NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. The word heterotopia is Foucault’s, but I use it in the Neohellenic sense which Artemis Leontis has restored to it: “The term is heterotopia, a spatial metaphor deriving from the ancient Greek pronoun heteros ‘other’ and the noun topos. Coined by analogy to utopia and dystopia, heterotopia means, quite literally, ‘a place of different order’ and refers to an actual place conceived as being otherwise and existing outside normative social and political space. . . . Although Foucault mentions colonies as one class of heterotopias that lie outside a state’s borders yet operate as a great reserve for that society’s imagination, I have in mind another kind of place. What of the site that lies outside powerful Western states but that nonetheless appears as a place of origin within Western societies’ collective imaginings? Here I refer to the numerous sites of ruins from classical antiquity forming a circuit known to the West as ‘Hellas.’ . . . Hellas itself is a heterotopia, a space set apart precisely because it contains classical ruins.” See Topographies of Hellenism: Mapping the Homeland (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 43–44.


3. NCSS, 91.

4. See part two of Leontis’s book for the relation of other Greek writers and poets to Western Hellenism, and also Stathis Gourgouris, Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization and the Institution of Modern Greece (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), chapter six, for George Seferis’s reading of Cavafy within the context of Hellenism.

5. Cavafy’s first published poems, “Bacchic” (1886) and “The Poet and the Muse” (1886), both appeared in the Greek Diaspora newspaper of Leipzig, Hesperus (RP, 91–92).

6. The Asia Minor Catastrophe occurred after the defeat of the Greek army in Anatolia in August of 1922. The ensuing compulsory exchange of Greek and Turkish populations resulted in the uprooting of 1.5 million Ottoman Greeks, effectively ending the Greek presence in Asia Minor.
7. For an overview of the intertextual theories of the New Historicists and the continuous dialogue between a *poetics* of culture and a *politics* of culture, see *The New Historicism*, Aram H. Veeser, ed. (New York: Routledge, 1989).

8. This poem is discussed in chapter four.

9. By including poems that were unpublished, rejected and unfinished, I am going against the tidy divisions of the Cavafy canon, i.e. those 154 poems that the poet deemed worthy of publication following his poetic revisions and purges of 1903 and 1911. Cavafy’s unconventional publishing method and the debate about what constitute “published” poems are taken up by Savidis in his important study, *Cavafian Publications: 1891–1932* (Athens: Ikaros, 1966). Along with Timos Malanos, I believe that Cavafy saved these poems because he intended to return to them and rework them at a later point. Many were carefully preserved with the instruction “not for publication, but may remain here” (*HP*, 157). They serve as indices of the poet’s thoughts and interests and are thus invaluable as textual documents. We would do well to follow Seferis’s injunction to read Cavafy’s poetry as one great “work in progress” (Savidis 1966, 198).

10. Gourgouris writes: “Once we grant the unequaled scale of heterogeneity inherent in India and look to the bare forces that frame its national history, we can see that there is actually a point where the story of India and the story of Greece coincide. Both are burdened with a classical past, a similar trap for the nationalist phantasm: modern malaise to be overcome and ancient glory to be regained. And in both cases, though in decidedly different ways, the trap is fed by Europe’s own self-serving and autoscopic investment—self-serving because autoscopic. This is the great historical and institutional coincidence of Philhellenism and Orientalism, Sanskrit and Greek being philology’s bread and butter. In this respect, if the story of India is the paradigmatic condition of the colonialist imaginary, then the story of Greece is the paradigmatic colonialist condition in the imaginary . . .” (6).

11. Since no English translations of these poems have been made to date, I have translated them myself. The dates of all Cavafy poems which I supply during the course of this study are, unless otherwise indicated, those of their composition, as determined by George Savidis’s and Renata Lavagnini’s scholarly editions.

CHAPTER 1

1. *PP*, 94.

3. Ibid., 30.
6. Nathaniel Wedd (1864–1940), lecturer in classics and ancient history at King’s, was Forster’s tutor and an important influence on his intellectual formation. In his biography *Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson*, Forster states that “When I was at King’s, Wedd taught me classics, and it is to him rather than to Dickinson—indeed to him more than anyone—that I owe such awakening as has befallen me” (GLD, 61).
8. Turner, 8.
10. K. T. Dimaras, in his *Miscellaneous III: On Cavafy* (Athens: Gnosis, 1992) points out that by “hellenikos” (Hellenic), Cavafy meant that one is Greek by virtue of luck or fate (i.e. blood); but to be Hellenic is a matter of one’s conscience (99).
12. As Leontis writes, “Given that the Hellenic past was so systematically appropriated by the West, one can make room for the study of local inhabitants’ repossessions of Hellenism only if one relates these, in turn, to prior Western appropriations” (1995, 33). This was certainly Cavafy’s ideological predicament. For a thorough historical account of the continuity of Hellenism, see Arnold Toynbee, *The Greeks and Their Heritages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981) where he avers that “Four thousand years of Greek history have pro-
duced four Greek heritages, each of which has had an effect on the life of the Greeks in later stages of their history. The Hellenic Greeks received a heritage from the Mycenaean Greeks, the Byzantine Greeks received one from the Hellenic Greeks, the Modern Greeks have received one heritage from the Byzantines and a second from the Hellenes” (268).


18. The poem recalls the bathing scene in A Room with a View, chap. 12. Lionel Trilling points out that in this novel, “Forster will mock an Englishman who lives in Florence and who, in dilettante fashion, writes about Gemistus Pletho” (36n). Outdoor bathing is a standard sensual motif of Victorian Hellenism. See Jeffrey Meyers, “‘Vacant Heart and Hand and Eye’: The Homosexual Theme in A Room with a View,” English Literature in Transition, 13.3 (1970), 181–92, 184–85 for a list of similar bathing scenes in Forster’s fiction.

19. My translation, UP 122. This poem belongs to The Unfinished Poems which have been edited, textually restored, and annotated by Renata
Lavagnini. Hellenic *paideia* (education) was central to Greek culture. As Toynbee writes, “The Byzantines . . . were haunted by two major bequests from Hellenism, the Hellenic *paideia* and the Roman Empire . . . The *paideia* and the Imperial regime dominated Byzantine Greek life, and their dominance was one of the causes of the Byzantine Greek civilization’s breakdown and disintegration” (1981:73).


23. In an earlier draft, line six reads “the view of their erotic parts,” emphasizing the sensual aspect of Plethon the “lover’s” revival of Paganism (*UP*, 117).

24. The Byzantines had dealt with the dualities of Hebraism and Hellenism long before the Victorians had problematized them. Byzantine Christianity, as heir to Alexandrian Hellenism, was indeed a synthesis of the two world views. As John Meyendorff writes in his study *Byzantine Theology* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1974), “Byzantine theology . . . was nothing but a continuous effort and struggle to express the tradition of the Church in the living categories of Greek thought so that Hellenism might be converted to Christ” (2).

25. *AS*, 93–117. The story was finished, had “gone the rounds and failed” (Nicola Beauman, *E. M. Forster: A Biography* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994], 142). The surviving autograph manuscript lacks the final page “perhaps containing no more than a few words” (“Editor’s Note,” *AS*, 325).

27. Beauman notes that “The Tomb of Pletone,” as a short historical story, “is in a genre that Morgan had been brooding about since the time eighteen months earlier when he had thought of writing about Antinous” (142). Judith Scherer Herz makes a similar observation: “It is worth noting that, although at this period he frequently recurred to the idea of writing historical fiction (‘the idea of a historical novel, long in my mind, has taken more shape with reading ‘Thais’”—Diary, 16 July 1905, KKC), ‘The Tomb of Pletone’ and, some years later ‘The Torque,’ seem to have been his only attempts” (Herz 1988, 21). Cavafy, although confident about his status as an historical poet—“Plenty of poets are poets only. . . . I am an historical poet” (G. Lechonitis, Cavafy’s Self-Criticism [Alexandria: 1942], 19)—was an historian manqué: he is on record as having said: “I have two capacities: to write Poetry or to write History. I haven’t written History, and it’s too late now. Now you’ll say, how do I know that I could write History? I feel it. I make the experiment, and ask myself: ‘Cavafy, could you write fiction?’ Ten voices cry, ‘No!’ . . . Then I ask again: ‘Cavafy, could you write History?’ A hundred and twenty-five voices tell me ‘You could.’” Cited in Robert Liddell, Cavafy: A Critical Biography (London: Anchor Press, 1974), 123.

28. AS, xi.

29. On Cavafy and the Hellenistic literary tradition, see Pinchin, 11–15, Valerie A. Caires, “Originality and Eroticism: Constantine Cavafy and the Alexandrian Epigram,” BMGS, 6 (1980), 131–55, G. W. Bowersock, “Cavafy and Apollonios,” Grand Street, 2.3 (1983), 180–89, and Barbara Hughes Fowler’s “Epilogue” to The Hellenistic Aesthetic (Bristol: The Bristol Press, 1992). Caires distinguishes between the superficial resemblance between Cavafy and the Hellenistic poets, noting that “eroticism is dominant in Cavafy’s epitaph. . . . Cavafy’s poems about death tend to be fixed upon the deaths of beautiful young men, while the Hellenistic epitaphs treat every age and sex. Most of the older poems have the expression of sadness or restrained grief as their primary purpose, and the conventions of these epigrams generally exclude any sensual response to the deceased, young or old” (135–37).

30. Cavafy’s most outspoken critic on this account was Timos Malanos, who, in his biographical study The Poet C.P. Cavafy (Athens: Difros, 1957), characterized the erotic poems as the “monotonous chewing over the confession of his perversion” (144).

31. Certainly Cavafy had read Forster’s novels, as would be expected given the literary nature of their friendship. Unfortunately, an exhaustive list of Cavafy’s library does not exist and it is a known fact that he borrowed books quite regularly. See Michaela Karampene-Iatrou The Library of C. P. Cavafy (Athens: Hermes, 2004) whose catalogue of the poet’s surviving library lists only
Forster’s *A Passage to India*, *Pharos and Pharillon* and the essay “A Letter to Madan Blanchard” (63, 127). It is likewise impossible to know exactly which of Cavafy’s poems Forster had actually read. In addition to those which Cavafy circulated and sent to his friends, there is a great likelihood that he had shown and discussed other of his unpublished poems with Forster when they met during Forster’s visits to Alexandria. In the case of this poem however, it should be noted that Cavafy, although respectful of Forster’s talent as a novelist, would have been critical of his knowledge as an historian, especially on matters of Byzantine history, where Forster’s biases were resoundingly negative.

32. Forster took a few liberties with the historical facts in the story, most of which have been noted by Elizabeth Heine. The most significant of these is that “Forster compressed the years between the fall of Constantinople in 1453—Plethon, born about 1355, lived until 1452—and Sigismondo Malatesta’s military excursion to the Morea for the Venetians in 1464–65” (*AS*, 326). Two facts have been overlooked, however: it is highly unlikely that Plethon ever met Sismondo (Woodhouse 1986, 160); and the sarcophagus allegedly discovered at Mistra was actually commissioned later at Rimini and set in the outer wall of the Tempio Malatestiano (Woodhouse 1986, 374–75). Forster’s error of having Plethon defend the Latin Church at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438/39 (*AS*, 99) is noted by Heine, but in actuality he argued not “on behalf of the Greek church” (*AS*, 327) but rather said very little in matters of theology (Woodhouse 1986, 141). He spoke instead on philosophy, in effect defending neither Eastern nor Western Christianity.

33. *AS*, 94.

34. Ibid., 94.

35. Ibid., 98.

36. See Roland and Francoise Etienne, *The Search for Ancient Greece* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992). Malatesta’s sentiments recall those of Benjamin Robert Haydon on the acquisition of the “Elgin” Marbles: “Thank God! The remains of Athens have fled for protection to England; the genius of Greece still hovers near them; may she, with her inspiring touch, give new vigour to British Art, and cause new beauties to spring from British exertions! May their essence mingle with our blood and circulate through our being” (cited in Martin Aske, *Keats and Hellenism* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985], 15–16).


38. Beauman writes: “This story, though competently written, is curiously dull. What it does have is an amoral quality, a vision of civilization with quite different values, and especially those of violence and brutality” (142). Herz
faults the story for making “conflicting demands on its readers. We are given partial assent to Gemistus’ enterprise of reawakening the pagan gods, although we are told very little about it; yet we are also to see it as ridiculous and foolish, even tragic. But the greatest difficulty arises from the embedding of this conflict in a fiction of a much different scale, that of Astorre’s loyalty and love for Jacobo. There is little intrinsic connection between the two, and the effort to join them does not completely succeed” (Herz 1988, 21).


40. *AH*, 195. This echoes Gibbon’s famous assessment of Byzantium in *The Decline and Fall*, chap. xxxii: “The empire of the East . . . from the reign of Arcadius to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, subsisted one thousand and fifty-eight years, in a state of premature and perpetual decay” (cited in *The Mind and Art of C. P. Cavafy*, Denise Harvey, ed. [Athens: Denise Harvey and Co., 1967], 145).


42. *AH*, 208. Forster borrowed this sentimental detail from the Latin inscription on Plethon’s tomb: “The remains of Gemistos the Byzantine, Prince of philosophers in his time, brought here and placed within by Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta . . . on account of the great love of learned men which burned in him, 1465” (Woodhouse 1986, 374–75).


45. *AH*, 208.


47. John Anton, *The Poetry and Poetics of Constantine P. Cavafy* (Tampa: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995), 246. For a debate on the irony of this poem, see Roderick Beaton, “C.P. Cavafy: Irony and Hellenism,” *Slavonic and East European Review*, 59.4 (1981), 516–28 and Edmund Keeley, “Cavafy’s Voice and Context,” *Grand Street*, 2.3 (1983), 157–77. In Keeley’s opinion, “What the speaker does express is his view that, for all the Christians’ attempt to get rid of the pagan gods by destroying their statues and driving them out of their temples, the gods are not dead. . . . The lyricism of the poem . . . celebrates the land of Ionia, still home for the souls of the gods who cannot forsake their love of it nor forget what it represents for them. . . . When dawn breaks, what appears is not the beauty of nature but a god in the shape of an ephebe . . .” (170–71). For a very different reading of this poem, see Margaret Alexiou, “C. P. Cavafy’s ‘Dangerous’
Drugs: Poetry, Eros and the Dissemination of Images,” *The Text and Its Margins*, M. Alexiou and V. Lambropoulos, eds. (New York: Pella Publishing, 1985), 157–96, where she writes, “By their similarity to the recurring figures of the distant past, the young men of contemporary Alexandria are the converse of the ‘unresurrected Adonis.’ They are the perennial seeds of a metaphysical and Hellenic divinity whose ‘fullness’ (*sphrigos*: the term denotes sexual potency as well as youthful vigor) still penetrates (*perna*) Ionia and whose ‘young eternal figure’ . . . still passes over (*perna*) her hills . . . “ (192).

48. See George Savidis, “Cavafy, Gibbon and Byzantium” (*MKA*, 93–99) who avers that Gibbon “with his unique and unparalleled combination of erudition, philosophy, and literature, provided Cavafy, at the decisive period of the poet’s life, with exactly the right kind of stimulant that was needed to help him broaden his antiquarian interests into his own view of European civilization, and to discard his Parnassian or Decadent Byzantinism in order to become one of the most original voices of our time” (96).


52. Among Forster’s earliest works that have a classical theme are the following undergraduate pieces: “The Pack of Anchises” (1900), “A Tragic Interior (Being an Attempt to Interpret the Inner Meaning of the Agamemnon of Aeschylus)” (1900), and “A Tragic Interior 2 (Being a Further Attempt to Assist the Earnest Student of Aeschylus, by means of an Interpretation of the Cheophori” (1901).


54. The tale about the death of Pan and the birth of Christ is a redaction by Eusebius of Plutarch’s *Moralia*, “De Defectu Oraculorum,” XVII. See Merivale, 31–32 and passim for the interesting relation between the identities of Christ and Pan. Forster uses this same device later in *Maurice*, where a Greek citation will resonate ominously throughout his text.

55. The exile of the gods was a common literary theme in *fin-de-siècle* France, Germany and England. The classic statement is Heinrich Heine’s essay “Les

56. Borgeaud, 74.


58. NCSS, 23. Beauman sees this panic as a prelude to the trauma of Adela in the Marabar Caves: “Adela encounters Pan, only this time it is a different Pan from the comic, mischievous god of *A Room with a View* . . . instead he is the malevolent Pan described by Theocritus, creating the panic and emptiness in *Howards End* as well as the panic felt by Adela, whose emotions are identical to the ‘terrible foreboding’ of ‘The Story of a Panic’ twenty years before” (326–27). For Pan as panic, see Merivale, 132 and Borgeaud, chap. 5 and passim.

59. NCSS, 38–39.

60. Beauman observes that Forster’s actual first story, “Albergo Empedocle,” was “too transparent a statement of the theme that we are all prisoners of society, and particularly sexual prisoners. So ‘Albergo Empedocle,’ although submitted and rejected for inclusion in his first story collection of 1911, was then quietly forgotten. Forty years later he had convinced himself that he had never wanted it reprinted at all and that ‘The Story of a Panic’ was his first story” (111–12).


63. Martin notes that “Forster apparently first read Marius in 1905 and was put off by it. . . . He found Pater both squeamish and morbid. However, by the end of 1907 he may have reconsidered, since he included Pater in what appears to be a reading list of homosexual authors” (1982, 111). The genre of the fantasy story, with its “eternal moment,” is the legacy of the “Paterian mode” in Forster’s fiction: “What Forster inherited from Pater were these ideas: that knowledge is conveyed suddenly, through an apperception of the divine, which places the individual outside himself (*exstasis*) and enables him to view himself from a radically new perspective; that history is an antithetical struggle between two forces, or two tendencies, which we can call classic and romantic, or Hebrew or Hellene, or even England and Italy; that in the nineteenth (or twentieth) century
the gods are in exile, still existing, but hidden way beneath the surface of things, waiting to be called forth again; that the central myths of Greece which can be re-enacted in modern England are those of Dionysus and Demeter, the priest-consort and the earth-mother; and that what the myths convey, in only barely concealed form, is a homosexual romance” (Martin 1982, 101).

64. Martin (1982), 102.

65. See the next chapter for a full discussion of the meaning of this term and its connection with Hellenism. Forster was working on A Room with a View from 1901 until 1908. Stallybrass notes that of all Forster’s novels, it has “if not the longest gestation period (a distinction usually claimed by A Passage to India), at least the most complicated pre-natal history” (RV, 7); hence the many overlapping themes it shares with The Longest Journey (1907), especially those of sexual awakening and the desire to live.

66. Merivale, 186.

67. RV, 90.


69. RV, 152.

70. George is compared to the healthy and muscular acorn bearer of the Sistine Chapel (RV, 45) and likened to a nude statue during the bathing scene (148).

71. See Meyers for Mr. Bebe’s love for George. Wilfred Stone, The Cave and the Mountain (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), views the bathing scene as Forster’s “experiment in direct desire,” and feels that “The Sacred Lake and the male swimming party could have been the book’s symbol rather than the room with a view and the lovers in their chamber” (232). Echoes of Longus’s pastoral Daphnis and Chloe resound in the novel, especially the scene where Chloe sees the naked Daphnis bathing and falls in love with him.

72. RV, 225.

73. Ibid., 61–62.

74. Ibid., 242n.


76. RV, 78.


80. Ibid., 187.

81. Stone notes similar contrasts: “Medieval versus classical, ascetic versus pagan, and Gothic versus Greek—these are some of the important sets of contrasts that create the ‘rhythm’ of the novel. Along with truth versus lies, light versus darkness, and views versus rooms, these are the symbolic antitheses that make up the book’s tapestry of interwoven themes” (226).

82. A distinction should be made here between Beebe and Forster: Beebe’s equivocal response to Greece is a reflection of his own sexually repressed character which in no way expresses Forster. Beebe’s Hellenic moments are ultimately tainted by his clerical status. Similarly, the aestheticism of Cecil Vyse represents an aspect of Hellenism which Forster never fully espoused, namely Paterian aestheticism, which he later criticizes in his unsympathetic presentation of Clive in *Maurice*.

83. *RV*, 197.

84. Ross, 160.


86. According to Beauman, “After the story had been published, at Christmas 1903, Morgan saw that it was a not-much disguised plea for the values, and particularly the sexual values, of ancient Greece. . . . The other reason Morgan rejected his story was that it was not very good. The elements were there, but not enough of them” (110). “It is interesting,” Stallybrass writes in his notes, “and possibly significant, that the ‘two fallen columns’ of the ruined Temple of Zeus between which Harold falls asleep . . . are clearly the legs of a gigantic male figure, one of a series of Atlantes, alternately bearded and beardless, which originally supported the entablature. . . .” (*LTC*, 235).

87. Lionel Trilling observed that “To an American, one of the most notable things about Forster’s work is the directness and consciousness of its connection with tradition. We know of Forster that he is a Hellenist but not a ‘classicist,’ that he loves Greece in its mythical and naturalistic aspects, that Plato has never
meant much to him, perhaps because he mistrusts the Platonic drive to the absolute and the Platonic judgment of the body and senses” (19).


90. Poseidonia, a Greek colony founded in 600 B.C., was near the modern Salerno and was known during Roman times as Paestum. The custom mentioned by Athenaios probably dates to the end of the fourth century B.C. (Keeley 1992, 270).


93. Toynbee writes that “ever since the Augustan Age, successive generations of Greeks have clung to the illusion that a mastery of the ‘classical’ Hellenic language is a talisman that has the magical power of raising them to their ancestors’ cultural and political stature” (1981, 246). The British were vulnerable to the same enchantment; as Jenkyns writes, “From Coleridge to [Charles] Kingsley, from Sidney Smith to Wilde, writers loved to declare that the very language of Greece was an enchantment, and far superior even to the Latin tongue…. A taste for Greek vocabulary was a conspicuous feature of decadent sensibility, and words such as ‘sardonyx’ and ‘asphodel’ were freely employed by aesthetic individuals who sometimes, one suspects, had very vague ideas about what the stone or the flower looked like” (1980, 155). An extreme example of this Victorian fixation is the case of Thomas De Quincey, as noted by Goldhill, 178-95.


97. The story may have been suggested by Samuel Butler’s “Psalm of Montreal” which was based on Butler’s discovery of a cast of the Discobolus stuffed into the lumber-room of a Canadian museum: “The Discobolus is put here because he is vulgar—He has neither vest nor pants with which to cover his limbs…” (Jenkyns 1980, 134). On Butler’s significant role in heightening
Forster’s intolerance of Victorian prudery, see Beauman, 168–69, and Stone (1966), 41.


99. Ibid., 150.

100. Ibid., xv.


107. My translation of Cavafy (2003), 65. The Greek term *synaphia*, which Cavafy uses and which I translate as “contact,” resonates with the folkloric terminology of the period and reflects the influence of Greek *laographia* (folklore) on Cavafy.

108. *AH*, 192–93. Herz, “The Remaking of the Past in Forster’s Non-Fiction,” *Twentieth Century Literature*, 31.2–3 (1985), 287–96, believes that Demeter was a purely imaginary addition to Forster’s experience at Cnidus, “for neither in the diary entry in which he first described the visit, nor in the notebook in which he shortly thereafter worked up that description as a first draft of the essay, is there any mention of Demeter at all. The essay is thus primarily a memoir of an imaginary moment. . . . Demeter is a fiction that both permits and validates a real experience. Indeed she is a double fiction insofar as she goes on to inhabit nearly all his subsequent writing. She is a visible icon in *The Longest Journey* (the picture of Demeter in Stephen’s room), and she is present, too, at the novel’s close and at the close of *Maurice*, and in the mythic sub-structures of the Italian novels and of “The Other Kingdom,” and most potently of all, as the presiding mother deity of *A Passage to India*—Esmiss Esmoor” (289).

110. Pinchin draws attention to Forster’s “Cavafian” sensibility: “We see [in ‘Macolnia Shops’] almost with the eye of Cavafy’s sculptors, lovers” (114). Timos Malanos finds this artificial quality of craftsmanship one of the defining traits of Cavafy’s poetry, much to the detriment of spontaneity and inspiration (1957, 119 and passim).


112. *AH*, 189.

113. *Ekphrasis* is the formal, rhetorically descriptive speech favored in ancient and Late Antique literature, the goal of which was to render a subject verbally.

114. Fowler, 22.

115. Ibid, xviii.

116. David Ricks, “Cavafy’s Alexandrianism” (Hirst 2004, 337–51), 342. Ricks notes that “In Cavafy’s time, then, we can see steps towards the rehabilitation of the Alexandrian, and the renewed interest in the period prompted by papyrus discoveries . . .” (342).

117. Stallybrass notes that these short stories “are lively and amusing, the gaiety only occasionally degenerates into perkiness or ‘facetiousness,’ and they will be enjoyed by those for whom good clean fun is not irretrievably compromised by an infusion of dirt. Nor are they entirely frivolous: in its music-hall or comic-postcard way, ‘The Obelisk’ is an unbowdlerised version of that famous ‘call to the blood and to the relaxed will,’ the nude bathing scene in *A Room with a View*” (*LTC*, xvi).


119. For an account of the acquisition of Cleopatra’s Needles, see Martina D’Alton “The New York Obelisk or How Cleopatra’s Needle Came to New York

**CHAPTER 2**

2. NCSS, 94.
3. Steven Doloff, “Forster’s ‘The Road from Colonus,’” *The Explicator*, 48.1 (1989), 20–21, argues for a Byronic subtext, noting that the date of the story falls on the eve of the anniversary of Byron’s death in Greece on 19 April 1824. He goes on to write that, “Like Oedipus, Byron was in exile, was stigmatized for (among other things) violation of incest taboos, and managed in his way to ‘die fighting,’ the specific, fantasized desire that eludes Lucas when he succumbs to his daughter’s bullying” (21). See George H. Thomson, “Where was the Road from Colonus?” *E. M. Forster: A Human Exploration; Centenary Essays*, G. K. Das and John Beer, eds. (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1979), 28–31, where he concludes that the geographical location of the scene is imaginary, and also C. M. Woodhouse, *A Short History of Greece* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), 134 for an account of the oath of independence sworn beneath the plane tree. For the classical antecedent of the plane tree in Pliny’s *Naturalis Historia*, see Steven Doloff, “More Classical Roots for Forster’s ‘The Road from Colonus,’” *Notes and Queries*, 47.3 (1998), 233–34.
4. NCSS, 96.
5. Ibid., 96.
7. NCSS, 97.
8. See Gavriel Ben-Ephraim, “Dying in the Right Place: The Importance of Sophocles’s *Oedipus at Colonus* to E. M. Forster’s ‘The Road from Colonus,’” *The Hebrew University Studies in Literature*, 3.1 (1975), 37–46, where he notes that the location and the protagonist are the two most striking parallels in the two texts (38). Ben-Ephraim goes on to write that “Mr. Lucas, in direct contrast to Oedipus, ignominiously fails to exert his will away from the pattern of his dismal history, toward a transfiguring vision” (45).
9. Ibid., 39.
10. NCSS, 102.


12. Doloff writes that “The moment of Byron’s death was noted . . . to have been accompanied by a tremendous thunderstorm. Similarly, in the story another meteorological event, here a windstorm of sorts, blows down the large tree that would have provided Lucas his heroic death had he succeeded in his fight to stay in a little Greek inn on the eve of April 19” (1998, 229).


18. *LJ*, xxxii. Dickinson’s symposium involves a philosophical series of dialogues on politics, the intellect and culture.

19. *GLD*, 64.


24. Ibid., 321n.

25. Ibid., 90–91.


28. Ibid., 45–46.

29. Ibid., 47.

30. Ibid., 47.

31. Heine writes that “Rickie Elliot’s imagination is essentially Forster’s own . . .” (*LJ*, xviii). We should qualify this, however, by noting that Rickie is an exaggerated and ruthlessly critical self-portrait—the person that Forster might have become but did not. For this very reason, Rickie is made to be handicapped and is ultimately killed off in the novel.


33. Ibid., 71.


36. Ibid., 91.

37. Ibid., 123.

38. Ibid., 135.

39. Ibid., 117–18.

40. See notes 108 and 109 in chapter one.


42. Ibid., 80.

43. Ibid., 181.

44. Ibid., 182.

45. Ibid., 182.


47. *LJ*, 144.

48. Ibid., 152.
49. As Artemis Leontis comments, in Renan’s vision, the Acropolis “acquires an aura of virtual reality” (Topographies, 52). See also Mary Beard, The Parthenon (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

50. LJ, 152.
51. Ibid., 38.
52. Ibid., 183.
53. Ibid., 191.
54. Ibid., 249.
55. Ibid., 255.
56. Ibid., 275.
57. Ibid., 318n.

59. LJ, 278.
60. Ibid, 279. Graham Smith, “The Past in the Present: Photographs of Classical Art in the Writings of E. M. Forster,” Arion, 11.1 (Spring/Summer 2003), 71–102, points out that “The reference to Demeter’s shattered knees links the sculpture [Demeter of Cnidus] to the terrible accident that killed Rickie, when his legs were amputated below the knees as he dragged the drunken Stephen off the railway crossing” (87).

61. LJ, 288–89.
62. The epigraphic motto of Epipsychidion is apt here: “The soul that loves projects itself beyond the created world and creates in the infinite a world all its own, very different from this obscure and fearful abyss.” Forster repudiates Shelley, however, by having Rickie make the longest journey with one sole lover. Also, Rickie’s tormented love for Stephen might very well owe something to G. L. Dickinson’s notion in A Modern Symposium (London: Brimley, Johnson and Ince, Ltd., 1905) of “a love that by discord achieves harmony” (76).

63. Trilling, 76.
65. Ibid., 28.
66. Ibid., 54.
67. Ibid., 84.
68. J. H. Stape, “Comparing Mythologies: Forster’s Maurice and Pater’s Marius,” English Literature in Transition, 32.2 (1990), 140–53, notes that “in Maurice two sequences explicitly recollect Keats’s ‘casement ope and night, / To let the warm Love in’ (‘Ode to Psyche’). . . . In Forster’s first recollection of the myth, Clive as Psyche welcomes the nocturnal visit of Maurice, an incomplete Eros, as Maurice enters Clive’s room through the window; in the second scene, Maurice himself plays Psyche awakening to the presence of Alec Scudder’s achieved and complete Eros as Scudder comes to him at night through another open window” (146). Stape links Forster’s use of the myth to the “theme of initiation into wholeness” (146). Jenkyns notes how common it was for the Victorian Hellenists to stress the “reposefulness” of Greek tragedy (The Victorians and Ancient Greece, 99). See his fifth chapter on tragedy.

69. Maurice, 62.

70. Summers, E. M. Forster, 158.

71. Maurice, 99.

72. Ibid., 99.

73. Ibid., 100.

74. As Philip Gardner points out in “The Evolution of E. M. Forster’s Maurice” (E. M. Forster: Centenary Revaluations, 204–23), Maurice’s ordeal with Clive is based on Forster’s Platonic love affair with Hugh Meredith who, like Clive, had married and become “normal”: “one is tempted to ascribe some of the more sour notes in the novel’s portrayal of Clive’s later-day character . . . to the pain Forster felt at Meredith’s attitude: he was ‘reluctant’ to read Maurice, then ‘despised’ it” (207).

75. Maurice, 104.

76. Ibid., 104.

77. Ibid., 104.

78. Ibid., 11. By including Greek type in his text, Forster was following a standard Victorian tradition: “The range of nineteenth-century books that cannot be printed without the use of Greek type is extraordinarily wide; it includes Newman’s Apologia, Modern Painters, Culture and Anarchy, Mill on Liberty, Pendennis, Coningsby, Jude the Obscure, Don Juan . . . all but one of George Eliot’s novels, even Lorna Doon and a couple of Gilbert and Sullivan operettas” (Jenkyns, 16).

79. Maurice was inspired by a visit to Edward Carpenter and was from its very inception a gesture away from Platonism toward a more Whitmanesque physicality. See Robert K. Martin, “Edward Carpenter and the Double Structure
of *Maurice,*” Tambling (1983), 100–14. Also, Forster’s “The Tomb of Pletone” evinces a similar ironic distaste for the Platonic inheritance, ending as it does with the failure of a friendship and the gruesome death of a young man—all in the name of Platonism.


82. A diary entry of 13 March 1904 records the following ambivalent thoughts: “Each time I see those Greek things in the B. M. [British Museum] they are more beautiful and more hopeless. It’s simple to say they are gods—down to the bulls going to sacrifice on the Parthenon frieze. But I don’t believe gods would make one so unhappy. Up to Demeter & Persephone on the pediment they are human and our perpetual rebuke. It is so curious, this desire to be simple and beautiful and strong. But our only hope lies through all these complications—not by affecting simplicity. So I’ll call the Parthenon not a rebuke but a comment—which makes me feel worse” (Beauman 143). Forster’s sentiments on the Pheidian marbles echo those of William Hazlitt in their enthusiasm as well as in their frustration: “In their faultless excellence they appear sufficient to themselves. By their beauty they are raised above the frailties of passion or suffering. By their beauty they are deified. But they are not objects of religious faith to us, and their forms are a reproach to common humanity. They seem to have no sympathy with us, and not to want our admiration” (cited in Martin Aske, *Keats and Hellenism,* 119).

83. *Maurice,* 50. Gardner draws attention to “a harsh authorial comment on the British Museum itself, which, though ‘supposed catholic’ … nevertheless ‘allows no book on the subject [i.e. homosexuality] to enter its readers’ hands’” (215).

84. *Maurice,* 196.

85. Ibid., 196, 197.

86. Ibid., 197, 198.

87. Ibid., 198, 206.


89. Etienne, *The Search for Ancient Greece,* 23. Forster makes yet another connection later to the aggressive Italian humanist tradition: “He [Sir Wallis] has something of the Renaissance desperado about him, and one can well imagine him ‘collecting’ for Sismondo Malatesta or Isabella d’Este with the assistance of a poignard” (*AH,* 312).
90. Cavafy wrote two articles in Greek in response to the vitriolic debate on the subject of the return of the marbles between Frederick Harrison and James Knowles, founder and editor of the *Nineteenth Century*. See P. M. Fraser, “Cavafy and the Elgin Marbles,” *Modern Language Review*, 58 (1963), 66–68, for a full account of the debate.

91. *AH*, 312.

92. See Alan Wilde, “The Naturalisation of Eden” (Das 1979), 196–207, where he writes that “Pan makes way for Priapus…” (205).

CHAPTER 3

1. See Hugh Kenner, *The Pound Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), who notes that this second Renaissance, “to which Pound’s generation fell heir,” was characterized by an “aesthetic of glimpses”: “Fragments compelled a new kind of detailed attention from minds already prepared by Poe and Symbolism to find virtue in brevity, or by Pater to find it in the fleeting glimpse” (60, 51).


4. *SLI*, 239.

5. *MT*, 175–76.


9. The premise of the two volumes of *Mahometanism Unveiled* is that “Ishmael, the illegitimate seed, through the primitive Arabians, and the variously incorporated Moslems, has given laws and religion to a still larger portion of mankind” which are heretical (I, 71). Rev. Forster puts the onus for the “arch-heresy” on “eastern Christianity, at once the parent and prey of hydra-headed heresy”: “And thus Mahomet was condemned to collect his notions
of Christianity, at the worst age, from the most corrupt branch, and in the darkest and most deplorably perverted quarter, of Christendom” (I, 83, 81).

10. “In the history of Chemistry, they assume the undisputed rank of inventors. This important science, the primitive source of the experimental philosophy, was the genuine product of Arabian genius; of that union of Oriental imagination, with a practical spirit of research, which properly distinguishes the intellectual character of the Saracens, from that of the ancient Greeks” (II, 271).

11. The One Primeval Language, 3 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1852) attempts to illustrate the “witness really borne by heathen Egypt . . . to the literal truth, and historical fidelity, of the Books of Moses, and of the whole word of God” (II, iv) and presents an interpretation of the so-called Sinaitic inscriptions (contemporary records of the miracles and wanderings of the exode) as a key to the “one primeval language” which has been identified at Sinai. The text is highly innovative, but altogether “worthless” (in Forster’s words) as a work of philological inquiry; its premise rests on Philo’s idea that “the change miraculously wrought at Babel, was not radical, but dialectic” (II, 2).

12. Philip Gardner writes: “His decision to keep a Commonplace Book was an act of conscious continuity” (CP, xiv). Although he abandoned the Bishop’s “awful arrangement of topics,” he was “determined to adhere to the Bishop’s system of ruling a margin and straddling it with the first word of entry, so that ‘the letter may be retained while the spirit is killed’” (CP, xv). This formula could be applied to Forster’s relation to the writings of his grandfather as well, who inherited the book but never used it. The spirit of the book’s previous owners takes possession of Forster later on, particularly in 1942, when he returns to the subject of church history. See CP, 130–47. On Forster’s relation to his forbears, see Mary Lago, “E. M. Forster: Clapham’s Child,” Biography, 14.2 (1991), 117–37.


15. SLI, 238–39.

16. Wilfred Stone, The Cave and the Mountain, 280, 282, 286. In a later article, “E. M. Forster’s Subversive Individualism” (Herz 1982, 15–36), Stone is more critical of Forster’s war-time behavior, noting that the author “clings to his privileged position” (25).

pean trading communities abroad from the arbitrariness of ‘oriental despots’ and from understandable local opposition to their activities. . . . In addition to their politically isolating effect, the Capitulations served to unify foreigners of the same citizenship” (2–3). For a critique of this cosmopolitanism, see note 101 below.


19. One of the earliest books treating this political “betrayal” is George Antonius’s The Arab Awakening (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1939). Antonius, a friend of Cavafy whom Forster met in Alexandria, was “an orientalist” and “Secretary-General to the Arab delegation to the Palestinian Conference, London, in 1939” (SLI, 233n). His book “had considerable influence on British policy” (EMFII, 24) and was crucial for “the emergence of an academic field called ‘Middle Eastern studies,’” as Said notes in Culture and Imperialism (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 260.


22. This is one of six poems Cavafy wrote during his stay in Constantinople from July 1882 to October 1885 following the British bombardment of Alexandria.

23. HP, 141. The Phanar is the Greek quarter of Constantinople near the Golden Horn where the Ecumenical Patriarchate was permanently relocated after the Turkish conquest. The Phanariot Greeks became influential as interpreters and officials in the Ottoman government, even rising as high as princes in the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. Cavafy’s mother descended from the Photiades family, who were distinguished Phanariot merchants (Liddell, 19). See Vangelis Karagiannis, Notes from the Genealogy of Cavafy (Athens: Greek Literary and Historical Archive, 1983).


25. The millet system was the organizing principle whereby the non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire were divided, ruled, and taxed.
26. For a study of this motif, see Roderick Beaton, *Folk Poetry of Modern Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980) and also Margaret Alexiou, *After Antiquity: Greek Language, Myth, and Metaphor*.

27. Of Byron as a poet, Cavafy is reputed to have said that “He was a bit rhetorical, and a bit of a charlatan, and quite frankly, not of my school” (see Malanos, *Cavafy Said* [Athens: Prospero, 1986], 13). This comment should be taken in the context of Cavafy’s attempt to distance himself from the Romantic School of Athens. His library contained Byron’s complete works and a biography of the poet by Thomas Moore (Karampine-Iatrou). See also Robin Fletcher, “Byron in Nineteenth-century Greek Literature,” *The Struggle for Greek Independence*, Richard Clogg, ed. (London: Macmillan, 1973), 224–47, who notes Byron’s influence on the Phanariot literary circles of Constantinople and the Ionian Islands, particularly on Dionysios Solomos, Andreas Kalvos and ultimately on Kostis Palamas.

28. For Byron’s indebtedness to the “houri” tradition (virgins of perpetual beauty who inhabit paradise), see Abdur Raheem Kidwai, *Orientalism in Lord Byron’s “Turkish Tales”* (Lewiston: Mellen University Press, 1995), 98. Kidwai finds Byron’s portrayal of the Turkish Orient authentic and accurate, and in marked contrast to the work of most of his contemporaries.


32. See Edward Said’s essay “Cairo and Alexandria,” *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 337–45, where he comments on the “Alexandrian amateur—Levantine, cosmopolitan, devious and capricious” (337) as well as on the sad state of the Cavafy memorial museum, “unused, unvisited, unconsulted, mostly un cared for”: “the memorial’s melancholy situation, hidden away in a city that has no other recollection of one of the greatest poets of our century, corresponded perfectly with what I had already discovered: that those few parts of Alexandria’s colonial past which have not disappeared completely have been consigned to decay” (344).

33. Lewis lived in Cairo for eleven years (1840–1851), adopting the dress and habits of an Ottoman nobleman. Exhibiting regularly at the Royal Academy, he often painted the interior of harem s and odalisques with mirrors, most notable among which are his *Harem Life—Constantinople* (1857) and *Life in the Harem—Cairo* (1858). See Michael Lewis, *John Frederick Lewis R. A. 1805–1876* (London: Leigh-on-Sea, 1978) and John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

34. See Liddell, 44–48. “Cavafy gave Mr. Malanos to understand that in Constantinople he stayed with two distinct families of relations, that these lived in different neighborhoods, and were not on good terms, and that he was presently to exploit this situation, which permitted him to spend a night out from time to time without his movements being controlled” (Liddell, 4).


Greek folk tales share a great many similarities with their Arab counterparts. Dunyázád has recently been reincarnated as Doony in John Barth’s *Chimera* (1974).


38. For an analysis of Byron’s and Hugo’s Orientalism, see Kahf, 152–75.

39. *The Poems of Victor Hugo* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1909), vol. 1, 105–70. Hugo, as Peridis notes in *The Life and Work of Constantine Cavafy* (Athens: Ikaros, 1948), was the poetic love of Cavafy’s youth; no other poet was as well represented in Cavafy’s library (Peridis, 69).

40. Loti’s novel, which owed its inception to a pair of green eyes staring out from the grilled window of a harem, undoubtedly inspired the Circassian beauty of Cavafy’s “Blue Eyes” (1892) which implores a beautiful Circassian to desist from her scornful glances (*HP*, 37).


43. Kahf, 98. As Ruth Bernard Yeazell writes in her intriguing study *Harem of the Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), “Linguistic confusion at once reflected and encouraged Western fantasizing. Thinking of women as literally locked up in the harem, Europeans mistakenly associated the Turco-Persian word for palace, *saray*, with the Italian *serrare*, to lock up or enclose—by which false etymology the English word ‘seraglio’ and the French *sérail* came to signify not only an entire building (as in ‘the Grand Seraglio’ at Constantinople), but the apartments in which the women were confined, and even the women themselves” (20).

44. Kahf, 113. “If European culture in the seventeenth century discovered the seraglio or harem and located the Muslim woman in it, the Enlightenment declared her unhappy there” (Kahf, 111).


46. See Dawkins’s Thracian version of Dünya Güzeli (1953, 24–27) which closely resembles the *Arabian Nights* tale, “How Imbráheem saw a picture of the Lady Jemeeleh; loved her, searched for her, and won her after many adventures”
The Thracian tale even portrays Dünya Güzeli as a veiled harem girl whose father is clearly a sultan figure and whose forty-room place of confinement recalls a harem.

47. Hence the occult association with mirrors that pervades so many fairy tales and which still lends mirrors their superstitious allure. See Benjamin Goldberg, *The Mirror and Man* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1985) who notes that “The Platonic philosophical concept of the mirror [i.e. the ideal versus the inferior reflection] prevailed for over fifteen-hundred years in Europe, not only in religion but in art and morality. . . . The Greeks have carried on the scrying tradition into the twentieth century. On the island of Andros girls still hold a mirror over a well if they wish to see reflected in it, from the water of the well, the appearance of their future husbands” (115, 10).


50. See Bram Dijkstra’s study of the “iconography of misogyny,” *Idols of Perversity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 139 and chap. 5, where he notes that in the nineteenth century “the exchange of imagery between painters and writers was intense. The painters raided literature, while the writers were endlessly describing and transliterating the paintings they had seen” (150).

51. On the influence of Victorian painting, especially the Pre-Raphaelites, on Cavafy, see Peter Jeffreys, “‘Aesthetic to the Point of Affliction’: Cavafy and English Aestheticism,” (forthcoming).

52. Dijkstra, x.

53. Gustave Moreau’s influence on Cavafy would become more pronounced after the London Grosvenor Gallery showings of 1877 at which his cousins exhibited canvasses they either owned or painted. His first exposure to Moreau most likely occurred during the late 1870’s.

54. Kahf notes the surprising “longevity of the harem topos and its endurance in the face of political and cultural change” (6).

55. Dalven, 191.

56. Peridis, 40. Jewels also feature in the fantastic story, “During the Light of Day” (1895) which involves magic and a treasure of gold coins, diamonds, pearls and sapphires.

57. In this essay, Cavafy cites Ovid on coral’s association with the Medusa’s blood, Avicenna on coral’s magico-medical powers, and Teutonic lore on the connection between coral and the blood of Christ. He concludes the essay with a
quote from *The Tempest* “Of his bones is coral made” (Cavafy, *Prose*, George Papoutsakis, ed. [Athens: Phexi, 1963], 3–5). See also Cavafy’s poetic fragment, “Colors” (1912?) where the poet prefers the intense colors of rubies, coral, topaz, gold, sapphires and turquoise to the natural colors of flowers (*UP*, 308).

58. Most folk tales involve the near impossibility of finding, wooing and capturing Dünya Güzeli which, when accomplished, necessarily requires recourse to magic or enchanted artifice.

59. As Carla Coco writes in *Secrets of the Harem* (New York: Vendome Press, 1997), “By character, eunuchs were, on the whole, petulant, vindictive, cruel and arrogant. . . . (94). For a more objective first-hand view of eunuchs and daily life in the harem, see Leyla (Saz) Hanimefendi, *The Imperial Harem of the Sultans*, L. Thomas, trans. (Istanbul: Pera Publications, 1925). The commonly held view that harems and eunuchs were vestiges of the decadent culture inherited from the Byzantines is repeated in Kahf (95) and throughout Coco, who extends it to encompass all Ottoman ceremonial and court pageantry.

60. See Yeazell, chap. 18 on Europe’s gradual disenchantment with the harem myth: “The veil being literally lifted, the mysteries of the Orient appeared little by little before the world and were found wanting in the element of beauty which had been ascribed to them” (206).

61. Kahf, 103.

62. Lady Montagu had claimed “They are the only Women in the world that lead a life of uninterrupted pleasure, exempt from cares, their whole life being spent in visiting, bathing, or the agreeable Amusement of spending Money and inventing new fashions. . . . They go abroad when and where they please” (Yeazell, 84).

63. Dijkstra, 139.

64. Peridis, 16.

65. Both poems are written in “political verse,” the fifteen-syllable verse which is named after the “Polis” (i.e. the city of Constantinople) and dates back to the ninth century. For Cavafy’s innovative use of this meter, see Vassilios Letsios, “‘The Slow Fire that Burned Bridges’: the Breaking of the Political Verse in Cavafy,” in *BMGS*, 27 (2003), 184–216. In his reading notes on Gibbon, Cavafy censures the historian’s criticism of Byzantine writers who “confound all measure of feet and syllables in the impotent strains which have received the name of political or city verses” by noting that “It is evident that Gibbon knew nothing of the matter. In the ‘political verse’ no confusion of feet and syllables is possible owing to the meter’s absolute ‘simplicity’. . . . But the ‘Political’ verse and modern Greek prosody are not to blame if Gibbon was ignorant” (Haas 1982, 79). The tra-
dition which Cavafy was imitating in his early poetry was that of the Athenian Romans, who were for the most part Phanariot Greeks who “clustered around the Athenian-Bavarian court” and to whom “fell the task of helping the new state develop socially and intellectually,” as C. A. Trypanis writes in Greek Poetry: From Homer to Seferis (London: Faber and Faber, 1981), 611: “This school of poetry, with its often intolerably stilted katharevousa [purist Greek], its pseudo-Byronic airs, its long-winded rhetoric, its hackneyed patriotism and its funereal Romanticism, in which spurned heroes, disillusioned lovers, the deathbed and the grave appeared far too frequently, passed completely away in the 1880’s, when a fresh assessment of national values and the great linguistic and cultural movement known as the Demotic Movement started to gather momentum” (624–25).

66. The epigraph reads “written after reading a description of the painting ‘Oedipus and the Sphinx’ by Gustave Moreau.” It should be noted that Wilde’s poem “The Sphinx” was published in a lavish, limited edition in June 1894.

67. Julius Kaplan, Gustave Moreau (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1974), 22. Kaplan writes that “A connection exists between Moreau’s imaginative combining of precise images and the way images were used by his contemporaries, the Parnassian poets. . . . Several of the Parnassians, recognizing the relationship between their art and Moreau’s, sent him complimentary copies of their works. Others used his art as a source of inspiration” (41).


69. HP, 161. The “severed female head, this horrible fascinating Medusa, was to be the object of the dark loves of the Romantics and the Decadents throughout the whole of the [19th] century” (Praz, 26–27).

70. Salome’s “loss of perpetual control” is evident in Wilde’s play as well, where she is defeated by being crushed beneath the shields of the palace guards. Sarah Ekdawi sees parallels in the dates of Wilde’s trial, the production of Salome, and various Cavafy poems. See “Days of 1895, ’96 and ’97: The Parallel Prisons of C. P. Cavafy and Oscar Wilde,” Modern Greek Studies Yearbook, 9 (1993), 297–305.


72. See John Dallas, Hellenism and Theology in Cavafy (Athens: Stigmi, 1986), 43–49. Alexiou notes that for Cavafy, the sophistic writings are part of an alternative “but distinctively Greek tradition, which opens the way to new paths of perception and dissemination. . . . In general, Cavafy’s presentation of the sophist
reinstates the pre-Platonic sense of the term (expert, craftsman) while at the same time incorporating yet inverting the Platonic equation with ‘paid clever cheat’; his sophists have a clear-sighted knowledge of ‘truth’ just because they understand the mutability of power—and the role of money with a perspicacity that eludes the politicians, saints and idealists” (1985, 194, 166).

73. This was a brief diary (composed in English) which Cavafy kept during his move from Alexandria to Constantinople in 1882; it is partially reproduced in L. Savidis, 43–49.

74. The three “image poems” are basically mythological and deal with gods and cosmographical myths. “Eternity” involves the dialogue between the Indian hero Arjuna and Krishna as narrated in the Bhagavad Gita (HP, 160). Diana Haas connects this poem to the esoteric movement and the writings of Edouard Schure, from whom she believes Cavafy must have gleaned the Indian material. See Haas, “Early Cavafy and the European ‘Esoteric’ Movement,” JMGS, 2.2 (1984), 209–23.

75. “‘Sham-el-Nessim’ is the annual spring festival which goes back to the wheat harvest of ancient Egypt, and coincides with the Orthodox Easter Monday, when Egyptians and Christians go to the countryside and join together in merrymaking” (Dalven, 303n). “Words and Silence” features an Arab proverb, “If words have no meaning, silence is precious,” which the poem condemns: “Unfeeling silence is a grave disease; / while the warm, sympathetic Word is health” (Dalven, 183).

76. For an account of these events, see Stratis Tsirkas, The Political Cavafy (Athens: Kedros, 1971), 71–93, and Liddell, 90.

77. The debate was defined by Tsirkas and Malanos. Tsirkas went to great lengths to show how anti-British Cavafy was, a fact which Malanos disputed. Liddell begrudgingly takes a middle path: he condemns the excesses of Tsirkas (particularly the theory that the British occupation was responsible for Cavafy’s homosexuality, 69) as well as Malanos’s Freudian interpretation which “lays rather too heavy an emphasis on sex” (78). Liddell’s negation of the political dimension of Cavafy’s poem (“There is no need to draw a political conclusion from Cavafy’s humane reaction to one scene of horror…” [91]) is altogether too dismissive, since similar arbitrary punishments were meted out to Christians by their Turkish overlords and were the stuff of folk legend and song, not to mention the reality of day to day life under the arbitrary and discriminatory millet system.

78. Tsirkas has drawn attention to the “folkloric” element of the poem, particularly the abridgement of time from seventeen years to seventeen days (Tsirkas,
For an overview of Cavafy’s early forays into Greek “laographia” (folklore), see Peter Jeffreys, “Dünya Güzeli: Cavafy’s Folkloric Odalisque,” BMGS, 26 (2002), 218–46.

79. The Pontic dialect is that spoken by the Greeks who, prior to their expulsion in 1922, lived in the Black Sea region. It has its own idiomatic syntax and unique pronunciation. The use of quotes in the Greek original sets off the citations (which are in Pontic and are un-conveyable) from the song.

80. “It would be an exaggeration to say that Cavafy was predicting the oncoming catastrophe. But undoubtedly the historic climate of the time and the character of the Greco-Turkish War prompted the poet to focus on just such an event in the national history as the capture of the City” (Ilinskagia, 225). For a detailed account of the events of this war, see Toynbee’s “Table of Dates,” *The Western Question* (365–74) and Woodhouse (1968), 187–211.


82. Anton, 66.

83. Herz (1985), 290. This uncommon term means a rapid deterioration, decadence, a change from bad to worse (Oxford English Dictionary III [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987], 762–63), all of which meanings apply to Forster’s initially negative response to Egypt.


85. UEE, 33–35.


87. UEE, 37.

88. Ibid., 38.

89. Ibid, 39.

90. See note 124 below.


93. Forster began editing these letters in March of 1924. They were published by the Hogarth Press in 1925. Kathleen Collins Beyer, in “Two Passages to India: Eliza Fay and E. M. Forster” (*The Aligarh Journal of English Studies*, 8.1 [1983], 15–23), notes that these letters betray “the insidious hauteur of the British” which Forster treats “with a very light hand in his Introductory Notes” (19, 16).

94. *EF*, 7, 11, 15, 16. David Roessel observes that “Mrs Fay was as important a guide to Forster’s experience in the city as the Greek poet Cavafy. . . . In fact, Mrs Fay appears to have been Forster’s first guide to Egypt . . . “ (Hirst, 2004, 334).

95. *PP*, 72.

96. Ibid., 91–92.

97. From a brief essay, “C. P. Cavafy: 1863–1933” published in the *Umbrella* (1958), 5. As Forster’s encomium relays, Cavafy’s speech was so idiosyncratic that few have dared to reproduce it. Even the film *Cavafy* by Yannis Smaragdis (1996) failed to meet this daunting challenge by presenting an absurdly silent Cavafy who spoke not even one word throughout the picture.


99. Ibid., 94.


101. *TCDA*, 237. For a critique of Cavafy’s elitist attitude towards indigenous Egyptian culture, see Khaled Fahmy, “For Cavafy, with Love and Squalor” in Hirst (2004), 263–79, who writes “Nor is Cavafy’s poetry so remote from the discourse of cosmopolitanism, despite numerous references to what one must assume were Arabic-speaking locals . . . Only minimally does he belong to the Alexandria he lived in or to the real people who inhabited it” (273–74).

102. See Beauman, 297 and Pinchin, 125 and passim.


104. Unpublished poem, KCC.

105. This poem is titled “To see a Sinadino Again” and is dated 29–1–24 (KCC).
106. Stone (1966), 285. Allott also notes that “Forster as a historian was always closer to Gibbon than Cavafy” (xlx).

107. Colmer, 144.


110. PP, 49.

111. Ibid., 42.

112. See Glen Bowersock, “The Julian Poems of C.P. Cavafy” in BMGS, 7 (1981), 89–104, where he writes that Antioch “was a profoundly important symbol for him: its people were immoral… but their life was delectable. . . . And they were Christian. They were also Greek. . . . Permissive Christianity, then, appears to be the fundamental interest of Cavafy in handling the various Julian episodes. To be a Christian did not preclude being a pagan in the old sense. . . .” (102–103). See also his Hellenism in Late Antiquity (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), chapter 1.

113. My translation, UP, 106. Cavafy’s poem is literally a poetic translation of Butcher’s prose.

114. AHG, xxiii.

115. Ibid., 51. This erroneous information was taken from Butcher (vol. 1, 125), who dismissively equates Saint Catherine with Sitte Dimiana, regarding whom, see The Coptic Encyclopedia, Aziz Atiya, ed. et. al., (New York: Maxwell MacMillan International, 1991), vol. 3, 903. The Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai took the name of the saint after acquiring her relics in the tenth or eleventh century (The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, 3 vols., Alexander Kazhdan, ed. et al [New York: Oxford University Press, 1991], II, 392), independent of any Western traditions. Her cult in the West was “born and developed in Normandy, Flanders, and the Rhineland, where monks from Sinai came to beg for their monastery, soon bringing relics of the saint” (Atiya, vol 5, 1976). See also Helen C. Evans, Saint Catherine’s Monastery, Sinai, Egypt: A Photographic Essay (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). Forster’s errata brought one reviewer to write: “Nor is it of much value as a history of Alexandria since it is full of blunders of one sort or another . . . many of these mistakes are minor ones, but taken altogether they add up to a book which has . . . an error on every fourth or fifth page. . . . If he is weak on history, his theology is even weaker, a serious problem in a book whose core is an account of the ‘spiritual city’ of Alexandria.” See Robert Tracey’s review in Allott, 382–83.

116. AHG, 56.
117. Ibid., 57. This theory, which Forster gleaned from Samuel Sharpe’s *The History of Egypt* (1885) and E. L. Butcher’s *The Story of the Church of Egypt* (1897), has been challenged by G. W. Bowersock in his *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (1991) and Roger S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). As Bagnall argues, “There is no sign, particularly throughout the millennium from Alexander to the Arabs, of conflict between Greek and Egyptian languages, or sentiment that one should not use a particular language because to do so would amount to cultural betrayal” (259).

118. *AHG*, 228, emphasis added. Surprisingly, this error, along with that concerning St. Catherine, has not been corrected or commented on editorially by either Michael Haag (1982) or Miriam Allott (2004).

119. The *filioque* (Latin for “and from the Son”) was a major point of contention between the Latin and Greek churches. Forster’s sentence is confusing, for it could mean that the *filioque* “held” that the Holy Ghost proceeded through the Son, which would imply a thorough disregard for the Latin term; but even if the “it” here refers to the dogma of the Greek Orthodox church, the term “through” was never included in the creed of Nicaea-Constantinople. The Byzantines absolutely rejected the dogma of the double procession.

120. *AHG*, 101.

121. Upon orders from the British consulate, the Cavafy family fled Alexandria before the bombardment and relocated to Constantinople, a move which caused great hardship and distress. As Liddell notes, the bombardment “left the town in shambles”(31). See Tsirkas (1958), 93–119, for an account of the disastrous consequences of the bombardment on the Greek community, and chapters 7 through 9 for a thorough review of the Anglo-Greek political and economic rivalry in Egypt.


123. Unpublished letter, KCC.

124. Unpublished letter, KCC dated 10 July 1923. This statement of a “conscious Hellenism” is most curious when compared to Forster’s assessment of the Hellenistic period as expressed in his review of N. Bentwich’s book, *Hellenism* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1919). Bentwich offers a most disparaging view of a decadent Hellenistic civilization—“The decay of national life, the atrophy of human reason, and the incursion into the Graeco-Roman world of ‘Orientalism’ produced such a welter of superstitions and heresies as has never been before or since. . . . The force of Hellenism spent itself by the second century [B.C.], and was then overpowered by the Oriental reaction” (279,

125. See Pinchin, 108 for an overview of Forster’s publishing efforts on behalf of Cavafy.

126. EMF II, 115 and MKA, 169.

127. Liddell, 127.

128. Cavafy’s indifference to Forster’s project becomes even more apparent when compared to his enthusiastic response to Marios Vaianos, Forster’s Athenian equivalent in matters of publication. Vaianos was a university student whom Cavafy had never met and whose connections in the Athenian literary world allowed him to bring Cavafy to the attention of Greek literati. Cavafy’s numerous letters to him (over forty three) are replete with directives and numerous poems for publication and dissemination. See Cavafy’s Letters to Marios Vaianos (Athens: Hestia, 1979).

129. KCC, and SLII, 45.

130. Liddell, 185.

131. Ibid., 185.

132. “Unfinished Talk on Cavafy,” KCC.

133. SLII, 62.

134. MKA, 172.


137. Ibid., 2, 12.

138. Toynbee (1923), 100, 108.


140. “Moreover, Toynbee, in addition to his journalistic and other writings on the Greek-Turkish imbroglio, took a more active role in actually trying to shape the course of events, although this was presumably not publicly known at the time. In July 1921, for instance, he sent Forbes Adam of the Foreign Office a summary of a three-hour discussion between himself and Rauf Ahmet Bey, who had accompanied Bekir Sami Bey to the London Conference of February-March of that year at which a solution to the crisis had been unsuccessfully sought.”

141. *SLII*, 54.

142. Ibid., 60.

143. Unpublished letter dated 1 August 1924, KCC. Forster’s adulatory opinion of T. E. Lawrence was highly personal rather than political, but proved to be politically problematic nonetheless. On the one hand, Forster praises Lawrence as an inspiration for his heroic work on behalf of the Arab rebellion against the sultan; on the other, he sympathized with the pro-Ottoman sentiments of the Muslim agitators in India. Forster’s fascination with the *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, coming from an avid supporter of the Ottoman caliph/sultan, is one of the glaring inconsistencies of Forster’s politics. For during the course of his numerous conversations with George Antonius (see note 19 above) he would have heard Lawrence along with British foreign policy denounced for their duplicity. For Antonius’s criticism of Lawrence, see his *The Arab Revolt*, 319–24. On Lawrence’s deliberate betrayal of the Arabs, see Suleiman Mousa, *T. E. Lawrence: An Arab View* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966) and Porter, 246 and passim.


146. Roessel writes “Forster’s Chanak writing was obviously political. . . . In the two pieces to which he signed his name, Forster attempts to lessen public hostility to the Turks in a subtle way. The *Daily News* letter and ‘Our Graves’ appear to place the author above the fray as an impartial observer. This was simply a pose, for the unsigned ‘India and the Turk’ and some of his private letters reveal the depth of his commitment to the Turks” (51).

147. Although in a letter to T. S. Eliot (11 March 1924) Forster claims that he did not know Toynbee “personally” (*SLI*, 55), the press coverage of the Koraes debacle was intense, particularly as Toynbee himself went public by publishing his letter of resignation in *The Times*, 3 January 1924. For the full text of this letter, see Clogg (1985), 116–17.
CHAPTER 4

1. Liddell, 208.

2. See Dallas, Studies on Cavafy (1987), 51-72, where he analyzes “Coins” and identifies Cavafy’s numismatic source as P. Cardner’s The Coins of the Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum (1886). Dallas notes how this poem, along with “Orophernis,” shows Cavafy’s scholarly precision (56), and how “the critic discerns on both sides of the coin . . . an ideological, scholarly reference to the theme of syncretism . . .” (72). See also Al. N. Oikonomides, “A Little Know Poem by C. P. Cavafy: ‘Coins with Indian Inscriptions,’” The Ancient World 9.1–2 (1984), 35–47, where he provides illustrations of the coins and their Greek and Prakrit inscriptions.


6. K. T. Dimaras, excerpted in Miscellaneous III, 111. This chauvinism is often overlooked by critics intent on reading Cavafy solely as “radically subversive” (Alexiou 1983, 7).

7. Malanos, Cavafy Said, 15–16. Cavafy was most certainly following ancient precedents here. As Thomas Harrison writes in his “Introduction” to Greeks and Barbarians (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), the Greek representation of foreign peoples in the late fifth and fourth centuries B.C. “undergoes a number of contradictory movements” which include “the identification (associated with Isocrates) of Greek identity with culture rather than birth” (6).

8. For an overview of this policy, see Woodhouse (1968), 165 and chapter seven.


10. Malanos argues that Cavafy was too absorbed in his own poetic agenda to be interested in any political events (1957, 46), a claim that aligns Cavafy with the aesthete’s decadent indifference to all mundane matters.


12. TCDA, 233.

13. EMFII, 33.

15. L. Savidis, 261.

16. Cavafy took great pains to ingratiate himself with the Greek intelligentsia. See his *Letters to Marios Vaianos*, which, with their effusive directions and energetic suggestions, stand in marked contrast to those he wrote to Forster. Malanos refers to Cavafy frequently as a shameless self-promoter and opportunist (1957, 24 and passim).

17. Liddell, 191.

18. On the question of whether or not Cavafy was pro Venizelos or pro monarchy, much ink has been spilt and to no avail. Malanos and Peridis recall discussions where Cavafy allegedly praised Venizelos; and Tsirkas aligns him with the anti-British agenda of the royalists.

19. George Vrisimitsakis, in *The Work of C. P. Cavafy* (Athens: Ikaros, 1985), was one of the first to note that Cavafy was, above all else, a poet obsessed with the dynamics of failure (41).


21. Michael Grant uses this phrase in *From Alexandria to Cleopatra: The Hellenistic World* (New York: Collier Books, 1982) where he popularizes the notion that the Hellenization of the Eastern Mediterranean was an act of colonization comparable to that of the Americas (53). Grant faults the Macedonian settlers who “for the most part still passionately practiced linguistic and cultural apartheid” (55). For varying perspectives on this complex topic, see the essays in *Ancient Greek Perceptions of Ethnicity*, Irad Malkin, ed. (Washington D.C.: Harvard University Center for Hellenic Studies, 2001).


25. This term is from “In a Town of Osroini”: “We’re a mixture here: Syrians, migrated Greeks, Armenians, Medes.” (Keeley 1992, 69).

26. My translation of Lavagnini, *HP*, 280. Zenobia was the “widow and successor (c. A.D. 266) of Odenathus, ruler of Palmyra, a city state in Syria which
had enjoyed the protection of successive Roman emperors. Zenobia was an ambitious woman who invaded Asia Minor and Egypt in open hostility to Rome. She was captured and deposed by Aurelian (272), and Palmyra was utterly destroyed (The Oxford Companion to English Literature [1967, 909]).


28. Bowersock (1990), 8, who adds “What is perhaps most revealing about Zenobia and her culture is the way it was perceived by the Graeco-Roman world, to which she obviously belonged. From the Graeco-Roman side she was another in the long line of usurpers, trying to win power form the established authority. The Emperor Aurelian fought her as a rival, not as a barbarian, and after her defeat she was comfortably set up in the suburbs outside Rome and honored for the rest of her days. More revealing still is the Arab tradition as we know it through Arabic texts of the Middle Ages. It is clear that Zenobia was not seen as a traitor to her people or as someone who had turned Greek. Her struggle was presented as a kind of civil war among Arab tribes of the region—a civil war in which Aurelian took one side rather than the other” (8).

29. Keeley (1992), 266. Dallas sees an allusion to the Balkan Wars in “To Antiochos Epiphanis” (“the Macedonians are back in the great fight”) and to the Asia Minor Catastrophe in “In the Year 200 B.C.” (Cavafy and History, 154).

30. My translation of Lavagnini, HP, 251. Alexander Kitroeff, “The Alexandria We Have Lost,” Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora, 10.1–2 (1983), 11–21, notes that the Greek community claimed “an earlier presence in the country than the local Arab population, which gave it an inalienable right to its privileged [socio-economic] position. While this was never made publicly explicit, the outbreak of the Egyptian nationalist movement prompted the Greeks to claim a special relationship with the Egyptians on the basis of their ties going back to antiquity...” (19).

31. See Michael Haag, Alexandria: City of Memory (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004) for an excellent account of the cosmopolitan Alexandria of Cavafy, Forster and Durrell. Haag writes that “during the first two decades of the twentieth century, Alexandria was the seat of Greek letters, while Athens was no more than a provincial town doing labour as the capital of a newfound nationalism” (58). This is in marked contrast to the present situation as observed by Edward Said in his essay ‘Cairo and Alexandria’ (see chapter 3, note 32).

33. My translation of Lavagnini, *HP*, 95. John Irkanos was a member of the Hasmonaean dynasty which the Romans supported against the Seleucid state (Grant, 74). For a similar treatment of the decline of Hellenism, see “In a Township of Asia Minor” (1926), where the Greek language serves merely as a medium for effete platitude.

34. See Simon Goldhill, ed., *Being Greek Under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic, and the Development of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Antiochos may be contrasted with his namesake in the “Epitaph of Antiochos, King of the Kommagini” (1923) who, in addition to being just, wise and courageous, was the “best of things, Hellenic—/mankind has no quality more precious:/everything beyond that belongs to the gods” (Keeley 1992, 125). As Keeley notes, “Cavafy suggests here a treble hierarchy: gods, Hellenic men, barbarians” (1992, 252). It appears that Cavafy could be both idealistic and overtly critical of his Hellenistic monarchs, according to his whim.

35. On the hereditary corpulence of Ptolemy VIII, see A. Michalopoulos, et al., “Morbid obesity and hypersomnolence in several members of an ancient royal family” [http://thorax.bmjonsl.com/cgi/content/full/58/3/281-b].

36. My translation of Lavagnini, *HP*, 146–47. See Jonathan M. Hall, “Contested Ethnicities: Perceptions of Macedonia within Evolving Definitions of Greek Identity” (Malkin, 159–86), who writes, “To ask whether the Macedonians ‘really were’ Greek or not in antiquity is ultimately a redundant question given the shifting semantics of Greekness between the sixth and the fourth centuries B.C. What cannot be denied, however, is that the cultural commodification of Hellenic identity that emerged in the fourth century might have remained a provincial artifact, confined to the Balkan peninsula, had it not been for the Macedonians” (172).

37. Lavagnini notes that “Cavafy, who perhaps identifies somehow, with great irony, with Ptolemy (but for a moment, unconsciously maybe with the poet—see his curious error: ‘my poem’ . . .) makes the king’s interlocutor the representative of an arbitrary, romantic idea of art which is exactly the opposite of Cavafy’s method of historical poetry” (*HP*, 145).

38. Haas, “Cavafy’s Reading Notes on Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall*,” 32.

39. Ibid., 33–34.

40. This poem was printed in 1927. Keeley notes that “According to one tradition, Io, daughter of the king of Argus, Inachos, was changed into a heifer by Zeus and chased by Hera into Syria, where she died. In her honor, Argive colonists built a temple and a town, and on the same site, Selefkos I Nikator founded the capital of Syria (300 B.C.)” (1992, 260).

42. See Walter Burkert, *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis: Eastern Contexts of Greek Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004). Burkert writes: “The special luck at the fringes of the imperial East, which had made the Assyrian epoch a period of great progress and efflorescence for the Greeks, was repeated, in a striking and unforeseeable way, when the next and much better organized empire, the Achaemenid empire, made its appearance” (2004, 11).


44. These poems are the “Young Men of Sidon (A.D. 400),” “Unfaithfulness,” “The Ancient Tragedy,” “Walls,” and “When the Watchman Saw the Light” (*MKA*, 361–79).


49. As Renato Poggioli writes in his essay “Qualis Artifex Pereor! Or Barbarism and Decadence,” “The problem of decadence is to be seen in its ability to resolve its own dialectic, in its eagerness to see its own Gordian knot brutally cut by the barbarian sword. The very notion of decadence, at least in its modern version, is practically inconceivable without this psychological compulsion, on the part either of the individual or of the group, to become the passive accomplice and the willing victim of barbarism” (Harvey, 134).

50. On Cavafy’s syncretism, see Dallas, *Hellenism and Theology in Cavafy*, 44. John Anton reads Cavafy as an inverter of the classical mode (335). His critical interpretation of “Ithaka” as a “voyage without a nostos” (334)” is apropos here: “The denial of nostos worked well for Dante and Tennyson, but when Cavafy used nostos with the inversion of the classical mode as a symbol, an incurable ambiguity crept into the poem. The inflated symbol of Ithaka simply overpowered the intended meaning” (315). See also David Ricks, *The Shade of Homer: A Study in Modern Greek Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) for Cavafy’s use of Homeric myth. Malanos suggests that “Ithaka” is essentially a paraphrase of Petronius’ “Exhortatio ad Ulyssem” (1957, 304).
51. For the centrality of aromas in Cavafy and their magical properties, see Alexiou (1985), 177. Treatises on Greek and Byzantine magic associated the theurgic offering of perfumes and other aromas with India and Egypt. See John Duffy, “Reactions of Two Byzantine Intellectuals to the Theory and Practice of Magic: Michael Psellos and Michael Italikos,” Byzantine Magic, 83–95, 90. Cavafy, with his acute historian’s insight, fully appreciated the debt of ancient Greece to the East. For the ancient Greeks, according to Mary Lefkowitz, “were eager to connect themselves in whatever way they could to Egypt . . . . The Greeks had such a high regard for Egyptian religion and laws, because they understood so little about them; quite unrealistically, they thought of the country as a utopia” (Not Out of Africa [New York: Basic Books, 1996], 84–85).


56. Ibid., 113.

57. Praz, 383.

58. Bowersock, “The New Cavafy: Unfinished Poems 1918–1932” (The American Scholar, 65.2 [1996], 243–57), surmises that what attracted Cavafy to John Kantakuzinos—he wrote four poems about this emperor—“was the courage of John in successfully resisting the authority of the established patriarchate without sacrificing his faith . . . . He knew that he was part of a decadent and impoverished world, but he maintained the Byzantinism of Cavafy’s people, ‘our people’” (253).

59. Anthony Hirst offers an intriguing multilayered reading of the Kantakuzinos poems in “Cavafy and Cantacuzenus: Allies or Enemies?” in Kambos: Cambridge Papers in Modern Greek, 11 (2003), 51–81, where he formulates an interpretation for the “initiated” which pulls together modern Greek politics and an erudite reading of Byzantine history that forcefully exposes the poems’ extreme intertextual ironies. Hirst concludes that Cavafy saw the vain
Canacuzenus “not as an ally but as an enemy and as a target for his bitter though devious irony” (79).


61. My translation of Lavagnini, HP, 158.

62. See Paul Magdalino, The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 377–78 and 516. Two volumes of Glykas’s writings were published consecutively in Athens in 1906 and Alexandria in 1912, and it is most likely that Cavafy had access to them through the library at the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate.


65. Maguire, 83.


69. Matthew Dickie defines paradoxography as “the branch of literature that from the Hellenistic Age on catered to the public’s taste for wonders” (Maguire 16).

70. The Synaxarion is the ecclesiastical book which contains the lives, works and miracles of the saints of the Byzantine tradition.

71. My translation of Lavagnini, HP, 185–86.

72. In one of his marginal notes on Gibbon, Cavafy defends the church father Gregory Nazianzinos for his eloquence and Greek diction: “No artist—the word is not misplaced here—had ever spoken so boldly before . . . “ (Haas 1982, 49).


75. See Haas, “‘The Beginnings of Christianity’: A Thematic Heading of Cavafy,” Chartis 5/6 (1983), 589–608, for a full treatment of this topic. In his essay on Keats’s Lantia, Cavafy writes, “The figure of the great magician and philosopher of Tyana fascinates the intellect as a grand, superhuman personality” (Prose 1963, 51).


79. Ibid., 67. See Gregory Jusdanis, “Cavafy, Tennyson and the Overcoming of Influence,” BMGS, 8 (1982/3), 123–37. Cavafy’s comments on Tennyson are worth noting: “The poem of Tennyson, though it contains some well-made verses, fails in tone. Its great defect lies in its form of a monologue. The complaints of Simeon, his eagerness for the ‘meed of saints, the white robe and the palm,’ his dubious humility, his latent vanity, are not objectionable in themselves . . . but they have been handled in a common, almost vulgar manner. It was a very difficult task—a task reserved, perhaps, for some mighty king of art—to find fitting language for so great a saint, so wonderful a man” (Unpublished Prose Texts, M. Peridis, ed. [Athens: Phexi, 1963]), 73–74).

80. Dallas, Hellenism and Theology in Cavafy, 19. The term “Byzantinism” was current during the nineteenth century, particularly among French and German Byzantinists (Haas, Le Problème Religieux dans l’Oeuvre de Cavafy [Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1996], 73–74). Haas notes that Cavafy’s use of the term follows Ferdinand Gregorovius by unapologetically acknowledging the “Asiatic” component of Byzantine civilization (95–98). As Bowersock writes, “Our Byzantinism’ was a startling thing to say in 1912 and would have been almost anytime until recently. Yet, Cavafy saw the Hellenism of the Byzantine Empire not as a corruption of the Greek polytheist past, but as an affirmation of it, to which he willingly linked himself” (1996, 250).

81. Dallas, Hellenism and Theology in Cavafy, 61, 63.

82. Dallas, Cavafy and History, 10.


CHAPTER 5

1. This was first observed by Pinchin (158 and passim), one of the first critics to read A Passage via Alexandria. In a similar vein, Beauman writes that The Temple section of the novel was “inspired by Cavafy’s poetry and vision” (328) but does not go on to offer a critical reading to support her view. A translation of “Ithaka” was published by T. S. Eliot at Forster’s behest in The Criterion (1923–1924) close to the time that Forster completed his novel (January 21, 1924). See SLII, 52. But the poem was well known to Forster prior to this. An excerpt of “Ithaka” was included in the last chapter of Pharos and Pharillon, where Forster gives the following gloss: “And in ‘Ithaka’ he sketches another and a nobler tragedy—that of a man who seeks loftily, and finds at the end that the goal has not been worth the effort. Such a man should not lament. He has not failed really” (PP, 93).


3. Stone (1966), 307. Stone goes on to write that Forster “does so as a sympathizer rather than as a scholar, but his perceptiveness is astonishing—as his Indian appreciators acknowledge” (307). Along these same lines Herz asks, “[O]ne might want to investigate . . . what happens to the East, the Oriental Other, when the Western writer makes it an emblem of his own metaphysical concerns. Does this involve the erasure of the Other? Is this a metaphysical version of economic imperialism? Forster, in my reading, is too elusive and too skeptical a writer to be explained adequately in such terms” (1993, 57).

4. Edward Said discusses A Passage at length in Culture and Imperialism, where he writes, “Forster’s India is so affectionately personal and so remorselessly metaphysical that his view of Indians as a nation contending for sovereignty with Britain is not very serious, or even respectful” (204). Tony Davies concurs with this view: “And yet the novel seems unable to extricate itself from a kind of generalizing ‘Orientalism’ that recalls not so much Kipling as superintendent McBryde . . . .” (A Passage to India, T. Davies and N. Woods, eds. [Buckingham: Open University Press, 1994], 15).

5. See note 10 of my introduction.

6. PT, 233–34.

7. Forster’s more mature pieces on Indian religion are “The Individual and His God” (1940), “The Art and Architecture of India” (1953), “The World Moun-


9. Das (1977), 34.

10. Das writes: “Of Plato he says he ‘never particularly appealed to me,’ and as to forms of government, he declares himself a believer in democracy, in parliamentary government, and in the public’s right to criticize abuse of power, and thus, ideologically, his position is opposed to the Platonic ideal of rule by the ‘guardians’” (1977, 36).


13. Ibid., 201.


16. In the Commonplace Book, Forster asks “Why did Rome Fall?” and lists the foundation of Constantinople and Christianity as two major reasons (*CB*, 139).


18. See Adwaita P. Ganguly, *India: Mystic, Complex and Real* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1990), where an apophatic “Eastern reading” of the novel is offered: “For the Indian reader the cumulative effect of the many references to Indian philosophy and religion makes for a rather different reading, in which, despite the skepticism, one is constantly aware of an alternative interpretation of the novel, by which what are seen as negatives by Western readers are seen as positives by Eastern ones, and the novel is seen as a long presentation of positive possibilities rather than of disappointing negatives” (16–17).


20. Ibid., 292.


22. *AE*, 222.


26. According to Ganguly, “The influence of Islam (meaning peace) was immense on Forster throughout his life. . . . While in India in 1945 Forster [went] ‘down on his knees in mosques like a believer. . . . On another occasion Forster visited the shrine of the Sufi saint Nizam-ud Din Aulia . . . and Ahmed Ali recalled: ‘It was after about forty-five minutes that Forster came out visibly moved but tranquil of soul, with visible marks of tears on his cheeks’” (286–87). See Forster’s essay, “The Mosque” (AH, 292–95).


28. Mohammed Iqbal (1877–1938), the Indo-Pakistani political and religious writer and poet, was a close friend of Masood whom Forster actually met in 1916, but “only in passing” (TCD, 288). The poet is named in PI, 38. In addition to Rumi’s verse, the poetry of Hafiz and Ghalib (whom Aziz recites) were also known to Forster. See June Perry Levine, Creation and Criticism: A Passage to India (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), 42, Doll, 291 and Ganguly, 124–25.


30. Ibid., 804.

31. Ibid., 804.

32. Forster neglects to acknowledge the mystical traditions of Orthodox Christianity and Islam. In the Byzantine theological tradition, the spiritual goal of “theosis” is this very deification. See John Meyendorff, Byzantine Theology, 163–64 and passim. According to the Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World, John Esposito, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), Islamic theology is marked by at least nine schools of thought. Mystical theology, out of which evolved the Sufic notion of union with God, is felt to be “an original dimension of Islam” (vol. 4, 222). Forster’s denial of any “transcendental sanction” in the relationship between the human and divine is thus mistaken.
33. This is the theme of both the Rumi poem which Aziz ponders at the end of the novel, “The Caaba of Union” (PI, 314) and the raga that Godbole sings (PI, 95). See Ganguly, 135.


35. TCD, 67.


37. Published in the Athenaeum, 26 September 1919, 947. Interestingly enough, Pallas Athene also presides in A Passage in the person of Mrs. Turton (PI, 188).


39. PI, 273.

40. Ibid., 33.

41. Herz, in A Passage to India: Nation and Narration (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1993), writes that “Santh Rama Rau, who adapted the novel for the stage, observed that ‘the most astonishing aspect of the book for many Indians, was that it had the courage to talk and think from inside of the Indian mind’” (31). Benita Parry, Delusions and Discoveries: Studies on India and the British Imagination 1880–1930 (London: Allen Lane—the Penguin Press, 1972), praises the book as “the triumphant expression of the British imagination exploring India” (274). And Stone avers that “Forster has realized his work, as does the Indian artist, from the inside out, expanding it from a spiritual center” (1966, 341).

42. PI, 42.

43. Ibid., 45.

44. Ibid., 50–51. According to the Oxford Dictionary of World Religions, John Bowker, ed. et. al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), the crescent moon, the religious emblem of Islam, derives “from the Quranic recognition of the waxing and waning of the moon as a sign of God’s unchanging purpose and control. Whenever Muhammad saw the new moon, he would say, ‘O crescent of good and of guidance, my faith is in Him who created you’” (246).

45. PI, 49.

46. Ibid., 62.

47. Ibid., 87.


52. *PI*, 80 (my emphasis).

53. Ibid., 119.

54. Ibid., 123–24.

55. Ibid., 132.

56. Ibid., 133.


59. Parry (1972), 287.

60. Stone writes “It is a Hindu view of life that gives the book its final thematic and esthetic forms. ‘Cave-worship,’ writes Norman Douglas, ‘is older than any god or devil. It is the cult of feminine principle—a relic of that aboriginal obsession of mankind to shelter in some Cloven Rock of Ages, in the sacred womb of Mother Earth who gives us food and water and receives us after death.’ The particular caves of the Marabar do not have to be worshipped, but they have this universal symbolic meaning, a meaning that the Hindu preserves and venerates in the architecture of his temple. When Forster discovered the Hindu temple (years after *Passage* appeared), he did so with a delighted shock of recognition—as if the full meaning of his own book were only now opening to his expanding vision” (1966, 301).

61. See Forster’s essay, “The World Mountain,” *Listener*, 2 December 1954, 977–78, where he writes: “Briefly, she [Dr. Saxl] showed me the temple as the World Mountain on whose exterior is displayed life in all its forms . . . And in the
interior of the mountain she revealed a tiny cavity, a central cell, where, in the heart of the world complexity, the individual can be alone with his god” (978).


63. For an informative overview of the debate on Forster’s “Indianness,” see Lisa Lowe, Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), chap. 4. Forster’s knowledge of India and his background reading have been noted by G. K. Das and Vasant A. Shahane, and reiterated by Ganguly, all of whom offer positive appraisals. Forster had many detractors as well. Particularly unfavorable are Nirad Chaudhuri’s comments: “For instance, to those of us who are familiar with the teachings of the Hindu reformers of the 19th century, Godbole is not an exponent of Hinduism, he is a clown.” See his “Passage To and From India,” Perspectives on E. M. Forster’s A Passage to India: A Collection of Critical Essays, Vasant Shahane, ed. (New York: Barnes and Noble Inc., 1968), 115–20, 117. Critical readings of Forster’s “spirituality” are equally fraught with problems of authenticity. C. L. Shahn (Forster’s A Passage to India: The Religious Dimension [New Delhi: Arnold-Heinemann, 1981] dismisses Glen O. Allen and other American critics for not shedding any light on “Forster’s knowledge of fundamental concepts of Indian thought and the sources of that knowledge” (8). M. Sivaramakrishna (“Marabar Caves Revisited,” in Shahane [1975], 5–17), targets Allen’s “astonishing statement that ‘the mysticism underlying devotion to Shri Krishna amounts to an utter renunciation of the intellect, the disintegration of the categories which make distinction—and therefore thought—possible’” for its absurdity (16). See also Mohammad Shaheen, E. M. Forster and the Politics of Imperialism (2004).

64. Stone (1966), 302.

65. See Herz (1993), 31–42, for an overview of the novel’s critical reception and the debate on unity vs. fragmentation. Alan Wilde, in Horizons of Assent (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), concedes that the novel “can be made to yield totally opposed and equally valid interpretations and that on this level no argument is ever likely to be accepted as final” (63).


68. Crews (1962), 160, 162.


70. PI, 214–15.

71. Ibid., 251.
72. Ibid., 138. Forster’s description of the caves echoes Plato’s in many ways: the mirror image of the flame calls to mind Plato’s fire and the projected shadows on the cave wall; the flame’s imprisoned spirit recalls the fettered prisoners who cannot escape; and the boom is an ironic allusion to the echo of external sounds inside Plato’s cave. Adela’s experience, however, is the opposite of that described by Plato. Unlike the dazzling clarity described in the parable, her troubling vision occurs as a result of entering a cave. See Debrah Raschke, “Forster’s Passage to India: Re-Envisioning Plato’s Cave,” in Bloom (2004), 129–45.

73. PL, 162.

74. Susan Suleri, The Rhetoric of English India (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 77, 145. Elizabeth Heine makes an interesting connection between Forster’s sexual relation with his servant Kanaya while at Dewas and the Marabar Caves: “The ‘Kanaya’ memoir suggests that the central section of A Passage to India—the long account of a hot season of emotional oppression and mental and sexual confusion, in which the truth of the alleged assault in the Marabar Caves is never settled—is a triumphantly imagined transmutation of Forster’s experience of lust, shame and guilt in his homosexual relations with the servants of Dewas Senior. It is even possible that he sought these experiences because of the novel.” The Hill of Devi and Other Indian Writings, Abinger Edition, Vol. 14. Elizabeth Heine, ed. [London: Edward Arnold, 1983], viii).


76. PL, 188.

77. Ibid., 220–21. My view of the punkah-wallah is admittedly unconventional and at odds with critics such as Benita Parry, who sees him as “the symbolic Indian figure in whom the conscious and supraconscious participate . . . “ (Parry 1972, 267). My reading hinges largely on Forster’s use of the words “naked god” and the Greek aesthetics they evoke. Indian gods, in contrast to their Greek counterparts, tend not to resemble this ephebic and athletic ideal.

78. Ibid., 233.

79. Ibid., 277–78.

80. Stone identifies Fielding as “a Hellenist and a humanist” who “tries to bring the light of reason, as it emerges in his Hellenic-Mediterranean—to whatever darkness he encounters . . . “ (1966, 326).


82. As Das writes, “the novel derives its main interest so far as the interpretation of the two religions are concerned more from its deeper curiosity about Hin-
duism than from its general assumption of familiarity with Islam” (1977, 108). In his essay “E. M. Forster and Hindu Mythology” (E. M. Forster: Centenary Revaluations, 244–56), Das further argues that Forster “found Hindu worship of Krishna spiritually far more meaningful than the technological or political idolatry of the West. It is the spirituality of Godbole and the Hindu community of Mau during the Krishna ceremony that he wishes to affirm against the false gods of empire, race or power” (255). Ganguly, on the other hand, sees Islam as equally germane to the novel, especially the Sufic tradition. See ch. 6 of his book.

83. PI, 285.

84. Ibid., 289. Wilde argues against the idea that Forster presents “Hinduism as the complete answer” and that the “answer to the vision of the caves lies in a total affirmation of Hinduism” (1964, 151). Benita Parry, in “Passage to More than India” (Bradbury 1966, 160-174), also notes that “the tone of [Forster’s] transcendental allusions is tentative and undefined, moving between uncertainty and whimsicality” (172).

85. See Parry (1972), 310.

86. PI, 282–83.

87. Ibid., 310.

88. In a letter dated 26 September 1921, Forster writes: “After nine years, I revisited the Taj. The first time, he (or she) looked hideous and hard, but we drove down again one evening and I have never seen a vision lovelier. I went up the left-hand further minaret, and saw all the magnificent buildings glowing beneath me and all the country steaming beneath a dim red and grey sky, and just as I thought nothing could be more beautiful a muezzin with a most glorious voice gave the evening call to prayer from a mosque. ‘There is no God but God.’ I do like Islam, though I have had to come through Hinduism to discover it. After all the mess and profusion and confusion of Gokul Ashtami, where nothing ever stopped or need ever have begun, it was like standing on a mountain” (HD, 192–93).

89. PI, 293.

90. Ibid., 314.

91. Ibid., 316.


93. As Peter J. Hutchings points out in his essay “A Disconnected View: Forster, Modernity and Film” (Tambling, 213–28), “Where the novels could offer a contemporary readership an experience of cultural and even class tourism, the films provide their audiences with the possibility of traveling across time, cul-
ture and class. . . . Their [Merchant and Ivory’s] film-making career . . . is now the ironic site of the construction of an Englishness that never was. Where the novels are involved with a modern constellation of technology, tourism and desire, the films reflect the last of these with nostalgia” (217). *A Passage to India* was recently adapted for the stage by Martin Sherman and produced by the Shared Experience Theatre Company. See Charles Isherwood’s review, “A Minimal Meeting of Forster’s Twain” (*New York Times*, “Theatre Review,” 4 November 2004).


95. *PI*, 281.

96. Ibid., 212.


100. Ibid., 8–9.

**CONCLUSION**


4. This is B.F. Cook’s interpretation of the battle scenes on the metopes of the Parthenon, scenes that recur often in Greek art during the fifth century. As Cook writes in his monograph *The Elgin Marbles* (London: The British Museum Press, 1995), “All subjects appear to have a common theme: the conflict between civilization and barbarism. The Trojan War and the battle against the Amazons further suggests the conflict between East and West. All seem to refer allegorically to the Persian Wars in the early fifth century” (19).


7. In the unpublished letters that survive, there are at least six instances when Forster introduced young men to Cavafy, among whom were William Plomer, Robert Graves, Christopher Scannife, Crawford Flitch, Raymond Mortimer and Bonamy Dobrée. Cavafy was receptive and grateful.