Language and music, national identity and Orthodoxy: "The Down-and-out Dervish" by Alexandros Papadiamantis

Polina Tambakaki
King's College London

The short story "The Down-and-out Dervish" (Ο ξεπεσμένος δερβίσης) by Alexandros Papadiamantis[1] was published in January 1896, approximately three months before the first Olympic Games of the modern era took place in Athens. Having found shelter in the tunnel of the newly constructed underground near the Theseion, the central figure of the short story, a Turkish-speaking Muslim from Istanbul, plays the nay (or ney) flute, and his music is associated by the narrator with "the Yes said by Christ" (through a visual similarity between the Greek words for "nay"/νάι and "yes"/ναι). This paper aims to provide new insights into the much-discussed views of Papadiamantis on the identity of Modern Greece, paying special attention to the interrelation between the "language question" and the "musical question".

Introduction

As is well known, in terms of their settings, Papadiamantis's short stories are divided into two main categories. On the one hand, there are the short stories situated on his native Skiathos, an island at the north-eastern margin of the small Greek nation-state that was created in 1830. On the other hand, there are the short stories

[1] References to Papadiamantis are made to the 1981-1988 critical edition published by Domos (5 volumes; ed. N. D. Triantafyllopoulos), abbreviated here as P1-5. For "The Down-and-out Dervish", see P3.111-16. All translations are my own, except where otherwise noted.

situated in Athens, the capital of the Greek state since 1834 and the embodiment of the concept of "national centre"; there Papadiamantis spent the greater part of his adult life. "The Down-and-out Dervish" belongs to the latter category, and has been hailed by some as one of Papadiamantis's best short stories.[2] But it is also one whose setting can be situated in a specific historical moment.

The story takes place in Athens, on an autumn night, near the Theseion and the newly excavated tunnel of the railway that connected Athens with the port of Piraeus. In reality, the underground sections of the railway opened in May 1895, after five years of construction. Since, as we hear twice in the short story (and in the characteristic style of Papadiamantis's repetition with variation), "the tunnel has been dug, it was dug" (ἡ σῆραγξ ἐσκάπτετο, εἶχε σκαφῆ/ἦτο σκαμμένη), we assume that it is an autumn night during the period of the construction of the underground, and most probably close to the completion of the construction, and thus the publication of the story.

This was a "fateful night" (πεπρωμένη νύξ), we hear thrice in the short story, a phrase which appears to reflect a rather "eastern" attitude towards fate, or *kismet* or *felek*, to use the relevant Turkish words.[3] In fact the latter word is heard repeatedly in "The Down-and-out Dervish", as we will see, as part of the adage (given by Papadiamantis in Greek transliteration): "*Bu dünya çarkifelek, aşk olsun çevirene*". Papadiamantis gives the Greek equivalent, at the same time exploiting the ambiguity in the meaning of the word γυρίζω (spin or wander, travel): Αὐτὸς ὁ κόσμος εἶναι σφαῖρα καὶ γυρίζει. Χαρὰ σ' ἐκεῖνον ποὺ ξέρει νὰ τὸν γυρίζῃ, τὸν κόσμον αὐτόν. "This world is a sphere which spins/turns (literally: a wheel of fate); blessed is he who knows how to make

---

[2] See Kotzias 1992: 29. "The Down-and-out Dervish" has been the focus of seminal articles and books: Chiotelli 2001 [1981] and Kamberidis 2001 [1981] and 1990 [1982] (with Triantafyllopoulos 1986: 135-9); also Fokas 2004 [1981]: 60-7; Farinou-Malamatari 1987: 73-9; Triantafyllopoulos 2001; Georgousopoulos 2001; Gotsi 2004: 337-9, 344-9, and 352-9; Zouboulakis 2004; Papathanasiou (see electronic resources), with Triantafyllopoulos (2004) (electronic resource). See also n. 25 below.

[3] Cf. Zouboulakis 2004.

this world spin/turn", or "blessed is he who knows how to wander this world."

That night the café, which is situated close to the tunnel and where the central figure of the story spends his nights, is closed, following the orders of the new chief constable of the area. The orders have been implemented by the local lower official (κλήτωϱ ὁ ἀστυνομικός), who is however a fan of the music played by the foreigner. Consequently the latter finds refuge in the cold tunnel of the underground under construction, where he improvises on his nái-flute (ἤϱχισε νὰ παίζῃ τὸν τυχόντα ἦχον). Speaking about the music heard from the tunnel, the narrator himself improvises verbally, starting with two puns.[4] First, on the acoustic level, between the words "nái" and "nazi", a word usually rendered as an equivalent of "coyness" or "coquettishness", and whose meaning is inconceivable without the "eastern" sensual connotations of its Turkish root (the word *naz*). And secondly, on the visual level, between the words "nái" and "nai"/Yes. We read (114-15):

> Nái, sweet nái.
> Coyness (νάζι) – with the omission of one zeta.
> Breath of air, sky, mellifluous song, honey-sweetened, graceful, intoxicating.
> Nái, nái.
> Two dots keep it from being the *Yes* (Ναί), which Christ said.
> The gentle *Yes*, the humble and mild, the man-loving *Yes*.

The climax of the narrator's improvisation is one of the most famous descriptions of music in modern Greek literature, a long single sentence without verbs, in which phrases from ecclesiastical texts are embedded in a natural way.[5] Two phrases from the Septuagint are most significant: first, the reference to the appearance of God to Elijah on the mount Horeb as the voice of a

[4] Cf. Chiotelli 2001: 364.

[5] For this phrase see for example: Kopidakis 2011: 22-3; Frantzolas 2010: 97-8; Farinou-Malamatari 1987: 78-9, 121-2; Kamberidis 1990 [1982] (especially p. 127); Chiotelli 2001 [1981]: 364-5. Cf. P5.232-3: the "musicological" article by Papadiamantis "Φωνὴ αὔϱας λεπτῆς".

subtle breath of air (φωνὴ αὔρας λεπτῆς, 3 Kings 19.12); and secondly, the reference to Psalm 129 (130), the famous ἐκ βαθέων ("De profundis"):

> Down to the bottom, to the pit, to the forge, like the gurgle of a brook's water, a voice coming out of the depths [ἐκ βαθέων], like essence, vapor, haze, lament, passion, melody, mounting over the wings of a nocturnal breath of air [ἐπὶ πτίλων αὔρας νυκτερινῆς[6]], rising upwards, placid, quiet, guileless, a sweet whisper, climbing the gusts, tuning the air, greeting the vastness, begging the infinite, childlike, innocent, swirling, the voice of a weeping maiden, the singing of a bird in winter longing for the new arrival of spring. (115)

This section is rounded off with the following remarks:

> The heavy walls and the massive columns of the Theseion, and its grand roof, were not surprised at this voice, at this melody. They remembered it, they recognized it. They had heard it already in the past; during the centuries of slavery and the centuries of glory.
>
> That music was not as barbarous as the Asiatic tribes supposedly are. It has an intimate kinship with the ancient harmonies, in the Lydian and the Phrygian modes.

"The Down-and-out Dervish" is in fact the only short story by Papadiamantis in which a renowned ancient monument receives attention.[7] The reference to it together with the ancient musical modes touches on a central theme in any discussion about modern Greek identity: the quest for cultural origins and unbroken continuity from ancient Greece. Yet the fact that the agent of this kinship is a Turkish-speaking foreign Muslim, "The Down-and-out

---

[6] Cf. the title of Papadimitrakopoulos 1992.

[7] For other references, in passing, to the Theseion and the Acropolis (always as toponyms) in Papadiamantis's short stories, see: the Theseion: P3.254 ("Ἀπόλαυσις στὴ γειτονιά"), 4.140 ("Κοινωνικὴ ἁρμονία"), 627 ("Προστάτης τῶν χηρῶν"); the Acropolis: P2.301 ("Ἀποκριάτικη νυχτιά"), 3.362 ("Χολεριασμένη"), 4.288 ("Ρόδιν' ἀκρογιάλια").

Dervish", is a provocative subversion of the two most prominent poles of modern Greek identity: language and religion. Furthermore, on the level of music, which serves as the connecting link in this line of continuity, the central figure of the story is also presented, as we will see, as an expert in the "true" *amanes*. What the narrator seems to argue is that one should not be afraid of the Asiatic (allegedly barbaric) nature of this music. It is worth noting, after all, that the very names of the ancient modes mentioned, the Lydian and the Phrygian, point to ancient Asiatic, non-Greek ethnic groups.

This paper deals with the place of music in the conceptual and emotional web around the question of Greek national identity as touched on in Papadiamantis's "The Down-and-out Dervish", or, schematically speaking, with music in relation to the question "who are we and who are the others?", as posed in Papadiamantis with reference to the Greek "nation-state". Such an examination inevitably entails a twofold involvement: on the one hand, with the (myth-)making of "Modern Greece"; and, on the other hand, with the (myth-)making of "Papadiamantis" as one of the most prominent figures of the Greek literary canon. For, although nowadays there is a general consensus about his literary value (or about "Papadiamantis's magic", to use Elytis's famous phrase, although this goes well beyond the "literary value"[8]), Papadiamantis's ideas, or "ideology", have aroused intense controversy. He has been viewed (and castigated or praised respectively) either as an extremely unprogressive spirit or as one of the most valuable guardians of the authentic Greek Orthodox vision of the world.[9]

---

[8] Elytis 1992 [1975]: 59-106.

[9] Two studies must be singled out: Moullas 1981 (see e.g. p. 51 (introduction): "[Papadiamantis's] vision is turned to the past, his social consciousness is steeped in the most reactionary ideology"), and Lorentzatos 1994, 1: 234-58 (first published 1961) (see e.g. pp. 246-7: "In tradition therefore, for anyone who lives or understands it, as Papadiamantis did, or someone else, there are no innovations, *μὴ νεωτερίζειν ... παρὰ τὴν τάξιν* (Plato, *Republic* 424b). [...] [Papadiamantis] was anchored in Orthodoxy, [in the same way that Socrates] was anchored in the God of Delphi"). For a concise

Evidently, key-themes in such an examination are those of tradition and the place of Greece in/vis-à-vis Europe and the West. But before turning to the theoretical questions revolving around these themes, I will refer to another text by Papadiamantis, where the issue of national identity is raised again in relation to another foreigner – a Westerner, this time: his article on Lord Byron, published just one month after "The Down-and-out Dervish", in February 1896. In it, Papadiamantis gives in translation some excerpts from Byron's poem "The Isles of Greece", paying especial attention to the lines:

> Trust not for freedom to the Franks –
> They have a king who buys and sells;
> In native swords and native ranks
> The only hope of courage dwells:
> But Turkish force and Latin fraud
> Would break your shield, however broad.

After singling out the words "Turkish force and Latin fraud", Papadiamantis comments:

> Are these words not a historical symbol that represents the fate of much-suffering Hellenism? How deeply did the great British man feel and understand the place of Greece, then and always and forever! And how far are we from understanding and feeling it ourselves!
>
> Byron was an ancient Greek, in his heart, his spirit and his mind. He was an ancient Greek of the nineteenth century, a complete man and a cosmopolitan.[10]

As we will be looking at the story of "The Down-and-out Dervish" and its elusive narrator, it might be helpful to keep in mind Papadiamantis's use of the pronoun "we" in his "Byron" text, where again the issue of continuity is posed together with the notion of "cosmopolitanism". This last word is important not only

---

presentation of Papadiamantis's reception, see Farinou-Malamatari 2005, together with Zouboulakis 2011.

[10] P5.259-60; see also Kalospyros (electronic resource).

within the wider context of the 19th century, but also more particularly in view of the first Olympic games of the modern era, which would take place in Athens only a few weeks after Papadiamantis's "The Down-and-out Dervish" and his article on Lord Byron were published.

Theoretical questions

The year 1896 has been singled out as a significant temporal signpost in studies on "modern Greek identity".[11] After the bankruptcy of 1893, the Olympic Games, three years later, brought a sort of international glory to modern Athens in its process of Europeanization, a sense of national pride in its ancient past, and optimism for the future. But it was soon to be followed by the humiliating defeat in the Greco-Turkish War of 1897 and the ensuing establishment in the country of the International Financial Commission.[12]

A book that unintentionally connected the two events, the Olympic Games of 1896 and the defeat the following year, is a famous two-volume commemorative edition about the Olympic Games published by the editor of the newspaper *Acropolis*, Vlassis Gavriilidis, under the title *Greece during the Olympic Games 1896: Panhellenic Illustrated Album* (henceforth *Album*). Almost all of the articles were written before and around the period of the Games, but the outbreak of the war delayed the publication of the *Album*, as the epilogue to its first volume explains. In the *Album* many aspects of the political, cultural and economic life of Greece and its capital, Athens, are presented, through many different voices, thereby offering a vivid glimpse of the ideologies and tensions of the period. There are articles, for example, on the Royal family, the corruption of a dysfunctional public sector or the presence of foreign churches and foreign inhabitants in the Greek capital. There are, of course, reports on the Games, and texts on Athens's history and monuments. In the

---

[11] Beaton and Ricks 2009; Llewellyn Smith 2004b; Solomou-Prokopiou and Vogiatzi 2004.
[12] Clogg 2002: 67-71; Koliopoulos and Veremis 2010: 56.

piece on "Athens in Ancient Times", for example, by the great archaeologist Christos Tsountas, we read about the need for excavations in order for ancient ruins to come to light and "be cleansed from later additions and barbarian distortions".[13]

A few pages further on in the *Album* we come across a piece by Papadiamantis, "Athens as an Eastern City", the "negative", as it were, of Tsountas's point of view.[14] There, after the description of Anafiotika neighourhood in Plaka, beneath the wall of the Acropolis, the text ends (or rather stops) in the characteristically ironic tone of Papadiamantis with the phrase: "Let us retreat or rather stop here. Carnal, sensual and sluggish people are not able to ascend the sacred rock of the Acropolis."[15]

Papadiamantis contributed a further article to the *Album*: "Priests of Cities and Priests of Villages". There he appears in his most ostensibly "unprogressive" mode, in phrases such as:

> The so-called upper class must conform to the customs of the country [...] not to condemn outright everything that is old, local, Greek. [...] The dignified Byzantine tradition in worship, in the decoration of churches, in music and arts must be cultivated.[16]

The aspirations and self-perceptions of the modern Greeks were reflected in various spheres and debates: their national name(s), *Romioi*, *Graikoi*, or *Hellenes*, their personal names and their street names – all of them relating not only to national pride but also to functional utility, concerning, for instance, the creation of archives or the street plan of the city. The process of westernization had a practical side (of which railways and industry are two examples),

---

[13] *Album* 282.

[14] For an important contribution to the issue of Papadiamantis and national identity, see the analysis of Papadiamantis's short story "Στὴν Ἁγι-Ἀναστασά" (P2.343-62) by G. Farinou-Malamatari (forthcoming; electronic resource). The phrase from the story: "Feeling is superior to theory" (the title of the lecture) is worth keeping in mind in relation to "The Down-and-out Dervish" and the emotional power of music.

[15] *Album* 295; P5.272; see also Ricks 2009: 255-6.

[16] *Album* 45; P5.198.

and also an ideological one, revolving around the notions of civilization vs. barbarism and/or primitivism. We must not forget that this was also the period of the "scramble for Africa" and a period when, as has been remarked, "everybody talked about evolution".[17]

All this is connected, of course, with the notion and sense of time, and accordingly with the experience and construction of the past through memory and commemoration. National monuments and museums played a special part in this procedure. We read in the Prologue to the *Album* for the Olympic Games:

> The ancient monuments, the modest ruins, those which all-subduing time did not devastate, as if it wanted to preserve them as eternal testimonies of the magnitude of the Greek genius, are perhaps the only link which binds us with the civilized world, a link which is unbreakable and adamantine [...] The first and most glorious result of the excavations conducted is the foundation of the National Archaeological Museum.[18]

It is no accident that at least the "sacred rock of the Acropolis" had found its ancient face, according to European standards (that is, in the form of cleansed ancient ruins) before the Olympic Games of 1896.[19]

---

[17] See Richardson 2003.

[18] *Album* 4.

[19] For the history not only of clearance and excavation but also of reconstruction, which aimed to create "a much less ruined ruin", see Beard 2002: 110-15 (also on the damage caused by the earthquake of 1894, that is two years before "The Down-and-out Dervish"), together with Mackridge 2008: 304-8, Mallouchou-Tufano 2004 and Hamilakis 2007. See also the photo of Acropolis in the *Album* (p. 282). Cf. the entry from Seferis's diary (under "19 July 1942"; Seferis 2007: 35-6, trans. R. Beaton) referring to his visit to the Holy Sepulchre: "This is an archaeology the exact opposite of what we're used to in Greece. There, the archaeologists have so *scientifically* cleared everything away from the dwellings of the dead gods: here you see the equivalent of an Acropolis of Athens, but where nothing has been displaced of all that had accrued over the years, where even the harems of the Turks have been left alone and the churches of the Christians untouched, and then the whole thing enclosed in a building complex from the beginning of the last century."

In any discussion of modern Greek national identity, language and religion hold the lion's share. These two issues are bound up with the role of the church in the new nation-state and the everyday life of communities, their cults and customs, and with the system of education. The violent events in 1901 and 1903 concerning the translation into demotic of the Gospels and Aeschylus's *Oresteia* (known as the *Evangelika* and the *Oresteiaka*, respectively) show the polemic atmosphere around the "language question" (the debate about the "official" language of modern Greece: *katharevousa* vs. the vernacular). It is worth noting that both events took place only a few years after the writing and publication of "The Down-and-out Dervish". In the case of the *Evangelika* in particular, the questions of language and Orthodoxy were conspicuously intertwined, in a debate replete with accusations of heterodox influences and interventions from both western and eastern centres (the latter being connected mainly with the issue of panslavism).[20] It was at the end of the 19th century that, as recent studies have shown, the tripartite concept of "fatherland, religion, and family" (the famous slogan of later dictatorships in Greece) was formed,[21] encapsulating, from a conservative perspective, the survival, progress and expansion of the Greek nation; the last one (expansion) was of course connected with the irredentist "Great Idea".

Language and Orthodoxy are two central themes in the literature about Papadiamantis. He was the son of a priest (as his very name testifies) and had spent a few months on the Holy Mountain, Athos.[22] He was also a regular cantor, especially at the small church of St Elissaios in Athens. As for his language, he wrote in an idiosyncratic *katharevousa*, with dialogues in demotic and

---

[20] See Dialla 2005 (and especially pp. 51-6, for the period 1896-1901) and 2009; Mackridge 2009: 247-54; Carabott 1993. Cf. also P5.157-8 about the Russian presence on Mount Athos, together with Peckham 1998: 102, in connection with Georgios Lambakis and Queen Olga.

[21] Gazi 2011.

[22] "It is worth noting [...] that the author's surname inscribing his priestly origins ('son of Fr Adamantios') was chosen by him on registration at the University of Athens": Ricks 2012: 508.

many dialectal elements, and he expressed himself against any prescriptive linguistic intervention.

But what about music? As previously noted, Papadiamantis was a practising cantor, and he had also taken part in the debate about the harmonization of Byzantine psalmody, that is, the introduction of polyphony in the monophonic music of the Greek Orthodox Church, a debate known as the "musical question".[23] In his four so-called "musicological articles" we find details about this debate,[24] and studies on Papadiamantis's relation to music and his "Down-and-out Dervish" have inevitably touched on it.[25] Yet one should be careful concerning at least three problems: first, the "musical question" has been viewed as a debate mainly of, or culminating at, the end of the 19th century – which is misleading, since, as we will see, this was a much more pervasive and long-lasting question.[26] Secondly, the "musical question" has been viewed in isolation from the "language question". And thirdly, Papadiamantis's stance against the harmonization of music has often been explained through musico-theological comparisons between Byzantine and western liturgical music that were not drawn by Papadiamantis himself. It is also worth keeping in mind that Papadiamantis's experience of western music, as far as we can infer, was very restricted. He did not travel outside Greece and during his mature years recording technology was still in its infancy.

Let us now return to the short story itself, starting with the question of language.

---

[23] For a concise introduction to Byzantine music up to 1453 ("Byzantine music" denoting "the full spectrum of musical activity [...] practised within the East Roman Empire that was ruled from Constantinople"), see Lingas 2008; specifically pp. 929-30 for 19th- and 20th-century discussions of Byzantine chant; see also Lingas 2006 and Romanou 1996. For a recent ethnomusicological approach to the Byzantine musical tradition at Athos, see Lind 2012 and on Papadiamantis specifically pp. 168-9.

[24] See P5.229-240.

[25] See, from different perspectives, Kalogeropoulos 1993, Progkides 2002: 86-101 (especially pp. 95-101), and Polychronakis 2011.

[26] See Philopoulos 1990 and 1993.

Language

"The Down-and-out Dervish" corresponds to the general view of Papadiamantis's language: it is written in *katharevousa* with demotic for the dialogues, as well as some demotic expressions in the authorial narration itself. Here I will look in more detail at Papadiamantis's mixture and variety of registers, paying attention to his subtle exploitation of the "historical meaning" of words (to use Bachtin's wider concept of intertextuality), also in relation to ethnic linguistic representations.

One of the rhetorical modes used in "The Down-and-out Dervish" is repeated questions, many of them concerning the identity of the protagonist. Most often the questions remain suspended, either without an answer at all or followed by statements that enhance further the uncertainty about who the man is. In Chiotelli's words, "the central figure of the short story is thus presented at the same time as known and unknown, tangible and intangible, present and absent, as a concrete presence in a specific place and time, but also so elusive that he might be lost in a latent past and in a future replete with hypotheses."[27] This uncertainty is further enhanced by the adage about fate:

> Was he a Dervish? Was he from the Bektashi Order? Was he a hodja? Was he an imam? [...] Was he in favour, or in disfavour? Had he flourished, was he in decline, in exile? *Bu dünya çarkıfelek.* This world is a sphere that spins. (112)

The story itself closes with the following phrases:

> After a few days, he disappeared, and nobody saw him again. Is he alive, is he wandering in other places, has he been recalled from his exile, returned to his homeland?
>
> Nobody knows.
>
> Maybe now he has regained the favour of the powerful *padishah*, he may be great and strong among the *oulemas* of Stamboul, he may have distinguished himself as imam in a famous mosque.

---

[27] Chiotelli 2001 [1981]: 361; cf. Farinou-Malamatari 1987: 76-7.

> He may be a favourite with the Caliph, an Arch-*oulema*, a *Sheikhul Islam*.
> *Bu dünya çarkıfelek*. (116)

What the narrator is definite about is the looks of the man, the place of his origin, his fallen and foreign condition, and his religion:

> From where did he come? From Rumeli, from the East, from Stamboul. [...] He was tall, dark-skinned, likeable, sweet, wild. (112) [...] With a wavy grey beard [...] He was more than fifty years old. (113) [...] The foreign Muslim [...] the homeless man. (114)

The homeless state of the man is expressed in many different ways in the story, all offering variations on the same theme: ἄστεγος, literally "the man without roof"; ἀνέστιος, "the man without hearth and home"; φερέοικος, "the man who carries his house with him" (in ancient texts, a word used about the Scythians [Herodotus 4.46.3] or creatures such as snails or tortoises). The protagonist in Papadiamantis's story carries with him his Eastern clothes (most of them named by words with Turkish roots), his long coat (τσουμπές, δολαμάς) and his turban (σαρίκι), his pipe (τσιμπούκι), and his nai-flute. This last one is connected with the music the man played in the tunnel. But, before that, he had also sung an *amanes* in a tavern near the café. The section devoted to the snapshot in the tavern is crucial not only because it sets the Eastern/Asiatic musical tone of the story, but also because it enhances instability of meaning:

> That night he was invited by a group of friends. They were inseparable. They loved life and youth. One of them ordered *yiouvetsi* [from Turkish *güveç*] every night. The other friends ate.
>
> He was a lottery ticket seller and earned ten or fifteen drachmas a day. What could he do with them? He ordered *yiouvetsi* and treated them. They were lotus-eaters and lottery-eaters. [Ἦσαν λοτοφάγοι, μὲ ὀμικρὸν καὶ μὲ ὠμέγα.]

> They loved songs, and musical instruments. The Dervish did not drink wine, he drank *mastiha*. They were Dervishes too. They told him to sing. He sang. They told him to play the nái. He played.
>
> They did not like the music. Oh! This wasn't an *amanes*. It wasn't as they knew it. But the Dervish sung them a true *amanes*. (112)

It is in this section that the word "Dervish" is used for the first time for the central figure of the story. But interestingly enough that same word is also used for the Athenian lotus/lottery-eaters: the word "Dervish" also means "a proud man", a synonym of the word ασίκης.[28] This group of friends liked eastern music, we hear, but without knowing its true character. This is a strong statement on the part of the narrator, who emerges as someone who knows what the "true" *amanes* is.[29]

Here the themes of memory and truthfulness are presented in the strongest terms. These young men serve in fact as the "negative" of the Theseion, the ancient temple nearby that appears in the crucial passage about music (see above). Unlike the young lotus/lottery-eaters who did not remember and could not recognize the "true" *amanes* (oblivion being typical of the Homeric lotus-eaters), the personified parts of the Theseion immediately recog-

---

[28] See Korovinis 2003; cf. also the lines from lyrics of songs about *manges*: "when I die, what are they going to say? | [...] That a dervish died, *ade* [exclamation], a night-wanderer/Aman, aman"; or "Who's the dashing [ασίκης] and brave man [λεβέντης] walking in the bazaar | with two pistols on his waist and a carnation behind his ear?", quoted in Tragaki 2007: 28 and 31; see also pp. 37 and 43 for the word *tekes*. Note that the Horologeion of Kyrristou or The Tower of the Winds was a *tekes* of dervishes until 1821; cf. how Papadiamantis starts "Athens as an Eastern city" (*Album* 294 and P5.269), creating the impression that he had been a witness to Dervishes' music himself. For details about Ottoman Athens see Yohalas and Kafetzaki 2013; see also the concise guide by Llewellyn Smith (2004a), especially chapters 8-11.

[29] For the *café-amans*, see Chatzipantazis 1986 and Tragaki 2007: 2-22; for a general introduction to Greek song in the 19th century, see Liavas 2009: 29-63.

nized (ἀνεγνώριζον) and remembered (ἐνθυμοῦντο) their own intimate kinship with the Eastern music heard from the tunnel.

The *amanes* is of course connected with the question of music, to which we will move on very soon, but we should observe first that in this section of "The Down-and-out Dervish" the Turkish language establishes itself firmly in the story. For although we have already had a glance at the dialogue between the Turkish-speaking Dervish and a *salep*-seller who was also "from that soil", here, in the scene in the tavern, we are called to imagine the *amanes* being sung in Turkish.

In fact, the story of "The Down-and-out Dervish" shows no signs of linguistic cleansing of the "barbaric" past of modern Greece. As we have already observed, the narrator not only uses words with Turkish roots, but he also repeats the Turkish adage (especially at the very end of the story) without translation (see above). To understand the "political" significance, as it were, of this gesture, it is worth mentioning, for example, the novel *Freedom and Death* by Nikos Kazantzakis, a fervent (although idiosyncratic) demoticist, where we also find a version of the same adage in the mouth of a Turkish Pasha. But unlike in Papadiamantis, in Kazantzakis the adage is given in Greek translation and without any clarification, definitely creating the impression that the Pasha was uttering the proverb in Greek.[30] Back to Papadiamantis, it is also worth noting that in "Athens as an Eastern City" from the *Album* for the Olympic Games of 1896, he used another Turkish word, *güzel* ("beautiful"), as the most apt one to express his positive feelings with accuracy, again in relation to sounds and music – this time an Athenian *kantada* serenade:

> You were hearing soft whisperings mingling with the breath of nocturnal air, and all this, the melody of the songs, the tunes of the guitars, the breath of air, the whisperings in the darkness

---

[30] Kazantzakis 1974: 165: the Pasha addressing the Cretan Metropolitan: "Αλλάχ, πώς περνάει ο καιρός, ρόδα είναι θαρρείς και γυρίζει, γυρίζει, γυρίζουμε κι εμείς μαζί της"; cf. similar words uttered by a Cretan (ibid. 343). For the Turks in Papadiamantis, see Kastrinaki 2002.

and the perfume of the flowers, constituted a blend so sensual, so indescribable, that only the Turkish word *güzel* would be able to express it somehow.[31]

In "The Down-and-out Dervish", well before the description of the Eastern music heard from the tunnel and the acknowledgment of its kinship with ancient Greek modes, the narrator has already established kinship links with the foreign Muslim. The naming of the man's origins is telling. As we saw, the Dervish "came from Rumeli, from the East, from Stamboul", the narrator says. "Stamboul" is not, of course, the way in which the Greeks name the city, the great Constantinople, the symbol and heart of the irredentist "Great Idea", "the dream and hope of all Greeks".[32] As for Rumeli, this surely points to a region much wider than the Rumeli of the Greek state. It points to the Eastern Roman Empire (Rum), which also connects the name "Romioi"[33] with Rumi, the great Sufi mystic linked with the Mevlevi Sufi Order or the Whirling Dervishes, and the "Song of reed/nai" that opens Rumi's rhyming couplets, the *Masnavi*.

---

[31] *güzel* was also a word used in songs about *manges* together with other Turkish words; see Tragaki 2007: 35, and n. 28 above. For Papadiamantis, the Turkish language and the East, see Zappeio Lykeio (electronic resource) and, in relation to "The Down-and-out Dervish", Zografeio Lykeio (electronic resource) (see also above, n. 14).

[32] Ioannis Kolettis before the constituent assembly in 1844, quoted in Clogg 2002: 47. This is not the only time that Papadiamantis uses the word "Stamboul"; cf. the short story "Ἡ χήρα του Νεομάρτυρος" (1905) (see also Aspasia Chassioti's lecture [electronic resource]), where the words "City" ("Πόλις"), "Constantinople" ("Κωνσταντινούπολις") and "Stamboul" appear interchangeably. Cf. Spanoudi 2009: 31, speaking of the first years of the 20th century: "Those days Polis was not called Stamboul". It is also worth noting that in Vizyinos's short stories the name "Stamboul" is used only once, in "The Only Journey of his Life". Cf. also Cavafy's (1884) "unpublished" poem "Dünya Güzeli", l. 23: "the crowds would fill up Stamboul's streets" (trans. D. Mendelsohn); the speaker here is a Muslim woman in a harem.

[33] For the *Romiosyni* debate five years later (in 1901, the same year as the *Evangelika* riots), sparked off by the publication of Argyris Eftaliotis's *History of Romiosyni*, see Mackridge 2009: 245-7.

Papadiamantis does not avoid using Turkish as part of the living linguistic and cultural reality he depicts, nor does he exclude the language from his own expressive means. This linguistic affiliation is all the more important within the historical context of the period and the cultural aspirations and ideologies of western civilization. It is, for example, intriguing to follow the dark-skinned Turkish-speaking "Down-and-out Dervish" wandering, speaking, singing and playing music in Athens, just before the first Olympic Games of the modern era, with all they represented for modern Greece and the Western world. For one thing, he did not at all match the Greek statues of "the blond Phoebus" (in Papadiamantis's words in his "musicological" essay "Apollo and the Skin of Marsyas"[34]), which represented the sublime aesthetic ideal of western civilization, but also of the rising "scientific racism".[35]

Soundscapes

The music heard in the tunnel unquestionably holds the centre in any discussion about the acoustic environment represented in the short story. It is in relation to this music without words that the connection with ancient Greek modes (the Lydian and the Phrygian) is made. But as we have already seen the *amanes* sung in the tavern has already established the Eastern tone of the story, also posing the question of "true" identity: "What is the 'true' *amanes*?" But in the story many other sounds are present. In fact, auditory imagery permeates "The Down-and-out Dervish" from the start.

In the first section of the short story we are transferred to an Athenian courtyard and the street in front of it. We hear the drops of rain, the first two cock-crows, but not the (biblical) third one: the cocks must have been scared by the *salep*-seller's voice, we are told. A window creaks: someone who has just got up from his warm bed wants to buy some *salep*, but, as he glances from his window, he sees the *salep*-seller talking to a tall figure – this is the

---

[34] P5.235.

[35] Fredrickson 2002: 59 and 68.

first appearance of the Dervish in the story. In the last section of the story, the thread of the encounter of the Dervish with the *salep*-seller is taken up, with the latter giving the former a double *salep* and half a roll. It is in this last section that we learn the specific location of the street: we are on Lepeniotou Street, near the church of Agioi Asomatoi.

The description of the *salep*-seller's voice at the beginning of the story is graphic:

> It was like the croaking of an unknown bird of prey, which had lost its way and descended upon the city and was searching for victims to tear them up. (111)

On the acoustic level, the harshness and violence of the *salep*-seller's voice functions as a contrary counterpart of the sweetness of the Dervish's music heard from the tunnel.[36] This is telling since it is in relation to the latter that the narrator refers to the question of historical continuity.

Undoubtedly, the phrase about the kinship between the Dervish's music and the ancient Phrygian and Lydian modes is connected with the "musical question", that is, the debate about the attempts to modernize Byzantine music through its harmonization. Papadiamantis was against such innovations. As we saw, the literature on Papadiamantis has touched on the "musical question", also providing insights into Papadiamantis's almost certain knowledge of elements associated with Sufism and Sufi music – for example, the possible connection of the great hymnodist Petros Peloponnesios, Lambadarios of the Great Church, with Sufism and the story of his funeral in the patriarchal church.[37] Having received the permission of the Patriarch, the

[36] Cf. Farinou-Malamatari 1987: 78.

[37] See especially Kamberidis 1990 (and specifically pp. 98-105 for Petros Peloponnesios); cf. Plemmenos 2003: 37-68, for Chrysanthos of Madytos as a player of the ney. A challenging research topic would be a comparison between Papadiamantis's work and the *Χρηστοήθεια των Χριστιανών* (first published 1803) by Nikodimos Agioreitis, where one of the first instructions to the Christians is to avoid playing musical instruments, dancing and singing. Du Boulay's 2009 study on "the

Dervishes from all the *tekedes* of the Queen of Cities sang their own funeral songs to the dead hymnodist and one of them descended into the grave with his nái in hand and said in Turkish: "O blessed teacher, receive this from us, your orphan students, this last gift, so that with it you might sing in Paradise with the Angels."[38]

But the "musical question" was not a debate restricted to the end of the 19th century. Suffice it to mention a short but seminal article of 1939 by the significant composer of the National School of Music, Giorgos Poniridis (who cannot be accused of being "unprogressive"). The article, entitled "The Greek Polyphonic Music", starts:

> Byzantine music is a burning issue, which has ended up being a perplexed puzzle thanks to a series of articles published recently with impudence, and sometimes even with unexplained bitterness. [...] The issue is well-known: Byzantine music vs. polyphony [...] in the Church, of course. [...] The God-inspired decision of His Beatitude the Archbishop to contribute to the return of the monophonic Byzantine music to the Church, with the pious intention of bringing back the old glory to the Byzantine ritual, will constitute a landmark [...].[39]

The harmonization of Byzantine music was part of the general attempt to elevate music according to the standards of "classical" western art music, and was connected with education (we find polyphonic religious songs being taught in the school founded by Kapodistrias in 1829 on Aigina) and with musicians and ecclesiastical music from the Ionian islands and centres of the diaspora,

---

imaginative world of an Orthodox Christian village in Greece, and specifically the cosmological, religious and moral imagination associated with the characteristic forms of its life" (p. 1) provides a valuable framework within which Papadiamantis's Orthodox world should be viewed.

[38] See Ecumenical Patriarchate (electronic resource).

[39] Poniridis 1939: 925.

such as Vienna.[40] Polyphonic ecclesiastical music was further linked with Catholic or Protestant missionaries in Greece and tendencies and circles within the Orthodox Church itself. But especially in connection with Athens we must pay attention to another link, that with the Russian "sister" Orthodox Church. In the *Album* for the Olympic Games we read, for example:

> Every Sunday many people are gathered in the Russian Church, not only members of the Russian community in Athens but also Orthodox Greeks, who are keen to enjoy the truly harmonized polyphonic music.[41]

Queen Olga, the consort of King George I and daughter of Grand Duke Constantine of Russia, of course played a crucial role in it, as well as in the translation of the Gospels into the demotic, which, as we saw, led to the violent events of the *Evangelika* in 1901. At this time the "musical question" was strongly, albeit not expressly, linked to the "language question", with most of the demoticists (but also some fervent advocates of *katharevousa*[42]) supporting to some degree or other, consistently or inconsistently, openly or latently, the modernization of ecclesiastic music.

The issue of the modernization of Byzantine liturgical music and its interaction with the "language question" was sensitive and complex, and had also to do with the way in which Eastern music (or the "Asiatic Muse") was viewed. Here we need only mention

---

[40] See n. 26 above, and the overview of music education in 19th-century Greece in Romanou and Barbaki 2011.

[41] *Album* 49.

[42] For the musical views of Georgios Mistriotis and his collaboration with Georgios Pachtikos and John Sakellarides, see Siopsi 2011; for John Sakellarides, see also Lingas 2000. For indirect references to J. Sakellarides by Papadiamantis (through reference to the Church of Agia Eirini, where he was a cantor), see P5.143 (published 1888), 146 (1888) and 231 (1900). The first 1888 article, "Λόγοι ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ καὶ μελέται", has been omitted as spurious in the most recent edition of Papadiamantis, edited by N. D. Triantafyllopoulos (Domos/Dimosiografikos Organismos Lambrakis 2011); if genuine, it should be viewed as one of Papadiamantis's most ironic articles, *pace* Ricks 2009: 252.

that the first "musicological" article by Papadiamantis in 1900 was a reaction to Zacharias Papantoniou's views about Byzantine music and the "musical question".[43] And that Elissaios Gianidis, an important figure of demoticism, was also a significant figure in the attempts to harmonize Byzantine music.[44] In 1932, for example, Gianidis gave a lecture at the Archaeological Society of Athens on the harmonization of Byzantine music, with a performance of harmonized Byzantine hymns sung by the Choir of the National Conservatoire of Manolis Kalomoiris. Among the audience were the prime minister Eleftherios Venizelos and the Archbishop of Athens.[45]

Back at the end of the 19th century, Papadiamantis must also have known of the interest in Byzantine music expressed by

---

[43] Papantoniou's note in the newspaper *Σκριπ* can be found in *Παπαδιαμαντικά τετράδια 9* (Domos 2010), p. 94 (see also p. 120). It is worth noting that Papantoniou (under the name "Other") concluded another 1902 article (mentioned ibid. p. 120) with a reference to S. Stamatiades (Elissaios Gianidis; see below): "Mr Stamatiades [...] struggles to find a happy medium between the two camps" (cited in Christides 1981: 48). Cf. a phrase from the famous 1917 article by Papantoniou against *amanes*, the "negative" of the description of the Dervish's music in Papadiamantis: "A serpent of sound, which creeps, coils, unwinds and moves violently. A goblin from the Arabian Nights, it rushes at the heights, turns back again with the head downwards or is poised in the air, like formless fumes creeping slowly many hours until they disappear. [...] It is the irresolute and numb curve, the spiral, the embroidery of primitive people motivated by no thought, and doomed to be rotated around itself in the time being." For the whole article, see Liavas 2009: 238-40.

[44] *Γλώσσα και ζωή* (1908) by Gianidis (S. Stamatiades) was a "brilliant polemical defence of demotic" (Mackridge 2009: 245). See Christides 1981; Kriaras 1999. Gianidis (born in 1865) first chanted Byzantine music in the church of his village, Panagia Koumariotissa, at Nichori on the Bosphorus (Christides 1981: 13, 15, 23, 26). Might Cavafy have heard him? Cf. Cavafy's (1884) "unpublished" "autobiographical" poem "Nichori", ll. 21-4: "If you should wish to go with me inside the church | of the Virgin of Coumaries, forgive my zealotry | when I am there. | Prayers, I daresay, win a different | grace in pious Nichori" (trans. D. Mendelsohn). Gianidis's first published essays on the harmonization of Byzantine music appeared in *Εστία* 35.13 (1893) and 38.9 (1895).

[45] Kriaras 1999: 52, 108, 118-19; Christides 1981: 51, 54.

Western musicologists such as the French Louis Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray,[46] and the importance attributed to the question of the relationship between Byzantine music and ancient Greek music, and the "distortions" the latter suffered especially during the years of Ottoman domination. Yet for Papadiamantis what mattered was not theories about purity and "high" inheritance, but the feeling of continuity and sense of belonging through the truthfulness of experience, where distinctions between lower and higher music, civilized and barbarian are extremely dangerous.[47] He says in another "musicological" article:

> Besides, Byzantine music is as Greek as it should be. We do not want it, or imagine it, as the music of the ancient Greeks. But it is the only true and the only existing music. And for us, if it is not the music of the Greeks, it is the music of the Angels.[48]

Papadiamantis points to the danger that lurks in denying a sense of kinship, in the name of progress and civilization. This was a much wider issue than a stubborn clinging to Byzantine tradition. Besides, as we saw, in his piece "Athens as an Eastern City", the music that moved him enormously in this case was a modest or "lower" Athenian *kantada*, that is, a western-influenced music. But he claimed the right to use the Turkish word *güzel* in order to express his feelings with the greatest possible accuracy. "Athens as an Eastern City" ended, as we saw, with the reference to the "Sacred Rock of the Acropolis" and an ironic comment on its connection with the "sublime, high" civilization. This brings us to the issue of national monuments.

National monuments, national heroes, and the Greek state

As we saw, in "The Down-and-out Dervish" not the Acropolis but another national monument appears: the Theseion, a more suitable

---

[46] See Bourgault-Ducoudray 1877 and 1878; also Vlagopoulos 2012.

[47] See above n. 15, for the phrase from "Στὴν Ἀγι-Ἀναστασά": "Feeling is superior to theory".

[48] P5.240 ("Ὁ ἐθνικὸς χορὸς καὶ ἡ Μουσική").

scene, it seems, for "carnal, sensual and sluggish people". During the first years of the Greek state, this area had in fact been considered as the possible site for the building of the royal palace, but eventually it was deemed inappropriate.[49]

What was the Theseion, or more accurately, the ancient Temple of Hephaistos, in 1896? For us today it is the best-preserved temple of ancient times in Greece, as we read in archaeological and tourist guides. Back in 1896 the Theseion's "authentic" face was waiting to be revealed, that is, to be cleansed of the traces of its later Christian and "barbarian" Ottoman life. It bore clear traces of both "the centuries of slavery and the centuries of glory", as Papadiamantis says. The arrival of King Otto in Athens in 1834 was the last time the building functioned as a Christian church, the church of St George the Akamatis (ἀκαμάτης meaning "sluggish", "lazy"). Immediately afterwards, it was used, on Otto's orders, as an archaeological museum. Its roof, columns and walls, as Papadiamantis describes them in "The Down-and-out Dervish", offered shelter to the newly unearthed archaeological finds, until 1874, when the first part of the building of the Archaeological Museum in Athens was completed. In 1896, the year of the Olympic Games and "The Down-and-out Dervish", the Theseion was in fact in a liminal state. It was in harmony, one could say, with the people of the lower class who lived around the area, and the cafés and taverns they frequented, like the lotus/lottery-eaters or the lower officer of Papadiamantis's story, the representative of the official Greek state. In the officer's description we find Papadiamantis again in his most ironic tone:

> A good man. When he first took over the post, he was full of zeal. He saw a fight, and he rushed to intervene. An old colleague pitied him.
>
> "When you see a fight, you should run to the nearby back-street, until the fuss passes, and then you can reappear." (113)

---

[49] Bastea 1999: 151-2.

This was one of the many pieces of advice the experienced colleague gave the young fellow-officer – "invaluable counsels", as Papadiamantis ironically comments, graphically depicting the way in which the Greek state functioned, as it headed towards modernization.

The most telling sign of this modernization in the story is of course the tunnel of the underground.[50] Critics have paid attention to it but almost exclusively as a symbol of metaphysical importance. In the story itself we read that the man "ascended to the upper world". But the image of the tunnel was also anchored in and reflected social realities and psychology. There was Athens's aspiration to become a European city, and there was also fear, which the underground generated to the Athenians.

Underground places, railways, sewers etc. are powerful symbols of modernization and at the same time key themes in European literature in their representations of the modern city.[51] Papadiamantis did not travel outside Greece, but through his job as a journalist-translator he must have known very well, for example, of the debates about the construction of the Paris underground, which would finally start in 1898 as the 1900 Paris Exposition was approaching. But above all he knew the underground images of great metropolises as presented in literature, of London (in Dickens, for example) or Paris; some of the most vivid ones are the sewers in Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*. But in the case of Athens the tunnel was something more. It was the meeting place of the city's aspirations to modernization and, at the same time, its claim to ancient glory. It seems no accident that the tunnel under construction concentrates the very vocabulary pertaining to archaeological work, through the emphatic use of the verb "dig" (ἡ σῆραγξ ἐσκάπτετο, εἶχε σκαφῆ/ἦτο σκαμμένη). As in the case of the Athens metro a century later, digging the tunnel of the

---

[50] "This is the only mention of a public work in progress": Kotzias 1992: 46-7.

[51] See, for example, Pike 2005.

underground that would link Athens with Piraeus meant stumbling across remains of Athens's glorious past.[52]

By placing the dark-skinned foreign Muslim in the heart of one of the most powerful symbols of modernization and progress that also touched on the ideological role of archaeology,[53] Papadiamantis gives a metaphysical, as well as a political message: that true "cosmopolitanism" and "modernization" in the case of Greece can only exist when the Greeks are not afraid of listening to and accepting their deepest, or "true", Eastern self. It is again the theme of memory, which had emerged negatively in the case of the lotus/lottery-eaters in the tavern and positively in the case of the roof, columns and walls of the as yet uncleansed Theseion.

Within this context, it is worth looking at the last section of the story, where we are provided with the details about the street where the Dervish meets the *salep*-seller:

> He [= the Dervish] followed the small backstreet, in front of the sanctuary of Agioi Asomatoi. This backstreet had been named by the revered committee by means of a written signpost as "Lepeniotou Street".
>
> If his spirit had been there and could have seen the poor Dervish, expelled, in exile, homeless, shaking in the narrow street, crawling between the two rows of old houses, Lepeniotis the Lionhearted himself, despite his revengeful passion for the death of his brother, the great hero, would have shown mercy to him.
>
> The *salep*-seller took pity on him, and for five pence he gave him a double *salep* and half a roll to dunk in it, and left the neighbour with the shawl, who had just left his warm bed, getting cold waiting at the small window. (115-16)

The church of Agioi Asomatoi and the mercy shown by the *salep*-seller is connected with the question of Orthodoxy, but the reference to Lepeniotis explicitly points to the figure of the national

[52] See Mallouchou-Tufano 2004: 187.
[53] Cf. Peckham 2001: 115-36, a chapter eloquently entitled "Life Underground: Archaeology and the Recovery of the Present".

hero as promoted by the Greek state. Furthermore, Lepeniotis is the only named individual in the short story, other than Christ – the latter in the section devoted to the music played by the Dervish in the tunnel.[54] Both Lepeniotis the lionhearted, as Papadiamantis calls him, and his famous brother Katsantonis were klephts of considerable significance. The latter in particular, who remains unnamed in the short story, was immortalized in klephtic songs, poems, short stories and novels, in the shadow-puppet theatre of Karaghiozis and later in the paintings of Theophilos.

But why did Papadiamantis not name Katsantonis? Is it because everybody would recognize and remember him through the reference to his brother Lepeniotis, a lesser hero after all? We should rather doubt it. Neither of them appears, for example, in the 1896 *Album* for the Olympic Games in the section devoted to "National Heroes" (Lord Byron featuring among them). The non-naming of Katsantonis by Papadiamantis might well be seen as a caustic indirect comment on the construction of "National Heroes" and "National History". For some events in the life and exploits of Katsantonis and Lepeniotis certainly correspond to an "heroic Greek model", but there are other elements (such as their complex relationship with Ali Pasha) that deny clear-cut distinctions and simplistic characterizations. Papadiamantis, as well as his friend Giannis Vlachogiannis, knew such details very well. But how many officials, such as the members of the "revered committee" that ordered the signpost with Lepeniotis' name on it knew or were interested in learning about Lepeniotis's and Katsantonis's "true" life? The reference to the church of Agioi Asomatoi further enhances Papadiamantis's ironic attitude.

Orthodoxy

As in the case of the Theseion, it is worth asking whether the small church of Agioi Asomatoi to which Papadiamantis refers was the same then as we know it today. The present form of the church is the result of a dynamic initiative on the part of the

---

[54] Cf. Farinou-Malamatari 1987: 77.

Christian Archaeological Society in 1958, to demolish the additions made to the Byzantine building in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.[55] Papadiamantis did not live to see the major enlargement of 1916-1923 (he died in 1911), but he witnessed the first one, which had been completed in 1895, that is, one year before the publication of "The Down-and-out Dervish". The decision to enlarge the church was taken and/or approved, we can imagine, by a similar, if not the same, committee that decided on the naming of Lepeniotou Street. The rationale was of course to provide a bigger church for the worship of God. Within this context, the placing of the meeting between the Dervish and the *salep*-seller outside this church acquires a further ironic tone.

We are almost inclined to wonder whether any of the people who decided on the enlargement of the church for the better worship of God might have taken pity on the homeless man, as Lepeniotis would have done, as the narrator says, and the *salep*-seller did. The fact that this latter figure was connected, as we saw, with the most frightening voice in the story – within the civic/civilized context and morality, he appears as a bird of prey – poses the question of what "true" pity and love is. This seems ultimately to constitute the heart of the story, linguistically pointed to by four words: moving backwards from the end of the story, there is first the word ἐλυπήθη in relation to the *salep*-seller ("The *salep*-seller *took pity on* him"); the word ἐσπλαγχνίζετο, in relation to Lepeniotis ("Lepeniotis the Lionhearted himself [...] would have *shown mercy to* him"); the word φιλάνθρωπον in relation to Christ ("Nái, nái. Two dots keep it from being the *Nai*/*Yes*, which Christ said. The gentle *Nai*/*Yes*, the humble and mild, the *man-loving Nai*/*Yes*"); and, challengingly, the very word *amanes*, from the Turkish *aman*, "mercy". Whether Papadiamantis is to be seen as an ultra-Orthodox conservative spirit or as the valuable guardian of the Orthodox tradition, the intriguing combination of these four words should be addressed.

---

[55] For details about the history of the church in the 19th and 20th centuries, see Stikas 1959.

I suggest that this combination should be seen in the light of the parable of the good Samaritan. As is well-known, this parable (Luke 10.23-37) was recounted by Jesus in response to the question posed by a certain lawyer who asked "Who is my neighbour?" in the commandment: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself." In the parable, the man who showed compassion for an injured stranger was not a priest or a Levite, but a Samaritan, Jesus says provocatively. In the eyes of his Jewish audience the Samaritans were bitter enemies. Arguably, the parable of the good Samaritan might be a key subtext for the distinctive humanity of Papadiamantis's "The Down-and-out Dervish", where the narrator shows himself similarly provocative in the treatment of the theme "Love thy neighbour as thyself". In his short story the agent of the sweet music that brings the man-loving Yes of Christ to mind is a Turkish Muslim, and the man who takes pity on him is a wild *salep*-seller. The linguistic similarities must not be missed: in the parable the same verb σπλαγχνίζομαι appears: "But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was: and when he saw him, he had compassion on him" (ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ἐσπλαγχνίσθη; Luke 10.33); and a few lines prior to the parable Christ says "Yes, Father" (ναί, ὁ πατήρ, Luke 10.21)[56] – one of the "man-loving Yeses" of the Gospels.

Conclusion

With the Eastern music of the protagonist dominating its imagery, Papadiamantis's 1896 short story "The Down-and-out Dervish" presents a unique combination of elements that are central to modern literature about national identity and the sense of belonging: historical continuity, memory, the construction of national myths, monuments, language, distinctions on the basis of religion and race. If the slogan "Fatherland, religion, family" was constructed during this period of modernization of the Greek state,

---

[56] Cf. Triantafyllopoulos 2001: 128.

Papadiamantis places at the centre of his story a man who goes against all of the three constituents of the slogan: a homeless, foreign Turkish-speaking Muslim, without a family. The use by the narrator of the name "Stamboul" instead of Constantinople; the cyclic symbolism and sense of time expressed, among other things, through the repeated adage about fate in Turkish; and, above all, the presentation of the music heard from the newly excavated tunnel as a moment of epiphany and *ekstasis* (or a "fateful night") for the Christian narrator, who by his verbal improvisation identifies himself with the improvising "Down-and-out Dervish"; all this proclaims the narrator's refusal to fear kinship with the "other", more particularly the "other" within oneself. It is a complex metaphysical as well as political message where the order "love thy neighbour as thyself" becomes not a sterile preaching, but a way of life and at the same time a prerequisite for "true" modernity.

References

Bastea, Eleni (1999). *The Creation of Modern Athens: Planning the Myth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Beard, Mary (2002). *The Parthenon*. London: Profile

Beaton, Roderick and David Ricks (eds.) (2009). *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, Romanticism, and the uses of the past (1797-1896)*. Farnham: Ashgate

Bourgault-Ducoudray, Louis-Albert (1877). *Études sur la musique ecclésiastique grecque. Mission musicale en Grèce et en Orient. Janvier-Mai 1875*. Paris: Librairie Hachette

Bourgault-Ducoudray, Louis-Albert (1878). *Souvenirs d'une mission musicale en Grèce et en Orient.* 2nd ed. Paris: Librairie Hachette

Carabott, Philip (1993). "Politics, Orthodoxy, and the Language Question in Greece. The Gospel Riots of November 1901", *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 3: 117-38

Chatzipantazis, Thodoros (1986). *Της ασιάτιδος μούσης ερασταί... Η ακμή του Αθηναϊκού Καφέ Αμάν στα χρόνια της βασιλείας του*

Γεωργίου του Α΄. Συμβολή στη μελέτη της προϊστορίας του ρεμπέτικου. Athens: Stigmi

Chiotelli, Kaiti (2001). "Συνομιλώντας με τον «Ξεπεσμένο δερβίση»", in: N. D. Triantafyllopoulos (ed.), *Φώτα ολόφωτα. Ένα αφιέρωμα στον Παπαδιαμάντη και τον κόσμο του*. Athens: ELIA, pp. 359-67 (1st ed. 1981)

Christides, Ch. (1981). *Ελισαίος Γιανίδης. Ο άνθρωπος – το έργο του*. Athens: Etaireia Spoudon Neoellinikou Politismou kai Genikis Paideias

Clogg, Richard (2002). *A concise history of Greece*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Dialla, Anta (2005). "Ευαγγελικά και (παν)σλαβισμός: ο παράδοξος συσχετισμός;", in: *Ευαγγελικά (1901) – Ορεστειακά (1903). Νεωτερικές πιέσεις και κοινωνικές αντιστάσεις. Επιστημονικό συμπόσιο (31 Οκτωβρίου & 1 Νοεμβρίου 2003)*. Athens: Etaireia Spoudon Neoellinikou Politismou kai Genikis Paideias, pp. 43-61

Dialla, Anta (2009). *Η Ρωσία απέναντι στα Βαλκάνια. Ιδεολογία και πολιτική στο δεύτερο μισό του 19ου αιώνα*. Athens: Alexandria

du Boulay, Juliet (2009). *Cosmos, life, and liturgy in a Greek Orthodox village*. Limni, Evia: Denise Harvey

Elytis, Odysseas (1992). *Εν λευκώ*. Athens: Ikaros

Farinou-Malamatari, Georgia (1987). *Αφηγηματικές τεχνικές στον Παπαδιαμάντη 1887-1910*. Athens: Kedros

Farinou-Malamatari, Georgia (2005). "Μικρή εισαγωγή στην πρόσληψη του Παπαδιαμάντη", in: G. Farinou-Malamatari (ed.), *Εισαγωγή στην πεζογραφία του Παπαδιαμάντη* (Heraklion: Panepistimiakes Ekdoseis Kritis), pp. 11-51

Farinou-Malamatari, Georgia (forthcoming). "Το αίσθημα, η θεωρία και το παλίμψηστο. Σχόλια 'Στὴν Ἀγι-Ἀναστασά'", in: *Το σχοίνισμα της γραφής: Παπαδιαμαντ(ολογ)ικές μελέτες*. Athens: Gutenberg

Fokas, Nikos (2004). *Με θάμβος και κρίση*. Athens: Nefeli

Frantzolas, Giorgos (2010). *Το καμίνι που δροσίζει. Προσεγγίσεις στον Παπαδιαμάντη και στον Πεντζίκη*. Xanthi: Politistiko Anaptyxiako Kentro Thrakis

Fredrickson, George M. (2002). *Racism: A short history*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

Gazi, Efi (2011). *"Πατρίς, θρησκεία, οικογένεια". Ιστορία ενός συνθήματος (1880-1930)*. Athens: Polis

Georgousopoulos, Kostas (2001). "Νάι, Νάζι, ναι", *Λέξη* 162: 130-3

Gotsi, Georgia (2004). *Η ζωή εν τη πρωτευούση. Θέματα αστικής πεζογραφίας από το τέλος του 19ου αιώνα*. Athens: Nefeli

Hamilakis, Yannis (2007). *The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, archaeology, and national imagination in Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Kalogeropoulos, Angelos (1993). *Ο θρους του δέρατος. Η μουσική στον Παπαδιαμάντη*. Athens: Armos

Kamberidis, Lambros (1990). *Το Νάϊ το γλυκύ... το πράον*. Athens: Domos (1st ed. 1982)

Kamberidis, Lambros (2001). "Αύρας λεπτής εγκάλεσμα", in: N. D. Triantafyllopoulos (ed.), *Φώτα ολόφωτα. Ένα αφιέρωμα στον Παπαδιαμάντη και τον κόσμο του*. Athens: ELIA, pp. 207-31 (1st ed. 1981)

Kastrinaki, Angela (2002). "Η εικόνα του Τούρκου: ανάμεσα στον πατριωτισμό και στη θρησκευτικότητα", in: *Πρακτικά Β΄ Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου για τον Αλέξανδρο Παπαδιαμάντη*. Athens: Domos, pp. 233-46

Kazantzakis, Nikos (1974). *Καπετάν Μιχάλης*. Athens: Eleni Kazantzaki [*Freedom and Death*, trans. Jonathan Griffin. London: Faber and Faber]

Kechagioglou, Giorgos (2001). "Ενας αιώνας στην πρόσληψη του ανατολίτικου αυλού: το νάι/νέι στον Ρήγα, τον Παπαδιαμάντη και τον Μιχαήλ Αργυρόπουλο", *Μικροφιλολογικά* 10: 22-5

Koliopoulos, John and Thanos Veremis (2010). *Modern Greece: A history since 1821*. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell

Kopidakis, M. Z. (2011). "Η πεποικιλμένη πρόζα του Αλ. Παπαδιαμάντη", in: Th. Nakas (ed.), *Ρητορικός Παπαδιαμάντης*. Athens: Patakis, pp. 15-27

Korovinis, Thomas (2003). *Οι ασίκηδες. Εισαγωγή και ανθολογία της τουρκικής λαϊκής ποίησης από τον 13ο αιώνα μέχρι σήμερα*. Athens: Agra

Kotzias, Alexandros (1992). *Τα Αθηναϊκά του Παπαδιαμάντη και δύο δοκίμια για το χρόνο*. Athens: Nefeli

Kriaras, Emmanouil (1999). *Ελισαίος Γιανίδης. Ο νηφάλιος*. Thessaloniki

Liavas, Lambros (2010). *Το ελληνικό τραγούδι. Από το 1821 έως τη δεκαετία του 1950*. Athens: Emporiki Trapeza tis Ellados

Lind, Tore Tvarnø (2012). *The past is always present: The revival of the Byzantine musical tradition at Mount Athos*. Plymouth: Scarecrow

Lingas, Alexander (2000). "Sakellarides, John", in: G. Speake (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Greece and the Hellenic Tradition*. London: Fitzroy Dearborn, pp. 1482-3

Lingas, Alexander (2006). "Medieval Byzantine chant and the sound of Orthodoxy", in: A. Louth and A. Casiday (eds.), *Byzantine Orthodoxies*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 131-50

Lingas, Alexander (2008). "Music", in E. Jeffreys, J. Haldon and R. Cormack (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 915-35

Llewellyn Smith, Michael (2004a). *Athens*. Oxford: Signal

Llewellyn Smith, Michael (2004b). *Olympics in Athens, 1896: The invention of the modern Olympic Games*. London: Profile

Lorentzatos, Zissimos (1994). *Μελέτες*, vol. 1. Athens: Domos

Mackridge, Peter (2008). "Cultural Difference as National Identity in Modern Greece", in: K. Zacharia, *Hellenisms: Culture, identity, and ethnicity from antiquity to modernity*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 297-319

Mackridge, Peter (2009). *Language and national identity in Greece, 1766-1976*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Mallouchou-Tufano, Fani (2004). "Οι αρχαιότητες της Αθήνας κατά τους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνες του 1896", in Solomou-Prokopiou and Vogiatzi 2004: 171-209

Moullas, Panagiotis (1981). *Α. Παπαδιαμάντης αυτοβιογραφούμενος*. Athens: Ermis

Papadimitrakopoulos, E. Ch. (1992). *Επί πτίλων αύρας νυκτερινής. Πέντε κείμενα για τον Παπαδιαμάντη*. Athens: Nefeli

Peckham, Robert Shannan (1998). "Papadiamantis, ecumenism and the theft of Byzantium", in: D. Ricks and P. Magdalino (eds.), *Byzantium and the Modern Greek identity*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 91-104

Peckham, Robert Shannan (2001). *National histories, natural states: Nationalism and the politics of place in Greece.* London: I. B. Tauris

Philopoulos, Giannis (1990). *Εισαγωγή στην ελληνική πολυφωνική εκκλησιαστική μουσική*. Athens: Nefeli

Philopoulos, Giannis (1993). *Ρωσικές επιδράσεις στην ελληνική πολυφωνική εκκλησιαστική μουσική*. Athens: Nefeli

Pike, David L. (2005). *Subterranean cities: The world beneath Paris and London, 1800-1945*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press

Plemmenos, Ioannis (2003). *Το μουσικό πορτρέτο του νεοελληνικού διαφωτισμού*. Athens: Psifida

Polychronakis, Dimitris (2011). "Ο δαίμων της μουσικής στον Αλέξανδρο Παπαδιαμάντη και στον Νικόλαο Επισκοπόπουλο: Ut musica poesis", *Κονδυλοφόρος* 10: 5-34

Poniridis, Giorgos (1939). "Η ελληνική πολυφωνική μουσική", *Νέα Εστία* 26 (301): 925-7

Progkides, Lakis (2002). *Ο Παπαδιαμάντης και η Δύση*. Athens: Estia

Richardson, Angelique (2003). "The Life Sciences: 'Everybody nowadays talks about evolution'", in: D. Bradshaw (ed.), *A Concise Companion to Modernism*. Malden: Blackwell, pp. 6-33

Ricks, David (2009). "*In partibus infidelium*: Alexandros Papadiamantis and Orthodox disenchantment with the Greek State", in: Beaton and Ricks 2009: 249-57

Ricks, David (2012). "Modern Greek literature and Orthodoxy", in: A. Casiday (ed.), *The Orthodox Christian World.* Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 504-16

Romanou, Katy (1996). *Εθνικής μουσικής περιήγησις 1901-1912. Ελληνικά μουσικά περιοδικά ως πηγή έρευνας της ιστορίας της νεοελληνικής μουσικής*. Athens: Koultoura

Romanou, Katy and Maria Barbaki (2011). "Music education in nineteenth-century Greece: Its institutions and their contribution to urban musical life", *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 8.1: 57-84

Seferis, George (2007). *A Levant Journal* (trans. Roderick Beaton). Jerusalem: Ibis Editions

Siopsi, Anastasia (2011). "Music in the imaginary worlds of the Greek nation: Greek art music during the nineteenth-century's *fin de siècle* (1880s-1910s)", *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 8.1: 17-39

Solomou-Prokopiou, Aliki and Ifigeneia Vogiatzi (eds.) (2004). *Η Αθήνα στα τέλη του 19ου αιώνα. Οι πρώτοι διεθνείς Ολυμπιακοί Αγώνες.* Athens: Istoriki kai Ethnologiki Etaireia tis Ellados

Spanoudi, Sofia (2009). *Στα παλάτια του Χαμίτ* (ed. A. Savvakis). Athens: 21st Century Editions (first published 1935)

Stikas, Efstathios (1959). "Ο ναός των Αγίων Ασωμάτων «Θησείου»", *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, Περίοδος Δ΄, 1: 115-26

Tragaki, Dafni (2007) *Rebetiko worlds: Ethnomusicology and ethnography in the city.* Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Triantafyllopoulos, N. D. (1986). *Μινύρισμα πτηνού χειμαζομένου. Φιλολογικά στον Παπαδιαμάντη.* Athens: Kastaniotis

Triantafyllopoulos, N. D. (2001). "Παράλληλα και αντιπαράλληλα", *Lexi* 162: 124-9

Triantafyllopoulos, N. D. (2004). "Επιλογικό σημείωμα", in: *Αλέξανδρου Παπαδιαμάντη, Ο ξεπεσμένος δερβίσης.* Thessaloniki: Mygdonia

Vlagopoulos, Panos (2012). "Επιστημονικός ρατσισμός και αγνός πατριωτισμός. Η ιδεολογία γύρω από τις συλλογές παραδοσιακών τραγουδιών του Bourgault-Ducoudray και του Άραμη", *Μουσικός Λόγος* 10: 19-42

Zouboulakis, Stavros (2004). "Η πεπρωμένη νύχτα του «Ξεπεσμένου δερβίση»", *Νέα Εστία* 1769: 150-2

Zouboulakis, Stavros (2011). "Ο Ζήσιμος Λορεντζάτος και η Ορθόδοξη ερμηνευτική του Παπαδιαμάντη", in: N. D. Triantafyllopoulos (ed.), *Ο Παπαδιαμάντης του Ζήσιμου Λορεντζάτου.* Athens: Ikaros, pp. 115-29

Yohalas, Thanasis and Tonia Kafetzaki (2012). *Αθήνα. Ιχνηλατώντας την πόλη με οδηγό την ιστορία και τη λογοτεχνία.* Athens: Estia

Electronic resources

Ecumenical Patriarchate, Byzantine Music:
http://www.ec-patr.net/en/history/petros-lambadarios.htm

European Society of Modern Greek Studies:

Kalospyros, Nikolaos, "Disrupting fading national identities and questioning the identity of Faith: identifying Papadiamantis", http://www.eens.org/EENS_congresses/2010/Kalospyros_Nicholas.pdf

International Conference: "100 + 1 Χρόνια Αλέξανδρος Παπαδιαμάντης – Ζωγράφειο Λύκειο, Μαντουλίδη Εκπαιδευτήρια", 15-18 March 2012:

Farinou-Malamatari, Georgia, "«Το αίσθημα είναι ανώτερον της θεωρίας». Σχόλια στο διήγημα 'Στην Αγι-Αναστασά'", http://www.livemedia.gr/video/20440; see also above G. Farinou-Malamatari (forthcoming)

Chasioti, Aspasia, "Πόλη και Ανατολή στο έργο του Παπαδιαμάντη", http://www.livemedia.gr/video/20327

Zappeio Lykeio, "Τούρκικες λέξεις και εκφράσεις στον Παπαδιαμάντη", http://www.livemedia.gr/video/20326

Zografeio Lykeio, "Στοιχεία ανατολής στον «Ξεπεσμένο δερβίση»", http://www.livemedia.gr/video/20328

Pedagogical Institute, Ministry of Education, Lifelong Learning and Religious Affairs:

Papathanasiou, Stelios, "Ο ξεπεσμένος δερβίσης και ο θρίαμβος της ετερότητας", http://www.pi-schools.gr/lessons/religious/syn_prosgiseis/thr_proseg/40.pdf

Triantafyllopoulos, N. D. (see Triantafyllopoulos 2004), http://www.pi-schools.gr/lessons/religious/syn_prosgiseis/thr_proseg/30.pdf