

# ETUDES HELLENIQUES

# HELLENIC STUDIES

**La République de Chypre: 50  
ans après**

**The Republic of Cyprus: 50  
Years After**

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# Colonialism and Independence in Cypriot Prose writings\*\*

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## RÉSUMÉ

Cet article analyse des écrits en prose chypriotes dans le cadre de la théorie postcoloniale, en vue de montrer l'évolution de l'expérience coloniale et l'indépendance de Chypre telle que perçue par ses écrivains. Cette étude commence par une introduction générale au colonialisme et à son rejet en utilisant la théorie postcoloniale. Par la suite, elle se concentre sur les écrits en prose de 1950, principalement ceux qui se réfèrent à la lutte anticoloniale par laquelle le colonialisme a été renversé. Référence est alors faite aux *Citrons Amers* de Lawrence Durrell comme un exemple de discours colonial à travers lequel la lutte anticoloniale et l'identité nationale des Chypriotes grecs sont remises en question. La réponse intertextuelle (le rapport qu'un texte peut avoir avec d'autres textes) qui s'ensuit du côté grec, comme une forme de contre-discours ou d'anti-discours, fait aussi l'objet d'un examen. La dernière partie de l'article traite brièvement de la scène post-coloniale: en d'autres termes il est indiqué comment les auteurs représentent l'indépendance et les développements politiques contemporains (principalement les conflits entre Grecs et Turcs) en fonction de différentes idéologies et positions façonnées par l'entrelacement du passé et du présent.

## ABSTRACT

This article analyses Cypriot prose writings within the framework of postcolonial theory with a view to showing the evolution of the colonial experience and Cypriot independence as perceived by its writers. It begins with a general introduction to colonialism and its rejection through the development of postcolonial theory. Thereafter it focuses on prose writings from the 1950s -mainly those recording the anticolonial struggle- through which colonialism is subverted. Reference is then made to Lawrence Durrell's work *Bitter Lemons* as an example of colonial discourse through which both the anticolonial struggle and the national identity of the Greek-Cypriots are questioned. The ensuing intertextual response, a form of counter discourse from the Greek side, is then examined. The last part briefly deals with the postcolonial scene: in other words

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how the authors represent independence and the contemporary political developments (mainly conflict between Greeks and Turks) according to different ideologies and positions shaped by the intertwining of past and present.

## **Introduction: Colonial discourse**

Colonialism (1878-1959) constitutes an important phase in the history of Cyprus, not only as being an integral part of its past, but as a legacy to its postcolonial present. In all colonised countries, the colonisers developed a mechanism of power politics which created 'Knowledge'<sup>1</sup> for their subjects in order to justify the conquest, surveillance and imposition of governance which was ultimately aimed at their exploitation. As a result, there was a development of colonial discourse through which the legitimisation of the conquest and the imposition of power was sought. Colonial discourse divides people into two fixed, invariable and antithetical zones: the 'superior' colonisers and the 'inferior' colonised (Said, 1989: 207).

It reduces the colonised, whom it considers degenerate, backward and underdeveloped<sup>2</sup>, to a state of inferiority and dependence, whilst it simultaneously develops an ideology of superiority for the coloniser, whom it considers a modernising and civilising force for the locals or 'natives' as it broadly refers to them (Bhabha, 1983:23). All these are nothing but an attempt to disguise the real reasons for exploitation. In the words of Sartre, colonisers in reality refuse human rights to people whom they have subjugated through violence, and whom they continue to keep in a state of indigence and ignorance by employing violence – a state that Marx would term a 'subhuman condition'. Racism is deeply rooted in every action, institution and production mode applied by the colonisers (Sartre, 1991:XXIV).

The idea of an incompatible, irreconcilable *difference* with the inferior 'Other' constitutes the cornerstone of colonial thought. According to this, the inferiority of the locals extends to all levels of human existence, i.e. physical, spiritual and cultural and as a result these people are considered incapable of great western achievements. The interpretation of *difference* is presented in a number of ways the most important being *racism*.<sup>3</sup> Ultimately *racism* became an axiom of colonialism. In other words, colonial thought concedes that some races are superior to others; that there is a racial hierarchy, at the top of which one finds those nations that can exploit the employment sectors and govern others (Osterhammel, 1997: 108). According to these stereotypes, the 'Others' (the subjugated people) are 'non-normal' and therefore the intervention of colonisers

is essential to the process of 'normalisation'. The reformation of the 'imperfect subject', i.e. the colonised, is based on *mimicry*.<sup>4</sup> Through *mimicry* the subject will be led to a state where he will almost be the same -but not exactly the same- as the coloniser (Bhabha, 1984: 126). Thus, as a result of this fundamental position regarding difference and inferiority, emerges the belief in the 'sacred mission' of the superior race, which is to guide the inferior races, so that they may progress. The whole process is considered to be 'the white man's burden'.

British rule -which particularly concerns us here- was imposed by a combination of European ideas and local customs. In other words it combined the European views that as a superior nation it would bring progress and modernisation to an underdeveloped country and practices of local rule<sup>5</sup> and forms of governance that served it. The forms of governance it implemented usually divided or encouraged rivalry between the various groups of the land (races or ethnic groups). This strategy was also implemented in the case of Cyprus.<sup>6</sup> The European ideas of the Enlightenment were used by the colonial powers to a degree that did not threaten or undermine their rule. This is the reason they could not accept that the colonised could become totally like or equal to them (Mann, 2004:5 & Bhabha, 1983: 23)<sup>7</sup>.

## Postcolonialism

Usually, the development of an ideology, theory or trend in any field is followed by another as a reaction, response or rejection after the former has prevailed for a long length of time. Postcolonialism likewise emerged as a response to colonial ideology. This has been strengthened by the historical and political developments on the world stage with the struggles for freedom and independence of countries, which were formerly colonies of various European powers. Its focus -as the term itself implies- concerns 'the postcolonial period of former colonies- although with the passage of time it was broadened in order to include the examination of different forms of inequality in different areas (civilisation, race, social classes, mainstream and margins etc). Its aim is to give a voice to the *subaltern*, i.e. the marginalised.

In order for the aims of postcolonialism to be achieved it is essential that history be examined, i.e. the production of history and its reception. History is very important because of the intertwining of past and present - because of the fact that different historical moments are not obsolete but "*interdependent, they overlap and coexist*" (Said, 1996:29-30). Postcolonialism functions as a resistance to the silencing of the consequences of colonialism. Rather, it aims at a return to

the past through memory in order to explore and 'interrogate' it (Gandhi, 1998:4) so that it may interpret the present. Postcolonial theory applies constant and careful examination of past ideologies, politics and power-play in an attempt to re-examine and correct oversights, mistakes, biased presentations or even a lack of understanding or familiarity with the local history and culture by the governing powers. The emphasis is now placed on the history of the postcolonial countries so that the picture may be completed. Postcolonialism therefore ends up taking on an interventionist, corrective role.

It is therefore evident that history plays a fundamental role, not only as an end in itself, i.e. to examine 'history and the historical truth', but also as a process of recognising the local culture and national identity. This is why history holds such a central place in Cypriot literature. Moreover, it creates a rational process of self-awareness through which the individual is reconnected to the collective identity of its nation (Gandhi, 1998:105).<sup>8</sup> The constant threat to a nation makes its defence an imperative with its writers referring back to history as a means to achieve it. Through a cyclic course of history the nation seeks to return to a pristine state (a state of independence) (Innes, 1996:123). As expected, the way in which the writers of a nation deal with the colonial past and the postcolonial present is not uniform. The same applies to Cyprus' Greek writers.

Postcolonialism also focuses on the study of the political and cultural consequences colonialism had on the societies of both the colonisers' and of the colonised (Young, 2007:34).<sup>9</sup> The theory is an indictment of power structures and every form of forced rule that results in inequality of any form (political, social, cultural). It also gives the opportunity to the liberated, newly established states to show their leadership and promote themselves. Now western discourse, which prevailed and spoke for all, is juxtaposed to the non-western, 'the Third-World'<sup>10</sup> discourse, as Bill Ashcroft argued in his work *The Empire Writes Back* (1989), which is now, regarded a classic for those dealing with this field. Moreover, an opportunity is given to the 'margins' to move to the 'centre', as well as an opportunity to revise the perception regarding the hierarchy of world civilisation into superior (western) and inferior (eastern, non-western).

A more effective way of responding to history is also the intervention of literature (Ashcroft, 1998:25-26) through which an additional voice is added to the existing one, so that the situation may be remedied. Literature plays an even more important role, because it is often written not as a response to the colonisers, but actually addresses the people of the newly-established state in order to assist them with self-criticism and the redefinition of their cultural and national identity<sup>11</sup> or even, in order to assist in the shaping of the nation

(Quayson, 2000:77-78 & Innes, 1996:120,127). Following independence, the respective cultures of both the metropolis and its former colonies undergo a period of identity crisis until the relationship between them is redefined and transformed. In this case literature once again becomes part of a developing, urban, international culture (King, 1996:3).<sup>12</sup>

In former colonies, the combination of history and literature often becomes one of primary importance. The writers of these nations deal more with the political state of the nation, the public and political responsibilities, at the expense of personal issues. This is evident in the literature of Cyprus. The pre-eminent culture critic, Fredric Jameson, considers the relationship between history and literature to be very important and consequently that every cultural product (such as literature) should be seen as a lens through which a perspective of history is examined. Moreover, the study of history's great moments can offer us a new angle from which we can examine literature. He calls this retrogressive movement 'historicizing'. Furthermore it enables us to discover ever more complicated social relationships (Hardt & Weeks, 2011:11-12). Thus he ascribes great importance to the political approach and interpretation of literary works (Jameson, 2001:34, 36),<sup>13</sup> because he believes that literature is a 'socially symbolic act'.<sup>14</sup> He argues that in the literature of former colonised countries what dominates is the national allegory, since even in the case where the individual is projected, it is done to promote the national reality (Jameson, 2001:319-320).<sup>15</sup> Despite the fact that Jameson's views have been widely criticized (Gandhi, 1998b),<sup>16</sup> nevertheless, the examination of literature within the context of postcolonialism focuses on the presentation of history and culture rather than its aesthetic side, something which is congruent with Eagleton's views, that texts should not be separated from political discourse. For Eagleton, aesthetics must cease to be an end in itself, and once again take up the role of mediator between art and *social act* (Eagleton, 1990:1-4, 370).

Over the past two decades or so, and within the context of postcolonial theory, there has been a marked development in the area of literary criticism. There has also been an increase in the works that were written in response to, or to subvert both English and other writings of colonising countries. These works in different fields are known as 'writing back', 'counter-discourse', 'oppositional literature', 'contexts', etc. They also aim at overturning stereotypes created for the colonised (Thieme, 2001:1-4).

Keeping in mind the above views, we will examine selected Cypriot writings from the 1950s, when the anticolonial struggle and the scathing questioning of colonial thought begin. Following this, we will examine novels from the

postcolonial period, most of which were written under the influence of contemporary events, in particular the Turkish invasion. Thus, the colonial past now comes to the forefront filtered by the events of Greek-Turkish conflict and is dealt with according to its writer's ideology.

### **Subverting Colonialism and Colonial Discourse**

The Greek-Cypriot resistance movement and struggle for independence against the British (1955-1959) has been the subject of several literary works. The works, however, that were written during the struggle or immediately after independence, are far fewer in comparison to the works written recently, and which either use this struggle as their central theme or as one of their themes. In the first case, the struggle is a contemporaneous eyewitness testimony which is expressed in direct relation to events as they occurred or shortly after the events. In the second case, the events are recalled to memory after a period of time and hence the perspective from which they are presented is influenced by the present in which the works are written.

In the 1950s, i.e. the eve of the outbreak of the anticolonial struggle and during the struggle itself, there is an emergence of writings which function both as a response to the prevailing colonial discourse and as an affirmation of the island's Greek identity. The driving force of the anticolonial struggle is Greek nationalism, the union of Cyprus with Greece being its ultimate aim. The writers of this period express no dilemma regarding the justice of the anticolonial struggle. The British presence on the island is considered as an illegal and unjust occupation. The approach to this issue and the way different aspects of the struggle are emphasised vary. However, the ideological nucleus during this phase remains the same.

Xanthos Lisiotis's work *Captain Yiannakis* (1953)<sup>17</sup> could be considered as a precursor of the anticolonial struggle. It was published in the period between expectation and conflict (from colonialism to anticolonialism) and thematically begins to promote a heroic spirit. This spirit was of vital importance to the impending liberation struggle. The work (written as a poetic prose) combines significant, historical moments and tragic events viewed in a sentimental and idealistic way. The heroic spirit and resistance against the island's occupiers are glorified diachronically and projected as a supreme ideal. The narrator looks back at the revolt of October 1931 and then using the memories of three successive generations (his own, his father's and grandfather's) equates the conditions of slavery experienced by the people of the island. Through successive

narrations, which overlap, one can see the intertwining of past and present, as well as the national continuity. A fragmented plot works in a similar way, with its time gaps and condensing present and past. National identity, as well as the close, reciprocal relationship between Greece and Cyprus, are highlighted. Through carefully selected comments about the cultural identity (including the Christian Orthodox one) of the Greek-Cypriots, Lysiotis undermines the prevailing colonial ideology of the time, which questions the Greekness of Cypriots, as well as their capacity to revolt. It becomes clear then that the writer must turn to the past in order to validate the heroic spirit and the survival of Hellenism under successive occupations and concomitantly to emphasise the cultural influences of the motherland. Captain Yiannakis, the pirate, represents the island's free spirit, which is essential for the preservation of national consciousness, as well as for the anticipated revolution against a current enemy. In the story the English are but another occupier and their presence on the island means 'slavery' (Lysiotis, 1978:284).

Towards the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s there is an emergence of writings which centre on the armed struggle and the recording of '*a culture of terror - space of death*'.<sup>18</sup> Their common theme and content is the personal experiences in the English concentration camps during the anticolonial struggle of EOKA (1955-1959). These themes and ideas pervade the works of Zeta Sigma Ro, *At Slavery's Wire Fences* (1959),<sup>19</sup> Sophocles Lazarou's *Freedom's Street - Death's Stop* (Kastaniotis, 1997)<sup>20</sup>, and Yiannis Stavrinou Economides's *A Number instead of a Man* (1956).<sup>21</sup>

These prose writings describe the horrifying interrogations, living conditions of the detainees in the concentration camps (Kokkinotrimithia, Karaolos and Pyla)<sup>22</sup> and their reaction to the events surrounding the struggle as they learn of them through radio broadcasts and through relatives and friends who come to visit them. The importance of these works lies in the fact that apart from eyewitness' accounts of the anticolonial struggle, they are clear examples of subversion of colonial thought, since through their actions, the English prove they are no longer civilised Westerners but a harsh military power which shows contempt for the democratic process. It abolishes laws replacing them with emergency measures or with special military laws; it submits people to interrogation and torture and ultimately introduces hanging. In Zeta Sigma Ro's work (P. Nicolaou), which is written in the form of a diary, we have the recording of all English measures and the events of the anticolonial struggle. With his realistic descriptions, the author undermines English superiority, reversing the stereotypes they had created, with his own stereotypes.



In Sophocles Lazarou's work there is an emphasis on the ethical dimension of anticolonialism, which becomes obvious as much through the title as through the dedication. The author deals analytically with the issue of death through which an attempt is made to approach the issue of colonialism from an esoteric, psychological perspective, rather than a historical and political one. The whole story is an internal monologue, a stream of consciousness piece, with an emphasis on the emotions, thoughts and internal conflicts of the protagonist after the torture he was subjected to during his interrogation and which crushed his body but not his spirit. He remains, right until the end, one of the 'Free Besieged' and thus the theme is associated with the meaning of moral freedom and national dignity. Finding himself in a state between life and death, because of the torture and his confinement in the oppressive space of a cell, the detainee externalises the ideology of the struggle. At no point during his interrogation ordeal or in his cell, does he question the struggle and its purpose nor the tactics that are followed in order for this purpose to be achieved. On the contrary, through the function of memory, he recalls everything and ends up idealising both the fighters (most of whom are very young) and the Struggle itself even more. He justifies this stance as a result of their school education, their collective national past, their great love for the motherland, as well as their sense of duty to ensuring the freedom of humankind. The whole process is a consequence of the individual's relationship with the 'Other', who in this specific, historic moment is represented by the English (mainly soldiers, interrogators, torturers) and the Turkish-Cypriot auxiliary unit (*Epikourikoi*).

Yiannis Stavrinou Economides also writes within almost the same context, recounting earlier events based on recollections. The author approaches his subject from a political perspective. Thus, in order to support his anticolonial stance, he includes an essay in which he briefly revisits the history of Cyprus, on the one hand pointing out the national desires of the Greek-Cypriots and on the other hand England's political games, as well as its economic and military interests. He considers them as the deeper causes behind Britain's harsh stance towards the demands and struggle of the Greek-Cypriots. He also analyses the reasons for the outbreak of the struggle as well as its enormous popularity, expressed in active participation. In addition, he examines the harsh living conditions and the physical and psychological torture that the population is submitted to. By doing so, he undermines the cultural superiority of the English, who are consequently transformed into barbaric occupiers. The work ends with a reference to the sacrifice of the young fighters at the *Liopetri* hayloft, and with a reminder of Gregory Afxentiou's sacrifice. These sacrifices are compared to those of the Hani tis Gravias and the Spartans of Thermopylae. The analogy works on two levels, as

on the one hand, the current struggle of the Greek-Cypriots becomes an extension of the struggles of Hellenism, and on the other hand, the individual transcends him for the sake of his country's salvation and independence.

In the early 1960s there is an emergence of works that mythologize and at the same time demythologize the anticolonial struggle by expressing their objection to its inherent violence, thus cancelling out the possibility of stereotypes on both sides. In two short stories titled *'Gregory'* and *'Somewhere to lay my eyes'* (1964)<sup>23</sup> Panos Ioannides boldly presents the negative aspect of violence. The first story is about the cold-blooded execution of an English soldier arrested by EOKA partisans and the dilemma of having to choose between friendship and one's duty to one's country. The soldier's execution is described realistically and in such detail that the reader is repulsed –which is the aim of the author. By using irony and language that is unemotional and minimalistic he demythologises the 'struggle'-a term he puts in inverted commas- as well as the brain of the struggle, which gives its inhumane orders<sup>24</sup> from afar. In the second story titled *'Somewhere to lay my eyes...'* the final moments of Grigoris Afxentiou are described –immediately following the fire-bombing of the cave in which he was hiding from the English.<sup>25</sup> As in the previous story, the author strips the situation bear of every trace of heroism. He presents the fighter Afxentiou as a simple man who, upon seeing the flames engulfing him, is totally aware that he is living his final moments. He remains consciously faithful to his duty towards his country but at the same time feels the need to live. What follows is a stream of consciousness-like presented as if he is alternating between a state of hallucination and reality. This technique allows the narrator to express logical thought and subconscious desires. In contrast to the way others see him, i.e. a hero, Afxentiou declares that he wants people to pity his loss of life rather than admire him. Time becomes timeless, a motley of his life's different scenes, most of which are not fulfilled. This externalisation of Afxentiou's feelings and desires touches on the surreal, without visual descriptions, but allusive expressions. The author's anti-heroic, condemnatory approach reaches its climax with Afxentiou's comment when the flames engulf him and begins to lose consciousness: *'they who would tomorrow commercialise his sacrifice awaited'* (Ioannides, 1992:23).

In the short stories of the collection titled *'Harsh Times'* (1963)<sup>26</sup> Giorgos Philippou Pierides takes a similar approach to Panos Ioannides's. Thematically the stories refer to different sides of the anticolonial struggle 1955-1959 –a period the author regards as 'harsh' as the title also implies. He approaches his themes from the perspective of everyday people, who either suffer from the events or become inhumane as a consequence. The story titled, *The Garden of*

*Orange Trees* focuses on the death of a young student (a flag bearer at a student demonstration) who was shot and killed by the English and is presented from the point of view of the parents, particularly, the father's. Closed up in their own worlds, many of the everyday people of the time can sense the change that is coming to their country and while it has captivated some, they themselves remain uninvolved. The author does not take sides regarding the struggle. He allows the protagonist to regard it as something inevitable, which has enthralled people, drawing them out of the banality of everyday life, and imbuing the young with enthusiasm and self-sacrifice. The involvement of his son –although a concern to him– at the same time makes him feel as if he himself is participating: '*all this uprising around him, was as if it were leaping forth from the roots of his existence – from deep within, very deep, from that place his conscience drew the essence of his ethnicity*' (1989:141). By using the death of a child, the author highlights the consequences the struggle has on the personal lives of people, who although initially lured by the general 'pulse' of Cyprus are then left alone to deal with the harsh reality of losing their children.

One story with the powerful title *Auto-da-fé* focuses on the residents of a village with their animosities and fanaticism during the anticolonial struggle. Always applying a realistic style of writing, the author reveals the way in which the villagers like a *Holy Inquisition* condemn to death and execute a fellow worker in cold blood, because he is a communist. Through nightmarish descriptions the author portrays the psychology of the mob, which in a state of frenzy commits a crime without any sign of conscience. He also indirectly criticises those who did not consent, yet out of fear passively witnessed the execution. Most importantly however, he portrays the ideological division of the time.

In the other two stories titled '*The Traitor*' and '*Harsh Times*' he deals with the issue of treason and its consequences, which he approaches from two angles: that of the traitor and that of society. In the first story 'The Traitor' -who has been smuggled out to England by the English- does not regret what he has done, despite the mood swings and the nightmarish moments he experiences. On its part, society shows no mercy or forgiveness for traitors and taking justice into its own hands, the traitors are executed. In the second story the focus is on the 'harsh times' immediately after the anticolonial struggle. The author considers it impossible for people to return to a peaceful life after years of occupation and violence. They become suspicious and fearing they will be wronged, they wrong others. This helps explain why people have become de-sensitised in their treatment of enemy informers, unhesitatingly becoming executioners. Through these themes the author conveys sadness for the wretchedness of human beings.

He is not interested in taking sides for or against the colonial struggle but only in presenting the consequences, which appear to be insurmountable.

### **Discourse and ‘counter-discourse’/ ‘writing back’**

In the early 1960s works are produced as an express response to Lawrence Durrell's work, *Bitter Lemons* (1957). The work constitutes a typical example of colonial discourse, which also shows the colonisers' view of Cyprus and the Cypriots at the outbreak of the anticolonial struggle. It contains many contradictions regarding the way the author views the Greeks of Cyprus. While he initially shows a great interest in the place, its people and 'their character', he subsequently totally identifies with the colonial position, becoming an advocate of English interests as soon as he assumes his duties as Head of the Public Information Office. In this capacity he submits reports with suggestions regarding measures, which could be taken, and how the Turkish factor could be utilised as a counterweight to Greek demands. He then admits that he is a 'conservative' and as a result can 'totally' understand the colonial line, according to which: '*when you have an Empire, you don't start giving away bits of it as soon as they ask you*' (1964:158-159).

Durrell, like all colonisers who considered 'the natives' backward, also considered Cypriots incapable of governing their country. In his opinion, the constant occupations had contaminated the Cypriot character, erasing every trace of intelligence: '*I was beginning to think that successive occupations had extirpated any traces of the Greek genius*' (1964:22). He found them lethargic and with attitude westerners found idle and frustrating. He even points out the 'great' (in his opinion) difference between the Greeks of mainland Greece and the Greek-Cypriots, regarding the latter as naive, foolish, cowardly and incapable of revolt. As far as the Greek identity of the Cypriots is concerned, his stance is also full of contradictions. At first he considers the fact that some colonial employees use English as deplorable, referring to them as *babus* (1964:22). He then, however, concedes that the English efforts to create a 'Cypriot identity' on the island failed for two reasons: firstly because there had been no cultural exchange between the two groups (colonisers and colonised) and secondly, because they failed to impose the English language on the education system. If the English language was made compulsory in the education system then the 'English ethos' would be promoted and the 'natives' would be able to participate in English culture. He therefore seems to wholeheartedly believe in the superiority of English culture and the English ethos which, had the Cypriots been able to adopt, would have ceased being '*a bunch of Cyps' -as one might say Chimps*' (1964:136). Durrell does not want to recognise the

ethnicity of Cyprus' people and its culture, nor the power of nationalism at that particular moment, continuing to focus his attention on the English perspective.

With the outbreak of the anticolonial struggle, Durrell's colonial thought identifies completely with colonial policy approving all the repressive measures taken by the colonial government. His students, whom he initially regarded as simple and naive village boys, but also 'wonderful kids' who are gripped by the national feeling of 'Enosis' with Greece, suddenly become terrorists and their actions terrorism; their arrest and sentencing a necessary application of justice. Although he condemns violence on the part of the Greeks, he approves of it on the part of the English. Similarly contradictory is Durrell's stance on EOKA, which he considers a terrorist organisation without the broad support of the people.

Another important issue that greatly concerns Durrell –and whose approach of it reveals many contradictions– is the issue of *Enosis*. Despite acknowledging the strength of national sentiment amongst Greek-Cypriots early on –which he neither questions nor seems at first to be bothered by– he then questions or undermines it. This is particularly the case when he realises that *Enosis* is being sought through anti-English actions. He ends up claiming that *Enosis* was being sought by only a few fanatics who were misleading the rest of the people.

It was inevitable that Durrell's colonial ideology as well as his position in the colonial government would draw reactions from the Greek side. Seferis was one of the first to cut off all ties with Durrell and other English writers and intellectual friends of his.<sup>27</sup> He opposed to the colonial ideology and the British intransigence in Cyprus. In some of his poems in the collection *Logbook III [1955]* (which 'is dedicated to the people of Cyprus') he deals directly with the issue ('Salamina of Cyprus' and 'In the Kyrenia District') or indirectly ('Neofytos the Recluse Saint' and 'Helen').<sup>28</sup> A direct intertextual response discourse to Durrell's work, was given by Rodis Roufos novel *Bronze Age* (1960) and was followed by a response to both of them by Costas Montis. In his novella *Closed Doors* (1964)<sup>29</sup> the writer approaches the issue from a Cypriot perspective. In Roufos's novel, which bears the clear subheading *Novel of the Cypriot Struggle*, we have an external validation of the anticolonial struggle, whereas in the second work we have an internal one. For Roufos the Cypriot struggle was a deeply personal experience, since at the time he was serving as Ambassador of Greece in Nicosia<sup>30</sup> and therefore experienced at close hand, its initial preparatory stages (Varikas, 1975:22). He had, in fact, been initiated into EOKA and had a personal relationship with Grivas.<sup>31</sup> Durrell is fictionalised through the character of Harry Montague and the author himself through the mainland Greek Dionas, a close friend of the protagonist Alexis.

In his novella Costas Montis attempts to subvert colonial discourse and offer his own counter-discourse by concentrating on Durrell's fundamental theses. He also responds to some of Roufos's views with which he disagrees. Amongst Durrell's fundamental theses are the subversion of the Greek identity of Cyprus and the portrayal of the EOKA struggle as terrorism. From the start, Montis emphasises the Greek consciousness of the Cypriots, for whom national identity is a deeply personal experience. It is first formed in the family and then at school, where they learn about Greek history and their culture. For the author, the issue of national identity is self-evident and therefore he does not dwell on the subject, whereas Roufos, on the other hand, gives a lengthy response to the issue, pointing out not only Cyprus' Greekness, but the similarities in the characters of mainland Greeks and Greek-Cypriots. Montis focuses more on the particular historic moment, stressing the justness of the Greek-Cypriot struggle against Britain, which is ultimately aimed at union with Greece. Montis regards the struggle as part of irredentism, in other words the liberation from foreign occupation and the union with the 'National Body'/ the motherland. Through the plot he presents the pure, *Enosis* ideology of the student fighters, the complete support of the people and the diachronic nature of Cyprus' Greek history. The living, everyday use of the Greek symbols, as well as the Greek language and culture, are testament to the Greekness of the inhabitants. In his effort to subvert it, Montis puts a great deal of emphasis on the issue of terrorism as articulated by Durrell. Using his language, he plays with the words 'terrorist' and 'terrorism'; he repeats and mocks them in order to nullify them (Montis, 1987:1554, 1575).

As far as the youth of Cyprus is concerned, both writers (Roufos and Montis) take the same approach. Roufos's protagonist admires the youth for their faith in ideals, their national conviction and the change they would bring to the land. That is why he borrows the title from the well-known bronze statue by Auguste Rodin, which symbolises man's awakening from a deep sleep and his readiness for 'a transition to a new age'. He also evokes both man's sense of heroism together with his deeply personal, inner strength. At the same time, however, Roufos's protagonist looks at the older Greek-Cypriots in a condescending and almost contemptuous way, regarding them as lacking intellect to the extent that they have become subservient to the English. In contrast, he feels more comfortable associating socially with English administrative employees and educated people and a few Greek intellectuals -who also associate with the English instead of their Cypriot compatriots. This is why Montis also responds to both, pointing out the ordinary, everyday people's selfless contribution to the anticolonial struggle, to such an extent that they are able to transcend themselves.

Even in the past, the ones who contributed to the preservation of Greek identity on Cyprus were mainly everyday people, the Cypriot family.

Montis also reverses Durrell's opinions on 'the native' Cypriots (the 'Cyps') whom he considered cowards and unable to revolt against the British. By repeatedly pointing out the fact that the anticolonial struggle was purely the result of the will of Cypriots. Montis appears to be responding to Roufos's choice of a protagonist as well. His protagonist (like Durrell implied) came from Greece and despite his nominal Cypriot origins, has nothing in common with the Cypriots. He is presented as a restless intellectual, who left Cyprus when he was young, choosing to live away from his colonised country. He did not agree with the English occupation, but he also did not regard a revolt against it as necessary. What he repeatedly points out, is his disgust for violence. On the contrary, Montis highlights the collective participation in the struggle, and the ideals of the youth of Cyprus as its driving force. He considers violence as necessary means by which to achieve freedom. However, in order to avoid stereotypes, Montis presents some positive, human sides of the English soldiers.<sup>32</sup>

Another issue Durrell<sup>33</sup> carefully implies, but purposely does not expand on, is the English role in fanaticising the Turks during the anticolonial struggle. Montis responds by highlighting their role, which led to the division of the two ethnic groups.

The title 'Closed Doors' is a strong metaphor, which functions on multiple levels. On a political level, the author attempts to keep the Cyprus issue open, although the English consider it 'closed'. On a personal level the doors remained closed for the people who lost their loved ones. Finally, on a metaphorical level he attempts to 'open' the 'closed doors' of colonial thought through textual dialogue.

### **Independence. Textual (self) critique**

The end of the anticolonial struggle and the creation of an independent state following the Zurich-London Agreements drew a mixed reaction. The 'enosists' (advocates of 'enosis' or union with Greece) regarded the Agreements as a betrayal of the aim for which the struggle had been fought. Others accepted the creation of the new state as a positive development, which would herald the beginning of peaceful coexistence with the Turks, as well as bringing progress to the island. Many writers fictionalised the ensuing historical and political developments, which led to the clashes between Greeks and Turks. The increase in literary output following independence and particularly after the 1974 Turkish

invasion is impressive. Most writers turn to the colonial scene to interpret the present through the use of history. The distance from which events are viewed makes for a greater degree of objectivity and a more critical approach, which is more congruent with the aims of postcolonial discourse. The authors' viewpoint, however, is always influenced on the one hand by their ideology and on the other hand by contemporary events. The binary relationship 'We' and 'Others' is now constituted in a different way. I will briefly give some indicative examples of various ideologies and political positions regarding the establishment of an independent Cypriot state in relation to the colonial past. Kypros Chrysanthis, Angeliki Smyrli and Nikos Orfanidis are among the writers who remained loyal and unyielding in their enosis ideology and expressed their opposition to the outcome of the struggle in their works.

In his novella *During the years of the Revolution* (1985) Kypros Chrysanthis turns to the anticolonial struggle. He dwells on the relations between Greece and Cyprus at that time and the rift between the two over the acceptance of the Zurich-London Agreements by the Greek government. The Greek ideological division, the betrayal and the prevailing climate of distrust are presented in an anti-heroic light. Although he condemns the extreme positions of all sides, the author implies an anti-communist stance. He concludes by criticising the island's supposed 'Independence' and expressing fears at the possibility of its being exploited by cunning operators, while those who truly fought for it find themselves disadvantaged and even persecuted. The announcement of the Zurich-London Agreements –with which the novella ends– portends a negative turn of events. Two rival groups immediately emerge: those who accepted the Agreements and the 'resolute' who consider them a betrayal. The author, who condemns the agreements, belongs to the second group. He sees the struggle and sacrifices of so many generations going to waste –mainly because the Turks, whom he portrays negatively, ended up as winners: '*All those sacrifices, those lives and effort wasted on a partnership with the Turks*' (Chrysanthis, 1985:113). We could say that the birth of the protagonist's child takes on a symbolic meaning, since it can be regarded as hope for the future. Its conception during the dangerous years of anticolonial struggle, the danger of miscarriage or the birth of a child with defects can be compared to the problems associated with the birth of a new state.

In Angeliki Smyrli's lengthy novels, the presentation of Cypriot history on a local level (centred on the Paphos district) and on pan-Cypriot level, becomes an end in itself. In order to substantiate historical events and in particular to highlight the island's Greek identity, the author turns to a combination of fictionalising and treatise. The plot in the novel *Galateia's and Pygmalion's* (Kedros



2003)<sup>34</sup> is set in the years following the Turkish occupation -i.e. the British colonial period, anticolonial struggle and creation of an independent state - right up until the conflict between Greeks and Turks in 1963-1964. *The Return of Agapinor* (Kedros 1992) focuses on the anticolonial struggle, the creation of the independent Cypriot State, through to the Turkish invasion and its consequences. The last novel *Report to Nikolaos Theseus* [Cyprus 1955-2004] (Kedros, 2009) mainly covers the period from independence to the Annan referendum.

The presentation of themes is pervaded by enosis ideology. Hence the author expatiates on the sentiment behind and struggle for enosis, as well as the disappointment or displeasure, which attended its demise. She thus highlights Cyprus's Greek identity by different means. It is clear that she holds opponents of Enosis, whatever their faction, responsible for the negative developments, which ensued in the island's political history. Regarding the post-independence period, the author evinces her disappointment at the loss of ideologies and ideals, as well as at the corruption and alienation that characterises Cypriot society during the establishment of the independent state through to the invasion -a society seeking material comforts and setting aside national aims and aspirations. She is clearly 'bitter' that the struggle for enosis has been forgotten even by some former fighters. On the other hand she sympathises with and excuses the 'struggles' of uncompromising enosists. This questionable position is clearly propounded in the last novel, where she focuses on the political situation immediately after independence and on the development of the Cypriot state. Internecine clashes on both an ideological and a political level are depicted. The term 'We' (the Greeks) is split between two rival groups: the *Makarians* (supporters of Makarios), and the *Grivans* (supporters of Grivas) or those who accepted the Zurich Agreements and the disaffected who remained committed to the struggle for Enosis. The first group seeks to move forward by adhering to Makarios's policy and positions, creating and developing *the rule of law*. On the other hand, the second group considers the Agreements as something temporary and that the struggle for union with Greece should continue. The gap between the two groups grows during the Greek dictatorship, which has adverse implications for Cypriot politics. By moving from a thesis to an anti-thesis (advocating and then refuting a position) at times indirectly and at other times directly, the author lays the blame on Makarios's policy of neutrality, the repudiation of the constitution and his gradual dissociation from the struggle for Enosis. She also believes that in the end, through lack of insight, Makarios misjudged the Turkish factor and failed to anticipate Turkey's dichotomic plans. On the other hand, however, she excuses the attacks on 'Turkish enclaves'. Above

all, she criticises the ‘dehellenisation’ of Cyprus by the Cypriot government. That is why she excuses the activities of EOKA B’ and Grivas, regarding them as a counterweight for the salvation of Hellenism. In her opinion, the coup against Makarios was not the cause, but the pretext for the Turkish invasion. She concludes with the division that was caused by the ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ vote during the Annan referendum. Paradoxically, she supports ‘Yes’, on the one hand as an atonement for the division that led to the invasion and on the other hand, as the only way to unite the island and avoid a permanent dichotomisation.

The intertwining of history with the present is clear in Nikos Orfanides’s novels, *Passenger Ship ‘Rethymno’* (Patakis, 1995), *The Angel left Happy* (Estia 1997) and *Cleo* (Kastaniotis 2000). In his works historical boundaries are fluid –past and present coexist. All three novels take the events of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus as their starting point. The historical events, however, are intertwined and consequently do not constitute autonomous chapters. All the periods are connected and each has its roots or causes in the other. Therefore, colonialism does not belong to a bygone era, since it is alive in both the individual and collective memory. Its consequences affect the country’s present and are intertwined with the broader history of Hellenism. To the author, history becomes the medium through which he can present the continuous political crisis experienced by the nation and the individual alike; it also allows him to demonstrate the island’s national and cultural continuity despite the multiple periods of occupation it endured. In all three novels he highlights the ‘political adventure of Modern Hellenism and its grief at its ‘shipwrecks’ in a *Seferian* way (i.e. in the manner of George Seferis) (Orfanides, 1985:9). Using a technique of adopting and then refuting a position, stopping time and condensing present, past and future, the author once more brings to life the repeated drama of catastrophes, lost homelands and the ill-fated *Great Idea*. He also expresses his disappointment regarding the outcome of the anticolonial struggle and abandoning of union with Greece: ‘*He thought of the wasted years. The blood and the sacrifices*’ (1997:73). Orfanides sees Hellenism’s new adventure in terms of Cyprus’s adventure; the colonial condition it experienced and the Turkish occupation it is still experiencing. This diachronic journey through the entirety of Greek history reveals how the individual can be crushed by historical fortune and become a tragic figure. Apart from history, the author dwells on the symbolism of the Greek nation and its national identity through an intertextual and intercultural dialogue with Greek literary works and oral tradition.

A totally different approach to the issue of independence is taken by the writers L. Zafiriou and G. Katsouris.<sup>35</sup>

Lefkios Zafiriou's prose work *The Gangsters* (Roptro, 1982) synthesizes personal experience and objective, external reality. It covers the colonial period as well as the first stages of independence, up to the clashes between Greeks and Turks in 1963-1964. Everything is put into perspective by the events of 1974. In this work Zafiriou converses intertextually with other writings and works of art, which attest to Cyprus's cultural relationship with broader Hellenism. On a political level, however, he now turns to the new Cypriot reality that has emerged after the establishment of the state. In a *Seferian* manner he brings the tragedy that is taking place –both personal and national – to centre stage, using history, and focuses on the irresponsibility of those who often cause tragedies. Colonialism is seen as an oppressive foreign occupation. At the same time, he presents the ideological division between the Greeks of the mainland and that between the Greeks and Turks on Cyprus during the anticolonial struggle. He lays the blame on nationalists for later clashes whilst promoting an internationalist ideology in general, and the friendship between Greek and Turkish-Cypriots in particular, by presenting instances of the erstwhile peaceful and friendly symbiosis of the island's major and minor ethnic and religious groups.

Political independence is implicitly compared to that of children in transition from childhood to adolescence. Zafiriou successfully juxtaposes the independence of Cyprus and the enforced repudiation of union with the Greek motherland in favour of self-reliance with the imposed independence of the narrator who has to leave the children's home where he was raised (and earlier lost his mother). In both cases they need to move forward alone to the next phase of their lives, relying on their own abilities, putting aside their fears about the uncertain future.

The combination of personal experience and socio-political elements exposes vacillating tendencies towards or away from the Helladic centre. On the one hand the intertextual resonances evince the author's direct literary relationship with Greek tradition. Whereas on the other hand, the political dimension reveals a tendency of distancing from the motherland and from nationalist ideology in favour of a turn towards Cyprus itself and the ultimate aim of the island's development into an independent entity. An essential precondition of this is an ideology and policy, which will redefine the issues concerning the island's two major ethnic groups.

In his novel *Stylianou Anavasis* (Kastaniotis, 1990) Yiannis Katsouris chooses the same historical and political context as Zafiriou for the setting of his plot. The author undertakes an account of the development of nationalism in Cyprus and treats it with irony. He displays a similarly critical disposition in depicting the establishment and development of the Cypriot state. Children's transition from

childhood to adolescence; their maturing and socio-political development –their *anavasis*– is compared to the development of the newly established Cypriot state. He questions past and present ideologies and condemns intransigence on any side.

In the last part of the novel, the author's sarcasm is scathing with reference to 'Independence', 'the newly established state', and postcolonial society. On the one hand economic prosperity and upward social mobility is highlighted, and on the other hand, we see the political intrigues and exploitation of circumstances for personal gain. The 'nationalist fighters' have ended up occupying key government positions resulting in their controlling the future of the country and essentially having replaced the English colonisers. At the same time, although members of the government, they begin to undermine it from within.<sup>36</sup> Those who remained neutral during the anticolonial struggle and have now been advantaged by the new state of affairs have crossed over to the '*rightist opposition*' arguing that Makarios '*betrayed*' Enosis. The same negative situation is manifest in the debasement of ideologies. Sudden prosperity led to alienation during '*the age of the sublime*'.<sup>37</sup> The situation as it turned out, had a negative outcome a few years later with the Greek-Turkish clashes of 1963-1964. The author holds the English responsible for dividing Greeks and Turks, but even more he criticises the Greeks for their stance after the establishment of the Cypriot state. Due to its scathing criticism, the novel plays an interventionist, corrective role congruent with the aims of postcolonial theory.

In conclusion we could say that to a great extent, Cypriot prose writing focuses on the close relationship between history and literature. Moreover, that there is a preoccupation with the promotion of national issues. In that way, a voice is given to a (*subaltern*) nation, its history and its culture. An overt or implicit counter-discourse arises on the eve of the anticolonial struggle and persists through its duration. The texts become polemic aiming to call into question and subvert colonial ideology and the negative stereotypes of the colonised that the colonisers created. The colonised demythologise the colonisers and re-mythologise themselves. During the postcolonial period, the 'voice' is transformed, becoming much more 'vociferous' as a result of the multiplicity of ideologies expressed. The writers return to the past in order to interpret the present –which is more traumatic– and the texts have a dual function. On the one hand they function therapeutically by referring to heroic situations that evoke dignity or hope for the survival of the nation. On the other hand, they function in an interventionist way with their inward focus on the newly established state and the society that has developed. In all cases, however, the texts become a medium through which the land, the people and culture are affirmed.

## NOTES

1. Regarding the 'knowledge' the West diachronically develops for the East, see Said (1996: 45-203).
2. For details regarding the views of Western colonisers on the colonised, and in particular the 'Anatolians', see Said (1996).
3. This *difference* has, for example, been interpreted in theological ways (they are different because they are depraved idolaters); in *technological* ways (they cannot control nature with technology); in *biological* ways (they have different racial characteristics); in *environmental ways* (the environment –mainly the tropical one– enfeebles them), etc.
4. For the definition, process and contradictions of *mimicry*, see Bhabha (1984).
5. An example of this combination (European ideas – local customs) applied by the British, is examined by M. Mann (2004) in a related study on British colonialism in India.
6. For example, in Cyprus it preserved the system of local self-governance and the segregation of the two communities (Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots) because in this way it could, on the one hand keep them happy with various concessions of self-rule and a separate education system, and on the other hand it could indirectly control them. It also pitted one group against the other.
7. Details for the way in which colonial ideology functions, as far as the relationship between coloniser and colonised is concerned, as well as the deeper causes of why the former, armed with this ideology, create the particular 'knowledge' for the latter can be summed up in Homi Bhabha's essay (1983: 23).
8. When referring to history and its relationship with nationalism, Gandhi bases it on Hegelian philosophy. See her related study (1998:102-110).
9. Robert Young believes that Marxism constitutes the fundamental framework of postcolonial thought and that is why its historic role remains central to the history of anti-colonial resistance. He also argues that Marxism is in a sense anti-western as it has condemned the West's imperialistic practice on both a social and economic level. For details on Marxism and postcolonialism see 2007:34-40.
10. The term 'Third World' has also been criticised (mainly through a Marxist approach) because it is associated with backwardness and retrogression and all the negative characteristics that had been attributed to former colonies (Young, 2007:32).
11. Many researchers have shown that struggles for the political independence of colonised people were followed by an impressive efflorescence of literary works, which affirmed their cultural identity. It is a medium, which brings nations with very different cultures together (Innes, 1996:121-122).
12. Most researchers/critics refer to literature's strength and the role it can play. However, they are mainly referring to literature which has been written in English and which as a result becomes part of international, political relations (King, 1996.3).

13. Jameson is known for mostly basing his views on Marxism. He is regarded as the pre-eminent American critic of Marxism as well as the preeminent theorist of Postmodernism. What is noteworthy in his case is that he manages to combine these two theoretical and philosophical fields, while at least ostensibly, they seem to be clashing with each other. That is on the one hand Marxism aims at the final truth and certainty, whilst on the other hand Postmodernism –which is closely related to the study of culture– highlights the relativity of things (Hardt & Weeks, 2001:1)
14. For details regarding Jameson's arguments on the interpretation of literary works as a 'socially symbolic act' see the theoretical introduction of his book *The Political Unconscious* (1981). Its inclusion in *The Jameson Reader* (2001) has been used here.
15. The emphasis by Jameson. The article titled '*Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism*' was first published in the *Social Text* (1986). Its inclusion in *The Jameson Reader* (2001) has been used here.
16. For details on views opposed to those of Jameson, see Gandhi (1998b).
17. The work was first published in 1953. Its republication in the complete works titled *Harvest (1937-1977)* published in 1973 has been used here.
18. The expression has been borrowed from the title of a related study by Michael Taussig (1992:135-165). It is worth noting that Sophocles Lazarou gave the same title to his novel, a fact that brings together two different examples of colonial experience and resistance to it.
19. Polyvios Nicolaou had been arrested by the English on the 11th of December 1956 and was detained for 18 months. The book was first published in the spring of 1959 in Athens, but was confiscated by the English upon its importation to Cyprus. It circulated after independence and the creation of the independent state. The author wrote it in five exercise books, which he secretly sent to his sister in the form of a parcel wrapped in newspapers as 'a long letter'. For more details regarding the conditions of the writing and publication of the work, see 'Introduction' (pp 7-9).
20. The text in its original form was written in the summer of 1960. It was reworked before its 1969 publication. The author admits that the short amount of time between the writing of the book and the events which are described, as well as the rawness that characterises them, were literarily detrimental to it and hence he reworked it for the second publication.
21. Yiannis Stavrinos Economides was arrested in July of 1958 and remained in jail and the concentration camps 'almost four months' as number 2210. The author regards his work as 'novel', but it doesn't have the characteristics of a novel. Although written in 1965, the work was published in 1986. The publication however still bears the year 1965.
22. For the narrator in Stavrinos Economides prose writing, the arrival of detainees at camp 'Karaolos', located between Famagusta and Salamina, is the reason he

- enumerates all the concentration camps at the time. These take on a particular meaning for the Cypriots. He says: 'Kokkinotrimithia, Pyla, Polemi, Agyrta, Pyroi, Karaolos, Agios Loukas and mainly *Omorfita* (the Golgotha of Cypriot fighters) became renowned and will remain unforgettable. They are places where all who have been snatched by the English army's net, are penned up and suffer' (1965:53).
23. These stories are included in the collection titled *In Ethereal Cyprus...* which was published in 1964 in Athens by G. Fexi Publishers. Its republication in the collection titled *Anaplous I (Sailing Upstream I)* is used here, which was published in Nicosia by Alasia Publications, 1992.
  24. The story was adapted to theatre and was awarded at the International Theatre Festival in Sofia in 1976 (Ioannides, 1995:9).
  25. The theme and its internal dimension are reminiscent of Y. Ritsos' work *A Farewell/ Apohairetismos* (1957).
  26. The collection was later included, along with another three collections, in the collective volume titled *Tetralogy of (the) Times* (1989), which is used here. All the collections refer to particular historical periods of Cyprus (English rule; anticolonial struggle; independence and the establishment of the Cypriot state; the Turkish invasion).
  27. For details regarding Seferis's relationship with the English in general and Durrell in particular, as well as how his anglophile stance changes because of the Cyprus issue, see Pavlou (2000:155, 291-300).
  28. For details see Pavlou (2000:311-317).
  29. The publication of the novella in the *Complete Works of Costas Montis / Apanta* (published by the Leventis Foundation in 1987) is used here.
  30. Rufus served as Ambassador in Cyprus from 1954 to 1956. He also served in Vienna, London and Paris (Daskalopoulou, 1990:8).
  31. See also photographic material in Daskalopoulou (1990:12,22,29.). His diplomatic capacity gave him the opportunity to mingle with both the Greeks and the English (with citizens and officials/employees in the colonial government, including Durrell. His intention to respond to Durrell's discourse is clear by the fact that the novel was originally written in English and was first published in London in 1960 by Heinemann Publishers. See the author's 'Note' in the Greek publication by Daskalopoulou (1990:10). However, part of the novel was not included in the publication after the publisher was urged not to by his legal advisor (Pavlou, 2000: 299). The second Greek publication by Estia (1992) is used here.
  32. For example, see the incident where the English soldier takes the children's ball from the street when he knows they are unable to leave the house because of the 'curfew'. Also, the episode where the soldier lays down his arms in order to water the wilted flowers (Montis, 1987:1585-1586)

33. Durrell does not present the English role in the Turkish stance, implying that the Turks inevitably reacted to Greek actions.
34. The novel was reprinted twice by *Kedros* (1997, 1998, 2003), an indication that the work was well-received.
35. A similar approach is found in Christos Hatzipapas's novels, where the peaceful symbiosis of Greeks and Turks is emphasised, as well as the need for a policy readdressing the points at issue between the two communities.
36. The comment alludes to political assassinations (e.g. Polykarpos Giorkatzis).
37. In his collection of stories titled *The Age of the Sublime* (1975), Giorgos Philippou Pieridis used this expression (as well as a title) to accurately describe the social situation that developed in Cyprus after independence.

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