

CHAPTER THREE

PART ONE: THE INFLUENCE OF THE HISTORICAL
TRADITION OF GREECE ON ELYTIS' POETRY OF HIS SECOND PERIOD (1945-60)

The first aspect of Elytis' use of the Greek cultural tradition in his second period to be examined is a new awareness of history. The new emphasis on history is probably the first thing to strike a reader: all but one¹ of the works of the second period are inspired by Greek historical events of the twentieth century, such as the Albanian Campaign, the Second World War, and the Civil War.²

The fact that these three events are wars indicates that Elytis' new awareness of history focusses in particular on Greece's long historical struggle for freedom. Apart from the wars mentioned above, Elytis also refers to the 1821 Revolution, the Balkan Wars, and periods from Byzantine and Ancient history.

The inspiration for this was Elytis' own involvement in the Albanian Campaign in which he served as a second lieutenant.³ As he writes in a letter to Kimon Friar,⁴ this experience made a deep impression on him, and amidst all the snow and cold, lice, mud, and machine-gun fire, it was the groans of the heavily wounded, who were being carried on stretchers to the rear,⁵ that most affected him:

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1. Έξη και μια τύφεις για τον ουρανό.
 2. The emphasis on history is in complete contrast with the poetry of the first period: there is not a single reference to any historical event or period in either Προσανατολισμού or Ήλιος ο πρώτος.
 3. For details about Elytis' involvement in the Albanian Campaign, see Vitti, Κριτική μελέτη, pp. 332-3; Δ. Δασκαλόπουλος, op.cit., pp. 261-2; Friar, 'Odysseus Elytis', pp. 176-8. Elytis also briefly refers to the war in Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, p. 295.
 4. Friar, ibid., pp. 177-8.
 5. This scene is reproduced in Το 'Άξιον Εστί, p. 31, lines 32-7.

They made me swear an oath in the name of the Resurrection of that brave Hellenic Hero, who had become for me now the Second Lieutenant of the Albanian Campaign, that I might advance into battle with this talisman of my lyrical idea.⁶

Armed with this "lyrical idea", he was stubbornly determined to survive not only the battles in which he fought,⁷ but also the typhus that struck him down afterwards,⁸ so that he might realize and embody it; he wrote that he felt a poetic need had kept him alive.⁹

Some critics have tried to identify the ανθυπολοχαγός of Elytis' poem with an actual person, notably George Sarandaris;¹⁰ others have

6. Friar, ibid., p. 178.
7. He called these "the first phase of my battle with Death." (loc. cit.) See also Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, pp. 294-5. "Χάρος" is mentioned twice in 'Άσμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας (p. 26, line 7; p. 30, line 5) and once in Η καλοσύνη στις λυκοπορευές (Part VII, line 30).
8. For details, see Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, pp. 296-8; Friar, ibid., pp. 178-9.
9. Friar, ibid., p. 179.
10. Such an identification is not surprising, as Sarandaris, who died on February 26, 1941 from hardships suffered through his participation in the Albanian Campaign, had been a good friend of Elytis. Elytis mentions him frequently in Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, and devotes more than a page to his death, referring to "τις σκληρές μέρες της Αλβανίας" (ibid., p. 284). He has also written a poem about Sarandaris, included in Τα ετεροθαλή: "Τη στιγμή του θανάτου σου άξαφνα τινάξανε άνθος". See also Vittì, Κριτική μελέτη, p. 226, n. 5; Κ. Σφαέλλου, Μια προσέγγιση στο <<Άσμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας>> του Οδυσσέα Ελύτη, Εκδόσεις <<Πατάκη>> Athens, 1984, p. 41.

concentrated on an apparent autobiographical element.¹¹ However, from Elytis' mention (in the quotation above) of a "brave Hellenic hero" it becomes clear that the hero of 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας is not an actual person, but rather an immortal figure who embodies all those Greek fighters who died in a struggle for freedom,¹² a modern Digenis Akritas.¹³ As Elytis wrote to Friar:

The virtues which I found embodied and living in my comrades formed in synthesis a brave young man of heroic stature, one whom I saw in every period of our history. They had killed him a thousand times, and a thousand times had he sprung up again breathing and alive.¹⁴

Thus, if the second lieutenant of 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας is a symbolic figure representing generations of fighters from every period of Greek history then it follows that the historical background against which the work is set will not be restricted to the Albanian Campaign, but will encompass other periods as well. This indeed was Elytis' aim, the fulfilment of his vow made during the battle, "... to give form to the Second Lieutenant of the Albanian Campaign on multiple levels and woven together with the traditions of Greek history ...".¹⁵ This interweaving of several periods of history is exemplified in the two most important works of the poetry of Elytis' second period, 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας and Το 'Αξιον Εστί.

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11. Personal details from the poet's own experiences in the Albanian Campaign are reproduced in 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας. Firstly the soldier's rank recalls Elytis' own role in the struggle; furthermore the phrase "τα μελανά ... Ακροκεραύνια" (*ibid.*, p. 21, line 8) refers to the region where he fought. (See Friar, 'Odysseus Elytis', p. 178: "Later with an order in my pocket I set out to meet my new army unit at the front somewhere between the Akrokeravnia Mountains and Tepeleni.")
 12. Σφαέλλου, *op.cit.*, pp. 11, 13.
 13. There is, of course, an indirect reference to Digenis (p. 26, lines 5-7) as well as to that Classical warrior, Achilles (p. 25, line 15).
 14. Friar, "Odysseus Elytis", p. 178.
 15. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

An allusion to the Greek War of Independence is seen in the reference to Odysseus Androutsos:

Γεια σου κι εσύ χωριατομουσμουλιά που αντρείβεις
Κάθε πού 'θελε πάρει Αντρούτσος τα όνειρά του.²⁴

and the final section is also suggestive:

Του κόσμου η πιο σωστή στιγμή σημαίνει
Ελευθερία
'Ελληνες μεσ' στα σκοτεινά δείχνουν το δρόμο
Ε Λ Ε Υ Θ Ε Ρ Ι Α ²⁵

In the triumphant end to the work, "η Επανάσταση" has become "η Ανάσταση", the Resurrection of the Hellenic hero.²⁶

Η καλοσύνη στις λυκοποριές was published in 1947, two years after 'Άσμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας, and the passage of time is indicated in the original inspiration for the work: whereas 'Άσμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας was born out of the Albanian Campaign, Η καλοσύνη στις λυκοποριές was inspired by later events²⁷ and in this sense it acts as a transition between the two major works²⁸ of this period.

24. 'Άσμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας, p. 27, lines 12-3. Here again is the suggestion of the autobiographical element (see footnote 11): the name Odysseus Androutsos parallels Elytis' own (Odysseus Alepoudhelis). In Engonopoulos' Μπολιβάρ (written 1942-3, the same period as Elytis' work) a parallel is also drawn between the hero and Androutsos. (N. Εγγονοπούλου, Μπολιβάρ, 4th edition, 'Ικαρος, Athens, 1983, p. 14, lines 12-3; p. 15, lines 17-9; p. 16, lines 1-4). See also Ανοιχτά χαρτιά, pp. 270, 292; Elytis also mentions Androutsos in Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 111, line 1.

25. 'Άσμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας, p. 35, lines 2-5.

26. See section on Religious tradition; cf. also the topic of meteorism in Chapter 1.

27. Vitti (Κριτική μελέτη, p. 178) states that this work originates from the Decembrian riots of 1944, while Argyriou, op.cit., p. 62, believes that the Occupation in general was the inspiration.

28. Argyriou, in fact, says that it is his opinion that Το 'Άξιον Εστί was born out of Η καλοσύνη στις λυκοποριές (ibid., pp. 62, 72).

Nevertheless in style and content Η καλοσύνη στις λυκοποριές has a closer affinity with 'Ηλιος ο πρώτος;²⁹ it is interesting to note that the former, although a work of the second period and inspired by historical events, has only one historical reference, which is to the Turkish Occupation.³⁰

This new approach, and consciousness of Greece's history, where "the various periods of Greek history co-exist and interact, enriching and informing each other"³¹ finds its best expression in Το 'Αξιλον Εστί. Like 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας, the work does have a "central" period of history upon which it is based; in this case it is the Second World War, encompassing the Albanian Campaign, the German Occupation and the Resistance and the subsequent Civil War. In fact the middle, and longest, part of Το 'Αξιλον Εστί, "Τα Πάθη" is divided into three sections that correspond to these three periods in Greek history.

The Albanian War receives a much more realistic, and less epic, treatment in Το 'Αξιλον Εστί than in 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας:³² here the personal hardships, the suffering and feelings of individual Greeks and prototypes,³³ are emphasized in the First and Second Readings, which deal with this period.³⁴ The soldiers show stoic resistance to such elements as the

29. Indeed, the last three sections of Η καλοσύνη στις λυκοποριές, that is, Parts V, VI, VII were initially to be part of 'Ηλιος ο πρώτος, but they were censored by the German authorities (during the Occupation). (Αργυρίου, ibid., p. 61; Vittti, ibid., pp. 177-9, 196-7, 211.)

30. "Βρακουλάδες που έρριχναν φωτιά του Τούρκου
Τον καιρό που η μητέρα σου ήταν
Σαν μια Παναγιά μικρή" (Part II, lines 10-12)

31. M. Levitt, op.cit., p. 14.

32. As Maronitis (op.cit., pp. 70-1) points out, nature imagery is used in the earlier work to describe the war, and the "climate". This is particularly noticeable in the first two sections.

33. In the Second Reading, two of the characters are called "ο λοχίας ο Ζώης" and "Λευτέρης". The latter also appears in the Fourth Reading, and in Αλβανιάδα (line 38).

34. It is the Readings, in Το 'Αξιλον Εστί, that present the theme of historical tradition, as they are the only sections written within the framework of historical time.

mud and rain,³⁵ the lice,³⁶ the hunger,³⁷ the continual exhaustion³⁸ that comes from having to march during the night-time,³⁹ and the evidence of death that confronts them.

... το μόνο που προσέχαμε ήταν εκείνες οι φωνές μέσα στα σκοτεινά ... <<Οι οι μάνα μου>>, <<οι οι μάνα μου>>, και κάποτε, πιο σπάνια, ένα πνιχτό μουσούνισμα, ίδιο ροχαλητό, πού 'λεγαν, όσοι ξέρανε, είναι αυτός ο ρόγχος του θανάτου. 40

The Italians, the Fascist "Black Shirts", are also portrayed in a different, less objective light and are frequently mentioned in the company of other invaders of Greece:

Επειδή πολλοί φορούν το μελανό πουκάμισο
και άλλοι μιλούν τη γλώσσα των χοιρογρυλλίων
και είναι οι Ωμοφάγοι και οι 'Αξεστοι του Νερού
οι Σιτόφοβοι και οι Πελιδνοί και οι Νεοκόνδορες 41

ΗΡΘΑΝ

με τα χρυσά σειρήνια
τα πετεινά του Βορρά και της Ανατολής τα θηρία!
Και τη σάρκα μου στα δύο μοιράζοντας ... 42

35. Το 'Αξιον Εστί, p. 30, lines 14-6; p. 31, lines 18-20.

36. Ibid., p. 30, lines 19-22.

37. Loc.cit., line 19; p. 32, lines 3-4.

38. Ibid., p. 30, lines 13-4, 16-7, line 22.

39. Loc.cit., lines 13-4, lines 23-5; p. 31, lines 3-5.

40. Ibid., p. 31, lines 32-7.

41. Ibid., p. 23, lines 25-8. Psalm A (p. 27, lines 6-7) also refers to the "Black Shirts":

Ιδού εγώ καταντικρύ
του μελανού φορέματος των αποφασισμένων

with "αποφασισμένων" being an example of Elytis' love of word play (= από φασιστών).

42. Ibid., p. 43, lines 1-4. "Τα πετεινά" refers to the Italians and Germans (cf. "φτερά στο μέτωπο" allusion in 'Άσμα ηρωικό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας, p. 29, line 5) and "τα θηρία" to the Bulgarians.

Such references to the "barbaric" invaders of Greece serves to emphasize Greece's innocent⁴³ role in her history of invasions.

Ἐφτασαν
ντυμένοι <<φίλοι>>,
αμέτρητες φορές οι εχθροί μου ...⁴⁴

The Third and Fourth Readings,⁴⁵ and middle section of "Τα Πάθη", deal with various aspects of the Occupation: the Resistance;⁴⁶ the widespread starvation during the winter of '41-42;⁴⁷ the executions in retaliation for acts of resistance;⁴⁸ raids by the S.S.;⁴⁹ and the presence of Greek traitors.⁵⁰ The tone is even more bleak than that of the Albanian section, and there is also a change in the narrative: Elytis employs the first person plural to relate events in the first two Readings (indicating his personal involvement in the actual Campaign), whereas he uses the impersonal third person in the Readings dealing with the Occupation and Resistance. In Keeley's view, "the voice is most alive in the early Readings".⁵¹ Certainly there is more realistic detail in the two Readings based on Elytis' Albanian Campaign experiences, whereas the Readings that are devoted to the Occupation and Resistance (in which Elytis did not participate) are more successful in portraying a general atmosphere of horror rather than relating any specific historical events with any accuracy.

43. This is a recurring theme in *Το Ἄξιον Ἐστί*, expressed in such phrases as "Μοίρα των αθώων" (p. 27, lines 11, 22); "Ἀδελφοί μᾶς εγέλασαν!" (p. 43, line 23) and in images that portray the eternal, historic and natural elements of Greece being defiled by the invaders:

... οι εχθροί μου
το παμπάλαιο χώμα πατώντας.
Και το χώμα δεν έδεσε ποτέ με τη φτέρνα τους.
(p. 42, lines 3-5)

44. *Loc.cit.*, lines 1-3, 23-5.

45. Psalms Z' and H' (pp. 42, 43) are also devoted to the theme of the Occupation.

46. "Third Reading", *passim*.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 45, lines 10-1.

48. *Loc.cit.*, lines 28-30; "Fourth Reading", *passim*.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 45, lines 15-27; "Fourth Reading", *passim*.

50. "Fourth Reading", p. 50, lines 17-21.

51. E. Keeley, 'The Voices of Elytis' *The Axion Esti*, p. 698.

The poet returns to first person narrative in the Fifth Reading, "Η Αυλή των προβάτων", an allegorical piece about the Civil War, and the Sixth Reading, the "Προφητικόν". However the first person (singular) is more the voice of the poet/prophet than any indicator of personal experience,⁵² and as such is more an allegory than historical narrative, and lacking in the personal detail that had characterized the early Readings:

... είχε πάρει ν'αλλάξει ο καιρός, μακριά στο
μαυράδι των νεφών και σιμά στο κοπάδι των
ανθρώπων ... Και βαδίζανε καταπάνου στον
έναν ο άλλος, μη γνωρίζοντας ο ένας τον
άλλο. Και σημάδευε κατά πατέρα ο γιος και
κατ'αδερφού μικρού ο μεγάλος. Που πολλά
σπιτικά πομείνανε στη μέση, και πολλές γυναίκες
απανωτά δύο και τρεις φορές μαυροφορέσανε.⁵³

The Albanian Campaign, the Second World War (with specific reference to the Occupation and Resistance in Greece), and the subsequent Civil War form the main background, with the Readings in particular concentrating on these periods in history. However there is also a second level of history presented in Το 'Αξιλον Εστί, one which was also apparent in 'Άσμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας: the 1821 War of Independence.

At a very basic level, the German/Italian Occupation is seen as a 20th century parallel to the many years of Turkish Rule.⁵⁴ Elytis emphasizes this association in his evocation of the first public demonstration of the Greek Resistance:⁵⁵

52. Of the three voices in "Τα Πάθη" (first person plural for First and Second Readings, third person for Third and Fourth, and first person singular for the last two) this is considered to be the least effective (see Keeley, *ibid*, p. 697). Kokolis makes a further distinction between the prophet/poet of the Fifth Reading, and the Poet of the Sixth Reading. (Ξ. Κοκόλης, Για το <<'Αξιλον Εστί>> του Ελύτη: μια οριστικά μισοτελειωμένη ανάγνωση, University Studio Press, Thessalonica, 1984, pp. 140-1.)

53. "Fifth Reading", pp. 59-60.

54. Keeley and Savidis, op.cit., p. 10.

55. This took place on March 25, 1942 in Athens.

Και επειδή σίμωνε η μέρα που το Γένος είχε
 συνήθιο να γιορτάζει τον άλλο Σηκωμό, τη μέρα
 πάλι εκείνη ορίσανε για την Έξοδο.⁵⁶

Likewise the swearing of oaths to join the Resistance⁵⁷ is viewed by
 Lignadis as reminiscent of the Φιλική Εταιρεία.⁵⁸

Continuing this allegory, a connection is made between the 1821
 fighters, and the present day Greek soldiers.⁵⁹ Prior to the
 Occupation, the poet makes an impassioned appeal to previous defenders
 of Greece to protect the nation:

Βοηθός και σκέπη μας 'Αη Κανάρη!
 Βοηθός και σκέπη μας 'Αη Μιαούλη!
 Βοηθός και σκέπη μας Αγιά Μαντώ!⁶⁰

However, it is not only the naval leaders who are invoked; in the
 First Reading, the soldiers in the Albanian Campaign are "accompanied"
 by klephts and other heroes of previous generations:

Καπεταναίοι αγέλαστοι με το κεφαλοπάνι, και
 παπάδες θερία, λοχίες του 97 ή του 12,
 μπαλτζήδες βλοσυροί πάνω απ' τον ώμο σειώντας
 το πελέκι, απελάτες και σκουταροφόροι με το
 αίμα επάνω τους ακόμη Βουργάρων και Τουρκών.⁶¹

56. Το 'Αξιον Εστί', p. 45, lines 7-8.

57. "Ο κρυφός όρκος μεσ στα σκοτεινά" (*ibid.*, p. 43, line 20).

58. Λυγνάδης, *op.cit.*, p. 154.

59. Cf. Ritsos' Ρωμιοσύνη.

60. Το 'Αξιον Εστί', p. 41, lines 23-5.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 31, lines 8-12. The notion of these present-day soldiers
 representing another link in the chain of Greek freedom fighters
 (and thus a vivid portrayal of the "historical tradition" element)
 is stressed by Elytis in the preceding sentence:

Μόνε σα να πηγαίναμε μπουλούκι ανάκατο, θαρρούσες,
 απ' όλες τις γενιές και τις χρονιές, άλλοι των
 τωρινών καιρών κι άλλοι πολλά παλιών, πού 'χαν
 λευκάνει απ' τα περίσσια γένια.

(*loc.cit.*, lines 6-8)

Keeley comments that this expression of the historical tradition
 is "too direct for my taste". ('The Voices of Elytis' The Axion
 Esti', p. 699).

[Lignadis (*op.cit.*, p. 111) points out that Elytis has obviously
 used a wrong word in this passage: μπαλτζής actually means "bee-
 keeper". (He should have used μπαλτατζήδες - from ο μπαλτάς, axe).]

Thus not only the fighters of the Greek War of Independence but also those of the Balkan Wars and even the Byzantine border guards are identified with the Modern Greek soldiers. Such an identification is an expression of the theme of the historical tradition of Greece, and part of Elytis' personal mythology.

Byzantine history, as a natural extension of the Byzantine-based framework of the work (discussed in the following section), is also present. This can be seen not only in the quotation above ("... απελάτες και σκουταροφόροι ..."),⁶² but also in the list of "barbarians" in Psalm IA':

Σελδζούκοι ροπαλοφόροι παραδοκούν.
 Χαγάνοι ορνεοκέφαλοι βυσσοδομούν.
 Σκυλοκοίτες και νεκρόσιτοι κι ερεβομανείς
 κοπροκρατούν το μέλλον. 63

"Chagan" is the Byzantine word for the leader of the barbarian races from the East that invaded the Empire, and "Σελδζούκοι" refers to the Seljuks, the 11-13th century Turkish tribes who preceded the Ottoman Empire.

There are also references to Ancient history in order to complete the line of historical tradition; these references also convey a sense of the continuity of invasions, and the Greeks' never ending struggle for their freedom:

ΤΟΝ ΠΛΟΥΤΟ δεν έδωκες ποτέ σε μένα
 τον ολοένα ερημούμενο από τις φυλές των Ηπείρων
 και απ' αυτές πάλι αλαζονικά, ολοένα, δοξαζόμενο!
 Έλαβε τον Βότρυ ο Βορράς
 και τον Στάχυ ο Νότος ... 64

The allusion to Bucephalus⁶⁵ is meant to evoke the figure of Alexander the Great, and the mention of the famous fresco of Knossos recalls the

62. Απελάτες were border guards of the Byzantine period.

63. Άξιον Εστί, p. 54, lines 17-21. Note the spelling of "σελδζούκοι" (normally σελτζούκοι).

64. Ibid., p. 34, lines 1-5.

65. Ibid., p. 64, line 17.

Minoan Civilization.⁶⁶ However, Elytis' emphasis is not on this period, but on contemporary events, and the Greek War of Independence (and Byzantine History to a lesser extent).

This section has attempted to examine the first aspect of Elytis' use of the Greek cultural tradition in his second period, namely a new awareness of the country's history. In particular the poet focusses on Greece's many historical struggles for freedom and this emphasis is reflected in the fact that all but one of Elytis' works of the second period are inspired by twentieth century conflicts.

It was shown that Elytis' new interest in the Greek historical tradition was prompted to a great extent by his own involvement in the Albanian Campaign. However, the hero of 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας is not simply a self-portrait, or even an actual person, but rather a symbolic figure who embodies all those Greek figures who died in a struggle for freedom; parallelling this, Elytis provides a background that is based on more than one "level" of history and not restricted to the Albanian Campaign.

The two works which offer the best expression of this theme of Greece's historical tradition, 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας and Το 'Αξιλον Εστί were then examined in greater detail, and it was revealed that in both there was a central historical period, which formed the basis of the work. In the case of the former, this period was 1940-1, or the years of the Albanian Campaign. Το 'Αξιλον Εστί, on the other hand, was based on the Second World War (encompassing the Albanian Campaign, the Occupation, and the subsequent Civil War); furthermore, "Τα Πάθη" is divided into three sections that correspond to these three events in Greek history.

66. "αυτός ο Πρίγκιπας των Κρίνων είναι", (*ibid.*, p. 70, line 9) Elytis also refers to this fresco (among others) in Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 37, line 7.
See Λιγνάδης, *op.cit.*, p. 33 for a list of other archaeological references in Το 'Αξιλον Εστί.

Second levels of history were also shown to be present, thus giving the modern struggle a greater depth and significance. In 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας, for example, this was restricted to references to the 1821 War of Independence. It is Το 'Αξιλον Εστί that exemplifies this approach, where various periods of Greek history co-exist and interact: Elytis refers not only to the 1821 War of Independence, drawing a parallel between the fighters of that generation and the soldiers in the modern struggle, but also to the Balkan Wars, and periods from Byzantine and Ancient history.

Just as Elytis appeals in a Psalm to the sanctified naval heroes in times of trouble⁶⁷ so does he later invoke another figure, whose work is linked inseparably with the 1821 Revolution:

'Οπου και να σας βρίσκει το κακό, αδελφοί
όπου και να θολώνει ο νους σας,⁶⁸
μνημονεύετε Διονύσιο Σολωμό

Here, however, the emphasis is not on the historical tradition of Greece, but rather its literary heritage and tradition; this is the second aspect of Elytis' personal mythology of his second period, and is examined in detail in the following section.

67. Το 'Αξιλον Εστί, p. 41, lines 23-5.

68. Ibid., p. 54, lines 21-3.

CHAPTER THREE

PART TWO: THE INFLUENCE OF THE LITERARY TRADITION OF GREECE ON ELYTIS' POETRY OF HIS SECOND PERIOD (1945-60)

The second aspect of Elytis' new awareness of the Greek cultural tradition is an emphasis on Greece's literary, and linguistic, heritage.

This is probably the most important feature of Greek tradition for Elytis, as a poet, and it finds its best expression in the entire work of Το 'Αξιόν Εστί, whereas the theme of Greek historical tradition was restricted to 'Άσμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας and the Readings from Το 'Αξιόν Εστί.

Elytis' choice of poets, writers, and styles as a reflection of this Greek literary tradition is in accordance with his stated aim of portraying the "true face of Greece"¹ (and avoiding a perpetuation of the Westernized, post-Renaissance view of Greece); that is, the emphasis is not on Classical authors. Rather, Elytis views "purely Greek elements" as those engendered by two separate literary traditions: Byzantine and demotic, and these two sources dominate Το 'Αξιόν Εστί in various forms, as will be shown in this section.

Nevertheless, Elytis' emphasis on Byzantium and the demotic tradition does not preclude his use of Ancient sources, and these three elements together constitute the mix of sources, "les échos multiples".²

Such a mix of sources has two functions. Firstly, it parallels the several levels of history (as a reflection of the historical tradition) that occur within the same work in Elytis' poetry of the second period.

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1. 'Analogies of Light', p. 631.
 2. I. Constandulaki-Chantzou, 'L'humanisme d'Odysseus Élytis à travers "L'Axion Esti"', Greek Letters, Vol. 2, Athens, 1983, p. 304.

Secondly, and more importantly, the mix of sources vividly illustrates Elytis' desire to present, and stress, the extraordinary richness of the Greek literary heritage, and the way in which modern poets can avail themselves of the Greek literary tradition.

This new emphasis on the Greek literary tradition should therefore not be seen as a form of symbolism, or contributing to any significant new imagery. In fact, as was mentioned earlier,³ the imagery between the first and second periods has not changed;⁴ what has changed is the focus - in other words, Elytis' personal mythology.

The major difference in terms of literary influences between the two periods lies in the emphasis on purely Greek elements, which would seem to necessitate a rejection of the earlier foreign influences. In Elytis' case, the French surrealist style of such works as Προσανατολισμοί⁵ and 'Ηλλος ο πρώτος (in which there is only a single reference to Greek literary tradition⁶) is replaced by a system of allusions referring only to Greek literature.

The Greek literary tradition, in Elytis' poetry, is comprised of three separate elements or traditions: Ancient; Byzantine; and demotic. These will be discussed chronologically in detail below.

Elytis has often stressed the linguistic debt of Modern Greek to the ancient language, and their ties:

3. In the introduction to Chapter 3.
4. Thematic changes of course have necessitated the addition of scenes dealing with war and historical events, but the basic underlying importance of nature imagery still remains.
5. The French influence in Προσανατολισμοί is further emphasized through the inclusion of quotations from Rimbaud (p. 9) and Breton (p. 57, lines 1-2), and the expression "à perdre haleine" (p. 145, line 2).
6. A quotation from Kalvos (Προσανατολισμοί, p. 81, lines 1-4).

Το να λέει ... ο Έλληνας ποιητής ακόμη σήμερα,
 "ουρανόσ" ή "θάλασσα" ή "ήλιος" ή "σελήνη" ή
 "άνεμος", όπως το έλεγαν η Σαπφώ και ο Αρχύλοχος,
 δεν είναι μικρό πράγμα ...
 ... Τις ρίζες μας που βρίσκονται εκεί : στα
 Αρχαία.⁷

The most immediate roots of the country's poetic heritage may lie in the demotic tradition, but the language is bound undeniably with Ancient Greek, and this fact of linguistic continuity is stressed by Elytis in his Psalm on Language, in Το 'Αξιον Εστί:

ΤΗ ΓΛΩΣΣΑ μου έδωσαν ελληνική
 το σπύτι φτωχικό στις αμμουδιές του Ομήρου.
 Μονάχη έγνοια η γλώσσα μου στις αμμουδιές του Ομήρου.
 ... Μονάχη έγνοια η γλώσσα μου, με τα πρώτα-πρώτα Δόξα Σου!
 ... Μονάχη έγνοια η γλώσσα μου, με τα πρώτα λόγια του 'Υμνου!⁸

Thus in this passage the three styles, or periods of Greek language and literature - Ancient (as exemplified by Homer), Byzantine, and demotic (as exemplified by Solomos) - are drawn together to represent the three thousand year old linguistic tradition that has sustained Greek literature.⁹

Elytis' borrowings from this rich tradition are not restricted to references as in the above quotation and this is what gives Το 'Αξιον Εστί its depth. Instead of simply transplanting words, phrases and other borrowings from various periods of Greek literature onto Elytis' own language, the poet has made them an intrinsic part of his

7. 'Έχω δικαίωμα σαν Έλληνας ν' ανησυχώ για την ταυτότητά μου', pp. 61-2. A similar sentiment is expressed in Seferis' poem, "Πάνω σ' έναν ξένο στίχο" (1931):

Στέκεται μεγάλος, ψιθυρίζοντας ανάμεσα στ' ασπρισμένα
 του γένια, λόγια της γλώσσας μας, όπως
 τη μιλούσαν πριν τρεις χιλιάδες χρόνια.

Cf. Δημηρούλης, op.cit., p. 324.

8. Το 'Αξιον Εστί, p. 28, lines 1-3, 20, 29.

9. A similar juxtaposition of these three periods of Greek literature, Ancient, Byzantine and Modern, occurs in Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, in the titles of the various sections, which recall a representative writer. These are "ότιω τις έραται" (Sappho); "Μυρῖσαι τό άριστον" (Romanos); and "Και με φως και με θάνατον" (Kalvos). (For details see Vittì, Κριτική μελέτη, p. 318; and Ο. Ελύτης, Σύγχρονου Ποιητές 2: Οδυσσεάς Ελύτης, Εκλογή 1935-1977, 4th edition, Εκδόσεις <<Άκμων>>, Athens, 1979, p. 215.)

own demotic,¹⁰ and Iakov discusses the various techniques used to accomplish this.¹¹

Above, Elytis emphasized the Greek literary tradition that has its source in Homer, and his admiration¹² of the Ancient poet is reflected in the many allusions to him in Elytis' work, both in poetry and prose.¹³ In To 'Αξιον Εστί, the only clear reference to him is in the phrase "στις αμμουδιές του Ομήρου".¹⁴

Sappho is another Ancient poet whom Elytis admires, but in this case he also feels an affinity with her. The reasons are obvious: not only did she write love poetry with an emphasis on nature imagery,¹⁵ but her island reminds Elytis of his own Lesbian heritage.¹⁶

10. Μαρωνίτης, op.cit., p. 23.

11. Ιακώβ, op.cit., pp. 82-4.

12. Ibid., pp. 27-8.

13. There are a total of 24 references to Homer. Iakov (ibid., pp. 28-35, 110) lists 17 of these, excluding Elytis' two most recent poetical works. (See Ημερολόγιο ενός αθέατου Απριλίου, p. 33, lines 8-9; Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 37, lines 11-3; p. 56, line 1 ("στις ακρογιαλιές του Ομήρου" cf. To 'Αξιον Εστί, p. 28, lines 2, 3 "στις αμμουδιές του Ομήρου"); p. 97, line 5; p. 98, line 5; p. 115, lines 1-2; Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, p. 199).

14. To 'Αξιον Εστί, p. 28, lines 2, 3. (See also Λυγνάδης, op.cit., pp. 54-5, 90, 146, 154, 249, although these examples are somewhat tenuous.)

15. In Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, Elytis frequently mentions Sappho's name in conjunction with "nature-poetry" (e.g., see pp. 41, 257, 466), and this affinity is expressed in even clearer terms in the Introduction to his book on Sappho (see footnote 17).

... είχαμε την ίδια αίσθηση του φυσικού κόσμου ...
Αλλά πάνω απ' όλα είναι που δουλέψαμε -- στα
μέτρα του ο καθένας -- με τις ίδιες έννοιες, για
να πω περίπου με τις ίδιες λέξεις: με τον ουρανό
και τη θάλασσα, τον ήλιο και τη σελήνη, τα
φυτό και τα κορίτσια, τον έρωτα.

(ibid., pp. 9-10)

Of the elements of nature Elytis refers specifically to the motif of the moon in Sappho's poetry (see Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, pp. 41, 194, 196; Ο. Ελύτης, 'Σχέδιο για μιαν εισαγωγή στο χώρο του Αιγαίου' in Αιολικά Γράμματα, Volumes 43-4, January-April 1978, p. 9). One poem, "Της Σελήνης της Μυτιλήνης παλαιά και νέα ωδή", in Τα ετεροθαλή, pp. 24-6 is devoted to this motif.

16. See Elytis' description of Lesbos in Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, pp. 191-6. He often alludes to Lesbos in his poetry.

This affinity has led him to publish a book of Modern Greek translations of her poetry.¹⁷

In To Άξιον Εστί he quotes an entire verse, incorporating it into his own demotic with an allusion to the Cretan literature of the seventeenth century, in this way integrating three separate literary periods:

σαν παράθυρο άδειο η Αρετούσα
και ο έρωτας έλθοντ' έξ όράνω
πορφυρίαν περθέμενον χλάμυν 18

To reinforce the Sapphic allusion, a few stanzas later he mentions the girl's name Άριγνώτα.¹⁹

17. Οδυσσέας Ελύτης, Σαπφώ. Ανασύνθεση και απόδοση, Ίκαρος, Athens, 1984.

18. To Άξιον Εστί, p. 80, lines 2-4. The last two lines are from Fr 54 Lobel-Page (Diehl 56; Bergk 64). For other direct quotations from Sappho in Elytis' work, see Ιακώβ, op.cit., pp. 40-2; and Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 37, line 15, as well as the section titled "ότιω τις έραται".

19. To Άξιον Εστί, loc.cit., line 18. It has been assumed (Keeley and Savvidis, op.cit., p. 101; Μαρωνίτης, op.cit., pp. 30, 164; Λιγνάδης, op.cit., p. 262) that Elytis' source for this name is Fr 96 L-P, lines 4-5 (98 Diehl)

σε θέα σ'ικέλαν άρι -
γνώτα ...

[However, there is some controversy as to whether the original word άριγνώται is actually a girl's name, or simply an adjective meaning "manifest" (e.g., see D. Page, Sappho and Alcaeus, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1955, p. 89); Elytis in his modern Greek translation of Sappho's poetry (op.cit., p. 91) renders "θέα[ι] ... άριγνώται" as "θεά φανερωνόταν".] Other girls' names borrowed from Sappho include Ανακτορία (16 L-P; 27 Diehl); Μύκα (71 L-P; 70 Diehl); Μνασιδύκα (82(a) L-P; 63 Diehl; 76 Bergk) and Γυρίννω (82(a) L-P; 63 Diehl; 76 Bergk). For details, see Ιακώβ, op.cit., p. 40. Sappho's name is, of course, also mentioned in Elytis' poetry (Τα ρω του έρωτα, p. 48, line 4; Τα ετεροθαλή, p. 24, line 4; Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 54, line 3) and frequently in Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά.

Other writers mentioned by name are Heracleitus²⁰ and Plotinus,²¹ while words or phrases are borrowed from Pythagorus,²² Aristophanes,²³ Plato,²⁴ Pindar,²⁵ and Aeschylus.²⁶ Lignadis suggests other examples and authors, but many of these are based on rather tenuous connections. A phrase from Aeschylus' The Persians "νυν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγών" is given in the conclusion to the war poem Ἡ Αλβανιάδα,²⁷ "Νυν υπέρ πάντων ο

20. Το 'Αξιλον Εστί, p. 87, line 10. (See Ιακώβ, op.cit., pp. 50-3 for a list of references to Heracleitus, and quotations from his work, in Elytis' poetry and prose.) Cf. Footnotes 20-4 in Chapter 1.

21. Το 'Αξιλον Εστί, p. 84, line 3. The line "Τα εννέα σκαλιὰ που ανέβηκε ο Πλωτίνος" is a reference to the Enneads. (Keeley and Savvidis, op.cit., p. 102; Λιγνάδης, op.cit., p. 269.) See also Ιακώβ, op.cit., p. 74.

22. ορμαθός και αριθμός των άκρων του σταυρού
της Τετρακτίδος.
(Το 'Αξιλον Εστί, p. 23, lines 29-30)

The Tetractys, a Pythagorean figure is discussed in Keeley and Savvidis, op.cit., p. 96; Μαρωνίτης, op.cit., p. 24. This is a further example of Elytis' interest in Pre-Socratic philosophy. (See Chapter 1, footnotes 20-4.)

23. Το 'Αξιλον Εστί, p. 42, lines 6-7.

'Εφεραν
το Σοφό, τον Οικιστή και το Γεωμέτρη

Ιακων (op.cit., p. 67), Μαρονίτης (op.cit., p. 31) and Lignadis (op.cit., p. 150) all see this as a reference to the Birds. Lignadis also suggests two other (unlikely) references (op.cit., pp. 84, 173).

24. Elytis' Platonic affiliations become most apparent in the poetry of his third period (See Chapter 4, footnotes 28-31) but a possible reference to Plato's Laws is contained in the line

Στον ασβέστη τώρα τους αληθινούς μου Νόμους
κλείνω και εμπιστεύομαι.

(Το 'Αξιλον Εστί, p. 70, lines 13-4)

See Μαρωνίτης, op.cit., pp. 31, 164-5 (this is disputed in Κοκόλης, '<<'Αξιλον Εστί>>, φαλμού 12' και ΙΗ': Απόπειρα υπομνηματισμού' in Αντί, Vol. 146, 29th February 1980, p. 41, n. 49); Λιγνάδης, op.cit., p. 240.

25. The phrase "ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ" is given in Modern Greek, "καλό το νερό", in Το 'Αξιλον Εστί (p. 54, lines 5, 28); other quotations are listed in Ιακώβ, op.cit., pp. 58-9.

26. Ιακώβ, op.cit., p. 61; Λιγνάδης, op.cit., pp. 153, 154; Μαρωνίτης, op.cit., p. 31.

27. See Ιακώβ, loc.cit.

αγών", but apart from this there are no other allusions to Classical Greek authors in the other works of the second period, 'Άσμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας, Η καλοσύνη στις λυκοποριές, and 'Έξη και μια τύφεις για τον ουρανό.²⁸

The next period, chronologically speaking, that acts as a major literary source for the theme of the Greek tradition, is Byzantium. Elytis' use of material from this period reflects, perhaps more than any other source, his desire to portray the "true face of Greece", illustrating both the modern Greek's kinship with his Byzantine heritage and the continuity of Orthodoxy.²⁹

Religious literature constituted a large proportion of what was written during the Byzantine era, and this influence is reflected in Το 'Άξιον Εστί. The most striking example of this is seen in the structure of the work, and of course, in its title. [The phrase "'Άξιον Εστί" ("Dignum Est" or "Worthy it is") occurs at the beginning of a well-known troparion, a Magnificat for the Virgin,³⁰ and this Mariolatric association is stressed in the third part of Το 'Άξιον Εστί, "Το Δοξαστικόν",³¹ which is a glorifying hymn to a female

28. However, Iakov (p. 66) does suggest a possible reference to Euripides' Medea, in the form of an αδύνατον in 'Έξη και μια τύφεις για τον ουρανό and Hilty distinguishes three "classical Greek concepts" in a poem of the same collection ('Odysseus Elytis: A Contemporary Greek Poet', p. 678).

29. Vitti suggests Elytis' new orientation towards Byzantine literature and hymnography may be attributed partly to the effect of an article written by Takis Papatsonis. (For details see Κριτική μελέτη, pp. 235-6.)

30. Κοκόλης, Για το <<'Άξιον Εστί>> του Ελύτη, p. 19 (who quotes the first few lines of the Magnificat); Constandulaki-Chantzou, op.cit., p. 303; Keeley and Savvidis, op.cit., p. 95, Γ. Βαλέτας, op.cit., p. 163.

31. This section was also initially entitled (in the first edition only) "'Άξιον Εστί"; this was no doubt intended to emphasize the Magnificat style of the third section... (Keeley and Savvidis, op.cit., p. 100; Κοκόλης, Για το <<'Άξιον Εστί>> του Ελύτη, pp. 22-3.)

figure.^{32]}

The influence of Byzantine hymnography is seen also in the second part, "Τα Πάθη" of Το 'Αξιον Εστί,³³ where the pattern of Odes, Psalms and Readings echoes prototypes of the Byzantine liturgy.³⁴

The Odes show the greatest influence of the Byzantine hymnology being likened to κοντάκια.³⁵ This can be seen in their versification,³⁶ in the endings of words³⁷ and the fact that no two odes are alike, each introducing some new form of variation.³⁸

Elytis noted that both the Psalms and Readings were supposed to echo "holy works" without copying them or relying on borrowings

32. Keeley and Savvidis, loc.cit.; Λυγνάδης, op.cit., p. 28 e.g.

Χαίρε του παραδείσου των βυθών η Αγρία
Χαίρε της ερημίας των νησιών η Αγία

Το 'Αξιον Εστί, p. 77, lines 1-2

The phrase 'Αξιον Εστί has another religious connotation which relates to the story of the Archangel Gabriel engraving the words on a stone (see Constandulaki-Chantzou, op.cit., pp. 303-4; Κοκόλης, Για το <<'Αξιον Εστί>> του Ελύτη, pp. 19, 23-4; Λυγνάδης, op.cit., p. 241; Keeley and Savvidis, op.cit., p. 95 which Elytis recalls in the lines

κι αργά στις πέτρες τις πυρρές χαράζονται τα γράμματα
NYN και AIEN και AEION EΣTI

(p. 70, lines 24-5)

33. For the work's structure see Chapter 1, footnotes 67-70. The first part, "Η Γένεσις", which is obviously based on the Genesis of the Old Testament, and thus shows a closer affinity with the Biblical (rather than liturgical) tradition, is discussed in the following section on the religious tradition.
34. Σαββίδης, op.cit., p. 178.
35. Vittì, Κριτική μελέτη, p. 246; Λυγνάδης, op.cit., p. 30.
36. Σαββίδης, op.cit., 178; Λυγνάδης, loc.cit.; Βαλέτας, op.cit., p. 162; Friar, The Sovereign Sun, p. 182.
37. Βαλέτας, loc.cit.
38. Friar, The Sovereign Sun, p. 182.

(as opposed to the Odes).³⁹ The Readings in fact take the place of the Gospel Readings in the Divine Liturgy,⁴⁰ but the prose is not modelled on any ecclesiastical prototype; rather the simple demotic style is reminiscent of Makriyiannis and, to a lesser extent, Solomos' Η Γυναίκα της Ζάκυνθος in accordance with the contemporary subject matter.⁴¹ The Psalms repeat the Biblical tone of "Η Γένεσις";⁴² critics have also made comparisons with Byzantine troparia.⁴³

The third part, "Το Δοξαστυκόν", is a Magnificat, and is both a glorifying hymn to the various elements of Elytis' personal mythology, and a celebration of a female figure.⁴⁴ Initially entitled "Άξιον Εστί", this section shows perhaps even more clearly than the Odes the debt to Byzantine hymnology,⁴⁵ particularly that which refers to the Virgin Mary:⁴⁶

ΧΑΙΡΕ η Καιομένη και χάρε η Χλωρή
Χάρε η Αμεταμέλητη με το πρωραίο σπαθί⁴⁷

As well as the aspects mentioned above, Elytis borrows other elements from the Byzantine hymnology; one exemplified in the stanza

39. Quoted by Βαλέτας, op.cit., p. 162.

40. Constandulaki-Chantzou, op.cit., p. 309; Λιγνάδης, op.cit., p. 29; Κοκόλης, Για το <<Άξιον Εστί>> του Ελύτη, p. 25; Friar, The Sovereign Sun, p. 27.

41. These two authors are discussed later in this chapter.

42. Λιγνάδης, op.cit., p. 29; Σαββίδης, op.cit., p. 178.

43. Κοκόλης, Για το <<Άξιον Εστί>> του Ελύτη, p. 23; Λιγνάδης, op.cit., pp. 18, 28; Vittì, Κρυτική μελέτη, p. 242; Friar, The Sovereign Sun, p. 27.

44. See footnote 31. This corresponds, of course, to the Virgin Mary in Byzantine μεγαλυνάρια. Elytis himself says that the "χάρε" sections are devoted "to the girl-child who will save the world and who personifies the poetic idea" (quoted in Keeley and Savvidis, op.cit., p. 100).

45. Λιγνάδης, op.cit., p. 29; Σαββίδης, op.cit., p. 179.

46. See for example the stereotyped Mariolatric expressions such as χάρε and άξιον εστί.

47. Το Άξιον Εστί, p. 76, lines 17-8. This is also another example of the Mermaid-Madonna figure in this poem (see following section on the religious tradition, footnotes 42-4).

quoted above is what Themelis terms, "το τελετουργικό και λατρευτικό ύφος".⁴⁸ The Virgin is, in fact, only one member of the "Trinity" that is glorified in "Το Δοξαστικόν", the others being the Poet⁴⁹ and Greece.⁵⁰ Elytis also uses ritual phrases repeatedly, all of which refer to the Virgin, such as "χαίρε",⁵¹ "άξιον εστί",⁵² and "ρόδο αμάραντο".⁵³

Μακρινή Μητέρα * Ρόδο μου Αμάραντο⁵⁴

The above line also shows another element of Byzantine hymns employed in the Odes, the rosette, which divides a line into two hemistichs (e.g., Μύρισε το σκοτά * δι κι όλη η 'Αβυσσο⁵⁵).

Lignadis⁵⁶ cites this use of the rosette as an example of the allusions to Romanos the Melode in Το 'Αξιον Εστί, and Mitsakis, in fact, compares the work with the Akathistos Hymn.⁵⁷

48. Γ. Θεμέλης, Η νεώτερη ποίησή μας: I, Εκδόσεις <<Κωνσταντινίδη>>, Thessalonica, 1978, p. 50.
49. Λιγνάδης, op.cit., p. 279; Σαββίδης, op.cit., p. 179. This is indicated in the change from "Χαίρε" (referring to the Virgin Mary in the first part of "Δοξαστικόν") to Αυτός (in the second part):
- ΟΤΙ ΑΥΤΟΣ ο θάνατος και αυτός η Ζωή
Αυτός το Απρόβλεπτο και αυτός οι θεσμοί
- (p. 83, lines 5-6)
50. Σαββίδης, loc.cit. This is the "νυν" and "αλέν" section.
51. "Χαίρε" occurs a total of seventeen times in "Το Δοξαστικόν".
52. The phrase "άξιον εστί" occurs eighteen times within the "Το Δοξαστικόν" section, and twice in the preceding Psalm.
53. This phrase occurs only in ode ι', p. 61, lines 5, 10, 15, 20, 25.
54. Loc.cit. Lignadis (op.cit., p. 209) compares this phrase to the Akathistos Hymn, quoting the line "Ρόδον το αμάραντον, χαίρε η μόνη βλαστήσασα".
55. Το 'Αξιον Εστί, p. 39, line 10.
56. Λιγνάδης, op.cit., p. 30. See also the quotation from Romanos in Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 39, lines 2-3.
57. Μητσάκης, op.cit., p. 33. (For further details on this topic of the influence of Romanos on Elytis, see Λιγνάδης, op.cit., pp. 51, 54, 57, 146, 155, 162, 203, 230, 233; Π. Σινόπουλος, 'Η παρουσία της μετρικής του Ρωμανού του Μελωδού στο έργο του Οδυσσέα Ελύτη', Διάλογος, Number 17, December 1982, pp. 28-9.) Elytis has also written an article 'Ρωμανός ο Μελωδός', Εκηβόλος, Volume 15, Summer 1986. See also his comments in the interview 'Η Υπέρβαση και η Γεωμέτρηση', p. 759.

Summing up then, the influence of the Liturgy, and Byzantine hymnography in general on To 'Αξλον Εστύ is obvious, even from the few examples given above; not only is the form of the poem modelled on Byzantine prototypes, but Elytis has also borrowed elements such as the versification, ritual phrases, the use of the rosette, and the general hymnological style to emphasize the importance of the Byzantine literary tradition.

However this does not imply that the actual contents have a religious or Christian character, and this point was emphasized by Elytis in the notes that accompanied the work's first edition.⁵⁸ In this sense, Friar's designation of To 'Αξλον Εστύ as "a kind of New Testament of the Greeks"⁵⁹ is somewhat misleading.

The third period of literature portrayed as a source of Greece's literary tradition in Elytis' second period is that of the demotic. There are two strands to this, the first being that of folksongs and Cretan literature of the seventeenth century.

The influence of the δημοτικά τραγούδια is first seen in 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας, as the title ('Ασμα) suggests.⁶⁰ Furthermore the work is based on the fifteen-syllable metrical system of the folksongs.⁶¹

More specifically, critics⁶² have compared 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας with the μουρολόγια:

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58. Βαλέτας, op.cit., p. 162. See also Θεμέλης, op.cit., p. 51; Vittti, Κριτική μελέτη, p. 235; Θασύτης, op.cit., p. 45.
59. Friar, The Sovereign Sun, p. 29. Decavalles calls it "Elytis' Aegean equivalent of a Byzantine mass". ('Maria Nefeli and the Changeful Sameness of Elytis', p. 26.)
60. Vittti, Κριτική μελέτη, p. 200.
61. Μητσάκης, op.cit., pp. 12, 20.
62. Ibid., pp. 12, 15; Vittti, Κριτική μελέτη, p. 203; Πετρόπουλος, op.cit., p. 27; Rotolo, op.cit., p. 691; Λ. Πολύτης, op.cit., p. 216; Π. Πανταζής, 'Ο Ελύτης και η μάνα του <<'Ασματος>>', Αιολικά Γράμματα, Volumes 43-4, January-April 1978, p. 126.

there is the same lament for the loss of life;⁶³ the sense of Nature mourning as well,⁶⁴ as well as the address to a personified Nature;⁶⁵ and the folk personification of Death:

Να ξαναστυλωθεί στα μαρμαρένια αλώνια
Και να ριχτεί -- αχ τούτη τη φορά --
Και να ριχτεί του Χάρου με την αγιοσύνη του!⁶⁶

This quotation also recalls the heroic figure of Digenis Akritas, epitome of manly strength and bravery, and the portrayal of the young soldier as a modern-day Digenis is also suggested in his birth in heroic style.⁶⁷ The use of stereotyped phrases that suggest bravery (αιτός, παλληκάρι) serve to reinforce this identification:

Γιατί, ρωτάει ο αιτός, πού'ναι το παλληκάρι;
Κι όλα τ'αιτόπουλ' απορούν πού'ναι το παλληκάρι!⁶⁸

A final characteristic of folk songs and oral literature in general, and one used by Elytis to great effect in 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας, is that of repetition. This can be simply in a form suggestive of an oral performance

63. See Poems Δ', Ε', ΣΤ' and Ζ' in particular.

64. See Poems Ε' and Ζ'.

65. 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας, Poem Ε.

66. 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας, p. 26, line 7; see also *ibid.*, p. 30, line 5. See also Η καλοσύνη στις λυκοποριές, Poem VII, line 30. Other folk elements in 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας are included in the form of customs and superstitions, such as spitting on the infant three times:

Ήταν ωραίο παιδί. Την πρώτη μέρα που γεννήθηκε ...
... Σκύψανε τα βουνά της Θράκης και το φτύσανε
Μια στο κεφάλι, μια στον κόρφο, μια μέσα στο κλάμα του.
(*Ibid.*, p. 18, lines 1, 4-5)

For details, see Friar, The Sovereign Sun, p. 181; Σφαέλλου, *op.cit.*, pp. 39-40.

67. Poem ΣΤ', pp. 18-20. There is also a later reference to Achilles (p. 25, line 15).

68. *Ibid.*, p. 16, lines 10-1. Cf. p. 23, line 14 "... τις περιβόλες της παλληκαριάς".

Ἔτσι λοιπόν η μια στιγμή Ἔτσι λοιπόν η μια⁶⁹
Ἔτσι λοιπόν η μια στιγμή παράτησε την άλλη

or it can take a more deliberate form, such as the repetition of formulae from one poem to another,⁷⁰ or within a poem.⁷¹

The demotic song tradition is continued in To 'Αξιλον Εστὶ in Ode δ'. The first line "Ἔνα το χελιδόνι * κι η Ἄνουξη ακριβή" suggests the proverb "Ἔνα χελιδόνι δεν φέρνει την άνουξη", as well as a "χελιδόνισμα", which this Ode, in the form of a ballad,⁷² actually is.⁷³ Furthermore, the three two-line refrains all begin with the address "Θε μου Πρωτομάστορα", a clear reference to the folksong "Της Ἄρτας το Γεφύρι", as the theme of this Ode is the necessity of sacrifice.

Θε μου Πρωτομάστορα * μ' ἔχτισες μέσα στα βουνά
Θε μου Πρωτομάστορα * μ' ἔκλεισες μες στη θάλασσα!⁷⁴

69. Ibid., p. 15, lines 13-4. See also the lines preceding this quotation:

Ω μην κοιτάτε ω μην κοιτάτε από πού του -
Από πού τού ἔφυγε η ζωή. Μην πείτε πώς
Μην πείτε πώς ανέβηκε ψηλά ο καπνός του ονείρου

(loc.cit., lines 10-2).

For other examples see p. 11, line 10; Poem Δ', lines 1, 9, 19, 23-5; p. 16, lines 10-5; p. 17, line 3; p. 26, lines 6-7; p. 28, lines 6-7.

70. See Μητσάκης, op.cit., p. 25 for details. See Chapter 1, footnote 63 for examples from Η καλοσύνη στις λυκοποριές.

71. There are many examples of repetitions of lines (see p. 15, lines 7-9; p. 21, lines 2, 6, 8, 14; p. 23, lines 1, 6; Poem ΙΑ', lines 1, 3, 4, 12, 18, 23) as well as countless examples of formulaic repetition.

72. Lignadis (op.cit., pp. 159, 211) also gives Odes ε' and ι' as further examples of ballad-like structures. Certainly it should be noted that these three Odes were among the five chosen by Theodorakis when he set sections of To 'Αξιλον Εστὶ to music. Cf. Elytis' article "Ποίηση και Μουσική" (Επιθεώρηση Τέχνης, Volume K, Number 118, 1964, pp. 337-40) in which he discusses Theodorakis' choice of Odes.

73. Ibid., p. 139.

74. To 'Αξιλον Εστὶ, p. 39, lines 5-6.

The demotic song style of this Ode is reinforced by a possible reference to a love song in the lines, "Έλαμψαν οι γιαλού * κι όλο το πέλαγος".⁷⁵

Elsewhere there is an obvious reference to the folksong "Η Λυγερή στον Άδη";⁷⁶ Elytis also mentions Χάρος⁷⁷ and employs phrases that recall a demotic song context,⁷⁸ as well as the device of repetition.⁷⁹

Of the Cretan demotic literature of the seventeenth century probably the best known work is Ερωτόκριτος, which has been a source of inspiration for many modern Greek writers, notably Seferis.⁸⁰

75. Loc.cit., line 20. The reference, pointed out by Lignadis (op.cit., p. 138), is to the folksong Κάτω στο γιαλό:

..... κι έλαμψε ο γιαλός
κι έλαμψε ο κόσμος όλος

76. ΑΕΙΟΝ ΕΣΤΙ ...
η σελίδα που γράφτηκε κάτω απ' το χώμα
το τραγούδι που είπε η Λυγερή στον Άδη

(Το Άξιον Εστί, p. 85, lines 16-9)

77. Έλαχε να δώσει * και σε σας ο Χάρος
τη φύχτα του γεμάτη.

(Ibid., p. 52, lines 21-2)

78. For example, the lines

Προδόθηκα κι απόμεινα * στον κάμπο μόνος
Πάρθηκα και πατήθηκα * σαν κάστρο μόνος

(Ibid., p. 36, lines 13-4)

recall similar phrases in demotic songs where a reed forms part of a simile ("σαν καλαμιά στον κάμπο").

79. See Μητσάκης, op.cit., pp. 23, 25. See also Το Άξιον Εστί, p. 42, lines 1-3, 23-5; p. 69, lines 1-2, 14-6, 23-6 and p. 70, lines 1-2.

80. Its influence is obvious in his early poem "Ερωτικός Λόγος" "where he introduces actual phrases from the epic into the text of his poem in order to establish an analogy between his diction and that of another vital, relevant moment in his nation's literary past". (In the Introduction to George Seferis: Collected Poems, (trans. and edited E. Keeley and P. Sherrard), Princetown University Press, New Jersey 1981, p. viii); he also refers to it in the poem "Πάνω σ' έναν ξένο στίχο":

... μου λέγανε, στα παιδικά μου χρόνια το τραγούδι
του Ερωτόκριτου με τα δάκρυα στα μάτια
τότες που τρόμαξα μέσα στον ύπνο μου ακούγοντας
την αντίδικη μοίρα της Αρετής να κατεβαίνει
τα μαρμαρένια σκαλοπάτια.

and quotes a line from it in "Το φως" (ibid., p. 542).

Elytis refers to the work directly in the line "σαν παράθυρο άδειο η Αρετούσα,⁸¹ going on to quote a famous Sapphic verse, thus combining two literary styles within a single poetic image, just as the Byzantine and demotic are juxtaposed in the line "θε μου Πρωτομάστορα".⁸²

The second aspect in Elytis' recourse to the demotic tradition lies in the demotic writers of the 19th century. In To 'Αξιλον Εσιτί Elytis' allusions to these writers, along with the demotic song tradition, form a restatement of Modern Greek poetry's roots.

This search for the roots of Modern Greek literature is also seen in Solomos, and several critics have drawn various parallels between the two poets.⁸³ Elytis has expressed his admiration for Solomos in Ανοχτιά Χαριτιά, calling him one of the five to ten greatest poets in all the world and in all time,⁸⁴ and this is reflected in the significant role given to him in To 'Αξιλον Εσιτί:⁸⁵

81. To 'Αξιλον Εσιτί, p. 86, line 2. This is possibly derived from the line

Στο παραθύρ' η Αρετή ήστικεν κι ανημένει

(Γ, 567)

although Lignadis connects it with "η Αρετή σηκώθηκε, το παραθύρ' ανοίγει" (op.cit., p. 260).

82. For other examples of this combination of literary styles, see p. 29, line 18 (Solomos and Byzantine hymnography); p. 36, lines 13-4 (demotic song and Byzantine hymnography); p. 84, lines 3-4 (Plotinus and Solomos).

83. Foremost among these is a parallel between Solomos' Ελεύθεροι Πολιορκημένοι and Elytis' To 'Αξιλον Εσιτί (see Καραντώνης, op.cit., pp. 165, 173; Σαββίδης, op.cit., pp. 176, 182; Βαλέτας, op.cit., pp. 162, 163, 170). Others have compared the two poets' conception of Liberty, or their role as an "εθνικός ποιητής" (see Κοκόλης, Για το <<Αξιλον Εσιτί>> του Ελύτη, pp. 29, 42; Αργυρίου, op.cit., p. 78). Karandonis (Εισαγωγή στη νεώτερη ποίηση, Εκδόσεις <<Παπαδήμα>> Athens 1978, p. 199) compares the feminine persona in the poets' work, as does Carson (49 scholia on the poems of Odysseus Elytis, pp. 56-8), whereas Petropoulos (op.cit., pp. 39-40) compares the two poets' vocabulary, particularly that relating to nature imagery.

84. Ανοχτιά Χαριτιά, p. 27. See also pp. 28, 215-6, 307, 355, 362, 363, 408, 442.

85. The influence of Solomos is seen by a critic in 'Άσμα ηρωικό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας (Α. Φυλακτός, Σολωμικοί Αποηχοί στο <<Αξιλον Εσιτί>> του Οδυσσεά Ελύτη, << Ζαβάλλη >> Λευκωσία, 1974, pp. 4-5), and another has compared it with 'Υμνος στην Ελευθερία (Σαββίδης, op.cit., p. 175).

Όπου και να σας βρίσκει το κακό, αδελφού,
 όπου και να θολώνει ο νους σας,
 μνημονεύετε Διονύσιο Σολωμό ...⁸⁶

There are other obvious allusions to Solomos' poem, 'Υμνος στην Ελευθερία.⁸⁷ In Psalm B' the poet says:

Αγάπες μυστικές με τα πρώτα λόγια του 'Υμνου.
 Μονάχη έγνοια μου η γλώσσα μου, με τα πρώτα λόγια
 του 'Υμνου!⁸⁸

and these final two lines provide the subject of the following Ode, Liberty; Elytis, in this juxtaposition, thus emphasizes the close links between language and the concept of freedom in Solomos' work. The theme of Liberty in this Ode is portrayed, furthermore, within the framework of Solomos' perception and expression of it:

... Την άρθρωση σου 'δινε * και το λάμδα το έψιλον
 ... σε ονόμαζε
 ... γνώρισα
 ΤΟΥ ΣΠΑΘΙΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΚΟΨΗ * ΤΗΝ ΤΡΟΜΕΡΗ!⁸⁹

There are many other, less direct, references to Solomos and his work, and these are detailed by Fylaktos in his book on the subject.⁹⁰ Particular mention, however, should be made of the influence of Solomos' prose work, Η Γυναίκα της Ζάκυνθος, on Το 'Αξιλον Εστί, notably the Readings.⁹¹

86. 'Αξιλον Εστί, p. 54, lines 21-3.

87. This is the most important of Solomos' poems, in terms of borrowings and influence on Το 'Αξιλον Εστί, according to Fylaktos, op.cit., p. 30.

88. 'Αξιλον Εστί, p. 28, lines 28-9. This is the Psalm on Language.

89. Ibid., p. 29, lines 1, 5, 17-8.

90. The critic examines four areas of influence: specific references to Solomos' name and his works; lines borrowed with little or no change from Solomos' poetry and prose; lines that appear to be influenced by Solomos' work; and words borrowed from Solomos' vocabulary. (See also Λιγνάδης, op.cit., pp. 54, 80, 86, 99, 104, 106-7, 119, 125, 128, 133, 142, 143, 157, 163, 169, 174, 186, 187, 222, 226, 247, 251, 260, 264, 269.)

91. Φυλακτός, op.cit., pp. 3, 19-24; Μαρωνίτης, op.cit., p. 32; Σαββίδης, op.cit., p. 178; Λιγνάδης, op.cit., pp. 111, 113; Θασίτης, op.cit., p. 47. Α. Κμανιώτης, 'Ο πεζός λόγος του Ελύτη', Αιολικά Γράμματα, Volumes 43-4, January-April 1978, p. 129.

However, this is not the only work of an important 19th century writer discernible in these sections of To 'Αξιον Εστί; many critics have pointed out the influence of the Memoirs of General Makriyiannis.⁹²

In the Readings, these critics claim, Elytis deliberately attempts to evoke the style of Makriyiannis' Απομνημονεύματα; this imitation is particularly noticeable in the First and Second Readings, which have as their subject the Albanian Campaign. The parallel between Elytis' memories of his own personal participation in the struggles of WWII, and Makriyiannis' narrative of his own involvement in the Greek War of Independence is obvious, and a subtler example of the theme (discussed in the previous section) of the juxtaposition of various periods of history. The choice of Makriyiannis, as Despoina Spanos Ikaris points out,⁹³ is also tied up with Elytis' search for the "true face of Greece."

Other critics⁹⁴ have suggested the influence of Palamas, especially in regard to the title of the Sixth Reading, "Προφητικόν". Despite the Biblical overtones,⁹⁵ this unusual title⁹⁶ is not simply another example of the religious framework of To 'Αξιον Εστί; rather, its position and

92. Φυλακτός, op.cit., p. 31; Vittì, Κριτική μελέτη, p. 245; Καραντώνης, Για τον Οδυσσέα Ελύτη, pp. 170-1; Friar, The Sovereign Sun, p. 27; Μαρωνίτης, op.cit., pp. 32, 30; Levitt, op.cit., p. 15; Keeley, 'The Voices of Elytis' Axion Esti', p. 699; Μητσάκης, op.cit., p. 18; Σαββίδης, op.cit., pp. 178, 182; Λιγνάδης, op.cit., pp. 19, 111, 113, 133, 134; Keeley, 'Elytis and the Greek Tradition', pp. 86-7; Θασίτης, op.cit., p. 47; Keeley and Sherrard, Odysseus Elytis: Selected Poems, p. xiii; Κμανιώτης, op.cit., p. 129.

93. In the Editorial to Charioteer 24/25, pp. 12-3. See also Elytis' comments in Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά (p. 216): "Τα οράματα του Μακρυγιάννη ... μιλούν σωστά."

94. Σαββίδης, op.cit., pp. 176, 182; Καραντώνης, Για τον Οδυσσέα Ελύτη, p. 170; see also Lignadis' examples of Palamas' influence, both of which are questionable, op.cit., pp. 137, 222.

95. On this aspect see the next section on the "religious tradition".

96. That is, compared with the titles of the other five Readings.

function have a marked similarity with Canto 8, the "Προφητικός" in Ο Δωδεκάλογος του Γύφτου.⁹⁷

Evidence of the influence of other poets of the 20th century is offered by Lignadis,⁹⁸ although some of the connections appear somewhat contrived. It is my view that such influence is seen rather in Elytis' imitation (albeit unconscious) of aspects of their styles; for example the deliberate introduction of mythical figures into Elytis' poetry⁹⁹ is reminiscent of the techniques employed by Sikelianos or Seferis.¹⁰⁰

Finally two other writers of the 19th century, whom Elytis greatly admires, Papadiamantis¹⁰¹ and Kalvos,¹⁰² should also be mentioned in

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97. For details, see Λιγνάδης, op.cit., p. 227; Καραντώνης, Για τον Οδυσσέα Ελύτη, p. 165; Βαλέτας, op.cit., p. 166. It is an interesting exercise to compare both works: both deal with a quest for freedom, that is both personal and national; the world of Byzantium is the focus in both works; and in each the Προφητικός/Προφητικόν occurs after the central figure (Gypsy and Poet respectively), who has been chosen to carry out a mission, and who has passed through an agonizing period of soul-searching has triumphantly achieved his goal. These two sections offer a view of the world in which all things corrupt are doomed, but also present the promise of a re-birth of a new nation.
98. Ibid., pp. 168 (Cavafy); 135, 194, 202, 263-4 (Sikelianos); 196, 210, 265 (Seferis); 153 (Engonopoulos); 173, 187, 250 (Embirikos); 251 (Gryparis). See also Σαββίδης, op.cit., p. 182.
99. See Το 'Αξιον Εστί, p. 73, line 8; p. 74, line 3; p. 75, line 6; p. 76, lines 5, 8.
100. See Keeley, 'Elytis and the Greek Tradition', pp. 88-94.
101. Vittii, Κριτική μελέτη, p. 250; Καραντώνης, Για τον Οδυσσέα Ελύτη p. 201. See also Elytis' references to him in Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, especially pp. 216, 362. Elytis has written a book about Papadiamantis (cf. his book of Modern Greek translations of Sappho's poetry), in which he discusses various aspects of the writer's style (Η Μαγεία του Παπαδιαμάντη, Εκδόσεις <<Ερμείας>>, Athens, 1976). See also two interviews with Elytis: Τάκης Μευδράκος, 'Το υπερβατικό στοιχείο στον Παπαδιαμάντη. Ο Οδυσσέας Ελύτης φέρνει και πάλι κοντά μας τον <<Άγιο>> της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας', Επίκαιρα, 451, 24-30 March, 1977, pp. 72-3; Ματθαίος Μουντιές, 'Ο Ελύτης για τον Παπαδιαμάντη. Σώζει η επιστροφή στις πηγές ...' Γυναίκα, 728, 7th December 1977, pp. 22-3.
102. Friar, The Sovereign Sun, p. 6; Σαββίδης, op.cit., p. 181; also Καραντώνης, Εισαγωγή στη νεώτερη ποίηση, p. 192; Μητσάκης, op.cit., p. 40; Vittii, Κριτική μελέτη, ibid., p. 188. See also Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, pp. 307, 362.

the context of Το 'Αξιον Εστί, and the theme of the Greek literary tradition in general.

Papadiamantis is only mentioned once, in conjunction with Solomos

'Όπου και να σας βρίσκει το κακό, αδελφοί,
όπου και να θολώνει ο νους σας,
μνημονεύετε Διονύσιο Σολωμό
και μνημονεύετε Αλέξανδρο Παπαδιαμάντη. ¹⁰³

However this allusion occurs within the Psalm devoted to the allegory of speech ("Η λαλιά που δεν ξέρει από φέμα")¹⁰⁴ as a fountain of cool, clear water ("μια βρύση ανοίξετε/τη δική σας βρύση του Μαυρογένη!"),¹⁰⁵ in which the poet urges his fellow countrymen to take courage from the "spring" of Greek tradition. Undoubtedly Elytis views Papadiamantis' role and significance in Modern Greek literature as one similar to that of Solomos, i.e., a "spring" of Greekness.¹⁰⁶

Another possible reason for Elytis' choice of Papadiamantis as an example of the source of Modern Greek literary tradition, and his affinity with him (he has written a book on Papadiamantis and his work), may lie in the latter's attachment to the Orthodox Church.¹⁰⁷

103. 'Αξιον Εστί, p. 54, lines 21-4. In fact, Papadiamantis is mentioned quite frequently in the company of Solomos, indicating a similar perception of their role in Greek literature (e.g., see Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, pp. 216, 362; Τ. Αδάμου, Η λογοτεχνική κληρονομία μας, Εκδόσεις <<Καστανιώτη>>, Athens, 1979, p. 30). Elytis also quotes two extracts from Papadiamantis' work in Ο μικρός ναυτίλος (p. 41, lines 12-6), one of which contains the word "φυλλομανούντων" (in italics), which was doubtless his inspiration for his poem "Ο φυλλομάντης". See Σ. Πασχάλης, 'Ο Ελύτης ως <<φυλλομάντης>>', Χάρτης, Volumes 21-3, November 1986, Athens, pp. 461, 464.

104. Το 'Αξιον Εστί, p. 54, lines 9, 25.

105. Loc.cit., lines 3-4, 33-4. The allusion is to the Mavroyeni fountains on the island of Paros. (Cf. the "sanctification" of Manto Mavroyeni, ibid., p. 41, line 25.)

106. See Βαλέτας, op.cit., p. 165; Λιγνάδης, op.cit., p. 188.

107. See Vittì, ibid., p. 235; Ε. Παπαχρήστου-Πάνου, <<Ιδού εγώ...>>: 1 + 4 Δοκίμια για τον Οδυσσέα Ελύτη, Εκδόσεις <<Δωδώνη>>, Athens, 1980, p. 71.

In a work such as To 'Αξιλον Εστι', which best expresses one of the themes of Elytis' second period, namely the importance of Orthodox Christianity in the Greek tradition (discussed in the following section), the allusion to Papadiamantis is very appropriate.¹⁰⁸

Kalvos has always interested Elytis, as evidenced by the frequent references in Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά;¹⁰⁹ there is even a quotation in Προσανατολισμού.¹¹⁰

Indeed Kalvos was the first Greek poet that Elytis studied, during the Occupation, and following his participation in the Albanian Campaign.¹¹¹ The result was an article on "Η αληθινή φυσιογνωμία και η λυρική τόλμη του Ανδρέα Κάλβου", which first appeared in 1946.¹¹² This period also saw his writing of 'Άσμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον

108. Other possible reasons include Papadiamantis' interest in the sea, which parallels this aspect of Elytis' earlier "Aegean" poetry - in Η Μαγεία του Παπαδιαμάντη, Elytis continually returns to the theme of the sea in the writer's works (see op.cit., pp. 29-30, 41, 48 in particular); the nature imagery (see ibid., *passim*); or the laographic and linguistic elements. Lignadis suggests that Elytis attempts to evoke the flavour of Papadiamantis (in To 'Αξιλον Εστι') through various words and phrases found in the writer's stories (op.cit., pp. 146, 147, 148, 158, 172, 222, 250, 252); Elytis also appears to have used an image from Papadiamantis' "Το μοιρολόγι της φώκιας" (see ibid., p. 230).

109. See pp. 96, 256, 281, 286, 295, 296, 307, 352, 362 and the below-mentioned article, (see footnote 112) pp. 45-89.

110. Ibid., p. 81.

Τα μυρισμένα χείλη
της ημέρας φιλούσι
το αναπαυμένον μέτωπον
της οικουμένης.

This introduces the first poem of the collection "Αιθρίες". It is also quoted in Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, p. 70.

111. Αργυρίου, op.cit., p. 58; Vittì, Κριτική μελέτη, pp. 186, 333.

112. In the Christmas edition of Νέα Εστία, which was devoted to Kalvos. It was reprinted in the September 1960 volume (another αφιέρωμα), and in Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά. In ibid., pp. 281, 286, 295 Elytis refers to his writing of this article.

χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας,¹¹³ and some critics have discerned the possible influence of Kalvos in this first work of Elytis' second period.¹¹⁴

Others have pointed out elements of Kalvos' style (as it was this, rather than any notion of Kalvos as a patriot that had attracted Elytis)¹¹⁵ present in To 'Αξιλον Εστί.¹¹⁶ Probably the most noticeable of these is the position of the adjective after the noun:¹¹⁷

γάρες αιθέρος τις αλεύκαντες¹¹⁸

Kalvos also appears in a work of Elytis' third period, Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, representing the Modern Greek literary tradition¹¹⁹ (the Ancient Greek and Byzantine being represented by Sappho and Romanos respectively).¹²⁰ This mix of sources, as symbolic of the continual Greek literary tradition, has its origin in the poetry of Elytis' second period, and in To 'Αξιλον Εστί in particular.

113. Αργυρίου, op.cit., p. 58. This critic also notes that the poet Nikitas Randos/Nicholas Kalas also admired Kalvos in particular (ibid., p. 134); significantly, Elytis says that his first poetic exercises were influenced by Randos, as well as Embirikos (ibid., p. 58; Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, p. 115; Κ. Μπαλάσκας, op.cit., p. 103).

114. See Σφαέλλου, op.cit., pp. 14-5; Μητσάκης, op.cit., p. 40.

115. Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, p. 296; Vittti, Κριτική μελέτη, p. 186. Other reasons for his affinity with Kalvos are detailed in Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, pp. 45, 64; Κοκόλης, Για το <<'Αξιλον Εστί>> του Ελύτη, pp. 80-1; Vittti, ibid., p. 187.

116. See Μαρωνίτης, op.cit., p. 32; Καραντώνης, Για τον Οδυσσέα Ελύτη, p. 170; also Λιγνάδης, op.cit., pp. 19, 50, 99, 118, 120-1, 136, 151, 153, 162, 169, 183, 186-7, 220, 221, 227, 267, for examples.

117. For a discussion of this aspect see Μαρωνίτης, op.cit., p. 32; Λιγνάδης, op.cit., pp. 32, 50; Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, p. 65.

118. To 'Αξιλον Εστί, p. 13, line 6.

119. See footnote 9. Elytis also quotes from Kalvos' 1st Ode ("ο ήλιος κυκλοδέωκτος / και πλουτίζει το πέλαγος / από την μυρωδιάν / των χρυσών κίτρων", Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 41, lines 4-7; see Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, p. 87), and mentions Kalvos by name and alludes to an Ode in Ημερολόγιο ενός αθέατου Απριλλίου, p. 50, line 2.

120. See footnote 9.

This section has attempted to examine the second aspect of Elytis' personal mythology of the second period - which is based on a new awareness of Greece's cultural tradition - namely, the influence of Greece's literary and linguistic heritage. This new focus in the second period, which is based on a system of allusions referring only to the Greek literary tradition, contrasts markedly with the references to French poetry in Elytis' earlier work.

It was shown that the best expression of the theme of the influence of Greece's literary tradition occurs in Το 'Αξιολον Εστύ; as critics¹²¹ have said, this work reflects and celebrates the history of the Greek (not just Modern Greek) language from antiquity to the present day. Furthermore, Elytis' choice of poets, writers and styles as a reflection of this literary tradition is influenced strongly by his belief that "purely Greek elements" are those engendered by two traditions - Byzantine and demotic - and these sources dominate Το 'Αξιολον Εστύ. Nevertheless he also refers to Ancient writers, and these three sources - Ancient, Byzantine and demotic - were examined in greater detail.

It was revealed that Elytis' use of Ancient sources as an element in the portrayal of Greece's literary tradition was due, to a large extent, to his recognition of the modern language's linguistic debt to Ancient Greece, and the notion of linguistic continuity. His sources included Homer and Sappho, and also Heracleitus, Plotinus, Pythagorus, Aristophanes, Plato, Pindar and Aeschylus.

The Byzantine literary tradition - more specifically, Byzantine hymnology - plays a much more significant role in Το 'Αξιολον Εστύ, its influence being seen most notably in the structure of the work, as well as in its title. It was shown that in the second part,

121. Μητσάκης, op.cit., p. 32; Μαρωνίτης, op.cit., pp. 21-2, 33.

"Τα Πάθη", the pattern of Odes, Psalms and Readings is modelled on prototypes of Byzantine liturgy; furthermore, the Odes show the influence of Byzantine hymnology in terms of their versification and other features, and may be likened to kontakia. The third part, "Το Δοξαστικόν", has also been influenced by hymnography, in particular that which refers to the Virgin; this Mariolatric association is conveyed for example in the use of ritual phrases such as *ἄξιον ἐστί, ρόδο αμάραντο, and χαίρε.*

There are two strands to the third source, the demotic literary tradition: folksongs and Cretan literature of the seventeenth century; and writers of the nineteenth century. The influence of the demotic folksongs is seen first in 'Ἄσμα ἠρωϊκὸ καὶ πένθειμο γιὰ τὸν χαμένο ἀνθυπολοχαγὸ τῆς Ἀλβανίας, in such features as its title; the metrical system; the use of various motifs and characteristics of *moirologia*, and folksongs in general; and repetition. Τὸ 'Ἄξιον Ἐστί also contains references to folksongs, with allusions to *χελιδονίσματα, Χάρος* and the folksongs "Τῆς Ἄρτας τὸ Γεφύρι" and "Ἡ Λυγερή στὸν Ἄδη". The influence of Cretan literature is illustrated in the mention of Aretousa. In terms of the second strand, the two most important sources are Solomos and Makriyiannis, the influence of both being discernible in the Readings of "Τα Πάθη" in particular; elsewhere Elytis also refers to Palamas, Papadiamantis, and Kalvos.

It was mentioned that Byzantine literature dealt, for the most part, with subjects of a religious nature, and this fact is reflected in Τὸ 'Ἄξιον Ἐστί. Religion was also to provide the basis for the third aspect of Elytis' new awareness of Greece's cultural tradition, and this theme, the influence of the religious tradition and the implications of the continuity of Orthodoxy, is examined in the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

PART THREE: THE INFLUENCE OF THE RELIGIOUS TRADITION OF GREECE ON ELYTIS' POETRY OF HIS SECOND PERIOD (1945-60)

Elytis' poetry of his first period is definitely non-religious in tone and content,¹ unless one considers his ecstatic descriptions of the Aegean, his "φυσιολατρεία" to be a form of religious worship. Indeed the pagan quality associated with this early poetry, seen in the personification of elements of nature such as the sun and the sea, almost precludes any Christian element.

Nevertheless, this sensual view of the world is seen by the poet as an aspect of Christianity:

... whenever I speak of the most sensuous matters,
I conceive of them as being in a state of purity
and sanctity. I aim at the union of these two
currents. I am not a Christian in the strict sense
of the word, but Christianity's idea of sanctification
I do adapt to the world of the senses.²

However as Elytis' poetry matures and begins to deal with subjects beyond the Aegean landscape, and one enters his "second period", various aspects of the Orthodox religion begin to pervade his work.³ The first example of this is seen in 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας, in the resurrection of the second lieutenant.

There are early indications in this work of a heightened interest in religion: in Poem A' Elytis speaks of the "στεναγμό Θεού"⁴ and

1. There are religious references in Προσανατολισμοί and 'Ηλιος ο πρώτος - Elytis alludes to God (Προσανατολισμοί, pp. 39, line 7; 110, line 9; 130, line 6; 'Ηλιος ο πρώτος, pp. 27, line 6; 30, line 7; 40, line 18) and the Virgin Mary (Προσανατολισμοί, pp. 134, line 10; 136, lines 8, 20; 'Ηλιος ο πρώτος, pp. 25, lines 7, 14; 26, line 12) - but these are comparatively rare, and do not have the significance of religious allusions in the poetry of Elytis' second period.
2. 'Analogies of Light', pp. 631-2. This notion of the "sanctity of the senses" was discussed in greater detail in Chapter 1.
3. Η καλοσύνη στις λυκοποριές contains four religious references (ibid., Poem II, lines 12, 16; Poem V, line 4; Poem VI, line 16) but these are more in the style of the 'Ηλιος ο πρώτος allusions (see footnote 1).
4. 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας, p. 9, line 11; cf. p. 12, line 3; p. 25, line 5; p. 27, line 16.

"Βράχοι καλόγερου";⁵ and in Poem B' the poet cries

Μην απελύζεται ο σταυρός
Μόνο ας προσευχηθούν μακριά του οι μενεξέδες!⁶

The most important religious element, that of the resurrection of the dead lieutenant, is introduced at the end of Poem 1A' ("Ανεβαίνει τώρα μοναχός και ολόλαμπρος!")⁷. This element could have been portrayed as simply a transcending of death,⁸ or as an entry into the Paradise of immortality,⁹ but Elytis has chosen to emphasize the Christian parallel,¹⁰ the last lines illustrating this:

5. Ibid., p. 10, line 16. This is the first allusion to a monk in Elytis' poetry.

6. Ibid., p. 11, lines 15-6. This is also the first allusion to the Cross.

7. Ibid., p. 30, line 8. This line is repeated with variations, p. 31, lines 2, 12; p. 35, line 15.

8. That is, in the style of Digenis, who had been alluded to in Poem Θ. (See Μητσάκης, op.cit., p. 9).

9. 'Άσμα ηρωικό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας, p. 36, lines 5-7:

'Ανθρωποι τον φωνάζουν, του φαίνονται συντρόφοι του
<<Πουλιά καλά πουλιά μου, εδώ τελειώνει ο θάνατος!>>
<<Σύντροφοι σύντροφοι καλοί μου, εδώ η ζωή αρχίζει!>>

10. This is achieved through Elytis' deliberate choice of words. He calls it a miracle (ibid., p. 30, line 8; p. 31, lines 2, 12) and πάλλαμπρη (ibid., p. 33, line 5) recall the word λαμπρή, and Vittti (Κριτική μελέτη, p. 208) suggests that the noun "αγιαόζι"

Αγιαόζι ουράνιας ομορφιάς γυαλίζει στα μαλλιά του
('Άσμα ηρωικό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας, p. 36, line 8)

also represents the verb αγιάζει. See also the reference to spring (p. 31, line 11).

In his letter to Friar Elytis writes "... nothing further remained for me but ... to give form to the Second Lieutenant of the Albanian Campaign ... involved - in particular - within and beyond Death, in the Resurrection, the Easter of God". (Friar, 'Odysseus Elytis', p. 179. See Ε. Παπαχρήστου-Πάνου, op.cit., p. 65 however). Vittti, (Κριτική μελέτη, p. 206) argues that the second lieutenant's triumph is not a resurrection, as he ascends into Heaven rather than returning to earth; however, Elytis' comments and his deliberate use of phrases endowed with religious significance would appear to disprove this.

Μακριά χτυπούν καμπάνες από κρύσταλλο
 Αύριο, αύριο, αύριο: το Πάσχα του Θεού!¹¹

The theme of resurrection¹² is fairly significant in Elytis' poetry, being linked with that of meteorism,¹³ and Elytis was to return to it in a later poem, "Θάνατος και Ανάστασις του Κωνσταντίνου Παλαιολόγου" (1971);¹⁴ in this work, however, the religious aspect is not emphasized as much as in 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας, the former being inspired essentially by Elytis' awareness of his Byzantine heritage.¹⁵ Elytis also refers to death and resurrection in Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά,¹⁶ and the pattern of birth/

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11. 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας, p. 36, lines 9-10. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 32, lines 5-6:

Μακριά χτυπούν καμπάνες από κρύσταλλο
 Αύριο, αύριο, λένε: Το Πάσχα τ' ουρανού!

12. The word "ανάστασις" is mentioned seven times in Elytis' poetry, either as part of an alliterative device (e.g., see 'Ηλιος ο πρώτος, p. 41, line 17; Το μονόγραμμα, p. 22, line 2) or as an allusion to religion (Το 'Αξιον Εστί, p. 39, lines 11-2; *ibid.*, p. 66, line 18; Ο ήλιος ο ηλιότορας, p. 23, line 4; Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 33, line 17) as well as in the title of the poem, "Θάνατος και Ανάστασις του Κωνσταντίνου Παλαιολόγου" (Τα ετεροθαλή).
13. See Chapter 1 on the theme of meteorism, and see also the section on wind in Chapter 2, footnotes 132-3.
14. The Emperor's resurrection is, in fact, not portrayed in this poem; the poem ends with an image of war's destruction, followed by an enigmatic line presumably referring to the Emperor's symbolic resurrection ("Πάντοτε με μια λέξη μες' στα δόντια του άσπαστη κειτάμενος/Αυτός/ο τελευταίος Έλληνας" [Τα ετεροθαλή, p. 43, lines 18-21]). For more details see Καραντώνης, Για τον Οδυσσέα Ελύτη, pp. 225-6; Friar, The Sovereign Sun, p. 32. Comparisons, based solely on this theme of resurrection, have been made between 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας and "Θάνατος και Ανάστασις του Κωνσταντίνου Παλαιολόγου" (Μαρωνίτης, *op.cit.*, p. 70; Μητσάκης, *op.cit.*, pp. 9-10, 16; Elytis himself also commented on this in the interview 'Analogies of Light', p. 641). For other examples of the resurrection theme see Το 'Αξιον Εστί, p. 22, lines 1-3, 10-4; Ημερολόγιο ενός αθέατου Απριλίου, p. 49, lines 5-6.
15. Elytis refers to this emperor again in Ημερολόγιο ενός αθέατου Απριλίου, p. 33, lines 6-7.
16. Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, pp. 31, 39, 142.

suffering/resurrection, as portrayed in 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας is repeated in Το 'Αξιλον Εστί and Μαρία Νεφέλη, in a more complex form.¹⁷

The introduction of these religious symbols (e.g., God, monks, the cross) and concepts (such as resurrection) in Elytis' poetry of the second period was an expression of the poet's new interest in the Orthodox tradition, rather than any religious beliefs.¹⁸ Elytis viewed this tradition and its continuity as a formative influence on the Greek people, and this belief would become even more apparent, and gain greater significance, with the writing of Το 'Αξιλον Εστί.

Το 'Αξιλον Εστί greatly expands on this theme of religious tradition, firstly by employing a liturgical framework on which to base the work. This framework has already been discussed, and in the discussion below on the subject of the influence of the religious tradition in Το 'Αξιλον Εστί examples will be confined to Biblical borrowings and the influence of the Orthodox faith, as well as its symbols.

The influence of the Bible is felt before the work's first lines, in its stated theme, which is a quotation from the Old Testament, Psalm 129:

Πλεονάκεις επολέμησάν με εκ νεότητός μου,
και γαρ ουκ ηδυνήθησάν μου. 19

17. Μαρωνίτης, op.cit., p. 108.

18. Vittì, Κριτική μελέτη, pp. 208, 210. It has been suggested (Σφαέλλου, op.cit., p. 14) that Kalvos' influence is seen in Elytis' ideas on resurrection.

19. Το 'Αξιλον Εστί, p. 9. Cf. Κοκόλης Για το <<'Αξιλον Εστί>> του Ελύτη, pp. 24, 71.

This Biblical influence is continued in the first part of the poem, "Η Γένεσις", which is obviously modelled thematically on the Genesis of the Old Testament;²⁰ like its Biblical counterpart it is made up of seven sections. These seven "Hymns" corresponding to the days of Creation,²¹ also represent the Ages of Man, and the hours from dawn to midday.²² The Biblical parallel is further emphasized in various phrases e.g., "Στην αρχή το φως"²³ and "Τότε εἶπε καὶ γεννήθηκεν ἡ θάλασσα"²⁴ which recall the Old Testament Genesis; the first example, as critics²⁵ have pointed out, also echoes the beginning of The Gospels according to St. John, i.e., "Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος", and To 'Αξιλον Εστί contains many such phrases and images that show obvious links with the Bible.²⁶

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20. The "God" in Elytis' Genesis is both an old, traditional figure ("γέροντας γνωστικός θεός" (p. 20, line 13)) and a more modern one, intertwined with the Sun and the figure of the poet himself ("νέος δόκιμος θεός" (p. 13, line 32)). See Κοκόλης, *ibid.*, pp. 27-9 for a discussion of the portrayal of this God.
21. The elements created in "Η Γένεσις" are, respectively, the Sun/Poet; the Earth; the sea and islands; small plants and birds; girls and love; then knowledge of self; and the creation of need.
22. Elytis' own commentary to To 'Αξιλον Εστί, referred to in Keeley and Savvidis, *op.cit.*, p. 95.
23. To 'Αξιλον Εστί, p. 13, line 1. Cf. with the Old Testament Genesis: "καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· γεννηθήτω φῶς. καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς" (Μαρωνίτης, *op.cit.*, p. 30; Κοκόλης Για το <<'Αξιλον Εστί>> του Ελύτη, p. 53).
24. To 'Αξιλον Εστί, p. 16, line 9. Cf. with the same line from the Old Testament. (Κοκόλης, *loc.cit.*; Λυγνάδης, *op.cit.*, p. 65).
25. Μαρωνίτης, *op.cit.*, p. 30; Λυγνάδης, *op.cit.*, p. 49; Παπαχρήστου-Πάνου, *op.cit.*, p. 77; P.M. Minucci, '<<Η Γένεσις>> του Ελύτη: κοσμογονικός μύθος και εντελέχεια' (trans. Β. Ηλιόπουλος), Χάρτης, Volumes 21-3, Athens, November 1986, pp. 299-300.
26. To examine each one is outside the scope of this thesis; for a full discussion see Λυγνάδης, *op.cit.*, *passim*, and to a lesser extent, Παπαχρήστου-Πάνου, *op.cit.*, and Κοκόλης, Για το <<'Αξιλον Εστί>> του Ελύτη.

Just as the first part of To 'Αξιλον Εστί has a Biblical parallel, so do sections of "Τα Πάθη". While the Odes are based on elements of Byzantine hymnography, the Psalms have their counterparts in the Psalms of David.²⁷ Furthermore, the Fifth and Sixth Readings also show the influence of the Bible.²⁸ The Fifth, "Η Αυλή των Προβάτων", makes use of the metaphor of one's people as sheep, emphasizing the Biblical parallel through the use of phrases that recall the Gospels according to St. John,²⁹ and Ezekial;³⁰ the "Προφητικό" is said to be based on the Apocalypse,³¹ a work whose influence on To 'Αξιλον Εστί was the subject of a study by E. Papachristou-Panou.³²

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27. Friar, The Sovereign Sun, p. 27; Παπαχρήστου-Πάνου, op.cit., p. 75. Lignadis is less specific, mentioning that they are based on the Old Testament Psalms (op.cit., pp. 29, 30), and Savvidis compares them with the seven hymns of "Η Γένεσις" (op.cit., p. 178).
28. The Fifth, and especially Sixth, Readings differ markedly in tone from the preceding four, which are essentially historical narratives.
29. Κοκόλης, Για το <<'Αξιλον Εστί>> του Ελύτη, p. 142; Λυγνάδης, op.cit., pp. 206-7.
30. Κοκόλης, loc.cit.; Vitti (ibid., p. 273) however quotes an interview with Elytis in which the latter claimed the parable of the Prophet Daniel as the basis for this Fifth Reading.
31. Λυγνάδης, op.cit., pp. 226-8; Λυχναρά, op.cit., pp. 66, 90. Elytis' interest in the Apocalypse is seen in its influence on his poetical works (To 'Αξιλον Εστί and Μαρία Νεφέλη [see pp. 24-9 in particular]) and in the fact that he translated it into Modern Greek (see Appendix A). This was later made into a TV programme, and shown as Greek television in the Easter of 1986.
32. For other references to allusions to the Apocalypse in To 'Αξιλον Εστί see Παπαχρήστου-Πάνου, pp. 38, 42, 51-2, 73, 74, 75, 77, 79, 83, 87.

From the brief examples given above, one can appreciate Maronitis' statement that "... εκείνος που θα θελήσει να υπομνηματίσει το <<'Αξιον Εστί>>, θα πρέπει να έχει δίπλα του τα κείμενα της εκκλησιαστικής μας φιλολογίας, από την Παλαιά και Καινή Διαθήκη έως την πρόσφατη υμνογραφία μας."³³ Nevertheless all these references to the Bible and religion (combined with the liturgical framework) should not suggest that To 'Αξιον Εστί is a religious work; indeed, the Christian tradition has been adapted to the poet's view of the world.³⁴ Concepts such as sin, virtue, purity and Paradise are mentioned, but it should be kept in mind that their portrayal is not necessarily in accordance with the Orthodox view. Even God Himself, in "Η Γένεσις" is not the God of the Bible, but a benevolent figure, who is linked inseparably with the Sun and the Poet himself:³⁵

Ήταν ο ήλιος με τον άξονά του μέσα μου
πολύάχτιδος όλος του καλούσε και
αυτός αλήθεια που ήμουνα Ο πολλούς αλώνες πριν.³⁶

This association of the Christian God with the pagan personification of the Sun is not simply a surrealist image, but one of the more obvious examples of the way in which Elytis combines the two traditions,³⁷ reflecting both the folk mind and the idolatry of the Greek Church. This juxtaposition is, in fact, reflected in the motif

33. Μαρωνίτης, op.cit., p. 30.

34. Λυχνάρá, op.cit., p. 66; Vittì, Κρυτική μελέτη, p. 235 (Vittì makes a parallel with Papadiamantis); Θασίτης, op.cit., pp. 45-6 (again the reference to Papadiamantis).

35. See footnote 20.

36. 'Αξιον Εστί, p. 13, lines 18-20.

37. For a discussion of the pagan/Christian mix in Elytis' poetry, see Carson, 49 scholia on the poems of the Odysseus Elytis, p. 36; Carson, 'Μαρτίνα', p. 446; Decavalles, 'Μαρία Νεφέλι and the Changeful Sameness of Elytis', pp. 29-30.

on the front cover of To 'Αξιόν Εστί. Designed by Yiannis Tsarouhis, it depicts a dolphin entwined around a trident;³⁸ subsequently referred to twice in the work,³⁹ it is portrayed as an alternative symbol for the Christian cross, which Elytis sees as a symbol of sacrifice.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the lithograph designed by Yiannis Moralis on the page facing the title page also portrays this theme of pagan and Christian elements combined: it depicts a mermaid within an icon stand, with a godlike Sun watching over.⁴¹ The portrayal of the Sun has been discussed above; the other image is probably a reference to the Aegean iconography of the Mermaid Madonna:⁴²

ΑΙΩΝ ΕΣΤΙ το χέρυ της Γοργόνας
που κρατά το τρικάρτο σα να το σώζει 43

-
38. This in fact is a symbolic emblem found, in relief, on many neoclassical fountains in Greece. (Keeley and Savvidis, op.cit., p. 99) and Vittì (Κριτική μελέτη, p. 274) writes that Elytis claims to have seen it many times. See Elytis' reference to this symbol in one of his dreams, related in Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, p. 171. Λυγνάδης, op.cit., p. 191 discusses its mythological and astrological significance.
39. To 'Αξιόν Εστί, p. 55, lines 9, 15, 28-9; p. 69, line 11.
40. "... ένα δελφίνυ/... και ν' αλλάζει το νόημα του μαρτυρίου/... να περνά και να λύνει το σχήμα του Σταυρού." (ibid., p. 55, lines 8, 12, 15). See also Λυγνάδης, op.cit., pp. 190, 237; Κοκόλης, Για το <<'Αξιόν Εστί>> του Ελύτη, p. 103; Λυχνάρα, op.cit., p. 81; Vittì, Κριτική μελέτη, p. 252.
41. For a discussion of this image see Κοκόλης, ibid., p. 20.
42. Keeley and Savvidis, op.cit., p. 100; Θασίτης, op.cit., p. 45; Λυγνάδης, op.cit., p. 248.
43. To 'Αξιόν Εστί, p. 73, lines 9-10. (Cf. this figure with Elytis' Marina. One critic, in fact, even compares Marina with the mermaid in Hans Christen Andersen's story [M. Λαγγουρέλλη, 'Η Γυναίκα κι ο έρωτας στο έργο του Ελύτη', Αισθητικά Γράμματα, Volumes 43-4, January-April 1978, p. 110]. See also the image in 'Ηλιος ο πρώτος:

Κι η Παναγία χαίρεται η Παναγία χαμογελά
Το πέλαγο έτσι που κυλάει βαθιά πόσο της μοιάζει!
... Στον ύπνο σου προσμένουν τρία τρικάρτα!

(Ibid., p. 25, lines 14-5, 18)

as similar allusions occur in other works of Elytis.⁴⁴

This type of ambiguous feminine religious figure is also encountered in 'Εξη και μια τύφεις για τον ουρανό; again a lithograph depicts her, a winged naked girl/angel⁴⁵ studying her own reflection. She is described later, in a poem, as Αρετή

Μια σταγόνα καθαρού νερού ... την είπανε Αρετή
και της έδωσαν ένα λιγνό αγορυστικό σώμα.⁴⁶

and is identified with the Virgin Mary.⁴⁷

'Εξη και μια τύφεις για τον ουρανό contains other Biblical borrowings, indeed, in spite of the many borrowings and liturgical framework in Το 'Αξιλον Εστί, it is the former collection of just seven poems that presents a greater sense of religious awe, although in this case it is not restricted to the influence of the Greek Orthodox Church.⁴⁸

As in Το 'Αξιλον Εστί, the Old Testament Genesis plays a role; here it is in the symbolic "Εφτά μέρες για την αιωνιότητα",⁴⁹ which closes the collection.

44. "Γοργόνα Ευαγγελίστρα μου!" ('Ηλιος ο πρώτος, p. 4, line 17); "Η Παναγιά το πέλαγο/κρατούσε στην ποδιά της/... κι έβγαίναν οι Γοργόνες" (Τα ρω του έρωτα, p. 27, lines 1-2, 8); "Στον τοίχο, τη Γοργόνα με τα ξέπλεκα μαλλιά .../Παιδί με το λιβάνι και με το κόκκινο σταυρό" (Το μονόγραμμα, pp. 13-4). In Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, in Elytis' article on the painter Theofilos, he writes: "Η Παναγία ταξιδεύει στην πλήρη των καϊκιών σα Γοργόνα ..." (ibid., p. 215).

45. For details on this common motif in Elytis' poetry and collages, see Chapter 1, footnotes 50-2.

46. 'Εξη και μια τύφεις για τον ουρανό, p. 16, lines 16-8. See Chapter 1, footnote 53.

47. Friar, 'The Imagery and Collages of Odysseus Elytis', p. 708; Friar, The Sovereign Sun, p. 23.

48. Lyhnara sees the difference thus: "Το 'Αξιλον Εστί κινείται στον ελληνικό χώρο, οι Τύφεις, στον κοσμικό χώρο." (op.cit., p. 42). Cf. Καραντιώνης, Για τον Οδυσσέα Ελύτη, p. 190.

49. Karandonis mistakenly calls this poem "Εφτά μέρες για την Δημιουργία", reinforcing the Biblical prototype (ibid., p. 195).

In the previous poem the Biblical allusion is even clearer. Entitled "Ο Άλλος Νώε", Elytis deliberately chooses phrases that attest to this new interest in religious tradition: "στης ασκητείας μου την Κιβωτό";⁵⁰ "μια Μονή Φωτός";⁵¹ "έσφαλε ο θεός, να στάξει/ Τρίλια της Παράδεισος!"⁵² The poem ends with a woman, "η Γυναίκα η Χλοροφόρος" letting a bird go, recreating the image of Noah and the dove.

This section has attempted to examine a third aspect of Elytis' personal mythology in the second period: the theme of religious tradition. In particular this refers to the Orthodox tradition, and is based on the poet's belief that its continuity has acted as a formative influence on the Greek people. It should be emphasized, however, that Elytis' new interest in religion and the Orthodox tradition is not the result of any religious beliefs; it is simply another aspect of his new awareness of the Greek cultural tradition.

The theme of the influence of religious tradition is introduced in 'Άσμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας: it is conveyed in the allusions to various religious symbols, and, more importantly, in the portrayal of the hero's resurrection, in which the Christian parallel is emphasized.

Το 'Άξιον Εστί and 'Έξη και μια τύφεις για τον ουρανό were shown to develop the theme of religious tradition further. Its expression may be categorized into two areas: Biblical borrowings; and the juxtaposition of Christian and pagan motifs, as a reflection of the interweaving of these two traditions within the Greek Orthodox Church.

Examples of the influence of the Bible in Το 'Άξιον Εστί are numerous, and only the most significant were examined. These included

50. 'Έξη και μια τύφεις για τον ουρανό, p. 22, line 11.

51. Loc.cit., line 5.

52. Ibid., p. 23, lines 20-2. The notion of Paradise is an important aspect of the personal mythology of Elytis' third period. See Chapter 4, footnotes 25-50.

the modelling of the section "Η Γένεσις" and the Psalms of "Τα Πάθη" on their Biblical counterparts, and the use of phrases and images borrowed from The Gospels according to St. John; 'Εξη και μια τύφελς για τον ουρανó contained references to Genesis and the story of Noah.

The juxtaposition of the Christian and pagan traditions was shown to be expressed in three important motifs in Το 'Αξιόν Εστί: God of "Η Γένεσις", who is portrayed as a benevolent figure linked with the figures of the Sun, and the Poet; the alternative symbol for the Christian cross, the dolphin entwined around a trident; and the Mermaid Madonna. This feminine religious figure is repeated in Αρετή, the girl-angel of 'Εξη και μια τύφελς για τον ουρανó.

Religious references are even more frequent in the poetry of Elytis' third period; nevertheless, since his personal mythology of this later stage does not focus, in part, on the theme of the influence of the religious tradition, these allusions are merely symbolic, and do not possess the same significance as those of Elytis' second period, discussed above. It is this change in emphasis apparent in Elytis' personal mythology of his third period that will be examined in the following chapter.

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER FOUR

THE TRANSITION BETWEEN ELYTIS' SECOND AND THIRD PERIODS

The poetry of Elytis' third period (1971 to the present day) is quite extensive in volume, and is generally considered to be his most fruitful period.

Nevertheless, despite the various innovations that he introduces in this period, which will be discussed below, one's initial impression is that Elytis appears to be returning to the style of his earlier poetry. The similarities in imagery and themes are immediately apparent: the same girls, and the emphasis on sex; the Utopia setting, with the trees, flowers, birds and insects, sunlight and colour - in short the same Aegean backdrop.¹ Even the titles are significant: Ο ήλιος ο ηλιότορας is an older counterpart for 'Ηλιος ο πρώτος.

There is, however, a distinct difference between the world of Προσανατολισμού and that of the poetry of the third period. Firstly the sense of innocence² and youthful optimism that characterized Elytis' early poetry has been lost in the war scenes of 'Άσμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας and Το 'Άξιον Εστί, and replaced with a more ironic, self-mocking treatment of the same subject matter. For example, in Ο ήλιος ο ηλιότορας Elytis uses the speeches of the sun as a medium in which "to play mockingly with some of his most basic themes" in nursery rhyme:³

Με τα μικρά χαμόνια του
καβάλα στα δελφίνια του

με τις κοπέλες τις γυμνές
που κáλγονται στις αμμουδιές.⁴

-
1. The exception is Μαρία Νεφέλη, which is set in an urban environment.
 2. Lyhnara (op.cit., p. 112) terms it "άγνοια".
 3. Friar, The Sovereign Sun, p. 42.
 4. Ο ήλιος ο ηλιότορας, p. 10, lines 3-6.

The second, and more important difference between the imagery of the first and third periods is that the φυσικό τοπίο of Προσανατολισμού has been replaced with a μεταφυσικό counterpart,⁵ with Elytis giving a metaphysical meaning and depth to the Nature of his early work; this "deeper meaning" of Nature is discussed at length by the poet in Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά:

... με τον τρόπο που έβλεπα τη φύση, το θέμα καταντούσε να μην είναι πια η φύση. Από το όραμα έβγαλνε μια αίσθηση και η αίσθηση αυτή οδηγούσε πάλι σ' ένα όραμα...
... Αυτά όλα ρωτάω και ρωτιέμαι ο ίδιος, ήταν τοπίο; Ήταν μονάχα φύση;
... ή όλα αυτά ήταν κάτι άλλο και όχι απλά και μόνο <<φύση>>. Ή τότε ... ή τότε η ελληνική φύση πραγματικά έπρεπε να 'ναι κάτι άλλο εκείνη. Να 'ναι φορτισμένη με μυστικά μηνύματα ... και να παίρνει για τούτο δικαιωματικά μέσα μας το νόημα⁶ και το βάρος μιας μυστικής αποστολής.

This belief is foreshadowed in Elytis' use of the device of metamorphosis, and his theory of analogies, in the poetry of his first period.⁷ In his later poetry, this metaphysical meaning takes on a far greater significance as it is now the axis of all of Elytis' poetry, the sun,⁸ that is invested with a metaphysical power.

Elytis' theory of "solar metaphysics" is the major distinguishing characteristic of the poetry of the aspects of the poet's personal mythology discussed in this chapter. Others include Elytis' notion of, and search for Paradise; a greater interest in language; and an emphasis on Greece's Eastern heritage.

5. Λυχναρά, op.cit., p. 112.

6. Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, pp. 240-1. (His emphasis)

7. See Chapter 2, the section on metamorphosis, footnotes 63-5.

8. "... the sun has always had a central place in my poetry..." ('Analogies of Light', p. 640)

CHAPTER FOUR

ELYTIS' PERSONAL MYTHOLOGY OF HIS THIRD PERIOD (1971-85)

Elytis' theory of "solar metaphysics" is undoubtedly the most significant element in his personal mythology of the third period. It is also the final stage in the changing portrayal of the sun in Elytis' poetry. In the first period, the sun's importance centred on its place in the Greek, or more specifically, Aegean, landscape, in the second, when the emphasis was on war, it became a symbol for justice and freedom from oppression.

In the third period its significance relates to its role as the main protagonist in Elytis' theory of solar metaphysics, the mystery of light; as the poet said,

When I speak of solar metaphysics, I mean the metaphysics of light. Since the sun has always had a central place in my poetry, I called it solar metaphysics.¹

The earliest reference to this theory, variously termed "ηλιακή μεταφυσική" and "μεταφυσική του φωτός", is in 1948, when Elytis was in Paris, and was requested by René Char and Albert Camus to write an article "Pour un lyrisme d'inventions architecturales et de métaphysique solaire", based on the ideas that he had expanded in conversations with them.² Although the article was never written, it was not until 1971, with the publication of Το φωτόδεντρο, that solar metaphysics played a role in his poetry.

Discussing his ability to give a clear explanation of the term in Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά Elytis confesses "τα αισθανόμενα περισσότερο παρά

1. 'Analogies of Light', pp. 639-40.

2. Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, p. 322. For more details, see Chapter 1, footnote 64.

που τα στοχαζόμouνα καθαρά".³ However, from the examples and statements in Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά and elsewhere, it is clear that this is a personal theory, connected in some way with the "mystery of light",⁴ and, as Decavalles points out, not a new version of the solarism of ancient mythologies.⁵

Elytis believes that "Europeans and Westerners always find mystery in obscurity, in the night, while we Greeks find it in light...";⁶ hence the phrase "mystery of light". Furthermore, as mentioned earlier⁷ the poet believes in another, deeper (or "αληθινή")⁸ side to life of which we are unaware, and that the mystery and truth of life is revealed to us in momentary "flashes", or messages, which always occur in bright sunlight, generally at noon. Elytis illustrates this point by relating three incidents in his own life⁹ when he experienced "ένα μήνυμα μυστικά σταλμένο από το μέρος της ζωής που αγνοούμε".¹⁰ He concluded:

3. Loc.cit. In the interview 'Η Υπέρβαση και η Γεωμέτρηση', discussing the importance of the sun, Elytis says: "κάτι τέτοιο είναι (που αυτή τη στιγμή δεν μπορώ παρά να το εκφράζω απλοϊκά) που μ' έκανε να μιλήσω κάποτε για μιαν <<ηλιακή μεταφυσική>>, να πλάσω αυτόν τον όρο που εκ πρώτης όψεως μοιάζει αυθαίρετος". (Op.cit., p. 758)
4. Critics interpreting the meaning of the phrase "solar metaphysics" also tend to refer to a sense of mystery. See for example, Levitt, op.cit., p. 10; Decavalles, 'Maria Nefeli and the Changeful Sameness of Elytis', p. 46.
5. Decavalles, ibid., p. 34.
6. 'Analogies of Light', p. 642.
7. See above, in the introduction to this chapter.
8. Vittti, Κριτική μελέτη, p. 231.
9. Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, pp. 318-20. These involved a lizard, a naked girl and a butterfly, and dolphins respectively.
10. 'Analogies of Light', p. 642.

This was for me another revelation of the mystery of the light. It is a mystery which I think we Greeks can fully grasp and present. It may be something unique to this place. Perhaps it can be best understood here, and poetry can reveal it to the entire world. The mystery of light. When I speak of solar metaphysics, that's exactly what I mean.¹¹

There are several references in Elytis' poetry to the meaning of solar metaphysics, i.e. the sun or light as a revelatory medium that explains the mystery of life in flashes

Σού 'δωκε τη λάμψη αυτή το φως αυτό το νόημα
που γυρεύεις ¹²

Σαν σταγόνα νερού μεσ' στον ήλιο.
Με πηγαίνει κι ολόγυμνος το θαύμα λέω ¹³

but, reinforcing the "personal" element in this aspect of Elytis' personal mythology, the poet prefers to allude to the three above-mentioned incidents in his own life that were examples of the "mystery of light":

Είδα φως να τρέχει και μέσα του δελφίνια
μου φάνηκε ηχώ άλλου κόσμου
η φωνή του ποιητή.¹⁴

It is, in Elytis' view, the role of the poet to translate these momentary revelations about life into verse,¹⁵ to catch the "άπιαστα του Παραδείσου σήματα".¹⁶ As he writes in Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, "Όταν

11. 'Analogies of Light', p. 642.

12. Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 32, line 17.

13. Τα ετεροθαλή, p. 55, lines 20-1. This poem is entitled "Απόστιχα μυστικά για έναν όρθρο στο Ασηκητήριο του Απολλού".

14. Μαρία Νεφέλη, p. 90, lines 16-8. See also Τα ετεροθαλή, p. 41, lines 10-1; there are also many references to naked breasts, or naked girls in Elytis' poetry.

15. See Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, p. 94 for example: "... ο ποιητής, χτυπημένος από μια τέτοια φευγαλέα αποκάλυψη..."; and Friar, 'The Imagery and Collages of Odysseus Elytis', pp. 710-1.

16. Το φωτόδεντρο, p. 14, line 7.

ανακαλύψουμε τις μυστικές σχέσεις των εννοιών και τις περπατήσουμε σε βάθος θα βγούμε σ' ένα άλλου είδους ξέφωτο που είναι η Ποίηση".¹⁷

Solar metaphysics is the central axis in Elytis' personal mythology in his third period; in his poetry this theory is best exemplified in his first work of the period, Το φωτόδεντρο, with this particular tree the supreme symbol of solar metaphysics.¹⁸ It is more than a tree¹⁹ - it is a source of light and life,²⁰ and a symbol of truth:²¹

Τι λογής είναι η αλήθεια . . . όλο φύλλα
στρογγυλά . . . κι από το μέρος του ήλιου²²

Its importance may be gauged by the fact that it is referred to in Μαρία Νεφέλη as an idol.²³

As mentioned earlier Elytis' theory of solar metaphysics represents a final stage in the development of his ideas about the role of the sun in his work. A second aspect of his personal mythology of the third period, Elytis' notion of, and search for, Paradise, is, however, not an extension of the theme of religious tradition expressed in the second period.

This is not to imply that there are no allusions to religion -

17. Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 20, lines 5-7. Cf. ibid., p. 21, lines 8-13.

18. Decavalles, 'Μαρία Νεφέλη and the Changeful Sameness of Elytis', p. 45.

19. Cf. "Το φωτόδεντρο" with "Η Τρελλή Ροδιά"; these trees are probably the most important symbolic trees in Elytis' poetry (and are separated by a period of exactly thirty years), and yet the pomegranate tree has none of the metaphysical quality of the "φωτόδεντρο".

20. See Vittti, Κριτική μελέτη, p. 296; Decavalles, ibid., p. 46; Καραντώνης, Για τον Οδυσσέα Ελύτη, p. 203.

21. Vittti, loc.cit.; Λυχναρά, op.cit., p. 116.

22. Το φωτόδεντρο, p. 39, lines 17-8.

23. Μαρία Νεφέλη, p. 19, lines 20-1.

specifically Christianity, and the Greek Orthodox faith in particular - in the poetry of the third period. In fact, Elytis alludes a great number of times to religious figures, and matters of religious significance. However the focus of the second period, that is, the Greek Orthodox tradition as a formative influence and source of comfort through years of struggle, is not present; Elytis increasingly refers to aspects of Eastern religions.²⁴

The search for Paradise is emphatically not undertaken in a religious sense, as Elytis stressed in an interview:

When I say "paradise", I do not conceive of it in the Christian sense. It is another world which is incorporated into our own, and it is our fault that we are unable to grasp it.²⁵

Elytis also stated that the search for Paradise was a continual theme in his poetry,²⁶ and certainly the Utopia portrayed in Προσανατολισμοί and 'Ηλιος ο πρώτος can be viewed as a kind of Paradise, as can "Το Δοξαστικόν" section of Το 'Αξιον Εστί, in which all things worthy of praise, all the elements that compose the new Paradise, are hymned. Nevertheless, it is in the third period that it begins to play a significant role in Elytis' personal mythology, as witnessed in the number of references to

24. See this Chapter, footnote 105.

25. 'Analogies of Light', p. 641. Elytis goes on to speak of the importance of the sea in his poetry; the association is not coincidental, as he himself realises: "Yes, I find even in the depths of the sea the kind of paradise which I seek!" and Decavalles has commented on the marine paradise portrayed in "Επέτειος", from Προσανατολισμοί. ('Eros: His Powers, Forms and Transformations in the Poetry of Odysseus Elytis', p. 664).

26. 'Analogies of Light', loc.cit.

the word "παράδεισος".²⁷

The fact that the search for Paradise is associated with the poetry of the third period may also be attributed to the influence of Plato, both in references²⁸ and quotations,²⁹ during the period. Critics have discussed various aspects of this influence,³⁰ and the subject is outside the confines of this thesis; nevertheless it should be noted that Elytis often refers to Plato when dealing with this search for Paradise.³¹

27. The word "παράδεισος" is mentioned six times in Το φωτόδεντρο; once in Τα ρω του έρωτα; four times in both Το μονόγραμμα and Τα ετεροθαλή; twice in Μαρία Νεφέλη; once in Τρία ποιήματα; twice in Ημερολόγιο ενός αθέατου Απριλίου; and four times in Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, a total of twenty four references. This contrasts with one reference in the poetry of Elytis' first period, and four in that of the second period.
28. Plato's name is mentioned twice in Elytis' poetry (Το φωτόδεντρο, p. 15, line 4; Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 121, line 6); prose references are detailed in Ιακώβ, op.cit., pp. 68-72.
29. There are several quotations from Plato's work, notably Phaedo in Elytis' poetry. See Ιακώβ, op.cit., pp. 68-72 for details, as well as a list of quotations from Plato in Elytis' prose.
30. See Decavalles, 'Eros: His Power, Forms and Transformations in the Poetry of Odysseus Elytis', pp. 662, 663, 664, 667, 673; Decavalles, 'Maris Nefeli and the Changeful Sameness of Elytis', pp. 32-4, 45, 54-5; Carson, 49 scholia on the poems of Odysseus Elytis, pp. 20, 46, 64, 66, 76; Μερακλής, op.cit., pp. 220-1; Μαρωνίτης, op.cit., p. 102; Χ. Σακελλαρίου, Παθολογία της πνευματικής ζωής, Εκδόσεις <<Φιλολιπότη>>, Athens, 1983, p. 17.
31. See Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά, p. 144, and Elytis' comment on this passage in 'Analogies of Light', p. 641, where the poet makes the association between Plato's Atlantis and Elytis' vision of Santorini as an example of a lost Paradise. A reference to Plato, and the meaning of Paradise, are also both contained in a poem from Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 121.

See also the comments of Friar (The Sovereign Sun, p. 37) and Decavalles ('Eros: His Power, Forms and Transformations in the Poetry of Odysseus Elytis', p. 672) on the poem "Περί πολιτείας".

It was stated in the discussion on Elytis' theory of the union of opposites that this could be seen as a prelude for the poet's search for Paradise,³² and it would appear that this is indeed a major element in Elytis' portrayal of Paradise. In his Paradise, "opposites are reconciled and unified";³³ Paradise is a poetic state,

... a third state of the spirit where opposites cease to exist. There are no more opposites beyond a certain level of elevation.³⁴

The concept of the "third state"³⁵ is already implicit in "Το Δοξαστικόν" of Το 'Αξιλον Εστί; by the third period the poet has found a symbolic term, "the third heights" which expresses this idea of Paradise:

'Ομως πού το <<χάρμα>>; Πού η <<νέα ζωή>>;
Αλλά μάρτυς ήμουνα όταν στα τρίτα ύψη³⁶
'Ενα-ένα ξυπνούσαν τα λιόφυτα του αέρος

άπραγα κοριτσάκια της βροχής πού μ' έχετε συλλάβει;
Εκεί; Στα τρίτα ύψη;³⁷

Less common, but also employed to describe Paradise are phrases such as "η δέκατη τέταρτη ομορφιά",³⁸ or "η Ελλάδα η δεύτερη του επάνω κόσμου".³⁹

32. See Chapter 1, footnotes 18-9.

33. Decavalles, *ibid.*, p. 673.

34. 'Analogies of Light', p. 632.

35. See Ανοιχτά χαρτιά, p. 18 for a more detailed explanation of Elytis' concept of the "third state".

36. Τα ετεροθαλή, p. 26, lines 5-7.

37. Μαρία Νεφέλη, p. 99, lines 4-5. The inclusion of two passages from Phaedo (*loc.cit.*, lines 9-15; a longer version appears in Ανοιχτά χαρτιά, p. 320) further emphasizes the Platonic influence on Elytis' concept of Paradise. (Cf. footnote 31.) For other references to "the third heights", see Μαρία Νεφέλη, p. 66, line 18; *ibid.*, p. 101, line 5; Το φωτόδεντρο, p. 56, line 6 ("Ζωή άλλη τρίτη").

38. Το φωτόδεντρο, p. 55, line 17: "Φτάσουν όλα στην περίφημη δέκατη τέταρτη ομορφιά".

39. Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 27, lines 11-2; p. 99, lines 19-20.

However this third state, where opposites no longer exist, is not the only element in Elytis' poetic Paradise. Proceeding from the premise that love and lust are one and the same in Paradise,⁴⁰ Elytis condemns the falseness of the idea of the Fall and the Original Sin,⁴¹ one "fostered by Western Christianity ... (which) has perverted and negated the very notions of earthly love".⁴² This is nowhere better illustrated than in Μαρία Νεφέλη, in the poem entitled "Ο προπατορικός Παράδεισος", where the Antiphonist complains "Δεν σκαμπάζω γρυ από προπατορικά αμαρτήματα / και άλλα των Δυτικών εφευρήματα".⁴³ He goes on to describe the vision of a past Paradise:

'Ηταν στον καιρό του φύλλου του Γυαλιστερού
όπου βασίλευαν ο Σάθης κι η Μηριόνη.⁴⁴

This importance of sexual love in Elytis' Paradise, portrayed in the girl with the golden key who opens up Paradise in a poem from Τα ρω του έρωτα,⁴⁵ is also emphasized in Ανολχτά Χαρτιά.⁴⁶ Discussing

40. Friar, The Sovereign Sun, p. 37.

41. This idea had been introduced earlier, in the second period (see To Άξιον Εστί, p. 61, lines 8-9; p. 65, lines 1-2, 17-8; Έξη και μια τύψεις για τον ουρανό, p. 22, lines 4-5), but it is not until the poetry of the third period, with the focus on the concept of Paradise, that it gains significance.

42. Decavalles, 'Maria Nefeli and the Changeful Sameness of Elytis', p. 51.

43. Μαρία Νεφέλη, p. 58, lines 1-2.

44. Ibid., p. 60, lines 3-4. "Ο Σάθης" and "η Μηριόνη" are Elytis' personifications of the ancient Greek names for the male and female genitals respectively. For more details on this subject see M. Κοπιδάκης, 'Scholastici Erotica Sapientae Carissimae Dedicata: 1: Το βασιλικόν ζεύγος Σάθης και Μηριόνη', Χάρτης, Volume 16, Athens, July 1985, pp. 497-8. Cf. Ημερολόγιο ενός αθέατου Απριλλίου, p. 23, lines 6-8.

45. Τα ρω του έρωτα, pp. 45-6.

46. For example, see pp. 126, 161.

the existence of a personal Paradise for each person, Elytis writes that his own would be inhabited, among various things "... από πουλιά που ... επιμένουν να κελαηδούν ελληνικά και να λεν <<έρωτας>> <<έρωτας>>, <<έρωτας>> ... "47

Elytis' final conclusion is that Paradise is a personal notion; his poetic Paradise, "the third state", may be founded essentially on the union of opposites, and the purity and importance of sexual love,⁴⁸ but his final lines in Ο μικρός ναυτίλος are simply the following:

Ναι, ο Παράδεισος δεν είναι μια νοσταλγία.
Ούτε, πολύ περισσότερο, μια ανταμοιβή. Ήταν
ένα δικαίωμα.⁴⁹

. . . το βαθύτερο νοήμα ενός ταπεινού
Παραδείσου, που είναι ο αληθινός μας
εαυτός, το δίκιο μας, η ελευθερία μας. . .⁵⁰

The third aspect of Elytis' personal mythology of the third period is the poet's heightened interest in language, notably the sound of words, speech and onomatopoeia.

47. Ibid., p. 38. (For other references to Paradise, see pp. 17 22, 31-2.)

48. Exceptions are Το μονόγραμμα and Ημερολόγιο ενός αθέατου Απριλίου. In the former work, the poet creates a personal Paradise for himself and his lover ("Στον Παράδεισο έχω σημαδέψει ένα νησί / Απαράλλαχτο εσύ ...") which is based on the notion of true love, as opposed to sexual love. In the latter it is suggested that Paradise may be found in Minoan Crete. (See A. Δανιήλ, Οδυσσέας Ελύτης. Μια αντίστροφη πορεία: Από το <<Ημερολόγιο ενός αθέατου Απριλίου>> στους <<Προσανατολισμούς>>, Εκδόσεις <<Επικαιρότητα>> Athens, 1986, pp. 39, 154-5, 159-60.)

49. Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 120, lines 14-5.

50. Ibid., p. 121, lines 15-7. (His emphasis)

Elytis has always been interested in language⁵¹ and in his second period this element appeared in the creation of new words,⁵² and lists of objects in To 'Αξιον Εστί.⁵³ However the emphasis on the acoustic senses reaches a peak in the third period, contrasting strongly with the visual imagery of works such as Προσανατολισμοί and 'Ηλιος ο πρώτος.⁵⁴

The names of plants appear to be a particular focus in Elytis' heightened emphasis on the sound of a word; this is a noticeable feature in To φωτόδεντρο and Τα ρω του έρωτα, and Ο μικρός ναυτίλος in particular.⁵⁵ A number of these are unusual, uncommon names, such as "γκιουλ-μπρισίμι",⁵⁶ "τζιτζιλιές",⁵⁷ "αρμπάρόριζα",⁵⁸ "λούζα"⁵⁹ and "γκορτσιά".⁶⁰

51. Friar, The Sovereign Sun, p. 29; Λυγνάδης, op.cit., p. 19; Α. Σκιαδάς, 'Παρατηρήσεις στην ποιητική γλώσσα του Οδυσσέα Ελύτη', Αιολικά Γράμματα, Volumes 43-4, January-April 1978, p. 50. See also Elytis' own comments in 'Analogies of Light', pp. 637-8.

52. For lists of neologisms and rare words used by Elytis in the poetry of his second period, see Μαρωνίτης, op.cit., pp. 24, 163-4; Μητσάκης, op.cit., pp. 41-2; Λυγνάδης, op.cit., pp. 20-1, 23-4; Σκιαδάς, op.cit., p. 52.

53. See Chapter 1, footnote 117.

54. This aspect was discussed in Chapter 1, as part of the theory of "the sanctity of the senses".

55. There are twenty-nine references to plants in To φωτόδεντρο, twenty-five in Τα ρω του έρωτα, and more than seventy in Ο μικρός ναυτίλος. In the poetry of his third period, Elytis refers to around eighty different species.

56. Το μονόγραμμα, p. 23, line 16.

57. Το φωτόδεντρο, p. 25, line 7.

58. Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 71; p. 93 line 4; p. 106, line 1.

59. Τα ρω του έρωτα, p. 13, line 2; Τα ετεροθαλή, p. 42, line 8; Μαρία Νεφέλη, p. 60, line 24; Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 73; p. 93, line 4.

60. Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 72.

However, the interest is not confined to plant names. In Ημερολόγιο ενός αθέατου Απριλίου,⁶¹ one "day" is devoted to "λέξεις άγνωστες"; that is, nonsensical words such as "ύφρη", "σαραγάνδα", "τύντελο" and "δελεάνα".⁶² In one poem in Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, Elytis portrays himself as a hunter "στο δάσος των φωνηέντων",⁶³ and gives a list of forty-nine words that obviously appeal to him simply on the basis of sound.

Elytis' heightened interest in language also includes a new emphasis on speech and dialogue. Μαρία Νεφέλη, which as Elytis himself says, "ακολουθεί περισσότερο τους νόμους του λόγου του θεατρικού"⁶⁴ is an obvious example of this,⁶⁵ as is Ο ήλιος ο ηλιάτορας, which has a cast of seven characters. However there is also a number of dialogues in Το φωτόδεντρο⁶⁶ and Τα ρω του έρωτα.⁶⁷

- Ε ποιος είναι αυτός; - Ο φονιάς που πέρασε
 - Κι ο τόσος σαματάς γιατί; - Το γεράκι
 το γεράκι φτάνει έφτασε - Καλά και
 ποιος ορίζει εδώ; - Ούτις Ούτις - Δεν
 άκουσα ποιος λέει;⁶⁸

The emphasis on sound is evidenced in the new interest in

61. Ημερολόγιο ενός αθέατου Απριλίου, p. 51.
62. Translations and derivations of these words are given in Δανιήλ, Οδυσσέας Ελύτης. Μια αντίστροφη πορεία, p. 146. Cf. Το φωτόδεντρο, p. 11, line 17 ("Αναντάμ μπαμπαντάμ").
63. Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 31, line 2.
64. 'Έχω δικαίωμα σαν Έλληνας ν' ανησυχώ για την ταυτότητά μου', p. 55.
65. In particular the section entitled "Η Παρουσία".
66. Το φωτόδεντρο, p. 19, lines 12-5; also the poem "Το κόκκινο άλογο", pp. 25-6.
67. Τα ρω του έρωτα, pp. 15-6, 27, 36, 45-6. There are also other examples.
68. Το φωτόδεντρο, p. 17, lines 11-4.

onomatopoeia⁶⁹ which is particularly notable in Το φωτόδεντρο, Τα ρω του έρωτα and Μαρία Νεφέλη. Elytis' onomatopoeia relates to animals,⁷⁰ or mechanical⁷¹ and metallic noises,⁷² many having a repetitive sound.

Μετατόπιζε το αγριοπούλι πιτ-πιτ πάνω στους
βράχους την αλήθεια Μεσ' στις γούβες,⁷³
τ' αρμυρό νερό τλιπ-τλιπ όλο τσιμπολογούσε

Ντούκου - ντούκου μηχανάκι⁷⁴
ντούκου το παλιό μεράκι

Μαρία Νεφέλη also reveals another change in the poet's use of language. Elytis has said

... I want the text to be completely virginal and far removed from the everyday usage of words. I would go so far as to say I want it to be contrary to colloquial usage. The tone of my poetry is always somewhat elevated ... the poet should strive for something which is pure.⁷⁵

and yet the language of the two characters' parallel monologues is definitely colloquial: the Antiphonist employs this language to make himself understood in the girl's own terms, and Maria Nefeli

69. The only previous example of onomatopoeia in both Elytis' first and second periods occurs in Η καλοσύνη στις λυκοποριές, Poem IV, line 7.

70. Το φωτόδεντρο, p. 19, line 6; p. 25, line 3; p. 62, line 10; Ο ήλιος ο ηλιάτορας, p. 10, line 8; Τα ρω του έρωτα, p. 21, lines 13, 16; p. 22, lines 13, 16; p. 27, line 17; Μαρία Νεφέλη, p. 107, line 11.

71. Μαρία Νεφέλη, p. 19, line 6; p. 20, lines 17-20; p. 49, line 16; p. 60, line 2; Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 104, line 15.

72. Το φωτόδεντρο, p. 11, line 10; Τα ρω του έρωτα, p. 41, line 11; Μαρία Νεφέλη, p. 31, lines 6-8; Τρία ποιήματα, p. 24, line 28.

73. Το φωτόδεντρο, p. 17, lines 1-3.

74. Τα ρω του έρωτα, p. 30, lines 3-4.

75. 'Analogies of Light', p. 638. (His emphasis)

often uses slang.⁷⁶ This new colloquialism is very striking; Karandonis confessed that he (and others) believed that "ο Ελύτης της <<Μαρίας Νεφέλης>> δε βγαίνει κερδισμένος".⁷⁷

For not only has the poet employed a new colloquial tone, he has included frequent technological neologisms,⁷⁸ trade names,⁷⁹ foreign words and phrases,⁸⁰ and profanity.⁸¹

NESCAFÉ LINGUAPHONE
σαν εξώφυλλα περιοδικών όπου όλες μπήκ-
PARKER WATERMAN BIC
μήκανε κάποτε οι ωραίες μιας μέρας
τριανταφυλλένιες όπως το κορίτσι
της ELIZABETH ARDEN και της NINA RICCI.⁸²

The use of foreign words and phrases in Elytis' poetry of the third period contrasts strongly with his previous work. In his second period where the emphasis is on the Greek linguistic

76. Elytis does say that Μαρία Νεφέλη is the exception to the rule of purity of language. (Loc.cit.) The poem is his first to take place in an urban environment, and this change is reflected in both the imagery and language; as he says in another interview "... η μετατόπισή μου από τη φύση στην πόλη, μου επέβαλλε μια εντελώς διαφορετική έκφραση. Ο λόγος δε στηρίζεται πια στη σπανιότητα ..." ('Έχω δικαίωμα σαν Έλληνας ν' ανησυχώ για την ταυτότητά μου', p. 55).

77. Καραντώνης, Για τον Οδυσσέα Ελύτη, p. 245.

78. For example, see Μαρία Νεφέλη, p. 105, line 7 ("μες στο διάφανο νάυλον ή το ντραλόν"); p. 28, line 7 ("Εδώθε το mercurochrome to tensoplast").

79. See the poem "Ich sehe dich" (pp. 103, 105) passim. A list is also given in Κεφαλίδης-Παπάζογλου, op.cit., p. 182. Both these elements (that is, the technological and trade names) are introduced for the first time in Elytis' poetry of the third period.

80. See below, footnotes 85-90 for details.

81. For example, see Μαρία Νεφέλη, p. 85, line 25; p. 87, line 2. (Cf. Το 'Αξιον Εστί, p. 74, line 18); p. 38, line 6.

82. Ibid., p. 103, line 27 and p. 105, lines 1-5.

heritage ("ΤΗ ΓΛΩΣΣΑ μου έδωσαν ελληνική / το σπύτι φτωχικό στις αμμουδιές του Ομήρου / Μονάχη έγνοια η γλώσσα μου στις αμμουδιές του Ομήρου"),⁸³ there are no foreign language references, in the first period, reflecting the influence of French surrealists, the few quotations and phrases are French.⁸⁴

However, in the third there are some French phrases,⁸⁵ but these are now supplemented by examples from other languages, notably German,⁸⁶ English,⁸⁷ and Italian⁸⁸ and Spanish⁸⁹ to a lesser extent.

'Ανοιξη Love Amour and Liebe
'Ανοιξη no nein και non!⁹⁰

Elytis sees this increasing reliance on foreign words as a result of another change in his poetry:

83. Το 'Αξιλον Εστί, p. 28, lines 1-3.

84. See Προσανατολισμοί, pp. 9, 57, 145.

85. For example, see the list of flowers' names in French in Τα ετεροθαλή, p. 44, lines 13-22; also Μαρία Νεφέλη, p. 54, line 8; p. 72, line 21; Τρία ποιήματα, p. 13, lines 26-7; and quotations from Nerval, Mallarmé, Rimbaud, Baudelaire and Éluard in Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, pp. 41-2.

86. Μαρία Νεφέλη, p. 30, lines 19-22; p. 32, line 1; p. 103, lines 1-2; Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 40, lines 1-4, 18-22; p. 41, lines 1-2.

87. For example, Μαρία Νεφέλη, p. 34; p. 72, line 18; p. 98, line 18; Τρία ποιήματα, p. 32, lines 2-3; p. 33, line 4; Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 40, line 6; p. 105, line 14; and quotations from Blake, Yeats and Pound, pp. 40-3.

88. Μαρία Νεφέλη, p. 41, lines 14-5; Ημερολόγιο ενός αθέατου Απριλίου, p. 54, lines 5-9; Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 39, lines 7-9, 13-5; p. 40, lines 8, 10, 12; p. 43, line 1. Elytis also includes some Latin phrases.

89. Τα ετεροθαλή, p. 18, line 25; Μαρία Νεφέλη, p. 73, line 12; Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 42, line 20.

90. Τα ετεροθαλή, p. 14, lines 6-7.

Στα δύο τελευταία μου βιβλία [Elytis is presumably referring to Μαρία Νεφέλη and Τρία ποιήματα], μετατοπίζομαι από τη φύση στην πολιτεία, και μάλιστα τη σύγχρονη, <<κοσμοπολιτική πολιτεία>>. Μία τέτοια κίνηση, φυσικό ήτανε να μου επιβάλλει έναν αριθμό λέξεων που ή δεν έχουν το αντίστοιχό τους στα ελληνικά ή και που αν το έχουν, δεν κατορθώνουν να δώσουν την αίσθηση που επιδιώκω.⁹¹

Nevertheless, this explanation does not wholly account for the often extreme overuse of foreign words, notably brand names, in Μαρία Νεφέλη, nor for the foreign references in works that are not set in an urban environment. Perhaps aware of the striking change in the purity of the language used in the first and second periods, and the third, Elytis goes on to say:

Είμαι λάτρης της ελληνικής αλλά διόλου καθαρολόγος. Ξέρω ότι είναι μια γλώσσα διαποτισμένη από τις ρίζες ξένων γλωσσών σε όσο βαθμό και οι άλλες γλώσσες είναι διαποτισμένες από ρίζες ελληνικές. <<Τρώγε την πρόοδο και με τα φλούδια και με τα κουκούτσια της>>, που έλεγα στη <<Μαρία Νεφέλη>>.⁹²

Parallelling the interest in foreign words and phrases is a large number of allusions to various Europeans (other than Greeks).⁹³ Many are surrealist writers and artists, and there are also references to various poets; Elytis also mentions many composers, painters and even Stalin.⁹⁴

91. 'Η Υπέρβαση και η Γεωμέτρηση', p. 761.

92. Loc.cit.

93. Cf. with the references to Greek historical figures (such as Androutsos) and writers (Solomos and Papadiamantis) in Elytis' second period.

94. An extensive list, including references, is given in Κεφαλίδης-Παπάζογλου, op.cit., p. 182. See also Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, pp. 39-43; p. 20, line 2; p. 54, line 2; p. 57, line 11; Μαρία Νεφέλη, p. 79, line 4; p. 85, line 22; Το φωτόδεντρο, p. 32, lines 9-10.

Nevertheless, all these foreign references do not detract from the "Greekness" of Elytis' poetry; rather, they are balanced by a final aspect of Elytis' personal mythology of the third period, an emphasis on Greece's Eastern heritage. As early as 1954 Kimon Friar noted that Elytis "stresses those Oriental factors that go to make up the characteristic Mediterranean type, a type which has been dangerously weakened in the modern world".⁹⁵

This element, however, does not become pronounced until To φωτόδεντρο, and other collections of Elytis' third period, where Greece is seen in a wider universal context. Decavalles suggests that the new interest in, and deeper awareness of, Greece's ancient links with the East may be traced to the period in which To φωτόδεντρο was written (1969-70), during which time Elytis was living outside Greece, in Paris, and aggressive claims were being renewed against the Aegean.⁹⁶

New dangers arose as to the poet's Ionian-Aeolian native world which made the poet, as never before so emphatically, claim the inherent, age-old cultural and emotional Greekness of that world and its deeper connection with the Orient ...⁹⁷

Whatever the reason, Elytis is keenly aware of the Eastern heritage and its importance;⁹⁸ Greece's unique geographical position,

95. Quoted in M. Papanikolaou et al., 'Odysseus Elytis: A Critical Mosaic' (trans. A. Decavalles and B. Spanos), The Charioteer, Volume 1, Number 2, Autumn 1960, p. 66.

96. Decavalles, 'Maria Nefeli and the Changeful Sameness of Elytis', pp. 35-6. "Θάνατος και Ανάσταση του Κωνσταντίνου Παλαολόγου", a poem in which Elytis "pays a lingering tribute to his Byzantine heritage" (Friar, The Sovereign Sun, p. 32), was also written during this period.

97. Decavalles, ibid., p. 36. Cf. Λυχναρά, op.cit., p. 117.

98. See Elytis' comments in the interview 'Analogies of Light', p. 642:

... Greece was never only (part of the Western world). There was always the oriental side which occupied an important place in the Greek spirit ... (and) which should not be neglected.

in terms of the East, is even stated in his poetry.⁹⁹

A number of allusions to names of Turkish and Eastern figures¹⁰⁰

... τα σπαθιά του Οσμάν και το τρίκλινο
του Νικηφόρου¹⁰¹

conveys the Oriental aspect of Greece, as do references to
geographical places,¹⁰² and Asia itself:¹⁰³

Το επάγγελμά μου το εξασκώ
στο Κάιρο και στη Δαμασκό¹⁰⁴

This last example, from a poem significantly entitled "Ο
χαμαιλέων", also illustrates another element in Elytis' portrayal
of Greece's Eastern heritage in the poetry of his third period. In
contrast to the theme of the Greek Orthodox religion, and its influence
on the Greek people, which was one of the aspects of Elytis' personal
mythology of the second period, from Το φωτόδεντρο onwards the poet
increasingly refers to elements of the Eastern religions:

Κάνε με Μωαμεθανό
να προσκυνώ στη Μέκκα¹⁰⁵

-
99. For example, "στης κοντινής Ανατολής τους λόφους". (Το φωτόδεντρο, p. 41, line 19); "Πάνω από της Ανατολής την ορασιά" (Τα ετεροθαλή, p. 16, line 4).
100. This element is exemplified in the lists of names in Το φωτόδεντρο, p. 32, lines 7-10; p. 33, lines 1-2; Ημερολόγιο ενός αθέατου Απριλίου, p. 33, lines 3-12.
101. Το φωτόδεντρο, p. 34, lines 11-2.
102. Ibid., p. 24, line 5; p. 49, line 5; Τα ρω του έρωτα, p. 50, line 4; Τρία ποιήματα, p. 15, line 3; Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 105, lines 18-23.
103. Το φωτόδεντρο, p. 28, line 10; Τα ετεροθαλή, p. 18, line 9; p. 51, line 26.
104. Τα ρω του έρωτα, p. 54, lines 1-2; p. 55, lines 13-4.
105. Ibid., p. 61, lines 1-2. See also p. 52, lines 1-2; Μαρία Νεφέλη, p. 53, line 21.

This chapter has examined Elytis' personal mythology of his third period, the last stage in its development. More specifically it has discussed the four aspects that constitute it: Elytis' theory of solar metaphysics; his notion of, and search for, Paradise; the increasing interest in language; and the emphasis on Greece's Eastern heritage.

The first, the poet's theory of solar metaphysics, was shown to be the major characteristic of his personal mythology of this period. An examination of this personal and unique theory revealed it to be based on the notion of the "mystery of light"; that is, that mystery may be found in light, not in darkness. Furthermore, Elytis believes that the sun or light acts as a revelatory medium, through which the meaning of life occurs to one in momentary messages, or "flashes". This belief is illustrated in references to Elytis' own such experiences, and exemplified in the symbol of the φωτόδεντρο.

As well as being the most significant element in his personal mythology of the third period, Elytis' theory of solar metaphysics was shown to be a final stage in the changing portrayal of the sun in his poetry. From a central personification in the work of his first period, it has developed to become a symbol for justice, and finally, the main protagonist in Elytis' theory of solar metaphysics.

The second aspect, the notion of, and search for, Paradise was demonstrated not to be connected in any way with the theme of religious tradition (and more specifically, the formative influence of the Greek Orthodox Church) which characterized the work of the second period. Indeed the search for Paradise may be said to be a continual theme in all three periods; however it is particularly noticeable in the poetry of this last period, due to the number of references to the word "παράδεισος". The influence of Plato, which is restricted to the poetry of the third period, was suggested as another factor.

Elytis' notion of Paradise was shown to be closely connected to

his theory of the union of opposites, and this relationship to be expressed symbolically in the phrase "τα τρίτα ύψη". Another significant element in this notion was the importance of sexual love in Paradise, particularly that which was unfettered by any Christian idea of the Original Sin.

The third aspect is a heightened interest in language, which upon further examination was shown to be foreshadowed in earlier periods, in the choice of plant names for example. Nevertheless, the emphasis on the acoustic senses should be seen as confined mainly to the poetry of Elytis' third period. This interest in language takes several forms: an emphasis on the sound of a word, rather than any symbolic meaning; the increased use of speech and dialogue; a new interest in onomatopoeia; a colloquialism, which embraces trade names, technological neologisms, slang; and a profusion of foreign words and phrases.

This last element is balanced by the final aspect of Elytis' personal mythology in his third period, namely, the emphasis on Greece's Eastern heritage. This was illustrated in a number of references to geographical places, Turkish and Eastern figures, and Eastern religions, as well as to Greece's unique position in terms of its proximity to the East.

These four aspects constitute the poet's personal mythology of his poetry of the third period; although some elements may be foreshadowed in earlier work, it should be stressed that this final stage of his personal mythology is without doubt a new development, and not a repetition of earlier ideas.

CONCLUSION

In examining Elytis' personal mythology this thesis has endeavoured to illustrate that it is an integral part of his poetry, and essential to an understanding of his work.

Personal mythology, rather than being a form of mythology as the name might suggest, was defined as a kind of poetic credo, composed of a system of theories coupled with various themes and motifs. Its role in Elytis' poetry was shown to be of great significance: firstly, it dictates the focus of each period in terms of content and theme, and also imagery and expression; secondly, it provides Elytis with a means, along with surrealism, of portraying the "true face of Greece".

Furthermore, it was stated that there are two aspects to Elytis' personal mythology, representing the constant, and the changing elements. The first is composed of the set of theories whose expression is not limited to the poetry of one period, but permeates Elytis' work as a whole. This continuity provides a framework for his personal mythology, and gives greater cohesion to his poetry.

These repeated elements were examined in detail in Chapter One; they are Elytis' concept of the union of opposites; his theory of the instantaneous impression; meteorism; the importance of the structure of a poem, and the related significance of the number seven; and the concept of "the sanctity of the senses".

The first, Elytis' concept of the union of opposites, was shown to be based on both Heracleitus' theory of opposites, and surrealist belief. This theory is illustrated in various motifs which recur throughout Elytis' work, such as the portrayal of the sea as a second sky; the image of the colours white and black as one; the union of two diametrically opposed persons, a motif exemplified

in the characters of Maria and the Antiphonist in Μαρία Νεφέλη; and the union of abstract ideas, a motif found in Το 'Αξιλον Εστὶ in particular.

The instantaneous impression is described by Elytis as where a single impression or action forms the basis of an entire poem. This theory finds best expression in the work of the second and third periods; in Elytis' earlier poetry it frequently takes the form of beginning and ending a poem with the same line(s).

The third repeated element, meteorism, is expressed in various ways throughout Elytis' work. In the poetry of his first period, there are no symbolic connotations: creatures simply rise towards the heights. In the second period, meteorism is connected with the poet's new interest in the religious tradition, and the emphasis is on resurrection as a form of meteorism; this is best illustrated in the figure of the soldier in 'Άσμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας. Finally, in the third period, meteorism is portrayed as a flight towards "τα τρίτα ύψη", or Paradise. Mention was also made of a recurrent motif in Elytis' work, the "girl-angel" in flight who often brings a message.

Elytis' interest in the structure of a poem, the fourth element, was shown to be based on two things: his belief that a poem's form should be bound inseparably with its content; and his desire to express himself within a framework. This element is present in Elytis' early poetry in the deliberate arrangement of lines, and the use of repetition and parallelism; Το 'Αξιλον Εστὶ is the first work to present the concept of a formal poetic framework, with Το μονόγραμμα and Μαρία Νεφέλη employing even more intricate mathematical patterns. Furthermore, a common feature in all of Elytis' poetry in terms of structure is his emphasis on the number seven: close examination revealed every single collection to be based upon this number, or multiples of it.

A final element is Elytis' concept of the "sanctity of the senses"; influenced by surrealism, a movement which placed great

importance on the senses, Elytis relies heavily on an appeal to the senses in all three periods. It was shown nevertheless that the emphasis gradually changes from the primarily visual imagery of the first period, to a greater interest in the acoustic senses in the third period.

The second aspect of Elytis' personal mythology concerns the changing emphasis between periods. This personal mythology may be divided into three stages which correspond to the three periods of Elytis' poetry; each of these three stages presents a different focus, which determines the content, imagery and expression of the poems of that period. The other three chapters of this thesis were devoted to an analysis of the personal mythology of each period, and a discussion of its development.

Chapter Two examined the poetry of Elytis' first period, and it was shown that the inspiration for the personal mythology of this period lay in the poet's desire to replace the usual allusions to figures from Classical mythology with something that better represented the "true face of Greece". In his search for the sources of the neo-Hellenic world, he preferred to concentrate on the genuine mythopoeic urge, the impulse that led man to create a primitive mythology, rather than any ritualized literary tradition.

He found this source, or mechanism, of mythmaking in the ancient cultures' desire to personify Nature: the expression of natural events and phenomena in human terms so that one might better understand them. The device of personification therefore became a major element in Elytis' personal mythology of his first period.

It was shown that although Elytis uses two methods of personification in his work, the first being the personification of abstract ideas, his preferred method is to personify elements of Nature (as did the ancient cultures). The chapter then examined those elements of Nature that are personified in Elytis' poetry with especial reference to Προσανατολισμοί and 'Ηλιος ο πρώτος: the

sun, the sea, the earth, the wind, and various trees and plants.

Anthropomorphism is a major theme in Greek mythology; it was demonstrated that the theme of metamorphosis is also an extremely ancient one, and particularly common in Greek mythology. This fact, combined with the importance that the surrealist movement placed on the principle of transformation, inspired Elytis to employ the device of metamorphosis as the second element in his personal mythology of his first period.

Despite being partly inspired by the Greek mythological treatment of the theme of transformation, it was revealed that Elytis does not refer to mythical figures in his own use of the device, restricting his borrowings to the motif of the hyacinth. Instead, Nature plays an important role in his metamorphoses, of which there are three types.

The first category involves the transformation of man (generally a girl) into an element of Nature; examples of this type include the *Πορτοκαλένεια*, *Μαρίνα*, and the motif of the hyacinth. The second portrays the metamorphosis of Nature into man; this is exemplified in the metamorphosis of the Greek landscape, generally an island, into a woman. The third category involves the transformation of abstract ideas into elements of Nature, with the most famous example the metamorphosis of a girl's early morning mood into a pomegranate tree.

Nevertheless, Elytis' choice of the themes of personification and metamorphosis as the basis for a personal mythology, whose function was to portray the "true face of Greece", was to prove limited in scope. Elytis was merely replacing the post-Renaissance, "glory that was Greece" image with one of a Greek island Utopia, suspended in time. His experiences in the Albanian Campaign, coupled with a desire to change his expression, were to lead to a new focus for his personal mythology of the second period; namely, a new awareness of his country's historical and cultural tradition.

This tradition which now interested Elytis, one which had enabled the Greek people to survive centuries of conflict and catastrophes, and which had preserved the Greek culture, was threefold in his eyes - historical; literary; and religious - with each aspect giving some form of encouragement and comfort.

Chapter Three examined this new focus in Elytis' personal mythology of his second period, with particular reference to these three aspects. The first, a new awareness of the country's history, is reflected in the fact that all but one of the works of the second period are inspired by Greek historical events of the twentieth century. In particular, the poet has focussed on Greece's many struggles for freedom.

The two works which offer the best expression of this theme of Greece's historical tradition, 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθος για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας and Το 'Αξιλον Εστί, were then examined in greater detail, and it was shown that in both there is a central historical period, which forms the basis of the work. In the case of the former this period is 1940-1, the years of the Albanian Campaign. Το 'Αξιλον Εστί has a much broader foundation, being based on the Second World War (including the Albanian Campaign, the Occupation, and subsequent Civil War); the middle part, "Τα Πάθη", is divided into three sections that correspond to these three events.

To give a greater depth and significance to the central historical event, Elytis also refers to other Greek struggles for freedom; in 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθος για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας, for example, there are allusions to the 1821 War of Independence. In Το 'Αξιλον Εστί many periods of Greek history co-exist: Elytis refers not only to the 1821 War, drawing a parallel between the fighters of that struggle and the soldiers in the Albanian Campaign, but also to the Balkan Wars, and periods from Byzantine and Ancient history. This approach - providing a background that is based on more than one period of history - suggests a series of multiple levels of history that reflects the Greek historical tradition.

This approach is also paralleled in Elytis' treatment of the second aspect, namely the theme of Greece's literary tradition, in the poet's mix of sources. Two separate literary traditions in particular - Byzantine and demotic - provide most of the sources, reflecting Elytis' belief that "purely Greek elements" are those engendered by these two traditions; nevertheless this does not preclude his use of Ancient sources. The interweaving of these three traditions graphically illustrates the wealth of the Greek literary heritage; moreover, Elytis' system of allusions referring only to the Greek literary tradition contrasts markedly with the French influence of the poetry of his first period.

The influence of these three traditions on the poetry of the second period was then discussed in greater detail, and it was revealed that Elytis' use of Ancient sources was due, to a large extent, to his recognition of Modern Greek's linguistic debt to the ancient language, and the idea of linguistic continuity. He refers to several ancient authors, among them Homer and Sappho.

It is Byzantine hymnology which plays a much more significant role in Το 'Αξιλον Εστί; its influence may be seen in the work's structure and its title. In particular, the sections "Τα Πάθη" (notably the Odes, which may be likened to kontakia) and "Το Δοξαστικόν" best illustrate Elytis' employment of the Byzantine literary tradition.

The third source, the demotic literary tradition consists of two strands: folksongs and Cretan literature of the seventeenth century; and writers of the nineteenth century. The influence of the former is exemplified in 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας, which may be classified as a μουρολόγι, and exhibits various characteristics of folksongs; Το 'Αξιλον Εστί also contains references to folksongs, and mentions Aretousa. In terms of the second strand, the two most important sources are Solomos and Makriyiannis, whose influence is discernible in the Readings of Το 'Αξιλον Εστί in particular.

The third aspect of Elytis' personal mythology in the second period is the theme of religious tradition. This refers especially to the Greek Orthodox tradition, and reflects the poet's belief that its continuity has acted as a formative influence on the Greek people.

This theme is introduced in 'Ασμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας and is exemplified in the hero's resurrection, which emphasizes the Christian parallel. It is developed further in Το 'Αξιον Εστί and 'Εξη και μια τύφελς για τον ουρανό, and its portrayal may be categorized into two areas: Biblical borrowings (seen in the modelling of the section "Η Γένεσις" and the Psalms of "Τα Πάθη" on their Biblical counterparts); and the juxtaposition of Christian and pagan motifs, as a reflection of the interweaving of these two traditions within the Greek Orthodox Church. Examples of the latter category include the Sun/God figure of "Η Γένεσις"; the Mermaid Madonna; the motif of the dolphin entwined around a trident, an alternative to the symbol of the cross; and Αρετή.

In the third period Elytis' personal mythology undergoes a further change in focus, with the emphasis on the personal aspect of that mythology. This is reflected in the importance given to such elements as the poet's private theory of solar metaphysics, and his personal search for Paradise. At the same time, in his portrayal of the "true face of Greece", Elytis portrays his country in a wider context, as part of an Eastern culture; the influence of foreign languages on Greek is also an important theme.

These four aspects of Elytis' personal mythology in his third period - his theory of solar metaphysics; his notion of, and search for, Paradise; the increasing interest in language; and the emphasis on Greece's Eastern heritage - were examined in detail in Chapter Four.

It was shown that the poet's theory of solar metaphysics, a major element of his personal mythology, is based on his notion of

the "mystery of light". Moreover, Elytis believes that the sun or light provides a medium through which the meaning of life occurs to one in momentary messages, or "flashes"; motifs, such as the dolphins in the sunlight, which are based on the poet's own experience, serve to illustrate further his theory of solar metaphysics.

Elytis' notion of Paradise was shown to be based to a great extent on his theory of the union of opposites, rather than any religious concept, and this relationship to be expressed in the symbolic phrase, "τα τρίτα ύψη". Another significant element in this notion is the importance of sexual love in Paradise.

The poet's heightened interest in language, the third aspect of his personal mythology of this period, is reflected in the importance given to the acoustic senses in the third period. This interest takes several forms: an emphasis on the sound of a word, rather than any symbolic meaning; the increased use of speech and dialogue; a new interest in onomatopoeia; a colloquialism, which encompasses trade names, technological neologisms, and slang, and which is exemplified in his first work set in an urban environment, Μαρία Νεφέλη; and a number of foreign words and phrases.

The fourth aspect is the emphasis given to Greece's Eastern heritage, which represents a final stage in Elytis' portrayal of the "true face of Greece". This association with the East is illustrated in a number of references to Turkish and Oriental figures, geographical places, and Eastern religions, as well as to Greece's position in terms of its proximity to the East.

This second aspect of Elytis' personal mythology (that is, the existence of three stages, each with a different focus) shows a development in scope and maturity. From being based on the themes of personification and metamorphosis, it has broadened to focus on the cultural tradition of Greece, and progressed beyond that to an emphasis on the poet's personal theories and experiences.

This development coupled with the cohesive framework provided by the set of theories whose expression permeates all three periods of his poetry, clearly demonstrates that Elytis' personal mythology is a unique personal poetic credo that shapes his work, rather than any simplistic system of symbols. Certainly its significance can not be overstated: it is the very foundation upon which his poems are based.

In Ο μικρός ναυτίλος Elytis refers to a lengthy lexicon of key words and motifs in his poetry as "Ο Οδηγός μου". As he writes:

Όταν άνοιξα τον Οδηγό μου, κατάλαβα ...
Μόνο λέξεις. Αλλά, λέξεις που οδηγούσαν
μ' ακρίβεια σ' αυτό που γύρευα.¹

The same may be said of Elytis' personal mythology: that is, an understanding of the "vocabulary" of his mythology is an essential prelude to a fuller appreciation of the work of this unique Greek poet.

1. Ο μικρός ναυτίλος, p. 71, lines 1-3.

APPENDIX A

WORKS BY ODYSSEUS ELYTIS

1: Poetry

1940	Προσανατολισμοί	}	first period
1943	Ήλιος ο πρώτος μαζί με τις παραλλαγές πάνω σε μιαν αχτίδα		
1945	Άσμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας	}	second period
1947	Η καλοσύνη στις λυκοποριές		
1959	Το Άξιον Εστί		
1960	Έξη και μια τύψεις για τον ουρανό		
1971	Το φωτόδεντρο και η δέκατη τέταρτη ομορφιά	}	third period
1971	Ο ήλιος ο ηλιάτορας		
1972	Το μονόγραμμα		
1972	Τα ρω του έρωτα		
1974	Τα ετεροθαλή		
1977	Σηματολόγιον		
1978	Μαρία Νεφέλη		
1982	Τρία ποιήματα με σημαία ευκαιρίας		
1984	Ημερολόγιο ενός αθέατου Απριλίου		
1985	Ο μικρός ναυτίλος		

1A: Collections of Poetry

1979 Εκλογή 1935-1977

2. Prose

- 1973 Ο ζωγράφος Θεόφιλος
 1974 Ανοιχτά Χαρτιά
 1976 Η μαγεία του Παπαδιαμάντη
 1978 Αναφορά στον Ανδρέα Εμπειρίκο

3. Translations

- 1974 Μπέρτολτ Μπρέχτ: Ο Κύκλος με την Κιμωλία στον Καύκασο.
 1976 Δεύτερη Γραφή
 1984 Σαπφώ
 1985 Ιωάννης: Η αποκάλυψη

This is a very select list, limited to Elytis' major publications. Further details, including dates of individual poems and articles published by Elytis, may be obtained from M. Vitti, Οδυσσέας Ελύτης: Βιβλιογραφία 1935-1971, (Συνεργασία Αγγελικής Γαβαθά), <<Ίκαρος>>, Athens, 1977; and Δ. Δασκαλόπουλος, 'Βιβλιογραφικά Οδυσσέα Ελύτη: 1971-1986', Χάρτης, Volumes 21-3, Athens, 1986.

APPENDIX B

BIOGRAPHY OF ODYSSEUS ELYTIS

- 1911 2 November. Born Odysseus Alepoudhelis in Heraklion to parents Panayiotis and Maria (née Vrana) Alepoudhelis, both from Lesbos.
- 1914 Family moves to Athens.
- 1917-23 Attends Makris School.
- 1924-8 Attends Γ' Γυμνάσιο Αρρένων Αθηνών.
- 1928 First contact with surrealism, when he reads Éluard's L'amour la poésie. Begins writing first poems.
- 1930-5 Attends School of Law at University of Athens, but leaves without taking degree. There he meets George Sarandaris.
- 1935 Listens to a lecture by Andreas Embirikos on surrealism, and the two become acquainted. Comes into contact with Karandonis, and other members of the circle of Τα Νέα Γράμματα. First publication of his poems in the November issue.
- 1936-9 Continues to write and publish poems in Τα Νέα Γράμματα.
- 1939 Publication of Προσανατολισμοί.
- 1940-1 Serves as a second lieutenant in First Army Corps in Albania.
- 1943 Publication of 'Ηλιος ο πρώτος.
- 1945 Publication of 'Άσμα ηρωϊκό και πένθιμο για τον χαμένο ανθυπολοχαγό της Αλβανίας.
- 1945-6 Director of E.I.P. (Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ραδιοφωνίας).
- 1947 Publication of Η καλοσύνη στις λυκοποριές.
- 1948 Travels to Switzerland and Paris, where he meets Breton, Éluard, Jouve, Camus, Char and other French writers.
- 1949 A founding member of the Association International des Critiques d'Art. Becomes acquainted with Picasso, Matisse and other artists.
- 1950 Travels to Spain and England, the latter at the invitation of the British Council.
- 1951 Travels to Italy. Returns to Greece.
- 1952-3 Member of Group of Twelve.

- 1953 Member of Societé Européenne de Culture, and Administrative Board of the National Theatre.
- 1953-4 Director of E.I.P.
- 1955 Elected President of Administrative Board of Ελληνικό Χορόδραμα.
- 1959 Publication of To 'Αξιλον Εστί.
- 1960 Publication of 'Εξη και μια τύφεις για τον ουρανό. Receives First State Prize in Poetry for To 'Αξιλον Εστί.
- 1961 Member of Communita Europea degli Scrittori. Travels to U.S.A. at invitation of State Department.
- 1962 In December travels to Soviet Union with Embirikos and Theotakas, at the invitation of the government.
- 1964 Member of Administrative Board of the National Theatre. First performance of Theodorakis' oratorio of To 'Αξιλον Εστί.
- 1965 Travels to Bulgaria with Theotokas, at the invitation of the Association of Bulgarian Writers. Decorated by king.
- 1966 Travels to France in the spring.
- 1967 Travels to Egypt.
- 1969-71 Leaves Greece and lives in Paris.
- 1971 Publication of To φωτόδεντρο and Ο ήλιος ο ηλιάτορας.
- 1972 Publication of To μονόγραμμα and Τα ρω του έρωτα. Receives Ford Foundation Grant; also refuses Grand Prize for Literature offered by military regime. Declines to become member of Athenian Academy.
- 1974 Publication of Τα ετεροθαλή. Member of Administrative Board of National Theatre. After the fall of the Junta, turns down an offer to become a Member of Parliament.
- 1978 Publication of Μαρία Νεφέλη. Receives honorary doctorate from University of Thessalonica.
- 1979 Receives Nobel Prize for Literature.
- 1980 Receives honorary doctorate from Sorbonne University. Exhibition of his collages. Travels to Spain at invitation of Prime Minister, and is received by king.
- 1981 Receives honorary doctorate from the University of London.

- 1982 Publication of Τρία ποιήματα. Awarded Gold Medal of Honour by City of Athens.
- 1984 Publication of Ημερολόγιο ενός αθέατου Απριλίου.
- 1985 Publication of Ο μικρός ναυτίλος.

The information included in this Appendix has been compiled from the following sources: Δ. Δασκαλόπουλος, 'Χρονολόγιο Οδυσσέα Ελύτη 1911-1986', Χάρτης, Volumes 21-3, Athens November, 1986, pp. 261-80; M. Vitti, Οδυσσέας Ελύτης: Κριτική μελέτη <<Ερμής>>, Athens, 1984, pp. 329-39; Ο. Ελύτης, 'Διάγραμμα βιογραφικής χρονολογίας', Αιολικά Γράμματα, Volumes 43-4, 1978, pp. 174-8.