

THE FLAME AND THE SWORD:
CYPRIOT LITERATURE OF
LIBERATION CONSIDERED FROM
POST-COLONIAL,
PSYCHOLOGICAL AND CREATIVE
PERSPECTIVES

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Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

My novel *A Watermelon, A Fish and a Bible* was published in April 2010 by Quercus in the UK, who have rights to the commonwealth countries. It has also been translated into three other languages and has been very well received in Greece and Cyprus. I believe that my novel and the critical piece make an original contribution to the field.

After conducting much research I discovered that the literature concerning Cypriot politics is either nationalistic or deals directly with the divide of the land or its inhabitants. My novel, however, is set during the first eight days of the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus and deals not only with the immediate effect of this invasion on the small town of Kyrenia but also with the consequences of Cypriot nationalism in the lives of the people. In many ways the novel is about the emergence of globalisation as described by Edward Said in *Culture and Imperialism*. It shows the “remorselessly selfish and narrow interests”¹ that lead to both “mass destructiveness,”² in the form of the invasion in this case, and personal destructiveness, in the form of the failed relationships of the characters in my novel.

The first part of my research explores the reactions of the Orthodox Cypriot during British administration in the 1950s and considers reasons for these reactions, examining whether the notion of post-colonialism can be applied to Cyprus. In the second part, I take a psychological approach and consider archetypal patterns in the structure of the 1950s revolt against British administration. Finally, I will explore some post-invasion texts and their relevance to the changing identity politics of the Orthodox Cypriot community and then look at how this exploration influenced my novel.

My novel *A Watermelon, a Fish and a Bible* can be found on Amazon.co.uk

¹ Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994) p.21

² Ibid.

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1 INTRODUCTION

My research explores the reactions of the Orthodox Cypriot during British administration and considers reasons for these reactions. *A Watermelon, a Fish and a Bible*³, on the other hand, deals with the consequences of this nationalism in the lives of the people; the restrictions, the barriers and walls that stop them from being who they could have been or loving whom they could have loved. In many ways the novel is about the emergence of globalisation as described by Edward Said in *Culture and Imperialism*. It shows the “remorselessly selfish and narrow interests”⁴ that lead to both “mass destructiveness,”⁵ in the form of the invasion in this case, and personal destructiveness, in the form of the failed relationships of the characters in my novel.

To some extent this thesis is a chronicle of my research, in the first part considering the post-colonial “position of Cyprus” and the anti-colonial revolt as a result of this. Here I have looked at recurring imagery and the Orthodox Cypriots’ use of the Hellenic past. In the second part, I take a psychological approach and consider the deeper archetypal patterns in the structure of this revolt, the underlying desires, in relation to classical Jungian theory. Finally, I consider some post-invasion texts and their relevance to the changing identity politics of the Orthodox Cypriot community and then look briefly at how this exploration influenced my novel and how it differs from classical post-colonial literature. Although I chose not to analyse my novel within each of these sections, every part of my research informed my understanding of the situation in Cyprus and became part of the field of knowledge on which the writing of the novel rested. My research guided my decision-making on plot and characterisation

³ Lefteri, Christy *A Watermelon, a Fish and a Bible* (London: Quercus, 2010)

⁴ Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994) p21

⁵ *Ibid.*

at every turn. Given the expected length of the thesis the connection between the ideas explained in my research and my novel are explored in a brief overview at the end of this essay. In this final section I have included some of my thought processes which are directly linked to my historical and theoretical studies.

In addition to this, I conducted numerous interviews with Cypriot refugees and people who had lived through the invasion, including prisoners of war. I also travelled to the North of Cyprus and spent a lot of time observing the life and landscape. The use of observation and immersion in a place and culture was a very important aspect of my research and could have well been a whole thesis on its own. However, for this thesis I felt that the social, political and colonial background to the text, the events that ultimately lead to the invasion I write about, should be my primary focus.

My research into the colonial past of Cyprus and the struggle for independence that began in the 1950s has been very important in the development of ideas and to my own exploration of identity politics. Considering the paradoxes and questions about British administration and Orientalism in Cyprus helped me to understand the position of the island within the vast post-colonial landscape. My research gave me an insight into the Orthodox Cypriots' reaction to colonisation and the island's unique position. Cyprus' colonial history was a complex one, leading to the meeting and clash of three great nations: Turkey, Greece and Britain, something which had not been seen before in British history. The case of Greek Cyprus was complicated; it claimed its own imperial heritage, the same heritage on which the British also relied.

I was born in London, to parents who were refugees, and saw the effect of colonisation on the Greek Cypriot community. Their strong sense of unity, their sense of racial superiority, and their fear of difference and diversity; the belief systems that I later learnt began in the nineteenth century and developed throughout the period of

British administration. Although, like other post-colonial novels, my novel deals to a certain extent with identity politics and the reaction of the indigenous population to the colonisers, my aim was not to side with the Orthodox Cypriots' reaction to colonisation and modernity, or sympathise through my writing with this struggle. With most post-colonial novels the narrative view point is either from the perspective of the colonised; the ones that are dealing with change, or in the case of imperial fiction, from the perspective of the colonisers.

In *A Watermelon, a Fish and a Bible* the empathy lies with the characters who cannot be drawn into the reactions of the colonised, the ones who stood apart. It is about the characters who suffered as the result of anti-colonial nationalism.

Koki, one of the main characters, is not the victim of colonial oppression, but the victim of her own people's prejudice and inability to move forward, of their desire to hold on to an imagined past.

In this thesis I have used the term Orthodox Cypriot to refer to the indigenous Cypriots who see themselves as being of Greek nationality, but are not ethnically connected to Greece. In Cyprus the Christian Orthodox church was considered by the Ottomans to be the political leadership of the Christian population and therefore defined the community and culture. The more common contemporary expression used is Greek Cypriot. However, I felt as though this term could lead to ambiguities about ethnicity and nationality.

2 CYPRUS – CULTURAL HERITAGE OF AN ISLAND

The island of Cyprus lies in the Eastern Mediterranean, closer to Turkey, and to Syria or Lebanon, than to Greece but in a location that ensured it a central role in the trade and warfare of the Mediterranean since the dawn of that civilisation. People from every race and nationality in the region have landed there. The action of Shakespeare's *Othello* largely takes place in Cyprus, where the Moor of Venice has been sent to repel an invading Turkish army. Periods of peace and freedom have been rare in this strategically precious scrap of land. The last colonists were the British, from whom Cyprus won independence in 1960 after years of bitter guerrilla warfare. In that year the census found 77.1% of the population to be Greek and 18.2% Turkish.⁶ Greek implies European and Christian, Turkish suggests Asian and Muslim, making this small island a crucible of ancient antagonisms. Turkey invaded the island again in 1974, and my novel concerns the brutal conflict that ensued. The island is now partitioned between the Turkish side in the North and the larger Republic of Cyprus in the centre and south.

The landscape of the island itself bears witness to the diversity of its settlers. In the banana trees, the mosques and the slight nuances of the architecture lies the evidence of upheaval in a little island that is trying to establish its identity.

⁶ Cyprus Ministry of Interior (1992). 'The Demographic Structure of Cyprus'. Parliamentary Assembly. p. 6.
[http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/20C7614D06858E9FC2256DC200380113/\\$file/cuc0%20report.pdf?OpenElement](http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/20C7614D06858E9FC2256DC200380113/$file/cuc0%20report.pdf?OpenElement). [2010]

3 CYPRUS AND HELLENIC HISTORY

The story of Greek Cypriot nationalism stretches far back and in order to understand the strength of the nationalistic narrative in Cyprus, it is important to find the first page. The development of nationalism in Greece and the establishment of Pan Hellenism emerged during the time of Alexander the Great (356-323 BC) when the Greek city states struggled against the Persian Empire. Cyprus' connection to Greece stretches back 3000 years and therefore predates Alexander.

Cyprus, for its geographical, strategic location, linking East and West, and for its rich resources of copper, bronze, timber and other metals, has been the envy of powerful neighbours from as far back as the Early Bronze Age (c.2500 to c.2000).⁷ Settlers have included: Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, Macedonian Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Louisianans, Genoese, Venetians, Ottomans and finally the British.⁸

I will say a little about the history of Cyprus in order to show how the connection with Greece first developed. Recent findings suggest human settlement in Cyprus began in the Neolithic age in the 7th Millennium. Following this was the Chalcolithic age (copper-stone age) c.3900 to c.2500, at this time the western end of the Island seemed to be inhabited for the first time.⁹ The transition from this to the Early Bronze age (c.2500 to c.2000) "shows an unbroken development from the earliest cultures,"¹⁰ during this time "settlements which were at first spread around the valleys soon spread right across the island."¹¹ This Cypriot indigenous population were to be

⁷ Orr, Captain C. W. J. *Cyprus under British Rule* (London: Robert Scott, Roxburghe House, 1918)

⁸ Panteli, Dr. Stavros *The History of Modern Cyprus* (England: Topline Publishing, 2005) p18

⁹ Ibid p20

¹⁰ Ibid p20

¹¹ Ibid p20

called Eteocyprians.¹² The middle Bronze Age 2000 to 1650 BC was a prosperous age, with new and improved trading relations between neighbouring countries. During the Late Bronze age (1650 – 1050 BC) things changed for the Cypriots. In *The History of Modern Cyprus* Dr. Stavros Panteli writes of this period and its importance to the development of Greek culture,

...probably the most important event of the late stone age, was the arrival of the Acaean-Mycenaeans around 1200BC...at about the end of the 13th century many of the Mycenaean settlements were afflicted with disaster...a considerable dispersal of the mainland took place, which resulted in the establishment of refugee settlements. At least one substantial group of these fled to Cyprus (which was) of incalculable significance for the future development of the island...the island turned towards the west and began to draw away from the east. It has, to date, followed the fortunes and misfortunes of the Greek world.¹³

However, the Phoenicians arrived during the Iron Age (1050 – 750 BC) and their settlement saw a revival of Cypriot culture.¹⁴ Dr Panteli explains that, due to the Greeks and Phoenicians now on the island, the “Eteocyprians played only a secondary part in the life.” The Egyptians (560-545 BC) were the “first to capture the island by recourse to war.”¹⁵

In 538 BC Cyprus became part of the Persian Empire and the colonizer’s culture was forced upon the natives awakening their “Greek consciousness”.¹⁶

¹²Panteli, Dr. Stavros *The History of Modern Cyprus* (England: Toplevel Publishing, 2005) p23

¹³ Ibid p21-22

¹⁴ Ibid p23

¹⁵ Ibid p23

¹⁶ Ibid p24

During the reign of Phillip II of Macedonia, Isocrates, the Athenian orator urged Hellenic unity against the Persians who were threatening to invade what is now mainland Greece from what is now Turkey.¹⁷ Isocrates' speech urged the need for unity and the idea of pan-Hellenism. He argued that the Greeks should settle their differences.

Surely we should greatly dread that time when the barbarians have settled their differences and are one of mind, while we continue in our present hostile attitude to one another.¹⁸

Isocrates led a pan-Hellenic expedition and stated clearly that "something worthwhile should result and we should wage a combined war on the barbarians, ceasing our mutual rivalry."¹⁹

Phillip II of Macedonia made a decision to unite Greece against the threat of Persian invasion. "The government of Persia had undergone a number of changes since Phillip II first organized the Greek crusade against the east."²⁰

Following this, Phillip's son, Alexander the Great (356-323 BC) whose teacher was Aristotle, led the Pan-Hellenic campaign. Alexander became King when he was just twenty years old, after the assassination of his father Philip II. His Kingdom was threatened by rebels at home and enemies abroad. After eliminating all his potential rivals, he then headed south with his armies in a campaign to claim complete control of Greece. He succeeded in uniting the rest of the Greeks in Asia Minor and then went east. In 335 BC as general of the Greeks in a campaign against the Persians he carried

¹⁷ Rufus, Quintus Curtius *The History of Alexander* (Penguin: London, 1984) p20

¹⁸ Usher, S *Greek Oartors III, Isocrates* (England: Aris and Phillips Ltd, Warminster, 1990) line 138, p89

¹⁹ Ibid, line 19, p31

²⁰ Rufus, Quintus Curtius *The History of Alexander* (London: Penguin Books, 1984) p20

out the campaign that was originally planned by his father, Phillip II. This victory finally brought all Greek states together.²¹

Alexander's pan-Hellenic campaign had succeeded and he was accepted as the leader of all the Greek peoples. He spread Hellenism and the Greek language to other parts of the world.²²

The political stability and economic union achieved by Greece provided a foundation for Hellenic civilisation which, through its advancement of science, political institutions and culture, defined the principles on which the Roman and Byzantine Empires were subsequently organised. The extent of these dominions then facilitated the spread of the Christian religion in Europe and the near East.

In 1453 AD Constantinople in Greece fell to the Ottomans and this had a great effect on the Christian world,

The capture of this great bastion of Christian civilisation against Islam sent shock waves throughout Christendom...After 1453 the Ottomans gradually consolidated their hold over the few areas of the Greek world that were not already within their grasp...Rhodes was captured in 1522, Chios and Naxos in 1566, Cyprus in 1571...²³

The Ottomans ruled Greece until their independence in 1821. Cyprus, however, remained as part of the Ottoman empire until its collapse at the end of the nineteenth century and its subsequent annexation from Britain.

²¹ Plutarch *The Life of Alexander the Great* (New York and Canada: Random House, 2004)

²² Ibid p67

²³ Clogg, Richard A *Concise History of Greece, Second Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) p7-8

By the nineteenth century, after four centuries of Ottoman rule, the need for a link with the ancient world of Greek antiquity and stability was haunting Greece. In the wake of independence the Greeks attempted to bridge the gap between ancient Greece and modern Greece.²⁴ During four centuries of Ottoman rule many Greeks dispersed to the near east. Most were illiterate and there was such diversity that many Greeks could not communicate with each other. The connection to Greek antiquity was slowly vanishing. As a response to this, nationalistic ideas began to develop.

Proponents of [the] 'Great Idea' [during the period following Ottoman rule] aspired to unite within the bounds of a single state, whose capital would be Constantinople, all the areas of Greek settlement in the Near East...The great idea was to become the dominant ideology of the emergent state.²⁵

The Greeks wanted to bridge the gap between modern and ancient Greece and create a sense of unity. In the *Concise History of Greece* Clogg describes the emerging link between modern and ancient Greece,

During the centuries of Tourkokratia [Turkish occupation] knowledge of the ancient Greek world had all but died out, but, under the stimulus of western classical scholarship, the budding intelligentsia developed an awareness that they were the heirs to an heritage that was universally revered throughout the civilised world. By the eve of

²⁴ Clogg, Richard A *Concise History of Greece, Second Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) p47

²⁵ Ibid p47

independence *progonoplexia* (ancestor obsession) and *arkhaiolatreaia* (worship of antiquity)...had reached almost obsessive proportions.²⁶

Although the union of the Greek states was achieved more than two thousand years earlier, it excluded Cyprus which, despite a population of Greek origin, remained unattached to the new Greek state. However, the emergence of Hellenism in Cyprus gave the nation a lasting belief in affiliation with Greece. The affirmation of nationalistic ideologies provided the grounding for dichotomy and intolerance. Greek Cypriot literature until recently has been mostly concerned with capturing this identity, and in the aftermath of Ottoman rule, Orthodox Cypriots tried to affirm their connection with ancient Greece.

In 1570 the Ottomans took Cyprus from the Venetians and ruled for nearly three hundred years until the fall of the empire. The year 1878 marked the British arrival in Cyprus which was annexed in 1914 at the outbreak of war with the Ottoman Empire. The island became a crown colony in 1925. It is this period of British occupation that forms the basis of this study; it was at this time that the desire for Enosis and “freedom” within the Orthodox Cypriot community developed.

In the 1950s military expert General George Grivas started a violent and ruthless guerilla campaign against British rule. EOKA targeted the British in a campaign of violence in order to achieve ENOSIS (union of Cyprus with Greece). EOKA, the National Organisation of Cypriot Combatants, also targeted Turkish Cypriots and leftist Greeks on a smaller scale. General Grivas’ strategic guerrilla warfare earned him the name of the man who changed the face of Cypriot society. Not only did his strategic, well-organised and unexpected attacks create fear on the island

²⁶ Clogg, Richard A *Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) p27

and make him infamous on an international scale, he also managed to set aflame the sense of nationalism within the Orthodox Cypriot community, especially that of the younger generation. The word Enosis comes from the Greek word meaning “to join.” The ideal of Enosis expresses the Cypriot sense of union with mainland Greece in “an indissoluble bond based on descent, religion, tradition.”²⁷

Thus Cypriot nationalism has been defined in terms of Greek identity since Greek nationalism itself re-emerged in the C19th. Like Greek nationalism too, Cypriot nationalism references the heritage of classical Greece. However, given the settlement of the island by both emigrants and colonists from the very beginning of recorded history it would be difficult for a family with lengthy Cypriot ancestry to establish their ethnicity, thus the Orthodox Cypriot includes many people with no known connection to relatives or family in mainland Greece.

²⁷ Panteli, Dr Stavros *The History of Modern Cyprus* (England: Toplevel Publishing, 2005) p88

4 POST-COLONIALISM AND ANTI-COLONIAL CYPRIOT NATIONALISM

Before the 1970s the word post-colonial merely identified the period following decolonisation. It named a historical period rather than a political consciousness or literary genre. It was far more usual to see writers characterised in terms of their communities and origins.²⁸ Post-colonial has now come to mean a political theory that takes into account the relationship between the colonisers and the colonised and the effect of colonisation on a community. This is a general definition and classical post-colonial criticism can be defined under much narrower parameters. In his essay *The Postcolonial and the Post-modern: The Question of Agency, in The Location of Culture* Homi K. Bhabbha frames post-colonial analysis.

Postcolonial criticism bears witness to the unequal and uneven forces of cultural representation involved in the contest of political and social authority within the modern world order. Postcolonial perspectives emerge from the colonial testimony of Third World countries and the discourses of “minorities” within the geopolitical divisions of East and West, North and South.²⁹

A novel that deals with these issues is Salman Rushdie’s *Midnight’s Children*³⁰ which explores the effects of British colonisation on the indigenous Indian culture,

²⁸ Lazarus, Neil *Postcolonial Literary Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) p2

²⁹ Bhaba, Homi K *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994) p171

³⁰ Rushdie, Salman *Midnight’s Children* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1981)

through its presentation of the cultural status of India as an independent nation. This, as Edward W. Said writes, has been initiated in the text to portray,

[the] conscious effort to enter into the discourse of Europe and the West, to mix with it, transform it, to make it acknowledge marginalized or suppressed or forgotten histories....[This] is of particular interest in Rushdie's work.³¹

Similarly, Ayi Kwei Armah's novel, *Two Thousand Seasons*,³² challenges the euro-centric notions of history and the effects of colonisation on African culture. Both of these novels deal with the denigration of indigenous cultures and the responses of the colonised to the colonisers. The resistance of the community is presented in Chinua Achebe's novel *Things fall Apart* when protagonist Okonkwo returns to his village after exile to find it a changed place because of the presence of the white man. The fight to reclaim their land represents this internal fight for their identity. In all the above novels the indigenous community's identity has been threatened by the Eurocentric ideals of its colonists, expressed through "Eurocentricism and the cultural racism of the west."³³

Homi K. Bhabbha writes of post-colonial criticism,

[Post-colonial texts] intervene in those ideological discourses that attempt to give a hegemonic "normality" to the uneven development and the differential, of disadvantaged, histories of nations, races, communities, peoples. They formulate their critical revisions around

³¹ Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994) p206

³² Armah, Ayi Kwei, *Two Thousand Seasons* (London: Heinemann International Literature & Textbooks, 1979)

³³ King, Antony D "Writing Colonial Space" *Comparative Study of Society and History* (Volume 37: 1995) p541-54

issues of cultural difference, social authority, and political discrimination in order to reveal the antagonistic and ambivalent moments within the “rationalizations” of modernity. (into of modernity...no... as a mode of analysis it attempts to revise those nationalist or “nativist” pedagogies that set up the relation of Third World and First World in a binary structure of opposition.³⁴

In *Midnight's Children*, *Things Fall Apart* and *Two Thousand Seasons* one can see the representations of and reactions to cultural difference and social authority of the colonisers who have “rationalised” modernity and Eurocentric ideals as the natives fight for their identity. The colonisers view these cultures as primitive. Edward Said's *Orientalism* is said to have set the foundational text for post-colonial theory and colonial discourse.³⁵ In *Culture and Imperialism* Said explains the imperial notions about culture and the basis of imperial authority and the mental attitude of the colonist.

Neither imperialism nor colonialism is a simple act of accumulation and acquisition. Both are supported and perhaps even impelled by impressive ideological formulations that include notions that certain territories and people require and beseech domination as well as forms of knowledge affiliated with domination: the vocabulary of classic nineteenth-century imperial culture is plentiful with such words and concepts as “inferior” or “subject races”, “subordinate peoples”, “dependency” and “authority”.³⁶

³⁴ Bhaba, Homi K *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994) p173

³⁵ Lazarus, Neil *Postcolonial Literary Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) p161

³⁶ Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994) p8

The question is whether this notion of post-colonialism can be applied to Cyprus. In *British Imperialism in Cyprus 1878-1915*³⁷ Andrekos Varnava writes of the ways in which Greek Cypriot colonial history differs from other nations with a major post-colonial literary heritage such as India, Nigeria and Jamaica. Varnava explains the concept of political modernity, which developed during the European Enlightenment, introducing concepts such as “the state, civil society, public sphere, equality before the law, social justice and national and civic identities.”³⁸ These principals were only applied to a certain extent as the Cypriots, unlike Indians and Africans, were considered, “civilised enough to participate in representative government.”³⁹

William Butler, a visitor of Cyprus claimed that the “Cypriot Orthodox were descendents of the ancient Greeks [to whom] the British were [cultural] successors and thus mere modern imitators.”⁴⁰ From this perspective, the Cypriots could not fit into the common definition of the colonised, nor could it be argued that, “distant territories and their native peoples *should* be subjugated”⁴¹ under the notion that the imperium is a “protracted, almost metaphysical obligation to rule subordinate, inferior, or less advanced peoples.”⁴²

However, an alternative perspective shows that Cyprus was perhaps not so different from the other colonies. Varnava states that,

British politicians, imbued with modernity, identified the Cypriot Orthodox as Greeks, without checking the reality on the ground...those that ‘knew’ Cyprus ‘revealed’ the ‘reality on the ground. If those that

³⁷ Varnava, Andrekos *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915*(England: Manchester University Press, 2009)

³⁸ Varnava, Andrekos *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915* (England: Manchester University Press, 2009) p24

³⁹ Ibid p24

⁴⁰ Ibid p161

⁴¹Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994) p10

⁴² Ibid p10

did not visit Cyprus erased the Cypriots from the Orientalist discourse and made them Europeans, those that lived in Cyprus did the opposite.⁴³

Varnava, using considerable volumes of evidence from archives, including photographs and archaeologists' reports, illustrates the multicultural nature of Cyprus. He examines photographs taken of rural life by John Thomson which he says depict an Orientalist scene that could have been "taken in any street in North Africa or the middle east."⁴⁴ Equally, Rebecca Bryant in *Imagining the Modern, The cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus*, describes the Ottoman Empire as "manifestly unmodern"⁴⁵

The question of whether Cypriot culture fits into notions of Orientalism is a difficult one to answer. On the one hand Cyprus was not considered to be a Third World, primitive territory. On the other hand, political modernity in Cyprus allowed for the development of nationalism and subsequent resistance by the colonised. Bryant writes that "without doubt, Cyprus encountered that complex of ideas that has come to be known as modernity."⁴⁶ Bryant discusses the relationship between colonised and colonisers explaining that new institutions of British rule provoked attempts to redefine structures of authority.⁴⁷ What Cyprus definitely had in common with other colonies such as India, Kenya, Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam, Angola and Zimbabwe, was the rhetoric of anti-colonial nationalism,

⁴³ Varnava, Andrekos *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915*(England: Manchester University Press, 2009) p159

⁴⁴ Varnava, Andrekos *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915*(England: Manchester University Press, 2009) p162

⁴⁵ Bryant, Rebecca *Imagining the Modern, The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London and New York: I.B Tauris, 2004) p19

⁴⁶ Ibid p16

⁴⁷ Ibid p16

Most of the territories under European colonial domination achieved independence only after prolonged struggle. Such struggles ranged from epic campaigns for liberation in India...to armed struggle and guerrilla warfare, and revolution, as was the case with land and freedom armies.⁴⁸

Although Cyprus' situation appeared to differ slightly in relation to development, nationalism was formed with the same expectancy as the other colonies. Said writes of the coloniser's mental and imperial construction but says that,

Similar constructions have been made on the opposite side, that is by the insurgent 'natives' about their pre-colonial past, as in the case of Algeria during the War of Independence (1954 -62), when decolonisation encouraged Algerians and Muslims to create images of what they supposed themselves to have been prior to French colonisation.⁴⁹

What is different about Cypriot colonisation is that the reaction of the Orthodox Cypriot was to mythologize the Hellenic past, in which they saw themselves as "descendants of the ancient Greeks." This apparently formed and conceptualised their traditions and modernity. They claimed the same Western heritage that the British lay claim to themselves. England and mainland Europe reclaimed classical heritage from the Renaissance. Britain was increasingly exploring, adopting and identifying itself with ancient Greece and Rome. By the Victorian times it had almost become a national ideal.

⁴⁸ Lazarus, Neil *Postcolonial Literary Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) p42

⁴⁹ Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994) p17

What is interesting about the situation in Cyprus is that the island was colonised by a nation that felt a strong affiliation with Greece. There was a great fascination with ancient Greece and “classical education informed the mind and provided much of the intellectual confidence of the ruling classes.”⁵⁰ In *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain* Turner describes how classical education in Britain sustained the study of Greek civilization and the application of that study to contemporary life.⁵¹ The ancient Hellenic achievement assumed a vitality and sense of relevance.⁵² The ensuing development of liberal democracy contributed to this relevance, rousing to an unprecedented scale the intensive examination of ancient Greek democracies.⁵³ The idea of modernity itself was largely based on these ideas. Western culture and development of modern ideologies in relation to democracy, art and philosophy strongly relied on the examination of ancient Greek civilisation.

As Said said, Britain colonised countries, not simply for the accumulation of land but also to spread ideas of the modern, Western civilization. It becomes so complicated because the Orthodox Cypriot reacted by claiming ownership of Hellenic identity and therefore Western ideals.

They [the colonisers] competed with the elites in Cyprus that combined modern and modern ideas. In this struggle, the nationalist elites rehearsed to their own subaltern classes the script of the past, which Europeans had created to base political modernity.⁵⁴

The Orthodox Cypriot reacted like the European authorities where images were,

⁵⁰ Turner, Frank M *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain* (USA: Yale University, 1981) p5

⁵¹ Ibid p5

⁵² Ibid p1

⁵³ Ibid p5

⁵⁴ Varnava, Andrekos *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915*(England: Manchester University Press, 2009) p24

buttressed and shaped during the nineteenth century...the ruling elites of Europe felt the need to project their power backwards in time, giving it a history and legitimacy that only tradition and longevity could impart.⁵⁵

Turner writes, “In some cases the appeal to Greece served to foster further changes, in others to combat the forces of destruction.”⁵⁶ The former can be said of Britain in the sense that they were using ancient Greece as a basis for the concepts of democracy and development. The latter, of the Orthodox Cypriot at the onset of colonisation, where they used Greek nationalism and their connection to Greece to fight the colonisers.

The subversion of colonial discourse by the Orthodox Cypriot is achieved by reverting to Greek nationalism and an ideologically constructed past. Rebecca Bryant writes about Cypriot modernity and, through empirical data, focuses on the constitution of “civilization” on Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot attitudes by comparing the period of British colonial rule with that of independence. Bryant argues that the return to a Hellenised and therefore Westernised past for the Greek Cypriots was cultivated under British colonialism.⁵⁷ Furthermore, Varnava highlights how, during Ottoman rule, the Greek and Turkish Cypriots were ‘culturally integrated,’ and that ideas of Enosis and the connection to Hellenism developed as a reaction to British colonial rule,

With religion deciding identity, the Muslims were referred to [by the Cypriot community] as Mohammedans and the Orthodox Christians as Romiee, a word adopted by the Byzantine period when the Orthodox

⁵⁵ Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994) p16

⁵⁶ Turner, Frank M. *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain* (USA: Yale University, 1981) p2

⁵⁷ Bryant, Rebecca *Imagining the Modern, The cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London and New York: I.B Tauris, 2004)

Church disapproved of Hellenism because it denoted paganism. Being an island Cyprus was isolated, so modernity and the ideas of the nation did not reach civilisation...but this was mistaken, unless cultural development' were to mean only 'Hellenic' culture.⁵⁸

Varnava asserts that at first Hellenic culture was not important to Cypriot identity. By the nineteenth century, however, when Cyprus passed from Ottoman to British rule, the nationalistic recourse appeared to strengthen,

According to historians a prelate welcomed Wolsely thus, 'We accept the change of government inasmuch as we trust that Great Britain will help Cyprus, as it did the Ionian Islands to unite with Mother Greece.'⁵⁹

Varnava then states that in 1996 Roalndos Katsiaounis writer and researcher of Modern Greek studies, proved that these words were never said, "The truth was that local politicians invented the enosis declaration in 1903."⁶⁰

The Orthodox Cypriot reacted to British colonisation and political modernity with a nationalistic revolt, backed by the church and government that, "changed Cyprus from a multicultural to a multinational place."⁶¹ As Varnava writes,

Most historians of Cyprus approach its history from a position that it is Greek. But a growing literature, from Ottoman specialists and social-

⁵⁸ Varnava, Andrekos *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915*(England: Manchester University Press, 2009)p155

⁵⁹ Varnava, Andrekos *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915*(England: Manchester University Press, 2009) p157

⁶⁰ Ibid p157

⁶¹ Ibid p163

cultural historians of Cyprus, argues that the Ottoman Empire was – to use a contemporary term – multicultural. People of different cultures lived together peaceably and were integrated socially and culturally. This gave rise to ‘multiple identities’, identities formed by socio-cultural integration between each ‘mother culture’. Political modernity...completely altered the way Cyprus inhabitants viewed themselves and ultimately it had a detrimental effect on the relations between the two main religious groups on the island.⁶²

Political modernity created nationalist elites, resistance and segregation as the Orthodox Cypriot looked to their Hellenic past for security of identity. Bryant describes Ottoman Cyprus as a multicultural place and says that,

British colonists took Cyprus as an island - in other words, as a well-defined and bounded territory - and saw it as a unity containing populations that spoke different languages and worshipped in different fashion. These people were called Cypriot.⁶³

Bryant explains how during the Ottoman Empire much of the power structure had a religious base and one’s communal affiliation was defined first by the religious community.⁶⁴ However, the new administration created a breakdown of traditional structures of authority. Bryant describes a photograph taken in 1878, the year of British arrival,

⁶² Varnava, Andrekos *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915* (England: Manchester University Press, 2009) p163

⁶³ Bryant, Rebecca *Imagining the Modern, The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London and New York: I.B Tauris, 2004) p21

⁶⁴ *Ibid* p16

...that small group of Christian and Muslim men sipping coffee together would frame the terms of an increasingly violent struggle for authority from which would emerge the well-formulated, unquestionable nationalist aspirations that would guide their grandchildren down the path to their own destruction. Cyprus' rapid incorporation into British administrative structures, and the new opportunities that the colonial administration represented, overturned hierarchies, levelled differences, and presented a fundamental challenge to the spiritual and political leaders of one of the most neglected provinces of the Ottoman domains.⁶⁵

⁶⁵Bryant, Rebecca *Imagining the Modern, The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London and New York: I.B Tauris, 2004) p16

4.1 ANTI-COLONIAL NATIONALISM AND LITERATURE

The “script from the past”⁶⁶ became one of the most important notions of Orthodox Cypriot identity during British colonial rule and it appears to mirror Greece’s reaction to independence from the Ottoman empire in the nineteenth century, when a “sense of [the ancient] past spread through society.”⁶⁷

Particularly after the burning of government house in 1931, the desire for Enosis and “freedom” within the Greek community developed and intensified with Grivas’ violent anti-colonial campaign in the 1950s. Grivas pushed, through violence, for the “right to self-determination,”⁶⁸ and he claims to have passed the liberation struggle from, “the sphere of abstract idealism into the field of action.”⁶⁹ *The Memoirs of General Grivas* written in 1964, ten years before the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, sheds light on this heightened sense of Orthodox Cypriot nationalism that developed as a result of colonialism and altered the Cypriot’s perception of their own history.

On the surface, Grivas appeared to be the hero who would liberate the land. This eerily mirrors attempts by Greeks in the nineteenth century to liberate “the ‘Motherland’ from the Ottoman yoke through an armed and co-ordinate revolt.”⁷⁰

Just as the Semitic and African roots of the ancient Greeks were hidden in the nineteenth century, the coexistence and collaboration of the Orthodox Cypriot and Cypriot Muslim were also forgotten. Folk tales, poems and songs from the late Ottoman and early British periods illustrate cultural integration, but the fact that Orthodox and

⁶⁶ Varnava, Andrekos *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915*(England: Manchester University Press, 2009) p24

⁶⁷ Clogg, Richard A *Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) p28

⁶⁸ Grivas, General George *The Memoirs of General Grivas* (London: Longmans, 1964) p131

⁶⁹ Ibid p12

⁷⁰ Clogg, Richard A *Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) p31

Muslim mourned together and worked together, to improve living standards, by building the Larnaca hospital⁷¹ was forgotten. This integrated culture was no longer an important aspect of the Orthodox Cypriot identity. Instead the fierce spreading of Hellenic nationalism took over.

Varnava states that, “The imposition of political modernity [by the British] replaced the religious, civic and national identity of the Cypriots with an imagined ethnic identity, making British rule problematic.”⁷² One can see, from the journals, autobiographical accounts and poetry, which I will explore, how this nationalistic message and link to the past spread rapidly through the community and blurred the boundary between past and present. In his journal Grivas writes, “the flame we lit years ago has spread to the hearts of all Greeks.”⁷³ Here the flame may not simply refer to the feeling of nationalism but also to the flame of Olympia ignited by the sun, the flame of ancient Greece and the flame of pan-Hellenism. Said writes about a culture’s construction of the past,

The combativeness with which individuals and institutions decide on what is tradition and what is not, what relevant and what not...how we formulate to represent the past shapes our understanding and views of the present.⁷⁴

Discussing the emergence of nationalism in his book, *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson defines a nation as “an imagined community, imagined as both inherently

⁷¹ Varnava, Andrekos *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915*(England: Manchester University Press, 2009) p156

⁷² Ibid p152

⁷³ Ibid p112

⁷⁴ Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994) p2

limited and sovereign.”⁷⁵ In this definition members of the community hold in their minds a mental image of their likeness to one another. The phrase, “The men of Greece and Cyprus are one,”⁷⁶ are words that are heard, echoed not only in the journals and leaflets but in the living rooms of Cypriot homes in Britain, America and Australia. The Orthodox Cypriot of the Diaspora refer to themselves as Greek Cypriot, even though ethnically it is most likely that they have no known connection to Greece.

This likeness could be based on a variety of factors which paint a sense of collective identity such as language and religion and, importantly, heritage, tradition, history, parentage, ancestry and descent. This national ideal connection is reminiscent of Isocrates’ speech calling for pan-Hellenism. Isocrates stated that if the Greeks united against the Persians and “joined in spirit”, then “the poverty that blights our lives [would be] been taken away.”⁷⁷ In this sense the figures of the past are just as real as the figures of the present. “Nationalism is construed as janus-faced, paradoxical in its cultural, temporal modernity and simultaneous reliance on the past to define and legitimate itself.”⁷⁸ This indicates the significance of the Grivas’ statement above; considered symbolically the flame could represent the “reliance on the past” that is paradoxical in its modernity as nationalism changes the identity of the Orthodox Cypriot.

In his journal Grivas writes, “Mine was a happy childhood, the happiest of all when I marched behind the blue and white banners on some national day and felt the Hellenic passion for liberty burning in all of us.”⁷⁹ Here it is the colours of the Greek

⁷⁵ Anderson, Benedict *Imagined Communities* (London and New York: Verso, 1991)p7

⁷⁶ Grivas, General George *The Memoirs of General Grivas* (London: Longmans, 1964) p203

⁷⁷ Usher, S *Greek Oartors III, Isocrates* (England: Aris and Phillips Ltd, Warminster, 1990) line 173, p107

⁷⁸ Lazarus, Neil *Postcolonial Literary Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) p183

⁷⁹ Grivas, General George *The Memoirs of General Grivas* (London: Longmans, 1964) p3

flag, rather than the Cypriot, that creates pride; there is a sense of movement in this passage, the movement of the rally, led forward by the symbol of Hellenism. Grivas also says, “The village school was firmly disciplined ...but I enjoyed my studies, in which the glories of Greek history always took first place.”⁸⁰

Although many accounts show that during Ottoman rule Cyprus was a multicultural place that was more “east” than “west”, anti-colonial revolt seems, even more than the colonisers themselves, to have created a very “western” identity and past as though the spreading of nationalism almost obliterates the former identity.

⁸⁰ Ibid p3

4.2 THE PASSING OF THE FLAME AND THE MESSAGE

If one considers that myth is a message that is received from ancestors and that is transmitted orally from generation to generation,⁸¹ then it can be said that during the struggle Orthodox Cypriot writers took the overt meaning within myths and legends as messages from their ancestors. The flame in Orthodox Cypriot literature could be a symbol of this message passed from mouth to mouth or, in this case, from hand to hand; it is the image constructed of a “privileged, genealogical, useful past.”⁸²

The symbol of the flame and of fire appears so readily in the literature of the time that I felt that an exploration of it, in the context of the anti-colonial revolt, would be interesting. From studying the journals and poetry, it appears that this was a common symbol infused with meaning. In Andreas Montis’ novel *Closed Doors*, set during the 1950s revolt, the protagonist says, when describing the distribution of propagandist leaflets, “To read it, yes, but then breathlessly to pass it on, to hand it over like a lighted torch.”⁸³ Equally, the Orthodox Cypriot writer, Elenitsa Seraphim-Loizou, in her autobiographical novel *The Cyprus Liberation Struggle 1955-1959 Through the eyes of a Woman*, writes of, “the unquenchable flame in the eyes of the fighters.”⁸⁴ In this case the flame appears to have very literally become the voice of pan-Hellenism, the message passed on from ancient Greece.

In relation to classical mythology, this flame can be related to the flame associated with Zeus and Prometheus. Robert Graves describes the incident in which

⁸¹ Brisson, Luc and Naddaf, Gerrard *Plato the Myth Maker* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998) pxi

⁸² Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994)

⁸³ Montis, Costas *Closed Doors* (Minnesota: A Nostos Book, 2004) p31

⁸⁴ Seraphim-Loizou, Elenitsa *The Cyprus Liberation Struggle 1955-1959 Through the Eyes of a Woman E.O.K.A Area Commander* (Epiphaniou Publications) p299

Zeus had to choose the part of the sacrificial bull. When Zeus chose the bag of bones and fat, Graves writes,

But punished Prometheus who was laughing bent his back, by withholding fire from man-kind. 'Let them eat their flesh raw!' he cried ... on his arrival (at Olympus) he lighted a torch at the fiery chariot of the sun and presently broke from it a fragment of glowing charcoal ... then, extinguishing his torch, he stole away, undiscovered, and gave fire to mankind.⁸⁵

Here Prometheus is seen to give mankind a civilising element. Fire could be associated with the emergence of civilization and the emergence of mankind.

The significance of the story of Prometheus as related to human existence is enormous. To men who previously had been living like vulnerable beasts in mountain caves, the possession of fire set them apart from the animals and saved them from extinction... Men were brought together around the fire in peace, to form family and community bonds and over time to develop essential forms of communication, a language for storytelling and for the exchange of vital information...We should come to recognize that the possession of fire, not only brought men together, but civilized man, moved him out of the cave, refined him and eventually send him off to unimaginable heights, on a trip to the moon!⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Graves, Robert *The Greek Myths* (London: Penguin, 1992)

⁸⁶ Maroussis, Anthony G. 'The Olympic Flame' *American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association AHEPA District 22* http://www.ahepad22.org/articles/Olympic_Flame.pdf [June 2008] p1

Thus fire can be connected to the eventual emergence of the Roman and Byzantine Empire and Hellenistic civilisation that spread to all countries of the east and west. The flame, in the case of Orthodox Cypriot nationalism, represents not only the move into civilisation, the connection to Greece, but also the passing on of this “script”. The flame merely represents the idealistic notions; under these convictions the Orthodox Cypriots were already “westernised” in the sense that the prevailing notion was that they were Greek and therefore linked to the establishment of western civilisation.

These ideas clearly link to the argument that Cyprus could not fit into Orientalist notions and it is this perspective that was held by the majority of the Orthodox Cypriot community. In *Prospero and Caliban*, Mannoni states that we need to think of colonialism as the meeting between two different types of people, which is based on the assumption that, “the colonizing peoples are among the most advanced in the world, while those which undergo colonisation are among the most backward.”⁸⁷

In order to solidify new structures of authority the Orthodox Cypriot community, however, were fighting to prove their imperial heritage and this belief spread through the community and became the new identity. Varnava states that,

Most of the British non-settler possessions were ‘oriental’, that is, in Asia or Africa. Only Gibraltar, Heligoland and the Ionian Islands were in Europe, with Malta and Cyprus on the periphery...the Ionian Islands were the only other place with an Eastern orthodox Christian majority to come under formal European rule.

⁸⁷ Mannoni, Octave *Prospero and Caliban The Psychology of Colonization* (University of Michigan Press, 1993) p26-27

The symbol of the fire and the torch is used frequently within Orthodox Cypriot poetry, particularly that written during the 1950s struggle. Nikos Kranidiotis, writes of the EOKA hero in his poem *Gregoris Afxentiou*,

You've become a flame, a lightning bolt,
the conscience of freedom/in the heart of the universe.⁸⁸

Here the figure of Afxentiou has become a flame so that his existence, his fight, his beliefs and finally his death become a message which will be passed on. It is significant that this message, in this context, did not start or end with Afxentiou; it is the message that comes from the past, like the “lightning bolt” of Zeus and the flame of Prometheus.

Kranidiotis goes on to write,

Your valiant body is a torch
a light that burns,
a sun that crosses the sky
and ignites
with the sword of bravery, a new hope.⁸⁹

It is interesting also that this flame, “ignites with the sword of bravery”⁹⁰ the collective sword of the heroes and warriors fighting for Hellenes. Therefore, the original symbol of the flame has been united with that of the hero fighting for freedom. It is important to mention here that reports show that the guerrilla fighter, Gregoris Afxentiou, died after the British, who pursued him and his group, poured gasoline into a cave and set it

⁸⁸ Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture, *A Poetry and Prose Anthology of the 1955-59 Liberation Struggle* (Nicosia: Council of the Historical Memory of Eoka 1955-59, 2003) p39

⁸⁹ Ibid p51

⁹⁰ Ibid.

alight.⁹¹ Therefore, in the poems the factual circumstances of his death have been intermingled and merged with myth.

Another poem by Georgios Markides, a former mayor of Nicosia, describes the immortal soul of Afxentiou and the immortal souls of the Greeks of the past,

He took flames from the mighty soul of Dighenis,
eager to partake of his legendary contribution
that has become our own sap-filled force
and fortified our souls into steel.⁹²

It is also interesting to consider that the identity of the figure Dighenis is left ambiguous; it is not clear whether the poet means the mythological hero of the past or if he is in fact referring to George Grivas.⁹³ Maybe it does not matter, as within this nationalistic discourse, through their symbolic purpose, they have come to mean one and the same thing.

The poet continues with,

Under Dighenis' wide wingspan he learned ...
and from the flowing fires of Macheras to cerulean blue skies he
soared.⁹⁴

Here Dighenis has been described as having mythical characteristics, with wide protective wings, like an angel or a mythical being. The image continues with Afxentiou being infused with power from the fire soaring to the sky. It is interesting also that the poet has chosen to use the adjective “cerulean,” a word originating from

⁹¹ Rouse, Ed ‘Cyprus 1954-1959’ *Psywarrior psychological operations*,
<http://www.psywarrior.com/cyprus.html>

⁹² Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture, *A Poetry and Prose Anthology of the 1955-59 Liberation Struggle* (Nicosia: Council of the Historical Memory of Eoka 1955-59, 2003)

⁹³ Grivas often used the code name Dighenis.

⁹⁴ Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture, *A Poetry and Prose Anthology of the 1955-59 Liberation Struggle* (Nicosia: Council of the Historical Memory of Eoka 1955-59, 2003)

Latin, *Caeruleus*, denoting various shades of blue/green, derived from *caelulum*, meaning ‘heaven’. The tautology here, whether deliberate or not, indicates first a strong use of hyperbole and perhaps also an intention to give the line a divine, heavenly quality.

The image of Afxentiou soaring to the sky brings to mind another version of the Prometheus myth where he steals the fire from the sun.

Further on the poet writes,

Fire became the ambrosia of his glory
that made the body of Patroclos imperishable,
the flames of Demeter that grant immortality,
And so he did not die, nor will he ever.⁹⁵

The mythological past has made Afxentiou immortal. The pronoun “he” in this line appears to have come to mean the message of Hellenism: Afxentiou has, in death, become one of the mythological heroes, one of the legendary heroes, and in addition he now carries the message, the flame of Hellenism. Therefore “he” will not die. Thus the message is so powerful that it can grant humans immortality, it can turn man to god, it can turn reality to myth and myth to reality.

Although Demeter is best known as a goddess of harvest and nurture, the poet alludes to the goddess’s ability to turn a human into a god through a fire ritual. Afxentiou, in this instance, has turned into the baby boy that the disguised Demeter is caring for and nourishing with “ambrosia”,⁹⁶

At nights she would conceal him within the *menos* of fire, as if he were
a smouldering log, and his *philo*i parents were kept unaware. But they

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

marvelled at how full in bloom he came to be, and to look at him was
 like looking at the gods.⁹⁷

Now Demeter would have made him ageless and immortal.”⁹⁸ The poet’s allusion to
 the Goddess and her ability to bring immortal life through fire suggests again the
 connection to ancient Greece: The symbol of the fire has here come to bear the power
 of immortality.

It is also significant that this Goddess, searching desperately for her beloved
 daughter Persephone, carries a torch⁹⁹ “So, then, said Hecate. And the daughter of rich-
 haired Rhea answered her not, but sped swiftly with her, holding flaming torches in her
 hands. So they came to Helios, who is watchman of both gods and men.”¹⁰⁰

Here Demeter, torch blazing in hand, approaches Helios, the sun, and asks for
 help. This myth perhaps brings a new meaning to the symbol of the flame. The
 Orthodox Cypriots carry the torch searching for freedom or, even, for their mother. In
 this case it is the lost child searching for the mother. And as Demeter turns to Helios for
 help, so does the Orthodox Cypriot turn to God.¹⁰¹ It is interesting also that Demeter
 strives to bring her daughter from Hades, from the underworld, as the Orthodox
 Cypriots fought to bring Cyprus out of darkness, referring back again to the reaction to
 modernity and British administration where the Cypriots had to find new structures of

⁹⁷ Gregory, Nagy ‘Notes to the Homeric Hymn to Demeter’ *Diotima Materials for the study of women and gender in the ancient world*, 1999 http://www.stoa.org/diotima/anthology/demeter_notes.shtml#fn25 [December 2008]

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Hugh, Evelyn-White G. ‘Hymn to Demeter’ *Internet scared Text Archive* 1914, Loeb Classical Library <http://www.sacred-texts.com/cla/demeter.htm> [December 2008]

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ The message of nationalism was usually communicated during church sermons; the priests played a huge role in spreading nationalistic ideals to the masses. Grivas used religion to propose that Cyprus had a divine right to be Greek. In his journal, when describing the battle against the British, Grivas refers to the blessing given to him by the Abbot of Kykko, perhaps echoing a blessing that he himself thought he had from God. Stepping into battle he says “armed only with faith,” as though divinity was supporting him, as though religion was completely on his side and was his only true weapon.

authority. The torch could now hold a whole new meaning: one of searching, of longing and of shedding light into darkness. Markides writes,

His sacrifice a milestone, a sign of coming joy
a symbol of awakening, torch and teaching.¹⁰²

The poet is explicit about the torch being a guide and a symbol of truth. He later speaks of the perished heroes and explains that because of the sacrifice their presence has become a “fiery guide.”¹⁰³

The poet Papachrysostomou, also an EOKA fighter, uses the symbol of the torch in his poem *Eoka's Hymn*, an allusion to the Homeric hymn,

Torch from the Marathon's fire in hand
Dighenis marches on.¹⁰⁴

These words are repeated twice within the poem and it is clear that the poet writes of the torch as a flame with a message, a message from the past, from the gods and demi-gods that carried the flame, perhaps from Prometheus himself bringing good to mankind. It is significant therefore that this line continues,

And EOKA, a legend that calls us
onward, children, on the road to honour.¹⁰⁵

Here it appears that the legends of the past with “Marathon's fire in hand,” are calling the people of the present to run upon the “road of honour.”¹⁰⁶ Ancient Greece is leading

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture, *A Poetry and Prose Anthology of the 1955-59 Liberation Struggle* (Nicosia: Council of the Historical Memory of Eoka 1955-59, 2003) p52

¹⁰⁴ Ibid p71

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

EOKA's political ordeal for "freedom," even the title itself has a direct connection to Homer. In this case the torch has been passed from the hand of the past to the present.

Within the poems "fire" is passed to the people. In Lykavgis' poem *Remembrance of Eras and of Heroes*, he describes the fire of the struggle raging on the mountains, "And many flames burned in the souls of the people, and many flames burned on the mountains, and in the towns, and in the villages."¹⁰⁷ Here we witness the spreading of this fire as though it comes from the souls of the people, "And the people milled rage and freedom inside their hearts."¹⁰⁸ The poet goes on to describe this blossoming battle as, "a smile of fire upon the foreheads [of the people]."

The poem begins with the image of old Vrakas, white-bearded and hunched, he appears to be the epitome of old tales, of old stories. The word 'vrakas' itself also means a traditional Cypriot costume for men. The poet explains at first the "sadness in his beard they [the British] nail straight into his chest."¹⁰⁹ This old man carries the archetypal image of the sage and later the poet writes,

As they [the people] were raising grandpa-Vraka's fairytale
up in their arms
up to their lips
like a lightning bolt in daylight
as they were raising up their hearts
up in the rain and the blazing sun.¹¹⁰

In this case the stories are transformed into fire and are raised up like the flame. What also comes to mind is the image of people gathered round a fire telling stories that will

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid p45

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid p46

be passed from generation to generation, as well as the blazing sun that could be an allusion to the myth of Prometheus.

Fanos Nathaniel in his poem *The Struggle* begins, “Dawn of April: chests are aflame.”¹¹¹ Significantly the poet continues,

Incomplete the lines of history wait,
an ageless race – seed of Hellenes.¹¹²

Here the flame represents a sense of determination as an ageless race faces the struggle. Significantly, according to the poem, the destiny of Cyprus is within this “line of history”.¹¹³ The fire of Hellene is burning in the present as are the face of “Akritas, Dighenis, Diakos, Koungia, Ravia, Kolokotronis.”¹¹⁴ Past heroes come together with present heroes, “Matsis, Samaras, Afxentiou.”¹¹⁵ Fanos writes:

The younglings are on fire; on fire are the boys.
they envy their (all heroes) glory; their rage soars
and a deep yearning sets their souls alive.¹¹⁶

In this case the young generation are aflame with all the symbols, convictions and ideals of pan-Hellenism. It is as though the fire (with everything that it represents) has been passed to them by an ancient hand.

Equally Hadjipanayi, in her poem *Those Children*, writes:

Those children
silent brave young men

¹¹¹ Ibid p67

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid p67

held fire in their hand
and lava in their hearts.¹¹⁷

The image of Prometheus holding the fire in his hand, bringing civilisation to mankind, comes to life once more. Once again these children wear the clothes of ancient mythological gods; the gods of the past are very much alive in the present.

The poet, in the latter half of the poem, writes,

A rock of light shines
in the palm of the hand
a thunderbolt underarm.¹¹⁸

Now the boys have been given the power and the thunderbolt of Zeus. Significantly she writes,

Those children,
angels of white and blue.¹¹⁹

Here the angels have actually been adorned with the colours of the Greek flag, declaring that the angels of God are also nationalistic and therefore suggesting the full support of God and religion. It begins to feel that all of these Gods and demi-gods are fighting in this battle along with the human beings of the present. The whole fight for freedom takes on a fantastical, mythological quality.

To summarise, the symbol of fire appears to have two representations: the first is the link to Western civilisation and the spreading of the Hellenic heritage, the second

¹¹⁷ Ibid p31

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

is the anti-colonial revolt and emergence out of darkness, of finding new structures of authority and the new acquired sense of unity on the ground – that of being Greek.

However, as discussed, this “truth” appeared to emerge as a reaction to colonisation. The symbol of fire and its use in the works considered here, which were written during the anti-colonial struggle, indicates how this desire was passed through the community. It links with accounts of how, at the beginning of the twentieth century, men sat in cafes and framed the terms of an increasingly violent struggle for freedom, independence and national identity from which emerged the well-formulated, unquestionable nationalist aspirations.¹²⁰ Bryant highlights the importance of auralty at the turn of the century, “Indeed, even until the 1950s in Cyprus auralty continued to play an important role as a means of disseminating information.”¹²¹ The political ideals were spread through the community through public readings in coffee houses, schools and churches. Churches were particularly powerful in this respect due to the culture structures during the Ottoman Empire where each community centre was lead by their respective religious leaders, “oral dissemination of written information was certainly the norm, whether it was the announcements read in the sermons of church or mosque or the legal information distributed through the *muhtars*.”¹²²

¹²⁰ Bryant, Rebecca *Imagining the Modern, The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London and New York: I.B Tauris, 2004) p15

¹²¹ Ibid p35

¹²² Ibid p35

4.3 THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

Thus it can be seen that the Orthodox Cypriots had struggled to re-affirm their ancient Greek heritage after Ottoman rule. After their liberation from the Ottoman Empire, and as a response to modernity and new administration, they tried to reaffirm this same sense of Greek antiquity in order to claim a secure sense of identity and authority. The quest for both Greeks from the mainland and Orthodox Cypriots was to close the gap between modern and heroic Greece. Homeric Greece represented a time of intelligence, power, unity and heroism. The desire to close this gap in fact seemed to cloud a more real and solid sense of identity. According to the Orthodox Cypriot community, the anti-colonial revolt was not a fight between First World and Third World, between primitive and modern societies or races, but a fight between one imperial culture and another. They fought to gain not only their independence but also to join with Greece in order to confirm their heritage, cultural identity and their geographical place in the world of which they were certain. With the Ionian Islands,

The British could construct contrasting identities based on various familiar stereotypes and disassociated the Ionians from the ancient Greeks in order to deny them a place in the idealised ancient Greek world...Cyprus' case was different.¹²³

The script of the past, as described by Varnava, became an integral part of Orthodox Cypriot identity. The following examples illustrate this clearly. The poetry and journals produced at this time concerning the struggle are mono-focal. They are

¹²³ Varnava, Andrekos *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915*(England: Manchester University Press, 2009)p25

infused with mythological imagery. Perhaps using the word imagery does not convey strongly enough the way the myths and legends and religious figures are very much alive in these works. One can see examples of progonoplexia (ancestor obsession). In this light the literature becomes an abstract rendition of reality where past and present, Cypriot and Greek have been combined so much that they cannot be separated. The “Greek” Cypriots become adorned with the virtues and convictions of ancient-Greeks fighting for Hellenism; in this case myth becomes reality. The memoirs reveal how right-wing Orthodox Cypriots, supporting Grivas’ campaign, used myths and legends as a rationale and validation of their identity and a justification for extremism. Grivas himself turned into a “living legend” with qualities of heroism that mimicked those of the Greeks from the past. At this time the figures of mythology did not come clothed in a cloak of disguise, emerging symbolically within poetic verse, but were presented proudly with voices and a universal agenda.

Grivas often alludes to myths and legends but is normally forthright about the connection and the need for Cypriots to be worthy of the heroes of the past. There seems to be a real urgency here to carry the Greek name or wear the blue and white stripes that represent so much heroism. Grivas often uses the insecurity about his supporter’s worthiness to create propaganda to aid his campaign,

Now I drew up my first revolutionary proclamation, calling on the people to throw off the English yoke and be worthy of the Greek heroes, the 300 of Leonidas and the fighters of 1821.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ Grivas, General George *The Memoirs of General Grivas* (London: Longmans, 1964) p32

Here Grivas refers to Leonidas, the King of Sparta who became a heroic legend during the famous Battle of Thermopylae 480 BC fighting against the Persians.

Throughout the duration of the struggle, Grivas, the undercover guerrilla, communicated with the public through propagandist leaflets distributed by the youth organisation ANE. It was Grivas' belief that he was placing youngsters onto the "path of honour, duty, prosperity and progress."¹²⁵ Children were used as the strongest weapon against the enemy, he says, "we showed the world at large that the whole of Cyprus, from the smallest schoolgirl to the archbishop himself, was in the battle with EOKA,"¹²⁶

Grivas made sure that the Greek flag was flown from the roofs of elementary schools and there were clashes between small children and armed troops. Much of the youth was completely enchanted by the stories and convictions of heroism that they themselves, in an attempt to live up to the "worthy" legendary heroes, joined the struggle full-heartedly. At the end of the leaflet Grivas pleads, "Greeks wherever you may be, hear our call: FORWARD ALL TOGETHER FOR THE FREEDOM OF OUR CYPRUS."¹²⁷ This statement clearly and immediately alludes to the oration of Isocrates calling for pan-Hellenism, followed by the actions of Alexander the Great who also (like Grivas) perhaps fought to bring this "abstract idealism into the field of action."¹²⁸

In the very opening paragraph of the leaflet Grivas says,
...with the help of all Hellenism ... we have taken up the struggle to
throw off the English yoke, our banners high, bearing the slogan which

¹²⁵ Ibid p35

¹²⁶ Grivas, General George *The Memoirs of General Grivas* (London: Longmans,, 1964)
p62

¹²⁷ Ibid p208

¹²⁸ Ibid p12

our ancestors have handed down to us as a holy trust –DEATH OR
VICTORY.¹²⁹

"Victory or Death" was the Greek motto in 1821 during the Greek War of Independence. Said writes of the mobilizing power of images and traditions and their fictional, and romantically coloured, fantastic quality.¹³⁰ In one leaflet George Grivas has affiliated this struggle with both ancient and Modern Greek legends, wars and heroes, but that carries the same message: of Greek independence and pan-Hellenism, they have a "fantastic quality." Grivas reinforces this by stating, "The fighters of 1821 are looking to us,"¹³¹ in this very line he brings the past to life so that the figures of the past live in the present; this fits into Said's statement in relation to how the past can be "reconstructed" and how this "powerfully shapes the present."¹³² For Grivas the fighters of 1821, who bravely led Greece to Independence against the Ottoman Empire, are very much still alive and acting from an idealistic height to which the Cypriots must aspire.

This feeling of nationalism and camaraderie to which Grivas so convincingly refers can be seen in the poetry of Rigas Feraios who, in the late eighteenth century, started a revolutionary movement to fight for the liberation of all Balkan nations. He was soon captured by the Ottomans and his death fueled nationalism and the idea of pan-Hellenism. The end of one of Feraios' poems reads,

Better one hour of free life,

¹²⁹ Ibid p208

¹³⁰ Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994) p17

¹³¹ Grivas, General George *The Memoirs of General Grivas* (Longmans, London, 1964)

p208

¹³² Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994) p2

Than forty years of slavery and prison!¹³³

Subsequently, Grivas himself became a living emblem of this Greek, pan-Hellenic, Alexandrian past. At the end of the leaflet he signs himself “The Leader, Dighenis.”¹³⁴ Grivas decided to use the code name Dighenis and soon he was known as such all over Cyprus. Even today, when asked about this man, the generation that saw their childhood through the 1950s struggle, are often under the misconception that Dighenis was his real name. What does this suggest? The demarcation line here between fact and fiction has been smudged, ironically, as it had been with the real “hero” Dighenis. In Montis’ novel *Closed Doors* (discussed further later) the protagonist says:

How could we have known ... that such a legendary name would not be grand enough for our new hero? How could we have known ... that the leader Dighenis would capture not only our young minds, but the imagination of the people throughout the world?¹³⁵

The real Dighenis was a hero who lived during the eighth century BC. The known facts of his life are few. It is true that he died at the age of thirty three during his military service and that he had fought against piracy. But this is almost all that is known about him. His mythological story, however, is far greater. Grivas says,

I was [at school] particularly fascinated by the legends of Dighenis Akritas, the half-mythical guardian of the frontiers of Alexander’s

¹³³ Clogg, Richard A *Concise History of Greece, Second Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) p29

¹³⁴ Grivas, General George *The Memoirs of General Grivas* (London: Longmans, 1964) p208

¹³⁵ Montis, Costas *Closed Doors* (Minnesota: A Nostos Book, 2004) p17

empire. Not far from Trikomo was a huge rock, which the village elders assured me had been hurled there by Dighenis.¹³⁶

Grivas speaks of how the British executed some of the prisoners who were part of his organisation and buried them in a small corner of the prison grounds so that Orthodox Cypriots would not be able to visit their graves and worship them. Grivas argues “for it is here where they later buried the great heroes of the struggle: Gregoris Afxentiou, Kyriakos Matsis and others.”¹³⁷ But the important thing here is how he describes how these fighters have become legends, legends that never die, legends whose portraits will one day hang in the living rooms of Greeks, legends who will look down in expectation at other fighters in future generations, fighting perhaps for the same cause. He says,

Their [the British] intention was to prevent the graves from becoming places of pilgrimage: instead they created a national shrine, and found their enemies were as dangerous in death as they were in life.¹³⁸

Equally Loizou in her novel, *The Cyprus Liberation Struggle Through the eyes of a Woman 1955-1959*, shows how the fighters’ graves became places of worship. She writes of an EOKA fighter, Marcos Drakos, who was also buried in the prison cemetery.

It appears that the British were afraid of Drakos even when he was dead because they imprisoned his dead body in the cemetery ...

¹³⁶ Grivas, General George *The Memoirs of General Grivas* (London: Longmans, 1964)

¹³⁷ Ibid p71

¹³⁸ Ibid.

Marcos, the great Eoka hero, was the first dead fighter to be imprisoned.¹³⁹

Further, she writes of another executed young hero Evagoras Pallikarides, “We knew that the young hero would go to the gallows as a brave Greek and would stand as a shining example to coming generations.”

This idea is also clearly depicted in Nathanael’s poem *The Struggle* with the line, “And the hero crossed into immortality.”¹⁴⁰ By fighting for this cause the men are transformed into beings with mythological characteristics. The Hellenic script has become very much part of present identity.

In his poem *To One Awaiting Death*, Costas Michaelides writes about an imprisoned EOKA fighter, he says, “through your face the centuries have spoken.”¹⁴¹ It is clear once again that the myths and legends of past centuries live and breathe within this current hero. The poet, describing the fighter’s execution by hanging, writes, “only vertigo unites you in brotherhood with the eagle’s wing.”¹⁴² Here it is suggested that through death the hero will become completely at one with past centuries. Perhaps Michaelides is referring here to the eagle that Zeus sent to feed on Prometheus’ liver as a punishment for stealing the fire. Prometheus performed a good deed for mankind and was punished for this just as the EOKA fighter apparently fought for mankind in the light of Hellenism and was thus punished through hanging.

Wings are obviously a symbol of freedom and victory and the wings of angels, both protecting and helping. The heroes of the Eoka struggle are described as mythical

¹³⁹ Seraphim-Loizou, Elenitsa *The Cyprus Liberation Struggle 1955-1959 Through the Eyes of a Woman E.O.K.A Area Commander* (Epiphaniou Publications) p197

¹⁴⁰ Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture, *A Poetry and Prose Anthology of the 1955-59 Liberation Struggle* (Nicosia: Council of the Historical Memory of Eoka 1955-59, 2003) p67

¹⁴¹ Ibid p59

¹⁴² Ibid.

beings. In Markides poem mentioned earlier, Dighenis has become a flying being, a demi-god with the ability to soar to the sky.

Under Dighenis' wide wingspan he learned ...
and from the flowing fires of Macheras to cerulean blue skies he soared.¹⁴³

Equally, Sofocles Lazarou in his poem *Angels of Freedom* writes of an EOKA hero,

above his lifeless body,
glowing
a sun
was the valiant warrior
the Greek angel of Freedom.¹⁴⁴

Here the man himself has, through fire, become both a warrior and an angel.

In Christos Mavris' poem *Memory of Gregoris Afxentiou*. Mavris writes,

A tall and lean rebel angel
took mercy upon him and
in the face of great danger
swooped into the blazing cave
to lend him his great wings.¹⁴⁵

In the context of the poem this stanza is written as though it is a description of a real event.

The rest of the poem is written in a matter-of-fact journalistic style,

It has been verified that they doused

¹⁴³ Ibid p51

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

the cave with gasoline
and set it alight
later presenting
to journalists
his partly-burnt body.¹⁴⁶

It is significant that Mavris was in fact a journalist. He writes in a factual and informative tone with the clear, blunt style of a newspaper article,

It is, of course, a fact of history
that the British surrounded
the cave in which he was hiding.¹⁴⁷

This tone serves to portray his voice as reliable. Thus when, in the latter half of the poem, he explains, with the same conviction and the same factual tone, how the angel swooped into the cage, it is relayed to the reader in the same light as the earlier, real events. The story of the angel takes on a realistic tone and therefore the ‘myth’ has become the same as the ‘real’.

Mavris plays with the idea of facts and reality. He even says,

his partly-burnt body
that lay tranquil
at the morgue
of Nicosia Hospital.

This offers the reader factual information about his death. The word tranquil immediately seeps in as a subjective description within the objective facts, for Mavris goes on to say, with his now ‘reliable’ voice,

¹⁴⁶ Ibid p53
¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

But I – an incurable romantic –
prefer to believe
that the soul of Gregoris
did not surrender to black death.¹⁴⁸

After the description of the angel swooping into the cave he writes,

And so, crowned by light, Afxentiou
took the road to the sky.¹⁴⁹

Here Afxentiou has turned into a mythical being. He has been crowned by the light of the angel and so rises like an angel, with a halo to the heavens. It is very significant that this latter part of the poem is told with the same conviction as the journalistic, factual opening.

The use of classical Greek mythology within the poems aids greatly in turning the EOKA heroes into demi-gods. This can also be seen in Androulla Neofytou-Mouzourou's poem *For the Immortal Dead of the 1955 Cypriot Epic*. The title is significant in itself, first the oxymoron "immortal dead"¹⁵⁰ brings to mind the idea of something supernatural or divine but at the same time reminds us of the very mortal men who fought and died. This evokes feelings: firstly in sympathy for the men who sacrificed their lives and secondly in awe of their immortality proceeding death. The word epic is also important in bringing to mind the idea of a traditional epic, whereby the hero embarks on an adventure. The poet uses the words "bravery" and "hero"¹⁵¹ in connection to these men within the poem. Mouzourou then writes,

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid p66

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

Like Apollo you rose and bravely threw yourself
in the dance of blood, holy rifle in hand.¹⁵²

It is immensely significant that Apollo was known for his victories against colonies in antiquity. It is also significant however that Apollo, within Greek mythology, has a double face: that of the protector and that of the destroyer, but this more complex view is avoided in the poem and instead, once again, we are presented with the stereotypical hero. Robert Graves writes of Apollo,

But Apollo was also the ghost of the sacred king who had eaten the
apple –the word Apollo may be derived from the root word abol,
'apple', rather than apollunai, 'destroy' which is the usual view.¹⁵³

There are two differing images of Apollo: in a positive heroic light he is described as the protector of herds and flock, "Apollo was tending a fine herd of cows,"¹⁵⁴ and as a fighter of colonists but, he is known, also, for wounding python with bows and arrows,¹⁵⁵ and he saved Leto from the violation of the giant Tityus. All these portray Apollo in a good light. On the other hand, Apollo killed Marsyas out of jealousy and anger. Apollo angered Zeus profusely by killing his Cyclopes in an act of revenge. This angry, resentful and vengeful side of the god is never addressed. As previously seen, even the mythological heroes are molded into stereotypes, into pure heroes, in order to heighten the sense of Greek nationalism.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Graves, Robert *The Greek Myths* (London: Penguin, 1992) p17

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid p21

It is interesting that Apollo is transformed after his punishment from Zeus. Robert Graves describes how, “having learned his lesson, he thereafter preached moderation in all things: the phrases ‘Know thyself!’ and ‘nothing in excess!’ will always on his lips.”¹⁵⁶ This humble and modest nature, the idea of everything in moderation and to know your true self, are words ignored by the Orthodox Cypriots who appeared to rely on the positive representation of the gods. The image of Apollo is used as an ideal merely to satisfy the convictions of “Greek” Cypriot identity.

Mouzourou continues her description of Apollo with, “Bound by fire to the Pancyprrian oath.”¹⁵⁷ She again uses the symbol of the fire and the message which it carries, the oath of continuing the fight for freedom and identity which began with Pan-Hellenism.

Demetri Evangelides’ poem *Cyprus 1955* depicts, once again, the way the heroes of the past are alive within the present. The short poem sets a scene beneath a brooding sky whereby past Greek heroes live in order to “seize freedom.”¹⁵⁸

Now that the heavy clouds
Cover the sky
And wild storms
Rage all around
A nation rises
To seize freedom
With the sword of Dighenis
And with the breath of Homer.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture, *A Poetry and Prose Anthology of the 1955-59 Liberation Struggle* (Nicosia: Council of the Historical Memory of Eoka 1955-59, 2003) p66

¹⁵⁸ Ibid p28

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

The Dighenis being referred to here could be either George Grivas or, considering the sword, could also be the half mythological hero of ancient Greece. The line “with the breath of Homer” is a powerful one as it immediately throws into this scene all of the heroes described in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. As Homer’s epic poems were created from a tradition of oral storytelling, it highlights again the idea of a message being passed from mouth to mouth or hand to hand as with the flame.

5 A PSYCHOLOGICAL VIEW OF ANTI-COLONIAL NATIONALISM

I have shown that Orthodox Cypriots, demanding self-determination in the 1950s, took the messages within classical Greek myths and legends to aid their convictions and reinforce their connection to mainland Greece. The narratives produced by the Orthodox Cypriot community affirm their Greek heritage, but also support ideological prejudices. By looking at this literature I want to explore the deeper psychological truth, manifested through the belief systems, that was triggered by the relationship between colonised and colonisers.

The use of Greek myth and symbolism is part of a conscious desire for the Orthodox Cypriots to remain connected to their 'Greekness'. By looking at the use of both archetypal imagery and covert meanings in Orthodox Cypriot literature it is possible to gain insight into the psychological political state of the Orthodox Cypriot community during and after times of turmoil, and also to see the underlying metaphorical implications within the conscious or unconscious use of symbols.

In *The Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious*, Jung discusses the concept of the collective unconscious, "which does not derive from personal experience and is not a personal acquisition but is inborn."¹⁶⁰

Jung describes the contents of the personal unconscious as "feeling-toned complexes," and the contents of the collective unconscious as "archetypes."¹⁶¹ The etymological origin of the word archetype is in Greek *archeon*, meaning ancient, and Jung suggests that archetypes are primordial types, "universal images that have existed

¹⁶⁰ Jung, C. G. *The Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious* (London: Routledge, 2006) p3

¹⁶¹ *Ibid* p4

from the beginning of time.”¹⁶² They are the expression of symbolic truths which are rooted in the structure of our psyche. In *Answer to Job*, Jung writes,

These processes are not accessible to physical perception but demonstrate their existence through the confessions of the psyche. The resultant statements are filtered through the medium of human consciousness: that is to say, they are given visible forms. As human beings, we need to symbolise our instincts, to put them into another form.¹⁶³

Furthermore, in *Symbols of Transformation* Jung suggests how these psychic truths are transformed into symbols and images.

The symbolical truth... which puts water in the place of the mother and spirit or fire in place of the father, frees the libido from the channel of incest tendency, offers it a new gradient, and canalizes it into a spiritual form.¹⁶⁴

He suggests that the root of the archetype is instinct. In fact, it is from instinctual processes that the symbol derives its libidinal power.¹⁶⁵ Jung writes,

¹⁶² Jung, C.G. *The Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious* (London: Routledge, 2006) p5

¹⁶³ Jung, C.G. *Answer to Job* (Princeton, New Jersey: Bollingen Series, Princeton University Press, 1973) p111

¹⁶⁴ Jung, C.G. *Symbols of Transformation* (Princeton, New Jersey: Bollingen Seies xx Princeton University Press, 1976) p226

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid* p228

We find that creative fantasy is continually engaged in producing analogies to instinctual processes in order to free the libido from sheer instinctuality by guiding it towards analogical ideas.¹⁶⁶

Following this analysis in the nationalistic literature that was so preoccupied with Enosis, an analogy of something deeper, something instinctual, can be found.

Jung explains that there can be a difference between the archetype and the historical formula which evolves from it. In myth and fairytale the formulae have “received a specific step [as they have] been handed down over long periods of time.”¹⁶⁷ They will be submitted to conscious elaboration. “The archetype is therefore unconscious content that is altered by becoming conscious and by being perceived.”¹⁶⁸ This indicates that the archetypes that appear in the literature are not like the immediate manifestations present in dreams but have already taken their form from consciousness. Even more than this, in relation to Cypriot nationalistic literature, they have been distorted by what Jung calls the “constellated archetypes.” It is this phenomenon that I will be looking for within this thesis.

Jung proposes that neurosis is not always personal but can also be a social phenomenon. He explains that “the archetype corresponding to the situation is activated, and as a result those explosive and dangerous forces hidden in the archetype come into action, frequently with unpredictable consequences.”¹⁶⁹ In this situation he argues, people can fall prey to any lunacy.

Jung defines the difference between the ego and the unconscious stating that the ego does not express the totality of the psyche,

¹⁶⁶ Ibid p226

¹⁶⁷ Jung, C.G. *The Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious* (London: Routledge, 2006) p5

¹⁶⁸ Ibid p5

¹⁶⁹ Ibid p47

It is on the contrary, evident that the whole must necessarily include not only consciousness but the illimitable field of unconscious occurrences as well and the ego can be no more than the centre of the field of consciousness.¹⁷⁰

The unconscious does not, however, have a centre; it is disorganised and chaotic. Jung writes of cases in which the unconscious takes over the role of the ego,

This tendency to autonomy (of the unconscious) shows itself above all in affective states, including those of normal people. When in a state of violent affect one says or does things which exceed the ordinary. Not much is needed: love and hate, joy and grief, are often enough to make the ego and the unconscious change places. Very strange ideas indeed can take possession of otherwise healthy people on such occasions. Groups, communities, and even whole nations can be seized in this way by psychic epidemics.¹⁷¹

I would argue that the group identity of the Orthodox Cypriot was dominated, for a while, by a disorganised unconscious.

In *Man and his Symbols*, Jung writes that it is “impossible to give an arbitrary (or universal) interpretation of any archetype. It must be explained in the manner indicated by the whole situation.”¹⁷² Archetypes are connected to the individual or the context by the “bridge of the emotions.”¹⁷³ The archetypes I will discuss must therefore

¹⁷⁰ Ibid p276

¹⁷¹ Jung, C.G. *The Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious* (London: Routledge, 2006) p278

¹⁷² Jung, C.G. *Man and His Symbols* (London: Pan Books, 1964) p87

¹⁷³ Ibid p89

be clearly established within the context of the situation and the history of this particular nation; it is important to take their numinosity into account, looking at the ways in which the archetypes considered are related to the events. Jung says, “Their numinosity is and remains a fact, and represents the *value* of an archetypal event.”¹⁷⁴

Varnava writes,

After Greece was created in May 1832 a nation needed scripting. The Romiee were not homogenous – language, culture and social norms were entangled with other linguistic and religious groups. The non-Hellenic needed extracting...to create a hybrid Helleno-Orthodox identity.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ Ibid p90

¹⁷⁵ Varnava, Andrekos *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915*(England: Manchester University Press, 2009) p163

5.1 THE MOTHER ARCHETYPE

Anti-colonial nationalism triggered collective thoughts and ideas about freedom and identity. Nationalism holds a promise, just as in Kwei Armah's novel *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born*,

We were ready here for big and beautiful things...the promise was so beautiful...Even those who were too young to understand it all knew that at last something good was being born.¹⁷⁶

Here the moment of independence in Ghana when a beautiful promise is fulfilled, is associated with rebirth and revelation. From a psychological point of view, the relationship between the colonised and the colonisers could trigger a collective, cultural reaction linked to regeneration and rebirth.

An archetype that was distorted and constellated by the Orthodox Cypriots is that of the mother, with its roots both in security and in rebirth. Jung states that “the prime object of unconscious desire is the mother,”¹⁷⁷ showing that many archetypal journeys and allegories are linked to the mother. Firstly, I will explore the concept of the mother archetype and some symbolic implications of it, according to Jung.

Jung writes of the archetypal mother as the original container of all life.¹⁷⁸ In this way the archetype may appear in various symbolic forms. The focus will initially be on the mother as the symbol of the city or the land which refers to “the libido that is

¹⁷⁶ Armah, Ayi Kwei *The Beautiful Ones are Not Yet Born* (London: Heinemann, 1981) P81

¹⁷⁷ Jung, C.G. *Symbols of Transformation* (Princeton, New Jersey: Bollingen Seies xx Princeton University Press, 1976) p306

¹⁷⁸ Jung, C.G. *Man and His Symbols* (London: Pan Books, 1964) p125

unconsciously attached to the mother-*imago*.¹⁷⁹ In my inquiry I will consider Greece as the *land*, the *mother* and the *container*.

It is interesting that Greece, in Orthodox unity, is the “motherland,” the more common western phrase being “fatherland” from the Greek *patri*. The use of this “motherland” immediately connects the land or city to a longing for the mother and defines it as a place, where through union, ultimate bliss can be attained. The belief that a land and freedom belong to a nation is widely held, as in the case of the Jewish, “All the land which thou seest to thee will I give it and to thy seed for ever,” (Genesis 13:15). Such texts offer certain nations a reason to believe that they have a divine right to the land. Jung says that “the City...that is promised to the Son, is the mother or mother-*imago*.”¹⁸⁰

This can be linked to Freud’s Oedipus complex where the son desires the mother. However, unlike Freud, Jung suggests that,

The basis of the “incestuous” desire is not [just] cohabitation, but...the strange idea of becoming born again, of returning to the parental shelter, and in entering into the mother in order to be reborn through her.¹⁸¹

Much of Jung’s writing related to the mother archetype is concerned with the incestuous instinct in terms of entering the mother and the idea of rebirth. Freud believed that, “symbol-formation [was] to be explained solely by prevention of the

¹⁷⁹ Ibid p125

¹⁸⁰ Ibid p217

¹⁸¹ Jung, C.G. *Symbols of Transformation* (Princeton, New Jersey: Bollingen Seies xx Princeton University Press, 1976) p225

primary incest tendency.”¹⁸² However, Jung argued that, “it is more a question of phenomena requiring a teleological explanation than of simple causalities.” He suggested that there is an “end” aim to the force of libido, a desire other than incest prohibition for symbol-formation. I will explore this in two ways. In the first, I will look at the infantile longing for the breast mother as a form of shelter and security, and, in the second, at the more genital level, where the son desires the mother and the analogy of his journey which would lead him into the mother in order to be reborn again. In both cases Greece is the symbol of this mother and Cyprus is the ego with teleological aims.

Before the literature is addressed, it is important to see how the mother archetype became activated in a neurotic way within the collective consciousness of the community. Jung writes,

When a situation occurs which corresponds to a given archetype, that archetype becomes activated and a compulsiveness appears, which, like an instinctual drive, gains its way against all reason and will, or else produces a conflict of pathological dimensions, that is to say, a neurosis.¹⁸³

Jung indicates that this neurosis affects the world in such a devastating way because it can involve not only a few unbalanced individuals but many millions of people.

Varnava explains how after May 1832,

¹⁸² Ibid p223

¹⁸³ Jung, C.G. *The Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious* (London: Routledge, 2006) p48

Greek governments attached to the programme the policy to establish a Greater Greece – the ‘Great Idea’. Hellenised orthodox Christians included Cyprus within the topological dream of Hellenism. Nationalists in Greece thought the British occupation postponed *enosis* with the ‘mother country’...by 1880 there were 600 Greek nationals in Cyprus. Hellenised non-Cypriots, mostly from the Ionian islands...had settled in Larnaca and Limassol during the nineteenth century and now began to disseminate the ‘dream nation’¹⁸⁴

In the following example, it can be seen that the archetype was activated because in the face of adversity, the mother was a safe link to the past, “a shelter,” a concept which created a division between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots long before the invasion of 1974 that divided the island into North and South. Captain C. W. J Orr in *Cyprus Under British Rule*, an account of British administration and the conditions in which Cyprus was occupied, describes the Hellenic ideal and its vast importance within the community up to the year 1918. He writes,

There is a Greek word which figures largely ... it is to be heard in the Greek Orthodox churches, in the sermons preached on the occasion of each national festival: clubs endeavour to maintain members, and newspapers subscribers by adopting the word as their official designation: and it is to be found in practically every one of the many Memorials which have been submitted from time to time by the

¹⁸⁴ Varnava, Andrekos *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915*(England: Manchester University Press, 2009) p163

leaders of the Greek community in Cyprus either to the local or to the Imperial government. The word in question is ENOSIS.¹⁸⁵

C. W. J Orr's description of the Orthodox Cypriots' desire for Enosis indicates the grandiosity of the idea and the way it existed throughout the community, uniting the Greek population. The constellation of the mother archetype had begun. The archetype had been distorted not only by being made conscious but also by desire and fear. Enosis could be the neurotic need of a nation to return to the mother's womb. Jung writes,

The way to this goal lies through incest, i.e., the necessity of finding some way into the mother's body. One of the simplest ways would be to impregnate the mother and beget oneself in identical form all over again. But here the incest prohibition intervenes.¹⁸⁶

Jung suggests that the libido is canalized into new forms through myth, analogies and symbolism. In direct relation to the word *Enosis*, this suggests that the nationalistic ideal could be analogous to the desire to re-enter the mother and be born again. Here, the longing for the mother as a safe "shelter" is represented clearly.

C. W. J Orr shows the correspondence between the Legislative Council and Winston Churchill in 1908; the Legislative Council proclaims:

The Cypriot people has solemnly declared its glorious descent and strong national aspirations ... We confidently expect the realization of

¹⁸⁵ Orr, Captain C. W. J. *Cyprus under British Rule* (London: Robert Scott, Roxburghe House, 1918) p160

¹⁸⁶ Jung, C.G. *Symbols of Transformation* (Princeton, New Jersey: Bollingen Seies xx Princeton University Press, 1976) p224

this desire as soon as possible from the magnanimous English nation, which, continuing its liberation traditions, as formerly in the Ionian Islands ... and attracting the eternal gratitude not only of the people of Cyprus, but of all Hellenism all over the world, will restore this island to whom it belongs, viz: to the beloved Mother Greece, in the bosom of which only will it enjoy the blessings of liberty.¹⁸⁷

In this description, we see the mother archetype blossoming as a constellation within the Orthodox Cypriot community. Greece is personified and has become a mother with a breast: the word “bosom,” powerfully depicts the idea that the land of Greece has been represented as the mother. The word “restored” is also interesting to consider because Cyprus has never belonged legally to Greece. Yet there is a strong sense of returning to the mother, perhaps even re-entering the mother, in this sense the belief is that the Orthodox Cypriots will enjoy the “blessings of liberty”. These final words strongly suggest a sense of exaltation and reiterate the fact that this ideal could be a psychological representation of an internal instinct of cohabitation and rebirth.

The notion of Mother Greece and the image of the breast and the safety and security of Greece’s motherly arms became a prevailing and prominent concept within the community and within the literature. Interestingly, Irinoula Economidou Michaelidou in her poem *First Day of April*, writes:

And mother Hellas looks over
Her children with care
Waiting to hold them tight
In her loving arms.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ Orr, Captain C. W. J. *Cyprus Under British Rule* (London: Robert Scott, Roxburghe House 1918)p161

¹⁸⁸ Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture, *A Poetry and Prose Anthology of the 1955-59 Liberation Struggle* (Nicosia: Council of the Historical Memory of Eoka 1955-59, 2003) p 63

Greece has been personified: the land has become a warm and nurturing mother. Earlier in the poem, she refers to Greece as “Sweet motherland.”

Additionally, in a poem by Christodoulos Papachrysostomou that was written while he was held in the Pyla Detention camp in 1958, the poet writes, “The milk of my breast was worth it [the fight].”¹⁸⁹ The land in these examples is compared to the breast with sweet, nurturing milk and the mother with loving arms. There is a sense that the mother is waiting for the child to return to her. In *First day of April* she waits to hold the child, in Papachrysostomou’s poem, the implication is that the child has fought its way back to the mother.

Jung’s description of a neurosis that can develop in a child can also be related to this desire for shelter and security. He states,

Instead of [the child] adapting itself, as is necessary, to its new surroundings, the libido of the child regresses to the sheltering ease of the mother’s arms and fails to keep pace with the passing of time.¹⁹⁰

In the following two poems, the writers express both a desire for cohabitation of the land as a symbol of the mother, and the desire for rebirth. This can be seen in Yiorhos Petousis poem *Kyriacos Matsis* about a freedom fighter that died. At first Petousis speaks directly to the deceased, creating a morbid tone to the poem,

How sadly your gaze peers at me
Through time!¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture, *A Poetry and Prose Anthology of the 1955-59 Liberation Struggle* (Nicosia: Council of the Historical Memory of Eoka 1955-59, 2003) P 73

¹⁹⁰ Jung, C.G. *Symbols of Transformation* (Princeton, New Jersey: Bollingen Seies xx Princeton University Press, 1976) p307

But then the tone changes, moving towards a crescendo “together we were raised – do you remember? By that revolution’s song...”¹⁹² The song then becomes “the torn body of that eagle”¹⁹³ that carried them. What is interesting is how the following lines describe the eagle’s need for freedom, explaining the cause of its torn body. The eagle was,

In the belly of Pentathaktylo [mountain]
That obstinately fumbled to write
His last verses
With his severed hand
Finally able to forcefully pound
On the sealed
Door of freedom that, at long last,
Would open.¹⁹⁴

The eagle has entered the belly of the mountains and from there has forced itself out. The cave, according to Jung, is a mother-image, and in this sense could be a symbolic depiction of the womb. We see here that the aim was not the “shelter of the mountain” (or the womb) but the idea of being born again – the sealed door of the dark cave-belly will open. This fight for “freedom” and “Enosis” has perhaps activated the mother-archetype in this way within the community. Or, one could see it the other way round – the mother-archetype could have been activated in the first place which affected the course of events.

¹⁹¹ Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture, *A Poetry and Prose Anthology of the 1955-59 Liberation Struggle* (Nicosia: Council of the Historical Memory of Eoka 1955-59, 2003) p97

¹⁹² Ibid p97

¹⁹³ Ibid p97

¹⁹⁴ Ibid p97

Equally, Nikos S Spanos' poem *Guerrilla Ambush by Night* depicts a similar notion. The mother is once again compared to the land whereby she can be impregnated and the Greek Cypriot son can be re-born. He refers to the land as "earth mother"¹⁹⁵ and "ancient cradle of our love."¹⁹⁶

The next part of the poem describes the impregnation,

A secret fire consumes your belly
a fire that becomes flame, thunderbolt
and lightning.¹⁹⁷

Here the son's sperm, represented through the fire and thunderbolt, has fertilised the earth and impregnated the mother. Although Jung says that fire can symbolise both the mother and the father, the thunderbolt is a definite phallic symbol because of the shape and the fact that it has a penetrating quality. To confirm this analogy further, the poet, very literally writes,

fertile sperm in the belly
of a woman
...pulse of a new life
expectation of a new pregnancy
of a new birth.¹⁹⁸

At the end of the poem Spanos writes,

Our souls stay awake
In a sleepless ambush

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

battling the great night
until the great dawn can rise.¹⁹⁹

Just like the eagle in the previous poem, there is a sense of pounding at the door of the mother's womb, of needing to be re-born. In the former poem, the eagle finds an opening in the cave. In the latter poem, rebirth is represented by the sunrise. In both poems there is the desire to come out of the darkness. Additionally, the way that the stanzas end with an escape out of a dark cave or a sunrise, gives this light a sense of continuity.

Jung writes of the desire for rebirth found in myth as, "the longing to attain rebirth through a return to the womb, and to become immortal like the sun."²⁰⁰ In this sense the sun is a mother-symbol, it bears new life that rises out of darkness. This can be related directly back to C. W. J Orr's quotation.²⁰¹ Orr described the Orthodox Cypriots' difficulties in coping with British administration, then of their desire to return to Greece, then of the blessings of liberty. This seems to follow a cycle: that of suffering, returning to the womb, followed by rebirth that has an internal quality to it. In a general way, the words *Enosis* and *freedom* themselves depict this idea of impregnation and rebirth, *Enosis* meaning *joining* and suggesting *entering*; and *freedom* being depicted in the poems as a birth where there is a new dawn or new hope.

The mother can also appear as water. Jung writes how "water can appear in place of the mother" as this is where life begins. In Lazarou Sofocles' poem *The Angels of Freedom*, he writes,

There was spring

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Jung, C.G. *Symbols of Transformation* (Princeton, New Jersey: Bollingen Seies xx Princeton University Press, 1976) p212

²⁰¹ Orr, Captain C. W. J. *Cyprus under British Rule* (London: Robert Scott, Roxburghe House, 1918) p161

holy water
that ran beyond the forest of the heart
deep into the bosom of the ages
you do know it
for it will quench your thirst
and guide us
even if now you pretend otherwise.²⁰²

In this stanza, water is presented as a guide that comes from the beginning of time, “the bosom of the ages”, which can be related to *Genesis*. The etymology of the word “Genesis” is from Greek meaning “birth.” In this case it is leading the Orthodox Cypriots to the “bosom” or the womb of the mother, where their thirst will be “quenched.” In the Bible water is linked to reaching or finding eternal life.

But whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never
thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water
springing up into everlasting life. (John 4:14)

Water will create rebirth as the person will “spring up,” into a new life. Jung writes that,

The projection of the mother-imago upon water endows the latter with
a number of numinous or magical qualities.²⁰³

²⁰² Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture, *A Poetry and Prose Anthology of the 1955-59 Liberation Struggle* (Nicosia: Council of the Historical Memory of Eoka 1955-59, 2003)

²⁰³ Jung, C.G. *Symbols of Transformation* (Princeton, New Jersey: Bollingen Series xx Princeton University Press, 1976) p219

In both the Bible and the poem above, the mother and water images have properties which transcend time. Jung proceeds to write,

In dreams and fantasies the sea or a large expanse of water signifies the unconscious. The maternal aspect of water coincides with the nature of the unconscious, because the latter (particularly in men) can be regarded as the mother matrix of consciousness.²⁰⁴

This indicates that the mother and the idea of the unconscious can be linked. In relation to *Angels of Freedom* there is a suggestion that the ego is travelling backwards to a sense of wholeness.

I have so far analysed the positive portrayal of the mother in this literature, the nourishing, life-giving, protective mother. Jung writes that “In Babylon the impure maid was cast out...in order that the mother-bride might be the more securely attained in the heavenly Jerusalem.”²⁰⁵ I will show the division that occurred between good and bad mother. There is evidence within the literature that suggests that in the Orthodox Cypriot community the good mother became idealised and the bad, frustrating mother was split off. This darker part was not accepted as belonging to the mother and was projected onto the British and the Turks.

Jung explains that the mother has a dual nature, both good and a bad, the ambivalence of these attitudes being the “loving and terrible mother.”²⁰⁶ The mother that Orthodox Cypriots aspired to be reunited with was sweet and nurturing, who from a distance, “still looks out to sea and waits,”²⁰⁷ for her child to return to her arms.

²⁰⁴ Ibid p219

²⁰⁵ Ibid p217

²⁰⁶ Jung, C.G. *The Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious* (London: Routledge, 2006) p82

²⁰⁷ Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture, *A Poetry and Prose Anthology of the 1955-59 Liberation Struggle* (Nicosia: Council of the Historical Memory of Eoka 1955-59, 2003) p99

There is evidence that the Orthodox Cypriots not only wanted to become part of this idealised, heavenly mother but to enter her, to become merged with her, to be at one with her and to be bound to her. In Theodosios Pierides' poem *Cyprus is not Shipwrecked*, he describes a bridge that ties "Greece to Greece."²⁰⁸ Almost like an umbilical chord, tying mother with baby; Greece and Cyprus are one being with the same identity, they are like a mother and a baby who have not yet been separated. Jung quotes an hermetic text,

Being chained to the arms and breast of my mother, and to her
substance, I cause my substance to hold together and rest, and I
compose the invisible from the visible.²⁰⁹

However, when considered more closely, a darker, abandoning mother emerges. In the poem by Theodosios Pierides written in 1959, Cyprus is described as being the abandoned child in the sea,

Now you want to abandon
Cyprus alone on the open sea,
to turn her into a shipwreck
into sloping ship that looks to the deep, thirsty for eternal piece,
'wallowing in the moor of hopelessness,
in a dim light more terrible than darkness itself.²¹⁰

In this translation by Irena Joannides, one can clearly see Cyprus' lack of inner security and the feeling of utter annihilation without the mother figure to cling onto. The ship,

²⁰⁸ Ibid p99

²⁰⁹ Jung, C.G. *Symbols of Transformation* (Princeton, New Jersey: Bollingen Seies xx Princeton University Press, 1976) p307

²¹⁰ Ibid, p 99

which “is an analogy of the womb,”²¹¹ has been destroyed and Cyprus has been exposed to the dangers of the sea.

The sea can also appear as a mother symbol. Jung says that images such as ships, caves, caskets are like the sea “into which the sun sinks for rebirth.”²¹² The ancient Greeks “could say that ‘the sea is the symbol of generation.’” He explains that, “all living things rise, like the sun, from water.”²¹³ The ship and the sea therefore can both be the mother in this poem, which makes for an interesting interpretation. Perhaps what is revealed here is that what the Orthodox Cypriot community really feared, as they demanded union with Greece, was the abandoning and unacceptable side of the mother.

Pista Galazi in her poem *Moments of Adolescence* describes a land void of water.

Empty the reservoirs
empty the wells
the springs without water.
Wrinkled the tired mouth
that cries silently
for the outbreak of despair.²¹⁴

It is as though the child has lost its mother and its life-giving source. This emphasises the feeling of uncertainty and the need for security. “The symbolism of the mother is related to that of the earth and the sea, in the sense that all three are wombs and wells of

²¹¹ Jung, C.G. *Symbols of Transformation* (Princeton, New Jersey: Bollingen Series xx Princeton University Press, 1976) p211

²¹² Ibid p211

²¹³ Ibid p218

²¹⁴ Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture, *A Poetry and Prose Anthology of the 1955-59 Liberation Struggle* (Nicosia: Council of the Historical Memory of Eoka 1955-59, 2003) p29

life.”²¹⁵ Here the well is empty and the child cries. There is a feeling that the mother does not give life and love but has abandoned her child.

C. W. J Orr writes,

On what grounds is this claim of a section of the community based? Neither on historical nor geographical grounds would there seem to be any real connection between Cyprus and modern Greece. . . . Cyprus has belonged in the past to Egypt, to Persia, to Assyria, to Rome, to Venice, to Genoa, to the Ottoman Empire, but never to Greece.^{216 217}

The fact that Cyprus has never belonged legally to Greece seems to have been consciously forgotten by the community. It had been suppressed and what remained in the collective neurosis of the Orthodox Cypriot was a mother who was pure and loving and another mother who was empty and destroyed, who was not acknowledged as the mother at all, but was in fact seen as the “Anglo-Turk” enemy (this will be explored later).

In *Cyprus is not Shipwrecked* it emerges that Galazi is actually stating that it is the British who have abandoned Cyprus and killed its people. The narrator speaks to the British saying,

Now you want to shatter the crystal bridge

²¹⁵ Chevalier, Jean and Gheerbrant, Alain *The Penguin Dictionary of Symbols* (Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1996) p677

²¹⁶ Orr, Captain C. W. J. *Cyprus Under British Rule* (London: Robert Scott, Roxburghe House, 1918) p161-162

²¹⁷ Orr does, however, explain that on national grounds the Greek Cypriots had a stronger case and explains how despite the Cypriots’ blood being “mixed of all the nations which from time to time conquered and colonized it.” They have actually remained Greek-speaking and the Greek traditions have “obliterated” all others.

that tied Greece to Greece.²¹⁸

and

You want us to forget those you have hanged, the little girl
that you have killed on the streets of Famagusta.²¹⁹

While the British are portrayed as murderers and betrayers, Greece remains a pure, safe, unspoilt mother. Rather than facing a bad, abandoning mother, an identity that is not pure and full of uncertainties, there is an enemy that shatters the bridge, the tie, the umbilical cord between Cyprus and Greece.

The various facets of the mother can be seen within the nineteenth century poem concerned with identity. Vassillis Michaelides wrote this poem at the end of the nineteenth century, during Cyprus' transition between the Ottoman and British Empire. It appears that his portrayal of past events may have been affected by the political views at the time of writing. In Vassillis Michaelides' poem, *The woman of Chios* (1821),²²⁰ the mother appears in the form of an old beggar woman who is both the anchor of warmth and security, and also the arbitrator between the woman of Chios' two identities: the Turkish and the Greek. The mother in the poem is there to console the woman and lead her back to her origins, or back to the place of birth, in this case the Greek Orthodox church, where she will rediscover God.

²¹⁸ Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture, *A Poetry and Prose Anthology of the 1955-59 Liberation Struggle* (Nicosia: Council of the Historical Memory of Eoka 1955-59, 2003) p99

²¹⁹ Ibid p99

²²⁰ Michaelides, Vassilis 'The Woman of Chios', *Get to Know Cyprus* Limassol 1821
[http://www.orc.gov.cy/orc/orc.nsf/39429bf0429729e1c2256a11005f3710/a78c0bbae4597543c2256ce8002873cc/\\$FILE/THE%20WOMAN%20OF%20CHIOS.pdf](http://www.orc.gov.cy/orc/orc.nsf/39429bf0429729e1c2256a11005f3710/a78c0bbae4597543c2256ce8002873cc/$FILE/THE%20WOMAN%20OF%20CHIOS.pdf) [May 2008]

The political backdrop of the poem is important as it is set in the early nineteenth century during the Ottoman rule of Cyprus. Michaelides portrays this as a time of great uncertainty for the Orthodox Cypriot community. In the mid sixteenth century the Turks created a policy of transplantation whereby Muslim Turks who spoke a different language and practised a different religion were brought into Cyprus to help keep the Cypriot Orthodox majority under control. A historical account, written by Dr. Stavros Pantelli, a member of the Orthodox Cypriot community, claims that many families suffered financial losses due to high taxes, sometimes enslavement and there are also accounts of massacre.²²¹ During this time some Orthodox Cypriots decided to adopt Islam “in order to enjoy greater quiet.”²²² These Cypriots were called renegades, chryptochristians or linobambakoi.^{223/224} It is on this that the poem is based.

Although unclear at the start of the poem, the woman of Chios is a chryptochristian, chrytpo deriving from the Greek word meaning “to hide.” In the case of the poem, the protagonist, Helene, has become a Turkish woman and has been hiding her true identity.

Firstly, the poet’s wavering and unstable use of iambic pentameter plunges the reader into a rhythm which is unsettling and the irregular rhyming pattern set in a strict ten line stanza structure, begs the expectation of a rhyme where there is none creating a sense of further unease. The heroic couplet at the end of each stanza re-establishes the rhythm and reinforces the reader’s expectation of the proceeding stanza by setting the

²²¹ Pantelli, Dr. Stavros *The History of Modern Cyprus* (England: Topline Publishing, 2005)

²²² Ibid, p58

²²³ Ibid, p58

²²⁴ Meaning, linen cottoners.

strong rhyme “when people hid inside their homes each night/from the fall of dusk till the break of light.”²²⁵

The poem constantly drifts in and out of a song-like rhythm not allowing the reader to become fully integrated into the fairy-tale, lullaby element but instead to be consistently aware of its inconsistency. This sense of uncertainty and unease is reinforced in the opening lines and the setting of the poem,

in the days where bishops were beheaded
in these days of continual sorrow...²²⁶

It is during this time of “bloodshed and turmoil”²²⁷ that the beggar woman appears. At this stage she is disguised as the witch, or the antithesis of the ideal image of womanhood. The old beggar woman at this point can be seen as the dark force of the unconscious Jung states, “On the negative side the mother archetype may connote anything secret, hidden; dark.”²²⁸ She exists in the poem as a detestable creature until the Turkish woman is able to welcome her into her home and therefore bring the darkness into the light, or her unconscious fears into consciousness. She arrives at the foot of a doorway and pleads in a “hoarse voice.”²²⁹ In contrast the Turkish woman looks down at her through a peephole “like an angel.”²³⁰ The peephole can be seen as the opening and the possibility of seeing into the unconscious.

²²⁵Michaelides, Vassilis ‘The Woman of Chios’, *Get to Know Cyprus* Limassol 1821
[http://www.orc.gov.cy/orc/orc.nsf/39429bf0429729e1c2256a11005f3710/a78c0bbae4597543c2256ce8002873cc/\\$FILE/THE%20WOMAN%20OF%20CHIOS.pdf](http://www.orc.gov.cy/orc/orc.nsf/39429bf0429729e1c2256a11005f3710/a78c0bbae4597543c2256ce8002873cc/$FILE/THE%20WOMAN%20OF%20CHIOS.pdf) [May 2008]

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid.

The old beggar woman at first appears to be a reinforcement of Christianity at a time when “bishops were beheaded.”²³¹ Outside the door of the house she pleads in the name of, “Christ, our Lord.” It is significant in this last line of the stanza that the comma was placed before the pronoun, thus giving it emphasis. It is interesting also that the Turks here are represented as the Herod figure, “the extreme symbol of the misgoverning, tenacious ego,”²³² that has brought this society to the “nadir of spiritual abasement.”²³³ The Turkish lady reinforces this while recounting the massacre at Chios to the old woman. Again, one can see the split between good mother and bad mother.

On the other hand, the beggar woman arrives, homeless and therefore unconnected, she maintains herself “undefiled of the fashionable errors of her generation,”²³⁴ she arrives as the missionary or the womb of redemption. Michaelides reinforces this mother image throughout the poem,

Then, like a mother, the old woman
Began to comfort her and asked:
“What troubles you my grieving daughter?”²³⁵

She appears as the mother who will bring the world back to the womb of Christianity, she is the one that will reunite the Turkish woman with her original and true form. The Turkish woman pleads,

Please, auntie, try as hard to save me
As you would to build a church.²³⁶

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Campbell, Joseph *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (Great Britain: Fontana Press, 1993) p308

²³³ Ibid, p308

²³⁴ Ibid, p308

²³⁵ Michaelides, Vassilis ‘The Woman of Chios’, *Get to Know Cyprus* Limassol 1821

[http://www.orc.gov.cy/orc/orc.nsf/39429bf0429729e1c2256a11005f3710/a78c0bbae4597543c2256ce8002873cc/\\$FILE/THE%20WOMAN%20OF%20CHIOS.pdf](http://www.orc.gov.cy/orc/orc.nsf/39429bf0429729e1c2256a11005f3710/a78c0bbae4597543c2256ce8002873cc/$FILE/THE%20WOMAN%20OF%20CHIOS.pdf) [May 2008]

suggesting that saving the lost soul of this woman is analogous to saving Christianity.

This links to the beginning of this chapter where water is an analogy of the mother and the “bosom of the ages”. There seems to exist an ideal image of wholeness and peace. In this way the symbol of the mother can be interpreted as the need to return to the Original state of wholeness²³⁷ which is seen as a regressive movement.

Michaelides describes Helene as a lamb during her confession to the old beggar,

Till, like a ewe lamb parched with thirst
she fell on the old woman’s breast and wept.²³⁸

In the *Old Testament* the lamb symbolized the children of Israel who belonged to “God’s flock, led to their feeding places by the shepherds.”²³⁹ The *Book of Revelation* uses the word lamb to denote Christ many times. Similarly, Helene’s identity had to be sacrificed; she had to live “this bitter life,”²⁴⁰ in order to return to god, like Christ. The mother in this case can also be seen as the shepherd leading the lamb. Here the woman who has lost her identity has been led back to God. In this sense the woman could represent Cyprus being led back to the arms of Greece. This is where the Cypriots feel that they should be.

According to Jungian theory, the Bible itself appears to teach that the birth of consciousness is a crime and “alienates man from God.”²⁴¹ In the literature, it has

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Edinger, Edward F. *Ego and Archetype* (Boston and London: Shambhala, 1992) p37

²³⁸ Michaelides, Vassilis ‘The Woman of Chios’, *Get to Know Cyprus* Limassol 1821

[http://www.orc.gov.cy/orc/orc.nsf/39429bf0429729e1c2256a11005f3710/a78c0bbae4597543c2256ce8002873cc/\\$FILE/THE%20WOMAN%20OF%20CHIOS.pdf](http://www.orc.gov.cy/orc/orc.nsf/39429bf0429729e1c2256a11005f3710/a78c0bbae4597543c2256ce8002873cc/$FILE/THE%20WOMAN%20OF%20CHIOS.pdf) [May 2008]

²³⁹ Chevalier, Jean and Gheerbrant, Alain *The Penguin Dictionary of Symbols* (Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1996) p585

²⁴⁰ Michaelides, Vassilis ‘The Woman of Chios’, *Get to Know Cyprus* Limassol 1821

[http://www.orc.gov.cy/orc/orc.nsf/39429bf0429729e1c2256a11005f3710/a78c0bbae4597543c2256ce8002873cc/\\$FILE/THE%20WOMAN%20OF%20CHIOS.pdf](http://www.orc.gov.cy/orc/orc.nsf/39429bf0429729e1c2256a11005f3710/a78c0bbae4597543c2256ce8002873cc/$FILE/THE%20WOMAN%20OF%20CHIOS.pdf) [May 2008] p28

²⁴¹ Edinger, Edward. F. *Ego and Archetype* (Boton and London: Shambhala, 1992) p18

emerged that symbolically, God, the Mother, Christianity and Greek identity are part of the same entity and can be related to the idea of Original Wholeness.

Edinger writes about Jung's theory and how Original Wholeness and separation from it is expressed in the Bible in the Legend of the Fall. Jungian theory suggests that in paradise the ego and the self have not yet achieved separation. Original Wholeness is a state which, although blissful, is void of life, a state of non-consciousness. "The mandala-garden is an image of the Self, in this case representing the ego's original one with nature and deity. It is the initial, unconscious, animal state of being at one with one's self,"²⁴²

So what is wrong with this state? Edinger answers the question by stating that, "it is paradisaical because consciousness has not yet appeared and hence there is no conflict. The ego is contained in the womb of the self."²⁴³ He argues that the myth of Adam and Eve depicts the "Birth of consciousness as a crime" in fact as, "the original sin"²⁴⁴ Applied to Jungian concepts, the serpent, who tempts Adam and Eve to eat the apple from the Tree of Knowledge, is thought to bring man out of ignorance. The serpent is the symbol of emerging consciousness, the urge to self realisation and to individuation. "Eating the forbidden fruit marks the transition from the eternal state of unconscious oneness with the Self (the mindless, animal state) to real, conscious life in time and space."²⁴⁵ In the literature, Greece could be the idealised mother and paradise, the place where this kind of unity can be achieved. This suggests that the longing was not for a mother, but for a state of unconscious bliss; the state of the symbiotic relationship. Edinger writes, "The effect of this birth process is to alienate the ego from

²⁴² Ibid p17

²⁴³ Ibid p17

²⁴⁴ Ibid p18

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

its origins.”²⁴⁶ Just like Adam and Eve, “it now moves into a world of suffering, conflict and uncertainty.”²⁴⁷ The fight for Enosis and freedom could be an allegory for ego-development.

In Petousis' poem *Kyriacos Matsis* there is a sense that the eagle was imprisoned in the cave and was forcefully trying to get out. Jung suggests that the mother “...personifies in fact the whole unconscious.”²⁴⁸ Returning to the mother is a regressive movement, and if the regression is left undisturbed then the ego-personality will be subjected further back, to the prenatal realm of the “eternal feminine”²⁴⁹ and the controlling influence of the unconscious. In this way the libido needs to be prevented from getting stuck in the “material corporeality of the mother.”²⁵⁰

²⁴⁶ Ibid p18

²⁴⁷ Ibid p18

²⁴⁸ Jung, C.G. *Symbols of Transformation* (Princeton, New Jersey: Bollingen Series xx Princeton University Press, 1976) p330

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Ibid p331

5.2 THE HERO

We are accustomed to the notion of heroes in society. They are everywhere, in children's stories, in film, on the news, in Afghanistan, perhaps, fighting the war on terror. For others they are the suicide bombers. Every society has its own heroes, the safeguards, the ones that will lead them out of a problem or a disaster. For the Orthodox Cypriot these heroes would lead the anti-colonial revolt.

Jung describes the hero as the “finest of all symbols of the libido...the human figure.”²⁵¹ The hero is a personification of the evolving ego. *In Man and His Symbols* (a book edited by Jung) Dr Henderson explains that,

In a psychological sense the hero image is not to be regarded as identical with the ego proper. It is better described as the symbolic means by which the ego separates itself from the archetypes evoked by the parental images in early childhood.

The hero myth is symbolic of a transition in the mind. I will look at how the Orthodox Cypriot's fight for self-determination, as presented in this literature, can be seen as a symbolic representation of the hero's journey. Perhaps in our society, we have learnt to understand this transition of the mind as the “fight for freedom.”

Jung writes,

We read the myths of ancient Greeks or the folk stories of American Indians, but we fail to see any connection between them and our attitudes to the “heroes” or dramatic events of today. Yet the

²⁵¹Jung, C.G. *Symbols of Transformation* (Bollingen Series xx Princeton University Press, 1976) p171

connections are there. And the symbols that represent them have not lost their relevance for mankind.²⁵²

Dr Henderson writes that the,

[universal, hero] pattern has psychological meaning both for the individual, who is endeavouring to discover and assert his personality, and for a whole society, which has an equal need to establish its collective identity.²⁵³

Cyprus, at the time, was going through a period of insecurity, and the need to establish a collective identity was activated. As I have already stated, Jung writes that the goal of the hero is to first enter the mother's womb and then to be reborn,

The hero is a hero just because he sees resistance to the forbidden goal in all life's difficulties and yet fights the resistance with the whole-hearted yearning that paralyses and kills the ordinary man.²⁵⁴

Jung explains that in some cases this fight is with the father "who is the obstacle barring the way to the goal."²⁵⁵ In other cases the fight is with the "devouring mother."²⁵⁶ I will consider both of these within the literature. This fight can be seen within this literature in many ways. When the literature is examined it seems to structurally follow a universal pattern. Dr. Henderson writes,

²⁵² Jung, C.G. *Man and His Symbols* (London: Pan Books, 1964) p97

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Jung, C.G. *Symbols of Transformation* (Princeton, New Jersey: Bollingen Series xx Princeton University Press, 1976) p331

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

Over and over again one hears a tale describing a hero's miraculous but humble birth, his early proof of superhuman strength, his rapid rise to prominence or power, his triumphant struggle with the forces of evil, his fallibility to the sin of pride (hybris) and his fall through betrayal or a "heroic" sacrifice that ends with his death.²⁵⁷

I will consider the psychological meaning behind the actions of the guerrilla fighters of Cyprus during colonial rule.²⁵⁸

In direct relation to Jung's theory regarding the hero's aim, Dr Henderson writes,

It would appear from my studies that the hero myth is the first stage in the differentiation of the psyche. I have suggested that it seems to go through a fourfold cycle by which the ego seeks to achieve its relative autonomy from the original condition of wholeness. Unless some degree of autonomy is achieved, the individual is unable to relate himself to his adult environment. But the hero myth does not ensure that this liberation will occur. It only shows how it is possible for it to occur so that it may achieve consciousness.²⁵⁹

Dr Henderson suggests that the cycles move from the most primitive to the most sophisticated concept of the hero. The first two cycles correspond to the earlier

²⁵⁷ Jung, C.G. *Man and His Symbols* (London: Pan Books, 1964) p101

²⁵⁸ It would be interesting to consider the psychological meaning behind the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and of 7/7. These questions are outside the scope of this thesis but I believe it would make an interesting study to analyse the events of our current world system, looking at what the "forces of evil" are for different communities and thinking about the final "heroic sacrifice" which seems to be dominating Western and Middle-Eastern society.

²⁵⁹ Jung, C.G. *Man and His Symbols* (Pan Books, London, 1964) p210

and less developed periods of life. The first is the Trickster figure “whose physical appetites dominate his behaviours,” the second is the Hare which has not “yet attained mature human stature.”²⁶⁰ I will look at the significance of the literature in relation to the last two cycles in the evolution of the hero myth, the third being “the red horn cycle” and the fourth, “the twin cycle.” Although they were named by Dr Radin in relation to a Winnebago tribe, they stand as an example of these distinct phases of development.

“The red horn is the third of a series of hero figures”;²⁶¹ “he meets the requirements of the archetypal hero by passing such tests as winning a race and by proving himself in battle.”²⁶² There seems to be this kind of mythical element to Grivas’ descriptions of battle; Grivas constantly speaks of boldness, impulsiveness, courage and tenacity. The libido’s aim at this stage is to find its way back to the mother’s womb, it represents the regressing libido. In this sense Greece could be the womb and the British “father” colonialists stand in the way. Grivas describes how the Eoka fighters were pursued for days, “after twelve days of continuous pursuit by several thousand troops; after we had repeatedly been encircled and twice clashed...”²⁶³ The father is standing in their way and making regression very difficult. There is something here of Leonidas 300, the small force that stopped the massive army of Xerxes from winning. There is further evidence of an incestuous form of desire for the mother, Georgios Markides’ poem Gregoris Afxentiou talks of a hero fighting to enter the mother body Greece with fire in his hand. He writes,

Just as Kimon fell, bringing our mother’s

²⁶⁰ Ibid p104

²⁶¹ Ibid p105

²⁶² Ibid p105

²⁶³ Grivas, General George *The Memoirs of General Grivas* (London: Longmans, 1964)

Gentle desire – full of tenderness – to us,
He also brings – on the soul’s immaterial wings –
The same desire to our mother, Hellas.²⁶⁴

Here the son’s desire is requited by the mother. The son has taken his father’s place. The fire is symbolic of the father as it is a libido-phallic-symbol connected to light, sex and fertility. With the fire the son desires to win the mother, to find his way to her. The incestuous implication is clear enough.

In Grivas’ Journal there is also a hint of the myth or fairytale in the way that the fighters imprisoned in a castle escape by knotting bed-sheets together,

They broke a hole in a bricked-up medieval gun port, hurling them again and again at the wall until the hole was big enough for a man to get through. Eight bed sheets were knotted together and thrown down a wall.²⁶⁵

The simplicity of the language here and the slight rhythmic element, “again and again,” indicates this sense of “whole-hearted yearning” whereby the hero, unlike ordinary man, does not give in or give up. Grivas describes in his journal a perilous journey in which he and his fighters had embarked on. He writes about long walks “12 day pursuits”, escapes from camps, battles or journeys where he or the other hero was either pursued by the enemy or on a type of dangerous adventure. This mirrors the “road of trials”²⁶⁶ described by Joseph Campbell where “he (the hero) must survive a succession

²⁶⁴ Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture, *A Poetry and Prose Anthology of the 1955-59 Liberation Struggle* (Nicosia: Council of the Historical Memory of Eoka 1955-59, 2003)

²⁶⁵ Ibid p45

²⁶⁶ Campbell, Joseph *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (Great Britain: Fontana Press, 1993) p97

of tests which represent life's difficulties and the father obstacle. "This is a favourite phase of myth-adventure. It has produced a world of literature of miraculous tests and ordeals."²⁶⁷ Grivas becomes the archetypal hero faced with tests and ordeals from which he must survive and claim victory, not just for himself but for the whole of the Greek nation and in the name of all of Greek history.

EOKA are described hiding in caves, mountains and castles; this suggests that these fighters, in the psychological allegory of the libido, have achieved the goal of re-entering the mother's womb. At other times the British colonialists, referred to as the "English yoke", become the devouring mother, the yoke-womb that entraps them. The mother therefore is felt as a force who "absorbs the regressing libido and keeps it for herself."²⁶⁸ This is evident in the propagandist leaflets. Below are the words written by Grivas,

Brother Cypriots. From the depth of the past centuries all those who glorified Greek history while preserving their freedom are looking to us: the warriors of Marathon, the warriors of Salamis, the 300 of Leonidas ... those fighters who showed us that liberation from the yoke of ruler is always won by bloodshed.²⁶⁹

In this way "he who sought rebirth finds only death."²⁷⁰ This is depicted through the idea of "bloodshed" as though somebody had to die. In the case of the fighters this death is projected onto the enemy.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Jung, C.G. *Symbols of Transformation* (Princeton, New Jersey: Bollingen Seies xx Princeton University Press, 1976) p331

²⁶⁹ Grivas, General George *The Memoirs of General Grivas* (London: Longmans, 1964) p208

²⁷⁰ Jung, C.G. *Symbols of Transformation* (Princeton, New Jersey: Bollingen Seies xx Princeton University Press, 1976) p331

Furthermore, in Grivas' journal he tells the story of Eoka fighters burned alive in these caves by British soldiers. In this sense the libido has been trapped by the devouring mother and has died.

An example of this is the guerrilla fighter, Gregoris Afxentiou, who died after the British, who pursued him and his group, poured gasoline into a cave and set it alight.²⁷¹ In the poems the factual circumstances of his death have been intermingled and merged with myth. A poem by Georgios Markides, a former mayor of Nicosia, describes the incident,

He took flames from the mighty soul of Dighenis,
eager to partake of his legendary contribution
that has become our own sap-filled force
and fortified our souls into steel.²⁷²

It is clear to see here the image of the flame being passed from one legendary hero to another which in turn turns their soul into steel. He is prepared to fight wholeheartedly. However, Afxentiou never comes out of the cave, he is killed there. The poet continues with,

Under Dighenis' wide wingspan he learned ...
and from the flowing fires of Macheras to cerulean blue skies he
soared.²⁷³

From this cave Afxentiou is reborn, but he is no longer human. The image of Afxentiou soaring to the sky brings to mind another version of the Prometheus myth where he apparently stole the fire from the sun.

²⁷¹ Ed Rouse, 'Cyprus 1954-1959' *Psywarrior psychological operations*,
<http://www.psywarrior.com/cyprus.html>

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Ibid.

Further on the poet writes,

Fire became the ambrosia of his glory
that made the body of Patroclus imperishable,
the flames of Demeter that grant immortality,
And so he did not die, nor will he ever.²⁷⁴

The mythological past has made Afxentiou immortal. The pronoun “he” in this line has come to mean the message of Hellenism: Afxentiou has, in death, become one of the mythological heroes, one of the legendary heroes, he now carries the message, the flame of Hellenism and therefore “he” will not die. The hero has therefore found the place of Original Wholeness, the place represented in the Bible by “everlasting life.” Hellenism seems here to symbolise, “the eternal feminine” the “immemorial world of archetypal possibilities where, “thronged round with images of all creation slumbers the divine child.”²⁷⁵

Hellenism is full of images of civilisation and, in this sense, could represent for the Orthodox Cypriots a “world of archetypal possibilities.”²⁷⁶ The womb of the mother is again a personification of the whole unconscious, Hellenism is the “realm of all mothers”²⁷⁷ and here will be experienced “mighty mysteries.”²⁷⁸ Jung says that,

It is these inherent possibilities of spiritual or symbolic life and of
progress that form the ultimate, though unconscious, goal of
regression.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Jung, C.G. *Symbols of Transformation* (Princeton, New Jersey: Bollingen Series xx Princeton University Press, 1976)

²⁷⁶ Ibid p330

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

This spiritual, symbolic place is that of the depth of the unconscious where the libido aims to reach. There is evidence within the poems that Hellenism can in fact be this deep realm of archetypes and mysteries, a pre-natal place of possibilities. This is depicted in the way that the Orthodox Cypriot are striving not just to join with Greece as *land* but also to be part of the Hellenic past.

5.3 THE SHADOW

The Greek historian Plutarch describes polarisation between East and West in relation to Alexander the Great,

He ordered all to consider the whole world as their nation, the virtuous people as their kin and the evil ones as strangers, and to regard virtue as proof of Hellenicity and evil as synonymous with barbarism 47,6)

Equally, in *The Histories* we see this conflict where Herodotus covers the cause of hostilities between Greeks and non-Greeks.²⁸⁰ Moreover, in *A Concise History of Greece* Clogg describes freedom fighter Adamantios Korais' role in incalculating a "sense of the past" during Greece's struggle for independence from Ottoman rule; he considered the Ottomans to have a double yoke: Turk and wild beast.²⁸¹

In Culture and Imperialism Said considers the issues of classical Greek antiquity and writes of the "pure (even purged) images we construct of a genealogically useful past, a past in which we exclude unwanted elements, vestiges, narratives"²⁸². He explains that although the Greeks themselves had a mixed past that consisted of Egyptian, Semitic and other cultures it was "redesigned as 'Aryan' during the nineteenth century, its Semitic and African roots either actively purged or hidden from view."²⁸³

According to Jung the shadow could represent the dark side of our personality, the repressed, unacceptable parts of our inner self. The demarcation line between East

²⁸⁰ Herodotus, *The Histories* (Oxford World's Classics, Oxford, 1998) p4

²⁸¹ Clogg, Richard A *Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992) p28

²⁸² Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism* (Vintage, London 1994) p16

²⁸³ *Ibid* p16

and West has existed for many thousands of years. Hero and barbarian have existed side by side. From this study alone one can see this division within the hostility between Greece and Persia, Greece and the Ottomans, Cyprus and the Turks and of course between the colonised (east) and the colonisers (west). In today's world this battle continues; the United States' clash with Muslim nations such as Iraq and Afghanistan is an ongoing war between the "heroes" of the west and the "terrorists" of the east.

What lies within these heroes is perhaps "*hybris*."²⁸⁴ Edinger writes that, "in original usage this term meant wanton violence or passion arising from pride."²⁸⁵ These elements of personality could belong to the individual and perhaps, collectively, to a nation with set beliefs. So what happens to these darker parts of the pure hero's personality? Are these sides compatible with fundamentalist views? Jung writes,

The shadow personifies everything that the subject refuses to acknowledge about himself and yet is always thrusting itself upon him directly or indirectly – for example interior traits of character and other incompatible tendencies.²⁸⁶

What was it that the Orthodox Cypriots could not face about themselves? And the Greeks, both ancient and modern, about themselves? Is it the Orient, the East? An identity which is mixed, perhaps multicultural, rather than "pure" and Aryan? The answer seems to lie in their reactions: extracting everything Hellenic and leaving behind, in some hidden place a mixed, multicultural past with eastern traditions, the

²⁸⁴ Edinger, Edward F. *Ego and Archetype* (Boston and London: Shambhala, 1992) p31

²⁸⁵ Ibid

²⁸⁶ Jung, C.G. *The Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious* (London: Routledge, 2006) p285

‘reality on the ground’ where Muslim and Christian were integrated and worked peacefully side by side.

The Cypriot Orthodox rejected reality for a fantastical, pure Aryan identity. From ancient Greece to the Turkish invasion of Cyprus the multicultural past represented inferiority and had to be hidden. Perhaps the east was the shadow of the Greeks, a part of their identity that they had to keep hidden.

The intense dichotomy between good and evil lives within the stories of the ancient Greek past, these tales and convictions that often began in the coffeehouses, spread a sense of pride and antagonism in the face of constant adversity and oppression. The young boys listened to their grandparents’ stories about how legendary Greek heroes fought the Ottomans and also heard their longing for freedom and their warm affinity to Greece. We can see evidence of this in the poetry, novels and journals of the 1950s.

In Andreas C Chrysafis’ novel *Andartes* (Guerrillas), the writer uses the image of young Orthodox Cypriot girls playing beneath a tree as a motif for territory and independence under the shade of Greece:

Under the shade of a timeless, gnarled and twisted olive tree, a group of six young girls with ribbons and wilted flowers in their hair were sprawled on the ground killing time playing their favourite games.²⁸⁷

Here the ancient tree, perhaps a symbol of ancient Greece, becomes a protection and carries a message which is “timeless.” It is significant, therefore, that these girls, presented as innocent with their bows and childhood games, begin to place stones around themselves. “They marked their territory by placing small rocks on the ground

²⁸⁷ Chrysafis, Andreas C. *Andartes* (Evandia Publishing (UK) LTD, Great Britain, 2005) p1

to show the boundaries of their pretend homes.”²⁸⁸ It is as though the need for protection and identity is known even in the minds of these young girls. Their childhood games are an allegory for a bigger problem. The tree, being both ancient and timeless, highlights the feeling that the past is very much alive in the present: the stories and heroes of ancient Greece do not die; they live in a timeless realm and shed protection from the harsh rays of the sun and intruders.

The story continues with the arrival of two stray dogs. The dogs are described as scavengers, one timid bitch and a black dog. In the story the dogs begin mating and the children throw rocks at them, “the children were determined to put a stop to the dogs’ behaviour and persisted for a long time with their attack against the enemy.”²⁸⁹ The dogs mating perhaps refers to the alliance between Turkey and Britain and the children throw rocks at this joint enemy just like Eoka throw rocks at their enemy. Grivas, in his journal, always refers to the Turkish and the British as the “Turks and Tories”²⁹⁰ the use of alliteration here emphasises their connection.

A poem by Michaelides, *9th of July 1821*, shows what lies on the other side of the sacred and the Godly, depicting the Turks as Godless, animalistic enemies. This poem was written in 1882, long after the events of 1821, by an Orthodox Cypriot poet during the transition between Ottoman and British rule. It is interesting to see how the events of the past are depicted through the eyes of someone writing during this period. The idea of the enemy is established through animal imagery and comparisons,

Neither a dog's bark, nor a cock's crow.
It was a muffled night, a wry night,
That seemed to be hiding from God's judgment.

²⁸⁸ Ibid p2

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Grivas, General George *The Memoirs of General Grivas* (London: Longmans, 1964)

On such a quiet night, the Turks shut themselves away
In the Sarayio holding a great council.²⁹¹

Here the dogs, the crow and the night are hiding from God's judgment, they have hidden away due to some sardonic feelings depicted though the word "wry". In this same way the Turks are also "hiding", significantly they have shut themselves away. Here, therefore, the enemy has been established as being an adversary of God's ideals; they are therefore against the ideals of Greece. The poem is about the execution of Archbishop Kyprianos, the head of the Greek Orthodox Church in Cyprus. Michaelides wrote the poem in order to capture the dignity of the Archbishop as he faced Kucuk Mehmet but it also serves to depict the state of mind of the Orthodox Cypriots during this time of transition and how the feeling that they were connected to Greece had been activated. The poem established the Turks as the enemy.

The enemy is always stereotyped in Grivas' memoirs as in other nationalistic novels. They are usually stock characters, represented collectively rather than as individuals who are void of moralistic or ethical motives. Even retaliation to Eoka's violence is depicted as being unreasonable and evil. The enemy is presented as being purely evil, they are the antagonist that are wholly bad and do not have complex human reactions, responses or a life with a past. In his memoirs Grivas says, "We are fighting at this moment to prevent the imposition of a monster on the backs of the Cypriot people."²⁹² This immediately throws up a picture of a mythological hero (Cyprus), fighting to throw off the monster which clings to his back. Of course in such myths and fairytales the bad persona is normally completely bad. The Gorgons and Medusa had no redeeming qualities; they bore the threat of turning all to stone, lifeless and trapped in that form for eternity. The Hydra also had no redeeming qualities and trying to destroy

²⁹¹ Vassilis Michaelides, 'The 9th of July 1821' *Vassilis Michaelides* <http://www.kypros.org/Poetry/Enati/>

²⁹² Ibid p163

it merely made it grow more heads. But Perseus, Theseus and Hercules were all heroes and their heroic acts of bravery meant that they were not remembered for their discrepancies. Everyone knows that Theseus killed the Minotaur but what about his father's death caused by Theseus's irresponsibility and his betrayal of Arachne?

Jung speaks of the shadow archetype and the difficulty of stepping through the door that will lead us to discover that the real terrors lie within, that the monster perhaps, the one we fear and the one that is feared by nations, is in fact inside ourselves. Jung argues, "external historical conditions, of whatever kind, are only occasions, jumping-off grounds, for the real dangers that threaten our lives. These are the present politico-social delusional systems."²⁹³ Grivas speaks of this monster as "Turks and Tories,"²⁹⁴ it is as though these two community symbols have become one, larger, persecutory monster with two heads. In fact, he goes even further to create an infant monster, one that grows and becomes ever more unpredictable, he calls the Anglo-Turkish police force "Praetorian guards,"²⁹⁵ (the murderous and bullying guards of the Roman empire). He means to warn the mother monster that the baby monster might become too big and ferocious. "I warn the conservative government that its Praetorian guards cannot be allowed to murder and destroy unpunished."²⁹⁶ Grivas actually says of the Turkish mobs that fought for Taksim (division of the island) as "behaving more like wild beasts than human beings."²⁹⁷ It is not that these guards did not act in an inhumane way but rather that the Orthodox Cypriot nationalistic narrative had become mono-focal and that the enemy and the fight and the desire for self-determination took on the echoes of a mythological story, it saw the world as either good or evil.

²⁹³ Jung, C. G. *The Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious* (Routledge, London, 2006) p23

²⁹⁴ Grivas, General George *The Memoirs of General Grivas* (London: Longmans, 1964)

²⁹⁵ Ibid p160

²⁹⁶ Ibid p160

²⁹⁷ Ibid p73

Throughout the journal the Turks and British are referred to as tyrants, mobs, terrorists and barbarians, always named in the plural as though all British and all Turks took on the face of this monster. They had somehow lost the ability to experience anyone on the other side as an individual, they became submerged in this and it is this that we see in the novels and journals produced by many at that time. The ‘them’ and ‘us’ dichotomy very powerfully resembled the heroes and monsters of the past.

Despite EOKA’s violence, Grivas describes the Orthodox Cypriots only as suffering victims who had to rise and become heroes. All accounts of violence on their behalf were thus justified and on the part of the enemy, who reacted to this, were unjustified, barbaric and tyrannical. This fanned the flame of nationalism further.

Similar patterns and political systems exist in our own society; the film *Cloverfield*, for example, a “reality” movie, filmed like a documentary about the attack of an alien monster on New York City. One of the most striking parts of the film is the fall of the Statue of Liberty. In a close up shot one can see the face of the statue resting on the earth. There is a strong echo here of the events of 9/11 and the terrorists who tried to destroy freedom and liberty. There are thousands of examples that can be discussed. My examination of the Orthodox Cypriot revolt could lead to the investigation of the heroes of our society that fight the enemies that threaten our ‘freedom’ and ‘liberty.’

6 POST-INVASION LITERATURE

Orthodox Cypriot identity, as I have established, has been clouded by the desire to be connected with Greece. The Orthodox Cypriot became obsessed with Hellenic identity and became highly influenced by Greece's attempt to bridge the gap between ancient Greece and modern Greece, left by four centuries of Ottoman rule.

However, after the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus, a new idea emerged which emphasised the common elements of Greek and Turkish identity in Cyprus. The rhetoric of separation and politics of blame are described by Said as post-imperialist reactions. Said writes that,

The tragedies of this experience, and indeed of so many post-colonial experiences, derive from the limitations of the attempts to deal with relationships that are polarized, radically uneven, remembered differently.²⁹⁸

The Orthodox Cypriots could not submit to feeling inferior and therefore relied on a western imperial identity of a Hellenic, romanticised past. Haji Mike, a scholar, poet and recording artist, says "I believe there is ignorance on all sides that must be addressed if we are to live in a democratic, multicultural new millennium..."²⁹⁹

However, accepting a multicultural Cyprus would perhaps mean going back to a time where Cyprus would look more like the photographs of John Thomson, depicting Orientalist scenes. A new, or in fact old, identity would have to be accepted along with

²⁹⁸ Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism* (Vintage, London 1994) p19

²⁹⁹ United Nations, *Weeping Island, A Collection of Cypriot Literature* (Cyprus: United Cypriots Friendship Association: 2001) p30

feelings of inferiority. In his poem, *Air and Water*, Hajji Mike describes the hatred and the ideals instilled in children from a very young age,

At school they taught me how to hate
to stew in history
to be proud
and when I wanted
to breathe a bit
to think aloud
question it?
they called it treachery!
Incorrect!
Zero mark
do not do it again
do not pass go
do not collect 200 pounds
you'll be doing time for a while
do not look at you neighbour with a friendly smile.³⁰⁰

Here the allusion to the Monopoly game suggests that the ideals enforced on children are like the rules on a board game. The rules must be adhered to otherwise there will be consequences and people in this sense are merely pawns. There is a real sense of oppression as depicted through his desire to “breathe a bit” related to the need “to question” these ideals and the hatred and the history that they were made “to stew in.”³⁰¹ In *Culture and Imperialism*, Said writes of aggressive perceptions of “vital national interests”. He says,

The wonder of it is that the schooling of such relatively
provincial thought and action is still prevalent, unchecked,

³⁰⁰ Ibid p31
³⁰¹ Ibid.

uncritically accepted, recurringly replicated in the education of generation after generation.³⁰²

From studying the journals and poems written post-colonisation and post-invasion it appears that these ideals were not going to be uncritically accepted. Said writes,

We are all taught to venerate our nations and admire our traditions: we are taught to pursue their interests with toughness and in disregard of other societies. A new, and in my opinion, appalling tribalism is fracturing societies, separating peoples, promoting greed, bloody conflict, and uninteresting assertions of minor ethnic or group particularity.³⁰³

Decolonisation left the Orthodox Cypriots and Muslim Cypriots separated in a society where they had once lived peacefully and had been integrated. They were either “Greek” or Turkish” and were already in a “bloody conflict.” Each community clung on to the romantic ideal of their respective motherlands, both of which were once imperial nations.

This would have been the culture that Hajji Mike was referring to and was brought up in, the education to which he had been submitted. Hajji Mike writes of the manipulation and propaganda through the “tell-lie-vision” and the “stress riddled news”. At the end of the poem he wonders, “if this water which we all consume voluntarily is truly drinkable/and if this air which we breathe is so breathable,”³⁰⁴ depicting clearly how the ideals had become part of the land itself, the word

³⁰² Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994) p 21

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

“voluntarily” perhaps sheds some light on the way that this information was taken in by the Orthodox Cypriots without being criticised or questioned.

There was an intellectual revolt against anti-colonial nationalism. Michelangelo Anastasiou, a young writer from Larnaca says,

The chains of the past are imprisoning us and without knowing it we refuse to move on. What we need to do is break away from the past and walk along the path that leads to a better future, without injustice and without hatred.”³⁰⁵ In his poem *Peace* he arbitrarily uses the mythological figure of the hero and addresses him directly, “Oh, great mighty warrior...”³⁰⁶

The young writer re-dresses this warrior, he reinvents him: the warrior that was used in nationalistic writing to justify violence and to call citizens to live up to his example, the same warrior that must have played an integral part in Anastasiou’s education, has now been ‘changed.’ The warrior in Anastasiou’s poem does not represent the ideals of ancient Greece or pan-Hellenism, the mythological hero has not been distorted and stripped of any other symbolism in order to fulfil an ideal, he has been used for a different purpose. The warrior is “dressed in armour of love” he holds “the sword of compassion and the shield of protection.”³⁰⁷ Anastasiou calls upon this warrior to set them free from the enemy. However, unlike the nationalistic writing of the 1950s, the enemy is not the Anglo-Turk monster, the enemy is hatred. He writes,

This day will come, when peace will step

³⁰⁵ United Nations, *Weeping Island, A collection of Cypriot Literature* (United Cypriots Friendship Association, Cyprus, 2001) p8

³⁰⁶ Ibid p9

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

forward and
defeat the great monster of hatred.³⁰⁸

The same hero who fought the Anglo-Turks is now fighting himself, suggesting that it was in the very heart of the former hero that the hatred lived. Similarly in the poem *Darkness* Haji Mike writes about how even the land has separated from these oppressive ideals. He writes that as the sun sets the land “oozes relief.”³⁰⁹ Perhaps the sun could represent that bright Olympic flame and the symbol of fire passed from ancient times. The “humidity is high”³¹⁰ suggesting that, in the context of the poem, the oppression has been lifted. Haji Mike writes,

Land belongs to itself
and nobody else.³¹¹

but in this place where darkness has fallen, it soon rains over the Green Line that separates the North and South of Cyprus,

A dead end road
where people are not allowed to greet.³¹²

Similarly, Tina Adamidou Kallis, writer and president of the United Cypriots Friendship Association, in her poem *A Symbol of Hope* depicts this deep connection and respect for the land and the land’s importance in relation to identity.

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ Ibid p35

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Ibid.

A convention within post-invasion literature is not only a connection to nature but the use of imagery and sensory perception to evoke a sense of place. Kallis starts the poem with a description of a cyclamen. The tree is representative of the defiance against the politics that divided the island,

A lone lilac cyclamen waves defiantly in the crisp breeze
its delicate petals deceptively stronger than at first imagined.³¹³

The poet uses sensory perception to bring the land to life,

spring is all around, the blossoms fragrantly wafting
from the citrus trees.³¹⁴

But the poet then describes how this tree grows alone wild in No Man's Land. Kallis personifies the tree giving it human qualities which emphasise the true Orthodox Cypriot's defiance against political ideals and hatred; she describes how the tree is "pounded by all elements" and is "naked to the mistrial currents that blow her cruelly in all direction."³¹⁵ This suggests that the land has been subjected to an injustice.

However, this tree stands boldly,

Her roots deceptively concealed
deep beneath the ground that has seen so much
blood shed for empty reasons.

The poet speaks to the tree, she writes,

³¹³ Ibid p41

³¹⁴ Ibid.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

Stand proud, your flowers will once again
bloom in freedom and spread unconditionally
on both sides of the barbed wire...³¹⁶

In this case “freedom” represents unity rather than separation, which is a great contrast to earlier nationalistic ideals about self-determination and unity with Greece.

In another of Kallis’ poems, *Lemon Tree*, she describes the significance of the land in relation to people’s everyday life. The tree, representative of the land, is connected to her memories, her own past, her family and her sense of identity. She uses an epistolary style, as though writing to the *Lemon Tree*, once again personifying the tree and creating a personal discourse with it. She begins, “Dear lemon tree,”³¹⁷ and goes on to describe some of the memories she has of the tree,

I remember seeing you being planted in
my grandmother’s garden and the fuss that she made
over you. I remember her tired brown eyes coming
to life as she told me that this lemon tree would
be around long after she had gone
and that I had to make sure it was well looked after.³¹⁸

Here the tree is connected to the memory of her grandmother and the fact that the tree will connect them even when she is gone. The poet suggests, therefore, that the land itself will connect the generations instead of an ancient ideal. The lemon tree, unlike the mythological heroes of the past, is alive and physically present, nourishing the people for generations. The poet describes the presence the lemon tree has in the important moments of the inhabitant’s lives,

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Ibid p43

³¹⁸ Ibid.

O lemon tree, how many brides wore your fragrant
Blossom in their wedding garlands and bouquets....
and how many of your leaves accompanied the
dead in pillowcases on their journey to their last resting place...³¹⁹

This depicts strongly the connection between the land and the people throughout their life. The poet asks, “Do you remember my grandmother?”³²⁰ If the tree had a memory, it would remember her; she is not an ancient ideal, she is part of the same lifetime. Kallis proceeds to describe her grandmother sitting beneath the tree,

Sit under your cooling branches in the unbearable
heat of the Cyprus summer. Her old brown and
wrinkled fingers busy crocheting my dowry...

Here the vivid memory of her grandmother places importance on the tree. The poem takes on a tone of sadness as the poet explains how she can no longer visit the tree as it is out of bounds. She has been separated from the tree, the land and her childhood memories. The descriptions the poet uses places importance on everyday life,

I know one day we
will be reunited and I promise
that when that day comes
I will come to you
and sit once more under you fragrant
leaves and will remember like old friends
our childhood, dreams and wishes...³²¹

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ Ibid.

It is interesting that the tree in *The Lemon Tree* exists on the northern side and the tree in *A symbol of Hope* is in No Man's Land (the strip of land that divides the island in two). The voice heard through these poems is of the indigenous Cypriot. The voice represents the voice of Cypriotism – depicting the love of common land and common symbols.

In *The History of Modern Cyprus* Panteli writes of the problems that occurred leading up to decolonisation. “During the first months of 1958 relations between the two communities [Greek and Turkish] were strained even further.”³²² Panteli explains how decolonisations lead inevitably to more difficulties between the two communities,

The setting up of the Cyprus Republic meant, in theory at least, that a number of Greeks who had earlier led the struggle for enosis and a number of Turks who had successfully led the resistance to it would come together to collaborate in running a new state. Such co-operation was not easy in view of:

1. the recent enmity between EOKA and TMT;
2. the complexities created by the settlement;
3. the imposed rifts between the two communities which were not conducive to creating harmony or promoting the Cypriot consciousness and
4. more generally, the relationship between the two opposing nationalisms; Cypriots were conscious of their Greekness or Turkishness (their national leaders never stopped reminding them of that) and their first loyalties were to their own communities and leaderships.³²³

³²² Panteli, Dr. Stavros *The History of Modern Cyprus* (England: Topline Publishing, 2005) p220

³²³ Ibid p216

The *Cypriot* by Andreas Koumi, was published in 2006 and is set in the 1950s.

The novel is a reflection of the conflict between the two communities and one can see the above difficulties portrayed in fictional form. The division is portrayed through the two protagonists: Andonis, who is Cypriot Orthodox and Funda, who is Cypriot Muslim.

In the following extract the conflict is manifested in the forbidden relationship between these two characters; the author presents polarization and identity politics within the everyday lives of the villagers. In this extract Andonis, the tailor, is taking Funda's measurements and using a thimble that was a gift from his grandmother. Andonis and Funda remember his grandmother and refer to the "good old days," a time where Turkish and Greek children played together in the same room. Funda says, "She used to tell us stories, and taught me the old songs. She encouraged me to sing, you know. She said I had a gift."³²⁴ The old songs here are universal, perhaps Cypriot songs. The extract continues with Andonis and Funda's passion growing and they eventually kiss,

'My parents don't approve of this,' whispered Andonis

'Nor mine. They say you're a Christian. And that Christians and Muslims can't be together.'

'Our parents are wrong Funda, I love you.'³²⁵

The polarisation between the two communities is clear and the extract continues with somebody knocking at the door, it is Andonis' friend Nigos,

³²⁴ Koumi, Andreas *The Cypriot* (London: Dexter Haven, 2006) p102

³²⁵ Ibid.

The Christian and the Muslim could hear footsteps withdraw...
‘We should try the neighbourhood of the Turk. Maybe he’s gone
to visit his whore.’³²⁶

This division extends to the land, where towns were divided between Greek and Turkish. One can see from these extracts the relationship between the two opposing nationalisms; Cypriots were conscious of their Greekness or Turkishness and the imposed rifts between the two communities. Cypriot consciousness was vanishing and Koumi seems to be emphasising this by referring to the protagonists as Christian or Muslim. It is interesting that these post-colonial pieces highlight the divisions and begin to deal with the idea of being Cypriot. Koumi describes Andonis and Funda in their embrace as being “intertwined,” from a post-colonial perspective it appears as though Koumi is portraying the re-establishment of a previous identity, a lost multicultural identity that vanished in the face of colonisation.

³²⁶ Ibid.

7 AN OVERVIEW OF *A WATERMELON, A FISH AND A BIBLE*

The above examples give insight into the themes arising within Cypriot post-colonial literature: a preoccupation with land, the emergence of a Cypriot identity, the questioning of dated and problematic political ideals. My novel has aspects of these ideas; the conflict between Greek and Turkish is a prominent theme in the novel, and the landscape of Cyprus is used to depict a variety of concepts about land, culture and division. However, my novel does not deal with Cypriotism in the same way. What I hoped to achieve, when I set out to write the novel, was something slightly different from post-colonial literature. Although identity politics and the reaction to colonisation is an important aspect of the novel, it is not told from the perspective of the colonised dealing with the integration of modernisation. My aim instead was to depict the struggle from the perspective of all three nations involved and show the effect of nationalism on the lives of these people. I wanted to portray the “monsters” of each nation.

My novel is not written from the mind of a writer who is looking back at a colonial past and considering the struggles encountered by the colonized and depicting this in fictional form. Rather, it is told from the perspective of a writer who has studied the colonial past of each of these nations and considered not only the struggles with identity, but the problems that occurred due to nationalism and imagined ideals which were triggered by struggles with identity. This is why presenting the above study was very important.

There are three narratives running through the story: the first is that of Adem and Serkan, the second of Richard and Paniko in London. The third Koki, Maroulla and

the women in the prisoner's house. Each of these represents one of the three nations involved in the struggle: Turkey, Greece and Britain. Through Adem we see the remnants of the Ottoman Empire, through Richard, the dying British Empire, through the women in the house a reliance on Hellenic identity, creating prejudice and hatred. Koki is the point in the middle of this struggle: she is the hybrid, a mixture of these three empires, pasts and ideals. She, in a way, is the product of globalisation and of modernity that cannot be accepted.

A deeper exploration of each is necessary. In my novel, it is Adem, an outsider, who is able to break the divide between Greek and Turkish. Adem is a mainland Turk whose family have suffered the consequences of a fallen Empire, the darkness of these times is depicted in the living room where his father struggles to keep a job writing eulogies for the local newspaper. In *Istanbul* Orhan Pamuk writes about post-imperial melancholy and the effects of lost imperial greatness. He writes of living amongst great ruins and a community that is both in mourning and in poverty,

...the melancholy of this dying culture was all around us. Great as the desire to Westernise and modernise may have been, the more desperate wish, it seemed, was to be rid of all the bitter memories of the fallen empire.³²⁷

Just like the residents of Istanbul that are grieving for a lost Empire, in *A Watermelon a Fish and a Bible* Adem's father writes the names of the dead, crossing them off the list, as if erasing the past. His father is afraid to face the present, he remains enclosed in the safety of the living room, only staring at the glittering mosque from a distance, unable

³²⁷Pamuk, Orhan *Istanbul* (London: Faber and Faber, 2005) p27

to let go of a vanishing past. Adem is afraid of being caught up in this stagnation and when his father dies he flees to Cyprus. There, however, he finds the residues of colonisation and becomes the target of hatred when he falls in love with Koki. However, Koki is not a normal Orthodox Cypriot girl, she represents the fraught relationship between colonised and colonisers, she is the product of an illicit affair between a Cypriot Orthodox woman and Richard, a British pilot based in Cyprus. She is the repressed truth of a multicultural past that cannot be faced by her own society. Her “hybridity” is given away by her red hair. The red is different, flame-like and also vibrant, representing the imposed newness and otherness of the colonisers, and the way this imposition was perceived as dangerous.

The story does not deal with the hatred of the Orthodox Cypriot towards the British but instead presents Koki as a scapegoat of animosity by her own people; she is the monster, the enemy, medusa. The reason I created the character of Koki was to portray the notion that the enemies and monsters that the Cypriots feared were actually parts of themselves that they could not accept. I wanted to explore the idea of the scapegoat in relation to the shadow archetype, which I have already looked at in relation to the EOKA struggle, and how evil is created in people’s minds. As I have established in my thesis, it is clear that the Orthodox Cypriots’ notions of evil did not begin with the invasion.

Adem also becomes the subject of animosity and is attacked by the members of the Greek youth organisation who score his back with the Christian Cross. From this point Adem becomes the embodiment of these two cultures. He wears a Turkish moon pendant,

‘Am I such a devil that I have to have Allah watching me from the front and Christ watching me from the back? I’m imprisoned between these two bars.’ ...his body shakes and he hunches with the weight of these two worlds.³²⁸

Adem is well aware that he has been caught in the middle of this division, a division that is supported by each community’s respective religious leaders, and he is scarred by this for life. He truly carries the burden of this division when he kills his own son, believing him to be the enemy. He is carried away by his own impulse to destroy. Without even choosing to, he carries the burden, not only of the Cyprus conflict but of the Greek-Ottoman and Persian conflict that goes back thousands of years.

Adem is a shoemaker, he makes shoes for people that travel the globe and he tells stories about travellers of past-times, this is indicative of two paradoxical matters. On the one hand it represents the imperial cycle of the past, of finding new territory and expanding frontiers. On the other hand, it depicts the modern and emerging global environment. As Said puts it,

...in the late twentieth century the imperial cycle of the last century in some way replicates itself, although today there are really no big empty spaces, no expanding frontiers, no exciting new settlements to establish.³²⁹

This covering of ground is presented in Adem’s fascination with shoes and the soil that is found within the crevices. However, the world is changing. Due to colonisation

³²⁸ Lefteri, Christy *A Watermelon, a Fish and a Bible* (London: Quercus, 2010) p

³²⁹ Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994) p21

different cultures have come together and Adem's isolation in the hut could reflect the void that is left in between, the place where these cultures meet but cannot be reconciled.

Adem is aware of his own community's imagined notions of nationalism; on the boat, on the way to Cyprus with the invading force, he doesn't take part in the other soldiers' conversations about the Greek Cypriot enemy. The soldiers' convictions are presented as unrealistic, showing how the truth can be distorted and thus playing with the idea of imagined nationalistic realities. The words used by the soldiers on the boat are a parody of nationalistic convictions, indicating how in fact other convictions, that may appear more realistic, might have the same foundation of untruth,

The Turks do not have a mosque, they are forced to pray on their knees in the sun-starched fields and forced to eat grapes that have already fallen from the vines...and when they kill a cow the Turks are left with the carcasses...³³⁰

There are a few examples like this of how the Turks view themselves as mistreated, indicating the belief systems that might lead to the justification of an invasion. Although these convictions seem ludicrous, the men are serious and this is evident when the final comment causes an eruption of laughter as if this was the only unrealistic idea,

³³⁰ Lefteri, Christy *A Watermelon, a Fish and a Bible* (London: Quercus, 2010) p19

‘And there is no nourishment for the children because the Greeks bathe in pools of milk and come out with skin as white as the moon,’
‘That’s ridiculous,’ said one. ‘Where would they ever find that much milk, there’d need to be cows as many as stars.’³³¹

However, Engin, like Adem, has a different awareness. He talks about his father’s pawn shop and how things can change hands, how they can be passed from one person to another. This represents countries changing hands and people putting their mark on things; this perhaps is part of human nature both in small ways and in larger, global ways. Engin has a vague consciousness of this but he is destroyed. Adem notices that Engin has this awareness but it is only in the form of a “blank black picture where the reasoning of everyone else seems mad.”³³²

Adem cannot face the hatred and locks himself away. Although it appears that he has become his father it is under much different circumstances. His father was mourning the loss of an Empire; Adem, however, cannot find a place in a world, he cannot bring himself to belong to a particular community. This is also reflected in his love for Koki.

When Adem enters Cyprus with the invading force he walks through the streets and remembers the town’s people, both Orthodox and Muslim. There is a spiritual element to Adem’s presence; he puts on the priest’s shoes, showing his detachment from his own community. This may appear as though he has sided with the Greeks, especially as he keeps the Bible that he found on the floor in his blazer pocket, but it reminds him of the Koran. Within Adem, the two cultures come together. Initially I

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² Lefteri, *Christy A Watermelon, a Fish and a Bible* (London: Quercus, 2010)

named him the Green Man. The Green Man is a pagan symbol of the earth. This seemed to fit with Adem's interest in shoes and the earth and would have also linked with Cypriotism's fascination with the land, as opposed to religious and cultural segregation and division. However, Adem is merely human, just like everybody else. In the face of danger, he shoots a Greek boy.

Richard's story deals with the fall of yet another great empire and also with the Cypriot immigrants of the 1950s. The question of identity, community and culture is an issue for the Orthodox Cypriots of the Diaspora, particularly those that fled in the 1950s. In a way it is here that the novel becomes more post-colonial.

A Watermelon, a Fish and a Bible addresses the insecurities felt by these immigrants in a similar way to the characters in *The Lonely Londoners*³³³. Just like the West-Indians in post World War II London, the Greek Cypriots are the outsiders and they too are forced to form a group identity based on congregation. The Orthodox Cypriot immigrants meet at the café, and just like the characters in *The Lonely Londoners* have to struggle with a sense of failed promise. The men spend their time in the café, they gamble, lose their money and the most prosperous of them all, the factory owner, spends his money on drink and prostitutes. There is unity in their experience, but at the same time a real sense of stagnation. The shop is full of Cypriot memorabilia, vases and pictures from Paniko's home town. However, like tourists, they use an ashtray with a picture of Cyprus; they are caught between two worlds, they are segregated, but in the café there is a sense of unity, of being "Greek" Cypriot.

This same sense of congregation is portrayed in *The Cypriot* by Andreas Koumi. When the main character visits a clothes-making factory owned by a Greek Cypriot, all

³³³ Sevlon, Sam *The Lonely Londoners* (London: Penguin 1956)

the workers are Greek Cypriot and there is a sense of congregation, unity and at the same time stagnation within the walls of the factory,

That afternoon I found myself entering a factory off Green Lanes...row upon row of sewing machines were before me, each with its own woman hunched over it, I was reminded of how, during the harvest time in the old days, groups of women like this might go out into the fields together, pulling vegetables from the red earth. Then, it seemed, all they did was stoop and gather, chatter and joke, laugh and sing. Now they sat and sewed, gossiped and blamed, argued and complained. Meanwhile the rain pitter-pattered on the corrugated iron roof above them.³³⁴

The women in the factory have come together as they used to. In London there is unity in familiarity; however, the tone of their conversations has changed, there is a sense of bitterness which is fraught with anger. They are repeating aspects of the past, where they pulled vegetables from the earth. Even though their physical postures and tasks are similar, the singing and laughing has been replaced with arguing and complaining.

A comparison can clearly be made between the women in the fields and the women in the factories. The use of the words “then” and “now” portrays this significantly. It is interesting that the rain continues to “pitter-patter on the roof.” Perhaps here the stillness of the scene becomes more evident; the women continue as they did in the past, while outside something different is happening.

³³⁴ Koumi, Andreas *The Cypriot* (London: Dexter Haven, 2006) p46

In my novel, the café becomes a very significant centre for the exploration of past and present. Bryant writes of the importance of the café during British administration. The café was an important centre of anti-colonial discourse,

The men in their coffee houses claimed to speak for the people, at the same time seeking to define a consensus that would support their claims to authority.”³³⁵

In my novel Richard mentions that the Greek Cypriots have put lemon trees onto the landscape of Soho, bringing a part of Cyprus with them. The café inside is an isolated bubble, and Cyprus exists within its walls. When the men in *A Watermelon a Fish and a Bible* find out about the invasion a discussion ensues about outcomes and solutions. This is an echo of the past, of the times at the onset of British administration, where there was a different sense of unity and congregation, one that was nonetheless based on identity. Bryant writes of the cafés at the turn of the nineteenth century,

At issue was the future-and by necessity the past. The men in their coffee houses wrote newspaper articles redolent of local concerns, canvassed the villages, giving speeches full of memorable, muscular rhetoric, and lobbied the laws that would better control the tendencies of a society that they assured themselves they knew.³³⁶

In this light it is easy to see the sad undertone in Paniko’s café in Soho; it is a mere shadow of the former coffeehouses that were a platform for public reforms. Although

³³⁵ Bryant, Rebecca *Imagining the Modern, The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London and New York: I.B Tauris, 2004) p17

³³⁶ *Ibid* p17

the men start a passionate discussion, voicing their opinions as though they might be heard, a younger man, unconnected to the rhetoric of the past, born and educated in London, voices a different opinion, “Grivas is to blame for all this.”³³⁷ Grivas here is a representation of the Hellenic discourse and reliance upon Hellenic identity. The men in the café are outraged and Paniko must put an end to the conversation with the threat of sending them home to their wives. This also suggests the power of the female voice as opposed to the masculine rhetoric of the past. The men have no voice outside the café, they leave like snails, leaving a trail of nostalgia. This makes them passive, unaggressive, downtrodden and degenerated. As a result, masculinity, power and activity are confined to the poker game that has no forward moving purpose for any of them. The only man who seems to win any money wastes it on prostitutes, emphasising their sense of stagnation and the contrast between this café and the ones in Cyprus where the future of the island rested in the hands of the men.

At the turn of the century, when Richter was conducting much of her ethnographic work, the men sitting together in the café were battling amongst themselves over modernization and national causes.³³⁸

Richard is a character that is caught in the middle of the discourse between colonised and colonisers. He remembers his grandfather’s imperial notions and at first agrees with the idea that the Cypriots will be backward and primitive. These ideas adhere with notions of Orientalism as described by Edward Said. However, as he connects with the

³³⁷ Lefteri, Christy *A Watermelon, a Fish and a Bible* (London: Quercus, 2010)

³³⁸ Bryant, Rebecca *Imagining the Modern, The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London and New York: I.B Tauris 2004) p17

life of the people, he cannot hold onto this notion. Just like Koki and Adem he gets to know people rather than ideas, something which many of the other characters fail to do.

The female prisoners rely on the Hellenic discourse. At first, the masculine message that began as a rhetoric in the coffeehouses at the start of the century, can be heard by the women as they are led by the soldier's to the prisoners' house. The song that they hear is in fact the Greek National Anthem. The song comes to them like a ghost from the past and stops abruptly as the men who are singing are killed by the Turkish soldiers. The song is a link to the Hellenic ideal and the women take this with them as they enter the house. The National Anthem sounds very much like the anti-colonial poetry; it is based on the *Hymn to Freedom*, a large poem written by Dionysios Solomos, a poet from Zakynthos Island. The poem was inspired by the Greek Revolution of 1821 against the Ottoman Empire. One of the lines of the song is,

From the Greeks of old whose dying
brought to Birth our spirits free³³⁹

The men that are singing this are about to be shot dead and therefore the spirit of nationalism will be released into an immortal space. I intended this to be an echo of the idealisms during the anti-colonial revolt. However, as the story progresses, these ideals are questioned and upturned; the women have to face each other, they must face loss, death and rape, but above all they must face their worst enemy, Koki – the woman who represents the Turk and Tory monster.

Old Maria is representative of the fight for self-determination, she has taken on the masculine element of the armed struggle, she in fact described as being unnaturally strong and manly; her old age is held back by her inner fight. At the end of the story,

³³⁹ Lefteri, Christy *A Watermelon, a Fish and a Bible* (London: Quercus, 2010) p78

however, when she kills Serkan she suddenly sees before her, lying dead on the floor, a human being who could have been her son. In this sudden revelation, there is an echo of a multicultural, lost past. It is at this point that she sinks into old age. The struggle and the fight have died and what is left, as she sits on the chair and prepares for death, is a love of the land, of Cyprus. She is left with the memories of her own past rather than an imagined, idealised, collective past. Her last thoughts are of a personal nature; she is no longer part of a universal identity, she is finally herself, with the reality of loss, death, old age and frailty.

Koki represents the emergence of globalization that develops through colonisation and imperial cycles. Said argues that colonisation, with its diasporic effects and its spreading of peoples and cultures, leads inevitably to globalisation. He writes,

We live in one global environment with a huge number of ecological, economic, social, and political pressures tearing at its only dimly received, basically interpreted and uncomprehended fabric. Anyone with even a vague consciousness of this whole is alarmed at how such remorselessly narrow and selfish interests – patriotism, chauvinism, ethnic, religious, and racial hatreds – can in fact lead to mass destructiveness.³⁴⁰

Koki is caught in the middle of three nations, each of which is guided by its own narrow and selfish patriotisms. She is an amalgamation of British, Greek and Turkish, and at the same time belongs to none of these. As a result she lives in an isolated zone of her society's making. In *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*, Robert Young explores the term hybrid and its meaning of denigration, suggesting the

³⁴⁰ Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994) p21

“blackening or sullyng of a thing,”³⁴¹ In this sense Koki represents the outcome of one aspect of colonisation,

Hybridity as a concept came to prominence in the context of supremacist Eurocentric accounts of racial origins and racial distinction. In particular colonialism presented the proponent of racial separation with the disturbing scenario of racial interbreeding and intermarriage...³⁴²

Although this is from the perspective of the colonisers, the colonised appeared to have similar fears of racial interbreeding. In my novel Koki is a product of colonisation, she is a hybrid and her hybridity cannot be ignored or forgotten, she represents a changing environment which must be hated, on an island where diversity and multiculturalism could not be accepted. It is interesting to apply Homi Bhabha’s theory to this character. Taking into account his idea that culture is never innate, but in fact is performed or learnt within society; this culture is also susceptible to the possibility of being appropriated “in a fashion that disrupts the claim that it is the specific property or the unique expression of a single community.”³⁴³ Koki, therefore, disrupts the certainty of the culture, the learnt dynamics and boundaries of that community; she is a threat and a disruption. Due to this there is nowhere for her to exist apart from on her own, suggesting that there is no place in the political climate of her age which could accommodate a move towards integration and globalisation.

The division of Cyprus and the events of the 1974 invasion are a microcosm of a larger destructiveness caused by national ideologies. Cyprus remains separated, the

³⁴¹ Lazarus, Neil *Postcolonial Literary Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) p250

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Ibid p252

island is still divided. Perhaps it is a symbol of what is happening on a larger scale, a representation of the ongoing battle between East and West.

8 CONCLUSION

After studying Cypriot history and literature, the 1974 invasion of the island seems to have been the final element of the clash between Greece, Turkey and Britain. I chose to start the novel on the first day of the invasion as, in my opinion, the event was the result of the accumulation of past idealisms. The novel spans back three decades and two generations, slowly revealing prejudices and ideals that lead to the events of 20th July 1974. The research I conducted into the colonial past and the 1950s struggle informed the narrative of the novel.

Considering the paradoxes and questions about Orientalism and British administration helped me to a better understanding of the prejudice and hatred that developed between Greek, Turkish and British elements. Exploring the Orthodox Cypriots' reliance on a Hellenic past paved the way for understanding the convictions of the Greek community and reasons for its polarisation.

Thinking carefully about the anti-colonial revolt from a psychological perspective helped me to develop ideas about the deeper insecurities and patterns of behaviour which lead to this hatred and polarisation. This research was an indispensable part of my writing.

Studying the novels that were written after the invasion, allowed me to see the development of Cypriotism and the preoccupation with the land. My scope was limited because of the lack of translated literature, especially that of post-invasion. As a child I spoke Greek before I learnt English, however my ability to read and fully absorb the meaning of a text is limited. This is was very frustrating as I had to rely on translated literature. However, I feel that even a flavour of the patterns evolving in this literature helped me to develop my own ideas. What I was interested in was not Cypriotism alone

but the unique colonial story, the clash of three great imperial powers, something which has not been seen before in the colonial past of Britain. I believe that all this helped me to write a novel from these three perspectives, with the focal point being the effect of prejudice and nationalism.

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