

IHD Open Hellenic Library · Publication 001

The Little Fatherland

Η Μικρή Πατρίδα

[Second Proclamation to the Enslaved and the Liberated Greeks, 1908]

Ion Dragoumis (Ίων Δραγούμης), 1878–1920

IHD AI Edition · English translation produced with artificial intelligence
Institute Hellenic Diaspora · version 1.0.0 · prepared 2026-10-09

Disclosure. IHD AI Edition. AI-generated edition: produced through an artificial-intelligence-based editorial process, including translation, textual analysis, preparation of supporting materials, and quality control. It has not undergone independent human scholarly review.

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The Institute publishes this essay because of its historical significance. **Publication is not endorsement.** Ion Dragoumis's political ideas, including his views on social hierarchy, emigration, education, the Greek state, and other peoples, are reproduced here as he wrote them in 1908, without softening and without amplification. They are not the positions of the Institute Hellenic Diaspora. Historical context and the translator's notes are kept separate from the author's text and marked as editorial matter; like the translation, they were generated by artificial intelligence under the Institute's editorial direction.

How this translation was made, and what it is not

AI-GENERATED EDITION. This edition was produced through an artificial-intelligence-based editorial process, including translation, textual analysis, preparation of supporting materials, and quality control. The edition has not undergone independent human scholarly review. AI systems can make transcription, translation, factual, and interpretive errors. Readers are encouraged to consult the original source material and report suspected inaccuracies. Institute Hellenic Diaspora makes these materials freely accessible as part of an open, continuously improving publishing program.

The IHD Open Hellenic Library publishes versioned editions and welcomes documented corrections and improvements (see "Versions and corrections"). Readers should consult the original Greek, printed alongside the English, when precision is essential.

What was done by artificial intelligence, and what was not. Everything in this edition other than the 1908 Greek text and the 1920 readings quoted in the apparatus is AI-generated: it was produced by Anthropic's Claude, operated through Claude Code, under the editorial direction of the Institute Hellenic Diaspora. No part of it is AI-assisted human writing, and no independently verified human contribution exists. Human involvement was limited to editorial direction (the series policy, the choice of the 1908 journal printing as base text, and the decisions recorded as the principal's in the project's decision register) and to the release decision; no person transcribed, translated, reviewed or verified any part of the text. By activity, as the production records show:

- **Greek transcription:** AI-generated. The Greek text was transcribed by AI from digitized scans of the 1908 journal printing; no human has checked it against the scans.
- **Textual comparison and collation:** AI. The transcription was collated by AI against the 1920 collected edition and the Project Gutenberg transcription of it; the 1908/1920 differences recorded in the apparatus are AI findings, re-read on the scans by AI in the

October 2026 audit.

- **English translation:** AI-generated, from that transcription, following a written style guide and glossary.
- **Editorial introduction:** AI-generated, from the project's verified bibliography (described in the next item but one; kept in the publication package, not printed in this edition) and the project's own textual findings; its factual statements were checked by AI against the sources it could reach.
- **Historical and explanatory notes:** AI-generated (the translator's notes, source-status lines, variant readings and historical notes under each paragraph).
- **Glossary:** AI-generated.
- **Bibliography preparation and verification:** AI-generated and AI-verified. Entries were checked by AI against library catalogue, publisher and repository records; secondary works were not read page by page by anyone; items that could not be verified are excluded from the bibliography kept in the publication package.
- **Quality-control reviews:** AI only, in the passes described below, each recorded with what is known of its independence; no human reviewer took part in any of them.
- **Adjudication of translation issues:** AI. Review findings were adjudicated by AI sessions and AI adjudicators, and the adjudications were challenged by an AI verifier. Two readings that the records leave open for the Institute's decision (paragraphs 20 and 41) are printed as the AI's provisional readings and are disclosed as open in the notes; no human decision on them has been recorded.
- **Publication-file production:** AI. The PDF, EPUB and HTML files were produced by a build program written and run by AI from the source files; two consecutive builds are byte-identical, and every file is identified by its SHA-256 digest.

The quality-control passes, in order (all by Anthropic's Claude; the models are named where they were recorded):

- the English draft was checked against the Greek in two AI review passes by the same AI system (model versions not recorded), which their own records describe as run apart from the drafting session (no session log or prompt was kept); the second pass had read the first pass's findings. The findings were adjudicated by the drafting AI session, and the accepted and rejected corrections were recorded (one small wording change at ¶12 was made without a record and was found later);
- two further separately executed AI passes (Claude Opus 5.5) then reviewed the resulting text against the Greek. One applied each of the eight checks the IHD Open Hellenic Library requires (omissions, additions, misinterpretations, terminology, historical and cultural mistranslations, proper names, source-text ambiguities, and meaning-changing stylistic choices) across the whole text; the other compiled a complete concordance of proper names, read the whole text for omissions and additions, and re-read under all eight checks the sixteen paragraphs changed after the earlier review. Neither found a material issue; several of their minor findings were later adopted through the audit's corrections, and the rest remain open;
- ten AI reviewing agents then audited that text and its apparatus (four of them identified themselves as Claude Fable 5.1; the others recorded no model version). Three translated the Greek afresh without sight of the English, two audited the English phrase by phrase, one checked the Greek against the 1908 and 1920 printings, and specialists examined terminology, literary English, adversarial readings and the apparatus. Two separate AI adjudicators, one for the translation and the Greek text and one for the apparatus, ruled on

the 132 findings into which a further AI agent had merged and re-graded their reports, against the Greek, the scans and reference sources, and a further AI verifier challenged every accepted change (its own few amendments were not separately verified; the two it made in the English were read again only as part of the two final full-text passes, the rest not at all); no human reviewer took part. They found no sentence omitted or added and no argument reversed or softened. The corrections they led to are printed here: thirty-four mostly small changes of wording in twenty paragraphs (the largest concern the school ladder in paragraph 20, "lost" in paragraphs 28 and 32 and "men" in paragraph 33), nine corrections to the transcription of the 1908 Greek, at eleven places in ten paragraphs (one correction, to the list letters, falls in paragraphs 32, 33 and 35, and two fall in paragraph 37), none of which alters the English, and corrections to the introduction, notes and glossary. Finally, two further separately executed AI passes (one by Claude Opus 5.5, one by Claude Sonnet 5.5) read the whole corrected text against the Greek under all eight checks; neither found a material issue, and their minor findings remain open for a later version;

- of the passes described above only the audit examined the introduction, the notes and the glossary, whose factual claims it checked against the sources it could reach.

This edition has not undergone independent human scholarly review. No paragraph of the translation has been verified by a human translator, philologist or historian, no human translator or academic reviewer took part in producing it, and the Greek transcription has not been checked against the scans by a human. The Institute has chosen to publish it now, in this form, so that the text can be read, used, criticized and improved, rather than to withhold it until academic certification is possible. Readers who need a citable scholarly text should treat this edition as a documented working translation and consult the Greek, which is printed alongside it.

Editorial decisions, uncertainties in the Greek, and changes between versions are documented in the project's records. The uncertainties that affect the English are stated in the notes under each paragraph, and each version's changes are listed on the edition's page in the IHD Open Hellenic Library (see "Versions and corrections").

Reading the notes. Under each paragraph, the apparatus records the readings of the 1908 journal (J) and the 1920 edition (B); PG is the Project Gutenberg transcription of the 1920 edition. "Source status" records how the 1908 reading was checked by AI on the scan: CONFIRMED means the AI read it clearly on the enlarged scan, not that a person checked it, and PROVISIONAL means the reading rests on a damaged or doubtful letter or on an emendation. "Flags" lists points still open. In the translator's notes, TN marks a note on the translation, VAR a difference between the 1908 and 1920 printings (the note says whether it affects the English), DC a factual claim or contested statement of the author, QUO a quotation, HN a historical note ("HN candidate" marks a point where one may be added in a later version), and EI an editorial interpretation. Codes such as D067, A06 or F04 refer to entries in the project's internal decision register and review reports.

Introduction

The text and its first readers

The Little Fatherland («Η Μικρή Πατρίδα») is a short political essay in demotic Greek. It was first printed in the spring of 1908 as an anonymous pamphlet, and within days was reprinted, still unsigned, in the Athens weekly *O Noumács* (nos. 295 and 296, 11 and 18 May 1908, Old Style), with a footnote saying only that it was "reprinted here from an anonymous pamphlet that circulated a few days ago, with this title."¹ *O Noumács*, founded in January 1903 and edited by Demetrios P. Tangopoulos, was the principal organ of the demotist movement, the campaign to

make the spoken language rather than the archaizing *katharevousa* the written language of the nation.² Writing in demotic was itself a political act in 1908, and the essay's plain, oral style is part of its argument.

The author's name was supplied twelve years later. After Dragoumis's death, Tangopoulos collected ten of his *Noumas* articles in a memorial volume, *Μελέται* (Athens, "Typos," 1920, in a hundred numbered copies), and there identified *The Little Fatherland* as the second of Dragoumis's three Proclamations of 1908–1909, first issued as a pamphlet in Constantinople, where Dragoumis was then serving at the Greek legation; the editor did not know which of the two Greek organizations in the city, the demoticist brotherhood or the clandestine Organization of Constantinople that Dragoumis had helped to found, had issued the pamphlets.³ The series title, "Proclamation to the Enslaved and the Liberated Greeks," is Dragoumis's own, printed with the first Proclamation in *Noumas* in February 1908. The attribution has not been contested in any source examined for this edition; Dragoumis himself signed the "Third Proclamation" in *Noumas* in 1909, which presupposes the first two.⁴ The pamphlet itself has not been found in the library catalogues and digital collections searched for this edition; the present edition is translated from the 1908 journal printing, and records in its apparatus the small changes introduced in 1920.⁵

The author

Ion Dragoumis (1878–1920) was born in Athens into a prominent political family and joined the Greek diplomatic service; in 1902 he was posted to Monastir as vice-consul.⁶ His postings in Ottoman Macedonia in 1902–1904 placed him at the beginning of the "Macedonian Struggle," the covert contest among Greek, Bulgarian and Serbian national movements for the loyalty of the Christian population of the region; his first book, *Blood of Martyrs and Heroes* (1907), was a call to arms drawn from that experience, and recent scholarship has emphasized the aggressive, "Machiavellian" character of his thinking about Macedonia and Thrace in exactly the years 1903–1908.⁷ By 1908 he was serving in Constantinople, where with Athanasios Souliotis-Nikolaidis he organized Greek activity among the Ottoman Greeks and wrote the three "Proclamations" of 1908–1909.⁸ He later sat in the Greek parliament, opposed Eleftherios Venizelos during the National Schism of 1915–1917, was exiled to Corsica and then to Skopelos (1917–1919), and on 31 July 1920 (Old Style) was shot dead in Athens by a Venizelist security detachment the day after an attempt on Venizelos's life in Paris.⁹ His death made him a martyr for one side of a divided country, and the 1920 volume from which his name reaches this essay was itself a memorial, prefaced by five lines of verse by Kostis Palamas.¹⁰

What the essay argues

The essay has three movements. The first (paragraphs 1–26) is an ethnographic sketch of the Greek village as the "little fatherland": its work, its Sunday liturgy, its elders, its schoolmaster and priest, its bishop; and then the villager's departure, first to the town and then abroad, where he discovers the "great fatherland" by losing it. This leads to the essay's most uncompromising claim: that sons should follow their fathers' occupations, the peasant's son remaining a peasant, that higher schooling and emigration never turn out well, and that a man is made by family upbringing and work. The second movement (27–35) sets out three duties of every Greek to his "community" (*koinotita*): to give work, to care for the young through practical schooling and physical training, and to maintain communal works. The third (36–48) argues from the example of Vamvakou, a Laconian village that, he says, had organized its own community administration in 1898, and from the self-governing Greek communities of the Ottoman Empire, that the Greek state should withdraw from local life and "again let the communities spring up freely," because "Hellenism is a

family of Greek communities."

Several of the essay's factual claims can be checked. According to the village's own historical account, a twenty-member "Union of Plenipotentiaries" operated in Vamvakou from 1898 to 1914 and was invoked as a model when Greece re-established communal self-government by the law of 1912; neither statement has been checked against the parliamentary record or an academic study.¹¹ The Bulgarian destruction of Greek communities in Eastern Rumelia refers to the anti-Greek movement of the summer of 1906, when Greek churches and schools in Plovdiv and other towns were seized, the town of Anchialos burned, and much of the Greek population left; responsibility for particular episodes was contested at the time.¹² The Ottoman communal system that Dragoumis praises, with its elders, church trustees and school boards, was the real framework of Greek Orthodox life in the Empire, though its autonomy was narrower and more contested than the essay implies.¹³

The vocabulary

Three words carry the argument. *Koinotita* ("community") is the self-administering local body of the Ottoman Greeks, here extended to any village or town. *Ethnos* ("nation") is the whole Greek people regardless of state borders, and is systematically set against *kratos* ("the State"), the centralized administration of the Greek kingdom. *Ellinismos* ("Hellenism") is that people considered as a living whole. Dragoumis also uses *Romios*, the Orthodox Greek's everyday, pre-political self-designation, in the two paragraphs (41–42) where he asserts the Greek's "nature" as a communal being, while writing *Ellinas* ("Greek") elsewhere, even in the same passage; whether the alternation is deliberate is an editorial reading. The translation keeps the two words apart, and the glossary explains them. The essay does not use the word *fyli* ("race"), which appears in Dragoumis's companion proclamations, nor the older collective name *genos*; readers should not import either.¹⁴

Reception and controversy

Dragoumis has been read in very different ways. In his lifetime he was a leading figure of the nationalist critics who, after Greece's defeat of 1897, attacked the kingdom's parliamentary state in the name of a wider Hellenism.¹⁵ After his death his writings were taken up by the Metaxas dictatorship of 1936–1941 and by later nationalist currents, and the question whether his thought was a form of proto-fascism, an integral nationalism of the type associated with Maurice Barrès, a Counter-Enlightenment political Romanticism, or a communalist alternative to the centralized state remains open in the scholarship.¹⁶ The present essay contains the material over which those readings divide: the organic image of the nation as a family of communities, hostility to the state and to mobility, a hereditary social order, and a hostile view of Bulgarians and Turks. The edition reproduces all of it at the author's strength.

The Institute Hellenic Diaspora publishes this translation because the text is historically significant and has not previously been available in English in any version identified in the sources examined. Publication is not endorsement. The Institute does not share, and does not ask its readers to share, the author's political judgments; it asks only that they be read as what they were, a Greek diplomat's proclamation of 1908.

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1. O Νουμάς no. 295 (11 May 1908), p. 6, editorial footnote; no. 296 (18 May 1908), pp. 7–8. Scans: Kosmopolis digital library, University of Patras (<https://kosmopolis.library.upatras.gr/index.php/noumas>), retrieved 8 October 2026. ↵
 2. Run of O Νουμάς from 2 January 1903 (Kosmopolis, as above). On the language question

- and the demoticists' nationalism: Peter Mackridge, *Language and National Identity in Greece, 1766–1976* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Dimitris Tziovas, *The Nationism of the Demoticists and Its Impact on Their Literary Theory (1888–1930)* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1986). ↵
3. Ion Dragoumis, *Μελέται: 10 άρθρα του στο «Νουμάς»*, ed. D. P. Tangopoulos (Athens: Έκδοση "Τύπου", [1920]), p. 56 (editorial headnote; cited for its facts, not quoted). Scan: Anemi Digital Library, University of Crete, retrieved 8 October 2026. The volume carries no printed year; a footnote to its preface cites an article in *Πολιτική Επιθεώρηση* of 29 August 1920. The first Proclamation and its series title: *Ο Νουμάς* no. 283 (17 February 1908), pp. 9–11 (Kosmopolis). ↵
 4. "Στρατός και άλλα. Γ' Προκήρυξη...", signed ΙΔΑΣ, *Ο Νουμάς* no. 361 (11 October 1909), pp. 5–11 (Kosmopolis). ↵
 5. See the Source and Provenance Note and the apparatus to each paragraph in this edition. Catalogues and collections searched for the pamphlet (8 October 2026): Anemi (University of Crete), Kosmopolis (University of Patras), searchculture.gr/Europeana, the Internet Archive, Google Books and the ASCSA digital collections; the National Library of Greece, HathiTrust, WorldCat and Lekythos could not be queried by the means used, and the Ion Dragoumis Papers at the Gennadius Library are described online only at series level. Anemi holds the 1908 pamphlet of the first Proclamation and another anonymous 1908 pamphlet attributed to Dragoumis, «Η μεγάλη ιδέα»; neither is this essay. ↵
 6. John A. Mazis, *A Man for All Seasons: The Uncompromising Life of Ion Dragoumis* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2014), the only English-language biography identified in the sources examined; the dates of birth and death (2 September 1878 – 31 July 1920, Old Style) are given consistently in the reference works consulted and are printed on the 1920 volume's title page; the Monastir vice-consulship of 1902: Foundation of the Hellenic World, *Hellenic History* (https://www.fhw.gr/chronos/13/en/foreign_policy/people/04.html, retrieved 8 October 2026). ↵
 7. Michalis Kaliakatsos, "Ion Dragoumis and 'Machiavelli': Armed Struggle, Propaganda, and Hellenization in Macedonia and Thrace (1903–1908)," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 31, no. 1 (2013): 53–84, <https://doi.org/10.1353/mgs.2013.0008>. On the Macedonian Struggle generally: Douglas Dakin, *The Greek Struggle in Macedonia, 1897–1913* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1966); Basil C. Gounaris, "Reassessing Ninety Years of Greek Historiography on the 'Struggle for Macedonia' (1904–1908)," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 14, no. 2 (1996): 237–251, <https://doi.org/10.1353/mgs.1996.0023>. ↵
 8. Tangopoulos's headnote to the First Proclamation (p. 48 of the volume cited in note 3) places Dragoumis in Constantinople as secretary of the Greek legation in 1908; on Souliotis-Nikolaidis and the Organization of Constantinople: John A. Mazis, *Athanasios Souliotis-Nikolaidis and Greek Irredentism: A Life in the Shadows* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2022). ↵
 9. Mazis 2014, ch. 1 ("Death in the Afternoon"); on the Schism: John S. Koliopoulos and Thanos M. Veremis, *Modern Greece: A History since 1821* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010). ↵
 10. Palamas's lines (a quatrain followed by a detached fifth line, an excerpt marked as such by a row of leaders) are signed and dated 8 August 1920 in the volume (note 3). ↵
 11. Vamvakou Revival, "The history of Vamvakou" (<https://www.vamvakourevival.org/en/?p=12373>, retrieved 8 October 2026), citing the twenty-member "Union of

Plenipotentiaries" of 1898–1914; on the law ΔΝΖ' (4057) of 1912 on municipalities and communities: Αντώνης Μακρυδημήτρης, «"Κοινότητες, ήτοι Δήμοι". Σελίδες από τη διοικητική ιστορία της Ελλάδος», *Ελληνική Επιθεώρηση Πολιτικής Επιστήμης* 21, no. 1 (2003): 156–170 (online 2017), <https://doi.org/10.12681/hpsa.14763>. The village-association source is not an academic one and cites no documents; the 1898 date agrees with the essay's own statement (§38) but has not been independently verified. ↵

12. Spyridon Ploumidis, *Ethnic Symbiosis in the Balkans: Greeks and Bulgarians in Plovdiv (1878–1906)* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2016), publisher's record retrieved 8 October 2026; contemporary press accounts of August 1906 differed on who set the fire at Anchialos. The present edition does not adjudicate the events; the author's sentence is translated as written. ↵
13. Gerasimos Augustinos, *The Greeks of Asia Minor: Confession, Community, and Ethnicity in the Nineteenth Century* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1992); Vangelis Kechriotis, "The Modernization of the Empire and the Community 'Privileges': Greek Orthodox Responses to the Young Turk Policies," in *The State and the Subaltern*, ed. Touraj Atabaki (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007). ↵
14. See the Glossary. On the nation/state distinction in Balkan nationalism: Paschalis M. Kitromilides, "'Imagined Communities' and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans," *European History Quarterly* 19, no. 2 (1989): 149–192. ↵
15. Gerasimos Augustinos, *Consciousness and History: Nationalist Critics of Greek Society, 1897–1914* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1977). ↵
16. Mazis 2014, ch. 4 ("Ion Dragoumis and Fascism") and, on the communal ideal, ch. 7 ("Ion Dragoumis and his Ideal Greek State and Society"); Kaliakatsos 2013; Σταμάτιος Ι. Μαμούτσος, Όψεις του ελληνικού πολιτικού ρομαντισμού στο παράδειγμα του Ίωνος Δραγούμη (PhD thesis, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 2024), <https://doi.org/10.12681/eadd/55891>; Ioannis Stamos, *From Literary Criticism to Propaganda: Intellectuals, Culture, and Politics during the Metaxas Dictatorship (1936–1940)* (PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2019), <http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/id/eprint/8954>; and, for the Nietzschean/Barrèsian current, the editorial headnote to Ion Dragoumis, "Hellenic Civilization," trans. Mary Kitroeff, in *Anti-Modernism: Radical Revisions of Collective Identity*, ed. Diana Mishkova, Marius Turda and Balázs Trencsényi (Budapest: CEU Press, 2014), 175–181, the only previously published English translation of a Dragoumis text identified in the sources examined. ↵

The Little Fatherland · Η Μικρή Πατρίδα

Greek: 1908 journal text (working transcription). English: version 1.0.0. After each paragraph: the 1920 variants (B) and the translator's notes.

¶ 1

Η πολιτεία ή το χωριό που μας γέννη(σ)ε είναι η μικρή μας πατρίδα, είτε σε νησί βρίσκεται, είτε σε βουνό, είτε σε κάμπο — σε μεσόγειο ή σε παραθαλάσσιο.

The town or the village that gave us birth is *our little fatherland*, whether it lies on an island, on a mountain, or on a plain — inland or by the sea.

Apparatus: J «γέννητε» (misprint), emended with B. B omits «είτε σε βουνό,». B «Η ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ» (typographic).

- TN «πολιτεία» → "town" (never "city" or "polity"); the word recurs 11 times.
- TN «που μας γέννησε» → "that gave us birth", keeping the birth metaphor that returns in P16.
- VAR B (1920) omits «είτε σε βουνό,» ("on a mountain"). J followed.
- TN «μικρή μας πατρίδα» — J italicizes «μας» as well, so "*our little fatherland*" (QC F35); "little fatherland"

fixed by the series title (D001).

- TN «μεσόγειο / παραθαλάσσιο» adjectives used substantively → "inland or by the sea".
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED from the J scan; J «γέννητε» emended.
- **Flags:** «είτε σε βουνό» (1908 only) has not been re-read on the scan (p. 6 col. 3, line 3).

¶ 2

Στο χωριό τα σπίτια είναι γνώριμα, και οι άνθρωποι σα να συγγενεύουν. Όλοι ξέρουν όλους, και τα τριγυρινά τους πράγματα. Άλλο από γειτονιές δεν υπάρχει.

In the village the houses are familiar, and the people are almost like kin. Everyone knows everyone, and the things around them. There is nothing but neighborhoods.

Apparatus: B «Στα χωριά».

- TN «σα να συγγενεύουν» → "almost like kin" (v0.1 "as if they were kin" reworded for rhythm).
- VAR B «Στα χωριά» (plural). J followed.
- TN «τα τριγυρινά τους πράγματα» → "the things around them" (adversarial A25).
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.
- **Flags:** none.

¶ 3

Χαράματα σηκώνεται ο άντρας, βουτά μια κομμάτα ψωμί στο κρασί του, και με το δισάκκι και την τσάπα, με το ζώο που θα οργώσει και με το παιδί του πάει στο χωράφι, στ' αμπέλι ή στο μπουστάνι. Σηκώνεται και η γυναίκα και πάει στη βρύση για νερό. Το κορίτσι νοικοκυρεύει το σπίτι και την αυλή, πλένει, υφαίνει, λευκαίνει το πανί. Τη χωριάτισσα πότε τη βλέπεις στον αργαλειό, πότε στο ληνό με γυμνά ποδάρια να πατά σταφύλια, πότε μ' ανασκουμπωμένα μανίκια, σκυμένη να ζυμώνει ψωμί στη σκάφη, κ' έπειτα να το βάζει στο φούρνο στην αυλή, πότε ν' αρμέγει την αγελάδα, πότε να γνέθει. Άλλοτε πάλι συδουλίζει τη φωτιά και κυττάζει τη χύτρα. Φρύγανα από το βουνό φέρνουν τα παιδιά.

At daybreak the man rises, dips a hunk of bread in his wine, and with his shoulder bag and his hoe, with the animal that will do the plowing and with his child, he goes to the field, to the vineyard, or to the vegetable plot. The woman rises too and goes to the fountain for water. The girl keeps the house and the yard, washes, weaves, bleaches the cloth. The peasant woman you see now at the loom, now in the winepress treading grapes barefoot, now with her sleeves rolled up, bent over kneading bread in the trough and then putting it in the oven in the yard, now milking the cow, now spinning. At other times she stokes the fire and watches the pot. The children bring brushwood from the mountain.

Apparatus: B «η γυναίκα του» (J «η γυναίκα»).

- VAR B «η γυναίκα του» ("his wife"); J «η γυναίκα» ("the woman").
- TN «δισάκκι» the two-pouched shoulder bag ("shoulder bag", after QC F23); «βρύση» the village fountain (F24); «μπουστάνι» vegetable plot; «ληνός» winepress; «σκάφη» kneading trough; «χύτρα» pot.
- TN «πότε... πότε...» rendered "now... now...".
- DC the gendered division of labour is the author's description (controversies C10); no comment in the text.
- TN «χωριάτισσα» → "peasant woman", the feminine of χωριάτης ("peasant", P20, P21, P40); χωριανός/χωρικοί → "villager(s)".
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.
- **Flags:** none after QC.

¶ 4

Τις αγελάδες του χωριού και τ' άλογα τα παίρνουνε δυο τρία παλληκάρια πρωί πρωί και τα βόσκουν. Πλανιούνται όλη μέρα τα ζώα στα λιβάδια και ακούς τα κουδουνίσματά τους στη σιγαλιά. Το βράδυ τα γυρίζουν στο χωριό οι αγελαρ(α)ίοι κοπαδιαστά. Βοσκοί στο βουνό βόσκουν τα γιδοπρόβατα. Το καλοκαιριάτικο μεσημέρι σταλίζουν τα πρόβατα στον ίσκιο του μεγάλου πεύκου, αποσταμένα από το λιοπύρι. Και βράδυ βράδυ τα οδηγούν στις στάνες.

Two or three young men take the village's cows and horses very early in the morning and put them to graze. All day long the animals roam the meadows, and you hear their bells in the stillness. In the evening the cowherds bring them back to the village in a herd. Shepherds on the mountain graze the sheep and goats. At summer noon the sheep rest in the shade of the great pine, worn out by the blazing sun. And at nightfall they lead them to the folds.

Apparatus: J prints what reads most like «ἀγγελάρχῳ» (χ for α: a damaged sort or a misprint; no Greek word results; AI readings χ-like / broken α); ⟨α⟩ after B «ἀγελαρχαῖοι», a word the author uses elsewhere in the 1920 volume. B adds a comma after the word.

- TN «παλληκάρια» young men; «σταλίζουν» rest at midday; «λιοπύρι» blazing sun; «στάνες» folds.
- TN «πρωί πρωί» (reduplicated) → "very early in the morning".
- TN «βράδυ βράδυ» = at nightfall (A10). The cowherd word is damaged in the 1908 journal (the sort between ρ and ι reads most like χ, which gives no Greek word); «αγελαρχαῖοι» is read with the 1920 book, which prints it clearly, and the author uses the word elsewhere in that volume; "cowherds".
- **Source status:** PROVISIONAL (one uncertain word).
- **Flags:** the cowherd word rests on the 1920 reading (AI scan readings only).

¶ 5

Σα νυχτώσει, βλέπει ο δραγάτης φωτιές, σαν άστρα, στο βουνό. Ώρες ώρες ακούει γαυγίσματα μαντρόσκυλων. Έπεσε να κοιμηθή το χωριό, και ο δραγάτης όλο φυλάγει, περιδιαβάζοντας στ' αμπέλια και στα περιβόλια, με τ' όπλο στον ώμο. Ποιός ξένος μπήκε στη βραγιά και πώς απέρασε τους φράχτες;

When night falls, the field guard sees fires, like stars, on the mountain. Now and then he hears the barking of the dogs at the folds. The village has gone to sleep, and the field guard keeps watch all the while, making his rounds through the vineyards and the orchards with his gun on his shoulder. What stranger has got into the garden bed, and how did he get past the fences?

- TN «δραγάτης» field guard (recurs P09, P35, P38, P41).
- TN «βραγιά» garden bed. The closing question is the guard's thought.
- TN «μαντρόσκυλα» = the dogs kept at the folds (guard dogs), not herding dogs (A24).
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.
- **Flags:** none.

¶ 6

Το χωριό κοιμάται δίχως ονειράτα. Ο νέος όμως που είδε στο χορό, την κυριακή τ' απόγεμα στ' αλώνια, ο νέος που είδε την όμορφη την κόρη τη στολισμένη, προτού αποκοιμηθή το βράδυ ονειρεύεται. Ίσως και κείνη να τον ξεδιάλεξε· τα μάτια τους σα ν' αντικρύστηκαν μια στιγμή, την κυριακή τ' απόγεμα στο χορό στ' αλώνια. Και θα την πάρει.

The village sleeps without dreams. But the young man who saw her at the dance, on Sunday afternoon on the threshing floors — the young man who saw the lovely girl in her finery — dreams before he falls asleep at night. Perhaps she too has picked him out; their eyes seemed to meet for a moment, on Sunday afternoon at the dance on the threshing floors. And he will marry her.

- TN The Greek suspends the object of the first «είδε» and resumes with «ο νέος που είδε...»; v0.2 supplies "her" in the first clause so the English reads naturally, and keeps the dashed resumption. **This is a choice of natural English over strict syntax** (logged D035).
- TN «αλώνια» threshing floors; «ξεδιάλεξε» picked out.
- TN «Και θα την πάρει» literally "And he will take her"; "marry" (D030).
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.
- **Flags:** "marry her" vs "take her".

¶ 7

Έρχεται πάλε η Κυριακή στο χωριό. Νωρίς γεμίζει η εκκλησιά από γυναίκες, κορίτσια παιδιά, και άντρες, και γέροντες. Ο δάσκαλος ψέλνει στα δεξιά και δυο τρία σκολιταρούδια του κρατούν το ίσο.

Στ' αριστερά είναι ένας χωριανός και ψέλνει με τη μύτη κι αυτός. Ο παπάς, με το κοντό το ράσο, λειτουργά και θυμιάζει. Οι γέροι έχουν τα στασίδια τους και κάθονται. Στο παγκάρι οι επήτροποι πουλούν αγιοκέρια. Τ' αγοράζουν οι χριστιανοί και τα στήνουνε στα μανουάλια, προτού ασπαστούν τα εικονίσματα. Έπειτα γυρίζουν οι επήτροποι με τους δίσκους: «για την εκκλησιά, για τον παπά, για το σκολειό μας», και ακούς δεκάρες και κουδουνίζουν. Και σαν περνούνε τ' άγια, σκύβουν πολύ χαμηλά και σταυροκοπιούνται γέροι, γυναίκες, άντρες, παιδιά, νιές και παλληκάρια. «Μνησθεί αυτών Κύριος ο Θεός εν τη Βασιλεία αυτού πάντοτε».

Sunday comes round again in the village. Early the church fills with women, girls, children, and men, and old men. The schoolmaster chants on the right, and two or three little schoolboys hold the drone for him. On the left is a villager, and he too chants through his nose. The priest, in his short cassock, celebrates the liturgy and swings the censer. The old men have their stalls and sit. At the candle desk the churchwardens sell holy candles. The Christians buy them and set them up in the candelabra before they kiss the icons. Then the churchwardens go round with the collection plates — "for the church, for the priest, for our school" — and you hear coppers clinking. And when the Holy Gifts pass by, they bow very low and cross themselves — old men, women, men, children, young girls, and young men. "May the Lord God remember them in His Kingdom always."

Apparatus: B «από κορίτσια, γυναίκες, παιδιά». B adds «...» after the quotation. J's guillemets around «Μνησθεί ... πάντοτε» are faintly (opening) and poorly (closing) inked; B prints them clearly.

- VAR B «από κορίτσια, γυναίκες, παιδιά». J followed.
- TN «κρατούν το ίσο» hold the ison (drone); «στασίδια» stalls; «παγκάρι» candle desk; «οι χριστιανοί» "the Christians" (period word; D031); «δεκάρες» coppers; «τ' άγια» the Holy Gifts (Great Entrance).
- QUO «Μνησθεί αυτών Κύριος ο Θεός εν τη Βασιλεία αυτού πάντοτε» — a third-person adaptation of the Great Entrance petition; the English wording has not been collated with a standard English text of the Liturgy (AI note).
- TN «ψέλνει με τη μύτη κι αυτός»: a post-posed «κι αυτός» normally covers the whole predicate, so "he too chants through his nose" (A01) — which implies, as the Greek may, that the schoolmaster does so as well; the narrower reading "he chants too — through his nose" (v0.3) is possible. The ambiguity is the author's.
- TN J's guillemets around «Μνησθεί ... πάντοτε» are faintly (opening) and poorly (closing) inked; B prints them clearly.
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.
- **Flags:** the liturgical quotation has not been checked against a standard English text of the Liturgy; "the Christians" vs "the faithful".

¶ 8

Τις μικροδιαφορές που τυχαίνει να έχουν ανάμεσό τους οι χωριανοί, τις ξεδιαλύνουν οι δημογέροντες — έφοροι του σκολειού και επήτροποι της εκκλησιάς. Άμα βέβαια έχουνε μεγάλες διαφορές, τότε πηγαίνουν κάτω στη χώρα να τους δικάσει κριτής, ειρηνοδίκης ή δικαστήριο. Μα πάντα καλλίτερα έχουν να μην κατεβαίνουν για τέτοιες δουλειές στη χώρα. Και μπελάς είναι και έξοδα γίνονται. Ενώ στο χωριό, με τη βοήθεια των γερόντων, άμα λείπουν τα πείσματα, όλα συμβιβάζονται.

The small disputes that the villagers happen to have among themselves are settled by the village elders — school trustees and churchwardens. Of course, when they have big disputes, then they go down to the town to be judged by a judge, a justice of the peace, or a court. But they are always better off not going down to the town for such business. And it is both a nuisance and an expense. Whereas in the village, with the help of the elders, so long as there is no stubbornness, everything is settled by agreement.

- TN «δημογέροντες» village elders; «έφοροι» trustees; «επήτροποι» churchwardens.
- TN «χώρα» "the town" (D033).
- HN «κριτής, ειρηνοδίκης ή δικαστήριο» — the Kingdom's lower courts (AI gloss, not checked by a historian).
- TN The elders *are* the school trustees and churchwardens (apposition without articles), hence "school

trustees and churchwardens" (A27).

- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.
- **Flags:** «κριτής» generic "judge"?

¶ 9

Οι γέροντες έχουν και άλλα να σκεφτούν. Θα συμφωνήσουν το δάσκαλο και τη δασκάλα, θα διορίσουν τον καντηλανάφτη, το δραγάτη, θα φροντίσουν για το σκολειό αν θέλει διόρθωμα, την εκκλησία αν θέλει καθάρισμα ή στόλισμα, τους δρόμους αν είναι να φτειασθή ή να σιαχτή κανέναν.

The elders have other things to think about as well. They will engage the schoolmaster and the schoolmistress, they will appoint the sacristan and the field guard, they will see to the school if it needs repair, to the church if it needs cleaning or adornment, to the roads if one of them needs to be made or mended.

Apparatus: J «εκκλησία» (B «εκκλησιά»); J without B's commas after «εκκλησιά» and «δρόμους».

- TN «θα συμφωνήσουν το δάσκαλο» → "engage" (contract with); «καντηλανάφτης» sacristan.
- TN J lacks the commas B has after «εκκλησία» and «δρόμους»; sense unaffected.
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.
- **Flags:** none.

¶ 10

Με την κοινότητα ο δάσκαλος κάνει συμβόλαιο και το υπογράφουν. Του δίνουνε μιστό και σπίτι, και ξύλα για κάψιμο. Καμιά φορά του τάζουν και τόσα κοιλά σιτάρι. Πόσες φορές θα ήταν καλλίτερα να του έδιναν κριθάρι! Ο μισθός του γίνεται καλλίτερος αν κάνει και τον ψάλτη(.). Και τη δασκάλα την περιποιούνται οι χωριανοί, εξόν αν τύχει καμιά φανταγμένη που δεν τους καταδέχεται, μόνο παραπονιέται αδιάκοπα για το κάθε τι, και φορεί μεγάλα καπέλα φτερωτά.

The schoolmaster makes a contract with the community, and they sign it. They give him a salary and a house, and firewood. Sometimes they promise him so many measures of wheat as well. How often it would be better to give him barley! His salary improves if he serves as cantor too. And the schoolmistress the villagers treat kindly, unless she happens to be some conceited woman who looks down on them, does nothing but complain endlessly about every little thing, and wears big feathered hats.

Apparatus: J lacks the period after «ψάλτη» (supplied). J «καπέλα» (B «καπέλλα»).

- TN «κοιλά» (κοιλό, the Ottoman-era kile, a dry measure of grain) → "measures" (neutral; no silent modernization, QC F06); HN candidate for the exact capacity in 1908 Greece.
- TN «Πόσες φορές θα ήταν καλλίτερα να του έδιναν κριθάρι!» — the author's joke (barley being animal feed); kept literal.
- TN «φантаγμένη» conceited; «καπέλα φτερωτά» feathered hats.
- TN «θα ήταν ... να του έδιναν» is a general, not a past, counterfactual: "it would be better" (A07).
- TN «κοινότητα» → "community" — here and throughout, the organised self-governing village body with its own church, school, property and officers (the communal institution of the Ottoman Greeks, superseded in the Kingdom by the municipalities of the 1833–34 law and re-established by the law of 1912), not merely the people who live together; see the glossary. «ξύλα για κάψιμο» → "firewood".
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED; J lacks the period after «ψάλτη» (supplied).
- **Flags:** none.

¶ 11

Ο παπάς είναι χωριανός σαν τους άλλους, με λίγα γράμματα. Σπάνια τον αλλάζουν, με την άδεια βέβαια πάντα και την ευλογία του Δεσπότη. Έχει και αυτός το χωράφι του το αμπέλι του, τη γυναίκα του, το σπίτι του και την αγελάδα του. Η παπαδιά είναι σαν τις άλλες τις γυναίκες του χωριού. Και λειτουργάει ο παπάς κάθε κυριακή και σκόλη. Τον βλέπεις σε κάθε λείψανο, στεφάνωση και βάφτιση(.). Είναι ήσυχος άνθρωπος, κανένα δε θέλει να κακοκαρδίσει, δεν πολυανακατεύεται στα μαλώματα και στους θυμούς των χωριανών, και χαίρεται σαν του φιλούν

το χέρι.

The priest is a villager like the others, with little schooling. They rarely change him — always, of course, with the leave and blessing of the bishop. He too has his field, his vineyard, his wife, his house, and his cow. The priest's wife is like the other women of the village. And the priest celebrates the liturgy every Sunday and feast day. You see him at every funeral, wedding, and baptism. He is a quiet man; he wants to grieve no one, he does not meddle much in the villagers' quarrels and tempers, and he is glad when they kiss his hand.

Apparatus: J «τις άλλες τις γυναίκες» (B omits the second «τις»). J lacks the period after «βάφτιση» (supplied).

- VAR J «σαν τις άλλες τις γυναίκες»; B omits «τις». No effect on English.
- TN «με λίγα γράμματα» "with little schooling"; «κακοκαρδίσει» "grieve" (F43); «λείψανο» funeral (lit. corpse); «στεφάνωση» wedding.
- TN «Δεσπότης» bishop (D018).
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED; J lacks the period after «βάφτιση» (supplied).
- **Flags:** none.

¶ 12

Ο Δεσπότης θα περάσει μια φορά το χρόνο και θα λειτουργήσει. Μετά το Ευαγγέλιο «κηρύττει τον λόγον του Θεού» με λόγια που κανένας ίσως δεν τα καταλαβαίνει. Του μετρούν τα κανονικά του και τα τυχερά του, και ό,τι καθυστερούμενα έχει να πάρει, τα ζητεί. Αν είναι τίποτε ζητήματα, τα ξεδιαλύνει ή δεν τα ξεδιαλύνει, και φεύγει.

The bishop will pass through once a year and celebrate the liturgy. After the Gospel he "preaches the word of God," in words that perhaps no one understands. They count out to him his canonical dues and his perquisites, and whatever arrears are owed him, he asks for. If there are any matters to settle, he settles them or does not settle them, and leaves.

Apparatus: J «τίποτε» (B «τίποτα»).

- TN «κηρύττει τον λόγον του Θεού» in quotation marks in J: the author quotes the katharevousa/liturgical phrase ironically; kept in quotation marks.
- TN «ζητήματα» = matters (not only disputes); «τα ζητεί» = he asks for them (F25). «τα κανονικά του και τα τυχερά του» — the bishop's canonical dues (the fixed episcopal levy) and his perquisites (fees for services); HN candidate.
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.
- **Flags:** the gloss "canonical dues" has not been checked against a historical source.

¶ 13

Η ποταμιά κοντά στο χωριό είναι βαθειά, ντυμένη πλατάνια, πικροδάφνες και δάφνες. Εκεί πλένουν η γυναίκες τα ρούχα. Από την άλλη τη μεριά σηκώνεται το βουνό που βγάζουν την πέτρα για τα σπίτια, και το δάσος που κάνουν τα κάρβουνα.

The river valley near the village is deep, clothed in plane trees, oleanders, and laurels. There the women wash the clothes. On the other side rises the mountain from which they quarry the stone for the houses, and the forest where they make the charcoal.

Apparatus: J «ή γυναίκες» — the journal's spelling of the feminine plural article (so also P17 «Η πολιτείες»); B «οι γυναίκες».

- TN «ποταμιά» → "river valley" (the river's course with its bed and banks and the land along it; cf. «ρεματιά» "ravine", P16); «ντυμένη» clothed.
- TN J «ή γυναίκες» — the journal's spelling of the feminine plural article (so also P17 «Η πολιτείες»); B «οι γυναίκες»; printed as J has it.
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.
- **Flags:** none.

¶ 14

Σαν πάρει ο χωριανός τη ράχη του βουνού και ανέβει στην κορυφή, βλέπει κάτω τις στέγες του χωριού του, και αγναντεύει άλλα χωριά που τα έχει ακουστά, και την πολιτεία εκεί δα πέρα, κάτω

κοντά στη θάλασσα. Και μικραίνει το χωριό του. Νοιώθει πως δεν είναι μοναχό στον κόσμο, και ο τόπος είναι μεγάλος. Και τότε — τότε του έρχεται να γνωρίσει και τ' άλλα τα χωριά και να κατεβεί στη χώρα, να ζυγώσει στη μεγάλη λίμνη με τ' αρμυρό νερό.

When the villager takes the ridge of the mountain and climbs to the summit, he sees below him the roofs of his village, and he makes out other villages he has heard of, and the town, over there in the distance, down by the sea. And his village grows small. He feels that it is not alone in the world, and that the land is large. And then — then it comes over him to get to know the other villages too, and to go down to the town, to draw near to the great lake with the salt water.

Apparatus: B omits «κάτω» before «κοντά στη θάλασσα». J «και ο τόπος» (B «και πως ο τόπος»).

- VAR B omits «κάτω» ("down by the sea"); J followed.
- TN «πάρει τη ράχη» "takes the ridge"; «αγναντεύει» makes out / gazes at; «η μεγάλη λίμνη με τ' αρμυρό νερό» — the sea seen through the villager's eyes ("the great lake with the salt water"); kept literal, as the image is the point.
- TN J «και ο τόπος είναι μεγάλος» (B «και πως ο τόπος»); English unaffected.
- TN «του έρχεται να» "it comes over him to" (A11).
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.
- **Flags:** none.

¶ 15

Γνώρισε την πολιτεία και αρχή αρχή του φάνηκε καλή. Σα να είναι πιο ελεύθερα τα πράματα εδώ(.). Χωράφια δε βλέπει, μήτε λιβάδια, μα βρίσκει καπηλειά πολλά, και πίνει το κρασί με πολλούς συντρόφους. Κ(αι) δεν ντρέπεται πολύ πολύ τους πολίτες γιατί δεν τότε γνωρίζουν. Του μάθανε να βρίσκει και γυναίκες για μια βραδειά, με λιγοστά χρήματα. Αγάλι αγάλι η πολιτεία τον ποτίζει τα φαρμάκια της, αρχίζει και στενοχωριέται. Σαν άρρωστος είναι, και ξαναθυμάται το χωριό του(.).

He came to know the town, and at the very first it seemed good to him. Things seem freer here. He sees no fields, nor meadows, but he finds many taverns, and drinks wine with many companions. And he feels no great shame before the townspeople, because they do not know him. They taught him to find women too, for a night, for a little money. Little by little the town pours its poisons into him; he begins to grow distressed. He is like a sick man, and he remembers his village again.

Apparatus: J lacks the period after «εδώ» (capital X follows; supplied). J «Κι δέν» (misprint for «Καί»). J «πίνει το κρασί» (B «πίνει κρασί»). J has no stop after «χωριό του» (short last line); supplied with B.

- TN «Γνώρισε» aorist → "He came to know"; the paragraph shifts between past and ethnographic present; kept as in the Greek.
- TN «πολίτες» townspeople; «στενοχωριέται» "grow distressed" (F42); «καπηλειά» taverns; «τα φαρμάκια της» its poisons.
- TN J «πίνει το κρασί» (B «πίνει κρασί»); English "drinks wine".
- TN «δεν ντρέπεται πολύ πολύ τους πολίτες» → "feels no great shame before the townspeople": ντρέπομαι with a personal object is to feel shame or reserve in someone's presence; the clause explains the next sentence.
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED; J «Κι δέν» misprint emended; periods after «εδώ» and after «χωριό του» (short last line) supplied.
- **Flags:** none.

¶ 16

Εδώ στην πολιτεία είναι σαν το ξεριζωμένο πλατάνι της ρεματιάς, που αποζητάει το χώμα και τις πέτρες που το γέννησαν.

Here in the town he is like the uprooted plane tree of the ravine, which longs for the soil and the stones that gave it birth.

Apparatus: J «ξεριζωμένο» (B «ξερριζωμένο»).

- TN «ξεριζωμένο πλατάνι της ρεματιάς» uprooted plane tree of the ravine — the essay's central image; literal.
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.

- **Flags:** none.

¶ 17

Και μακρύτερα μπορεί να πάγει. Η θάλασσα κοντά. Καράβια περνούν κάθε μέρα(.). Στο χέρι του είναι· ποιός θα τον εμποδίσει; Ας πάγει και αυτός στην ξενιτιά να γίνει πλούσιος(.). Και φεύγει. Και νοιώθει πως ο τόπος που άφησε, με τα χωριά και τις πολιτείες του, ήταν πατρίδα, η πατρίδα του — η μεγάλη πατρίδα. Βρίσκονται στον κόσμο και άλλοι τόποι, ξένοι τόποι, που μιλούν οι άνθρωποι άλλες γλώσσες και έχουν άλλα συνήθια. Τα σπίτια τους είναι διαφορετικά, και αλλοιώτικες οι εκκλησιές. Η πολιτείες μπορεί να είναι μεγάλες, μεγαλόπρεπες και φαίνονται σαν πλούσιες. Αυτός όμως κάθετα σε μια σοφίτα σκοτεινή, με τέσσερεις άλλους μέσα. Πού είναι το σπίτι του το νοικοκυρεμένο, στο χωριό! Το χρήμα δεν είναι χυτό στους δρόμους. Δε σκύβει να μαζέψει χρυσάφι, παρά και αυτού δουλειά αναγκάζεται να γυρέψει(.). Αφού είδε και απόειδε, κατάφερε τέλος και τον πήραν εργάτη σ' ένα σιδηρόδρομο, με δυο τρία φράγκα την ημέρα. Δεν είναι προκοπή αυτή!

And he can go farther still. The sea is near. Ships pass every day. It is in his hands; who will stop him? Let him too go abroad and get rich. And he leaves. And he feels that the land he left, with its villages and its towns, was a fatherland, his fatherland — the *great fatherland*. There are other places in the world, foreign places, where people speak other languages and have other customs. Their houses are different, and their churches are of another kind. The cities may be big, magnificent, and they look rich. But he lives in a dark garret, with four others in it. Where is his well-kept house, in the village! Money is not strewn in the streets. He does not stoop to gather gold; on the contrary, there too he is forced to look for work. When he had tried everything, he managed at last to be taken on as a laborer on a railroad, at two or three francs a day. That is no way to prosper!

Apparatus: J omits three periods (after «μέρα», «πλούσιος», «γυρέψει»); supplied. J «Η πολιτείες» (J's feminine-plural article, as P13 «η γυναίκες»; B «Οι»).

- TN «Στο χέρι του είναι» "It is in his hands"; «ξενιτιά» abroad / foreign parts; «νοικοκυρεμένο» well-kept (F26); «προκοπή» "prosperity" / "prosper" throughout (F09); «φράγκα» → "francs": the author's word; in demotic φράγκο also meant a drachma or money generally (Greece was in the Latin Monetary Union from 1868), so the word does not by itself place the emigrant in a francophone country; «Δεν είναι προκοπή αυτή!» → "That is no way to prosper!" (προκοπή = getting on; the "prosper" root kept, QC F09; recurs P39, P45–P47). «πολιτείες» → "cities" in the sentence on the foreign lands only (decision D008 allows "city" for a clearly large city); "town(s)" elsewhere, including "its villages and its towns" earlier in this paragraph.
- TN «Η πολιτείες» — J's feminine-plural article, as P13 «η γυναίκες»; B «Οι»; no effect on the English.
- TN «είδε και απόειδε» = tried everything (A09); «χυτό στους δρόμους» "strewn in the streets" (A17).
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED; three J periods supplied.
- **Flags:** none.

¶ 18

Ο ξενιτεμένος θυμάται το χωριό του και αποζητά το σπίτι του πατέρα του, της μάννας του το χάδι, το ψωμί το σπιτήσιο, το καλό κρασί του αμπελιού τους. Σα να μην τα χάρηκε αρκετά. Και θυμάται τα βώδια, το αλέτρι, το χώμα, τις αγελάδες, τα δέντρα, και τις πέτρες του βουνού, και τα λιθάρια του δρόμου. Του φαίνεται πως δεν τα δούλεψε όσο έπαιρνε.

The emigrant remembers his village and longs for his father's house, his mother's caress, the home-baked bread, the good wine of their vineyard. It is as if he had not enjoyed them enough. And he remembers the oxen, the plow, the soil, the cows, the trees, and the rocks of the mountain, and the stones of the road. It seems to him that he did not work them as much as they would bear.

- TN «ξενιτεμένος» the emigrant; «της μάννας του το χάδι» his mother's caress; «όσο έπαιρνε» "as much as they would bear" (the limit on the things worked; possibility, not obligation; F08) — "as much as he could have" (the limit on the man) is equally possible; «πέτρες / λιθάρια» rocks / stones (F28).
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.
- **Flags:** none.

¶ 19

Φεύγουν όμως και άλλοι από το χωριό.

But others leave the village too.

• **Source status:** CONFIRMED.

¶ 20

Εκείνοι που αφήνουν το χωριό τους και παν σε μεγαλύτερα κέντρα για να σπουδάσουν, εκείνοι που με κάποια υποστήριξη, είτε της οικογένειας είτε των φίλων, του βουλευτή τους ή του δεσπότη, εξακολουθούν τις σπουδές τους και από το χωριάτικο σχολείο της χώρας, στο γυμνάσιο και έπειτα στο πανεπιστήμιο. Οι χωριάτες δεν ξέρουν τί κάνουν στέλνοντας τα παιδιά τους σε ανώτερα σχολεία. — «Για να γίνεις άνθρωπος, λεν του παιδιού τους, πρέπει να πας στο γυμνάσιο να μάθεις γράμματα». Και αφού τελειώσει το γυμνάσιο, το στέλνουν και στο πανεπιστήμιο. Φαντάζονται πως αν γίνει ιατρός ή δικηγόρος ο γιός τους, θα τιμηθεί τάχα η οικογένεια. Μα δεν νοιώθουν πως τιμή είναι η δουλειά, και ούτε το γυμνάσιο, ούτε το επάγγελμα κάνουν τον άνθρωπο. Άνθρωπος είναι εκείνος που έχει οικογενειακή ανατροφή, είτε σε πολιτεία ανατράφηκε είτε σε χωριό, είτε ξέρει γράμματα είτε δεν ξέρει. Άνθρωπος είναι εκείνος που παίρνει τη δουλειά του πατέρα του και την καλλιτερεύει.

Those who leave their village and go to larger centers to study; those who, with some support — from the family or from friends, from their deputy or from the bishop — carry their studies on from the village school to the town's, to the gymnasium and then to the university. The peasants do not know what they are doing when they send their children to higher schools. — "To become a man," they tell their child, "you must go to the gymnasium and learn letters." And when he finishes the gymnasium, they send him on to the university as well. They imagine that if their son becomes a doctor or a lawyer the family will supposedly be honored. But they do not understand that work is honor, and that neither the gymnasium nor the profession makes the man. A man is one who has a family upbringing, whether he was raised in a town or in a village, whether he knows letters or does not. A man is one who takes up his father's work and makes it better.

Apparatus: J lower-case «δεσπότη», «γυμνάσιο», «πανεπιστήμιο»; J «σκολιό» (B «σχολιό»); J introduces the quotation with a dash; J «ιατρός» (B «γιατρός»). **B punctuates** «τις σπουδές τους, και από ... της χώρας, στο γυμνάσιο, κ' έπειτα»; **J has no comma after** «τους» — a difference that bears on the construal of «και από» (see D067). J «μεγαλύτερα» (B «μεγαλύτερα»)

- TN The first sentence in Greek is a long anacoluthon (subjects without a main verb); the English keeps the suspended construction with semicolons and lets the next sentence resolve it, as the Greek does.
- TN «γυμνάσιο» gymnasium (secondary school, 4 years); «πανεπιστήμιο» university.
- TN «να γίνεις άνθρωπος» "to become a man" (D027); «γράμματα» → "letters" here (the parents' idiom, and literacy), "schooling" in P11, P26 and P33 — one Greek word.
- TN «τάχα» "supposedly" marks the author's irony.
- TN **Construal of «και από το χωριάτικο σκολιό της χώρας» — OPEN (D067).** Rendered as an ascending ladder, "from the village school to the town's, to the gymnasium and then to the university", with the noun elided after "the town's" as it is in the Greek; this matches the school ladder of P33 and the essay's use of «χώρα» for the district town (P08, P14, P24). The Greek is obscure. The printed words form a single noun phrase, and the main alternative reads them as one: "from the town's rustic (humble) school to the gymnasium" (χωριάτικο = of village type); a third reading, "the village school of the countryside" (χώρα = country, a sense the essay does not otherwise use), is less likely. The 1920 edition's commas («τους, και από ... της χώρας, στο γυμνάσιο, κ' έπειτα») set off the whole phrase as one stage and do not decide the question. Readers should consult the Greek.
- TN «τιμή είναι η δουλειά» → "work is honor" («η δουλειά», with the article, is the subject; the Greek fronts the predicate).
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED; J lower-case «δεσπότη, γυμνάσιο, πανεπιστήμιο».
- **Flags:** «της χώρας» reading (above); "learn letters" vs "get an education".

¶ 21

Του χωριάτη ο γιός πρέπει να μείνει χωριάτης, του παπουτσή παπουτσή, του φούρναρη φούρναρης. Και πάλι του εμπόρου ο γιός έμπορος, και του τραπεζίτη τραπεζίτης. Και μόνον έτσι καλλιτερεύει η εργασία του καθενός.

The peasant's son must remain a peasant, the shoemaker's a shoemaker, the baker's a baker. And likewise the merchant's son a merchant, and the banker's a banker. And only so does each man's work improve.

Apparatus: J «μόνον» (B «μόνο»).

- TN «χωριάτης» peasant (social term, slightly condescending), vs «χωριανός» villager.
- DC hereditary-occupation thesis (controversies C4); translated as written.
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.

¶ 22

Ο γιός μαθαίνει από τον πατέρα του, καλλίτερα παρά από κάθε άλλον, την τέχνη που έχει να κάνει όλη του τη ζωή. Και ο πατέρας πάλι μια τέχνη μονάχα ξέρει να διδάξει στο παιδί του, την τέχνη που ξέρει, τη δική του την τέχνη. Και τότε ο γιός, εξακολουθώντας την τέχνη του πατέρα του, μπορεί να την καλλιτερέψει. Μονομιάς ο άνθρωπος από παπουτσή δε γίνεται στρατηγός ουδέ τραπεζίτης. Και του παπουτσή ο γιός δε γίνεται πρωθυπουργός. Μπορεί όμως ο γιός του παπουτσή να μεγαλώσει το εμπόριο που έμαθε από τον πατέρα του και να γίνει μεγαλέμπορος. Μπορεί και άλλη σχετική τέχνη να πιάσει, να γίνει δερματέμπορος. Και ταμπάκικο μπορεί ν' ανοίξει. Μπορεί και καινούργιες τέχνες ν' ανακαλύψει, και να βγάλει στη μέση καινούργιους τρόπους εργασίας, καινούργια μέσα. Και θα βάλει τότε και αυτός, στις νέες τούτες τέχνες και δουλειές, το παιδί του. Και σ' άλλους πολλούς πατριώτες του θα δώσει δουλειά.

The son learns from his father, better than from anyone else, the trade he is to practice all his life. And the father, in turn, knows how to teach his child only *one* trade, the trade he knows, *his own* trade. And then the son, carrying on his father's trade, can improve it. A man does not turn all at once from shoemaker into general or banker. And the shoemaker's son does not become prime minister. But the shoemaker's son can enlarge the business he learned from his father and become a great merchant. He can take up another related trade too, and become a leather merchant. And he can open a tannery. He can discover new trades, and bring out new ways of working, new means. And then he in his turn will put his child into these new trades and businesses. And he will give work to many others from his own home place.

Apparatus: B «σὸ παιδί ου» (misprint). J «καινούργι-» (B «καινούρι-»).

- TN Emphasis *μια* and *τη δική του* = italics.
- TN «ταμπάκικο» tannery; «μεγαλέμπορος» great merchant / wholesaler; «δερματέμπορος» leather merchant; «πατριώτες» "others from his own home place" (local sense of the demotic word; F38).
- TN «και αυτός» "he in his turn" (A22).
- TN «τέχνη» "trade" (craft) and «εμπόριο» "business" (commerce) are kept distinct: the shoemaker's son enlarges the business side and becomes a great merchant; «δουλειές» (P22, P32) is also "business(es)". «πατριώτες»: the national sense "fellow-countrymen" is also possible; the local sense is adopted (D066).
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED (B's misprint «παιδί ου» is not in J).

¶ 23

Αυτοί γίνονται οι πιο χρήσιμοι άνθρωποι σε μια κοινωνία, όσοι κάνουν τη δουλειά του πατέρα τους, καλλιεργώντας και μεγαλώνοντάς την. Όσοι αφήνουν την τέχνη του πατέρα τους και την καταφρονούν, οι περισσότεροι χάνονται, δεν κάνουν τίποτε καλό ούτε στον εαυτό τους ούτε στους άλλους. Θα καταντήσουν είτε υπάλληλοι με μεγάλες απαιτήσεις και τιποτένιο μισθό, είτε τεμπέληδες δασκάλοι για ν' αποστραβώσουν και άλλους, είτε μπεκρήδες, ακαμάτες, και παραλυμένοι — δηλαδή η ψώρα μιας κοινωνίας. Δάσκαλοι δεν πρέπει να βγαίνουν από τους τέτοιους ανθρώπους. Στην Ελλάδα απ' αυτούς βγαίνουν και οι κομματάρχες, γιατί με τη βοήθεια του βουλευτή τους θα βρούνε καμιά θεσούλα κυβερνητική να κουτσοζήσουν, οι τιποτένιοι!

These are the ones who become the most useful people in a society: those who do their father's work, improving and enlarging it. Of those who abandon their father's trade and despise it, most are lost; they do nothing good, either for themselves or for others. They will end up either as clerks with great pretensions and a wretched salary, or as idle schoolmasters, so as to blind others too, or as drunkards, loafers, and wastrels — in short, the mangle of a society. Schoolmasters must

not come from such people. In Greece the local party agents come from them too, because with the help of their deputy they will find some little government post to scrape a living from, the nobodies!

Apparatus: J «ν' αποστραβώσουν και άλλους» ("to blind others too"); B «τους άλλους» ("the others"). «τηνα» in both.

- VAR J «ν' αποστραβώσουν και άλλους» ("to blind others too", i.e., as they were blinded) vs B «τους άλλους» ("the others"). J translated; the "in their turn" carries «και».
- TN «τηνα» = demotic enclitic «την» + -α; "it".
- TN «αποστραβώσουν» lit. to make blind/warped; "blind" chosen for the irony (teachers who mis-educate).
- TN «η ψώρα μιας κοινωνίας» "the mange of a society" (F14) — kept at full strength (style guide §0).
- TN «κομματάρχες» "local party agents" — the deputy's local vote-delivering men, subordinate to him (F04); HN on the clientelist system; «βουλευτής» deputy; «θεσούλα» "little post" (diminutive, contemptuous); «οι τιποτένιοι!» "the nobodies!"
- TN «για ν' αποστραβώσουν και άλλους» is purposive and sarcastic: ", so as to blind others too" (A08).
- TN «δεν πρέπει» → "must not" (a prohibition; πρέπει = "must" throughout). «οι περισσότεροι χάνονται» → "most are lost" (partitive); see P28 on χάνομαι.
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.
- **Flags:** "blind" for «αποστραβώσουν»; "mange".

¶ 24

Ο γεωργός που, με τη δουλειά του και τη δουλειά του πατέρα του, γίνεται πλούσιος και καταπιάνεται σε μικροεμπόριο, εκείνος με τον καιρό, ή το παιδί του, φυσικά θα κατασταλάξει καμιά μέρα κάτω στη χώρα, για να μεγαλώσει το εμπόριό του.

The farmer who, by his own work and his father's work, grows rich and takes up some small business — he, in time, or his child, will naturally settle one day down in the town, to enlarge his business.

Apparatus: J «σε μικροεμπόριο» (B «στο μικροεμπόριο»); J «καμιά μέρα κάτω στη χώρα» (B «μια μέρα στη χώρα»). B «με ή δουλειά» (misprint; PG «με η»).

- VAR J «σε μικροεμπόριο» / «καμιά μέρα κάτω στη χώρα» vs B «στο μικροεμπόριο» / «μια μέρα στη χώρα»; the English follows J ("some small business", "one day down in the town").
- TN B's misprint «με η» (PG) is not in J, which reads «με τη».
- TN «μικροεμπόριο» → "some small business" (εμπόριο = business, as P22); «θα κατασταλάξει» → "will settle" (come to rest, end up).
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.

¶ 25

Μα να φεύγουν οι φτωχοί ζευγολάτες από το χωριό τους για να παν στις πολιτείες και στην ξενιτιά, είτε για να πλουτίζουν είτε για να σπουδάσουν και να γίνουν μεγάλοι άνθρωποι, — αυτό ποτέ δε βγαίνει σε καλό τους. Κανείς απ' αυτούς δεν έγινε ποτέ ούτε πλούσιος, ούτε βγήκε μεγάλος. Οι εξαιρέσεις είναι τόσο σπάνιες που μήτε λογαριάζονται.

But for poor plowmen to leave their village to go to the towns and abroad, whether to get rich or to study and become great men — that never turns out well for them. Not one of them ever became rich, nor turned out great. The exceptions are so rare that they do not even count.

- TN «ζευγολάτες» plowmen (lit. yoke-drivers); «μεγάλοι άνθρωποι» great men.
- DC anti-emigration thesis (C4).
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.

¶ 26

Οι γονιοί οι γνωστικοί, όσοι νοιώθουν από κόσμο, δε θα σπρώξουν ποτέ τα παιδιά τους σε τέτοιο στραβό δρόμο, παρά θα τα αναθρέψουν έτσι που να μείνουν σιμά τους, και θα τα μάθουν από μικρά την τέχνη τους. Έτσι μονάχα τα παιδιά θα γίνουν άνθρωποι, δηλαδή χρήσιμοι στην κοινωνία και στον εαυτό τους. Γιατί οι γνωστικοί ξέρουν πως ο άνθρωπος δε γίνεται ούτε με τα πολλά γράμματα

ούτε με τα πολλά χρήματα. Γίνεται με την οικογενειακή ανατροφή και με τη δουλειά.

Sensible parents, those who understand something of the world, will never push their children down such a crooked road; rather they will bring them up so that they stay close by them, and will teach them their trade from childhood. Only so will the children become *men*, that is, useful to society and to themselves. For sensible people know that a man is made neither by much schooling nor by much money. He is made by family upbringing and by work.

Apparatus: J «κοινωνία» lower-case (B «Κοινωνία»). J: «(Στάλλο φύλλο τελειώνει)» — end of instalment 1.

- TN «γνωστικούς» sensible; «νοιώθουν από κόσμο» "understand something of the world"; «σιμά τους» close by them.
- TN Emphasis άνθρωποι = italics, "men" (D027).
- TN «με τα πολλά γράμματα» → "by much schooling" (γράμματα = letters, schooling; as P11 and P33; the author's antithesis is schooling versus upbringing and work).
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED; J «κοινωνία» lower case (B capital).

* * *

¶ 28

Σ' όποια μικρή πατρίδα και αν γεννήθηκε ή και αν ζη ο Έλληνας, όπου και αν βρίσκεται, σε πολιτεία ή σε χωριό, πρέπει να ενδιαφέρεται και να φροντίζει για την κοινότητά του, πρέπει να θέλει να φανεί χρήσιμος και σ' αυτήν, όπως θέλει να είναι χρήσιμος στον εαυτό του. Και όταν φανεί χρήσιμος στην κοινότητά του, πάλι στον εαυτό του θα είναι χρήσιμος. Πρέπει να νοιώθει πάντα πως, θέλοντας και μη, είναι δεμένος με τους τριγυρινούς του, τους πατριώτες του, και να τους βοηθεί. Μόνο εκείνος που βοηθεί τους άλλους μπορεί με το δίκιο του να γυρεύει και απ' αυτούς βοήθεια. Πάλι καλό δικό του θα κάμει βοηθώντας τους. Η αλληλοβοήθεια είναι δύναμη και του καθενός ανθρώπου και της κοινότητας όλης. Εκείνος που δε βοηθεί, δεν είναι άξιος να τον βοηθούν και οι άλλοι, και δεν την πειράζει την κοινότητα αν τύχει και χαθεί.

In whatever little fatherland the Greek was born, or wherever he lives, wherever he finds himself, in a town or in a village, he must take an interest in his *community* and care for it; he must want to be useful to it too, just as he wants to be useful to himself. And when he proves useful to his community, he will in turn be useful to himself. He must always feel that, whether he likes it or not, he is bound to those around him, the people of his own place, and must help them. Only the man who helps others has the right to ask help of them in turn. Again, it is his own good he will be doing by helping them. Mutual help is the strength both of each man and of the whole community. The man who does not help is not worthy of being helped by the others, and it does the community no harm if he happens to be lost.

Apparatus: J prints the first «κοινότητά» in italic (confirmed on the scan at 3 × -5 × in the October 2026 audit, AI reading; B letter-spaces the same word); the second «κοινότητά» is upright in both witnesses.

- TN «μικρή πατρίδα» lower-case here, "little fatherland"; «κοινότητα» community; the italic on the first «κοινότητά» is J's (confirmed on the scan, AI reading; B letter-spaces the same word).
- TN «πατριώτες» in demotic = people of one's own home place, not (only) the nation: "the people of his own place" (F38; cf. P22 "others from his own home place"); the national sense "fellow-countrymen" is possible.
- TN «πάλι» (twice in this paragraph) means "in turn, likewise", not "once more"; rendered "in turn" (first) and "Again," (second, the discourse sense); contrast P47, where «πάλι» is read as temporal (open; see P47).
- TN «δεν την πειράζει την κοινότητα αν τύχει και χαθεί» → "it does the community no harm if he happens to be lost": demotic χάνομαι of a person means to be lost, to go under, to come to nothing, and also to die; "lost" keeps the whole range, as in P23 and P32, where the same verb is used; the harshness is the author's.
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED; J prints the first «κοινότητά» in italic (AI reading of the scan, October 2026 audit); the second is upright, as in B.

¶ 29

Ο άνθρωπος του κάθε τόπου, εκείνος και καλλίτερα μπορεί να φροντίζει για τον τόπο του, γιατί

εκείνος και πιο κοντά είναι και κάθε μέρα τον βλέπει, δηλαδή τον ξέρει καλλίτερα από κάθε άλλο και τον πονεί περισσότερο.

The man of each place is the one who can best care for his place, because he is nearest to it and sees it every day, which is to say he knows it better than anyone else and feels for it more.

Apparatus: B «καλύτερα ... κάθε άλλον».

- VAR J «καλλίτερα ... κάθε άλλον» / B «καλύτερα ... κάθε άλλον» — spelling only.
- TN «τον πονεί» "feels for it" (lit. aches for it).
- TN J prints «κάθε άλλον» (neuter); read as «άλλον» ("anyone else") with B; "anything else" is possible (A26).
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.

¶ 30

Σαν τί βοήθεια όμως πρέπει να δίνει στους τριγυρινούς του, και σαν τί φροντίδα να δείχνει για τον τόπο του;

But what kind of help should he give to those around him, and what kind of care should he show for his place?

- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.

¶ 31

Πρέπει·

He must:

Apparatus: B «Πρέπει :».

- TN «Πρέπει» "He must:" — introduces the lettered list.
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.

¶ 32

A') Να βοηθεί τον άλλο νάβρει δουλειά. Ο άλλος αυτός φυσικά πρέπει να είναι άξιος να δουλέψει. Αν είναι ακαμάτης, ανίκανος, ποιός του φταίει αν χαθεί; Ο καθένας ας κυττάζει να μεγαλώσει την εργασία του για να μπορέσει και σ' άλλους συντοπίτες του να δώσει δουλειά. Όσο μεγαλώνουν οι δουλειές του καθενός τόσο χωρούν και παίρνουν και άλλους. Διψά η δουλειά γι' ανθρώπους.

(A) Help the next man find work. That man, of course, must be fit to work. If he is a loafer, incapable, whose fault is it if he is lost? Let each man look to enlarge his own work, so that he can give work to others of his own place too. The more each man's business grows, the more room it makes and the more people it takes on. Work thirsts for men.

Apparatus: B «νάναι» (J «να είναι»). PG «ανθρώπους» is a PG slip. J prints the list letters «A'»), «B'»), «Γ'») without a stop after the parenthesis; B adds one.

- TN J «A'») (no stop; B adds one) → (A). «νάβρει» = να βρει. «άξιος να δουλέψει» → "fit to work": άξιος = able, and also worthy; the next sentence («ακαμάτης, ανίκανος») covers both (F02). «δουλειές» = business (F31). «ποιός του φταίει αν χαθεί;» → "whose fault is it if he is lost?" (see P28). «Διψά η δουλειά γι' ανθρώπους» → "Work thirsts for men" — the author's aphorism, literal.
- TN «συντοπίτες» "others of his own place" (A13; cf. D066). "men" for «ανθρώπους» in the aphorism — a deliberate departure from the generic "people" (D073; A14).
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED (J «ανθρώπους» clear; PG «ανθρώπους» was a PG slip).

¶ 33

B') Να φροντίζει για τη νεώτερη γενεά. Τα σκολειά να καλλιτερέψουν. Όχι να γίνουν με περισσότερες τάξεις ή πióτερους δασκάλους, παρά να τα επιβλέπουν καλλίτερα οι έφοροι, να είναι πάντα καθαρά, αερικά, καλά χτισμένα, και ό,τι μαθαίνουν τα παιδιά να το μαθαίνουν αληθινά. Πολλά γράμματα δε θέλει ο πολός ο κόσμος. Τα παιδιά φτάνει να μαθαίνουν καλά λιγοστά πράγματα, ό,τι τους χρειάζεται για τις δουλειές του χωριού ή για την τέχνη τους, όχι άλλο. Πρέπει να μαθαίνουν και την εθνική τους ιστορία, για να ξέρουν τί είναι οι ίδιοι, ποιοί τους γέννησαν, και ποιοί είναι οι τωρινοί εχτροί του έθνους. Περισσότεροι δάσκαλοι δε χρειάζονται, αλλά καλλίτεροι.

Φαντάζεστε τί θα ήταν για το έθνος ένα διδασκαλείο που θα έβγαζε δασκάλους — ανθρώπους. Έπειτα και τούτο να προσέχουμε το χωριό που έχει δημοτικό σχολείο ή τετρατάξια αστική σχολή, δεν έχει ανάγκη σχολαρχείο ή εφτατάξια αστική σχολή. Και ακόμη λιγώτερο του χρειάζεται γυμνάσιο. Θα ήταν πια τρέλλα να του φτειάσουν και πανεπιστήμιο.

(B) Care for the younger generation. Let the schools improve. Not with more grades or more teachers, but by having the trustees supervise them better, by the schools being always clean, airy, well built, and by the children truly learning whatever they learn. Most people have no need of much schooling. It is enough for the children to learn a few things well — whatever they need for the work of the village or for their trade, nothing more. They must also learn their national history, so as to know what they themselves are, who begot them, and who the present enemies of the nation are. More teachers are not needed, but better ones. You can imagine what a teachers' college that turned out teachers — men in the full sense — would be for the nation. Then there is this too to bear in mind: the village that has a primary school or a four-grade urban school has no need of a Hellenic school or a seven-grade urban school. And still less does it need a gymnasium. It would be sheer madness to build it a university as well.

Apparatus: J «ο πολὺς ο κόσμος» (B omits the second «ο»). J «προσέχουμε» (B «προσέχουμε »; PG «προσέχουμε»).

- TN J «B'» (no stop) → (B). «γενεά» generation; «τάξεις» grades; «έφοροι» trustees; «αερικά» airy; «ο πολὺς ο κόσμος» "most people" (J; B omits the second «ο»); «Πολλά γράμματα» → "much schooling" (as P11, P26). «να είναι πάντα καθαρά» — the subject is the schools (neuter plural), supplied in the English.
- HN School types: «δημοτικό σχολείο» primary school; «τετρατάξια/εφτατάξια αστική σχολή» four-/seven-grade urban school (Ottoman-Greek communal type); «σχολαρχείο» Hellenic school (the Kingdom's three-year lower secondary); «γυμνάσιο»; «διδασκαλείο» teachers' college. The author sets the Kingdom's school names (δημοτικό, σχολαρχείο, γυμνάσιο) beside the Ottoman Greek communities' «αστική σχολή», apparently because the proclamation addresses both the "liberated" and the "enslaved" Greeks and was first printed in Constantinople. These glosses were checked in the October 2026 audit against reference sources (FHW *Hellenic History*; LKN; a University of Athens study of community schooling), by AI, not by a historian.
- DC «οι τωρινοί εχτροί του έθνους» "the present enemies of the nation" — translated as written (C2). EI: in May 1908 the phrase most probably points to the Greek–Bulgarian contest in Macedonia (1904–1908) and to the anti-Greek movement in Eastern Rumelia of 1906 (see P40); the author names no enemy here, though P40–P41 blame Bulgarians and Turks.
- TN «δασκάλους — ανθρώπους» → "teachers — men in the full sense —": the Greek is the gender-neutral άνθρωπος in the essay's special sense defined in P20 and P26 (a person of worth made by upbringing and work), not "male teachers"; the dash is the author's; "in the full sense" is the translator's unpacking of it (F10; D027); J prints no emphasis here.
- TN «Φαντάζεστε» indicative: "You can imagine" (A12).
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.
- **Flags:** the school-type glosses (above) rest on AI reference checks, not on a historian's review.

¶ 34

Μα η νεώτερη γενιά δεν ανατρέφεται μονάχα με το σχολείο. Των παιδιών ταιριάζουν κυνήγια, παιχνίδια, περίπατοι, και να ρίχνουν στο σημάδι και να πηδούν στις τρεις και να παραβγαίνουν στο τρέξιμο και στο κολύμπι, και να παλεύουν και να ρίχνουν το λιθάρι και να καρβαλικεύουν άλογα. Άμα τα παιδιά δεν τα κάνουν αυτά μοναχά τους, πρέπει οι γεροντότεροι να τους κεντούν και να τους σπρώχνουν σ' αυτά. Οι γέροι είναι άχρηστοι και μάλιστα επικίνδυνοι, αν, επειδή κουράστηκαν αυτοί και αποκοιμούνται, θέλουν ν' αποκοιμίσουν και τα παιδιά τους. Τα παιδιά είναι η μελλούμενη ζωή του έθνους. Πρώτα απ' όλα αυτήν πρέπει να σεβόμαστε.

But the younger generation is not brought up by the school alone. What befits children is hunting, games, walks — and shooting at the mark and doing the hop, step and jump, and racing and swimming, and wrestling and throwing the stone and riding horses. If the children do not do these things on their own, their elders must spur them on and push them into these things. Old men are useless, and indeed dangerous, if, because they themselves have grown tired and are falling asleep, they want to put their children to sleep as well. The children are the nation's life to come. Before all else, it is this we must respect.

Apparatus: J «μοναχά τους» (B «μονάχα τους»); J «αποκοιμίσουν» (B «αποκοιμήσουν»).

- TN «να πηδούν στις τρεις» (lit. "to jump at the three") taken as the folk three-jump exercise and rendered by its period English name, "the hop, step and jump" (the modern "triple jump") — provisional (F11, D051); "hunting" and "shooting at the mark" could also be chasing games and throwing at a mark; «ταψιάζουν» befit (F33); «να ρίχνουν το λιθάρι» throw the stone (putting the stone); «καβαλικεύουν» ride.
- TN «οι γεροντότεροι» → "their elders" in the plain sense of the older people, distinct from the village elders (δημογέροντες) of P08; «να τους κεντούν» spur them on; «να τους σπρώχνουν σ' αυτά» "push them into these things".
- TN «Τα παιδιά είναι η μελλούμενη ζωή του έθνους» → "the nation's life to come": demotic «μελλούμενη ζωή» means the future life and is also the vernacular form of the liturgical «μέλλουσα ζωή», "the life to come"; the English keeps the same double sense; "the future life of the nation" would keep only the first.
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.

¶ 35

Γ') Να φροντίζει για κοινοτικά έργα — να φυλάγονται τα χωράφια και τ' αμπέλια από καλούς δραγάτες, τα δάση από δασοφύλακες εμπιστεμένους να σιάζονται οι τοπικοί δρόμοι, ή να φτειάνονται καινούργιοι αν χρειάζεται, να χτίζονται πετρογέφυρα, να διορθώνονται τα σκολειά, και για όλ' αυτά να συνάζονται χρήματα.

(C) Care for communal works — that the fields and the vineyards be guarded by good field guards, the forests by trusted forest wardens; that the local roads be mended, or new ones made if need be; that stone bridges be built, that the schools be repaired; and that money be collected for all of these.

Apparatus: J «αν χρειάζεται» (B «αν χρειάζονται»).

- TN J «Γ')» (no stop) → (C). «κοινοτικά έργα» communal works; «δασοφύλακες» forest wardens; «εμπιστεμένους» trusted (adjectival; "entrusted to see that the roads are mended" is the less likely reading; neither witness has a comma); «πετρογέφυρα» stone bridges.
- VAR J «αν χρειάζεται» (B «χρειάζονται»); English "if need be".
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED; J has no comma after «εμπιστεμένους» (nor does B).

* * *

¶ 37

Κοντά στη Σπάρτη είναι ένα χωριό που το λένουν Βαμπακού. Μερικοί χωρικοί φύγανε στην ξενιτιά και ξαναγύρισαν πίσω, άλλος δίχως χρήματα άλλος με λιγοστά. Αλλά ήτανε γνωστικοί άνθρωποι, και εκείνοι που έφυγαν και όσοι μείνανε στο χωριό. Σύναξαν λοιπόν κάμποσα χρήματα, και επειδή ο δήμαρχος ήταν κομματάρχη του βουλευτή και ίσως όχι πολύ τίμιος άνθρωπος, και επειδή ο δήμος όλος μαζί δεν είναι τόσο συμαζεμένος σαν ένα χωριό μοναχό, και επειδή το κράτος είναι πολύ μακριά και δε βλέπει τό(σ)ο καλά τις καθημερινές ανάγκες τω(ν) χωριανών όπως τις βλέπουν οι ίδιοι οι χωριανοί — γι' αυτά όλα πάσκισαν και έκαμαν κοινότητα στο χωριό τους και την ορίζουν αυτοί, για να είναι και βέβαιοι πως το χρήμα που σύναξαν για το κοινό δε θα πάγει στα χαμένα.

Near Sparta there is a village called Vamvakou. Some of the villagers went abroad and came back again, one without money, another with a little. But they were sensible people, both those who had left and those who had stayed in the village. So they collected a fair sum of money; and because the mayor was the deputy's local party agent and perhaps not a very honest man, and because the municipality as a whole is not as compact as a single village, and because the State is very far away and does not see the villagers' everyday needs as well as the villagers themselves see them — for all these reasons they strove and formed a community in their village, and they govern it themselves, so that they can also be sure that the money they collected for the common good will not go to waste.

Apparatus: J «Αλλά ήτανε γνωστικοί άνθρωποι» (B «Αλλά γνωστικοί άνθρωποι»). J «λέγουν» (B «λένε»); J «άλλος δίχως χρήματα άλλος» (B «άλλος με δίχως χρήματα, άλλος»); J «έκαμαν» (B «έκαναν»); J «τόπο» (misprint, π for σ), emended with B; J «τῶ χωριανῶν» — a dropped sort or a demotic genitive-plural form (the same issue prints «τῶ

«συννοικιών» in another article); emended with B.

- VAR J «Αλλά ήτανε γνωστικοί άνθρωποι» ("But they were sensible people") vs B verbless («Αλλά γνωστικοί άνθρωποι»). J translated.
- VAR J «που το λέγουν» / «έκαμαν» (B «λένε» / «έκαναν») — forms only; J «άλλος δίχως χρήματα άλλος...», B «άλλος με δίχως χρήματα, άλλος...» (B adds «με»; English unaffected).
- TN «Βαμπακού» → Vamvakou (D016).
- TN «χωρικοί» villagers (here = inhabitants); «δήμος» municipality; «δήμαρχος» mayor; «κομματάρχης του βουλευτή» "the deputy's local party agent" (F04; cf. P23); «συμαζεμένος» compact/well-knit; «το κοινό» the common good.
- HN The Vamvakou community of 1898 (HN-1); the pre-1912 δήμος system.
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED; J «τόπο» (for «τόσο», π for σ) and «τῷ χωριανῶν» (a dropped sort or a demotic genitive-plural form), both emended with B and shown as «τό(σ)ο», «τω(ν)».

¶ 38

Από τα 1898 στη Βαμπακού υπάρχει κοινότητα που φροντίζει για όλα τα γενικά ζητήματα του χωριού — διορθώνει το σκολειό· μεταφέρει το νεκροταφείο έξω από το χωριό, για την υγεία του τόπου — αρχίζει υδραυλικά έργα για να ποτίζονται καλλίτερα τ' αμπέλια και τα περιβόλια — σιάχνει τους τοπικούς δρόμους και τα γεφύρια — βάζει καλούς δραγάτες, και θα καταπιαστεί με τον καιρό και άλλα πολλά χρήσιμα έργα.

Since 1898 there has been a community in Vamvakou which looks after all the general affairs of the village — it repairs the school; it moves the cemetery outside the village, for the health of the place — it begins waterworks so that the vineyards and orchards are better watered — it mends the local roads and bridges — it appoints good field guards, and in time it will take on many other useful works besides.

Apparatus: J punctuates the list with a raised point and dashes; B with commas and dashes.

- TN The Greek list is punctuated with raised points and dashes; the English keeps the dashes (F18).
- TN «υδραυλικά έργα» waterworks (irrigation); «γεφύρια» bridges.
- DC «Από τα 1898» — consistent with the village association's own historical account (HN-1); not independently verified.
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.

¶ 39

Άμα τα χωριά προκόψουν, ούτε στην Αμερική θα πηγαίνουν οι χωριανοί για να πλουτύνουν, ούτε στις πολιτείες για να σπουδάσουν, ούτε στην Αθήνα για να βρίσκουν θέσες.

Once the villages prosper, the villagers will not go to America to get rich, nor to the towns to study, nor to Athens to find posts.

- DC emigration to America (C4); HN candidate on the 1900–1914 emigration wave.
- TN «ούτε ... θα πηγαίνουν» "will not go ... nor" — "no longer" is implied, not stated (A21).
- TN «Άμα» → "Once" (as in P42).
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.

¶ 40

Αυτό που κάνει η Βαμπακού στην Ελλάδα, επειδή έτυχε να έχει γνωστικούς χωριάτες που καταλαβαίνουν το συμφέρο τους, αυτό το ίδιο το κάνουν όλες στην Τουρκία οι ελληνικές κοινότητες από τα παλιά τα χρόνια. Ο Τούρκος, φρόνιμος, άφηκε τους Έλληνες να κυβερνιούνται μόνοι τους κατά πώς θέλουν αυτοί. Δε σκοτίζεται για τα εσωτερικά τους ζητήματα. Γυρεύει μονάχα τα δοσίματα, βρίσκει λογής αφορμές και βάζει τον κόσμο σε μπελάδες, και για κανενός το καλό δε νοιάζεται. Και στη Βουλγαρία, ως τα τώρα, όπου βρίσκονταν Έλληνες ήταν κ' ελληνικές κοινότητες, και όταν αποφάσισαν οι Βούλγαροι να ξεπατώσουν τον Ελληνισμό από την Ανατολική Ρωμυλία, κατασύντριψαν τις κοινότητες, άρπαξαν δηλαδή εκκλησίες και σκολειά, έδιωξαν δεσποτάδες, παπάδες και δασκάλους, ρήμαξαν κοινοτικά χτήματα, τρόμαξαν τον κόσμο — και παν οι κοινότητες.) Οι Έλληνες αυτοί, οι κακότυχοι, μη βρίσκοντας πια κοινότητες να ζήσουν, άφηκαν τα σπίτια τους και τα χωράφια τους και έφυγαν σε τόπους πιο φιλόξενους.

What Vamvakou is doing in Greece, because it happened to have sensible peasants who understand their own interest, all the Greek communities in Turkey have been doing since the old days. The Turk, being prudent, left the Greeks to govern themselves however they themselves want. He does not trouble himself about their internal affairs. He asks only for the dues, finds all kinds of pretexts and gets people into trouble, and cares for no one's good. And in Bulgaria, until now, wherever there were Greeks there were Greek communities too; and when the Bulgarians decided to uproot Hellenism from Eastern Rumelia, they crushed the communities — that is, they seized churches and schools, drove out bishops, priests, and teachers, laid waste communal property, frightened the people — *and gone are the communities*. These luckless Greeks, finding no more communities to live in, left their houses and their fields and went away to more hospitable places.

Apparatus: J «από τα παλιά τα χρόνια» (B omits «τα»); J «άφηκε» (B «άφησε»). J lacks the period after «κοινότητες» (supplied).

- VAR J «από τα παλιά τα χρόνια» / «άφηκε» (B «από τα παλιά χρόνια» / «άφησε») — forms only.
- TN «στην Τουρκία» "in Turkey" (D011); «Ο Τούρκος, φρόνιμος» "The Turk, being prudent" — collective singular kept (F34); «δοσίματα» (plural, colloquial) the dues/taxes paid to the Ottoman authorities ("the dues", QC F05; HN candidate); «λογής αφορμές» all kinds of pretexts.
- TN «να ξεπατώσουν τον Ελληνισμό» "to uproot Hellenism" (D012): here the Greek population of Eastern Rumelia as a body (the author's own gloss follows: churches, schools, bishops, priests, teachers, property, people); the same word is the thesis word of P44; «κατασύτριψαν» crushed; «ρήμαξαν» laid waste; «τρόμαξαν τον κόσμο» frightened the people (F12); «και παν οι κοινότητες» → "*and gone are the communities*" (a colloquial present, verb first, answering P42 "*and there is the community*").
- DC the 1906 Eastern Rumelia events (DC-1; controversies C2).
- TN «Ο Τούρκος, φρόνιμος» may be meant sincerely or ironically; it is rendered neutrally. «κοινότητες να ζήσουν» is read as communities "to live in"; "to keep alive" is the less likely reading.
- TN «οι κακότυχου» → "luckless" (ill-fated); the Greek is an appositive aside.
- TN «βάζει τον κόσμο σε μπελάδες» "gets people into trouble" (A04); «κατά πώς θέλουν αυτοί» present, emphatic: "however they themselves want" (A20).
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED; J period after «κοινότητες» supplied.
- **Flags:** the author's account of the 1906 events is reproduced without an editorial note.

¶ 41

Στην Τουρκία οι Ελληνικές κοινότητες θα βρίσκονταν καλά αν δεν ήταν οι Τούρκοι τόσο ελεεινοί. Στη Βουλγαρία οι Έλληνες θα ζούσαν καλά αν τους άφιναν οι Βούλγαροι τις κοινότητές τους. Και στην Ελλάδα θα ζούσαν καλλίτερα οι Έλληνες αν το κράτος καταλάβαινε πως το φυσικό του Ρωμιού είναι να ζη σε κοινότητες ιδιοκυβέρνητες. Ω Κράτος, μην του παίρνεις του Ρωμιού το ενδιαφέρον για το χωριό του, μην του κάνεις συ σκολιά, μην του διορίζεις συ τους δασκάλους, μην του φυλάς συ τ' αμπέλια, τα χωράφια, τα δάση, μην του φτειάχνεις συ τους τοπικούς δρόμους, γιατί τον λύνεις έτσι από τους δεσμούς του με το χωριό του. Συ έχεις άλλες δουλειές γενικώτερες. Αυτές να κυττάζεις! Εμάς μονάχα να μας επιθεωρείς, να μας παίρνεις στρατιώτες, να μας ζητάς φόρους και να μας βοηθείς, αν μπορείς, να βρίσκουμε κεφάλαια για μεγάλες επιχειρήσεις.

In Turkey the Greek communities would be well off if the Turks were not so wretched. In Bulgaria the Greeks would live well if the Bulgarians let them keep their communities. And in Greece the Greeks would live better if the State understood that it is the nature of the *Romios* to live in self-governing communities. O State, do not take from the *Romios* his interest in his village; do not *you* build him schools, do not *you* appoint his teachers, do not *you* guard his vineyards, his fields, his forests, do not *you* make his local roads — for in that way you untie him from the bonds that bind him to his village. You have other, more general business. See to those! Us you need only inspect, take as soldiers, ask taxes of us, and help us, if you can, to find capital for great undertakings.

Apparatus: J «ζούσαν» (B «ζούσανε»); J «επιχειρήσεις» (B «επιχειρήσε»). **No italics on the four «συ» could be made out in J** (three of four AI readings of the scan; the fourth saw italics); the emphasis follows B's letter-spacing and is flagged.

- TN «Αυτές να κυττάζεις!» "See to those!" (plural, F30). «ιδιοκυβέρνητες» self-governing (the author's

coinage). «Ω Κράτος» "O State" (D026). «Συ έχεις» the fifth, unemphasized "You have".

- TN «Ρωμιός» Romios (D025); first occurrence → glossary/TN.
- TN «να μας παίρνεις στρατιώτες» "take as soldiers" (conscription); «επιχειρήσεις» undertakings/enterprises.
- TN «ελεεινός» → "wretched": the word ranges from "pitiable, miserable" to "despicable"; "wretched" keeps the range the author left open, where "contemptible" would resolve it toward contempt; the context (P40) makes the hostile sense the likelier one. The four italic *you*: J (1908) shows no emphasis on «συ» that can be made out on the scan (re-read in the October 2026 audit: the same upright face as the surrounding words, AI reading; one of four AI readings of the scan, the transcription and three in the audit, saw italics there); the 1920 edition letter-spaces these four but not the fifth «Συ έχεις»; the explicit pronoun is in any case emphatic in Greek. Italics kept per the 1920 witness; decision D064 OPEN. «να μας ζητάς φόρους» "ask taxes of us" (A19); «να μας βοηθείς ... να βρίσκουμε» → "help us ... to find" (the Greek has the object and a first-person verb); «τον λύνεις ... από τους δεσμούς του» → "untie him from the bonds that bind him".
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED (J «ζούσαν», «επιχειρήσεις» vs B forms).
- **Flags:** emphasis on «συ» (D064).

¶ 42

Όπου βρεθούνε δέκα Ρωμιοί φτειάνουν κοινότητα. Συνάζουν πρώτα χρήματα για την εκκλησιά. Άμα τη χτίσουνε φέρνουν παπά. Έπειτα και τις γυναίκες τους. Ύστερα, με τους δίσκους της εκκλησιάς συνάζουν χρήματα και φτειάνουνε σχολειό. Τέλος φέρνουνε δάσκαλο για τα παιδιά τους — και νάτη(ν) η κοινότητα.

Wherever ten *Romioi* find themselves together, they form a community. First they collect money for the church. Once they have built it, they bring a priest. Then their wives as well. Afterward, with the church's collection plates, they collect money and build a school. At last they bring a teacher for their children — *and there is the community*.

Apparatus: J prints «νάτης» (italic, with «καὶ» and «ἡ κοινότητα»; clear final ς); (ν) replaces it after B «νάτην»; misprint or dialect form undecided. J «σκολειό» (B «σχολειό»).

- TN «Ρωμιοί» Romioi; «νάτην η κοινότητα» "and there is the community" (lit. "there she is"). J prints «νάτης» (italic; clear final ς); the (ν) replaces it after B «νάτην»; misprint or dialect form undecided.
- TN «φτειάνουν κοινότητα» "form a community".
- **Source status:** PROVISIONAL (J's clear «νάτης» emended after B; misprint or dialect form undecided).

¶ 43

Πρέπει στην Ελλάδα ν' αφήσουν ελεύθερα ξανά τις κοινότητες να φυτρώσουν. Με την τοπική αυτοδιοίκηση — όπου ο καθένας θα κυβερνά το χωριό του, και στο κράτος μονάχα θα πληρώνει τους φόρους, θα δίνει ό,τι μπορεί για τα μεγάλα εθνικά έργα, και θα κάνει το στρατιωτικό του — το κράτος θα έχει καιρό να σκεφτεί και να φροντίσει για τα γενικώτερα συμφέροντα του έθνους. Και έτσι, επειδή περισσότεροι θα κυβερνούν τα χωριά τους, λιγώτεροι θα καταπιάνονται να κυβερνήσουν το κράτος, και ίσως καλλίτεροι.

In Greece they must again let the communities spring up freely. With *local self-government* — where each man will govern his own village, and to the State will only pay his taxes, give what he can toward the great national works, and do his military service — the State will have time to think of and care for the more general interests of the nation. And so, because more men will be governing their villages, fewer will set about governing the State, and perhaps better ones.

Apparatus: J «όπου ο καθένας» (B omits «ο»); J «ν' αφήσουν» (B «ναφίσουν»).

- VAR J «όπου ο καθένας» (B omits «ο»); English unaffected. «να φυτρώσουν» "spring up" — the plant image of P16 (F29).
- TN «τοπική αυτοδιοίκηση» local self-government (glossary); «να κάνει το στρατιωτικό του» do his military service; «εθνικά έργα» national works.
- HN Law ΔΝΖ' /1912 on communities (HN-2) post-dates the essay.
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.

¶ 44

Ο Ελληνισμός είναι μια οικογένεια από Ελληνικές κοινότητες. Αυτό πρέπει να το ιδούμε ξάστερα όλοι.

Hellenism is a family of Greek communities. This we must all see clearly.

Apparatus: J italicizes the whole sentence including «Ο»; B spaces from «Ελληνισμός».

- TN The thesis sentence; italic in full in J (B spaces from «Ελληνισμός»). "Hellenism" (D010) with the Greek in the glossary; «Ελληνικές κοινότητες» "Greek communities".
- TN «ξάστερα» clearly (lit. in a cloudless sky).
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.

¶ 45

Και είδες σε μιαν οικογένεια, σαν όλοι είναι γεροί και δουλεύει ο καθένας, πόση ευτυχία και πόση χαρά βασιλεύει, και τί προκοπή; Ο καθένας ξέρει τη θέση του, δε λαθεύει, και βοηθεί και τους άλλους. Και είδες σ' άλλην οικογένεια που είναι ποιός άρρωστος ποιός αδύνατος και κανείς δε δουλεύει, είδες πόση γρίνια και δυστυχία σωριάζεται; Ο καθένας ρίχνει τα λάθη στου αλλουνού τη ράχη, και δε βοηθούνται αναμεταξύ τους, και μαλόνουν ατέλειωτα.

And have you seen, in a family where all are healthy and each one works, how much happiness and how much joy reign, and what prosperity? Each knows his place, does not go wrong, and helps the others too. And have you seen, in another family, where one is sick and another weak and no one works — have you seen how much grumbling and misery pile up? Each throws the blame on the other's back, and they do not help one another, and they quarrel without end.

Apparatus: J «κανείς δε δουλεύει, είδες πόση» (B omits «είδες»).

- VAR J «κανείς δε δουλεύει, είδες πόση γρίνια» (B omits the second «είδες»); J translated with the repeated "have you seen".
- TN «δε λαθεύει» "does not go wrong"; «γρίνια» grumbling; «μαλόνουν» quarrel.
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.

¶ 46

Έτσι και το έθνος. Είναι μιαν οικογένεια από κοινότητες. Όταν οι κοινότητές του — οι πολιτείες και τα χωριά του — έχουν υγεία, δουλειά και προκοπή, κύτταξε πώς προκόβει και το έθνος όλο. Όταν πάλε οι κοινότητές του είναι αρρωστιάρικες, και οι άνθρωποι μισοδουλεύουν, δεν είναι ευχαριστημένοι, γρινιάζουν, παραπονιούνται, μαλλιοτραβούνται και γίνονται κόμματα, κύτταξε το έθνος όλο πώς παραλεί και στενοχωριέται και δε σαλεύει πια.

So it is with the nation. It is a family of communities. When its communities — its towns and its villages — have health, work, and prosperity, look how the whole nation prospers too. When, on the other hand, its communities are sickly, and the people work by halves, are not content, grumble, complain, pull one another's hair, and split into parties, look how the whole nation is paralyzed and distressed and no longer stirs.

Apparatus: J accents «παραλεί» with a circumflex (the accent of a contracted form such as παραλέει); recorded for the open reading παραλύει/παραλέει.

- TN «πολιτείες» here "towns" (the nation's towns and villages); «μισοδουλεύουν» work by halves; «μαλλιοτραβούνται» pull one another's hair; «γίνονται κόμματα» → "split into parties": κόμμα is the political party (cf. «κομματάρχες» "party agents", P23, P37) and also a side in a quarrel; "parties" carries both senses, as the Greek does; «παραλεί» = παραλύει, "is paralyzed" (F01); «στενοχωριέται» "distressed"; «δε σαλεύει πια» no longer stirs.
- TN «παραλεί» (so spelled in both witnesses; J accents it «παραλεί», the accent of a contracted form such as παραλέει) is read as παραλύει, "is paralyzed", which fits «δε σαλεύει πια»; a reading as παραλέει, "raves", cannot be excluded (A05). Needs a lexicographer.
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.
- **Flags:** the reading of «παραλεί» (above).

¶ 47

Το έθνος μας ολάκερο πάλι με κοινότητες πρέπει να κυβερνηθεί, και μόνο με κοινότητες θα προκόψει.

Our whole nation must again be governed by *communities*, and only by communities will it prosper.

- TN Emphasis κοινότητες; «ολάκερο» whole/entire.
- TN «πάλι» "again" (cf. P43 «ξανά»); "likewise / in its turn" is possible (A15).
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED.

¶ 48

Η δουλειά θα ζωντανέψει ή θα δυναμώσει τις κοινότητες. Και άμα ζωντανέψουν και δυναμώσουν αυτές, τότε θα θεριέψει το Έθνος.

Work will bring the communities back to life, or make them strong. And when they come back to life and grow strong, then the *Nation* will grow mighty.

Apparatus: End of J 296 p. 8 col. 2; unsigned; followed by a rule and the next item («Ό,τι θέλετε»).

- TN «θα θεριέψει» "will grow mighty" (θεριεύω = grow huge, like a θηρίο/beast); emphasis on «δουλειά» and «Έθνος» (capital N in the English, as in the Greek).
- **Source status:** CONFIRMED; J ends unsigned.

Glossary of Greek terms

πατρίδα (patrida) — fatherland. The native place at any scale. The essay's key phrase, *little fatherland*, is the village or town of one's birth; the *great fatherland* is the whole Greek land, discovered by the emigrant in losing it. "Fatherland" keeps the paternal and ancestral note the author draws on ("the place that gave us birth," "his father's house") and the title under which the essay has been known.

κοινότητα (koinotita) — community. In the Ottoman Empire, the self-administering local body of the Greek Orthodox: church, school, elected elders, communal property. The essay extends the word to any village or town governing its own affairs, and makes it the cell of the nation. Not "commune," not "municipality" (which is δήμος, the state's unit, contrasted in ¶37).

έθνος (ethnos) — nation. The whole Greek people, inside and outside the Greek kingdom. Capitalized "Nation" in the last sentence, as in the Greek.

κράτος (kratos) — the State. The centralized administration of the Greek kingdom, the essay's antagonist, addressed directly in ¶41 ("O State").

Ελληνισμός (Ellinismos) — Hellenism. The Greek people considered as a living whole, wherever they are; also, in the author's later writing, Greek civilization as a force. Not "classical studies."

Ρωμιάς, Ρωμιοί (Romios, Romioi). The Orthodox Greek in his everyday, pre-political self-designation (from "Roman," the Byzantine and Ottoman name for the Orthodox Christians). Used by the author in ¶¶41–42, where he asserts the Greek's "nature" as a member of a community; elsewhere, and within the same paragraphs, he writes Έλληνας ("Greek"). Whether the alternation is deliberate is an editorial reading; the word is kept in transliteration so that the reader can see where it occurs.

πολιτεία (politeia), χώρα (chora) — town. In this demotic text both words mean the town (not "polity" or "country"): the district town the villager "goes down" to; in ¶17, for the great foreign cities, "cities".

χωριάτης / χωριανός — peasant / villager. The first is a social category, used with a slight edge; the second simply a fellow inhabitant of the village.

δημογέροντες (dimogerontes) — village elders. The elected elders of the community, who in ¶8 double as school trustees (έφοροι) and churchwardens (επίτροποι).

δραγάτης (dragatis) — field guard. The guard hired by the community to watch the fields and vineyards.

βουλευτής (vouleftis) — deputy. A member of the Greek parliament (as the French *député*); in ¶¶20, 23 and 37 the patron of the clientelist system the author attacks.

Δεσπότης (Despotis) — the bishop. The popular title of the Orthodox bishop.

τοπική αυτοδιοίκηση — local self-government. The essay's demand (¶43): each village governing itself, owing the State only taxes, military service and contributions to national works. Greece re-established communal self-government by the law of 1912, four years after the essay.

δουλειά — work, προκοπή — prosperity (getting on), ανατροφή — upbringing: the essay's recurring moral vocabulary, rendered consistently: «δουλειά» is "work" (its plural «δουλειές» is "business" in ¶¶8, 22, 32 and 41, where it means affairs or enterprises, and "work" in ¶33), «προκοπή» "prosperity" (once "prosper", ¶17), «ανατροφή» "upbringing".

«να γίνει άνθρωπος» — "to become a man." The popular idiom "to become somebody," which the author turns against itself (¶¶20, 26, 33): a man is made by family upbringing and work, not by schooling or money. The Greek noun is generic (a human being); the rendering follows the author's own masculine frame.

σκλαβωμένοι / ελευθερωμένοι Έλληνες — the enslaved / the liberated Greeks. The author's own antithesis in the series title: Greeks outside the Greek kingdom (in ¶¶40–41 those of the Ottoman Empire and of Bulgaria alike) and Greeks within it. He does not use the irredentist term "unredeemed" (αλύτρωτοι).

Τουρκιά, ο Τούρκος — Turkey, the Turk. Colloquial names for the Ottoman realm and its authority, as the author uses them; the collective singular is kept.

Source and provenance

Base text. The translation follows the earliest surviving printing: *Ο Νουμάς* (Athens), year 6, no. 295 (Sunday 11 May 1908), pp. 6–7, and no. 296 (Sunday 18 May 1908), pp. 7–8, where the essay appeared unsigned in two instalments under the title «Η ΜΙΚΡΗ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ», with the editorial footnote: «Ξανατυπώνεται εδώ από κάπιο ανώνυμο φυλλάδιο που κυκλοφόρησε προ λίγες μέρες, μ' αυτό τον τίτλο» ("Reprinted here from an anonymous pamphlet that circulated a few days ago, with this title"). Scans: Kosmopolis, University of Patras Library, retrieved 8 October 2026.

The pamphlet. The anonymous pamphlet of early May 1908, which the 1920 editor says was printed in Constantinople, has not been found in the catalogues and digital collections searched for this edition (listed in the Introduction, note 5).

The 1920 collected edition. Ion Dragoumis (Idas), *Μελέται: 10 άρθρα του στο «Νουμά»*, edited by D. P. Tangopoulos (Athens: Έκδοση "Τύπου", Σοφοκλέους 3, [1920]), 115 pp., 100 numbered copies; the essay at pp. 56–65 under the heading «Η ΜΙΚΡΗ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ», where the editor's headnote identifies it as the second of Dragoumis's three Proclamations. The series title under which the first Proclamation appeared in *Ο Νουμάς* no. 283 (17 February 1908), "to the Enslaved and the Liberated Greeks", is Dragoumis's own and supplies the bracketed subtitle of this edition. Scan: Anemi Digital Library of Modern Greek Studies, University of Crete, retrieved 8 October 2026. The 1920 text differs from the 1908 printing by systematic orthographic normalization and by about twenty small differences of wording (a word added, omitted, replaced or reordered, and a few changes of grammatical number), none of which alters the argument; each is recorded in the notes under the paragraph concerned. The 1920 headnote misnumbers the journal issue (292 for

295). This edition does not reproduce the headnote.

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