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# James Joyce's Portrait in London's Greek Newspaper *Hē Hesperia* (1916–20)

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## ABSTRACT

This article will explore the cultural and political networks of influence that underpinned the presentation of James Joyce's work in the London-based Greek weekly illustrated newspaper *Hē Hesperia* [The Hesperia] (1916–20). While Joyce lived in Zurich, he developed connections with Switzerland's Greek community. Among his friends was Pavlos Phocās, who tutored Joyce in Modern Greek and endeavoured to promote his work to Greek audiences. From Zurich, Phocās sent for publication an appraisal of Joyce's work to *Hesperia* in London. It appeared on 29 June 1917 and offered a highly positive presentation of Joyce's work to the weekly's wide-ranging readerships. It referred to the critical reception of *Dubliners*, *Chamber Music*, and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Furthermore, it announced Joyce's new project and his engagement with the Homeric epics. *Hesperia* was read both by Greek audiences in Britain and in Europe, and by philhellenic Irish and British politicians in London and beyond; my article argues that Joyce's presentation in this political and cultural weekly publication was significant for the construction of his reception and reputation. My article will thus explore the many-faceted aspects of the publication background of the appraisal of Joyce in *Hesperia* and its significant impact on Joyce's writing of *Ulysses* and career.

## KEYWORDS

James Joyce, Greece, *Hē Hesperia*, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, *Ulysses*, London, Zurich

On 29 June 1917, London's solely Greek-language weekly illustrated newspaper *Hē Hesperia* [The Hesperia] (1916–20) published an appraisal of James Joyce's work and a recommendation of his novel *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*.<sup>1</sup> It was written by Pavlos Phocās, Joyce's friend and Modern Greek tutor during his residence in Zurich (1915–19). *Hesperia* is important for Joyce's reputation and career as it was a respected and successful publication. *Hesperia* operated as the organ of Greece's Liberal Party in Britain and promoted the policies of its leader Eleftherios Venizelos.<sup>2</sup> The newspaper was widely read by the Greek community in Britain — one of the country's wealthiest communities, as Greek bourgeoisie and professionals were involved in the mercantile, banking, and shipping industries.<sup>3</sup> The most prominent Greek ship-owning family was the House of Ralli Brothers, which also had shipping activities in Trieste where Joyce had lived between 1904 and 1915.<sup>4</sup> As John McCourt explains, 'the Rallis unified an empire that spread from Trieste beyond Austria, beyond the Mediterranean to England, France, and east to Turkey, Persia, Rumania and the East Indies'.<sup>5</sup> Joyce had been friends with Baron Ambrosio Ralli, and after the outbreak of World War One, Ralli helped Joyce escape from Trieste to Zurich.<sup>6</sup> In Britain, members of the Ralli family alongside other prominent Greeks were also active in British politics, either as members of political parties or indirectly, through networks developed in clubs, societies, and other organisations, some of which lobbied British politicians about Greek national issues. For instance, Greece's ambassador in London, close associate of Venizelos and reader of *Hesperia*, Joannes Gennadius, had contributed the introduction to *Hellenism in England* (1915), a study on Greece's important contributions to the British Isles — including the introduction of Christianity in Britain and the 'Greek Christianisation of Ireland' — which was reviewed by wide-ranging publications.<sup>7</sup> In addition, *Hesperia* was read by philhellenic Irish and British politicians, and other prominent figures. Finally, *Hesperia* had an international circulation ranging from the USA to Greece, France, and Switzerland. To all those readers, in 1917, *Hesperia* recommended Joyce's published work, *Dubliners*, *Chamber Music*, and *A Portrait*, and announced his forthcoming book based on Homer's epics. The cultural and geopolitical significance of *Hesperia* has, however, been overlooked by scholarship on both periodicals and Joyce. My article will explore the publication background of Joyce's portrait in *Hesperia* and how crucial it was for the reception of his works. It will explore Joyce's political alertness to Irish and Greek politics and highlight how, despite his engagement with the writing of *Ulysses*, his interaction with Swiss-Greek and British-Greek networks of influence and publications were far from incidental.

- 1 P. F. P. (Pavlos Phocās), 'Grāmματα apo tēn Elvetian' ['Letters from Switzerland'], *Hē Hesperia* (29 June 1917), 410. All translations from *Hesperia* and other solely Greek sources in this article are mine.
- 2 Georgia Kouta, 'The London Greek Diaspora and National Politics: The Anglo-Hellenic League and the Idea of Greece, 1913–1919' (unpublished doctoral thesis, King's College, University of London, 2018), 38 [accessed 12 October 2024]. Venizelos headed intermittently Greek governments from 1910 to 1933 including the period August 1915 to October 1915 and June 1917 to November 1920 that is of great interest for this article on Joyce and *Hesperia*. See (Slobodan G. Markovich, 'Eleftherios Venizelos, British Public Opinion and the Climax of Anglo-Hellenism (1915–1920)', *Balkanica*, 49 (2018), 125–55 (126).
- 3 Kouta, 38.
- 4 Kouta, 37, 82. On the Ralli enterprises see Alexander Billinis, 'The Greek Merchant Marine: A Unique Combination of Nautical Skill and Commercial Savvy' (unpublished master's thesis, Clemson University, 2022), 63 [accessed 12 October 2024].
- 5 John McCourt, *The Years of Bloom: James Joyce in Trieste, 1904–1920* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2000), 58.
- 6 See Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 184, 255, 386, 518.
- 7 'England's Debt to Greece', *Liverpool Daily Post* (30 October 1916), 4. Joannes Gennadius, 'Introduction', in Theodore E. Dowling and Edwin W. Fletcher, *Hellenism in England: A Short History of the Greek People in this Country from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London: Faith Press, 1915), 19–57 (26).

## *Hesperia's* History

*Hesperia* was launched in January 1916 by the Greek physician Dr Constantine Pouptis and remained in publication until 1920. The paper's full title was *Hē Hesperia: Evdomadiaia Ephimeris en Londinō* [The *Hesperia*: Weekly Newspaper in London] and the fee for subscription was 16 shillings (20 francs) per year; for the USA, it was 4 dollars per year while each issue cost three pennies in the UK and seven cents in the USA.<sup>8</sup>

The office of *Hesperia* was at 62 Oxford Street, London. Initially, issues were available at the bookshop of the Café Royal, Regent Street, a luxurious hotel whose restaurant had been frequented by political and cultural elites since the 1890s.<sup>9</sup> The choice of this location demonstrates that the editor of *Hesperia* aimed to engage privileged audiences with Greece's political problems. Later, *Hesperia* expanded its circulation, and was available at more central locations such as the highly popular Café Monico, Piccadilly Circus, and the 'English Bookshop' in the City at 114 Leadenhall Street.<sup>10</sup> This bookshop may have been run by Henry Glover of 114 Leadenhall Street, to whom Joyce had written from Trieste in 1913, to enquire about a translation of Ibsen's letters by W. Archer and to order 'the Bible of atheism', *Siren Voices* by Jens Peter Jacobson (1896).<sup>11</sup> Such publications suggest a bookshop specializing in European authors and well-informed customers, again an audience suitable for the Greek illustrated newspaper.

In Greece, *Hesperia* was advertised in Venizelist newspapers like the Athenian *Astir*. In a promotional notice in *Astir* from October 1916, we read that *Hesperia* had a circulation of 50,000 issues and around 300,000 readers. In Greece, according to *Astir*, it was sold in 'all kiosks and major bookshops' and it was 'the pleasure of every Greek' thanks to its content: illustrations, 'articles by the greatest Greek prose writers' and experts on scientific and cultural issues, and current affairs, all of which made it the 'most educational, most serious and cheapest among all the illustrated luxury magazines'.<sup>12</sup> The use of such superlatives regarding a Greek weekly newspaper published in London, the centre of the British Empire, would definitely have excited curiosity among readerships in Greece. Equally successful was *Hesperia's* promotion in the USA, where it collaborated with the New York-based Greek monthly illustrated journal *Ethnikos Kērux* [National Herald] for subscription purposes.<sup>13</sup>

Throughout its history, *Hesperia* was a successful and trustworthy publication with devoted readerships to whom it offered the possibility to order gold-bound volumes of each year's issues.<sup>14</sup> Featuring high quality photos and covering British and Greek current affairs, it included articles about military and political events in Greece, along with news of the Greek community in Britain. *Hesperia's* correspondents informed readers about the achievements of Greeks that were fighting in the British army or working as administrators or entrepreneurs in the British Empire. It frequently included reports

8 'Hē Hesperia', *Hesperia* (8/21 April 1916), 256. During 1916, *Hesperia* provided both the Gregorian and Julian calendar dates. I will be including both dates as provided on each issue's front cover.

9 'London Legend', *Café Royal Times* (2019), 1 [accessed 28 November 2024].

10 See notices in *Hesperia* (8/21 April 1916), 256 and in *Hesperia* (15 June 1917), 384. On both Café Royal and Café Monico see W. M. T., 'Some West-End Cafés', *Pick-Me-Up*, 118.5 (1891), 234–35.

11 Luke Batterham, 'James Joyce to Henry Glover of 114 Leadenhall Street, 30 June 1913, Lot 101' and 'Footnotes', in Auction 18992, Books, Maps, Manuscripts and Historical Photographs, including the Property of the late Michael Silverman, 22 November 2011, London, Bonhams [accessed 20 October 2024].

12 'Hesperia Londinou' ['Hesperia of London'], *Astir: Kathimerinē Prōenē Ephimeris Phileleftherōn Archōn* [*Star: Daily Morning Newspaper of Liberal Principles*] (9 October 1916), 2.

13 'Thēlosis' ['Announcement'] and 'Eikonogr: Ethnikos Kērux' ['Illustrated National Herald'], *Hesperia* (14/27 October 1916), 681.

14 'Thēlosis' ['Announcement'], *Hesperia* (9 February 1917), 95.

on Greek communities in other countries and to some extent *Hesperia* functioned as an outlet through which Greeks in the UK and abroad could network.<sup>15</sup>

A large part of each issue was devoted to cultural matters, including reviews of concerts and books, short stories, and serialized Greek and foreign literary works in Greek translation. Among these features were a presentation on the French composer Claude Debussy, Oscar Wilde's story 'The Sphinx without a Secret', Edgar Allan Poe's story 'The Man of the Crowd', and the Irish myth of Cuchulain.<sup>16</sup> This type of content would attract *Hesperia's* educated readerships. By 1919, the newspaper changed its status and was registered as 'Hesperia Newspaper Co., Ltd. [...] with a capital of £15,790, in 15,000 preference shares of £1 each and 15,000 ordinary shares of 1s each, to carry on the business of newspaper proprietors, printers and publishers, etc. [...] The subscribers [were] Dr C. Pouptis and A. E. Lees, Private Company.'<sup>17</sup> Hesperia Press was established, and during 1919–20, it was involved in the printing, publishing, and selling of books, especially books on Greek political history. This expansion in scope and activities was even advertised through the letterhead of *Hesperia's* stationery from 1920.<sup>18</sup> That year, Hesperia Press undertook the printing of the newspaper; however, *Hesperia* ceased publication at the end of 1920.

### *Hesperia's* Politics

*Hesperia* owed much of its success to its editor, Dr Pouptis M.D. His biographical entry in *Who's Who* of 1922 demonstrates his notable presence in Britain's public sphere. According to *Who's Who*, Pouptis was born in 1876, in Castoria, Greek Macedonia, and studied medicine in Athens. After moving to London, he became involved in political journalism, publishing articles discussing the problems in the Near East in the *Daily Chronicle* and in the *Morning Post*. To lobby for Greece's rights, he founded the *Hellenic Herald*, 'a monthly political and literary review' published in English between 1906 and 1912.<sup>19</sup> He became a war correspondent for the *Daily Chronicle* in 1912, during the first Balkan War when Greece victoriously expanded its territory to the north. Further to his journalism, Pouptis promoted the interests of the Greek government in London, receiving payments for his services from the Greek Embassy.<sup>20</sup> As correspondence from Pouptis to Greece's Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos testifies, after the First Balkan War ended in 1913 Pouptis recommended the foundation of the Anglo-Hellenic League, whose mission, given the positive disposition of the English press towards Greece, would be to inform the British public about the rights of that country.<sup>21</sup>

The Anglo-Hellenic League itself was established in 1913 by William Pember Reeves, Director of the London School of Economics, Professor Gilbert Murray,

15 See adverts in *Hesperia* (31 October 1919), 704.

16 Petros I. Petridis ('Toū en Parisiois taktikōū synergātou tēs 'Hesperias' ['By *Hesperia's* regular correspondent in Paris']), 'Claude Debussy', *Hesperia* (30 March 1917), 207–08. Oscar Wilde, 'Hē Sphinx choris mēstikō' ['The Sphinx without a Secret'], trans. by E. G., *Hesperia* (9 March 1917), 158–60. Edgar Poe, 'O Anthrosos toū Ochlou' ['The Man of the Crowd'], trans. by E. G., *Hesperia* (22 June 1917), 398. 'Irlandikē Mythologia. Cuchulain: O Prōmachos tēs Irlandias' ['Irish Mythology. Cuchulain: The Champion of Ireland'], trans. by Eleni Geo., *Hesperia* (15 June 1917), 382–84.

17 'New Companies', British and Colonial Printer and Stationer, 27 November 1919, 533, 85.22 (27 November 1919), 533.

18 S. X. Terezopoulos to Joannes Gennadius, April 1920 (letter enclosed in Joannes Gennadius's copy of *Hesperia*). Athens, Gennadius Library, Call Number P96, Newspapers and Periodicals, Gennadeion Collection.

19 'Pouptis, Constantine', *Who's Who 1922: An Annual Biographical Dictionary With Which is Incorporated Men and Women of the Time*, vol. 74 (London: A. & C. Black Limited, 1922), 2178.

20 Kouta, n262 75, n871 247.

21 Constantine Pouptis to Eleftherios Venizelos, 8 May 1913. Digital Archive of Eleftherios Venizelos, National Research Foundation, Eleftherios K. Venizelos, Chania [accessed 20 October 2024].

University of Oxford, Professor Ronald Burrows — philhellene, Christian socialist, and Principal of King's College, University of London (1913–20) — Mr Alexander Ralli, a member of the House of Ralli who was active in London's Anglo-Hellenic community, and others.<sup>22</sup> Reeves became the League's first president. The first issue of *Hesperia*, dated 7 January 1916, included a letter from him, highlighting the significance of the newspaper's establishment in London for English–Greek relations. Reeves noted that 'einai anagki nā diamorfōthē ē koinē aftē gnome' ['the shaping of this public opinion is necessary'] and that there was a need for a newspaper that would be 'parehousa pyritida kai sferas eis tous epithymoūntas nā polemēsoun me gegonota kai epiheirēmata yper tēs Ellādos' ['providing the gunpowder and the bullets to those wishing to fight with events and arguments on behalf of Greece'].<sup>23</sup> Undoubtedly, they wished a 'Venizelist Greece'.<sup>24</sup>

Like the Anglo-Hellenic League, *Hesperia* was devoted to the promotion of Venizelos's vision. He was popular because he was determined to materialize the *Meghali Idea* (Great Idea) and the liberation of areas that had historically been Greek, but which had been occupied by the Ottomans since 1451, following the downfall of the Byzantine Empire. Although the Greek Revolution of 1821 led to the foundation of a small Greek state in 1831 under the protection of European powers, Greece's aim was to reconquer further territories. Venizelos had wished for Greece's involvement in the Great War because the Entente powers had already promised him several territories. As the first issue of *Hesperia* stated, Venizelos hoped that after the end of the war the winning side would allow Greece to reconquer Thrace, Cyprus, and the shores of Asia Minor.<sup>25</sup>

At this point, it should be clarified that between 1915 and 1917, Greece was an epicentre of geopolitical tensions. When in September 1915 the Greek government and the Greek King invited the French and British armies to Thessaloniki, there was a major political crisis.<sup>26</sup> A new Prime Minister took over from Venizelos and subsequently a pro-German royalist government came into power. In September 1916, discontented with the government, Greek army officers declared their support for the Ententophile Venizelos and formed the National Defence. The outbreak of the Greek Revolution was widely covered in the international press.<sup>27</sup>

The geopolitical developments described here form the background to an extract in Modern Greek that Joyce probably copied from a Greek newspaper in one of his notebooks, which he used predominantly while learning the language in Zurich. The article is titled 'To prōton sōma tēs amynes eis to metōpon tou polemou' ['The First Corps of the (National) Defence into the War Front'].<sup>28</sup> For learning material, therefore, Joyce and Phocās used a source dealing with how a section of Greek soldiers from the National Defence would march to the warfront to join the Entente forces, an event

22 Kouta, 57.

23 William Pember-Reeves, 'Grāmματα Philhellēnōn' ['Letters by Philhellenes'], *Hesperia* (25 December 1915/7 January 1916), 3.

24 Richard Clogg, *Politics and the Academy: Arnold Toynbee and the Koraes Chair* (London: Cass in Association with The Centre of Contemporary Greek Studies, King's College London, 1986), 2. See also Kouta, 91 and Markovich, 129–32.

25 'Hē Politikē tou Venizelou' ['Venizelos's Policy'], *Hesperia* (25 December 1915/7 January 1916), 5–7 (6).

26 See Polychrones K. Enepekides, *Hē Doxa kai o Dichasmos: Apo Ta Mustikā Archeia Viennēs, Verolinou kai Vernēs, 1908–1918* [*The Glory and the Division: From the Secret Archives of Vienna, Berlin and Bern, 1908–1918*], 2nd edn (Athens: Zacharopoulos, 1992), 439.

27 See 'Revolution in Crete: Greek Disruptions. M. Venizelos leaves Athens', *Daily News and Leader* (26 September 1916), front page.

28 James Joyce, 'Buffalo VIII.A.4–23', *Notes, Criticism, Translations and Miscellaneous Writings: A Facsimile of Manuscripts and Typescripts. The James Joyce Archive*, ed. by Walter Gabler and Michael Groden, 2 vols (New York: Garland Publishing, 1979), ii, 325.

widely covered in the international press which followed closely the Greek revolution led by Venizelos and the National Defence.<sup>29</sup>

Venizelos's Provisional government was not immediately recognized by the Entente powers, however. Its recognition was the focus of campaigns run by Greek communities in England, France, and Switzerland (among other countries). In London, and thanks to Greek lobbying, prominent public figures, including women's suffrage leader Emmeline Pankhurst, spoke on behalf of Greece and Hellenism at public events in October 1916.<sup>30</sup> Similar requests were made in Parliament by MPs from across the political spectrum, who enquired when Britain's government would stop working with the government of the Germanophile Greek King Constantine.<sup>31</sup> My exploration of the Hansard Reports has revealed how incisively Irish nationalist MPs had repeatedly requested the recognition of Venizelos's national government and army.<sup>32</sup> Additionally, on 4 December 1916, MPs complained about disastrous battles in the streets of Athens, between pro-German Greek royalist and Anglo-French forces. The reluctance of Britain's government to offer information to the House of Commons was fiercely criticized by John Dillon, deputy leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party and MP for East Mayo: 'I thank God the Irish Party are absolutely clear of all responsibility for this transaction by which this Mother of Parliaments, having been muzzled, is kept in ignorance and treated with contempt.'<sup>33</sup>

Irish MPs followed events in Greece closely as the Entente governments achieved the abdication of King Constantine on 12 June 1917. Constantine withdrew to Switzerland and his son Alexander became the new Greek King. Venizelos was restored as the elected Prime Minister and Greece entered the war. On 28 June 1917, just a day before the presentation of Joyce in *Hesperia*, Arthur Alfred Lynch, MP for West Clare and from an Irish Republican Brotherhood background, asked in Parliament a question regarding the way the Entente had intervened in the constitutional affairs of Greece.<sup>34</sup> Specifically, Lynch referred to a prior statement by Venizelos who had explained that 'though a large section of the Greek people wanted a republic, the monarchy was continued in order to gratify the wishes of the Powers'.<sup>35</sup> Similarly, Lynch requested a clarification regarding the background of the decision to name as a new Greek King a relative of Germany's Kaiser. Lynch's questions relate to the fact that Venizelos had been perceived as antimonarchist. Because of this, the Entente Powers had been reluctant to support his government and had intervened in Greece's constitutional affairs to protect the institution of the monarchy. Arguably, the fervent support of Irish nationalists for Greece could relate to analogous developments in Ireland: the Irish Parliamentary Party had campaigned for constitutional reconfigurations for Ireland, and diplomatic processes relevant to this had taken place prior to the outbreak of World War One. Although the conflict interrupted these processes, there was the suggestion that, if Ireland supported

29 See Reuter's Telegram, 'Battalion Leaves for Front', *Freeman's Journal* (23 September 1916), 5.

30 'Ai Agglides kai o Agōn mas' ['Englishwomen and our Struggle'], *Hesperia* (7/20 October 1916), 666.

31 'Neai Eperōtēseis' ['New Questions'], *Hesperia* (28/10 November 1916), front page. See 'Venizelos Government', Hansard, 7 November 1916, vol. 87, cc7–8 [accessed 20 October 2024].

32 Lynch, Dillon, and Lord R. Cecil, Hansard, 30 November 1916, vol. 88 [accessed 20 October 2024].

33 Lynch, Dillon, Griffith on Greece, Hansard, 4 December 1916, vol. 88 [accessed 20 October 2024].

34 According to James McConnel, Lynch was a supporter of Charles Stewart Parnell (a previous leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party) and played a key role in the Irish Republican Brotherhood during the 1890s. Lynch was politically active and was 'president of the London Amnesty Association in the 1890s, was an associate of leading members of Clan na Gael and fought on the side of the Boers during the South African War, as commander of the Second Irish Brigade'. James Richard Redmond McConnel, 'The View from the Backbench: Irish Nationalist MPs and their Work, 1910–1914' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham, 2002), 17 [accessed 3 December 2023].

35 Lynch, Balfour on King Alexander, Hansard, 28 June 1917, vol. 95 [accessed 20 October 2024].

Britain, then Home Rule would be granted after the war ended.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, Greece entered the war after having received promises for territorial expansion from the Entente Powers. Indeed, such similarities had been highlighted in a letter to London's *Times* newspaper by the elderly English and 'partly-Irish by descent' politician and 'veteran of Irish national hopes' Frederick Harrison: 'At this crisis the condition of Ireland is curiously like that of Greece. It is held in military occupation by British forces [...]. Each of these small nations is in a state of cryptic civil war'; thus, he suggested the establishment in Ireland of an 'executive triumvirate [...] to deal with strictly national interests' while he acknowledged that 'the "settlement of Ireland" must wait till the German horror has been lifted off the civilization of Europe'.<sup>37</sup>

### Joyce's Portrait in Hesperia

The timing of the presentation of Joyce's work in *Hesperia* was of great significance, as it was published in the issue dated 29 June 1917, in the aftermath of King Constantine's abdication.<sup>38</sup> The cover page of that issue announced that Venizelos had been restored as Prime Minister and Greece would fight on the side of the Entente. Venizelos believed that these powers would be victorious, and that Greece's reward would be territorial expansion. This expansion would be possible thanks to the Sykes–Picot Agreement of May 1916, which aimed to dismantle the Ottoman Empire. Undoubtedly, that issue would have attracted the attention of numerous readers, eager to read about the King's abdication and the role Venizelos as Prime Minister would play after Greece officially entered the war. The presentation of Joyce's work by Phocās was thus included in a major issue of *Hesperia*, a factor that would have offered Joyce's work great publicity.

Even the layout of the page on which Phocās's piece appeared would have attracted readers' attention. On the top left-hand side, there was a photo of Miss Olwen Lloyd George, the newly married daughter of Britain's Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, with her husband, Captain Carey Evans. After glancing at its caption, the reader would then discover a new section titled 'Correspondence from Zurich' followed by the detail that this was sent 'From a special correspondent'. The place and date were 'Zurich, 19 June 1917'. Reports from Switzerland were frequent in *Hesperia* because the large Greek communities in Geneva, Lausanne, and Zurich were active politically — especially after the ex-King's relocation to Switzerland. As per a report from Geneva, printed in *Hesperia* on 22 June 1917, the Greeks in Switzerland were split into two factions: the Royalists and the Venizelists. The latter group acted through the 'Adelphotētos tōn Ellēnōn Phileleftherōn' ['the Brotherhood of Greek Liberals'] and their newspapers were the Paris-based and Francophone 'Ephēmerida tōn Ellēnōn kai tēn ymeteran "Esperian"' ['Newspaper of the Greeks and your Hesperia'].<sup>39</sup> That *Hesperia's* correspondent in Geneva highlights its significance for the Greek Venizelist readerships in Switzerland sheds new light on the weekly's popularity and circulation amongst transnational readerships.

36 Roy Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600–1972* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1989), 460–76.

37 Frederick Harrison, 'Ireland and Greece: The Gordian Knot', *The Times* (27 October 1916), 7.

38 'Downfall of King Constantine', *Current History*, 6.1 (1917), 83–85 (83).

39 K. Gl., 'Oi en Elvetia Hellenes (Toū en Genevē Antapokritoū tēs Hesperias)' ['The Greeks in Switzerland (By *Hesperia's* correspondent in Geneva)'], *Hesperia* (22 June 1917), 397–98 (397). The 'Ephēmerida tōn Ellēnōn' ['Newspaper of the Greeks'] refers to *Le Journal des Hellènes* (1916–31). See Despina Provata, 'La presse francophone grecque de la première moitié du XXe siècle', *Cahiers balkaniques*, 47 (2020) [accessed 4 December 2023].

As one of Zurich's Venizelists, Phocās's report from Zurich included news of interest to the readerships of *Hesperia*.<sup>40</sup> First, we read an account of a speech given to Swiss-based Greek liberals in Lausanne by the representative of Venizelos's Greek Temporary National Government in Europe. Phocās's report also refers to atrocities committed by the Bulgarian–German army in Northern Greece. The final part focuses on Joyce, whom Phocās met in Zurich. He praises Joyce's writing and his love of Greece and announces Joyce's current engagement with the rewriting of Homer's epics.

### Phocās's Authorial Politics

Phocās's presentation of Joyce in *Hesperia* was signed with the initials Π. Φ. Π. [P. F. P.]. However, we know that Phocās was its author thanks to Joyce's letters from Zurich to Ezra Pound, who was residing in London at the time. Early in July 1917, in a letter to Pound Joyce mentioned the review in *Hesperia* explaining that it was a Greek publication based in London.<sup>41</sup> A few weeks later, Joyce wrote again to Pound that the author of the piece in *Hesperia* was his friend Pavlos Phocās. Joyce probably enclosed a copy of the review to Pound as in the letter he observes that Pound will notice that Phocās had announced to the Greek world — and by extension to Hellenists and Philhellenes — Joyce's forthcoming epic. Phocās's review praises Joyce's engagement with Homer's work and Joyce writes to Pound how well-intentioned Phocās's article is. Hence, as Joyce explains to Pound, he wrote to the editor of *Hesperia* to thank him.<sup>42</sup> Meanwhile, Joyce had already written to Harriet Shaw Weaver, his patron and publisher of the English edition of *A Portrait*, that 'the editor is entitled to a copy of the book'.<sup>43</sup>

Joyce's eagerness to thank the editor of *Hesperia* demonstrates the importance Joyce placed on the publication. He acknowledges the newspaper's role in the promotion of his career and reputation thanks to Phocās's description of Joyce as a master of the English language and characterisation of him as 'the famous English author'.<sup>44</sup> Phocās notes how Joyce's books had been published by presses at the centre of the British Empire and admired by London's critics, whose opinions Phocās rendered into Modern Greek for the Hellenic world through *Hesperia*. Phocās draws readers' attention to reviews of Joyce's book in prominent London-based publications.<sup>45</sup> Hence the references to the *Nation*, the *New Statesman*, and the *London Times*, along with praise by distinguished men of letters such as H. G. Wells and Solomon Eagle. Indirectly, Phocās may be engaging with Pound's praises of Joyce's style too. Pound had declared that 'Mr. Joyce's realism is the style: hard, clear-cut with no waste of words'.<sup>46</sup> Pound's characterizations may be evoked when Phocās in *Hesperia* uses the words 'dynamis, adrotēs, safēneia' ['power, strength, precision'] to introduce Joyce's writing to *Hesperia*'s readerships.<sup>47</sup>

Phocās's piece for *Hesperia* could well have been based on discussions he had with Joyce after he had read *A Portrait*. Specifically, Joyce delivered a copy of the novel to Phocās's house. In a note dated 14 April 1917, written in English, Phocās thanked Joyce for his 'kindness to bring' *A Portrait* to him and called the book 'excellent'.<sup>48</sup> When

40 Mantō Aravantinoū, *James Joyce: Zōē kai Ergo* [*James Joyce: Life and Work*] (Athens: Themelio, 1983), 132–33.

41 James Joyce to Ezra Pound, 9 July 1917. New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Ezra Pound Papers, YCAL MSS 43, folder 1112.

42 James Joyce to Ezra Pound, 24 July 1917. Ezra Pound Papers, YCAL MSS 43, folder 1112.

43 James Joyce, *Letters of James Joyce*, ed. by Stuart Gilbert (New York: The Viking Press, 1966), 107.

44 Phocās, 410.

45 See Eleni Loukopoulou, *Up to Maugthy London: Joyce's Cultural Capital in the Imperial Metropolis* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2017).

46 Ezra Pound, 'James Joyce', *Egoist*, 4.2 (1917), 21–22 (22).

47 Phocās, 410.

48 Mantō Aravantinoū, *Ta Hellēnikā tou James Joyce* [*The Greek of James Joyce*] (Athens: Hermēs, 1977), 224.

Phocās started composing his piece for *Hesperia*, Joyce may have shared reviews of *A Portrait* with him that served as sources and points of reference for him. For instance, Phocās clarified in *Hesperia* that he quoted from Solomon Eagle’s review of *A Portrait* in the *New Statesman* of 14 April 1917: ‘Olos o philologikos kosmos tou Londinou omilei sēmeron peri tou ergou touōtou tou k. Joyce’ [‘All the literary world in London speaks today about this work by Mr. Joyce’].<sup>49</sup> Admittedly, Eagle (pen name of J. C. Squire) had noted regarding *A Portrait*: ‘Nobody is surprised to find all writing London talking about it. Mr. Joyce has only done what was expected.’<sup>50</sup> Clearly, the version in *Hesperia* is different. This misquotation of Eagle’s praising comments as translated from English to Modern Greek might reveal a process of linguistic and cognitive exchange during discussions between Joyce and Phocās of the review’s underpinning ideas and impact on Joyce’s reputation. Drawing on their established teaching and learning methods, which were based on the reciprocal exchange of language lessons — ‘O Joyce thā māthaine nā grāfei ellēnikā kai o Phokās thā veltiōne tā agglīkā tou’ [‘Joyce would learn to write Greek and Phocās would improve his English language skills’] — Joyce and Phocās might have discussed the review in the *New Statesman* and the free translation of the English text into Modern Greek might be revelatory of the process of its production.<sup>51</sup> In addition, Joyce might have encouraged Phocās to develop a certain line of argument, following a pattern of collaboration consistent with the promotional strategies he deployed to increase his readerships and cultural value of his work.<sup>52</sup>

Most importantly, though, Phocās appeals to the patriotism and philhellenism of *Hesperia*’s multi-national readerships and presents Joyce as a philhellene and speaker of Modern Greek. He places Joyce in a long tradition of Irish and English philhellenes, which included Lord Byron, Percy Shelley, and the nationalist Irish MP and London pressman T. P. O’Connor, whose portraits would appear in *Hesperia* throughout its history. The characterisation of Joyce as ‘one of the warmest philhellenes who knows Modern Greek quite well’ would attract the attention of readers — in particular, influential figures within the cultural and educational establishment, including passionate philhellenes among the senior academics at the Universities of London and Oxford.<sup>53</sup> Such readers would be especially attracted by Phocās’s announcement regarding Joyce’s forthcoming ‘work around the Homeric epics’, and the surprise that it would cause ‘in the world of Hellenic letters thanks to its originality’.<sup>54</sup> The use of the term ‘Hellenic letters’ alongside Phocās’s characterization of Joyce as ‘a distinguished author and admirer of our ancient forebears’, is important here; it would have attracted the attention of British Hellenists, the study of the classics being most predominant in British universities.<sup>55</sup> At the time, British supporters and scholars of ‘the world of Hellenic letters’ were campaigning for the dissemination of knowledge relating to Modern Greek history and culture and its links with the ancient Greek letters. Their efforts concentrated on the establishment of a chair of Modern Greek at King’s College, University of London. As Richard Burrows argued in March 1917:

49 Phocās, 410.

50 J. C. Squire [Solomon Eagle], review, *New Statesman*, ix (14 April 1917), 40, reproduced in *James Joyce: The Critical Heritage*, ed. by Robert H. Deming, 2 vols (London: Routledge, 1970), vi, 99–102 (99).

51 Aravantinoū, *Ta Hellēnikā [The Greek]*, 122 n.110.

52 See Joseph Brooker, *Joyce’s Critics: Transitions in Reading and Culture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004); John Nash, *James Joyce and the Act of Reception: Reading, Ireland, Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

53 Phocās, 410.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid.

Education in Ancient Greek literature and history is immeasurably deeper and wider-spread in England than in France or in any other country in Europe, and [...] public opinion in parliament and the press depends practically entirely on the opinions of the classes so educated.<sup>56</sup>

The suggestion is that if the educated classes that form the British political elite understand better the link between Ancient and Modern Greece, then the Greek cause might be promoted more effectively. The chair of Modern Greek would thus be inextricably linked with the promotion of Modern Greece's interests and complement the activities and propaganda produced by the Anglo-Hellenic League and publications such as *Hesperia*. The energy of these cultural and political formations stemmed from the influential Venizelist nationalist movement, which they successfully promoted. Indeed, as Slobodan G. Markovich explains,

Modern British philhellenism was at its peak in 1915–1920. What was peculiar about this phenomenon was that it did not come because of affection for a modern Greek writer or an artist, but for a politician. The politician was Eleftherios Venizelos.<sup>57</sup>

By 1915, Venizelos was widely popular in the British public sphere. Markovich notes that the strength of his reputation 'may be seen from the cartoon "The Return of Ulysses" published in the *Punch* of 23 June 1915 in which he was depicted as a new Odysseus'.<sup>58</sup> Such popularity owed much to the support Venizelos received by politicians. One of them was the Irish MP and London pressman T. P. O'Connor whose assistance in 1900 Joyce and his father had asked when young Joyce was seeking employment in London as a journalist.<sup>59</sup> By June 1917, O'Connor, who had 'described himself as "one of the oldest survivors of the Philhellenes of the days of Gladstone"' was assisting Burrows's campaign for the Greek Chair.<sup>60</sup> Thus, *Hesperia's* presentation of Joyce as 'one of the warmest philhellenes who knows Modern Greek quite well' and whose 'new work around the Homeric epics [...] will cause surprise in the world of Hellenic letters' should be understood within a specific historical context of heightened philhellenism among Irish and British intelligentsia in the period 1915–20.<sup>61</sup>

Of equal importance is the attention Joyce paid to his presentation in *Hesperia* and how he subsequently deployed such significant publicity to promote both *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*. This is evident from the way an original page torn from *Hesperia*, and now held in the Harriet Shaw Weaver papers at University College London, was annotated by Joyce or Weaver. At the top of the page, we read the address of *Hesperia's* office. Next to the date '29 Iouniou 1917' ['29 June 1917'] printed in Modern Greek on the top of the page we see the English translation of the name of the month. At the bottom of the page, Joyce or Weaver annotated Phocās's text by identifying it as a critical assessment of Joyce's *A Portrait*. Finally, the section that covers Joyce's presentation is outlined in blue pencil.

These annotations indicate that this torn page was a source for the section from Phocās's article that was included in a four-page promotional leaflet published by Weaver's The Egoist Press in 1918. In this leaflet, which contained passages from

56 Burrows to M. A. Mitaranga, a wealthy Greek in Marseilles. Quoted in Clogg, 10.

57 Markovich, 126.

58 Ibid.

59 Ellmann, 77.

60 Clogg, 12.

61 Phocās, 410.

thirty-six press notices of *A Portrait*, the extract is republished in the original Greek and introduced with Phocās's full name: 'Mr. PAVLOS PHOCAS in ΕΣΠΕΡΙΑ [HESPERIA].' After this, the following lines were reproduced in Modern Greek:

Enefanisthei eis ton kosmon tōn, [sic] grammātōn pro dōdekaetias peripou me mikrān tina syllogēn idiorrythmōn poiēmātōn. Metā tina chronon exedōke to defferon ergon tou toū opoiou ē prōte ekdosis ekāe, ōs anēthikos. Metā enneaetē the pragmatikon trōikon agōna enantion toū pouritanismoū katōrthōse na epitychē tēn eleftheran ekdosin...ta erga tou ta charachtērēzei dynamis, adrotis, safēneia kai drosiā.

[(He) appeared in the world of letters approximately twelve years ago in Dublin with a short collection of idiosyncratic poems. After some time, he issued his second work whose first edition was burnt as immoral; after a nine-year truly Trojan struggle against puritanism, he managed to achieve its free publication... his works are characterised by power, strength, precision and freshness.]<sup>62</sup>

As Luca Crispi and Stacey Herbert note, 'to increase public interest in Joyce's work in anticipation of *Ulysses*, they [Joyce, Weaver, and Sylvia Beach] inserted this leaflet of reviews of the Egoist publication of *A Portrait* into the first order form for the Shakespeare and Company edition of *Ulysses*'.<sup>63</sup> Indeed, this leaflet is a valuable cultural document that maps the circulation and the cultural impact of Joyce's work, and its reception by some of the most important literary critics and writers of the time. Phocās's piece featured among 'English, American, French, Irish, Italian, German, [...] Swiss, Dutch, and Belgian reviews [dating] from February 1917 to January 1918' with Pound's critical praise heading this collection of extracts.<sup>64</sup>

That an extract from Phocās's article in *Hesperia* was selected to be included in such an important promotional material for the forthcoming publication of *Ulysses* in 1922 demonstrates how significant Weaver, who published *A Portrait*, Beach, who published *Ulysses*, and Joyce himself considered this review. The fact that the extract was in Greek, untranslated, evinces their interest in attracting Greek readerships and scholars from the 'world of Hellenic letters'. The extract from the highly respected *Hesperia* would add cultural value to *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*, as both works dealt with Greek myths, heroes and the Homeric epics that had impacted British cultural and political history in multiple ways.

### Phocās as Joyce's Critic and Modern Greek Tutor

Phocās was a polyglot: according to Mantō Aravantinoū, he spoke seven languages.<sup>65</sup> Prior to his article in *Hesperia*, Phocās had translated into Modern Greek Joyce's poem 'Sleep Now O Sleep Now' from *Chamber Music*.<sup>66</sup> During the exchange of language lessons with Joyce, they discussed literary interests and current affairs, as evidenced

62 'Mr. Pavlos Phocas in ΕΣΠΕΡΙΑ', in 'Extracts from Some Press Notices of *A Portrait of the Artist as A Young Man* by James Joyce' (The Egoist Press: London, 1918). The leaflet was reproduced as the final pages of Jane H. Lidderdale and Mary Nicholson, *Dear Miss Weaver: Harriet Shaw Weaver, 1876–1961* (London: Faber and Faber, 1970), n.p.

63 Luca Crispi and Stacey Herbert with Lori N. Curtis, *In Good Company: James Joyce & Publishers, Readers, Friends. An Exhibition of McFarlin Library's Special Collections in Occasion of the North American James Joyce Symposium* (Tulsa: University of Tulsa, 2003), 7.

64 Crispi and Herbert with Curtis, 7.

65 Aravantinoū, *Ta Hellēnikā [The Greek]*, 126.

66 Ellmann, 408.

by phrases and fully developed sentences in Joyce's Greek notebooks. For example, Joyce writes 'Eisthe o kyrios Pavlos? Poly orthōs.' ['Are you mister Pavlos? Absolutely right.'] and this sentence suggests that the language exchanges recorded in notebook VIII.A.1–12 were between Joyce and Phocās.<sup>67</sup> When Joyce writes 'O Achilefs ētan o afovotatos tōn Ellēnōn allā o Odyssefs ētan kosmogyrismenos' ['Achilles was the most invincible among the Greeks, but Odysseus was widely travelled'], this reference to heroes from Homer's *Odyssey* could reflect his preoccupations with the writing of *Ulysses* at the time; especially as this is immediately followed by the sentence 'Echō grapsei ena mythystorima to opoion onomāzetai Aftografia' ['I have written a novel which is called "Autography"'].<sup>68</sup> Here Joyce might have tried to render the word autobiography or portrait into Modern Greek alluding thus to *A Portrait*. The fact that Joyce uses quotation marks for the word 'Autography' suggests that he refers to the title of the novel. Additionally, a few more phrases may relate to discussions about *A Portrait*; for instance, the question 'Ediavāsete to mythystorima mou?' ['Did you read my novel?'] alongside a variation of the same question on the same page of the notebook as 'Ēthynēthete na ediavāsete to deltāron mou?' ['Were you able to read my booklet?'].<sup>69</sup> A statement possibly relating to the above questions may be the following: 'To prōton kefālaion moū ērēse.' ['The first chapter I liked.']<sup>70</sup>

Admittedly, these phrases may relate to the reading of any novel; however, given the fact that in April 1917, Joyce took a copy of *A Portrait* to Phocās's house himself so that Phocās could read it and write a review, it seems likely that the novel mentioned in the above-quoted sentence is *A Portrait* and that these exchanges are from 1917, a date that Rodney Wilson Owen has also suggested.<sup>71</sup> Further evidence regarding the dating of the short dialogue about the novel emerges in other phrases on the same page from Joyce's Greek notebook. Specifically, a fragment relating to the war: 'Metā tēn kyriefsin tēs Agglias, oi Germanoi tha kyriefsoun to feggari kai ton Ēlion.' ['After the conquest of England, the Germans will conquer the moon and the Sun.']<sup>72</sup> The fact that the fragment refers to a victory of the Germans — albeit treated with sarcasm — might help us to date this page from early 1917 when a German victory was looming and Phocās was reading *A Portrait* and discussing it with Joyce. Thus, the above sentences reveal Joyce's concerns regarding the reception of *A Portrait* that had recently appeared and whose positive reception and commercial success Phocās' notice in *Hesperia* aimed at.

The above-quoted exchanges indicate a focus on a dialogic mode of learning language skills. While Joyce critics have noted Joyce's 'enthusiasm for Greek, analogous to his earlier interest in French', they have not contextualized this aspect of his life in relation to wider cultural and political developments in Greece, nor the surge of philhellenism among Irish and British public figures that led, as outlined above, to the establishment of the Modern Greek chair at the University of London.<sup>73</sup> These contexts are important because the engagement with the promotion of *A Portrait* in the Greek language weekly *Hesperia*, the learning of Modern Greek and the writing of *Ulysses* can be better understood as they were happening concurrently; specifically, as Owen argues, 'not until the Greek notebooks is there any indication that Joyce had made progress with

67 Joyce, 'Buffalo VIII.A.1–6', *The James Joyce Archive*, ii, 346.

68 Joyce, 'Buffalo VIII.A.1–1', *The James Joyce Archive*, ii, 341.

69 Joyce, 'Buffalo VIII.A.1–4', *The James Joyce Archive*, ii, 344.

70 Joyce, 'Buffalo VIII.A.1–6', *The James Joyce Archive*, ii, 346.

71 Rodney Wilson Owen, *James Joyce and the Beginnings of Ulysses* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 99.

72 Joyce, 'Buffalo VIII.A.1–6', *The James Joyce Archive*, ii, 346.

73 Owen, 102. See also R. J. Schork, *Greek and Hellenic Culture in Joyce* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998); Dipanjan Maitra, 'Of Contorted Politics: A Note on the VIII. A Notebooks of 1916', *Genetic Joyce Studies*, 16 (2016), 1–10 (2).

*Ulysses* after leaving Trieste for Zurich in 1915.<sup>74</sup> It should be clarified that upon his arrival in Zurich, Joyce had just finished *A Portrait, Exiles*, and the beginning of *Ulysses* that focused on Stephen Dedalus, the main character of *A Portrait*.<sup>75</sup> During the war, Switzerland became the home of many refugees. Numerous Greeks, including wealthy merchants, sought refuge there. Some of them had travelled from Trieste like Joyce and his illiterate Greek friend the merchant Nikola Santos ‘who could recite many long passages of the *Odyssey* learned by ear’.<sup>76</sup> Greek commercial activity was extensive, and in Zurich the Hellenic Trade Consortium of Switzerland was established.<sup>77</sup> Zurich, thus, for Joyce ‘was a good place to write of *Ulysses*’ through the prism of Modern Greek cultural nationalism.<sup>78</sup>

Phocās in particular enabled Joyce to understand Modern Greek political affairs through Venizelist perspectives. Specifically, Liberal Party supporter Phocās lost his job at Zurich’s Greek consulate, owing to both his own politics and the animosity of Mr Pipinelis, an assistant of Georgios Streit, the Greek ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs who had accompanied the ex-King to Zurich after his abdication from the throne in mid-1917.<sup>79</sup> Pipinelis became a topic of a learning task during the Greek lessons. In one of his Greek notebooks, Joyce copied in Greek a commercial letter addressed to Pipinelis and dated 30 September 1916.<sup>80</sup> Aravantinoū rightly observes that Joyce alludes to Pipinelis in the section of the ‘Cyclops’ episode of *Ulysses*, an episode Joyce wrote in Zurich.<sup>81</sup> In ‘Cyclops’, Joyce ridicules Rumbold, the British Consular in Zurich, because Rumbold had not supported Joyce during a dispute he had with an English ex-soldier and amateur actor from Joyce’s theatre company the English Players.<sup>82</sup> Rumbold is presented as an executioner: he ‘stepped on to the scaffold’ and ‘was greeted’ and ‘cheered vociferously in a medley of cries’, including the Greek phrase ‘*polla kronia*’ [‘many happy returns’] and the Italian ‘*evviva*’ [‘to health’], which also exists in the Greek lexicon, while Pipinelis is depicted as ‘Dr Pippi’, Rumbold’s ‘medical adviser in attendance’ who removes his ‘commendatore’s patriarchal sombrero’.<sup>83</sup> Here, ‘Dr Pippi’ is attending to a powerful figure as in real life Pipinelis attended to Zurich’s Greek royalist and Germanophile milieu. In *Ulysses*, Pipinelis is presented in a negative light and this depiction was inflected by Phocās’s experiences.

In contrast, Phocās is presented as a saint in *Ulysses*: ‘S. Phocas.’<sup>84</sup> Joyce was appreciative of Phocās’s article in *Hesperia* along with his wider support. Phocās’s patriotism and his efforts to disseminate ideas about Modern Greece and its future are evident in Joyce’s notes in the Greek notebooks, where Joyce copied the Greek national anthem and other fighting songs.<sup>85</sup> In Zurich, Joyce was keen to sing the Greek national anthem with his Greek friends, in particular the lines referring to Greek freedom. These lines were so important for him that when in the 1930s Frank Budgen was writing

74 Owen, 104.

75 James Joyce to Ezra Pound, 30 June 1915. Ezra Pound Papers, YCAL MSS 43, folder 1112.

76 Frank Budgen, *James Joyce and the Making of ‘Ulysses’, and Other Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972 [1934]), 174.

77 H. K., ‘Epistolē ex Elvetias. Hellenikon Emborikon Epimelitirion’ [‘Correspondence from Switzerland: Hellenic Trade Consortium’], *Hesperia* (19 July 1918), 459–60.

78 Ellmann, 393.

79 Aravantinoū, *James Joyce*, 132. See Enepekides, 595–97.

80 Joyce, ‘VIII.A.6.c-1’, *Joyce Archive*, ii, 292 and VIII.A.4–18, *Joyce Archive*, ii, 320.

81 Aravantinoū, *James Joyce*, 132.

82 Ellmann, 44, 447.

83 James Joyce, *Ulysses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998 [1922]), 295–96.

84 Aravantinoū, *Ta Hellenikā*, 134; Joyce, *Ulysses*, 324.

85 Joyce, ‘Buffalo VIII.A.4–15’, *The James Joyce Archive*, ii, 317. On the Greek notebooks, see also Vassiliki Kolocotroni, ‘The “Perpetual Immunity” of the Word: Joyce and World Peace’, in *Modernist Communities Across Cultures and Media*, ed. by C. Pollentier and S. Wilson (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2019), 153–54.

*James Joyce and the Making of Ulysses*, Joyce prompted him to add the following point titled 'BIRTHNIGHT chez J.J.' followed by the clarification that 'the evening was sure to close with a rendering by Ruggiero and J. of the Greek National Anthem — χάιρε, χάιρε [*sic*], Ελευθεριά [haere, haere, Eleftheriā] (Hail Hail oh! Liberty!)'<sup>86</sup>

The anthem was based on the poem 'Hymn to Freedom' (1823) written by Dionysius Solomos in the aftermath of the 1821 Greek Revolution. The anthem's focus on freedom should have impressed Joyce because, as Mark Mazower has argued, 'what the Greeks fought for and won was a harbinger of Europe's future in which new states would be carved out of pre-national empires to emerge as sovereign nations [...]. [M]embers of other oppressed peoples [...] [saw] in the success of the Greeks a promise of their own future.'<sup>87</sup> The hope for Irish sovereignty and the fact that Joyce had been shaken after the Rebellion in Dublin in April 1916, Ellmann reports, might thus relate to Joyce's enthusiastic endorsements of manifestations of Modern Greek nationalism.<sup>88</sup> They should be placed in the specific historical context of Modern Greek and Irish nationalist aspirations, despite, of course, their divergent historical and cultural specificities.<sup>89</sup> As historical materialist research on Joyce's aesthetics and politics has evinced, Joyce's writings explore geopolitical questions.<sup>90</sup> Despite the fact that in principle Joyce had been distrustful of British liberalism and the Irish Parliamentary Party, developments in Ireland and Greece from 1916 onwards might have had a great impact on him even though, after the foundation of the Irish Free State in 1922, Joyce had become, together with many other Irish people, greatly disillusioned with its policies.<sup>91</sup>

Thanks to his residence in Trieste and his subsequent relocation to Zurich, Joyce became enmeshed in Modern Greek cultural and political networks. In fact, he developed a long-standing fervent interest in Modern Greek language, culture, and politics. Indeed, after the completion of *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce planned to work on 'the Greek revolution' and 'to write a drama on the revolution of the modern Greeks'.<sup>92</sup> This long-standing engagement with Modern Greek language, culture, and politics, alongside strong friendships with Greeks, must have made such a great impression on his young daughter Lucia that when she was asked to write a brief report on her father in 1958, one of the first memories she recorded related to how fond her father was of Greek people.<sup>93</sup> Undoubtedly, *Hesperia* had played a great role in such emotional attachment.

## Conclusion

This article has explored the significance of London's *Hesperia*, the solely Greek language weekly illustrated newspaper, for Joyce's work and its reception. Specifically, it has focused on how Joyce cultivated the reception of his work among the networks of

86 Joyce quoted in Clive Hart, 'Introduction', in Budgen, vii–xix (xvi).

87 Mark Mazower, *The Greek Revolution: 1821 and the Making of Modern Europe* (London: Penguin, 2021), xxi.

88 Ellmann, 399.

89 See Peter Bien, 'Inventing Greece', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 23.2 (October 2005), 217–34.

90 See Andrew Gibson, *The Strong Spirit: History, Politics and Aesthetics in the Writings of James Joyce, 1898–1915* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Luke Gibbons, *Joyce's Ghosts: Ireland, Modernism, and Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

91 Seamus Deane, "Masked with Matthew Arnold's Face": Joyce and Liberalism', in *James Joyce: The Centennial Symposium*, ed. by Morris Beja, Phillip Herring, Maurice Harmon, and David Norris (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 9–20. John Nash, 'Liberalism and Domesticity in *Ulysses*', in *James Joyce in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by John Nash (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 149–167.

92 Carola Giedion-Welcker, 'Meetings with Joyce', in *James Joyce: Portraits of the Artist in Exile*, ed. by Willard Potts (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1979), 256–80 (fn 33, 279–80).

93 Lucia Joyce, 'The Real Life of James Joyce told by Lucia Joyce', November/December 1958. Austin, Harry Ransom Center, MS-02235, Lucia Joyce, Writings, Typescript, 1. Box 1.3.

influence of London's Greek community that revolved around *Hesperia*, the Anglo-Hellenic League, and other political and cultural initiatives in which Irish and British politicians, academics, and other influential figures participated. Thanks to his friend and teacher of Modern Greek, Pavlos Phocās in Zurich, Joyce aimed to attract the attention of *Hesperia's* wealthy and influential readerships and to increase the cultural and capital value of his writings about Ireland, which had been based, to some extent, on Ancient and Modern Greek cultural texts and contexts. Finally, Joyce expanded his readerships through the establishment of transnational connections in the cultural and political strata of Europe and the USA where *Hesperia* circulated.

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