *Η Λέξη* 167 (2001), pp. 419-423, (p. 419).

⁴⁴⁷ Kyriakos Charalambides, *Η άγνοια του νερού: ποιήματα* (Athens: Ikaros, 1967), p. 17.

In ‘Αγγείο Ελεύθερου Ρυθμού’ (‘Urn in Free Field Style’), the final poem of Charalambides’ collection *Αμμόχωστος Βασιλεύουσα* (1982), Charalambides imagines himself as a bird depicted on urns commonly found in ancient burial sites around Famagusta, setting off on a journey to visit his lost homeland. Imagining himself as a migratory bird enables the poet to access his homeland even when in reality it is lost to him. The ancient urn shows the embedded Greek identity of the Cypriot landscape, and enables the poet to imagine its continuation even when the land is lost. In this sense, it performs a similar function to the ship in the Kyrenia poems discussed above.

However, upon arrival in Famagusta, the bird discovers that the urns have all vanished:

Κανένα από τ’ αγγεία ελεύθερου ρυθμού
 ήτανε – φεύ! – αυτού να δώσει μαρτυρία.
 Κενές οι γυάλινες βιτρίνες· μαύρο χέρι
 της περισυλλογής του υλικού.⁴⁴⁸

None of the urns in free field style
 were – alas! – there to give testimony.
 Bare were the glass display cases; the black hand
 of collection of materials.

After wandering around the abandoned museum, and establishing the fact that it has been stripped bare, the bird proceeds to explore the rest of Famagusta, in search of his parents’ (read: the poet’s) memories of the place. An idealised image of the past is contrasted with the distressing reality of the present; where the poet recalls watching attractive young nannies pushing prams in the park as a high school student, and the image of spring in a horse-drawn carriage, the bird sees barbed wire fences and sandbags (stanzas 24-26).

⁴⁴⁸ Kyriakos Charalambides, ‘Αγγείο ελεύθερου ρυθμού’, in *Αμμόχωστος Βασιλεύουσα*, 2nd edn (Athens: Agra, 1997, first published 1983), pp. 124-132, (p. 126).

The poet goes on to reflect on old friends, now scattered all over the world, but ends optimistically, with the image of healing time and future happiness. The poem demonstrates that the city of memory no longer exists, and the old foundations of Cypriot identity have been eroded; thus the bird who is sent by his family to trace his roots to the urns in the Famagusta Municipal Museum is forced to go out and look for an alternative identity when it turns out the urns are no longer there.

Andri Christophidou-Antoniadou, who is a generation younger than Charalambides (her exact date of birth does not appear in any of her biographical notes, but her first poetry collection was published in 1984, 23 years after Charalambides' debut), writes less conflicted poetry about the ancient imprints on the Cypriot landscape. In her poem 'Ειδώλια' (Idols), she uses the prehistoric cross-shaped idols found in Cyprus to imprint the myth of Aphrodite's birth on the landscape, along with the island's Christian identity. In the first stanza, she describes a variety of ancient artifacts buried in beach sand, and personifies them, crediting them with daring 'Πέτρα του Ρωμιού' (Rock of the Romios, the Greek name for Aphrodite's Rock) to give birth to the goddess.⁴⁴⁹ In the second stanza some allusion to turbulent times is made:

Στο πέρασμα των δυο ανήσυχων εραστών
 κύματα σπάζουν στους βράχους
 και οι αφρού σχηματίζουν
 μορφές γονιμότητας
 –ή άραγε ίχνη αγίων –
 που θα οργώσουν
 με τα γυμνά πόδια τους
 το χώμα της Πάφου,
 ή ακόμα θα δεχτούν
 ράπισμα από τους Ρωμαίους
 και θα διαλέξουν την εγκλείστρα
 μακριά από πάθη και μίση.

⁴⁴⁹ Andri Christophidou-Antoniadou, 'Ειδώλια', in S. L. Skartsis and S. P. Varnavas, eds., *Ανθολογία Κυπρίων Ποιητών*, pp. 678-679, (p. 678).

At the passage of the two agitated lovers
 waves break on the rocks
 and the foam creates
 fertility symbols
 – or perhaps footprints of saints –
 who will plough
 with their bare feet
 the soil of Paphos,
 or even receive
 a smite from the Romans
 and will chose the hermitage
 far from passions and hatreds.

Aphrodite and Adonis, the mythical lovers, sow the island's culture into the beach, giving rise to these hybrid figures, half fertility symbol and half saint. This refers to the idols of the title, which are ancient fertility symbols, in the shape of a cross. The reference to hermitage to avoid religious persecution may concern the distant past, but is also an oblique reference to the turbulence of the island's more recent history. Yet the poet never approaches the topic more directly than that – the poem ends praising the beauties of the Cypriot coastline, suggesting the goddess Aphrodite's presence has infused the landscape with her qualities. This distances the reader from the inhabitants of the island; the human figures in 'Ειδώλια' are vague and silent, and by the final stanza they have vanished entirely. Perhaps this is the only way to discuss the landscape of Cyprus without mention of its historical turmoil.

Scotland does not have as many prominent ancient sites as Greece and Cyprus; however, although the Scottish landscape is not defined by ancient marble remains, it is punctuated by modern structures which constitute the shaping influence of the Scottish nation on the landscape, from the Forth Rail Bridge to the Falkirk Wheel. Many Scottish poets write about such landmarks, transforming them from functional structures into elements of the national landscape. William McGonagall (1825-1902) wrote hundreds of doggerel verses on industrial and urban themes, among them the infamous 'Railway Bridge of the Silvery Tay', which Robert Crawford describes as a

‘metrical atrocity’.⁴⁵⁰ Yet poetic interest in the industrial landmarks of Scotland has persisted. Douglas Dunn has written his own, far superior homage to the same landmark, entitled, ‘Tay Bridge’:

The rail bridge melts in a dramatic haze.
 Slow visibility – a long train floats
 Through a stopped shower’s narrow waterways
 Above rose-coloured river, dappled notes
 In the eye and narrow piers half-real
 Until a cloud somewhere far in the west
 Mixes its inks and draws iron and stone
 In epic outlines, black and literal.⁴⁵¹

The image Dunn evokes of the bridge is more reminiscent of a watercolour painting than an engineered structure. Dunn has moved past approaching the bridge as an impressive human technical achievement, and is contextualising it in a scene with Scottish weather and the river Tay, turning it into a part of the idealised landscape of Scotland in poetry. Sky and river are drawn together by the rain, the bridge caught between showing the marks of human habitation literally absorbed by nature.

Morgan’s ‘The Opening of the Forth Road Bridge, 4.IX.64’ was written to celebrate the eponymous bridge’s opening:

Like man in the universe -
 rising through the mist, half seen,
 walking the gulfs.

 Fold the formless waters,
 one by one, back.

 Break your flag by the fog.
 Make, and take, your crossing.⁴⁵²

The poet evokes the image of the bridge as a giant crossing the firth, folding the waters back like Moses in the Red Sea. He evokes an aura of magic around the event

⁴⁵⁰ Crawford, *Scotland’s Books*, p. 468.

⁴⁵¹ Douglas Dunn, *Northlight* (London: Faber and Faber, 1988), p. 22.

⁴⁵² Morgan, *Collected Poems*, p. 153.

of the crossing, introducing myth, magic and history to an emblem of modernity and industrialisation that is under normal circumstances considered mundane.

Another notable example of an urban or industrial poem of place is Douglas Dunn's 'Landscape with One Figure'. The poem presents a scene at the Clyde, imagined as a painting. It opens with a personification of shipyard cranes, which interact with various elements of nature:

The shipyard cranes have come down again
to drink at the river, turning their long necks
and saying to their reflections on the Clyde,
'How noble we are'.

The fields are waiting for them to come over.
The trees gesticulate into the rain,
The nerves of grasses quiver at their tips.
Come over and join us in the wet grass!⁴⁵³

Dunn puns on engineering and avian cranes, bridging the gap between the industrialisation of the Clyde and the natural landscape which surrounds it.

In the third and fourth stanza, Dunn moves away from the viewpoint of the cranes, personifying the gulls overhead and tugs on the river:

The wings of gulls in the distance wave
Like handkerchiefs after departing emigrants.
A tug sniffs up the river, looking like itself. (lines 9-11)

The act of sniffing personifies the tug. With the description of the tug 'looking like itself', Dunn plays with the idea of a simile: this description does not describe. He creates a sense of belonging for those who recognise the image of the tug without further description, while he excludes those who do not, thus the poem functions as an articulation of a specific local identity.

⁴⁵³ Douglas Dunn, 'Landscape with One Figure', in *The New Penguin Book of Scottish Verse*, ed. by Robert Crawford and Mich Imlah (London: Penguin, 2001), p. 498, lines 1-8, line references hereafter in parentheses in main text.

‘Landscape with One Figure’ is full of movement, enacted and implied. The enacted movements are small: the cranes turn their necks, trees gesticulate, the grasses quiver, and gulls wave their wings in the distance. The ‘departing emigrants’ are beginning a larger movement than any other element of the tableaux. There is a juxtaposition of these departing emigrants with the static poet, who implies that he will leave the scene but remains still for the duration of the poem. The invitation of the cranes by the fields also implies a potential for movement and change outside the bounds of the poem, suggesting the image of natural Scotland will merge with the industrial.

The poem ends with the wish of the poet to become a landmark himself, frozen on the edge of this river scene:

If I could sleep standing, I would wait here
 Forever, become a landmark, something fixed
 For tug crews or seabound passengers to point at,
 An example of being a part of a place. (lines 13-16)

Although the poet cannot remain forever physically present at the scene he describes, the poem writes the ‘One Figure’ into the ‘Landscape’, as it captures the tableau of the Clyde in that moment. The reader imagines seeing the river from behind the motionless silhouette of the poet.

Despite the powerful evocation of place in ‘Landscape with One Figure’, Douglas Dunn claims not to be interested in specific localities in *Terry Street*, the collection in which it appeared. He writes:

Scotland is what I most want to write about and what
 I am least able to. The only way I can really describe
 the poetry I have written so far [...] is to suggest that I

have tried to understand the familiar and the ordinary,
and that locality has little to do with this.⁴⁵⁴

A strong sense of the Scottish landscape emerges from 'Landscape with One Figure'. However, it is the only poem in the collection that really deals with the Scottish landscape, and many of the other poems attempt to situate the poet's personal identity outside the context of the nation. For example, in 'The Ocean's Love to Raleigh'⁴⁵⁵, Dunn dreams of exploration: 'Earth, air, fire, and water, the giddy limits, / The shedding of nationality and death of flags.'⁴⁵⁶ The poem is inspired by Sir Walter Raleigh's exploratory career; in the final stanza, the dream of escaping the nation is negated by a reference to Raleigh's fate: 'Until you, Raleigh, come, with gleaming ships, / A bloodstain on your ruff, and no head'.⁴⁵⁷ This is a sinister take on the inevitability of homecoming: Raleigh's escape from the nation is an illusion, shattered when his nationality catches up with him and kills him.

Robert Crawford is less ambivalent than Dunn about his connection to the Scottish landscape. Crawford presents multiple Scotlands in his poetry, focusing on Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen, as well as the open country in between. When describing the Scottish landscape, he often illustrates the intersections between bucolic and industrial, hi-tech and traditional that are characteristic of modern Scotland. For example, his poem 'Scotland' opens as follows:

Semiconductor country, land crammed with intimate expanses,
Your cities are superlattices, heterojunctive
Graphed from the air, your cropmarked farmlands
are epitaxies of tweed.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁴ 'Autumn Choice: "Terry Street" by Douglas Dunn', *Poetry Book Society Bulletin*, no. 62 (1969).

⁴⁵⁵ 'Raleigh' is an alternative spelling of 'Raleigh', which Sir Walter Raleigh preferred to use in his lifetime.

⁴⁵⁶ Douglas Dunn, *Terry Street* (London: Faber, 1969), p. 54.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁸ Robert Crawford, *Selected Poems* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2005), p. 17.

Crawford combines Scottish images of tweed and farmlands with scientific concepts such as semiconductors and superlattices. Semiconductors are materials which fall between conductors and insulators in their relationship with electricity. They form the basis of many modern technological products, such as computers, LED s, telephones and radios, as they can exist in a state of conductivity or insulation. This creates the possibility of binary code, the two states representing ones and zeros respectively. Superlattices are composite materials which can be made of layers of semiconductors; Crawford is comparing this to the relationship between the Scottish land and its cities. The fact that these are late twentieth-century scientific developments suggests that Crawford is trying to position Scotland in the context of a modern world. However, the interposed tweed and farmlands show that Scotland retains a physical existence which counterbalances the virtual world, created with the use of semiconductors.

In ‘Edinburgh’, Crawford presents a more conventional series of Scottish images in the opening stanza:

My capital of sulking jewels
 Misinvested, glimmers through the haar.
 Under it, horsehair sofas, quaichs
 And portrait heads in museum store-tunnels
 Furnish the salons of an independent
 Doppelgänger-townscape, locked.⁴⁵⁹

The poem appears to be about museum artefacts in storage, representing the city’s past which is preserved beneath the city of the present. The second stanza describes city councillors discussing the possibility of ‘charging admission to the city, perhaps to rescue the artefacts from obscurity, or perhaps to monetize the nation’s history.

The present intrudes in this preserved realm of the past, imposing its own values on these past artefacts:

⁴⁵⁹ Robert Crawford, *Selected Poems*, p. 19.

An occasional tubelit attendant
 Visits that undernation where every item
 Has its provenance label, an accurate pawnticket
 Ready in case of redemption.⁴⁶⁰

The attendant observing the labelled artefacts in the harsh modern lighting illustrates the fact that the past is at the mercy of the priorities of the present. The labels, which are a modern assessment of each item's identity, will determine what is redeemed and what not. The comparison between artefact labels and pawntickets, as well as the discussion on whether to charge admission earlier in the stanza, suggest that the considerations of the present are primarily to do with profitability.

In 'Aberdeenshire', Crawford creates an image of Aberdeenshire as an amalgamation of science, technology, industry and art:

Oilrig excaliburs of burning gas,
 Sheep coughing through a starlit igloo silence
 Near Craigievar, the reeling of dancers

 Spattering an on-off wind's signal
 Broken up by granite and salmon,
 Whitewater *bon viveurs*.

The King's College corona satellite-tracks
 Star dialects. Hills budge
 And settle. Grouse flurry. Computer screens dazzle the night,
 their flickering eyes added to the land's.⁴⁶¹

Like in 'Scotland', Crawford uses references to traditional Scottish culture to describe modern elements of the Scottish landscape: the reeling dancers are the wind turbines at Craigievar. The 'on-off wind's signal' evokes the idea of binary code, which is created by the interruption of the wind's signal by granite and salmon, naturally present in Scotland.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁶¹ Robert Crawford, *Selected Poems*, p. 35.

In the final stanza, Crawford draws a connection between stars and humanity; the tracking of ‘star dialects’ both suggests a search for information and understanding of outer space, and scrutinising of the Scottish dialect. This connotation of scrutiny is emphasised both by the imperial associations of ‘the King’s College’, and by the fact that the Corona program was an American surveillance mission of the USSR, launched in 1950. Data from the Corona satellite program was released in 1995, and was subsequently used by geographers and archaeologists.⁴⁶² Finally, the image of flickering computer screens as eyes of the land draws another connection between technology and nature, as the screens share the landscape with grouse and salmon.

Poets have adapted with the evolution of Scottish society, and incorporated technological and scientific advances in their poetry, culminating in a poetic scene which truly reflects the realities of Scotland in the twenty-first century. Cypriot-Greek poetry, on the other hand, often focuses on monuments connecting the landscape to the ancient Greek past, seeking to emphasize the Greek identity of the Cypriot landscape. Despite this difference in approach, poets of both nations use similar techniques when representing the monuments on which their poetry focuses: many of their poems provide multi-sensory snapshots of the monuments in question, making the poems similar to landscape paintings in the way they capture an image of their subject in a particular moment. This helps to create an image of the homeland that can be shared by readers.

⁴⁶² ‘A Look Back ... CORONA: The Nation’s First Photoreconnaissance Satellite’, Central Intelligence Agency, United States of America, Historical Document, Posted: Aug 19, 2010 09:50 AM, Last Updated: Apr 30, 2013 12:39 PM <https://www.cia.gov/news-information/featured-story-archive/2010-featured-story-archive/corona-the-nation2019s-first-photoreconnaissance-satellite.html>, accessed 27 August 2014; Goossens, Rudi, Alain De Wulf, Jean Bourgeois, Gheyle Wouter, and Tom Willems, ‘Satellite Imagery and Archaeology: The Example of CORONA in the Altai Mountains’, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 33, no. 6 (June 2006), pp. 745-755.

Cities and their margins

Cities are often represented as emblematic of the nations they inhabit. Additionally, they are personified and given great significance for the identity of their inhabitants. A city identity can complement a national identity in the same individual, in the same way that someone may simultaneously have a local and broader national identity (Scottish and British, Cypriot and Greek). The poems discussed below question and complicate city identities by exploring aspects excluded from other discourses. In the Scottish poems by Edwin Morgan, this is done by setting poems in marginal spaces and discussing marginal members of society, challenging the reader to accept that the city, and by extension the nation, is not as simple and uniform as may appear.

The Cypriot poems discussed focus on lost cities, areas which have been lost to their inhabitants as a result of the 1974 invasion, and thus irrevocably altered. The three poets discussed have each written about one city: Sotiris Varnavas about Nicosia, Kyriakos Charalambides about Famagusta, and Niki Ladaki-Philippou about Kyrenia. The effect of all of the above is to complicate the image of the nation, but also to enable readers to understand marginalized or difficult aspects of the poet's identity, which sometimes are shared with the reader.

Edwin Morgan wrote many poems about marginal areas of cities, from green spaces, which straddle the border of urban and rural, to abandoned tower blocks. *Glasgow Sonnets* (1972) is a series of ten Petrarchan sonnets, each of which presents a vignette of the city focused on its condemned tower blocks, combining images of neglect and dishevelment with beauty, with unsettling effect. Sonnet I describes an abandoned tower block which is still inhabited; the octave presents an external image

of the building, moving from its garbage-strewn surroundings to the ‘black block condemned to stand, not crash’ (line 8).⁴⁶³

The sestet moves to the inside of the building, where ‘Roses of mould grow from ceiling to wall’ (line 11). The image of mould roses both describes the decay of the building, and has a funerary connotation, bringing to mind the image of roses on a gravestone. Simultaneously, the mould roses add a derelict beauty to the decaying building, and a sense of grandeur to the atmosphere of despair. The funerary association is reinforced by the final three lines:

The man lies late since he has lost his job,
smokes on one elbow, lets the coughs fall
thinly into an air too poor to rob. (lines 12-14)⁴⁶⁴

‘Lies late’ has the double connotation of sleeping late and death: a deceased person is ‘the late’. The unemployed man has lost his vitality in the same way the empty tower block has, paralleling the decline of the tower blocks into decay to the destitution of the people who cannot escape living in them.

Glasgow Sonnets brings an ignored area of the city to the foreground, compelling the reader to look at a cityscape that would normally be avoided and deliberately ignored. Morgan uses traditional poetic devices to evoke unsettling and guilt-inducing images of deprivation. In sonnet IV, Morgan argues that demolition would be a relief for these parts of the city:

So you have nothing to lose but your chains,
dear Seventies. Dalmarnock, Maryhill,
Blackhill and Govan, better sticks and stanes
should break your banes, for poet’s words are ill

⁴⁶³ Edwin Morgan, *Glasgow Sonnets* (West Linton: Castlelaw Press, 1972), p. 5.

⁴⁶⁴ *Glasgow Sonnets*, p. 5.

to hurt ye. On the wrecker's ball the rains
of greeting cities drop and drink their fill.⁴⁶⁵

This stanza suggests that Morgan sees it as the poet's duty to address the depressed areas of the city. Yet he acknowledges the inability of his words to bring substantial change. *Glasgow Sonnets* shock the reader with bleak images of city life, animated by the use of traditional poetic devices like sonnet form and roses, making this deprived area of the city visible. This suggests the poet feels an obligation to bring the margins to the centre's attention.

In other poems, Morgan focuses on areas of the city which are marginal in a different sense; both 'A Vision at Cathkin Braes' and 'Glasgow Green' focus on places retaining a degree of wildness, not being completely urbanized. Morgan parallels these spaces with marginalized elements of Scottish society, attempting to write both into the broader image of the nation.

In *The Vision of Cathkin Braes* (1952), the title poem describes the speaker and his lover meeting the ghosts of many famous figures, most of national significance for Scotland, on Cathkin Braes, an area of woodland on the edge of Glasgow. Rodney Stenning Edgecombe describes the poem as representing 'the bricolage of the events and personalities, the assumptions and influences that lie behind a national psyche'.⁴⁶⁶ The speaker and his lover have a stool thrown at them by Jenny Geddes, meet the poet McGonagall, the cleric John Knox, Mary Queen of Scots, St Mungo, and others. The poem ends with the figures pairing in a ghostly dance of unlikely couplings: Mary and McGonagall, Knox and Salome, Wordsworth and Jenny Geddes. The liminal space of Cathkin Braes, which is neither urban nor

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 8.

⁴⁶⁶ Rodney Stenning Edgecombe, 'Some Early Vision Poems by Edwin Morgan', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 32, no. 1, pp. 13-25 (p. 22).

rural, allows the expression of a marginal identity, expressed in the odd pairings of the dance, a sort of Caledonian Antisyzygy polka. Morgan and his lover are also marginal figures to mainstream society as a result of their homosexuality, though Morgan had not come out at the time. The lover's gender is never alluded to, leaving the possibility open that he is male. In 'Cathkin Braes' the ghosts of the poet's vision are emblematic of the multiple facets of Scottish identity. They dance together, showing how incongruous elements of a nation's past can result in a shared identity in the present.

Morgan's 'Glasgow Green' is the opposite of 'Cathkin Braes'. 'Glasgow Green' illustrates the process of smoothing over differences and burying the deviant aspects of city life – a sinister vision of the creation of national identity. He describes Glasgow's oldest park as the residence of all socially deviant behaviours, including drug abuse, sex and violence. In the first stanza, the poet describes 'Meth-men muttering on benches', and personifies Monteith Row, the nearest residential street, as a dying drug-addict. A disembodied voice shouts 'No!' in the shadows, suggesting someone is being attacked, possibly raped. All of the above create an image of Glasgow Green at night as both deviant and dangerous. The voice shouting 'no' suggests the existence of an alternative, as the voice opposes the deviant and violent nature of the Green.

The second stanza continues the theme of violence and violation with a scene that can be interpreted as a male on male rape. The would-be rapist threatens his victim saying 'I can get the boys t'ye, they're no that faur away. / You wouldny like

splashing the flesh as it trembles
like driftwood through the dark. (lines 58-65)

The poem foregrounds the heterogeneity of the identities of the city's inhabitants, yet it unites them through the image of the landscape. The suggestion is that the deviant inhabitants of the nocturnal Glasgow Green are no different from the diurnal inhabitants; in fact, the poem suggests that they are the same people. It is interesting, however, that the nocturnal inhabitants all appear to be men, while the diurnal are all women and children. Perhaps Morgan is commenting on the practice of homosexual men having heterosexual marriages, and confining their homosexuality to the fringes of society, embodied by the Green at night. This would have been common when this poem was published in 1968, as homosexuality was still illegal in Scotland at the time. Referring to marriage beds as 'islands in a sea of desire' also suggests that heterosexual marriages are not the only possible manifestation of sexuality, highlighting the existence of repressed elements of sexuality within nineteen-sixties Glaswegian society.

In Cyprus, the representation of cities in poetry is dominated by the reality of the island's separation. The Turkish invasion of 1974 caused a large population of Cypriot-Greeks to lose their homes and be displaced. Many poets express feelings of isolation, as Cypriot-Greeks were left feeling there was nobody to defend them. The feeling of helplessness caused by their inability to return home, and the injustice of their displacement, leads many writers who experienced the invasion of 1974 to feel isolated, but also to reject the Greek nation-state as protector.

Sotiris Varnavas (b.1948 near Ammochostos) is Professor of Geology at the University of Patras and author of three collections of poetry,⁴⁶⁸ as well as co-editor of the 2008 *Ανθολογία Κυπρίων Ποιητών*. In the anthology, he includes a poem of his own about an abandoned house in Nicosia. The house seems to be the speaker's childhood home, as it is remembered with great detail and affection (though it was not possible to confirm this). It appears that the house is in the neutral zone in Nicosia, and has therefore remained empty since 1974.

The abandonment of the house is apparent from the opening of the poem, where the speaker describes the overgrown garden encroaching on the building. The poem opens with a description of the palm trees:

Στον κήπο του δεσπόζανε φοίνικες
κορμοί πού 'φταναν πάνω απ' τη σκεπή⁴⁶⁹

In its garden palm trees dominated
trunks that reached above the roof

In the second stanza, the poet refers to the bitter orange trees, which also seem unnaturally large: 'Οι νεραντζιές που ακούμπαγαν στον ώμο το μπαλκόνι' (Line 5: 'the bitter orange trees that touched the balcony's shoulder'). The idea of nature's invasion is re-iterated more directly in the seventh stanza:

Γύρω αχλαδιές ροδακινιές, αρώματα καρπών
που ωριμάζανε, μα τους χυμούς τους
γεύονταν μονάχα οι τσουκνίδες. (lines 33-35)

All round pear trees peach trees, perfume of fruits
that were ripening, but their juices
were savoured only by the nettles.

The speaker goes on to list the contents of the house by category, describing all the debris of life left suspended: 'έπιπλα σκαλιστά, πολύφωτα με βενετσιάνικα γυαλιά /

⁴⁶⁸ *Χρεόγραφο* (Debtuscript; 2013), *Ηχογράμματα* (Echogramms; 2008), and *Ψήγματα απείρου* (Shavings of the infinite; 2006)

⁴⁶⁹ Sotiris Varnavas, 'Στυλιανού και Αναξαγόρα 26, Λευκωσία', in *Ανθολογία Κυπρίων Ποιητών*, ed. by Skartsis and Varnavas, pp. 63-64, lines 1-2, hereafter line references in parentheses in main text.

σύμβολα μεγαλείου και ακμής, σιωπηλά' (lines 14-15: carved furniture; chandeliers of Venetian glass / symbols of greatness and prosperity, silent). The things left behind suggest that this was a wealthy and cultured household, alluding to the wealth and culture Cyprus has lost as a nation as a result of the island's division. The fifth stanza introduces a childlike perspective with the personification of the musical notes in a book left open on the piano:

στο πιάνο το σολφέζ
 οι νότες, μεγάλα μάτια ορθάνοιχτα,
 τη φωτεινή μορφή ρωτούσανε στο κάδρο
 και περιμένανε τα δάκτυλα να γίνουν μουσική. (lines 24-27)

on the piano the sight-reading book
 the notes, big eyes wide open,
 questioned the bright form in the frame
 and waited for the fingers to become music.

Solfege, a system for learning to sight-read music, is a common experience for middle-class children in Greece and Cyprus, as is playing the piano, which makes it appear as though a child has just walked out of the room. The notes' wide-eyed incomprehension evoke innocence, transforming the abandoned house into an emblem of innocence lost. The speaker has left all that is childlike and hopeful behind in the house.

This idea is presented more explicitly in the final stanza:

Απέναντι ο μιναρές ο προμαχών το τείχος
 με απορίας ύφος, κοιτούσανε το σπίτι
 που έμενε πάντοτε κλειστό και σκοτεινό
 και μοναχά στο βορεινό δωμάτιο τις νύχτες
 μια διαλείπουσα πηγή, μ' όχρα ζωγράφιζε ισχνή
 μια παιδική φιγούρα που την κατάπινε
 πίσω απ' τις γρίλιες το πρωί μια ηλιακτίδα. (lines 36-42)

On the other side the minaret the parapet the wall
 with an air of confusion, watched the house
 which stayed forever closed and dark
 and only in the northern room at night
 an intermittent source, in ochre drew faintly

the figure of a child which was swallowed
behind the blinds in the morning by a sunray.

The confusion of the minaret, parapet and wall is reminiscent of the wide-eyed incomprehension of the notes discussed above. The apparition of the child in the northern room suggests the speaker who has departed has left behind his childhood self, or a part of it. This casts the division of the city as an enforced coming of age through the trauma of separation from the home, in this case the house the speaker lived in as a child, which is emblematic of the loss of the national homeland.

Kyriakos Charalambides' collection *Αμμόχωστος Βασιλεύουσα* consists of a series of forty-seven poems about the city of Famagusta. It is described by Theodosios Pylarinos as 'ένας ύμνος και εν ταύτω θρήνος της γενέτειράς του πόλης φαντάσματος, αλλά και της αγεωγράφητης πόλης όλων των εποχών' ('a hymn and simultaneously a lament for his ghost-town birthplace, but also the uncharted city of all epochs').⁴⁷⁰ Charalambides' fascination with the city begins with his attempts to cope with the trauma of its loss, but becomes a fascination with the idea of the city as a living being, with its own character and internal life. The poems of the collection not only explore the traumas left by the loss of the city, but also engage with ideas of the origin of personal identity and the role of the city in the creation of the individual. His oscillation between the local and universal city allows him to transform trauma into art, and to present the experience of trauma in terms both locals and outsiders can understand.

The poems of *Αμμόχωστος Βασιλεύουσα* employ a range of techniques for evoking the city often personifying it as a woman. Some poems describe dreams of the poet and his friends, giving the collection the feel of an exercise in self-

⁴⁷⁰ Theodosios Pylarinos, *Μεθιστορία: Μύθος και ιστορία στην ποίηση του Κυριάκου Χααραλαμπίδη* (Athens: Irodotos, 2007), p. 14.

psychoanalysis. The collection could be described as trauma poetry, a concept which shall be explored in depth in the following chapter.

The poet's use of the adjective *Βασιλεύουσα* (Vasilevousa) in the title draws a comparison between Ammochostos / Famagusta and Constantinople / Istanbul, before the reader has opened the book. *Βασιλεύουσα* is the adjective traditionally applied to the Byzantine city of Constantinople; the two are so strongly associated in modern Greek that one can omit the name of the city. Literally, *Βασιλεύουσα* means 'Queen of Cities', from the verb 'βασιλεύω' (vasilevo), which means 'to reign'. However, the word 'Βασιλεύουσα' is also associated with decline, as βασιλεύω is related to 'ηλιοβασίλεμα', the setting of the sun. In this case, 'βασιλεύουσα' may suggest an approaching ending: the reign of Famagusta as queen of cities is waning.

The association with the Byzantine Empire suggests that the poet views the Greeks of Cyprus as a part of the broader Greek people, no less Greek for not being citizens of the Greek nation state. This has long been the general attitude of Greeks and Cypriot-Greeks alike. This connection to the Byzantine Greek world is reinforced by the biblical quotation used as an epigraph:

αὐτῶν δὲ διηνοιχθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν
αὐτόν· καὶ αὐτὸς ἄφαντος ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτῶν.⁴⁷¹

And their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and
he vanished out of their sight.⁴⁷²

The citation is taken from Luke, chapter 24, which describes the apostles' discovery that Jesus has risen. Jesus approaches the apostles and speaks to them, but they do not recognise him until much later, when he sits to eat with them, and blesses and breaks the bread; the epigraph describes their moment of revelation. If one were to imagine

⁴⁷¹ Luke 24:31.

⁴⁷² Luke 24:31, King James edition.

the city as Jesus, one could argue that the epigraph's function is to prophesy the resurrection of the Famagusta of the past; however, it also bears the connotation that the city has vanished, at the very moment that its value was recognised, as Jesus does in the Bible.

In *Αμμόχωστος Βασιλεύουσα*, the interactions between past, present and future have a shaping role in the collection's structure. These are determined to a great extent by the function of memory. According to Michalis Tsianikas,

η ποίηση της *Αμμοχώστου* πάντα σχεδόν σκοντάφτει και «σταματά» για να λειτουργήσει ακριβώς ως υπόσχεση, αλλά και ως ανάμνηση· η ανάμνηση συχνά λειτουργεί προφητικά, αφού «αναγγέλλει» το μέλλον περισσότερο, και ας αναφέρεται στα περασμένα.⁴⁷³

The poetry of *Famagusta* always almost stumbles and “halts” precisely in order to function as a promise, but also a memory; memory often functions prophetically, since it “proclaims” the future more, even though it refers to the past.

The way the past is articulated as memory defines the future, through actions in the present. Charalambides' collection is, like a memory, an articulation of the past. The poems' reading is enriched if one considers psychoanalytical theories on the effects of trauma on memory.

Poems are similar to dreams in that both present a condensed version of multiple layers of meaning. In *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Freud argues that dreams consist of two principle layers of narrative, the ‘dream thought’ and the ‘dream content’. The former is transformed into the latter by the ‘dream work’, through devices such as condensation and displacement. Furthermore, the dream is given shape upon waking by the imposition of an arbitrary narrative connecting the events of the dream, a process Freud calls ‘secondary interpretation’.

⁴⁷³ Michalis Tsianikas, *Το όνομα της Αμμοχώστου* (Athens: Indictos, 2003), p. 66.

Memory is affected in a similar way by the process of remembering. The act of remembering involves the same process of secondary interpretation as remembering dreams after waking, as the mind embeds events in narrative in order to preserve them as memories. In the case of poetry, the process of secondary interpretation begins during writing, and is completed by the reader, each reader and each reading yielding different results.

In ‘Αρχή Ινδίκτου’ (The Beginning of the Indiction), Charalambides remembers the street names and map of his old neighbourhood. It is not clear why he names the poem after a Byzantine fiscal period, but Indictions began on the first of September, and the poem is dated ‘September, 1980’. The poem is focused on the set of memories that in the past allowed the poet to find his way home:

Τι είναι ο Πνυταγόρας όλοι ξέρουμε
ή θα μπορούσαμε να μάθουμε
(της Σαλαμίνας λένε που ήταν βασιλιάς):
την Πνυταγόρου όμως, τη μικρή μου Πνυταγόρου
ανάμεσα Τίμιο Σταυρό και Αγία Ζώνη,
την ξέρω εγώ και μόνο εγώ. Αλίμονο σε μένα:
Ζηλεύω τις ποντίκες τουτουνού του δρόμου,
τ’ αδέσποτα σκυλιά, τους άγριους γάτους
που ερχόμενοι Ακροπόλεως και κατεβαίνοντας
οδό Πεντέλης και Ιλαρίωνος εκβάλλουν
στην Πνυταγόρου μου – καλότυχα παιδιά!⁴⁷⁴

What Pnytagoras is we all know
or we could find out
(of Salamis they say he was King);
but Pnytagorou, my little Pnytagorou
between Holy Cross and Holy Girdle,
I and I alone know her. Woe is me:
I envy the mice of this street,
the stray dogs, the wild tomcats
who coming via Akropoleos and descending
Pendelis street and Ilarionos spill out
onto my Pnytagorou – lucky children!

⁴⁷⁴ Kyriakos Charalambides, *Αμμόχωστος Βασιλεύουσα*, 2ndedn (Athens: Agra, 1997, first published 1983), p. 36, lines 1-11, further references in text in parentheses.

The map of the city and the way to his house are imprinted on the poet's mind, yet he cannot return there. This incongruity challenges the poet's previous understanding of the world. The information that was once sufficient to get him home can no longer help him, yet it is still there in his mind.

In the two short stanzas that make up the rest of the poem, the speaker wishes he were a mouse or stray dog, a wild cat or even a snake or nettle so that he could be in his home, but there is no hope. The jarring contrast between memory and reality is a barrier which cannot be crossed, and expresses the helplessness felt by those displaced in 1974. He describes his desire for homecoming:

πόθος ελίχρυσος που σκοτωμένος πέφτει
να κοιμηθεί σε δίκτυα της αράχνης. (lines 18-19)

a helichrysum desire that exhausted falls
asleep in the spider's webs.

In this poem, Charalambides tries to reconcile his knowledge that his home city still exists, and his inability to physically go there. As he has indicated in interviews, he feels obliged to document the nation's true state: 'ο χώρος και η ζωή που ήταν άλλοτε δεν είναι πλέον. Κάποιος θα πρέπει να το καταγράψει, κάποιος θα πρέπει να αρθρώσει την πατρίδα, παραμορφωμένη από τους όρους σημερινών "πραγματικότητων".⁴⁷⁵ (The space and life that once was no longer is. Someone will have to record it, someone will have to articulate the homeland, deformed by the terms of present "realities".)

The opening poem of *Αμμόχωστος Βασιλεύουσα*, 'Η Αρχή Ενός Ειδυλλίου' ('The Beginning of a Romance'), personifies the city as a female lover. The description of the city is blended with references to a woman's body;

⁴⁷⁵ Vasilis Rouvalis, 'Ο Κύπριος Χαραλαμπίδης στο γενέθλιο χώρο του: "Επίσκεψις" του ποιητή στα κατεχόμενα', *Ελευθεροτυπία* 3 December 2003.

Πόλη με το φεγγάρι στα μαλλιά σου,
τον ήλιο ξέσκεπο, την ευωδιά ντυμένη
τα κρίσια του Μαγιού, τη θάλασσα πλατάνι.⁴⁷⁶

City with the moon in your hair,
the sun uncovered, dressed in fragrance
the tassels of May, the sea a plane tree.

The city is personified as a woman, playing on the femininity of the word ‘Πόλη’ in Greek; the images of the ‘sun uncovered’ and the city ‘dressed in fragrance’ make the personification sensual, evoking the image of a nude female figure. However, they also construct the city as innocent and defenceless, with no barrier between herself and the potentially hostile outside world.

The speaker desires the city: ‘Εσένα θέλω, εσένα λαχταρώ’ (line 13: ‘It is you I want, it is you I yearn for’). This is reminiscent of the current of sexual tension underlying Morgan’s ‘Glasgow Green’ discussed above. Though Charalambides’ poem lacks the dark elements of Morgan’s, this is still a forbidden love. The speaker represents himself and the city as star-crossed lovers, doomed to be forever apart:

Όταν η μέρα κλίνει προς το μέρος μου,
δικιά μου γίνεσαι για πάντα – μα τι τ’ όφελος;
Σε τριγυρίζει τώρα συρματόπλεγμα. (Lines 17-19)

When the day leans towards me,
you become mine forever – but what good is it?
You are now surrounded with barbed wire.

The speaker’s emotional attachment to the city is not enough to overcome the barriers between them: the reality of the barbed wire annuls the significance of the speaker’s expression of emotion. The poem’s romantic flight of fancy is grounded by the reality of the island’s division, lending it a similar disillusionment to Morgan’s in his identification of the seemingly insurmountable double standards of Glasgow society in ‘Glasgow Green’. Even while he writes his ode to the city, Charalambides

⁴⁷⁶ Kyriakos Charalambides, ‘Η Αρχή Ενός Ειδυλλίου’, in *Αμμόχωστος Βασιλεύουσα*, pp. 9-11, lines 7-9, further references in parenthesis in main text.

questions the use of expressing his emotion: ‘what good is it?’ Like in ‘Glasgow Green’, the end of Charalambides’ poem brings no closure: the barbed wire remains, like the Glaswegian beds remain trapped in a sea of desire.

The use of the word ‘κλίνει’ can be interpreted as another reference to the ‘Βασιλεύουσα’ of the book’s title; ‘κλίνει’ can be translated as ‘leans’, but is also a homonym for ‘κλείνει’, which means ‘closes’. Furthermore, the word ‘κλίνει’ may refer directly to the sunset: ‘η κλίση του ηλίου’ means ‘the angle of the sun’, a phrase which is used with reference to the sunset.

The city is also described as a prisoner, deprived of bread, water and news; one realises that the poet is describing a ghost town when he mentions the clothes of a baby abandoned on a rooftop:

Τα ρουχαλάκια του μωρού σε μια ταράτσα
πλένει η βροχή και σιδερώνει ο άνεμος. (Lines 23-24)

The baby’s little clothes on a rooftop
are washed by the rain and ironed by the wind.

The intervention of nature in caring for the baby’s clothes suggests that the state of affairs which has resulted in their being left on the rooftop is not natural. It can be interpreted as a modern incarnation of the pathetic fallacy. The absence of bread, water and news of the first part of the stanza symbolizes the absence of life in the city: there are no people left to bake bread, drink water or publish and read newspapers.

This image refers to the abandoned suburb of Varosha in Famagusta, which was fenced off by the Turkish army in 1974, and remains empty. Varosha has played a pivotal role in negotiations following the Turkish invasion, partly as a gesture of good faith, but also partly because the return of property to the many Cypriot-Greeks

who fled the region in 1974 could solve problems for the Republic of Cyprus.⁴⁷⁷ On 14 February 2012, the European Parliament adopted a written declaration requesting the opening of Famagusta to Greek Cypriots who own property there.⁴⁷⁸ It was raised again in current negotiations when Cypriot-Greeks requested its return as a ‘confidence-boosting measure’.⁴⁷⁹ The ghost-town’s future remains unclear.

As the poet contemplates the hopelessness of his city’s situation, he sees the ghost town consuming the image of the real city, and describes the city becoming imaginary:

Ξέρω πως λιώνεις μέσα στο μαρτύριο·
 μια πόλη και να γίνεσαι φανταστική... (Lines 45-46)

I know you are melting in the agony of it;
 a city, and to be turning imaginary...

The poet has little faith in the eventual possibility of return; he describes those expecting it as ‘γεμάτοι ελπίδα και ρηγά αισιόδοξοι’ (line 49: ‘full of hope and shallowly optimistic’). This contrasts with his attitude in ‘Αρδανα’, discussed in the following chapter, where he insists on the inevitability of return. The frequent internal contradictions of *Αμμόχωστος Βασιλεύουσα* show the poet’s inability to settle on one overarching narrative for the past, as he oscillates between hope and despair faced with the reality of the occupation of his home city, and consequent impossibility of homecoming.

The name of Famagusta (Ammochostos) has symbolic power in Charalambides’ *Αμμόχωστος Βασιλεύουσα*. As Tsianikas writes, the name of the city

⁴⁷⁷ Suha Bolukbasi, "The Cyprus Dispute and the United Nations: Peaceful Non-Settlement between 1954 and 1996," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30, no. 3 (1998).

⁴⁷⁸ "Declaration of the European Parliament of 14 February 2012 on the Return of the Sealed-Off Section of Famagusta to Its Lawful Inhabitants," The European Parliament, [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=TA&reference=P7_TA\(2012\)0039&language=EN](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=TA&reference=P7_TA(2012)0039&language=EN).

⁴⁷⁹ Jean Christou, "Eu Pressed on Varosha Return as Confidence Building Measure," *Cyprus Mail*, 8th April 2014.

keeps reappearing in the collection: ‘ο [αποκαλυπτικός] λόγος δε σταματά να επαναλαμβάνει το κάλεσμα, το πιο επίμονο ίσως, στο όνομα της πόλης, στα ονόματα της πόλης, στην πόλη που δεν μπορεί να κατονομαστεί με το όνομά της.’⁴⁸⁰ (‘Apocalyptic speech does not cease to repeat the calling, the most insistent perhaps, to the name of the city, the names of the city, the city which cannot be classified under its name.’) In the sign that is the city’s name, signifier and signified have become detached. The name no longer has the power to summon the image of the city, as both the city and its name have been altered by historical events and cannot be accessed by the poet. Like the street names in ‘Αρχή Ινδίκτου’, the city only survives in the poet’s memory – both have new names now.

Charalambides’ collection focuses on the parts of the city that cannot be taken away from him: his memories of it, and its name. The importance of the name Ammochostos is highlighted early in the collection with the poem ‘Όνομα πόλης’ (‘The name of a city’).

Μήπως μιας πόλης όνομα η Αμμόχωστο είναι ψεύτικη;
 Τεχνητό χώρισμα χώρου και γη της ουτοπίας;
 Χρόνος από άμμο φιλοδουλεμένη
 καθώς κοιτάζεις τους λευκούς μαστούς;⁴⁸¹

Is perhaps the name of a city Ammochostos a fake?
 An artificial divide of space and land of utopia?
 Time made of sand finely wrought
 as you look at the white breasts?

In the first instance, the poet doubts the reality of both name and place. He then constructs the name as a signifier of both division and utopia. As in ‘Η Αρχή Ενός Ειδυλλίου’ (‘The beginning of a romance’), the poet uses the image of a woman to represent the city; however, it is less central to the poem’s construction in this case.

⁴⁸⁰ Tsianikas, p. 68.

⁴⁸¹ Charalambides, *Αμμόχωστος Βασιλεύουσα*, p. 14.

The poet explains in a note that the image of ‘white breasts’ refers to the sand dunes that used to be along the coast of the city, before it was built up.⁴⁸² It is conceivable that the city originally was named with reference to the sand dunes, as ‘Αμμόχωστος’ means ‘buried in the sand’. There is a series of overlapping images: the sand dunes are represented by a woman’s breasts, while the sand is representing time, emphasising that the visual image experienced by the reader, who is being addressed in the second person, is only one of several interlocking versions of reality. The name of the city encompasses all these layers of meaning; however, the question mark which overhangs the ‘trueness’ of the name casts doubt on the reality of the city. It seems the poet is describing the city of his memory and imagination, which he still associates with the name. The invasion of 1974 has erased this city from the real world, leaving the poet with a name of doubtful veracity, and a series of disjointed memories.

Niki Ladaki-Philippou’s collection *Προς Κερίνιν* also places central significance on the city’s name. It is prefaced by a quotation from Athanasios Sakellarios’ ‘Τα Κυπριακά’ (first edition 1854), which describes the origin of the city’s name, and lists its historical multiplicity of forms culminating in the name ‘Κερίνι’ (‘Kerini’), which is used in the collection’s title. Ladaki-Philippou quotes the following passage from the 1890 edition:

Η πόλις της Κερύνειας παρουσιάζεται με διάφορα ονόματα. Ο Πτολεμαίος καλεί αυτήν Κερωνίαν ή Κεραυνίαν, ο Διόδωρος Κερυνίαν, ο Σκύλαξ Κερύνειαν, ο Στέφανος ο Βυζάντιος Κηρυνίαν. Ο Πλίνιος Cinyriam, ο Κωνσταντίνος ο Πορφυρογέννητος Κηρύνειαν, ο Ιερωκλής Κυρηνίαν, ο Λ. Μαχαιράς και ο Γ. Βουστρώνιος Κερινίαν και

⁴⁸² Ibid, p. 136.

άπαξ Κιρινίαν, ο τελευταίος Έλλην γεωγράφος
Μελέτιος ‘Κερωνίαν κοινώς Κερίνι’.⁴⁸³

The city of Kyrenia appears with different names. Ptolemy calls it Keronia or Keravnia, Scyllax Kerynia, Stephanos the Byzantine Kirinia. Pliny calls it Cinyria, Constantine Porphyrogennitus Kiryneia, Hierocles Kyrinia, L. Machairas and G. Voustronios Kerinia and once Kirinia, the last Greek Geographer Meletios ‘Keronia commonly Kerini’.

The multiplicity of the city’s names draws attention to its evolution through time; however, the listing of ancient geographers alongside the names they gave the city emphasises its longevity and ancient origins. It also brings the city name as symbol to the forefront of the reader’s mind.

Ladaki-Philippou’s collection consists of a series of poems in free verse that have uncertain beginnings and endings, and blend into each other in terms of tone, content and structure. The names of Kyrenia are incorporated in the poetic text in the second part of the collection:

Προς Πόλιν
προς Καστέλλιον Κερίνης
προς Κερωνίαν ή Κεραυνίαν
προς Κερυνίαν
προς Κερόνεια
προς Κηρύνια
προς Κυρηνίαν
προς Κερινίαν και άπαξ Κιρινίαν
προς «Κερωνίαν κοινώς Κερίνι»

Προς Κερίνι⁴⁸⁴

To the City
to Kastellion of Kerini
to Keronia or Keravnia
to Kerynia
to Keryneia
to Kirinia
to Kyrinia

⁴⁸³ Niki Ladaki- Philippou, *Προς Κερίνι* (Athens: Iolkos, 2001), p. 11.

⁴⁸⁴ Ladaki-Philippou, p. 84.

to Kerinia and once and for all Kirinia
to “Keronia commonly called Kerini”

To Kerini

Here, the poet lists the names of the city in the same order that they are listed by Sakellarios, incorporating the epigraph of the collection in the body of the poem. The first line’s address ‘To the City’ constitutes a reference to Constantinople, like Charalambides’ use of ‘Βασιλεύουσα’ (‘Queen of Cities’) in the title of his collection. ‘Η Πόλη’ (‘the City’), like the adjective ‘Βασιλεύουσα’ is commonly used to refer to Constantinople in modern Greek.

The name of the city is repeated throughout the collection, like an invocation. In addition to the section quoted above, many of the poems have the dedication ‘προς Κερίνιν’ printed at their beginning, while ‘Προς Κερίνιν’ is repeated as a single line between stanzas, as either a dedication or an address.⁴⁸⁵ Furthermore, the name is reiterated in the position of title: the collection consists of two sections, entitled ‘Προς Κερίνιν I’ and ‘Προς Κερίνιν II’. If, as Freud claims, the most frequently repeated image usurps the position of the most significant element of the dream, one could argue that the name of the city is stammered as a result of an inability to articulate the trauma that is situated at the centre of the poem.

Overall, cities and monuments play an important part in the transformation of landscape into homeland in both Scotland and Cyprus. Poets engage with the visible marks of the nation on the landscape sometimes emphasizing their significance for its transformation into the homeland, and sometimes using them to expand the concept of national identity. The loss of half the homeland as a result of the 1974 invasion in Cyprus has had a formative effect on Cypriot-Greek identity, leading many poems

⁴⁸⁵ Ladaki-Philippou, multiple examples on pp. 79-84.

about the homeland to attempt to resolve the trauma of this loss. The following chapter will look more closely about the role of poetry in processing communal trauma and communicating traumatic experiences.

Chapter 6: Poetry, Trauma and National Identity

In both Scotland and Cyprus, many poets believe poetry should contribute something significant to society. This motivates poets to deliberately engage with local histories and current affairs. In Cyprus, since the invasion of 1974 Cypriot-Greek poets have often used the act of writing to address events and memories that are traumatic both for the poet and for the Cypriot-Greek community as a whole. In Scotland, similar trauma poetry was written in response to the First World War.

The understanding of trauma as a disrupted relationship between the conscious and unconscious mind has its origins in Sigmund Freud's definitions of both trauma and the mind. These were greatly influential in the exploration of World War One Shell Shock, the first instance of a large group of people experiencing Post Traumatic Stress Disorder.

As mentioned on page 264, poems share certain features with dreams. In the language of both poetry and dreaming, the nature of the sign is challenged, as the relationship between signifier and signified is disrupted by the introduction of alternative associations. Poems and dreams can fulfil a similar purpose, as both provide a buffer between central meaning and recipient: according to Freud, dreams are constructed around a 'dream-wish', which is fulfilled within the dream. However, the 'dream-wish', and the associated 'dream-thoughts', are disguised from the conscious mind to escape censorship, as the dream-wish is often a taboo unconscious

desire. Consequently, the dream has two layers: latent thoughts (or dream-thoughts) and manifest content.⁴⁸⁶

Latent thoughts are transformed into manifest content by the ‘dream-work’: condensation, displacement, representation and secondary revision. The methods of concealment the mind uses resemble poetic devices. Freud argues that as a result of condensation, ‘dreams are brief, meagre and laconic in comparison with the range and wealth of the dream-thoughts’.⁴⁸⁷ Like dreams, poems make full use of the associative power of words, embedding large quantities of meaning into short texts.

Displacement also resembles a literary device. As a result of Displacement, ‘the dream is, as it were, differently centred from the dream-thoughts – its content has different elements at its central point.’⁴⁸⁸ According to Freud, in dreams it is the elements that are most frequently repeated that gain central importance, as opposed to the most significant elements of the dream-thoughts. Similarly, in poetry the central message of the poem is often at one remove from the plot unfolding within the text, and repetition is often used to create an atmosphere which reflects the latent content of the poem. Representation within the dream-work consists of substituting one thing to signify another, which resembles metaphor and metonymy. Finally, the process of secondary revision, which occurs when the waking mind superimposes a coherent narrative on the disjointed images of the dream, is a parallel of reading. Like the dream can only be remembered through the filter of the waking mind, the poem can only be experienced through the process of reading.

⁴⁸⁶ Sigmund Freud, ‘The Interpretation of Dreams’, trans. by James Strachey, Anna Freud, Alix Strachey and Alan Tyson, in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. by James Strachey. (London: The Hogarth Press, 1953), IV, 277-278.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

Psychological trauma often manifests in repetition; the patient relives traumatic events either through dreams and hallucinations, or through the involuntary repetition of waking actions. Cathy Caruth suggests that dreams function in a Freudian practice of wish-fulfilment in the case of trauma; however, she shows that by permitting wish-fulfilment within the dream, its occurrence highlights the rift caused by the psychological trauma of death: ‘the dream, as a delay, reveals the ineradicable gap between the reality of a death and the desire that cannot overcome it except in the fiction of a dream.’⁴⁸⁹ Furthermore, Caruth argues that there is a closer connection between dreams and the re-enactment of trauma: ‘Awakening [according to Lacan] is itself the site of a trauma, the trauma of the necessity and impossibility of responding to another’s death.’⁴⁹⁰

The act of writing can allow the writer to access those traumatic and impossible memories ordinarily only accessible through involuntary repetition and dreams, as the composition of the poem resembles the dream-work, and acts as a filter between the writer and the traumatic memory. This use of poetry was popular during the First World War, when many soldiers wrote poetry attempting to capture their traumatic experiences on the Front Line.

The most famous of these were Wilfred Owen (1893-1918) and Siegfried Sassoon (1886-1967). There was a broad movement at the time acknowledging the power of writing to address trauma, as many of those not engaged in active combat also wrote poetry in response to their experiences of grief and loss. However, many Front Line poems were also an act of protest, intending to convey the horror of the

⁴⁸⁹ Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 95.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

war as powerfully as possible in order to undermine politicians' justifications for its continuation, and to dispel the notion of honourable death.

The World Wars: poetry, trauma, protest

Since the seventeenth century, Scotland has developed a dual Scottish and British identity. This year's referendum is a sign that Scottish identity is currently dominant in some spheres, but many argue British identity remains relevant, and that Scottish and British identity can coexist. These two facets of identity in Scotland have historically fluctuated according to political, social and economic currents.

In *Acts of Union*, Linda Colley argues that the First and Second World Wars caused British identity to become more prominent than Scottish identity, because the British nations identified themselves against the German other.⁴⁹¹ The discussion of increasing self-government for Scotland, Wales and Ireland had begun before the First World War; Colley points out there was a motion to devolve Legislatures of all four British nations put forward in the House of Commons in 1895.⁴⁹² Winston Churchill proposed a similar arrangement in 1911, and in 1913 there was a parliamentary debate about turning the UK into a federated state. The two world wars put these ideas on hold, but they resurfaced, and now Wales and Scotland have local representative governments.

According to Colley, Scottish nationalism did not increase after the war, it changed character.⁴⁹³ Until the 1970s, though there were various bodies lobbying for Scottish representation within the UK, they saw Scottish independence as attainable within the United Kingdom. More recently, Scottish people have described

⁴⁹¹ See p. 213.

⁴⁹² *Acts of Union*, p. 83.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid*, p. 93. See page 215.

themselves as colonized by England, and Colley argues that to claim that Scotland is a colony 'is to assert that it is imprisoned within the United Kingdom. It is a way of arguing that Britishness is no longer a useful vehicle - an older form of Scottish national expression - but rather an encumbrance and an oppression.'⁴⁹⁴

Though Colley argues the First World War empowered British identity, Scottish identity was still present, even within the armed forces. Trevor Royle observes that though many Scots volunteered before conscription was introduced in 1916, most joined Scottish Regiments, or formed new ones by joining up in large groups with previous social ties, such as rugby clubs or the Boys' Brigade, retaining local ties when they enlisted.

Furthermore, discussions surrounding the commemoration of the war in 1919 show that many influential Scotsmen considered it important that Scotland's participation in the war be commemorated as a nation, rather than a part of the United Kingdom.⁴⁹⁵ The Duke of Atholl headed a committee in 1919 which proposed the construction of the Scottish War Memorial at Edinburgh Castle.⁴⁹⁶ Jenny Macleod observes this was not the first time a national memorial was built in Scotland to commemorate participation in a British war; when plans were announced for a Waterloo monument in London, the National Monument on Calton Hill was proposed to commemorate Scotland's role in the victory over France, though notoriously it was never completed.⁴⁹⁷ There were also smaller monuments to other wars, including the Boer War. This suggests there was a strong Scottish identity within the British empire, which was expressed within the Military. Furthermore, though Colley

⁴⁹⁴ *Acts of Union*, p. 93.

⁴⁹⁵ Trevor Royle, *In Flanders Fields: Scottish Poetry and Prose of the First World War* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1990), p. 15.

⁴⁹⁶ Jenny Macleod, 'Memorials and Location: Local versus National Identity and the Scottish National War Memorial', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 89, no. 227 (April 2010), pp. 73-95, (p. 73).

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 74

presented the First World War as an interruption to the growth of Scottish identity, it may have acted as a catalyst for the Scottish independence movement, as general disillusionment in British leaders and British identity based on warfare led people to consider alternative identities. Either way, the desire to claim the nation's dead as its own through the construction of a war monument suggests that at the end of the First World War, Scottish national identity was alive and well.

Though he took part in both the First and Second World War, Hugh MacDiarmid wrote little on either. However, his experiences in the army during the First World War had a formative effect on his thinking about culture and Scottish identity; upon his return from service in Salonica and France, Christopher M. Grieve created the persona of Hugh MacDiarmid and started to promote the idea of an independent Scottish literature through both poetry and essays. In 'A Change of Address', published in *The Scottish Nation* (1923), MacDiarmid argues that the First World War brought about a change in Scottish identity and revived the desire for home rule. He argues that the war

brought a sharp reaction. The danger of the submersion of our distinctive national culture is less today than it has been for many decades. The whole process of assimilation has not only been arrested but has in many directions been strikingly reversed.⁴⁹⁸

Unfortunately, he does not explain how he believes the War has caused this change in the articulation of Scottish identity. Royle argues that MacDiarmid realized 'that the First World War had been fought to protect the rights of small nations', and that this motivated his decision to revive Scottish literature.⁴⁹⁹ From MacDiarmid's letters to George Ogilvie, a teacher of his from school, it is clear that he arrived at the decision

⁴⁹⁸ Hugh MacDiarmid, *The Raucle Tongue*, ed. by by Angus Calder, Glen Murray and Alan Riach, I, 58.

⁴⁹⁹ Royle, p. 15.

to engage with the revival of Scottish literature. In a letter dated 24 November 1918 he informs Ogilvie that his plans for the future are ‘cut and dried’, meaning that ‘my life-work is really done – that various books exist complete and unchangeable in my mind – what remains is only to do the actual writing.’⁵⁰⁰ This statement suggests that the experience of the war did help MacDiarmid to shape his opinions and literary ambitions, though the letters to Ogilvie do not contain any mention to Royle’s idea that it was the War’s function in protecting small nations that sparked MacDiarmid’s interest.

MacDiarmid’s few war poems express disillusionment with the War and the ideas surrounding it. It is likely his rejection of the ideological basis of the War that inspired him to reject British identity. Indeed, in the same 1923 article where he argues the First World War changed Scottish identity, MacDiarmid summarises the disillusionment of the Scots with English politics:

The Scottish public today is not to be bamboozled in the way the last generation was. There is no disguising the fact that the Scottish vote is subject to English veto. The political and social tendencies of England and Scotland are diametrically opposed. Scotland, always a radical country, now returns a labour majority, which England stultifies with a Tory government.⁵⁰¹

MacDiarmid sees an irreconcilable difference between England and Scotland; his position is not altered by his experiences in the British Armed Forces during the war.

There is some debate over whether there is a Scottish ‘War’ literature. In ‘Was there a Scottish War Literature?’ David Goldie argues that there was not an exclusively Scottish literature, because literature produced by Scottish writers during

⁵⁰⁰ Hugh MacDiarmid, Letter to George Ogilvie, 24-11-1918, in *In Flanders Fields*, ed. by Trevor Royle, pp. 211-213, (p. 212).

⁵⁰¹ *The Raucle Tongue*, I, 60.

the First World War showed that Scottish literature had been ‘subsumed in a generic British response to the war’.⁵⁰² Goldie argues that many war poets described as Scottish were really English; he points out that Charles Hamilton Sorley spent much of his life in England, and was educated there, and wrote poetry in English language and style. Hamish Mann and Robert Sterling, though educated in Scotland also wrote stylistically English poetry. However, he also argues that Alan Mackintosh, who spoke Gaelic, played the bagpipes and wrote poetry of a distinctly Scottish flavour, was not writing real Scottish war poetry, because he was born in England and only had one Scottish parent, so his Scottishness ‘was less the product of an informing national culture, absorbed in the long process of formation, than a consciously acquired allegiance to a land of which he had only partial direct knowledge’.⁵⁰³ He goes on to argue that because Mackintosh did not draw exclusively on the Highland sensibility in his poetry, ‘this suggests that the “Scottish” persona of several of his poems is only one of several available to him; that it is a rhetorical function as much as a pledge of identity’.⁵⁰⁴ Yet as the expression of any identity is directed outwards towards an audience, those of hybrid identity develop multiple personas as a result of differing requirements of self-presentation in different environments; this does not make one aspect of the identity more or less valid than the other.

It is possible that Scottish experiences of the First World War have been labelled British because they have not been expressly claimed as Scottish. In 2014, the year in which the Scottish Independence referendum and hundred-year anniversary of the First World War coincide, *From the Line: Scottish War Poetry*

⁵⁰² David Goldie, ‘Was there a Scottish War Literature? Scotland, Poetry and the First World War’, in *The Oxford Handbook of British and Irish War Poetry*, ed. by Tim Kendall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, Published online: Sep 2012) DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199559602.001.0001 accessed 27 August 2014, p.1.

⁵⁰³ Ibid, p. 10.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 12.

1914-1945 was published, edited by the same David Goldie and Roderick Watson. Despite Goldie's argument in the above-mentioned essay that there was slim evidence for a Scottish war literature, most of the poets whose Scottish cultural credentials he questions appear in *From the Line*. The introduction positions the book as a First World War publication rather than a Scottish nationalist publication, in that it looks for a universal narrative of war response: the poetry collected 'shows the means by which poetry began [...] to find ways of articulating appropriate, measured, and sometimes very moving responses to an unprecedented experience'.⁵⁰⁵ However, the fact remains that, as the book title announces, the compilers are looking for a Scottish poetic narrative of the war. *From the Line* follows Trevor Royle's anthology *In Flanders Fields*, published in 1999, the year the Scottish Parliament reconvened. These publications suggest that as Scotland gains increased independence, people are increasingly inclined to imagine a Scottish experience of the First World War.

The First World War had a profound effect on the way war was viewed in Western Europe. Initially war was seen as a cathartic experience for the nation, and it was taken for granted that men had a duty of sacrifice for the nation; this is expressed in early poetry of the First World War, such as John McCrae's famous 'In Flanders Fields'. McCrae's poem is written from the perspective of the dead addressing the living, urging them to remember them and continue their struggle:

Take up our quarrel with the foe:
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁵ David Goldie and Roderick Watson, eds., *From the Line: Scottish War Poetry 1914-1945* (Glasgow: ASLS, 2014), p. xvi

⁵⁰⁶ John McCrae, 'In Flanders Fields', in *Some Corner of a Foreign Field: Poetry of the Great War*, ed. by James Bentley (London Little Brown and Company, 1992), p. 53, lines 10-15.

McCrae's dead offer the living an escape from the pain of mourning with the promise that if the living continue their battle, their deaths will be justified and their spirits restful. While McCrae's poem does convey something of the shock of sudden death in its middle stanza, his overall tone is in support of the war, and he sees the death of soldiers as honourable and necessary.

Other poets such as Wilfred Owen, Siegfried Sassoon, Charles Hamilton Sorley and Isaac Rosenberg focused on capturing the horror of the fighting, methodically undermining any association between war and glory by revealing the gory details of the experience of battle. They rebelled against the concept of the nation as united through sacrifice, as described by Renan (see page 48).

Charles Hamilton Sorley (1895-1915) questioned the validity of the war and the narratives of honour and sacrifice surrounding it from the outset. Sorley was born in Aberdeenshire, but spent much of his life in England, and was educated at Marlborough between 1908 and 1913.⁵⁰⁷ Goldie argues that this makes him more British than Scottish;⁵⁰⁸ yet Sorley's poems appear in *From the Line*, the anthology of Scottish war poetry of which Goldie is an editor. Sorley went to Germany to study and was still there in 1914. When Britain entered the war against Germany, Sorley made his way back to England and enlisted. Because of his positive experiences in Germany, Sorley was sceptical of the patriotic fervour surrounding the war. Consequently, although he enlisted at the earliest opportunity, he looked upon the conflict from a more neutral perspective than many of his contemporaries, and often reminded friends of the Germans' humanity in his letters.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁷ Jean Moorcroft Wilson, *Charles Hamilton Sorley: A Biography* (London: Woolf, 1985), pp. 2-3.

⁵⁰⁸ Goldie, p. 1.

⁵⁰⁹ Wilson, p. 157.

Sorley's 'Sonnet' has the opposite function to McCrae's 'In Flanders Fields'. He denies the reader the comfort of assigning meaning to death, leaving one faced with the bleakness of human mortality undiluted:

When you see millions of the mouthless dead
 Across your dreams in pale battalions go,
 Say not soft things as other men have said
 That you'll remember. For you need not so.
 Give them not praise. For, deaf, how should they know
 It is not curses heaped upon each gashed head?
 Nor tears. Their blind eyes see not that your tears flow.
 Nor honour. It is easy to be dead.⁵¹⁰

The octave systematically denies the expression of all behaviours normally associated with a death: expressions of sympathy, promises not to forget, praise of the departed and crying. In the sestet, he completes the denial of mourning rituals:

Say only this, 'They are dead.' Then add thereto,
 'Yet many a better one has died before.'
 Then, scanning all the o'ercrowded mass, should you
 Perceive one face that you loved heretofore,
 It is a spook. None wears the face you knew.
 Great death has made all his for evermore.

He denies the reader the tendency to exaggerate the virtues of the dead, or see the ghosts of loved ones. The poem shocks the reader into the realization that death is as irreversible as it is unpoetic, discarding the narratives of honourable sacrifice. Though it is less gruesome than many of Owen's poems, its effect is powerful.

Other Scottish poets dealt with the trauma of the First World War by emphasizing the individuality of the casualties. J.B. Salmond (1891-1958) shows that the thousands of casualties were thousands of individuals in his poem 'Any Private to Any Private: July 1917', which describes the death of Wullie, a soldier who symbolizes the common man killed in battle, and the implications of this for his wife.

⁵¹⁰ Charles Hamilton Sorley, *The Collected Poems of Charles Hamilton Sorley*, ed. by Jean Moorcroft Wilson (London: Woolf, 1985), p. 91.

The poem is a response to the complaint that the widows of the dead were becoming a burden on the state. In this poem, Salmond gives Wullie substance by recording small details of his life and character:

We gaed tae Tamson's schule. A clever loon
 Was Wullie. He was makin' money tae.
 A'body liked him round about the toun.
 Fitba? Losh ay! He was the de'il to play.
 We joined thegither for a bob a day;
 An' noo he's deid.⁵¹¹

Like McCrae's 'In Flanders Fields', the poem shows the uncanny quickness of death, as the speaker tries to reconcile the transformation of the living Wullie into the mangled corpse before him. However, unlike McCrae's poem, Salmond's shows the perspective of living soldiers who are left to cope with the death of their friends and colleagues without adequate support from the state. For example, in the first stanza the speaker sacrifices his own blanket to cover Wullie's corpse, because there is nothing else available.

Wullie represents the Scottish everyman, and his death and its aftermath are evidence that the state does not care about him. The title, 'Any Private to Any Private', shows that this situation is played out again and again, the actors trapped in their roles, unable to change the system that is producing death. In the third stanza the speaker reflects on the implications of Wullie's death for his widow, showing his frustration with the war and the state's insensitivity:

I canna mak' it oot. It fair beats a',
 That Wullie has tae dee for God kens what.
 An' Wullie's wife will get a bob or twa,
 Aifter they interfere wi' what she's got.
 They'll pester her and crack a dagoned lot;
 An' Heaven kens, they'll lave her awfu' ticht.

⁵¹¹ J.B. Salmond, 'Any Private to Any Private' in *In Flanders Fields*, ed. by Trebor Royle, p. 117, lines 9-14, further references in parentheses in main text.

‘A burden to the state.’ Her Wullie’s shot.
I kenna, hoo I canna lauch the nicht. (lines 17-24).

By focusing on the individual that was Wullie, this poem shows the individual experience of grief and the upheaval that accompanies the death of the breadwinner. Yet the title positions Wullie as the Scottish everyman and his wife as the Scottish everywoman, their experience of the war is presented as universal. Salmond’s rejection of the state can be interpreted as a rejection of British identity, as this poem describes war destroying things that are local and intimate, the big state destroying small lives.

In ‘The Sniper’ William Dixon Cocker (1882-1970) illustrates the universal tragedy of death. He describes an allied sniper killing a German soldier 200 feet away, and celebrating his achievement. He goes on to describe the corpse lying on the ground too far for the shooter to see, and the anguish of the soldier’s wife to which the shooter is oblivious. The poem concludes:

Two hundred yards away, and, bending o’er
A body in a trench, rough men proclaim
Sadly that Fritz, the merry, is no more.
(Or shall we call him Jack? *It’s all the same.*)⁵¹²

By humanizing the dead on the other side of the conflict, Cocker undermines their position as other, and therefore questions the ‘justness’ of the war. This is reminiscent of Pantelis Michanikos’ poem about the death of a Turkish child discussed below.

Though Scotland participated in the First World War as part of the United Kingdom, Scottish soldiers and writers were able to express a Scottish identity from within the British war machine. The war had a unifying effect on British identity, but also intensified local allegiances as faith in the state was eroded by the terrible casualties and false promises as the war dragged on. Though Goldie may be right

⁵¹² William Dixon Cocker, ‘The Sniper’, in *In Flanders Fields*, ed. by Trevor Royle, p. 39.

about the absence of a distinctly Scottish cultural response to the war, recent publications have presented a canon of Scottish war poetry, suggesting that as Scotland becomes more independent, the argument of a Scottish war experience gains traction, though it may be an anachronistic interpretation of history.

Cyprus, 1974: trauma as the origin of art

The invasion of Cyprus in 1974 was completed within days, yet the island remains *de facto* divided forty years later. The high number of Missing Persons cases, resulting from murders, massacres and mass graves, prevented many Cypriots of both communities from grieving for their dead. In some cases their deaths were confirmed recently, when bodies were found in mass graves and identified by DNA testing; however, many still remain unaccounted for. The absence of the deceased's body denies both confirmation of the death, and the traditional process of accepting the loss of a loved one, which begins with the ritual components of the funeral: the wake, the ceremonial acceptance of death at the funeral service, and the burial of the body. This is similar to the situation facing those who lost loved ones in the First World War: the number of casualties was so high that repatriation of bodies was impossible. These experiences have inspired many to write poetry as a means of addressing topics that are both traumatic and socially and politically complex.

Greek-Cypriot poets have written a variety of poems about the trauma of 1974. These include poems of displacement focused on the homeland, like those discussed in the previous chapter, poems of protest rejecting the justifications of the conflict, and poems exploring the psychological effects of the invasion and deaths associated with it. In all these categories, writers often engage with the Turkish-Cypriot other, looking for points of common experience as a means of resolving the

tensions resulting from inter-communal violence from 1963 onwards, as well as the ultimate trauma of the island's division in 1974.

Pantelis Michanikos (1928-1979) published a poem entitled 'Ωδή για ένα σκοτωμένο τουρκάκι' ('Ode to a murdered Turkish child'), in which he laments the death of an anonymous child lying in a field. The poem was written in response to the inter-communal violence of December 1963, but only published in 1975 in his collection *Κατάθεση* (*Deposition*). The identification of the child as Turkish illustrates the fact that the conflict cost innocent lives on both sides. The poem shows that death is tragic and final, regardless of the identity of the deceased, but also that death is universal, the most uniform of human experiences. The poem is prefaced by a citation from the first part of T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*, 'The Burial of the Dead':

Stetson!
 You who were with me in the ships at Mylae!
 That corpse you planted last year in your garden,
 Has it begun to sprout? Will it bloom this year?⁵¹³

Michanikos' poem reflects Eliot's style, using free verse, irregular stanzas and sparse punctuation. The opening stanzas echo the opening of *The Waste Land*: Eliot begins with the phrase 'April is the cruellest month', and argues that the awakening of life in spring awakens memory.⁵¹⁴ Michanikos' opening stanza describes a fertile plain in spring, lush with grass and flowers, 'που δοξάζει τον Κύριο και την ψυχή του ανθρώπου' ('that praises the Lord and the human soul').⁵¹⁵ He begins the first three descriptions with 'αυτός ο κάμπος' ('this plain') and the next two with 'σ' αυτό τον κάμπο' ('on this plain'), ending the stanza with the latter. The repetition of the

⁵¹³ T. S. Eliot, *The Annotated Waste Land, with T. S. Eliot's Contemporary Prose*, ed. by Lawrence Rainey (London: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 59.

⁵¹⁴ Eliot, *The Annotated Waste Land*, p. 57.

⁵¹⁵ Lefkios Zafeiriou, Alexandros Bazoukis, and Yiorgos Myaris, eds., *Κείμενα Κυπριακής Λογοτεχνίας για το Λύκειο*, 2 vols. (Nicosia: Υπηρεσία Αναπτυξιακών Προγραμμάτων Κύπρου, 2010), pp. 206-207, line 12, further references in parentheses in main text.

identifying phrase ‘this plain’ emphasizes the poet’s incredulity at the scene before him. The second stanza reveals the horror beneath the disinterested beauty of spring:

κείται
σκοτωμένο
ένα Τουρκάκι. (Lines 16-18)

lies
murdered
a Turkish child.

The contrast between the lush beauty of the spring landscape and the horror of the child’s death is reminiscent of Eliot’s sentiment that spring in all its vigour only emphasizes the emptiness of the human soul. ‘The Burial of the Dead’ is to some extent a reflection on the effect of the First World War on contemporary society, while at the same time it is a lament of the cultural wasteland that is contemporary society.

Michanikos’ choice of *The Waste Land* as epigraph to this poem parallels the inter-communal violence of 1963 with the First World War, showing it to be a destructive and de-humanizing conflict, and arguing the price is too high regardless of the outcome. The innocence of the child and beauty of nature are used to question the justification of war:

Ένα συσπασμένο πρόσωπο
κομμένο απάνω στον πόνο,
ανάγλυφη
ανήλικη μάσκα
κομμένη στην αιωνιότητα για να ρωτά
αν ο τόπος ήταν πράγματι πολύ στενός
μέσα στο πανηγύρι της άνοιξης
για να ρωτά
αν υπάρχουν εθνότητες ανάμεσα στους λαούς της μαργαρίτας
για να ρωτά
ποιάς εθνικότητας είναι το πράσινο χορτάρι (lines 19-29)

A contorted face
cut in the moment of pain,
carved in relief

a juvenile mask
 cut into eternity to ask
 if the place was truly too narrow
 in the festival of spring
 to ask
 if there are nations among the peoples of the daisy
 to ask
 to what ethnicity belongs the green grass

The speaker illustrates the constructed nature of the concept of ethnicity, as he observes it does not apply to flowers or grass, in short, to nature. This emphasizes the unnatural death of the child, and its pointlessness, as the ideology motivating his killing is based on fantasy.

The final stanzas of the poem allude again to *The Waste Land*, reprising the theme of the corpse, this time in Greek translation:

η φωνή του ποιητή
 ρωτάει και πάλι εφέτος
 τους εμπόρους των πετρελαίων
 και τους αποικιστές των πτωμάτων,
 ρωτάει τον Στέτσον:

‘Το κουφάρι που εφύτεψες πέρσι μέσα στον κήπο σου
 άρχισε να βλαστάει; θ’ ανθίσει εφέτος;’ (lines 43-49)

the poet’s voice
 asks again this year
 the oil merchants
 and the colonialists of corpses,
 asks Stetson:

‘That corpse you planted last year in your garden,
 Has it begun to sprout? Will it bloom this year?’

The allusion to oil traders suggests the poet blames foreign financial interests for the conflict in Cyprus that has caused the child’s death, while the reference to ‘colonialists’ suggests he places part of the blame with the British. The final question of the poem, left unanswered, gives the impression that there is nothing to be gained from the death of the child, that the corpse never will sprout, because that is not in the nature of corpses. The overall message of the poem is that the conflict has resulted in

the destruction of innocents, and can bring no benefit to anyone on the island. Furthermore, it presents the experience of death as the one thing the two communities on the island have in common.

Kyriakos Charalambides often argues that the historical traumas of Cyprus should be productive; particularly, he argues that the experience of the 1974 invasion should enable Cypriots to produce art to a higher standard than would have been possible before:

Η τραγωδία που έπληξε τον τόπο αποτελεί ταυτόχρονα για μας και μια κοσμογένεση· μοιραία επαναπροσδιορίζει τη φύση των πραγμάτων. Θα έλεγα μάλιστα ότι μας σπρώχνει να ξανακοιτάξουμε το ίδιο το νόημα της τέχνης.⁵¹⁶

The tragedy that blighted the place constitutes simultaneously for us a Cosmogogenesis; inevitably it redefines the nature of things. I would even say that it pushes us to re-examine the very meaning of art.

Charalambides believes that poets have a duty to engage directly with the communal trauma, and attempt to express the grief of the people in art, in a quest for collective closure. Charalambides' comparison of 'the tragedy' to a 'cosmogogenesis' also suggests that the magnitude of the trauma of 1974 means that traditional models of art and poetry are no longer sufficient for the expression of Cypriot-Greek identity: as Edwin Morgan maintained, art must change with the world in which it is produced. Consequently, the traumas of the mid-twentieth century create the need for modernism in Cyprus.

Charalambides goes on to state directly that this change in the world perception of a people creates a duty to produce art:

⁵¹⁶ Kyriakos Charalambides, 'Συνέντευξη στον Αντώνη Φωστιέρη και τον Θανάση Θ. Νίαρχο', in *Ολισθηρός Ιστός* (Athens: Agra, 2009), pp. 321-327, (p. 324).

Ο λαός οφείλει να αντλήσει από το πάθος μάθος. Η τέχνη πάλι, οδηγημένη από την τραγωδία ενώπιον του εαυτού της, καλείται να σηκώσει και να υπερβεί τον αναπόδραστο φυλετικό πόνο και να προσδώσει μια βαθύτερη ουσία και πνευματικότητα στον κόσμο και στην ιστορία.⁵¹⁷

The people have an obligation to derive learning from their suffering. Art, on the other hand, led by the tragedy to face herself, is called to lift and surpass the inescapable racial pain and to attach a deeper substance and spirituality to the world and history.

The idea of pain as the origin of true art is not new. Kostas Montis believed that great literature could only be inspired by pain; he writes: ‘από μιας απόψεως, στους λογοτέχνες ο πόνος είναι έμπνευση. Η χαρά δεν εμπνέει. Εμπνέει η λύπη’ (from one point of view, for writers pain is inspiration. Joy does not inspire. Sadness inspires.).⁵¹⁸ Montis’ ideas about the relationship between pain and literature originated before the events of 1974, as he lost his family when he was young. Charalambides echoes Montis’ sentiment in his essay ‘Δοκιμασία λαού ή δοκιμασία τέχνης;’ (A test for the people or a test for art?), in which he explores the relationship of the 1974 communal trauma with poetry: ‘χωρίς την οδύνη δε νοείται ομορφιά, ούτε ευδαιμονία, ούτε ύπαρξη ουσιαστική’ (without agony one cannot imagine beauty, nor bliss, nor real existence).⁵¹⁹

Kyriakos Charalambides engages with the trauma of 1974 in many poems, attempting to visualise and articulate the experience from a range of different viewpoints. He has written several poems about imagined homecomings, including ‘Άρδανα’, ‘Άρδανα II’, ‘Το γιασεμί δεν έλεγε καθόλου να σωπάσει Α’ and ‘Το γιασεμί δεν έλεγε καθόλου να σωπάσει Β’’. These two pairs of poems are particularly

⁵¹⁷ Charalambides, ‘Συνέντευξη’, p. 324.

⁵¹⁸ Montis, ‘Στους λογοτέχτες’, p. 406.

⁵¹⁹ Kyriakos Charalambides, ‘Δοκιμασία λαού ή δοκιμασία τέχνης;’, in *Chypre et l’ Europe: Actes 1998*, Institut d’Études Néo-Helléniques 1998: Colloque Nancy, ed. by Andreas Chatzisavvas (Besançon: Praxandre, 1998), pp. 361-369, (p. 364).

interesting, as in each case the experience of losing one's home is presented in the first poem and then revisited from a different perspective in the second.

‘Αρδανα’ (‘Ardana’) is structured around two dreams of homecoming, allegedly narrated by a friend of the poet, who has recurring dreams in which he has returned to his village, Ardana, in the Turkish-occupied region of Cyprus. Initially one is led to interpret this as a Freudian wish-fulfilment dream, in which the lost lands of the waking world have once again become accessible; however, even in the dream the inner sanctum of the lost lands, the interior of the dreamer's home, remains inaccessible. As the poet describes it, ‘Το θάμα ήτανε στ’ όνειρο, αλλά μισό κι αυτό’ (‘the miracle was in the dream, but that too was incomplete’).⁵²⁰ The reason the friend cannot enter his house is that there are people he describes as foreigners celebrating something and dancing in the yard. The intrusion of the other in the dream is indicative of the feeling of violation caused by the invasion of northern Cyprus and displacement of the Cypriot-Greeks.

In a recurrence of the dream, he enters the house only to find a Turkish woman pumping water in the yard. She makes a helpless gesture to indicate she can't do anything about the situation:

Εκείνη γύρισε αθόρυβα, χωρίς μιλιά
και κάνει κάπως έτσι (κίνηση χειριών)
σάμπως να τού' λεγε «δε φταίμε μεις,
και δηλαδή τα βρήκαμε, δεν τα πειράξαμε.
Τι να σου κάνω; Αν θέλεις κόπιασε να φάμε». (lines 20-24)

She turned noiselessly, without speaking a word
and does something like this (hand motion)
as though she were telling him “it's not our fault,
and I mean we found it, we didn't disturb anything.
What can I do? If you want, join us and let's eat”.

⁵²⁰ Kyriakos Charalambides, ‘Αρδανα’, in *Αμμόχωστος Βασιλείουσα*, pp. 107-108, line 4, further references in parentheses in text.

The emphasis on the humanity of the other sharpens the sense of loss the poem conveys; while the narrator of the dream is desperate to go back, he cannot blame those who are preventing him, or those who have benefitted from his loss, since they are as helpless as he is to change the situation. In fact, if one is to read the dream as a wish-fulfilment, one could argue that the dreamer takes comfort in the happiness of the new inhabitants of his home, even as he finds the loss itself unbearable.

The illustrated hopelessness of the dreamer's desire to return to his home suggests that perhaps the wish fulfilled by the dream is not homecoming, but rather an acceptance of the nation's permanent division. This is directly articulated in the sixth stanza of the poem:

Αυτά σημαίνουνε Κυριάκο, είπε στον ποιητή
 ο άνθρωπος που μπήκε στην αυλή του,
 πως δε θα πάμε πίσω στο χωριό μας.
 Ναι, είναι τραγικό, μα κάλλιο να το ξέρουμε
 παρά να ζούμε στο σκοτάδι αλλιώτικης ελπίδας. (lines 25-29)

All this means, Kyriako, said to the poet
 the man who entered his yard,
 that we will not go back to our village.
 Yes, it is tragic, but better for us to know
 than to live in the darkness of another hope.

The dreamer appears to interpret his dream as a prophecy; he believes it is an omen that they will never be able to return. However, one can also read the statement as a manifestation of the true dream-wish at the centre of the dream-thoughts: the dreamer is ready to accept the loss of his home, as he feels it would be better to accept the status quo than to continue to live in vain hope. However, since this is a societal taboo at the time of his dream, the dream-wish is disguised within the narrative of a dream of homecoming. The friend is able to extract the latent dream-thoughts from the manifest dream-content by reading his dream as a prophecy, and advocating acceptance of the status quo. The poet does not share in the dream-wish of

acceptance; the final stanza of the poem suggests that all is not lost, and that the village may once again become theirs. However, as is evident in the poem's sequel, *Ardana II*, Charalambides is not consistent in this position.

In 'Αρδανα II' ('Ardana II') this dream is revisited, with the addition of a mythical layer: the conversation no longer takes place between the poet and a friend, but between an unnamed speaker and Pylades, Orestes' confidant. This is a reference to both Sophocles' *Oresteia*, and to Yiannis Ritsos' *Τέταρτη Διάσταση* (*The Fourth Dimension*) in which Orestes delivers a monologue to Pylades standing outside his house. One significant difference between 'Ardana' and 'Ardana II' is that in the latter the Turkish woman living in the house speaks with words rather than just gestures, confirming that the house is the speaker's home.

While 'Ardana' is ambivalent about the possibility of a homecoming, 'Ardana II' clearly takes the position that it is not possible to return, that changes have taken place which cannot be reversed. The speaker says:

Και όμως το ξωπόρτιν ήταν το ίδιο, το στενοσόκακο
 ίδιο, ο λάκκος ήταν ίδιος, η τερατσιά, ο φούρνος, το
 τρακτέρ, η μάντρα ήταν ίδια. Κι εγώ καμία σχέση με
 το σπίτι. Δεν τ' αναγνώριζα. Στεκόμουν στην αυλή
 μου κι ένιωθα τόσο άβολα.⁵²¹

And yet the front door was the same, the narrow street
 the same, the ditch was the same, the roof, the bread
 oven, the tractor, the fence was the same. And I had
 nothing to do with the house. I didn't recognize it. I
 stood in my yard and felt so uncomfortable;

His failure to relate to his lost home suggests that while a physical return to the homeland is possible, historical developments and the presence of new occupants will have stripped the landscape of its original meanings. The homeland has become foreign.

⁵²¹ Kyriakos Charalambides, 'Αρδανα II', in *Μεθιστορία* (Athens: Agra, 1995), p. 93.

This failed homecoming is reminiscent of Ritsos' poems 'Επιστροφή I' and 'Επιστροφή II' ('Return I' and 'Return II'). In both poems, he describes Odysseus awaking on Ithaca, and failing to recognize his homeland. In the first poem, this failure to recognize the homeland is presented succinctly: 'μήτε και γνώρισε καθόλου / τα πατρικά του χώματα' ('nor did he recognize at all / his homeland's soil').⁵²²

'Return II' explores the failure of recognition in more depth:

τίποτα, τίποτα δεν ήξερε. (Τάχα να τάβρισκε
τρανότερα ή μικρότερα;) Κείνο που πιότερο
ονειρευόταν, τώρα που έφτασε, έμοιαζε
πιότερο ξένο κι άγνωστο. Μη φταίξιμο ήταν
του μακρινού χρόνου ή φταίξιμο της γνώσης
έξω απ' το χρόνο;

nothing, nothing was familiar. (Would he have found these things
greater or smaller?) What he had most
dreamed of, now he had arrived, seemed
most foreign and unfamiliar. Was it the fault
of the long time or the fault of knowledge
outside time?

Ritsos questions whether the absence of recognition arises from the traveler's long absence or the knowledge he has gained while absent. The outcome of Ritsos' poem suggests that in the end, the reasons for the failure of homecoming are unimportant, as is the homecoming itself: Odysseus wonders aloud where he is, then stands and relieves himself on the roots of an olive tree.

For Charalambides' speaker in 'Ardana II', on the other hand, the failure to connect with the homeland is a source of deep anxiety. At the same time that he tries to recognize and reconnect with his home, the speaker accepts and mourns its loss, causing a dissonance within the poem. After his initial exchange with the Turkish occupant of the house, he says: 'Κι αρχίνισα ένα κλάμα μες τον ύπνο μου. Εκείνο του

⁵²² Yiannis Ritsos, *Μαρτυρίες* 2nd edn, 2 vols. (Athens: Kedros, 1970), II, 108.

αποχαιρετισμού’ (‘And I began to cry in my sleep. The tears of farewell’).⁵²³ The poem ends with a dreamlike uncertainty, as the speaker wonders how it is that the Turkish woman can know that this is the house where he was born. The conclusion seems to promote the acceptance of the homeland’s loss, as illustrated by the tears of farewell.

‘Το γιασεμί δεν έλεγε καθόλου να σωπάσει Α’ follows the same narrative as ‘Ardana II’; in this case, the characters are both women, the Turkish resident called Secher, and the returning woman Eufrosyne. The poem is narrated in the third person, with direct speech by Secher in English and by Eufrosyne in Greek. Secher is welcoming, and the women interact as friends. The poem ends with them sitting together and each mourning their own losses ‘σαν άλλος Αχιλλέας, άλλος Πρίαμος’ (‘Like another Achilles, another Priam’).⁵²⁴ This reference to the *Iliad* both positions Charalambides’ poem within the Western canon, and contextualizes the conflict between Turkish and Greek Cypriots within a history of conflict between East and West. While the events of the poem are not described as a dream, the poem itself functions as a dream of wish-fulfilment: the woman is able to return to her home, she is welcomed, and the rift between the two largest communities of Cyprus is healed through the joint act of mourning. The reader is left with a feeling that it is too good to be true.

‘Το γιασεμί δεν έλεγε καθόλου να σωπάσει Β’’, on the other hand, is full of conflict, between the two women as well as between the speaker and the poet. In this poem, the returning woman, Eufrosyne, tells the same story from her point of view. It begins with a confession of murder:

⁵²³ ‘Αρδανα II’, p. 93.

⁵²⁴ Kyriakos Charalambides, *Κυδώνιον Μήλον*, p. 72.

Τον σκότωσα και δεν τ' αρνιέμαι κι ούτε
μετανοώ. Τονε μακέλεψα με θραύσμα
γυαλιού – το είχα στην καρδιά μου αντίβαρο
στη θλίψη που σε δάκρυα κολυμπούσε⁵²⁵

I killed him and I don't deny it and neither
do I repent. I butchered him with a shard
of glass – I had it in my heart as counterweight
to the sadness that swam in tears

By the end of the poem, it is apparent that this monologue is a statement made by Eufrosyne to a police officer, admitting to the murder of the poet with a shard of glass. She justifies her action by describing a homecoming where the Turkish resident of her house tries to keep her out, and then prevents her from picking an apple in the garden.

There are two significant classical references in this poem. In the third stanza, the speaker describes her attempt to enter her house:

Η καψερή

με χίλια βάσανα στο σπίτι μου μοχτούσα
να μπω, μ' απόδιωχνε η κακούργα εκείνη
και ξενική ανατολίτισα, που μου 'δειχνε
τ' αδέσποτά της φίδια. (lines 14-18)

Poor me

with great suffering I strove my house
to enter, she drove me away that villainous
and alien Oriental, who showed me
her stray snakes.

While the speaker is presenting the occupant of the house as 'other' through the use of the adjectives 'foreign' and 'villainous', the presence of the snakes makes the image of the Oriental woman reminiscent of the Snake Goddess statuettes found in the ruins of Minoan Crete. This suggests that the 'Orient' is not that distant from Hellenic culture after all, undermining the image of the woman as irredeemably 'other'.

⁵²⁵ Kyriakos Charalambides, 'Το γιασεμί δεν έλεγε καθόλου να σωπάσει Β'', in *Κυδώνιον Μήλον*, p. 73, lines 1-4, further references in parentheses in main text.

The second classical reference is in the fourth stanza, where Eufrosyne attempts to pick an apple:

Κάνω να κόψω ένα χρυσό που κρέμονταν
μήλο των Εσπερίδων, «κάτω το ξερό σου!»
Το χέρι – το γλυκύμαλο δεν άγγιξε
και τ' απαγορευμένο – απελιθώθη. (lines 23-26)

I go to pick a golden hanging
apple of the Hesperides, 'hands off!'
The hand – the sweet-woolled didn't touch
and the forbidden – was petrified.

This passage combines references to the Labours of Hercules, the forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden, and the myth of the Medusa. This mixture of mythological and biblical references suggests the turmoil caused to the returning woman's identity by the impossibility of her homecoming.

The final two stanzas reveal that the woman has killed the poet; in the fifth stanza, she asks herself 'where could the poet be?' and answers her own question with the ominous 'Θαν τονε βρω / και θα σ' τον μάθω γράμματα σπουδαία (lines 35-36: I will find him / and for you I'll teach him great letters). The final stanza both confirms the killing and summarizes the woman's reasons for her action:

Και μια και δυο δε δείλιασα επί τόπου
ναν τονε σύρω, ναν τον μακελέψω
με κείνο που κρατάτε το γυαλί,
να νιώσει επιτέλους πώς πονάν
οι άλλοι που τους άφησε απ' έξω. (lines 37-41)

And at once I didn't hesitate on the spot
to drag him, to butcher him
with that there shard of glass you are holding,
so he would finally feel how they hurt
those others who he left outside.

This outcome expresses the poet's anxiety that he may be unable to understand and voice the suffering of others, which would lead to his destruction by his own creations. According to Charalambides, in order to gain the authority to speak, the

poet has a duty to feel the pain of the people, collective and individual, and to give that pain a voice.

Conclusion

In both Cyprus and Scotland, poetry plays an important role in the process of establishing national identity in the present. Two significant contributions of poetry are the participation in the transformation of the national landscape into the homeland, and the engagement with communal traumas.

Poetry transforms the landscape into the homeland by transforming the significance of landscape elements. In Cyprus, poets often engage with ancient Greek archaeological remains, attempting to shape a local identity that is nevertheless based in the Hellenic identity claimed by the Greek nation-state. In Scotland, archaeological remains do not form such a visible part of the landscape. Edwin Morgan has written about the Picts, who left small artefacts behind as evidence of their existence, but also about modern landmarks, such as the Forth Road Bridge. Similarly, Douglas Dunn has written about the Tay Bridge, and Robert Crawford has written about Edinburgh, Glasgow and the Scottish countryside mixing technological and industrial imagery with traditional rural Scottish images. All of the above show Scotland to be a product of both its rural past and modern technological and industrial developments.

Poetry is often used to address traumatic experiences, as it functions in a similar way to the mind's internal coping mechanisms, filtering the memory through imagery and complex allusion. In both Scotland and Cyprus, poets have written about trauma both as a means of addressing the traumatic memory and bringing it to light, and as a protest against the ideologies they see as the causes of large-scale communal trauma. In Scotland there was much poetry written in response to the First World War both illustrating the brutality of the conflict and attempting to resolve its aftermath. In Cyprus many poems have been written about the deaths and disappearances of

Cypriots during the inter-communal conflicts of the nineteen sixties, as well as the division of the island in 1974. In both places, poets attempted to humanize the other and deconstruct narratives justifying armed conflict and death. They also tried to capture the emotions of survivors in response to these traumas, and thus unite their respective communities in shared grief. In Cyprus, in particular, Cypriot-Greek poets attempted to humanize Turkish-Cypriot casualties, and resolve the tension between the two communities by describing the conflict as representing external interests.

The poems discussed above demonstrate that in both Cyprus and Scotland poetry has retained an active role in public discourse throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century, with poets trying to engage with the issues that are most relevant to people's lives.

CONCLUSION

The year 2014 brings new challenges to the articulation of national identity in both Scotland and Cyprus. On 18 September 2014, the people of Scotland will vote on the question ‘should Scotland be an independent country?’ while in Cyprus peace negotiations have re-opened the year of the fortieth anniversary of the Turkish invasion, prompted by the discovery of natural gas in the Mediterranean. In both cases, a change of the status quo would require an extensive renegotiation of national identity: an independent Scotland would no longer be part of a broader British nation, while a (re)united Cyprus would make the direct identification of Cypriots as either Greek or Turkish even more complex than it is at the moment.

This thesis has attempted to chart the evolution of Scottish and Cypriot-Greek nationalism in poetry from the origins of modern nationalist discourse to the present day. This is a broad topic, and of necessity many things have been left out or dealt with in a perfunctory manner. However, the comparison of these two radically different places, which nevertheless have much in common, has facilitated the analysis of the relationship between poetry and national identity.

The decision to focus on poetry was made partly out of a desire to narrow the field of research: many of the observations made of poets and their relationship to the nation applies equally to novelists or dramatists; indeed, in some cases these are the same people. However, poetry has had a particularly prominent role in the discourse of national identity, even if this is not representative of poetry’s true contribution as compared to other literary genres. This thesis has explored how poetry can contribute to the creation of national identity and the incorporation of individuals into the body of the nation.

National literatures

As discussed in Part 1 of this thesis, Literature has and has had a significant role in the establishment and definition of national identity since the rise of nationalist ideologies in the eighteenth century. Herder considered language to be a defining characteristic of human communities, as he believed different peoples were shaped by the different landscapes in which they lived, which gave rise to their different languages. The importance of language led to an increased significance of literature – to be taken seriously, a nation needed a national literature.

In Cyprus, among Greek-speakers, there has historically been tension between local and national identity, as until 1974 Cypriot-Greeks identified un-problematically as members of a wider Greek nation. This was challenged following the involvement of Greece in causing the 1974 Turkish invasion of the island. However, most Greek-speaking Orthodox Christian Cypriots still identify as Greek, and debates over the Greekness of Cypriot-Greek identity are limited to intellectual circles. This largely unaddressed tension between local Cypriot-Greek identity and ‘universal Greekness’ leads to debates about the viability of Cypriot-Greek as a literary language. It also means that the category of ‘national poet’ in Cyprus is fluid: both Dionysios Solomos and Vasilis Michailidis are referred to as national poets in different contexts, just as it is common to fly both the Cypriot and Greek flags outside public buildings.

In Scotland, a Scottish national identity developed in literature even though Scotland became a part of the United Kingdom in 1707, before nationalist ideology became prevalent. Robert Burns is generally considered to be the national poet of Scotland, and his poetry provides the basis for a sentimental Scottish nationalism.

In both Cyprus and Scotland, national poets have played an important part in creating a mythological version of the nation's past. Vasilis Michailidis' 'Η Επνάρτη Ιουλίου του 1821' transformed the preemptive execution of the Greek-Orthodox leaders of Cyprus by the Ottomans into a narrative of sacrifice for the salvation of the nation's people, which casts Archbishop Kyprianos as an *exemplum virtutis*. In 'Robert the Bruce's march to Bannockburn', Robert Burns created a genealogy of Scottish *exempla virtutis* by casting William Wallace as the inspiration for Robert the Bruce's struggle, condensing the legend found in many older epic poems into a song glorifying liberty.

In the case of both Michailidis and Burns, critics have downplayed their education, and emphasized their connection with the national landscape. The lack of evidence for Michailidis' education is consistently represented as evidence of lack, which facilitates his representation as a 'natural' poet, who is directly inspired by his connection to the Cypriot/Greek nation, suggesting that poetry is a gift rather than a learned skill. Burns is similarly often presented as lacking in formal education by contemporary reviewers, as exemplified by Mackenzie's review in which Burns is described as a 'heaven-taught ploughman'. Unlike Michailidis, Burns saw the value in preserving this image, and reinforced it with his own discourse, as is evident in his autobiographical letter to John Moore.

The interest in both Michailidis and Burns as divinely inspired poets was part of a broader movement of rediscovery of local writing, and engagement with local traditions, which was motivated by Romantic nationalist ideologies. Advocates of these ideologies interpreted the *Volk* as inheritors of an elite ancient culture which had survived through the years in corrupted form, and believed that by engaging with folk culture they could produce new national literatures.

The perceived connection between folk culture and high literature affected both the writing and the reception of the works of Dimitris Lipertis and Walter Scott. Dimitris Lipertis wrote many poems in Cypriot Greek that were influenced by Greek folk poetry; he obtained most of his knowledge of Cypriot-Greek folk culture and language from Athanasios Sakellarios' *Τα Κυπριακά*, yet has been erroneously described as a collector of folk songs and wisdom. Walter Scott engaged with the local traditions of the Borders area of Scotland by collecting and editing folk songs, and writing his own narrative poems set in the Borders. These were very popular both in Scotland and south of the border, because they captured the spirit of the times, providing an image of the past palatable for present tastes.

Modernity and national identity

The dialectic between the past and present continues to shape national literatures in Cyprus and Scotland, but literature and national identity were both profoundly affected by the political upheavals of the twentieth century. These changes were expressed by the Modernist movement in its quest to establish a new way of interacting with the past that took account of the traumatic experience of modernity. The experience of modern warfare and inter-communal conflict led many writers to consider history responsible for the trials of the present; this is expressed in James Joyce's *Ulysses* by Stephen Daedalus, who says 'history is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake'.⁵²⁶

Modernist writers attempted to renegotiate their relationship with the past in order to reconnect with the realities of the present; initially, poets broke with popular writing practices in order to question the definitions of poetry and art, privileging

⁵²⁶ Joyce, p. 34.

engagement with present realities over aesthetic conventions. Thus, for example, Hugh MacDiarmid rejected the Kailyard movement in Scotland, and advocated the use of Scots for the discussion of politics, science and linguistics. In Cyprus, Kostas Montis rejected conventional historical narratives, the cultural supremacy of ancient Greece and traditional poetic form, writing hundreds of short poems he called 'moments'. Each of these encapsulated a single thought or emotion and attempted to shed all superfluous discourse.

Once conventional narratives of the past and poetic aesthetics had been challenged, many writers felt that they could go back to these conventional narratives, and re-appropriate them. For example, Edwin Morgan argued that the Kailyard movement deserved its place in the Scottish literary past, and could be re-visited through the lens of modern literary developments, such as beat poetry. Morgan also experimented with concrete poetry, mixing linguistic registers and science fiction; MacDiarmid was not always in agreement with Morgan's experimental tendencies, and was particularly opposed to concrete poetry as a form. Nevertheless, it was MacDiarmid's initial experimentations with 'synthetic scots' and poetic form that enabled Morgan to write from within a Scottish literary scene and engage with international literary movements. Furthermore, both MacDiarmid and Morgan were dedicated to the promotion of a Scottish poetry, despite their differences in approach.

In Cyprus, Montis laid the foundations for experimental writing, as well as for the use of Cypriot Greek in literary poetry. While other poets had published in Cypriot Greek, there were widely held assumptions that Cypriot Greek was only suited to specific types of poetry, either influenced by folk songs, or aiming at humorous effect. Montis challenged these assumptions by writing 'moments' in both Standard and Cypriot Greek, and publishing these in mixed collections. Though many

Cypriot poets wrote in more than one form of Greek, these generally could be represented as different periods of their careers; for example both Michailidis and Lipertis started out publishing in Katharevousa and mainland Demotic Greek, and wrote their mature works in Cypriot Greek. Montis deliberately mixed the two registers, arguing that the languages were equal in interviews, and rejecting the suggestion that his Cypriot-Greek poetry functioned as escapism.

Poetry, landscape and homeland

The questions Modernist writers asked about the nature of poetry led to wider reflections about the role of poetry in society. Many poets in Europe believed that poetry had a role to play in society. Seamus Heaney described poetry which succeeded in engaging with contemporary reality as ‘adequate’ poetry, which provides ‘an alternative recourse to truth’.⁵²⁷

‘Adequate’ poetry can contribute to the transformation of the landscape into the homeland. In Scotland after the Second World War poems often challenge traditional representations of Scotland as a rural idyll, introducing the real contemporary appearance of the nation and arguing for its aesthetic and artistic validity. In Cyprus, evocations of the landscape in Cypriot-Greek poetry after 1974 are inextricably linked to attempts at the resolution of the trauma of the Turkish invasion, with a strong focus on the lost cities and lost landscape. Poets attempt to write the nation whole and heal the rift of the island’s division, imagining an undivided nation which cannot be physically realized.

Trauma and the role of poetry

⁵²⁷ Heaney, p. 504.

In both Scotland and Cyprus, 'adequate' poetry contributes to the expression of communal identities in a contested space; furthermore, in both places poetry has had a role in articulating and resolving communal trauma. In Scotland the communal traumas of the First World War temporarily strengthened British identity, but the disillusionment in authority resulting from the war caused many to look for alternative identity narratives to the jingoistic Britishness expressed when war was declared. Scottish poetic and commemorative responses to the war show a complex hybrid local and British identity quite different from that expressed by the Scottish Renaissance a few years later.

In Cyprus the communal traumas experienced as a result of the 1974 Turkish invasion led many to question the relationship of Cyprus with Greece, leading to a rise in interest in local identities and experiences, and the occasional expression of solidarity with Turkish Cypriots. Poets from both Scotland and Cyprus used their writing to address traumatic subjects, like the death of innocents and the loss of homes, but also to protest against the brutality of conflict by drawing attention to its collateral damages. Though they were writing about different conflicts in different circumstances, the poets in both nations tried to use their writing to enact positive change.

Recommendations for future studies

This thesis has attempted to chart the interaction between poetry and national identity in Scotland and Cyprus over a broad historical period, beginning with the formation of national consciousness and ending at the present day. It is particularly important to address these questions with regard to marginal literatures, as their ability to express a local identity is inextricably connected to their relationships with culturally dominant neighbours, and is inevitably affected by the insecurity of their national status. As was stated above, both Cyprus and Scotland are currently engaged in a process of re-definition of national identity. Whatever the outcome of the inter-communal negotiations for a reunification of the Cyprus and referendum on Scottish independence, the articulation of national identity in Cyprus and Scotland will be altered as a result.

This thesis has addressed the need for marginal literatures to be discussed in order to interrogate the effects of dominant literary and cultural values. However, in the process of exploring this argument, many gaps in the scholarship, particularly in Cypriot-Greek literary studies, have emerged. At present most Cypriot-Greek poetry is not accessible to non-Greek speakers, and dialect works are not widely available in glossed editions. It would benefit Cypriot-Greek literary studies to make poetry available in parallel English translation. Furthermore, the works of Kostas Montis are long overdue a scholarly ‘complete works’ edition; the *Complete Works (Άπαντα)* edited by the poet himself in the 1980s is not, in fact, complete, as it omits many significant publications, and is entirely devoid of paratext, making it an unsuitable edition for introducing new readers to the poet. In terms of the investigation of literature and national identity in Cyprus, it would be fruitful to compare publications

in Greek and in Turkish, and to compare and contrast the relationship of each community with their cultural dominant neighbours.

As far as Scotland is concerned, there has been a large output of studies on Scottish culture and national identity in the last three decades. These have tended to focus on Scotland as a separate culture, rather than discussing Scottish literature as a part of a broader British culture, though some have addressed this perspective in the lead up to the referendum. The rich resources on the relationship between Scottish literature and national identity can be used to comparatively analyse the articulation of national identity in other small literatures.

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