

The image of Britain in the literary magazine *Pandora* (1850-1872)*

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Like many aspects of the literature of Greek Romanticism (1830-1880), literary magazines of the period have not yet attracted the attention of scholars to a satisfactory degree. A bibliography of nineteenth-century newspapers and magazines is still lacking,¹ as is an adequate historical survey of the Greek literary press.² The only work that deals exclusively with some of the magazines produced during the period of Greek Romanticism, and especially with the most important one *Pandora*, is Apostolos Sachinis's 1964 book *Contribution to the history of Pandora and older magazines*.³ Other volumes that partly cover the period are Dimitrios Margaris's *The old magazines, their history and their era* and Martha Karpozilou's seminal 1991 work: *The Greek family-oriented literary magazines (1847-1900)*.⁴ We look forward to the publication of Karpozilou's long announced bibliography of nineteenth-century newspapers and magazines, as well as to that of a bibliography for the years 1800-1847, recently announced by the National

* The research presented in this article was collected as part of the ongoing project "Archive of Greek fiction 1830-1880", which is being conducted under the auspices of the Institute of Mediterranean Studies, Crete.

¹ The catalogue of Dimitris Ginis, *Κατάλογος ελληνικών εφημερίδων και περιοδικών 1811-63* (Athens 1967), covers only a part of the material, as its title indicates.

² The only work available is Mayer's three-volume *History of the Greek Press*, which does not meet the needs of researchers: Kostas Mayer, *Ιστορία του ελληνικού τύπου* (Athens 1957-60).

³ A. Sachinis, *Συμβολή στην ιστορία της Πανδώρας και των παλιών περιοδικών* (Athens: Papadogiannis 1964).

⁴ D. Margaris, *Τα παλιά περιοδικά, η ιστορία τους κι η εποχή τους* (Athens: Sideris 1955); M. Karpozilou, *Τα ελληνικά οικογενειακά φιλολογικά περιοδικά (1847-1900)* (Ioannina 1991).

Research Institute; they will be indispensable research tools for scholars working on the nineteenth century.

Pandora, the periodical whose relationship with Britain we shall be concerned with here, has been generally accepted as the most distinguished and successful of the magazines of the period of Greek Romanticism.⁵ It has been considered a unique case for its unprecedented longevity (twenty-two years of continuous publication, whereas the second periodical with a notable life-span, *Efterpi*, was published for only seven years), for its high standards, the brilliance of its contributors (mostly university professors) and for the fact that its sole owner after five years of shared ownership, Nikolaos Dragoumis, is the only professional editor of the period who managed to make a living from a literary magazine. I believe that its success is closely related to the initial editorial team, Alexandros Rizos Rangavis, Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos and Nikolaos Dragoumis,⁶ who gave the periodical its high standards and distinctive identity. But to a greater degree it is related to the charismatic personality of its sole editor for seventeen years, Dragoumis, who abandoned a political career to devote his life to a humanitarian purpose: the enlightenment of the masses by means of a periodical. As my recent research on Dragoumis's fiction has shown, his decision to create a family-oriented literary magazine was the political act of a man who had become disillusioned with the way political life was conducted in Greece and chose another means to realise his political aspirations.⁷

What sort of periodical was *Pandora*? *Pandora* has been predominantly called a family-oriented literary magazine. This

⁵ D. Margaris, op. cit., p. 14; A. Sachinis, op. cit., pp. 7, 35.

⁶ I must make a distinction between the editorial team, consisting of the three scholars A.R. Rangavis, K. Paparrigopoulos and N. Dragoumis, and the owners, who are the above mentioned names plus the printer Chr. Doukas and the illustrator G. Skoufos; the last two were responsible for the technical part of the enterprise.

⁷ These ideas were first expressed in the still unpublished paper I gave on Nikolaos Dragoumis's fiction at the Conference on Literature of Greek Romanticism, which took place at the Goulandris-Horn Institute on 24-25 October 1995.

characterisation might be misleading unless we realise that it is used to describe a kind of periodical that first appeared in Greece in 1847, containing miscellaneous material which included a fair amount of literature in its pages, mostly in the form of serialised fiction.⁸

Let us first examine the proclamation made by the owners about the aims and the content of the periodical. This proclamation is dated 12 December 1849, three days before the contract for the foundation of the periodical was signed,⁹ and three and a half months before its first issue was published. According to it the aim of this fortnightly periodical would be to diffuse knowledge to all social classes and to accustom its readers to the pleasure of perusal. It was addressed to "all Greeks", and its real goal was national progress, which in the editors' opinion could be achieved only through the education of the masses. The owners seem to have realised that the only means to achieve such a difficult task in a young state, most of whose inhabitants were illiterate or semi-literate,¹⁰ would be mainly through the inclusion of material that would combine entertainment with useful knowledge. They also seem well aware of fiction's didactic potential; they sought to launch a reading career for as many people as possible with the help of fiction. Although most of the reading public would probably never develop their reading taste once they acquired it, some might extend it to "higher" reading.

The editors, in their effort to expand the existing limited reading public with the help of the newly founded periodical,

⁸ On the different categories of contributions to Greek family-oriented literary magazines see Karpozilou, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-116.

⁹ Full details about the foundation of *Pandora* can be found in Sachinis's book, pp. 36-47. The proclamation had not been found until recently; I tracked it down in the coloured covers of the first issues of the magazine, which are preserved only in the copy held in the E.L.I.A. library in Athens.

¹⁰ The percentage of illiteracy in Greece, according to the existing statistics, was 87.5% of men in 1840 falling to 71.38% in 1870; for the female population we do not have statistics until 1870, when the percentage of illiterate women was 93.7%. I take these figures from Konstantinos Tsoukalas, *Εξάρτηση και αναπαραγωγή, ο κοινωνικός ρόλος των εκπαιδευτικών μηχανισμών στην Ελλάδα (1830-1922)* (Athens: Themelio 1987), p. 393.

endeavoured to cover a wide spectrum of tastes. The different fields that *Pandora* promised to cover according to the proclamation were: (1) short stories by Greek or European writers, (2) travel-writing, (3) essays on the most important social matters, (4) essays on scientific matters, (5) articles on new technology, (6) book-reviews concerning Greek publications, (7) book-reviews or announcements of new publications concerning European books with an emphasis on those dealing with Greek subjects, (8) poetry, and (9) novels by Greek writers or translations from the best European writers. To these categories two more were added in the first year of the periodical's circulation: biographies and miscellanies. From the above we can clearly see that from the moment the periodical's profile was drawn up, even before the publication of its first issue, *Pandora* was presented as a "miscellany" magazine. In the fifteenth year of the periodical's publication its editor described it "as a general periodical similar to those that the French and the English call Reviews, offering a variety of contents for its readers to chose from";¹¹ two years earlier Dragoumis had avowed that he was emulating "the wisest European periodicals" in order to achieve a high profile for *Pandora*.¹² It is not therefore surprising that it gave emphasis to contributions on social, scientific, and technological subjects, as well as to book-reviews. However, *Pandora's* emphasis on these categories seems inappropriate to the level of the average Greek family of the times, let alone the totality of Greek families the editors address in their proclamation. I would rather see such a periodical as appropriate for the middle and upper classes of the time, and it is they that the editors must be actually addressing. Furthermore, lower-class people could not have afforded to buy it even if they wanted to, as Karpozilou has shown, since their wages didn't even cover living expenses; at least that was the situation in Greece until the year 1880.¹³

As we have seen, *Pandora* included fiction in its pages but it did not depend solely on it. Why then is it mostly remembered for its literary aspect? One basic reason lies in the fact that it

¹¹ *Πανδώρα* 15 (1864-65) 597.

¹² *Πανδώρα* 13 (1862-63) issue 291, p. 63.

¹³ Karpozilou, op. cit., pp. 252-64.

was mainly through this periodical – because of its longevity and status – that serial publication of novels was consolidated, although *Pandora* was not the first periodical to introduce serialised fiction in Greece.¹⁴ Another important reason must be that a well known debate on the appropriateness of the publication of novels in literary magazines took place in its pages from 1856 onwards.¹⁵ This debate evolved into a public discussion on the usefulness of novels in general (which for the more conservative part of the population were considered immoral), which divided people into two hostile camps of novel-lovers and novel-haters. A third reason is to be found in the fact that a number of the most famous Greek novels and short stories of the times were first published in the periodical. The mere repetition of those titles in histories of modern Greek literature would suffice for the name of *Pandora* to be connected with fiction. A last important reason must be the fact that of all its contributions it was literature that most appealed to the taste of the reading public. All these factors may be considered responsible for the prominence the literary aspect of the periodical has attained.¹⁶

However, I believe that *Pandora's* role must have been much more complex than has been recognised up to now. It seems that it not only played an important role in the development of a taste

¹⁴ For *Pandora's* forerunners see Karpozilou, op. cit., pp. 53-90. According to Karpozilou the first literary magazine to promote the publication of novels in its pages was *Efterpi* (1847-1855).

¹⁵ For more information on this debate see Apostolos Sachinis, "Μια συζήτηση του 1856 για το μυθιστόρημα, η κριτική του Νικολάου Δραγούμη", in: *Θεωρία και άγνωστη ιστορία του μυθιστορήματος στην Ελλάδα 1760-1870* (Athens: Kardamitsa 1992), pp. 165-82. An earlier form of this article appeared in the periodical *Ελληνικά* 18 (1964) 97-119. On the impact of this debate on contemporary Greek novels see Sophia Denissi, *Το ελληνικό ιστορικό μυθιστόρημα και ο Sir Walter Scott (1830-1880)* (Athens: Kastaniotis 1994), pp. 17-67.

¹⁶ Among them are the novels *Ο συμβολαιογράφος* and *Ο Αυθέντης του Μορέως* by A.R. Rangavis, in the first two years of *Pandora's* publication, *Θάνος Βλέκας* by P. Kalligas in its sixth year, as well as a number of short stories by Rangavis, Konstantinos Ramfos, Angelos Vlachos, Nikolaos Dragoumis, and Achilleas Levendis, to mention only the most famous writers.

for novel-reading; it must also have helped its readers develop a political as well as a cultural taste, probably coloured by the preferences of its successive editors. The lack of articles dealing with the periodical's contents (one gets the feeling that since everybody knows *Pandora* why bother to look seriously into it?), together with the few existing works that either have a descriptive rather than an evaluative character or place the periodical in the context of the periodical press of the times, do not help me verify my claim. On the contrary, Sachinis describes the periodical as "neutral" to the political events of its time, "indifferent to any political cause", "void of a political voice", "a magazine in some way outside its time and outside history", "without a political or literary direction that can be felt by its readers".¹⁷ However, the variety of contents, the obvious emphasis on political and cultural essays, as well as on articles that deal with developments in technology, the political echo in its proclamation, together with the fact that its editors were men involved in various ways with politics,¹⁸ strengthen my belief that *Pandora* must have played an important political and cultural role that has not yet been recognised.

The fact that Dragoumis was a follower of Mavrokordatos and of his so-called "English party", together with the fact that *Pandora* abounds in articles that deal with the contemporary British scene, made me think that this might not be a coincidence. Thus it occurred to me that it would be interesting to relate my effort to trace this hypothetical political and cultural role of *Pandora* to the large amount of articles that refer to Britain. In my opinion the articles that came close to the editors' political sympathies could be those that colour the magazine politically, culturally, and even in matters of literary taste, thereby giving it a special identity.

In order to verify my claim I will examine, in some detail, a small but representative sample of this great amount of articles

¹⁷ Sachinis, *op.cit.*, pp. 50-1.

¹⁸ Rangavis, Paparrigopoulos and Dragoumis had all served in various political positions from an early age; during the years of *Pandora*'s publication Rangavis had to quit because he was elected to the Parliament and Dragoumis had to leave temporarily to become the last minister of foreign affairs to the first King of Greece, Otho.

on British topics. What sort of articles are these? Is their presence intentional or accidental? Do political developments between Great Britain and Greece affect the presence of articles on British topics in the magazine? Are those developments commented on in the periodical? These are some of the questions we will try to answer.

The large amount of contributions commenting on different aspects of the British reality can be divided into four main categories: (a) articles translated from British periodicals or books; (b) articles other than British ones that refer to British issues; (c) short stories, novels and poems by British writers translated into Greek, and finally (d) short stories and travel-writing by Greek writers that refer to British matters. Let us briefly examine each one and its relation to the profile of the periodical.

The first category, translations or free translations from books or newspaper and periodical articles in English, occupies a great many pages of *Pandora's* twenty-two volumes and covers a variety of subjects. It is interesting to see the content of articles translated, their sources, the translators, and the criterion for their choice. To do so, this large category might usefully be divided into seven basic sub-categories which would include different types of texts: (1) historical, (2) political, (3) scientific, (4) literary, and (5) social, plus (6) miscellanies, and (7) statistics.

Historical texts dealing with British history comprise a relatively small sub-category, but the articles or chapters of books translated are long and the translator is usually a well known personality. Those translations include: "The trial of the seven Bishops",¹⁹ a chapter from Macaulay's recently published *History of England* put into Greek by the leading historian Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos and published in the fifth and sixth issues of the periodical.²⁰ Paparrigopoulos not only

¹⁹ Κ.Ρ., "Η δίκη των επτά Επισκόπων, Εκ της νεωτάτης Αγγλικής Ιστορίας του Μακωλαίνοϋ", *Πανδώρα* 1 (1850-51) issue 5, pp. 107-17, issue 6, pp. 127-62.

²⁰ In this first year of the periodical's publication Paparrigopoulos had already written a short biographical article on Macaulay, in which he praised the recently published first two volumes of his *History of England*,

translated this chapter, but also added useful explanatory notes for the Greek reader. Earlier that year the translator had written a biographical article on Macaulay in which he had expressed his wish that the whole book should be translated into Greek. It seems that he chose a representative chapter from it, an episode leading up to the 1688 Revolution.²¹ In the same sub-category one can find a very long article on "Charles I King of England",²² dealing with another critical period of British history, as well as a brief article on "The Youth of Frederick the Great of Prussia",²³ based on Macaulay and translated by the poet Christos A. Parmenidis. The last of the historical articles I will mention is an essay giving information about the last descendant of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Palaiologos.²⁴

The next sub-category we will be discussing consists of important political texts, most of which are long essays referring to different aspects of British political life. Among them there are two very interesting treatises: one on "Lord Clive", the so-called founder of the British state in India,²⁵ again translated by Paparrigopoulos, and the other on "Robert Emmet", the Irish rebel of the 1798 Rebellion.²⁶ Although both could be listed

a work of English historiography often mentioned in the twenty-two volumes of *Pandora*.

²¹ K.P., "Θωμάς Βαβιγκτών Μακωλαίυς", *Πανδώρα* 1 (1850-51) issue 4, p. 83.

²² "Κάρολος Α', βασιλεύς της Αγγλίας", *Πανδώρα* 2 (1851-52) issue 45, pp. 1077-85; issue 46, pp. 1099-107; issue 47, pp. 1123-30; issue 48, pp. 1151-8. There is no mention of translator or source but it is probably from Macaulay again.

²³ Ch.A.P. trans., "Νεότης Φριδερίκου του Μεγάλου κατά Macaulay", *Πανδώρα* 9 (1858-59) issue 200, pp. 189-91.

²⁴ "Ο τελευταίος των Παλαιολόγων", *Πανδώρα* 10 (1859-60) issue 232, pp. 375-9. There is no mention of source; the translator is G. Danos Pekos.

²⁵ K.P. trans., "Ροβέρτος Λόρδος Κλίβης, ο θεμελιωτής του εν τη Ινδική Βρετανικού Κράτους", *Πανδώρα* 1 (1850-51) issue 16, pp. 372-81; issue 17 pp. 401-6; issue 18, pp. 421-8; issue 19, pp. 456-9; issue 20, pp. 464-73. The name of the historian who wrote the article is not mentioned.

²⁶ Sophia F., "Ροβέρτος Έμμετ", *Πανδώρα* 10 (1859-60) issue 235, p. 451ff.; issue 236, pp. 478-80; issue 237, pp. 489-93; issue 238, pp. 513-17; issue 239, pp. 550-4; issue 240, pp. 582-6; *Πανδώρα* 11 (1860-61) issue 244, pp. 93-6; issue 246, pp. 143-4; issue 247, pp. 173-5; issue 248, pp. 199-200;

under the historical sub-category, I have chosen to discuss them here because I believe that they were translated as political works (actually they belong to an intermediate category which could be called historico-political). They both refer to Britain's imperialist policy – both Ireland and India were under British rule – but the ten years that separate those two translations indicate a change in the Greek translator's attitude towards Britain. The translation on Lord Clive, published in 1850-51, is a pro-British article which praises the conquest of India by the British army although Lord Clive's behaviour is subjected to some criticism. Even when he is tried in court the essayist finds excuses for all his deeds. The second one is a free translation published in 1860, very critical of British imperialist policy; it is definitely pro-Irish, and the translator intervenes a couple of times to identify the way the British have treated Ireland with their behaviour towards India and the Ionian Islands and to condemn their tyranny. In the same sub-category there is also an interesting brief article on "Taxes in Great Britain",²⁷ taken from *The Edinburgh Review* and translated by Dragoumis, which gives an analytical chart of the taxes paid to the state from 1815 to 1850 in order to indicate the state's efforts to reduce taxation and relieve the lower classes. Dragoumis explains that he chose to translate this article so that it would serve as an example to the Greek state, which should follow Britain's successful policy on such matters. I will close this important sub-category with an unsigned translation from Macaulay on a similar subject: William Pitt's political career and his efforts to improve the life of the lower classes.²⁸

The third sub-category involves mostly free translations of English newspaper articles dealing with the latest developments in technology as they relate to Britain. The

issue 252, pp. 285-8; issue 253, p. 316ff.; issue 255, p. 366ff.; issue 256, p. 389ff.; issue 257, pp. 408-10. It seems that it was translated by a lady who signed by using her forename and only the initial of her surname.

²⁷ N.D. trans., "Φόροι εν τη Μεγάλη Βρετανία", *Πανδώρα* 2 (1851-52) issue 35, pp. 849-50.

²⁸ "Γουλιέλμος Πιττ ο πρεσβύτερος", *Πανδώρα* 2 (1851-52) issue 39, pp. 935-41; issue 40, pp. 957-63; issue 41, pp. 985-91; issue 42, pp. 1008-15; issue 43, pp. 1026-31.

periodical devoted a great number of articles to subjects such as: the submarine telegraph that connected England to France,²⁹ the different applications of steam-engines in factories, trains and ships,³⁰ steamships,³¹ the transatlantic telegraph which would connect Britain to America,³² or the Dover-Calais tunnel,³³ to give just a small sample. Those free translations often include the translators admiration for those developments and his wish that they will soon be part of Greek everyday life.

The sub-category of literary texts is large and includes mainly book-reviews taken from British periodicals and newspapers on both Greek and British books referring to Greek topics. I will mention some of the most interesting ones that appeared in the twenty-two volumes of *Pandora*. The first is an extensive article translated by Rangavis from *The Edinburgh Review* analysing W. Mure's *A Critical History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece*.³⁴ Then there are two book-reviews analysing Spyridon Trikoupis's *The History of Greece*, published in London where Trikoupis was at that time Ambassador of Greece. One of them is translated from *The Times*

²⁹ "Τηλέγραφος υποθαλάσσιος", *Πανδώρα* 1 (1850-51) issue 13, p. 290. The article refers to the telegraphic connection of Britain to France, which took place two months earlier. It is signed by Dragoumis, whose fascination with the new technological developments is expressed in it.

³⁰ "Ατμοκίνητοι μηχαναί", *Πανδώρα* 2 (1851-52) issue 39, pp. 943-4. In this article the translator (probably Dragoumis) expresses his regret that his country has not yet followed those developments; see also "Ατμοκίνητος μηχανή", *Πανδώρα* 4 (1853-54) issue 81, p. 228.

³¹ "Νέα νίκη επί της αποστάσεως", *Πανδώρα* 4 (1853-54) issue 81, p. 228.

³² "Τηλέγραφος υποβρύχιος", *Πανδώρα* 2 (1851-52) issue 39, p. 944; see also D.N. Botasis, "Υποβρύχιος τηλέγραφος", *Πανδώρα* 7 (1856-57) issue 166, pp. 523-4, giving full details on the enterprise, which was expected to be completed by the summer of 1857, and "Περί του υπερατλαντικού τηλεγράφου", *Πανδώρα* 9 (1858-59) issue 204, pp. 287-8, with information on the successful operation of the telegraph.

³³ I. Dekigallas, "Περί της κατά τον πορθμόν του Καλέ υποβρυχίου διώρυγος", *Πανδώρα* 10 (1859-60) issue 232, pp. 383-4; the article discusses the prospects for the construction of a Channel tunnel or even of a railway bridge to connect Britain with the Continent.

³⁴ "Βιβλιογραφία", *Πανδώρα* 2 (1851-52) issue 27, pp. 644-52; issue 28, pp. 668-76.

and the other from the *Athenaeum*. The *Times* review praises the book's objectivity and its eloquence. The anonymous translator, in all probability Dragoumis, expresses the hope that this book will help people who are not acquainted with the Greek reality, like the editors of *The Times*, to form a correct opinion about Greek matters; this will be invaluable since the latest political developments on the Eastern question proved that the wise editors of such excellent newspapers lacked basic information about the Christian nations of the East and therefore are quite unfavourable towards them. The second review finds Trikoupis's history an interesting book written in a smooth language and in a classical style but very subjective. Other articles include *The Eclectic Review's* critique of *Pandora* itself with very favourable words asking for more Greek novels and short stories in its pages,³⁵ and the *Athenaeum's* critique of a collection of works by the Greek poet, translator, and prose writer Christos A. Parmenidis, who lived in Britain. Parmenidis included in this volume his translation of Byron's *Sardanapalus*, a number of poems and a novel *Evgenia*. The reviewer is clearly acquainted with Parmenidis's works, whom he praises for his contribution to the development of literature in his country.³⁶ Before we leave this important sub-category we should mention an article written by Washington Irving describing his visit to Lord Byron's family estate, translated by Parmenidis,³⁷ and another one, translated from the Edinburgh newspaper *The Scotsman*, dealing with the problem of the correct pronunciation of ancient Greek. This article, written by J.S. Blackie, professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh,³⁸ is against the

³⁵ "Κρίσις περί Πανδώρας", *Πανδώρα* 6 (1855-56) issue 143, pp. 611-14; issue 144, pp. 624-5. Dragoumis's reply to the *Eclectic Review's* request for more Greek fiction is that Greek writers have to earn their living, so there is not enough time to devote to the writing of fiction.

³⁶ "Βιβλιογραφία", *Πανδώρα* 16 (1865-66) issue 371, pp. 285-7.

³⁷ Ch.A.P., "Απόσπασμα εκ της περιηγήσεως του Washington Irving εις Newstead Abbey πατρῶων ἐπαυλιν του Λόρδου Βύρωνος", *Πανδώρα* 5 (1854-55) issue 109, pp. 301-5; issue 110, pp. 318-22.

³⁸ "Βασιλικός Σύλλογος εν Εδιμβούργω", *Πανδώρα* 16 (1865-66) issue 363, pp. 59-65. The article was published in *The Scotsman* of 22 March 1865 and was translated in *Pandora* on 1 May of the same year; it is amazing how well informed the Greek scholars of the time were about anything

Erasmian pronunciation that the professors of English universities support and in favour of the Modern Greek pronunciation preferred by Scottish as well as French scholars, as being closer to the development of the language.

I will go through the last three sub-categories very briefly just to give an idea of the areas of English reality they cover. What we called social texts are translated articles of two kinds: some deal with important events of topical interest, such as the London International Exhibition and the construction of the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park,³⁹ or Franklin's last exploration of the North Pole, his disappearance and the subsequent visits of rescue teams for the recovery of his remains.⁴⁰ Others deal with the great social problems of the period, especially those of the huge city of London. These articles refer to the Lunatic Asylum in London,⁴¹ the London Poorhouse,⁴² public executions,⁴³ and so on. Miscellanies that could also be called curiosities include whatever of British origin could sound strange to the Greek reader of the periodical. *Pandora's* readers will learn about:

that concerned Greece. I believe that the translator of the article could easily be Rangavis, who was married to a Scotswoman and had access to the Scottish press.

³⁹ "Η εν Λονδίνω Παγκόσμιος έκθεσις", *Πανδώρα* 2 (1851-52) issue 30, pp. 725-7; there is no mention of whether the article is a translation but it must be one. "Βιογραφία του Κρυσταλλίνου Παλατίου", *Πανδώρα* 3 (1852-53) issue 55, pp. 162-6. This is a free translation of an article by Charles Dickens probably made by Dragoumis, judging by the translator's comments in it which are typical of his style.

⁴⁰ "Περιήγησις Αρκτικός Έκπλους", *Πανδώρα* 3 (1852-53) issue 53, pp. 110-12; D.N. M[avrogordatos] trans., "Νέα Εκστρατεία προς αναζήτησιν του Πλοιάρχου Φραγκλίνου", *Πανδώρα* 9 (1858-59) issue 202, pp. 238-41.

⁴¹ N.D. trans., "Φρενοκομείον Λονδίνου", *Πανδώρα* 2 (1851-52) issue 25, pp. 608-10.

⁴² "Νυκτερινή σκηνή εν Λονδίνω", *Πανδώρα* 17 (1866-67) issue 402, pp. 453-5. This text is something between a travel memoir and a short story describing a night scene outside the Poorhouse near Whitechapel.

⁴³ A.S. Livathinopoulos, "Ατοπος περιέργεια", *Πανδώρα* 16 (1865-66) issue 361, p. 24; the text seems like a free translation of a description of a public execution. The Greek translator severely criticises the British practice of hiring windows with a good view of the scaffolds.

mice bred for use in industry,⁴⁴ ratting as a sport in London,⁴⁵ the betting habit of the British,⁴⁶ unusual duels,⁴⁷ a painter taken to court because of an unsuccessful portrait,⁴⁸ a wife biting her husband,⁴⁹ etc. Finally, statistics include information about British newspapers,⁵⁰ coal mines,⁵¹ railways and trains (a favourite subject of the time),⁵² iron and coal,⁵³ British commerce and ships,⁵⁴ the population and size of London,⁵⁵ the rate of suicides in London,⁵⁶ etc.

After this brief look at the contents of this first, very extensive, category of translated contributions dealing with British matters, one can reach certain conclusions. It is clear that the Greek scholars who contributed to the periodical are not only well acquainted with recent British publications but closely follow the periodical press of Britain and are well informed about all aspects of British life. Why should Greek scholars be so well informed about British reality? The answer must be that in their opinion Britain should be placed at the centre of public interest as the most powerful nation of the time, deciding on the

44 "Βιομηχανία μύων", *Πανδώρα* 1 (1850-51) issue 22, p. 531.

45 "Κυνομομαχία", *Πανδώρα* 2 (1851-52) issue 47, pp. 1131-4.

46 "Στοιχημα Ἀγγλου", *Πανδώρα* 2 (1851-52) issue 36, p. 874.

47 "Καταπότιον δια τους μονομάχους", *Πανδώρα* 2 (1851-52) issue 36, p. 874.

48 "Δίκη περί εικόνας", *Πανδώρα* 10 (1859-60) issue 227, p. 264.

49 "Σύζυγος δάκνουσα", *Πανδώρα* 10 (1859-60) issue 232, p. 359.

50 "Δασπάναι των Αγγλικών εφημερίδων", *Πανδώρα* 2 (1851-52) issue 29, p. 705. Based on a recent book by Knight Hunt. See also "Δημοσιογραφία εν Αγγλία", *Πανδώρα* 19 (1868-69) issue 436, p. 80.

51 Χ. Landerer, "Περί ανορύξεως και χρήσεως των λιθανθράκων εις Ευρώπην", *Πανδώρα* 8 (1857-58) issue 190, p. 524. The article also gives information about the coal that can be found in Greece. "Περί γαιανθράκων", *Πανδώρα* 10 (1859-60) issue 238, pp. 534-5.

52 "Σιδηρόδρομοι", *Πανδώρα* 10 (1859-60) issue 238, p. 534.

53 I. Dekigallas, "Σίδηρος και γαιάνθρακες", *Πανδώρα* 14 (1863-64) issue 330, p. 488.

54 "Πολιτειογραφικά Αγγλίας", *Πανδώρα* 22 (1871-72) issue 522 pp. 431-2.

55 "Πληθυσμός Λονδίνου", *Πανδώρα* 7 (1856-57) issue 154, p. 239. Taken from the *Morning Chronicle*. See also I. Dekigallas, "Λονδίνον", *Πανδώρα* 14 (1863-64) issue 331, p. 511.

56 F.A. M[avrogordatos], "Αυτοχειρία εν Λονδίνω", *Πανδώρα* 19 (1868-69) issue 438, p. 120.

fate of smaller nations, but also as the most developed one. Their choice of articles to translate into Greek mirrors the image of Britain they want to project for their readers: as a model for emulation in matters of political liberties (the translated historical texts, for example, showed the way to constitutional democracy without a Revolution) and of technological advancement (railways, submarine telegraphs, steam-engines in factories, transatlantic steamships). On the other hand, a number of articles ("Robert Emmet" for example) and some comments of the Greek translators in free translations published after the first five years of the periodical's circulation, indicate that although Britain is admired and respected, particularly for its democratic liberties and its development, at the same time it is severely criticised for its inhuman foreign policy, for its imperialistic attitude, its despotism and the disdain it shows to the poor and helpless nations of the world. This attitude, which is not very easy to perceive in this first category we have examined, becomes more evident in the second one, which we will dealing with next: articles written mostly by Greeks and referring to British matters.

Before we come to this second category, it is worth reminding ourselves of the most important political events which took place during the years of *Pandora's* publication (1850-72) and influenced British-Greek relations.

The generation of Greeks who had fought in the War of Independence, and later served the newly founded kingdom in various political positions, knew that they had to adjust to the constantly shifting relations of the Great Powers. The year 1850, which saw the foundation of *Pandora*, found Greece in a strained relationship with Britain. The victory of Kolettis, the leader of the so-called French party, in the 1847 elections and his establishment of a parliamentary dictatorship provoked the fierce opposition of the English minister in Greece, Lyons, who advised Palmerston, the foreign secretary, to take a firm line in Greece. On the occasion of an unfortunate event that took place in Athens involving a British subject, Palmerston took the opportunity to raise certain unsettled British claims against the Greek government and to demand compensation for the victim of the specific event, the Portuguese consul Don Pacifico, a Maltese Jew and British subject, whose property was plundered by the

Athenian crowd in 1847. This affair ended in 1850 with the blockade of the port of Piraeus by the British fleet. Through this gesture Palmerston forced the Greek government to pay £8,000 but he infuriated Europe and humiliated his country by having to accept French mediation. Three years later a more serious political event disturbed British-Greek relations. On 4 October 1853 the Russian-Turkish war broke out due to religious matters involving the protection of the Christian religion in the Ottoman empire. England and France decided to intervene and support the Turks after their defeat at Sinope, declaring war on Russia on 28 March 1854. King Otho had encouraged the formation of Greek bands which had infiltrated Epiros, Thessaly and Macedonia, and was looking for an opportunity to declare war on Turkey. The British and the French would not tolerate Greece declaring war on Turkey in support of the irregular bands and of Russia, so at first they threatened to enforce their financial rights arising from the loans, and then, when they realised that they couldn't stop King Otho, they occupied the port of Piraeus, forcing Otho to declare neutrality. This occupation lasted almost three years until February 1857 and dramatically changed the climate towards Britain. The last important political event which affected British-Greek relations was Prince Alfred's candidacy for the Greek throne after King Otho's departure from Greece in 1862. Prince Alfred, the second son of Queen Victoria, was a very strong candidate for the Greek throne mainly because the Greeks welcomed the possibility of acquiring the Ionian Islands. His rejection of the throne because of Queen Victoria's objections was nevertheless followed by Palmerston's offer of the Ionian Islands providing the choice of a sovereign was satisfactory to England. After the election of Prince William of Denmark as King George I of the Hellenes, the Ionian Islands were ceded to Greece by the treaty of March 1864. These were the most important political events that took place between Greece and Britain in those years and greatly influenced the political climate between the two countries.

This change is evident in the next category we will examine, consisting of articles dealing with British matters written mainly by Greek writers. Here the important sub-categories are two: as one might imagine, political articles are in the majority

and literary articles come second. To these we may add a small number of contributions on political economy and on social matters. Political articles can be divided into those that deal with the domestic politics of Britain and those that deal with its foreign policy towards Greece. Among those that deal with internal policy I will mention the political biography of Robert Peel, published in 1850 on the occasion of his death.⁵⁷ The text is translated from the French by Paparrigopoulos with a short notice explaining that it is a homage to the greatest politician of the time. The article describes how Peel re-constituted a "Conservative" party out of the wreckage of the "Tory" party destroyed by the Reform Bill; and how he surrendered to O'Connell's Catholic League in 1829 and to the Anti-Corn Law League in 1846, risking being overthrown for what he thought best for his country, and in this way saving Britain from a possible 1848 Revolution. Written in the same spirit is a long essay titled "Political life in England", by Alphonse Esquire, dealing with the way elections are conducted in Britain after the 1832 Reform Bill.⁵⁸ The essayist explains the advantages of this Bill as well as its disadvantages praising the English people for their political maturity. The reverse image about elections in Britain is given by a French satirical article written by the French academic De Jouy, who describes the whole enterprise as a parody.⁵⁹ An important introductory note written by the translator, who must be Dragoumis himself, explains that the article is published at the time of the 1859 Greek elections to show his readers that bribery and corruption exist even in Britain, the birthplace of democratic institutions. The significance of this article lies in the fact that it was chosen by Dragoumis himself, the greatest admirer of English democracy. The introductory note mostly refers to his personal

57 "Ροβέρτος Πηλ", *Πανδώρα* 1 (1850-51) issue 8, pp. 178-84.

58 "Ο πολιτικός βίος εν Αγγλία", *Πανδώρα* 18 (1867-68) issue 427, pp. 377-81; issue 432, pp. 474-8; *Πανδώρα* 19 (1868-69) issue 438, pp. 110-14; the article remains unfinished, which is untypical of the periodical. The translation is signed by the letter S., which is how Dragoumis's son Stefanos signed many of his contributions.

59 "Βουλευτικά εκλογαί", *Πανδώρα* 10 (1859-60) issue 228, pp. 284-7; issue 229, pp. 293-5.

disillusionment, a disillusionment that must be closely related to the French-English occupation of Piraeus. Internal British policy is also the subject of an article dealing with the abolition of the advertisement tax imposed on newspapers and periodicals,⁶⁰ and of a number of essays on political economy. The three essays on political economy deal with important developments in that field that have affected the life of the lower classes. Two of them are written by Alexandros A. Soutsos, the University professor of this discipline; one is about pauperism and its antidote – what Soutsos calls "the principle of association". In this long essay John Stuart Mill's theories are examined, as well as the establishment and function of friendly and loan societies in Britain and their beneficial effects.⁶¹ The other essay by Soutsos is concerned with the British origin of co-operative societies, and how they have transformed the life of the lower classes.⁶² The third essay is a translation from the French dealing with the benefits of free trade if used wisely; Britain serves as the successful example of the measure, in contrast to France, which failed to implement it at the right time.⁶³ All those articles dealing with matters of internal policy and with the function of the British state look upon Britain with admiration. They promote the idea that in many respects Britain should serve as an example for imitation to developing countries like Greece.

Nevertheless, the next group of political articles we will examine refers to Britain's foreign policy and sends a different message to the reader. A couple of them deal with British politicians' changing attitude towards Greece from philhellenic (mainly in the years of the Revolution) to antihellenic or rather

⁶⁰ "Κατάργησις του επί των αγγελιών φόρου εν Αγγλία", *Πανδώρα* 4 (1853-54) issue 77, pp. 110-11.

⁶¹ A.A. Soutzos, "Περί της πτωχείας και της αρχής του συνεταιρισμού", *Πανδώρα* 15 (1864-65) issue 350, p. 348ff.; issue 353, p. 424ff.; issue 355, p. 475ff.

⁶² A.A. Soutzos, "Εργατικοί συνεταιρισμοί", *Πανδώρα* 17 (1866-67) issue 383, pp. 90-8.

⁶³ "Περί του προστατευτικού συστήματος και της περί την εμπορίαν ελευθερίας", *Πανδώρα* 20 (1869-70) issue 478, pp. 425-8; issue 480, p. 465ff.

pro-Turkish, from the time of Greek independence. For example, Lord Palmerston's philhellenic policy of the years 1827 to 1829 changes to pro-Turkish when he feels that this best serves the interests of Britain.⁶⁴ So does that of *The Times*, the most influential newspaper in Britain in the period before the election of a new king for Greece and after the election of King George I; the article written to criticise this attitude expresses the writer's disillusionment and bitterness.⁶⁵ The same complaint is expressed about the Duke of Wellington, but also about the foreign policy of Britain towards Greece in general.⁶⁶ The last article I will mention, dealing with Britain's antihellenic policy, is a very long and important essay: Paparrigopoulos's answer to the British Ambassador's speech in Constantinople.⁶⁷ On the occasion of Queen Victoria's birthday on 24 May 1859, Lord Henry Bulwer gave a speech praising Turkey and reassuring it that Britain would help the preservation of the great Turkish Empire. According to him the Turks are the only ones capable of ruling an empire, in contrast to their neighbours, the Greeks, who are only good at governing small states. Paparrigopoulos's refutation of this absurd claim is a very important historical-political essay referring to the whole history of Greece and ridiculing Bulwer's arbitrary conclusions, which were the result of the British pro-Turkish policy of the time. Before I leave this category I should certainly mention a number of articles paying tribute to the

⁶⁴ D. V[ikelas], "Επιστόλιον του Γ. Κάννιγκος", *Πανδώρα* 9 (1958-59) issue 196, pp. 82-3; "Ο Παλμερστών περί Ελλάδος προς τον αδελφόν τού W. Temple", *Πανδώρα* 22 (1871-72) issue 527, pp. 538-46.

⁶⁵ "Και πάλιν περί *Καιρών* (*Times*)", *Πανδώρα* 15 (1864-64) issue 338, pp. 45-6.

⁶⁶ "Δουξ Ουελλιγκτών", *Πανδώρα* 4 (153-54) issue 94, pp. 593-7. Edgar Quinet, "Διάφορα – Κρίσεις περί Ελλάδος", *Πανδώρα* 13 (1852-53) issue 306, p. 463.

⁶⁷ "Λόγος του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει πρέσβεως της Αγγλίας Σιρ Ερρίκου Βούλουερ, υπό την ιστορικήν έποψιν εξεταζόμενος", *Πανδώρα* 10 (1859-60) issue 227, pp. 241-51; issue 228, pp. 265-74. On the importance of this essay see K.Th. Dimaras, *Κ. Παπαρρηγόπουλος* (Athens : M.I.E.T. 1986), pp. 204-5.

British philhellenes, people like Lord Guilford,⁶⁸ Hastings⁶⁹ and of course Lord Byron.⁷⁰ Finally there is a number of articles dealing with current political events, like Prince Alfred's refusal to reign over Greece or the cession of the Ionian Islands⁷¹ and the treaty signed between the United Kingdom and Greece in 1864.⁷² In the light of those articles the suspicion that Britain must have played an important role in the political and cultural line of the periodical becomes a certainty. Britain is both admired and despised by the contributors: admired for its development in matters of home policy, technology and culture and despised for its foreign policy towards the young Greek kingdom. The fact that the contributors have the maturity to distinguish between the different faces that this powerful country presents and to comment favourably on some and criticise others is notable.

I will end my examination of this second category with a brief look at texts written by Greeks and dealing with British literary life, which will then lead us to translated short stories, novels and poems from the English. As one might expect, the main articles in this category are biographies and book-reviews. The biographies worth mentioning are those of Macaulay,⁷³ Milton,⁷⁴ William Martin Leake⁷⁵ and Dickens.⁷⁶ There is also

⁶⁸ "Σατωβριάνδος και Λόρδος Γυιλφόρδος", *Πανδώρα* 4 (1853-54) issue 83, pp. 279-80. See also "Λόρδος Γυιλφόρδ", *Πανδώρα* 6 (1855-56) issue 138, pp. 479-80.

⁶⁹ "Ο πλοίαρχος Άστιγξ", *Πανδώρα* 5 (1854-55) issue 101, pp. 104-5.

⁷⁰ One could devote a whole unit to Byron's presence in *Pandora*. There are hundreds of references to his name and works; one can find articles dealing with his life, translations of his poetry, anecdotes of his life etc.

⁷¹ "Εφημερίδες 1 Ιανουαρίου 1863", *Πανδώρα* 13 (1862-63) issue 306, pp. 487-8; issue 308 p. 510.

⁷² "Εφημερίδες Απριλίου 1, 1864", *Πανδώρα* 15 (1864-65) issue 337, pp. 20-3; "Εφημερίδες Απριλίου 12, 1864", issue 338, pp. 46-7.

⁷³ K.P., "Θωμάς Βαβηγκτών Μακωλαίης", *Πανδώρα* 1 (1850-51) issue 4, pp. 82-3.

⁷⁴ "Ολίγα τινά περί Μίλτωνος", *Πανδώρα* 5 (1854-55) issue 119, pp. 552-4.

⁷⁵ "Ο συνταγματάρχης Λήκιος", *Πανδώρα* 6 (1860-61) issue 259, pp. 445-7.

⁷⁶ "Κάρολος Δίκενς", *Πανδώρα* 5 (1854-55) issue 117, pp. 489-90; D. N. Botasis, *Πανδώρα* 21 (1870-71) issue 489, pp. 203-6.

an article on Sir Walter Scott's meeting with Fenimore Cooper,⁷⁷ and a number of book-reviews on recent publications, such as Stefanos Xenos's book about the international exhibition in London, an historical book by William Roscoe, and Byron's tragedy *Sardanapalus* translated by Parmenidis. The number of texts dealing with British literature, in comparison to the other categories we have examined, is rather limited. This impression doesn't change when one examines the third category of material related to Britain: that of translated literary works.

The amount of translated fiction from English in the twenty-two volumes of *Pandora* is considerable, even though most of it is not first-rate. The criterion for a work to be translated is definitely not its high quality, but rather its brevity. The works chosen are intended for pleasant reading; they are not generally extracted from prominent writers, although Dragoumis is well acquainted with the major fiction of the time. Consequently, the majority of English fiction published in *Pandora* does not even mention the name of the writer but simply bears the notice "from the English". Out of 159 translated works of fiction that are included in the volumes of *Pandora* only 34 are translated from the English language; the rest are mostly from the French with a few exceptions: six from the Italian, two from the German, one each from Russian, Spanish and Danish.⁷⁸ Most translated fiction is of undisclosed authorship and simply labelled "from the French" or "a Russian story". Among the 34 English works translated, seven are by Charles Dickens and one by Bulwer-Lytton.⁷⁹ The Dickens translations are very important: they

⁷⁷ N.D., "Ο Φ. Κούπερος και ο Ουαλτερσκοτώς", *Πανδώρα* 1 (1850-51) issue 6, pp. 138-9.

⁷⁸ All information is taken from my checklist of translated fiction in *Pandora*, which will be published soon.

⁷⁹ The following are taken from Dickens: "Αίγυπτος: Κάιρον" and "Ο οίκος της Βαθενδάλης", *Πανδώρα* 3 (1852-53) issue 62, pp. 327-30; issue 63, pp. 337-45; "Οδοιπόρος", *Πανδώρα* 4 (1853-54) issue 83, pp. 268-70; "Οι Άγγλοι εν Ινδία", *Πανδώρα* 9 (1858-59) issue 199, pp. 167-71; "Δύο αδελφαί", *Πανδώρα* 17 (1866-67) issue 401, pp. 418-24; issue 402, pp. 445-50 "Ωράτιος Σπάρκνης" and "Μις Χόλιγκφορθ", *Πανδώρα* 20 (1859-60) issue 457, pp. 3-10 and issue 460, pp. 65-71; issue 462, pp. 105-9; issue 464, pp. 152-7; issue 467, pp. 220-4; issue 471, pp. 289-96; issue 476, pp. 385-92; issue 477, pp. 416-22; issue 479, pp. 457-9.

seem to be introducing him to the Greek reading public. The rest of the works are translated without any indication of author probably because the author was unknown even to the translators, who had taken them from foreign literary magazines where they were published anonymously. In addition to those translations, two well known novels were published in the literary supplement of the periodical: Bulwer-Lytton's *Rienzi*, translated by Dragoumis himself in 1850-51, and Sir Walter Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor*, translated by Dragoumis's young daughter Zoe under the pseudonym "Vion" in 1865-66. British poetry is also present in the periodical, although *Pandora* does not devote so many pages to poetical works. The poets translated are Charles Swain, Oliver Goldsmith, W. L. Bowles and, of course, Lord Byron. The most important contributor of translated British poetry is Christos A. Parmenidis, who lived in Manchester. If one compares the presence of Britain in *Pandora* in the first two categories we have already examined with this third category of literature, it is clear that the emphasis is on the first two. Translated poetry and fiction in the periodical attempt to cover the entertainment part of its double aim of "useful knowledge and entertainment". Consequently, although the editor and the contributors are well acquainted with serious literature of their time they make no particular effort to include it in *Pandora's* pages. Nevertheless, as we have seen, some of the most famous names of British letters are represented.

We will end our examination of the image of Britain as it is mirrored in the pages of *Pandora* with our last category: short stories and travel-writing by Greek writers. The number of short stories with British protagonists dealing with various aspects of British reality in the first four volumes of the periodical is impressive. Out of the twenty-three Greek fictional works published between 1850 and 1854, nine are in some way related to Britain. All nine works were written by two of *Pandora's* founders: five by the father of the Greek short story Rangavis,⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Their titles are: "Καλμίνια", "Όδοιπορικοί αναμνήσεις", "Η ευδαίμων οικογένεια", "Η Αμαζών" and "Ο καμινάπτης".

and four by Dragoumis.⁸¹ I believe that the choice of British protagonists, which has often been negatively commented on by Greek critics, is no coincidence. On the contrary, their presence is strongly related to the spirit of admiration towards Britain that characterises the periodical, especially in the first years of its publication before the change in attitude towards Britain after the 1854 occupation of Piraeus. Rangavis and Dragoumis shared an admiration for Britain as the most developed country of their time; they both knew English and followed the British press closely; they also visited Britain regularly, especially Rangavis, who was married to a Scotswoman and spent his summers in Scotland. In the first years of *Pandora's* publication it seems that Rangavis and Dragoumis themselves strove to supply the Greek fiction promised to their readers, which they tried to adjust to the aims of the periodical. The prerequisites for this fiction were to combine useful knowledge and entertainment while, at the same time, being embellished by illustrations. How could they achieve such an objective? The procedure was simple: they would either get inspiration from the etchings send to them from abroad and combine this inspiration with a useful piece of information that they had read recently in one of the foreign newspapers, or they would simply describe an impressive event they had come across in their travels. Rangavis writes his short story "Calmina" to describe the explosion of a steamship-engine inspired by an etching of an erupting steamer bearing the name *Elberfeld*, a name that he borrows for his protagonist.⁸²

It is interesting to examine the close relationship of those short stories with the press of the time. In every story the writers combine more than one important event from current news, a fact which suggests one reason for the stories' appeal to their readers, an appeal which seems hard to explain by today's standards. In his short story "Travel memoirs"⁸³ Rangavis explains his goal clearly; he will give his readers a lesson, teaching them about the latest technological developments in

81 They are: "Υπακοή και μεταμέλεια", "Τι έστιν ελευθερία", "Απροσδόκητος λύσις", and "Διάπλους ουραγουτάγκου από Βορνέου εις Λονδίνον".

82 A.R. Rangavis, "Καλαμίνα", *Πανδώρα* 1 (1850-51) issue 5, pp. 97-106.

83 "Οδοπορικαί αναμνήσεις", *Πανδώρα* 1 (1850-51) issue 18, pp. 428-36; issue 19, pp. 446-56.

Britain (such as the railway and the use of the telegraph), and mixing those elements with a love story. All this in a form of a narrative told by a traveller to his female friends who want to know all about his recent trip to Britain. Dragoumis's four short stories that deal with British reality also serve a didactic and, at the same time, entertainment purpose. In one of them Dragoumis describes the British habit of having the eldest son inherit the family land and how that affects high society marriages. In another, a political-philosophical story, he expresses his thoughts about democracy in the civilised world, including Britain. All four express the writer's desire to include Britain in the narrative. Dragoumis openly confesses his respect for Britain in his "Memoirs of a traveller" and especially in a text about his visit to London, Manchester and Liverpool in 1858. He explains that he admires Britain because there is no comparison in the way democratic institutions operate there and in the way they operate in France or Greece. The difference, he concludes, lies in the mentality of the people. In the same text he gives a representative picture of the development of the country describing its industry, factories, printing-houses, docks, as well as the most important sights of London like the British Museum, its parks and squares, the Crystal Palace, the Kensington Museum, the National Gallery and so on.⁸⁴ What is made clear here once more is the editors' desire to inform their readers about the latest developments in Britain through entertaining texts, to instruct through pleasure, at the same time sending a political message that Britain should serve as the example for emulation in matters of democracy.

The four categories discussed in this article give only a representative idea of the material referring to Britain contained in the twenty-two volumes of *Pandora*. Nevertheless, the material demonstrates the extent to which the periodical had a distinct identity. *Pandora* was very much part of its time and included all sorts of information from a variety of foreign periodicals and books, with hundreds of references to the latest developments in politics, science and literature related to Britain. The texts I have examined, excluding fiction, totalled

⁸⁴ "Αποδημητού αναμνήσεις", *Πανδώρα* 10 (1859-60) issue 218, pp. 38-43; issue 219, pp. 64-9.

around 2,500 pages; the prevailing ideas were two: on the one hand, Britain deserves the attention of the Greek reading public as the leading nation of the time, the most advanced in the way democracy operates as well as in technological and cultural developments. On the other hand, Britain, in its quest for power and through its promotion of the idea of international stability, may exercise its foreign policy to suppress weaker nations like the Greeks, and do so under various pretexts. These two contradicting tendencies are aptly expressed by Dragoumis himself in the following two extracts, with which I conclude. In a book-review praising the new edition of an English-Greek dictionary Dragoumis explains why it is important for the Greeks to learn English. Among other things he writes: "Britain is the ruler of the sea and the treasury of commerce; it sets the best example for political liberties which Greece is trying hard to follow; it is ahead of the entire human race in every invention and every sort of progress; its literature hides a treasure no smaller than any other literature."⁸⁵ In a later book-review, however, he employs an allegory to give the other face of the relationship: "I am not against the combat of uneven forces, but I detest deceitful enemies. I honour the tiger attacking its victim without hiding; I detest the wolf looking for an excuse to devour the lamb."⁸⁶

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⁸⁵ "Βιβλιογραφία", *Πανδώρα* 5 (1854-55) issue 115, p. 431.

⁸⁶ "Βιβλιογραφία", *Πανδώρα* 12 (1861-62) issue 280, p. 379.