

“HIDDEN THINGS”: CAVAFY’S THEMATIC CATALOGUES

These are only hints and guesses,
Hints followed by guesses.

T.S. Eliot, *The Dry Salvages*

Throughout his literary career Cavafy was concerned with the thematic classification and arrangement of his poems. The arrangement of the poems in the thematic collections which Cavafy himself distributed has already been examined in detail by one of the present authors (Hirst, 1995). The purpose of this article is to attempt, and to comment on, reconstructions of the unpublished thematic catalogues which are known to be in the Cavafy Archive. It is unfortunate that such an attempt is necessary and nothing would please us more than to see our reconstructions promptly rendered superfluous by the full publication of the relevant material from the Archive. Until such time as this happens, we believe that our necessarily incomplete reconstructions will be of interest and use to readers and interpreters of Cavafy’s poems.

When Cavafy died in 1933 “his papers”, in the words of George Savidis, “were found in perfect order” (MKβ¹ : 423). Those papers became the property of his heir, Alekos Sengopoulos. In the early forties some were entrusted to Michalis Peridis, and later others to Giorgos Papoutsakis (MKα: 32–9, MKβ: 395). The remaining papers, the greater part of the Archive, were entrusted to Savidis at the end of 1962 (MKβ: 394), and in January 1963 Savidis took over from Sengopoulos the responsibility for the investigation and editing of the Archive (MKα: 38). For the time being the Archive remained in

¹Savidis’ works on Cavafy, and the volumes of Cavafy’s poems edited by Savidis are referred to by the Greek initials of their titles, in capitals. Lower case *alpha* and *beta* as suffixes indicate “vol. 1” and “vol. 2” respectively. A full list will be found in the bibliography under the heading “Cavafy”, where the publications are cited by abbreviation. Other works are cited by author and date. All Greek in the bibliography is monotonic. In the text we have used the polytonic system for titles of, and quotations from, Cavafy’s poems and other texts, but monotonic for all other Greek.

Sengopoulos' house, but Savidis had unrestricted access to it and was able to sort and arrange the materials and to record them on 146 rolls of microfilm, from which he produced about 4,300 photographs to form the basis of his own research (MKα: 40). The Archive itself did not pass into Savidis' possession until 10 October 1969 (MKα: 52, n. 31). In the introduction to a 1983 interview with Savidis, Giorgos Pilichos stated that the interview had taken place in "Mr Savidis' office-workshop in Athens, where the Cavafy Archive is housed" (MKβ: 387).² Presumably it had been there since 1969, and remains there to this day. The copyright to all Cavafy's work, however, remains the property of Mrs Kyveli Sengopoulos.

Writing in 1963, Savidis said that as soon as he had finished his work on the Archive he would deposit the microfilms with the Centre for Modern Greek Research (Κέντρο Νεοελληνικών Ερευνών) of the then Royal (now National) Research Foundation, so that they would be available to all students, and that the manuscripts would eventually be passed on to the Benaki Museum (MKα: 40).³ However, more than thirty years later, Savidis' work on the Archive — despite the assistance from time to time of at least seven colleagues between 1971 and 1985 alone (MKα: 55, n. 50) — was still unfinished at the time of his death (in June 1995), and the Archive itself remains accessible only on the basis of personal permission.⁴

At the same time as he gave undertakings about the eventual resting places of the microfilms and manuscripts, Savidis stated, after a

²All translations from Greek are ours.

³In referring to the Benaki Museum, Savidis probably had in mind an undertaking given many years earlier by Sengopoulos (see Cavafy, 1948: 622).

⁴Ownership of the Cavafy Archive has now passed to Mr. Manolis Savidis, who informed one of the present authors, in June 1996, that access to it is not possible under present circumstances. George Savidis himself experienced similar frustrations at a relatively early date in his own research. Writing in 1966 he referred with regret to "a part of the Cavafy Archive which is in the hands of Giorgos Papoutsakis" as "inaccessible for scholarly research" (OKE: 11). That part of the Archive is now accessible, since, although it was thought to have disappeared after Papoutsakis' death in 1967, it was eventually rediscovered and purchased in 1984 by the Greek Literary and Historical Archive (EAIA = Ελληνικό Λογοτεχνικό και Ιστορικό Αρχείο) (MKb: 395, and MKa: 47).

brief description of the contents of the Archive, and with reference to their obvious importance, that he believed:

that there follows directly the imperative necessity that the Cavafy Archive be published as quickly as possible in its entirety. Without such publication we can have neither a genuine Complete Works nor a proper biography of the poet (MKα: 43).

Of course much of the Archive has now been published, but piecemeal; and from the quotation above it seems unlikely that in 1963 Savidis was envisaging a publication period extending over more than thirty years.

Our concern here is with certain items from the Archive, namely the thematic catalogues of Cavafy's poems compiled by the poet himself, which have not yet been published, although information from them and about them is scattered throughout Savidis' writings (in particular in his notes to various editions and translations of Cavafy's poems), and more sparsely in the writings of his colleagues. Our aim is to gather together this information, so as to present as complete a picture as possible of the thematic catalogues.

The first intimation of the existence of thematic catalogues among Cavafy's papers was given by Savidis in an article first published in 1963, which included a brief summary of the contents of the Archive. In that article, the last item in a list of categories of manuscripts in Cavafy's hand reads as follows (MKα: 41):

Tables: (a) bibliographical, (b) chronological, (c) thematic, (d) generic (ειδολογικοί) — of the poems which he had written or planned to write — as well as [tables] of the names of the recipients of each of his collections.

We are not sure what Savidis means by bibliographical and generic tables, and we have come across no other references to lists of poems which Cavafy "planned to write". The tables of the recipients of the collections have been published in full (OKE: 215–83), as have three chronological tables, in which Cavafy kept running records of his creative activity, listing by month and year the dates of composition and revision of his poems. The latest of these chronological tables (πίνακες), or chronological catalogues (κατάλογοι) as Savidis more often calls them, was first published in December 1963 and is referred to by Savidis as "F16". When this was republished in 1987, in the

second volume of Savidis' collected essays on Cavafy (MKβ), Savidis added the two earlier versions, which are referred to as "F2" and "F5".

The reader of Savidis needs to be aware that an "F" number does not denote *per se* an item in the Cavafy Archive. The "F" numbers are not reference numbers assigned to manuscripts (although Savidis often uses them as though they were), but the serial numbers of the 146 microfilms on which the Archive was recorded ("F" presumably standing for "film"). This is made clear in the explanatory remarks preceding the notes to the *Unpublished Poems* (ΑΠ: 207), but not in any other of Savidis' publications in which the "F" numbers are used.⁵ One consequence of Savidis' use of this system is that the same number may be applied to several different and even disparate manuscripts; and another is that items which belong together do not always share the same number. Both these potential sources of confusion can be illustrated by reference to the "Passions" File (Φάκελος Πάθη). This is some kind of file or folder in which Cavafy had gathered together eleven unpublished erotic poems. The manuscripts of the five earliest poems in the File were recorded on microfilm No. F13, the remaining six on F12; but F12 and F13 both contain photographs of manuscripts not included in the "Passions" File, as can easily be confirmed by glancing through the notes to the *Unpublished Poems*. Consequently the "Passions" File itself cannot be referred to by an "F" number.

The three closely related chronological catalogues, already mentioned above, were recorded on three separate microfilms, F2, F5 and F16. Having sounded a note of warning about the "F" numbers we shall continue to use them, as Savidis does, to distinguish these three catalogues from one another, as though the numbers denoted the catalogues themselves. In the same way we shall use other "F" numbers, F82 and F11, to distinguish between the two thematic catalogues which we attempt to reconstruct below.⁶

⁵It is however reiterated by Lavagnini in her edition of the *Unfinished Poems* (Lavagnini, 1994: 52).

⁶One of the thematic catalogues has the same F number as the shorter of Cavafy's two lists of unfinished poems published by Lavagnini, who gives the archive reference of that list as "F82, φ 2" (i.e. Film 82, frame 2), and argues that it was written in 1930 (i.e. much later than the probable dates of the thematic catalogues) (Lavagnini, 1994: 323–4).

A detailed discussion of the chronological catalogues would be out of place here, but since we refer to them a number of times in our discussion of the thematic catalogues it is necessary to provide some information about them. The earliest chronological catalogue, F2 (MKβ: 72),⁷ appears to have been an abortive attempt. It contains only five entries, dated between June and September 1891. The second chronological catalogue, F5 (MKβ: 73–82), begun presumably in or soon after September 1891, contains 221 entries covering the period July 1891 to April 1912. In 1912 Cavafy produced a revised version of F5 as the basis of the third chronological catalogue F16 (MKβ: 53–62), which covers the period August 1891 to some time in 1925 (months are not included after July 1924). F16 contains 201 entries of which only 119 belong to the period covered by F5. In other words, almost half of the 221 entries in F5, many of which are crossed out, were omitted when F5 was selectively transcribed into F16. Many of the omitted entries refer to poems no longer extant; and in most cases omission from F16 or crossing out, whether in F5 or F16, seems to indicate that the poems concerned had ceased to be of interest to Cavafy. These three chronological catalogues together constitute the principal source of evidence for the dating of the composition and revision of Cavafy's poems.

The reference by Savidis in 1963 to Cavafy's thematic and other "tables", cited above, could be understood to imply the existence in the Archive of more than one thematic catalogue. A single thematic catalogue could, however, be thought of as consisting of a number of tables, or lists, with different headings. In his study of Cavafy's self-publication (OKE, 1966) Savidis speaks of "autograph catalogues of titles of [Cavafy's] poems, classified under broad thematic headings" (OKE: 137). This too is ambiguous, since *καταλόγους* here could be translated as "lists" rather than "catalogues", and thus be understood to refer to the component parts of a single catalogue. Most of Savidis' subsequent references to thematic classification imply that there is only one thematic catalogue. Throughout the notes to the *Unpublished Poems* (ΑΠ, 1963) he refers to entries "in the thematic catalogue (F82)" and to each division of the catalogue as a *κεφάλαιο* ("heading" or

⁷The page references given for F2, F5 and F16 are for the catalogues themselves, to the exclusion of introductory material and endnotes.

“section”) (ΑΠ: 210 and *passim*). This repeated formula, “in the thematic catalogue (F82)”, could be construed to mean either “in the one and only thematic catalogue, recorded on microfilm No. F82”, or “in the thematic catalogue which is recorded on F82, as opposed to other thematic catalogues recorded on other microfilms”. But in his much more recent notes to the revised and expanded edition of the unpublished poems, entitled *Hidden Poems* (ΚΠ, 1993), Savidis uses a rather different formula: “in his thematic catalogue Cavafy assigns this poem to the subsection (υποκεφάλαιο) ...” This has to be construed as implying that there is only one thematic catalogue. However, in an essay first published in 1984, on the seven stages of Cavafy’s poem ‘Η Κηδεία τοῦ Σαρπηδόνοϋς’ (ΜΚα: 257–80), Savidis refers to and describes a thematic catalogue recorded on microfilm No. F11. The information he provides in the text of the article and in the endnotes makes it clear that this catalogue is certainly not the same as the one referred to elsewhere as F82. There are, therefore, at least two thematic catalogues in the Archive. We believe that the evidence for F11 is restricted to a single article by Savidis, and that all other references in the writings of Savidis or his colleagues to a specific thematic catalogue are references to F82, whether this “F” number is used or not.

The Thematic Catalogue (F82)

We list below the nine headings of this thematic catalogue, followed by a discussion of the evidence for the headings and for the order in which they are presented. The English forms of headings I–III and V–VIII are those used by Savidis (CP: 212).⁸

- | | |
|-------|--------------------------------|
| I. | ANCIENT DAYS |
| II. | THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY |
| III. | BYZANTINE DAYS |
| IV. | THE ARCHON OF EPIRUS |
| V. | PASSIONS |
| VI. | FLEETING YEARS |
| VII. | PRISONS |
| VIII. | OUR ART |
| IX. | THREE PICTURES |

⁸Elsewhere Savidis calls No. I “Antique Days” (ΜΚα: 95).

In an article devoted to No. II, Diana Haas lists the other eight in the order given here. She introduces her list by saying that “apart from the one we are concerned with there are eight other headings” (1983a: 589, n. 1). This clearly implies that there are only nine headings in total, although an earlier, partial listing by Savidis (OKE: 137) suggests there are more:

in the Cavafy archive we have autograph catalogues [*or*: lists (καταλόγους)] of titles of his poems, classified under broad thematic headings: “Ancient Days”, “The Beginnings of Christianity”, “Byzantine Days” etc. — as well as: “Passions”, “Our Art”, “Fleeting Years”, “Prisons” etc.

Savidis breaks his list into two groups, apparently to distinguish historical from non-historical categories. If there are only nine headings then Savidis’ first “etc.” (κλπ.) probably refers only to “The Archon of Epirus” (the remaining historical heading), and the second only to “Three Pictures”. These two attested thematic headings omitted from Savidis’ list could hardly be described as “broad”, and this may be the reason for their omission. The ordering of the seven headings listed by Savidis agrees with Haas’ order except for the position of “Our Art”, which Savidis places after “Passions”, whereas in Haas’ list it comes later, after “Prisons”.

We have no physical description of the F82 thematic catalogue, although photographs of two single-page sections from it have been published (see Sections III and V below). It is conceivable that each section was written on a separate sheet of paper. In that case, unless the sheets were fixed together by Cavafy, there would be no proper order for the sections. The order we have given above may be no more than a rational order devised by Savidis and Haas, based on the three “areas” of Cavafy’s poetry to which the poet himself referred: the historical, the sensual and the philosophical (OKE: 209). The list above begins with four historical headings in order of historical chronology. These are followed by “Passions”, clearly a sensual heading, and the list ends with four headings which could be considered philosophical.

We cannot say with absolute certainty how many headings there are in this thematic catalogue. There may be nine, as Haas believes, or

there may be more than nine, as implied by Savidis' repeated "etc.", or as few as eight, if the "Passions" heading is not properly a part of this catalogue, as we speculate below.

We proceed now to deal with each of the nine headings in turn. In each section we present the information in tabular form, followed by a discussion of the evidence. In the tables only the Greek in heavy type in the second column represents our reconstruction of the catalogue itself. The first column contains numbers assigned by us, largely for ease of reference in the ensuing discussion. In the third column we give the date of first composition of each poem. All dates in our tables are in numerical form consisting of month and year separated by an oblique stroke. The year is represented by the last two digits only. The date range is 1884 to 1926. Thus "4/92" means "April 1892" and "4/00" means "April 1900" etc. In the fourth column we represent in abbreviated form the subsequent history of the poem in terms of publication, revision, rejection etc., with dates. Capitals are used to indicate in which volume or volumes the text of a poem may be found, as explained in the key below:

Pub/PUB = Published during Cavafy's lifetime (and by "published" we mean either published in a journal or almanac etc., or printed for private circulation at the poet's expense). Capitals indicate that the text is to be found in both the 1963 and 1991 editions of the "Canon" (Π and ΤΠ respectively).

REJ = Rejected by Cavafy. The text of the poem is to be found in *Repudiated Poems* (ΑΠΚΜ).

Rev = Revised.

UNFIN = Not published during Cavafy's lifetime. The text is to be found in *Unfinished Poems* (Lavagnini, 1994).

UNPUB = Not published during Cavafy's lifetime. The text is to be found in both *Unpublished Poems* (ΑΠ) and *Hidden Poems* (ΚΠ).

Changes of title are also noted in the fourth column, and poems whose title alone has survived are labelled "Not extant". The table in the first Section, "Ancient Days", has an extra, fifth column, not found in any of the other tables. This provides for each poem a reference to the source

of the information that the poem was listed under the heading "Ancient Days" in F82.

I. ΑΡΧΑΙΑΙ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ

1.	Ἡ Κόρη τοῦ Μενκερᾶ	4/92	Not extant	ΑΠ: 211
2.	Ἡ Κηδεῖα τοῦ Σαρπηδόνο	11/92?	Pub 12/98, REJ, Rev 8/08, PUB 9/08	ΤΠα: 177
3.	Οἱ Μιμίამβοι τοῦ Ἡρώδου [or: Ἡρώνδου]	11/92	UNPUB	ΑΠ: 215
4.	Ἐμπορος Ἀλεξανδρεῦς	4/93	UNPUB	ΑΠ: 216
5.	Λαγίδου Φιλοξενία	4/93	UNPUB	ΑΠ: 216
6.	Πριάμου Νυκτοπορία	5/93	UNPUB	ΑΠ: 218
7.	Θεατῆς Προκατελιημμένος	6/93	Rev 1/06 (=Θεατῆς Δυσσαρεστημένος), UNPUB	ΑΠ: 220
8.	Τὰ Βήματα τῶν Εὐμενίδων [or: Τὰ Βήματα]	8/93	Pub 1/97, REJ, Rev 12/08, PUB 9/09 (= Τὰ Βήματα)	ΤΠα: 140
9.	Σαλώμη	6/96	UNPUB	ΑΠ: 226
10.	Τὰ Ἄλογα τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως	7/96	PUB 12/97	ΤΠα: 176
11.	Ἡ Δόξα τῶν Πτολεμαίων	8/96	Rev 5/11, PUB 9/11	ΤΠα: 133
12.	Ὀδτος Ἐκεῖνος	8/98	PUB 3/09	ΤΠα: 144
13.	Ἡρώδης Ἀττικὸς	4/00	Rev 12/11, PUB 6/12	ΤΠα: 140

These titles are arranged, by us, in order of composition, with no expectation that this corresponds to the order in the manuscript of the catalogue. We have found no lists, not even partial lists, which would allow us to suggest any other arrangement.

The title of No. 7, "Θεατῆς Προκατελιημμένος", is not attested elsewhere. Savidis seems confident of its identification with the known,

unpublished poem, “Θεατῆς Δυσαρεστημένος”, suggesting that Cavafy entered the poem in the thematic catalogue under the variant title “inadvertently” (από παραδρομή, ΑΠ: 220).

The tentative identification, in *Unpublished Poems* (ΑΠ: 23 and 211), of an incomplete and untitled manuscript poem with title No. 2 above was abandoned in *Hidden Poems* (ΚΠ: 29 and 146), and we have therefore simply described No. 2 as “not extant”.

We think it highly unlikely that this is a complete list. The list includes three poems (Nos. 2, 8 and 10) which were published under the heading or “epititle” (επίτιτλος), “Ancient Days”, and one unpublished poem (No. 7) which exists in manuscripts under that epititle. There are a further five poems known to be associated with the epititle, “Ancient Days”, and it seems likely that some or all of those would have been included in the “Ancient Days” section of the thematic catalogue F82. We list these five poems below with bibliographical information similar to that which was given, in the table above, for the poems which we know to have been included in the catalogue:

i.	Τὰ Δάκρυα [<i>or</i> : Ὁ Θρηῆνος] τῶν Ἀδελφῶν τοῦ Φαέθοντος	10/92	Pub 1/97, REJ
ii.	Ἐπιτάφιον	6/93	UNPUB, Rev 10/25, UNFIN
iii.	Ὁ Ὁράτιος ἐν Ἀθήναις	7/93	Pub 12/97, REJ
iv.	Ὁ Θάνατος τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Τακίτου	11/96	Pub 1/97, REJ, Rev 12/06
v.	Οἱ Ταραντῖνοι Διασκεδάζουσι	3/97	Pub 12/98, REJ

Poems Nos. ii and iii from this table and No. 7 from the main table are found together in one manuscript under the epititle “Ancient Days” (ΑΠ: 219). No. iii was also *published* under this epititle, as were Nos. i, iv and v (OKE: 136–8). These four are among the published poems later rejected by Cavafy. Savidis’ notes to *Repudiated Poems*, in which the texts of these four poems are reprinted, contain no references whatsoever to thematic classification, not even in the cases of “Τὰ Βήματα τῶν Εὐμενίδων” (ΑΠΚΜ: 113–14) and an earlier form of “Ἡ Κηδεῖα τοῦ Σαρπηδόνοσ” (ΑΠΚΜ: 119–21), both of which he elsewhere states to have been in the thematic catalogue F82 (for

references see Nos. 2 and 8 in the main table above). The probability that the four published but repudiated poems in the subsidiary table were included in this thematic catalogue is greater than the probability that “Ἐπιτάφιον” (No. ii) was included, since the text of this poem is found in the volume of *Unpublished Poems*, where the notes do provide information relating to the thematic catalogue F82, but not, however, in the case of “Ἐπιτάφιον” (ΑΠ: 218–19). For other titles which may have been included under this heading in F82, see the discussion of the other thematic catalogue (F11) below.

II. ΑΙ ΑΡΧΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΙΣΜΟΥ

1.	Ἡ Ἐπιστροφή τοῦ Κνός	6/92	Not extant.
2.	Ὁ Πειρασμός τοῦ Σύρου Μοναχοῦ [<i>or</i> : Ἄσκητοῦ] Θαδδαίου	7/92	Rev 12/02, Not extant.
3.	Ὁ Πορφύριος	9/92	Not extant.
4.	Ὁ Σταυρός	9/92	Rev 3/17, PUB 8/26 (=Μεγάλη συνοδεία ἐξ ιερέων καὶ λαϊκῶν)
5.	Ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ἐν τοῖς Μυστηρίοις [<i>or</i> : ἐν Ἐλευσίει]	11/96	Rev ?date, UNPUB
6.	Ἅγιος Στέφανος	1/98	Not extant

We give these titles in the order in which Haas discusses them in an article devoted to this section of the thematic catalogue (Haas, 1983a). In the course of her discussion she describes No. 1 as “the first poem of the group” (της ομάδας) (1983a: 590), No. 2 as “the second poem of the thematic heading” (του θεματικού κεφαλαίου) (1983a: 591), and No. 6 as “the last [title] in the thematic heading” (στο θεματικό κεφάλαιο) (1983a: 606). However, this is also the order of their composition, and, at the beginning of her article, having singled out Nos. 4 and 5 as the only ones which survive in any form, she then lists the remaining four in what she explicitly describes as chronological order (1983a: 589). It is therefore possible that the order given above is not the order in which the titles appear in the manuscript of the thematic

catalogue, and that her terms “first”, “second” and “last” refer exclusively to the order of composition.

An alternative order is offered by Savidis. In referring No. 5 to this thematic heading (ΑΠ: 228), he lists the remaining poems of the group in the order 3, 4, 1, 2, 6; and it may be that this order (with the position of No. 5 undetermined) corresponds to the manuscript order. Savidis never states the rationale for his ordering of groups of titles from this thematic catalogue, but in the only case where we are able to check his listing against the catalogue itself (“Byzantine Days”: see III below), his order corresponds exactly with that of the manuscript, and is not the order of composition.

Haas tells us there are indications that the titles under the heading “The Beginnings of Christianity” were listed after 1902 (1983a: 589, n. 1), i.e. several years after the writing of the poems in question. If this dating is correct, then this list was not kept as a running record to which titles were added as new poems were composed, and there would have been no necessity for the titles to appear in order of composition, unless Cavafy had consciously chosen to order the list in that way. In the case of “Byzantine Days” we know that he did not so choose.

The implication of both Haas’ and Savidis’ presentation of their lists of titles classified under the heading “The Beginnings of Christianity” is that these six poems constitute a complete list.

Apart from the alternatives in square brackets we give the titles in the form in which we find them in Haas’ article. In Savidis’ list the title of No. 2 is given as “Ὁ Πειρασμὸς τοῦ Σύρου Ἀσκητοῦ Θαδδαίου”. Haas notes (1983a: 591) that the poem “was rewritten in 1902, with a modification of the title (Ἀσκητοῦ instead of Μοναχοῦ)”. According to the chronological catalogues the rewriting took place in December 1902 and the new title is given in F16, under that date, in abbreviated form (ξαναγράψιμο τοῦ “Ἀσκητοῦ Θαδδαίου”). The entry in F5 is similar. The earlier title (with Μοναχοῦ) is attested in F5 at the date of first writing, July 1892.

Either Savidis or Haas has misrepresented the title as it appears in the manuscript of the thematic catalogue. If it is Haas whose version is inaccurate, and the title in the manuscript includes the word Ἀσκητοῦ, then it may be that the presence of this word, which belongs to the

rewriting of December 1902, is one of the indications that the list was made after 1902.

In the case of No. 5, we suspect that in giving the title as “Ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ἐν τοῖς Μυστηρίοις” Haas *has* misrepresented the manuscript. The composition of the poem is recorded in both F5 and F16, under November 1896, with the title “Ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι”. The presence of this earlier title in F16 makes it almost certain that the revision of the poem, involving the change of title, took place after August 1912. If the later title is the one which appears in the thematic catalogue we would have to conclude that this section of the catalogue was written down, at least in part, after August 1912. It is possible that this thematic grouping was still of active interest to Cavafy in and after 1912, since only two of these six poems (Nos. 1 and 3) are omitted from the new chronological listing when F16 replaced F5; and No. 3, “Πορφύριος”, is the only one of this group which is among the poems described by Cavafy as “trash” in a note written in English in 1906 (OKE: 107 and MKβ: 134). The omission of the original composition of No. 2 from F16 probably only signifies that its title has been changed, since the rewriting with amended title is included, as we have seen. It seems highly unlikely that this thematic list could have been written down in or after 1912 and still have included two titles which were dropped from chronological listing in 1912; and it seems highly probable, therefore, that No. 5 appears in the thematic catalogue as “Ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι”.

III. BYZ[ANTINAI] HM[ΕΡΑΙ]

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|----|---------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | Εὐδ[οκίας] [<i>or:</i>
Εὐδοξίας] Αὐγ[ούστας]
Ἔπει[νος] | 77/92 | Not extant |
| 2. | Ἡ Ἀναστήλωση τῶν
Εἰκ[όνων] | 66/91? | Rev. 3/01, Not extant |
| 3. | Κάρ[ολος] ὁ Μέγ[ας] | —/88?–
6/91? | Not extant |
| 4. | Αἱ Ἀξιώσεις τοῦ
Πάπα | —/88?–
6/91? | Not extant |
| 5. | Ἡ Ἀνάκτηση τῆς
Κρήτης | 11/91 | Not extant |

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 6. | Πρὸ τῆς
Ἱερ[ουσαλήμ] | —/88?–
6/91? | UNPUB (ΚΠ only) |
| 7. | Ἡ Ἐλωση τῆς
Νικ[αίας]
[or: Νικοπόλεως] | —/88?–
6/91? | Not extant |
| 8. | Ὁ Καλὸς [or: Κακὸς]
Ἱππ[ότης] | —/88?–
6/91? | Not extant |
| 9. | Ὁ Γρα[ικὸς]
Στρα[τιώτης] | —/88?–
6/91? | Not extant |
| 10. | Ὁ Χρεμετισμὸς τοῦ
Ἱπ[που] | —/88?–
6/91? | Not extant |
| 11. | Θέλω θαν[εῖν]
μᾶλ[λον ἢ ζῆν] | —/88?–
6/91? | Revised 3/03, and in
1914 or later (=Θεόφιλος
Παλασιολόγος) (CP: 272;
ΚΠ: 181) UNPUB |

This is, as we noted above, one of the two sections of the thematic catalogue F82 which have been published. Haas has published this section (1983b: 79), in the form of a facsimile of a single sheet of paper, or part of a sheet of paper, which shows, below a line across the top, the thematic heading, in capitals, and the eleven titles, in cursive script, in the order reproduced here. The line across the top has a central break, in which appears a squiggle (probably intended as two vertical marks, but joined together); and this line may, for all we know, serve to separate the “Byzantine Days” list from another list above it, on the same piece of paper. The heading and many words in the titles are abbreviated as we have shown, using square brackets to indicate interpolations. We have followed Savidis’ reconstruction of the titles (MKα: 95) with certain exceptions.

In Nos. 2, 5 and 7 Savidis gives the purist forms Ἱναστύλωσις, Ἱνάκτησις and Ἱλωσις, but in the facsimile of the manuscript these words, which are not abbreviated, are clearly in their demotic forms, ending in *eta*, as in our list above.

For No. 2 Savidis gives an extended title, “Ἡ ἐπὶ Εἰρήνης Ἱναστύλωσις τῶν Εἰκόνων”, whose source we have not been able to determine. In the chronological catalogues the rewriting of this poem in March 1903 is recorded in F5 as Ξαναγράψιμο τῆς “Ἱναστηλώσεως

τῶν Εἰκ[όνων]”, and in identical form in F16 except for the variant spelling Ἱναστυλώσεως (with *upsilon* instead of *eta* in the third syllable, as used consistently by Savidis), and the non-abbreviation of Εἰκόνων.

Savidis tentatively dates the composition of all but three of these poems between 1888 and June 1891. In the note of 1906 referred to in Section III above, Cavafy includes unnamed “Byzantine poems” among “trash” written “at the age of 25, 26, 27 and 28”. Cavafy reached the age of 25 in 1888. This is the evidence for the *terminus post quem* (MKβ: 95 and 98, n. 6). The evidence for the *terminus ante quem* is that none of the eight poems in question is listed in any of the chronological catalogues, where the earliest entry (in F2) is June 1891 (MKβ: 99, n. 9).

The dating of Nos. 1 and 5 is secure since it derives from F5. Savidis thinks that No. 2, “Ἡ Ἱναστήλωσις τῶν Εἰκόνων”, “can probably be dated to June 1891” (MKβ: 347), but gives no reason. We wonder if he is assuming that the first entry in F2 is a reference to this poem: under the heading “1891” it reads, “June ‘Εἰκόνες’”. However, the index to *Μικρά Καβαφικά* (MKβ: 512, under the lemma Εἰκόνες) links this entry, if we allow for the error in the page number (“71” instead of “72”), not to the title in question, but to an entry in F5 for March 1896 which reads Εἰκ[όνες] τινές. We have already noted a clear reference in the same catalogue to “Ἡ Ἱναστήλωσις τῶν Εἰκόνων”, and in the absence of further evidence Savidis’ dating of the composition of this poem to June 1891 must be regarded as highly conjectural. In another place (MKβ: 99, n. 9) he appears to include this poem among those whose composition can only be tentatively dated as between 1888 and June 1891.

In the manuscript, all the titles except Nos. 2, 6, 7 and 11 have been crossed out, either by cross-hatching (Nos. 3 and 10) or by a zig-zag line (Nos. 1, 4 and 5) or by a single thick wavy line (Nos. 8 and 9). This suggests that Cavafy rejected the other seven poems at some date or dates subsequent to the compilation of the list.⁹

⁹For a fuller discussion of the “Byzantine Days” section of this thematic catalogue see Ekdawi, 1996.

IV. Ο ΑΡΧΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΗΠΕΙΡΟΥ

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|-------|------------|
| 1. | Τὸ Στρατόπεδον τοῦ Ἀλῆ πασᾶ | 12/91 | Not extant |
| 2. | Οἱ φόβοι τοῦ Ἀλῆ πασᾶ | 1/92 | Not extant |
| 3. | Ὁ Ἄρχων τῆς Ἠπείρου | 1/92 | Not extant |

Although we have found no reference explicitly allocating titles to this heading, it is a reasonable assumption that the poem title identical with the heading belongs here, and a reasonable conjecture that the other two titles referring to Ali Pasha, the notorious Archon of Epirus at the time of the Greek War of Independence, also belong here. The titles of Nos. 1 and 3 are abbreviated in the chronological catalogue F5, and we use here the forms reconstructed by Savidis (MKβ: 73 and 204).

V. ΠΑΘΗ

- | | | | |
|-----------|----------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. (L1) | Ὁ Σεπ[τέμβρης]
τοῦ 1903 | 10/03 | UNPUB |
| 2. (L2) | Ὁ Δεκ[έμβρης] τοῦ
1903 | 12/03 | UNPUB |
| 3. (L3) | Ὁ Γεν[νάρης] τοῦ
1904 | 1/04 | UNPUB |
| 4. (L4) | Ἡ Φωτ[ο]γρ[αφία] | 1/04 | UNFIN <i>or</i> : Not extant <i>or</i> :
= No. 22 |
| 5. (L5) | Σταῖς Σκάλαις | 2/04 | UNPUB |
| 6. (L6) | Χθὲς Νύχτα | 3/04 | Rev 7/07 (= No. 13) <i>or</i> :
Not extant |
| 7. (L7) | Στὸ Θέ[ατρο] | 3/04 | UNPUB |
| 8. (L8) | Ἄπ' τὰ χέρια τοῦ
Ἔρωτος | 7/04 | PUB ?after 6/15 (=Στοῦ
Καφενείου τὴν Εἴσοδο) |
| 9. (L9) | Μεθυσμένοις | 5/05 | ?Rev 7/13 (= Μισομεθυ-
σμένος), PUB —/16 (= Ἐν
τῇ Ὁδῷ) <i>or</i> : Not extant |
| 10. (L10) | Ποί[ημα] | 6/05 | Not extant |
| 11. (R2) | Ἐπήγα | 6/05 | PUB 10/13 |
| 12. (R3) | Λαγνεία | 12/05 | PUB —/16 (= Ὁμνύει). |

- | | | | |
|-----------|---------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| 13. (R4) | 1 [=Ἐνα] Βράδῳ μου | 7/07 | Rev ?date (= Μιὰ Νύχτα
μου), PUB 6/16 (= Μιὰ
Νύχτα) |
| 14. (R5) | Στοὺς Δρ[όμους] | 8/07 | Not extant |
| 15. (R6) | Τὸ Κλ[εισμένο]
ἀμ[άξι] | 9/07 | PUB —/17 (= Ἡ Προθήκη
τοῦ Καπνοπωλείου) |
| 16. (R7) | Ἐκφυλισμένος
Ἔρ[ως] | 12/08 | Not extant |
| 17. (R8) | Μάρτιος 1907 | 3/09 | PUB —/17 (= Μέρες τοῦ
1903) |
| 18. (R9) | Πολυέλαιος | 4/95 | ?Rev 10/09, PUB 6/14. |
| 19. (R10) | Ἔρ[ωτος]
ἄκουσμα | 6/11 | UNPUB |
| 20. (R11) | Γιὰ τὰ Ὠρ[αῖα] | 10/11 | PUB 5/17 (= Ἔτσι πολὺ
ἀτένισα) |
| 21. (R12) | Ἐνδυν[άμωσις] | 6/03
8/12 | <i>or</i> : Not extant <i>or</i> : UNPUB
(= Δυνάμωσις) |
| 22. (C1) | Ἔτσι | 4/13 | UNPUB |
| 23. (C2) | [Τὰ] Πολύτι[μα] | 7/13 | PUB 5/17 (= Ὅταν
Διηγείρονται) |
| 24. (R13) | Μακροῦ | 3/14 | PUB 12/14 |
| 25. (R1) | Ἡ ἀρχή τ[ων] | 6/15 | PUB 3/21. |

This list is derived from a photograph published by Lena Savidi in the *Cavafy Album* (Savidi, 1983: 295). The photograph appears without transcription or comment. Below it is the reference, Αρχεῖο Καβάφη F82, and above, the date 1904. Titles Nos. 1–8, 18 and 21 could have been inscribed in 1904, but the rest belong to poems first written between 1905 and 1915. The photograph shows twenty-five titles, of which twenty-three are arranged in two columns, ten in the left-hand column and thirteen in the right, with a further two titles in the centre of the page at the bottom. These two titles and the last title in the right-hand column are inscribed below two curved lines like large swung dashes, extending most of the way across the page, with two joined vertical marks in the space between them. These lines look as if they originally indicated the end of the list, which appears, therefore, in its final form, to contain more entries than Cavafy, at some earlier stage,

anticipated. The heading Πάθη is at the top, aligned left with the left-hand column.

It is clear from the photograph that some of the entries in the manuscript list are in ink and others in pencil, and that there is variation in the style and size of the handwriting. Some of the entries have been abbreviated (the words and letters we have added are enclosed in square brackets), and three of them have been crossed out (Nos. 6, 9 and 23). In our transcription we have arranged and numbered the titles in the order in which we believe that Cavafy wrote them down. Each of our sequential numbers 1–25 is followed by a reference in brackets which indicates the location of the title in the manuscript. Titles in the left-hand column are referred to as L1–L10, those in the right as R1–R13, and the two titles located in the centre at the bottom of the page as C1–C2 (reading downwards in each case).

As can be seen from the table, Cavafy's entries L1–L10 form a chronological sequence in order of composition (from October 1903 to June 1905) which is continued in R2–R13 (from June 1905 to March 1914), with the apparent exceptions of R9 and R12 (our Nos. 18 and 21).¹⁰ This, together with the mixed use of ink and pencil, strongly suggests a running list to which titles were added as new erotic poems were composed (or old ones revised). The composition dates of C1 and C2 fall between those of R12 (its later alternative date) and R13 (our Nos. 21 and 24). It appears from this that the three entries below the curved lines form a group which were written down after R12 in the order C1, C2, R13.¹¹ The composition date of R1 is later than that of any other title in the list, and, since the space between R1 and R2 below is larger than elsewhere in the list, and R2 is aligned with L1, it seems reasonable to suppose that R2 was the first title to be entered in the

¹⁰R12 is discussed below. R9 (“Πολυέλαιος”) was first composed in 1895, but not published until 1914. We suggest that its position in this list indicates a revision between March 1909 and June 1911 (the composition dates of R8 and R10). It is tempting to identify this revision with the abbreviated entry in F5, “’Οκτ. ’09 Πολ.”, even though in the corresponding (unabbreviated) entry in F16 the title is transcribed by Savidis as Πολεμισταί (which is not otherwise attested).

¹¹A pair of lines have been drawn down the left hand side and across the bottom of this group, probably indicating their separation from the left-hand column and association with the right.

right-hand column, and that R1 was entered last, after R13, and placed at the top of the page because there was no more space at the bottom.

We have found only a single reference in Savidis' writings to the listing of specific titles under the heading “Passions” in the thematic catalogue (as distinct from the inclusion of manuscripts of poems in the “Passions” File): a note to the unpublished poem “Δυνάμωσις” (ΑΠ: 236–7) The issues involved are complex and we therefore translate the whole of the relevant passage:

According to the chronological catalogues (F5 and F16), in June 1903 Cavafy wrote a poem with the title “Ἐνδυνάμωσις”. However, F16 inscribes the same title also in August 1912. I think that it is a question of two different poems, of which the second (which was either destroyed or preserved with some other title) appears from the thematic catalogue (F82) to have a clearly [or explicitly (σαφώς)] erotic character, since it is classified under the heading “Passions” together with ... [and here he lists Nos. 19, 24, 20 and 22, in that order] ... and others. I believe that both the style (γραφή) and the handwriting (γραφικός χαρακτήρας) of “Δυνάμωσις” allow us, with reasonable probability, to identify it with the “Ἐνδυνάμωσις” of 1903.

The argument here seems unsatisfactory, but this may be partly because some of the substantiating evidence has not been supplied.

If we assume for the moment that Savidis is correct in supposing that the entries in the chronological catalogues for June 1903 and August 1912 refer to two separate poems, then he is probably right to conclude that the “Ἐνδυνάμωσις” entered in the thematic catalogue is the later one. A composition date of August 1912 fits better not only with the composition dates of the other four poems in Savidis' partial list, which range from 1911 to 1914, but also with the position of the title “Ἐνδυνάμωσις” in the full list, following R11 (composed in October 1911).

We are obviously not in a position to comment on the graphological evidence for the earlier dating of “Δυνάμωσις”, but we can offer some observations on the text of the poem as published by Savidis (ΑΠ: 133, and, with orthographic changes,¹² ΚΠ: 83).

¹²No explanation is offered in either *Hidden Poems* (ΚΠ) or the 1991 edition of the “Canon” (ΤΠ) for minor orthographic and other changes which

“Δυνάμωσις” is not, we suggest, so far removed in tone from other didactic poems such as “Ἀπολείπειν ὁ Θεὸς Ἀντώνιον” or “Ἰθάκη”, both first written in 1910, or “Ὁ Θεόδοτος”, first written in 1911 and published in 1915. Its thought is more advanced and the basic idea bolder than that of “Ὅσο Μπορεῖς”, first written in 1905 but not published until 1913. The assertion in “Δυνάμωσις”, that “whoever wants to strengthen his spirit” (in Keeley and Sherrard’s translation, CP: 188) will “hold to some laws / but he’ll mostly violate / both law and custom, and go beyond / the established, inadequate norm” may remind us of those poems first published in 1916 and 1917 in which Cavafy for the first time refers to the “abnormal” or “unlawful” nature of the love he writes about: “Ἐν τῇ Ὀδῶ” (written 1913), “Ἡ Προθήκη τοῦ Καπνοπωλείου” (1907), and “Πέρασμα” (1914). And the statement in “Δυνάμωσις” that “he won’t be afraid of the destructive act: / half of the house will have to come down” needs to be related to Cavafy’s final comment on the character in “Μέρες τοῦ 1896” (a poem written in 1925), who put “the pure sensuality of his flesh / above his honour and reputation”. “Above his honour?” the poet asks, and answers, “But Society / totally narrow minded, had all its values wrong” (translation in CP: 146).

Viewed in the context of Cavafy’s work as a whole, it is clear that the implicit subject of “Δυνάμωσις” is the superiority of “abnormal” sexuality. The poem includes the line, “By pleasures he will be taught much”. This can be compared with the insistence on sensual pleasure symbolised by the acquisition of perfumes in “Ἰθάκη” as part of the process of gaining experience and wisdom. This connection was noted by Keeley and Savidis (PAD: 22). We see no reason to hesitate to identify the published text of “Δυνάμωσις” with the poem classified by Cavafy under the heading “Passions”, and we tentatively suggest (aware that we are not in possession of all the evidence) that the simplest solution to the problem of “Δυνάμωσις”/“Ἐνδυνάμωσις” is that only one poem is involved: first written in 1903, revised in 1912, with a subsequent change of title from “Ἐνδυνάμωσις” to “Δυνάμωσις”.

This leaves unexplained Cavafy’s failure to indicate that the entry in F16 for August 1912 was a rewriting, but we find this less

Savidis made to the texts which he had previously published in *Unpublished Poems* (AII) or the 1963 edition of the “Canon” (II).

problematic than the idea that Cavafy gave the same title to two separate poems and allowed both entries to remain in the same chronological catalogue, especially since, as Savidis deduces from the appearance of the manuscript, all the entries in F16 up to and including August 1912 were written down at the same time (MKβ: 51).¹³

Cavafy’s failure to amend the title of “Ἐνδυνάμωσις” to “Δυνάμωσις” in F16 does not tell significantly against our suggestion that only a single poem is involved. Even in the case of poems published under titles different from those first entered in F16, Cavafy’s practice was inconsistent, and a number of superseded titles remain unamended. For example, in the entry for September 1917 the title “Δόρου Τάφος” has been crossed out and replaced by “Εἰς τὸ Ἐπίνειον” (the title under which the poem was published in 1918), while two lines below, in the entry for November 1917, the title “Δώδεκα καὶ Μισή” has not been crossed out, and the title under which this poem was published (also in 1918), “Ἄπ’ τὲς Ἐννιά”, does not appear in F16 at all.

If, as we suggest, there is only one poem entitled “Ἐνδυνάμωσις”, then it appears that Cavafy entered it under the heading “Πάθη” at the time of its revision rather than of its original composition. The same seems to be true for “Πολυέλατος” (see note 10). We can say then that all the poems whose titles are found in the “Passions” section of the thematic catalogue F82 were written or revised between October 1903 and June 1915. The latest composition date of any poem which we know to have been entered in any other section of this thematic catalogue is April 1900 (“Ἡρώδης Ἀττικός”, No. 13 in Section I, “Ancient Days”). There can, therefore, be little doubt that the “Passions” section is associated with an altogether later period than that in which Cavafy was occupied with the other sections of what has, hitherto, been regarded as a single document, “the thematic catalogue F82”.

Although the notes in the 1963 edition of the Canon (II) contain no

¹³We do not know what significance it has, but it seems worth noting that in the second entry of the title “Ἐνδυνάμωσις” in F16, the date, August 1912, has, according to Savidis’ typographic conventions, been crossed out, although the title has not.

references at all to the thematic catalogue, there are many such references in the revised, 1991, edition (ΤΠ), but none to the “Passions” section. Savidis’ note to “Δυνάμωσις” which we quoted above (his only descriptive reference to the “Passions” section of the catalogue) was published in 1968 (ΑΠ). We wonder whether, at some time between 1968 and 1991, Savidis quietly decided that the list of poems under the heading “Passions” was not properly a part of the thematic catalogue constituted by the eight other headings. In an article first published in 1974 there is an ambiguous — perhaps revealingly ambiguous — reference to the “various series of poems which [Cavafy] privately labelled (τιτλοφορούσε) ‘Prisons’, ‘Fleeting Years’, ‘Passions’” (ΜΚβ: 184). Is the avoidance of the term “thematic catalogue” merely stylistic, or is it significant? Writing in English in the introduction to the notes to Keeley and Sherrard’s translation of the *Collected Poems*, Savidis includes “Passions” among the headings of what he calls “an early thematic catalogue” (CP: 212). This was first published in 1975 but the phrase in question is unaltered in the revised edition (1992). It is a commonplace of Cavafy studies to regard 1911 as a watershed in the poet’s development, the point at which he attained his maturity as an artist, and in that year Cavafy reached the age of forty-eight. By no standard, therefore, can a list containing erotic poems written in the period 1903–1915 be appropriately described as part of an “early thematic catalogue”.

The “Passions” section of the thematic catalogue is quite distinct from the “Passions” File. Although the “Passions” File provides another instance of the use of “Passions” as a classificatory term, it is not a list of titles but, as already mentioned, a file or folder containing the manuscripts of eleven unpublished erotic poems, including seven of the poems whose titles appear in the “Passions” section of the thematic catalogue. We list below in order of composition the eleven poems known to be in the “Passions” File. The Arabic numerals in brackets indicate (where appropriate) their position in our transcription of the “Passions” section of the catalogue above. The titles are followed as in other tables by their composition dates.

i.	(1)	Ὁ Σεπτέμβρης τοῦ 1903	10/03
ii.	(2)	Ὁ Δεκέμβρης τοῦ 1903	12/03

iii.	(3)	Ὁ Γεννάριος τοῦ 1904	1/04
iv.	(5)	Σταῖς Σκάλαις	2/04
v.	(7)	Στὸ Θέατρο	3/04
vi.	(19)	Ἐρωτος Ἔκρουσμα	6/11
vii.	(22)	Ἐτσι	4/13
viii.		Κι ἀκούμπησα καὶ πλάγιασα στὲς κλίνες τῶν	9/15
ix.		Μισὴ Ὠρα	1/17
x.		Ὁ Δεμένος Ὠμος	3/19
xi.		Ἄπ’ τὸ Συρτάρι	1/23

VI. ΕΤΗ ΠΤΕΡΟΕΝΤΑ

1.	Ὅταν, Φίλοι μου, ἀγαποῦσα	—/85	UNPUB
2.	Κερίά	9/93	PUB 12/99
3.	La Jeunesse Blanche	1/95	UNPUB
4.	Ἐλεγεία τῶν Λουλουδιῶν	—/84? (=Οἶαπερ Φύλλων Γενεή), Rev —/85 (= Τὰ Ἄνθη τοῦ Μαῖου), Pub 4/95 (= Ἐλεγεία τῶν Λουλουδιῶν) Pub 12/00 (= Ἡ Ἐλεγεία τῶν Λουλουδιῶν), REJ	
5.	Ἐνας Γέρος	10/94	PUB 12/97 with sub-title “Eheu Fugaces”

In a note to No. 1 (ΑΠ: 210) Savidis lists Nos. 2–5 in the order given here followed by the phrase “and others”. The list is therefore incomplete, but the position of Nos. 1 and 2 is correct, since elsewhere Savidis tells us that “in the thematic catalogue ... in the thematic grouping (ενότητα) entitled ‘Fleeting Years’, the poet notes second “Κερίά”, and first “Ὅταν, Φίλοι μου, ἀγαποῦσα” (ΟΚΕ: 194).

No. 4 went through a number of revisions and three changes of title. The earliest manuscript, which can probably be dated 1884 (ΑΠΚΜ: 102) is entitled “Οἶαπερ Φύλλων Γενεή” (ΑΠΚΜ: 103). A second manuscript dated 1885 has the title “Τὰ Ἄνθη τοῦ Μαῖου” (ΑΠΚΜ: 104). The 1895 publication bore the title “Ἐλεγεία τῶν

Λουλουδιῶν”, while in the 1900 republication the definite article was added, “Ἡ Ἐλεγεία τῶν Λουλουδιῶν” (ΑΠΚΜ: 102–3). When Savidis lists some of the poems included under the heading “Fleeting Years” he gives the title of this poem in the form belonging to the first publication of 1895 (the form in which Savidis republished the poem: ΑΠΚΜ: 37–8). If we could be sure that in so doing Savidis was accurately reproducing the entry in the thematic catalogue, we could suggest a date between 1895 and 1900 for this part of the catalogue.

In a note to the English text, “Darkness and Shadows”,¹⁴ Savidis suggests that this piece of juvenilia, written before 1883, might be connected with the title “Ὁ Ἥλιος μὲς στὸ Σκοτάδι” which is entered in the thematic catalogue F82 (ΑΠ: 250), but he does not say under what heading this title is classified in the catalogue. Such a title seems more suited to one of the “philosophical” headings than to “Passions” or to a historical heading. We know that our lists under the headings “Fleeting Years” and “Our Art” are incomplete, and of these two “Fleeting Years” seems the more likely.

VII. ΦΥΛΑΚΑΙ

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Φωνὰ Γλυκεῖαι | 7/94 Pub 12/94, REJ, Rev 12/03 (= Φωνάις), PUB 8/04 (= Φωνές) |
| 2. Πάλι στὴν ἴδια Πόλι | 8/94 Rev, PUB 4/10 (= Ἡ Πόλις) |
| 3. Σύγχυσις | 3/96 UNPUB |
| 4. Τείχη | 9/96 PUB 1/97? |
| 5. Τὰ Παράθυρα | 8/97 PUB 11/03 |
| 6. Σὰν Πεθαμένο | 8/97 Not extant |
| 7. Ἡ Ψυχὲς τῶν Γερόντων | 8/98 PUB 8/01 |

In a note to No. 3 (ΑΠ: 225) Savidis lists Nos. 2 and 4–7 in the order given here, and without the addition of “and others”, suggesting that he is giving a complete list. This note leaves the position of our No. 3

¹⁴The manuscript, which is in the hand of the poet’s brother John and has John’s initials at the end, is subtitled “a transcription from the French of C.F.C.” (i.e. Constantine Cavafy). Since John Cavafy later published this so-called transcription under his own name its authorship is in doubt (see Savidis 1983: 75).

undetermined, but elsewhere, with reference to a study of “inside” and “outside” in Cavafy’s work, Savidis notes (MKβ: 290, n. 30) that “the first to realize the capital importance of the theme of enclosure in Cavafy’s poetry was, naturally, Cavafy himself, probably in 1898–99, when he classified under the thematic title ‘Prisons’ the following poems ...” and then he lists Nos. 2–7 in that order. Again this reads as though he is giving a complete list. Our inclusion of No.1 is based on a reference by Savidis (MKβ: 349) to the connection between “Δευτέρα Ὀδύσσεια” and “such poems as Cavafy had classified under the early thematic heading ‘Prisons’”. He then lists Nos. 1, 2 and 3 in that order. The article in which this occurs was written in 1984 and published in 1986, and is therefore later than either of the apparently complete listings of six poems to which we have already referred which were published in 1968 and 1983. Thus it is possible that in the 1986 article Savidis is making an unannounced correction of a previous omission. However, the classification of “Φωνὰ Γλυκεῖαι” under the thematic heading “Prisons” is not confirmed in the 1991 note to “Φωνές” (ΤΠα: 167).

The order of the seven poems, derived from Savidis’ three separate lists, is also the order of composition. Nos. 5 and 6 were both composed in August 1897, but No. 5 is listed before No. 6 in the chronological catalogue F5. However, we cannot be sure that this order also represents the order as it appears in the manuscript of the thematic catalogue.

We note that in one of the passages quoted above Savidis dates this thematic list as “probably 1898–99” We do not know the reason for this. Perhaps the appearance of the manuscript suggests that all the titles were inscribed at one time, in which case the list must be dated after the composition of No. 7 in August 1898.

VIII. Η ΤΕΧΝΗ ΜΑΣ

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Nous n’osons plus chanter
les roses | 4/92 UNPUB |
| 2. Εὐλάβεια | ? Rev 4/04, not extant |
| 3. Τὸ Καλαμάρι | 2/94 Pub 12/94, REJ |
| 4. Στοὺς Κάμπους | 10/93 Not extant |

5. Τεχνητὰ Ἄνθη	?	Rev 2/03, UNPUB
6. Τὸ Πρῶτο [or: Τελευταῖο] Σκαλί	2/95	PUB 12/99 (= Τὸ Πρῶτο Σκαλί)

This is not a complete list. In a note to No. 1 (ΑΠ: 211) Savidis says that it is “classified under the heading ‘Our Art’ together with ...” and he lists Nos. 2–6 in the order we have used here, and adds “and others” (κ.ά.). In a note to No. 5 (ΑΠ: 235), using a similar format, he gives a shorter list consisting of Nos. 1, 3 and 6, in that order. This tells us that in Savidis’ listing our No. 1 comes before No. 3, but leaves us unsure of the order of Nos. 1 and 2. Apart from this one uncertainty we reproduce Savidis’ ordering of an admittedly incomplete list, but we do not know if this ordering corresponds to that of the manuscript of the thematic catalogue. We note that Savidis’ order does not correspond to the order of composition.

It is possible that No. 6 was entered in the thematic catalogue as “Τὸ Τελευταῖο Σκαλί”, the form in which it was entered in the chronological catalogue F5, presumably at or shortly after the time of writing (June 1895). It was evidently later revised, and published in 1899 as “Τὸ Πρῶτο Σκαλί”, and Cavafy changed the title when transferring the entry from F5 to F16. Knowing which form was present in the thematic catalogue would aid in dating at least this part of the catalogue.

Savidis’ notes to the poem in the 1991 edition (ΤΠα: 170) begin as follows:

It was first written in February 1895, with the title “Τὸ Τελευταῖο Σκαλί”, and classified in the thematic grouping (ενότητα) “Our Art”.

(1) [= details of first publication] December 1899, *Αἰγυπτιατικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον* for the year 1890 [*sic*, but clearly an error for “1900”] with the title “Τὸ Πρῶτο Σκαλί”.

The first statement could be taken to imply that the poem was entered in the thematic catalogue with the earlier form of the title. On the other hand this implication may not have been intended by Savidis, but is simply the result of his systematic ordering of items of information in the notes to the 1991 edition.

IX. ΤΡΕΙΣ ΕΙΚΟΝΕΣ

1. Ἴνδικὴ Εἰκὼν	8/92	UNPUB
2. Πελασγικὴ Εἰκὼν	8/92	UNPUB
3. Χαλδαϊκὴ Εἰκὼν	10/96	UNPUB

This is a self-evidently complete list. The order is derived from Savidis’ separate notes to the three poems. In each case he lists the other two poems in the following consistently ordered pairs: 2–3, 1–3 and 1–2 (ΑΠ: 212, 227, and ΚΠ: 147, 161–2). We note that the resulting order is alphabetical and that it represents the sequence of composition as recorded in the chronological catalogue F5, where, although composition of Nos. 1 and 2 is dated to August 1892, No. 1 is entered before No. 2. We remain unsure whether Savidis’ order also represents the order in the manuscript of the thematic catalogue.

A connection between this group of poems and one or both of the entries in the chronological catalogues for June 1891 (“Εἰκόνες”), and March 1896 (“Εἰκ[όνες] τινές”), which were mentioned above under Section III, seems unlikely, but in the absence of further evidence cannot be ruled out. It is just conceivable that the earlier entry refers to a first draft of Nos. 1 and 2 and the later entry to further work on these poems and the first draft of No. 3.

The heading “Three Pictures” should almost certainly be dated after the composition of the third poem in October 1896. It is of course possible, if unlikely, that the list existed with the heading “Pictures” or “Two Pictures” prior to this date.

The Thematic Catalogue (F11)

The thematic catalogue F11 remains in many ways more “hidden” than F82. Savidis has, as far as we know, mentioned it in print only once, in the article referred to in our introductory remarks, and he has given details of only one of its headings. In one way, however, Savidis has given us a clearer picture of it than he has of F82, since he has provided elements of a physical description. When he first introduces this catalogue, he does so in potentially confusing terms, describing it as “a ‘functional’ [we are unsure what Savidis means to convey by

χρηστικός] thematic catalogue [or list] on the inner leaf of a folder in the Archive (F11), with titles, without dates, of poems from the thematic grouping ‘Ancient Days’” (MKa: 263–4). This suggests that the catalogue consists of nothing more than a list of poems under a single heading, and this impression is reinforced when he tells us in a note that “the thematic title ‘Ancient Days’ is also on the outer cover of the folder” (MKa: 276, n. 15). However, in another note, having made it clear that the “Ancient Days” list is confined to a single page of the folder, he says that the catalogue “continues on the third and fourth pages of the folder”. This makes it almost certain that the catalogue contains other headings, but Savidis offers no further information, saying that he reserves “a detailed description of this catalogue to be given ... in a separate publication” (MKa: 278, n. 18). This has not appeared, but we reconstruct here a single section of the thematic catalogue F11. The format of the presentation is the same as for F82, except that in a fifth column of the table we give, where appropriate, cross references by section and title numbers to our reconstruction of F82.

I. APXAIAI HMEPAI

1.	Λαγίδου Φιλοξενία	4/93	UNPUB	(I, 5)
2.	Ἡ Κόρη τοῦ Μενκερᾶ	4/92	Not extant	(I, 1)
3.	Ἐπιτάφιον	6/93	UNPUB	(I, ii)
4.	Γλόπτου Ἐργαστήριον	6/93	Rev 11/03, PUB 3/11 (= Τυανεύς Γλύπτης)	
5.	Θεατῆς Δυσαρεστημένος	6/93	Rev 1/06, UNPUB	(I, 7)
6.	Πατρικός Ἑλληνίζων	6/93	Not extant	
7.	Ὁ Κάτων Παρωρισμένος	6/93	Not extant	
8.	Ὁ Κρίτων	7/93	Not extant	
9.	Ὁ Ὀράτιος ἐν Ἀθήναις	7/93	Pub 12/97, REJ	(I, iii)

10.	Τὰ Βήματα τῶν Εὐμενίδων	8/93	Pub 1/97, REJ, Rev 12/08, PUB 9/09 (= Τὰ Βήματα)	(I, 8)
11.	Ὁ Θρήνος τῶν Ἀδελφῶν τοῦ Φαέθοντος	10/92	Pub 26/1/97, REJ	(I, i)
12.	Ἡ Κηδεία τοῦ Σαρπηδόνας	?3/92– ?11/92	Pub 12/98, REJ, Rev 8/08, PUB 9/08	(I, 2)
13.	Οἱ Μιμιάμβοι τοῦ Ἡρώδου	11/92	UNPUB	(I, 2)
14.	Ἐμπορος Ἀλεξανδρεύς	4/93	UNPUB	(I, 4)
15.	Τὰ Ἄλογα τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως	7/96	PUB 12/97	(I, 10)
16.	Ἡ Δόξα τῶν Πτολεμαίων	8/96	Rev 5/11, PUB 9/11	(I, 11)
17.	Πριάμου Νυκτοπορία	5/93	UNPUB	(I, 6)
18.	Ἡ Ἀρχαία Τραγωδία	3/93	Pub 12/97, REJ	
19.	Ἡ Κακία τῶν Θεῶν	?	Not extant	
20.	Ἡ Ψῆφος τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς	10/94	Pub 12/94, REJ	
21.	Τιμόλαος ὁ Συρακούσιος	4/92	Pub 12/94, REJ	
22.	Ἐπίγραμμα εἰς τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα	12/95	Not extant	
23.	Σαλώμη	6/96	UNPUB	(I, 9)
24.	Κλεοπάτρα	?	Not extant	
25.	Ἐπιγραφαί	3/92	Not extant	
26.	Ὁ Θάνατος τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Τακίτου	11/96	Pub 1/97, REJ, Rev 12/06	(I, iv)
27.	Ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ἐν Ἐλευσίनि	11/96	Unpub	(II, 5)
28.	Οἱ Ταραντίνοι Διασκεδάζουσι	3/97	Pub 12/98, REJ	(I, v)
29.	Ὀδὸς Ἐκεῖνος	8/98	PUB 3/09	(I, 12)
30.	Ἡρώδης Ἀττικός	4/00	Rev 8/11, PUB 6/12	(I, 13)

Nos 11–14 are listed in the text of Savidis’ article on the seven stages of “Ἡ Κηδεία τοῦ Σαρπηδόνοϋς” (No. 12) (MKα: 264), and Nos. 1–10 and 15–30 are listed in two separate notes to the article (MKα: 277, n. 16 and n. 18 respectively). It is evident from what Savidis says in the text and notes that the list as we have reassembled it here is a complete list, and that the titles are arranged in the order in which they occur in the manuscript.

This list contains all of the thirteen titles in our almost certainly incomplete list under the same heading in F82, as well as the titles of the additional five poems associated with the epititle “Ancient Days”, whose inclusion in F82 is unconfirmed. The dates of composition of all thirty poems in the F11 list fall within the same range, 1892–1900, as those of the poems in the F82 list, and this is further evidence that the F82 list is far from complete. It seems likely that some, at least, of the titles in the F11 list which we do not *know* to be included in the F82 list, are in fact included in it. Most of the poems whose titles appear in F11 but are not known to be in F82, and are not associated with the epititle “Ancient Days”, are either not extant (Nos. 6, 7, 8, 19, 22, 24 and 25) or were published and then rejected (Nos. 18, 20, 21). As we have already noted there are no references to thematic classification in *Repudiated Poems* and Savidis would not, therefore, have had occasion, in the course of his normal editorial practice, to note the inclusion in F82 of any of these poems. The case of No. 4, “Γλόπτου Ἐργαστήριον”, is different. It was published in a revised form as “Τυανεδς Γλόπτης”, but Savidis’ note to this poem, while referring to the earlier title, makes no mention of its inclusion in F82 (TIIα: 141–2).

No. 27, “Ὁ Ἰουλιανός ἐν Ἐλευσίνι”, is listed in F82, but under “The Beginnings of Christianity” and not “Ancient Days”. Its listing under “Ancient Days” in F11 is perplexing. If F11 lacks the heading “The Beginnings of Christianity”, one would expect more of the titles listed under that heading in F82 to appear in the “Ancient Days” section of F11. With the limited evidence available, we can only surmise that this discrepancy between the two thematic catalogues indicates a change of mind on Cavafy’s part about the classification of this particular poem.

We note that the last five poems in the F11 list (Nos. 26–30) are arranged in order of composition, that their dates of composition are later than those of any other poems whose titles are included in the list, and that the rest of the list is not chronologically arranged. (Although Nos. 2–10 do form a chronological sequence, covering the period April 1892 to August 1893, titles of other poems composed within that period are found elsewhere in the list.) The arrangement and composition dates of Nos. 26–30 suggest the possibility that the titles up to and including No. 25 were written down together at the same time, between August 1896 (the composition date of No. 16, and the latest date of any poem listed before No. 26) and November 1896 (the composition date of Nos. 26 and 27), and that from November 1896 to April 1900 the list functioned as a running list, with titles entered as the poems were composed. This supposition, if correct, may be a clue to what Savidis means by calling F11 a χρηστικὸς θεματικὸς κατάλογος — a thematic catalogue which was “in use” with entries being added to it over a period of years, as distinct from an entirely retrospective classification of poems already composed.

It is highly unlikely that F82 and F11 were “in use” simultaneously, and we suggest, as extremely tentative hypotheses, first, that the thematic catalogue F11 is the earlier of the two, begun in 1896 and used as a running catalogue until 1900 or slightly later, when it was replaced by F82; second, that the F82 catalogue (except for the “Passions” section) was a largely (if not entirely) retrospective classification to which few (if any) titles were added after it had first been written down around 1900; and third, that the “Passions” section of the F82 catalogue is not properly a part of the catalogue which replaced F11, but a separate and later classificatory list, made by Cavafy after the rest of the F82 catalogue had ceased to be of interest to him.

In 1904, after a rigorous scrutiny of all the poems he had published and written up to that date, Cavafy produced his first collection of poems for private circulation, *Poems 1904*, printed in January 1905. The fourteen poems of this collection were arranged thematically, and from this point on thematic arrangement took over from mere thematic classification. It is possible that the thematic catalogues were related to a project to produce a much larger and more comprehensive collection

of his poems. There is some evidence for such a project in the pagination of the manuscripts of poems written up to and including 1904, a project which would have been abandoned after the self-censorship completed in that year.

* * *

From our discussion of the evidence for the thematic catalogues it will be clear that much information remains “hidden” in the Cavafy Archive. The quantity and significance of the material that remains unpublished is difficult to estimate. In a note added for the republication in 1985 of a brief preliminary survey of the material in the Archive (first published in 1963), Savidis mentioned that “the detailed catalogue of the Archive has been completed by Michalis Pieris and is ready for publication” (MKα: 53, n. 33), but this publication — of what would be a useful guide to the extent of our ignorance — is still awaited. Given the enormous advances in Cavafy studies made possible by the results of George Savidis’ work on the material in the Cavafy Archive — we have in mind both his editions of Cavafy and his bibliographical and critical studies — it is most unfortunate that he did not live to complete the publication of the Archive. As it is, a considerable body of data remains inaccessible, and effectively uncatalogued, in what is, to all intents and purposes, a private archive. We hope that the current uncertainty about the future of the Archive will soon be resolved. In the meantime we can only conclude by reaffirming the “imperative necessity”, as Savidis himself put it more than thirty years ago, “that the Cavafy Archive be published as quickly as possible in its entirety”.

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AKRITIC FOLKSONG AND *DIGENIS* AKRITIS: CENTRAL KING AND PERIPHERAL HERO?*

In this paper I will attempt to apply the geometrical schema of centre and periphery to the essential relationship between king and hero in Akritic folksong and the Byzantine epic *Digenis Akritis*. For this purpose, from the cycle of Akritic songs I will refer mainly to the *Song of the Son of Andronikos*, the three versions of the *Song of Porphyris*, the *Song of Theophylaktos* and the *Song of Digenis and the Crab* all found in the collection of Petropoulos (Petropoulos, 1958: 36–40, 43–8, 51–3, 16–19). As far as the Byzantine epic is concerned, I will consider mainly the version contained in the Grottaferrata manuscript (Mavrogordato, 1956), though I also refer to the Escorial version (Ricks, 1990). I will, however, extend my comparison to the first heroic epic, the *Iliad*, which originally provoked and channelled my inquiry, and I will use this as a gnomon for my discussion.

After close analysis, we find that in this epic authority is not identified with heroism; in fact there is a clear distinction between the two. Authority appears to stand at the centre while heroism lies on the periphery and takes many different forms. Agamemnon represents that centre surrounded by a number of heroic peripheral figures. He is the leader of the army but he is not the bravest of heroes. And because there exists this dimension of heroism that he does not encompass, there is a definite shift of attention from the centre to one very important point of the periphery. As a result he does not become renowned as the protagonist of the *Iliad*. It is in fact this one significant point of the periphery that acquires all the fame, and is represented by the outstanding heroic figure of Achilles.

This happens when the peripheral hero is given the pretext to challenge the central king. At this stage the behaviour of the king becomes crucial to the course of events. For the king's conduct determines whether the geometrical schema of centre and periphery will remain as it is or will change.

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