

STAR OF THE PARTHENON, CYPRIOT *MÉLANGE*: EDUCATION AND REPRESENTATION IN COLONIAL CYPRUS

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This article examines Greek Cypriot and colonial British school architecture in Cyprus during the British colonial period (1878-1960). When seen in their educational and political context, these school buildings can be seen as opposing representations of nationalist and imperialist ideologies. An introduction on representation in writing history is followed by a theoretical and comparative discussion of colonial and nationalist education policies and the use of architecture to construct and display political ideology. After some historical background on education policies in colonial Cyprus, the two main sections of the article discuss the classicizing Hellenic school architecture built by the Greek Cypriots ('Star of the Parthenon'), and the dehellensised pseudo-vernacular school buildings favoured by the British ('Cypriot *mélange*'). By investigating the social and political context of the people designing and using these school buildings, this article demonstrates the dynamic and highly emotive links that connect architecture, education and political ideology.

Introduction

The archetypal Greek Cypriot school of the colonial period (1878-1960) is a broad one-storey building in the Greek revival style, with its main entrance boldly articulated in a prominent Ionic porch (figures 1-2). When the first of these schools was built in 1920, it was a totally new and foreign architectural style to Cyprus, whose vernacular consisted of a mixture of Byzantine ecclesiastical, some remnants of European medieval, and Ottoman domestic. The people who were most familiar with the architecture of these new schools were, paradoxically, the British colonial rulers, whose native land had been home for more than a century to Greek revival museums, mansions, clubs and town houses.

These schools were answered by several schools and colleges built and designed by the British in the 1930s to the 1950s, and intended for both Greek and Turkish Cypriots. These British schools were built in an ostentatiously Cypriot style, taking in all the most obvious characteristics of the local vernacular, such as pointed arches, arcaded courtyards, kiosks, and broad eaves (figure 5). It seems, then, that the Greek Cypriots built schools which were familiar to the British, while the British built schools which were deliberately Cypriot. Why?

This article investigates the relationship between education policy and the ideologies of nationalism and imperialism. More specifically, it examines the expression of those ideologies through the medium of school architecture. The most striking examples are the Greek Cypriot schools built in the 1920s in the Greek revival style, and the British colonial schools built in

Cyprus from the 1930s to the 1950s, particularly the Teachers' Training College in Nicosia designed by Austen Harrison and constructed in 1958. In such cases school buildings and education policies are forms of representation. Designers and policy makers created rival images of the Cypriot (or Greek Cypriot) 'national character', and used these images to influence schoolchildren and therefore to shape the attitudes of present and future society. The broad range of this study positions it across several theoretical debates. How was Greek Cypriot nationalism constructed, and what role did education and the use of history play in this construction? How did the British colonial administrators of Cyprus maintain and justify their imperialist and, for the most part, unwanted rule over Cyprus? Were colonial education policies deliberate acts of repression or the result of a genuine desire to develop the country? Is there a discernible relationship between architecture and ideology, and can we reconstruct how people interpreted buildings in the past?

These issues will be discussed in a theoretical and comparative framework, and then their particular applications in colonial Cyprus will be examined. The ideologies of nationalism and imperialism, however, are no mere curiosities from the distant past. They still have enormous power, not least in Cyprus itself, where many of the issues discussed in this article are highly contentious. First of all, therefore, it is necessary to investigate the active relationship between nationalism, imperialism, and the writing of history.

Representation and Writing History

The theoretical framework underlying this article takes the ideologies of nationalism and imperialism, examines the representations of 'national character' that they generate, and then tries to reconstruct people's different interpretations of those representations. Like all good theoretical frameworks, this one is highly elastic, and therefore not a framework at all. Nationalism and imperialism are not rigid bureaucratic systems but two loose groups of actions and attitudes, each characterised by a wide range of differing opinions, and each influencing and helping to shape the other.

To those with tidy bureaucratic minds this is most dissatisfying. There is no neat system with ranged boxes to receive 'policies', 'styles' and 'buildings', stacked separately under 'nationalist' and 'imperialist' headings. Instead we are plunging into a fearsome maze of conflicting actions, interpretations and relationships. All that this writer can do is to lay his own narrative thread through the labyrinth; others may follow and diverge as they wish. After all, the attempt to control or force a spurious order onto the material is an act of (admittedly minor) imperialism.

One major source of paradox and general untidiness is that Cyprus, like everywhere else, is a most peculiar place. The most striking of these peculiarities in the colonial period was the highly unsettling fact (to the British, at least) that the majority of the 'natives' were in fact the heirs of that same classical tradition which underlay much of British education and defined British notions of 'civilisation'. The 'Hellenic' language contrived to be simultaneously the native vernacular and a symbol of imperialist culture. As a result, conservative British Philhellenes found themselves allied with extremist Greek nationalists, greatly to the surprise and disgust of the more orientalist colonial administrators of Cyprus. A similar paradox applied to the teaching of history. In most British colonies nationalists urged the teaching of local history, in opposition to the British history imposed by the colonial rulers. In Cyprus, by contrast, it was the British who encouraged the teaching of Cypriot history, in an attempt to counteract the Greek Cypriot nationalists, who were much more concerned with Greek than Cypriot culture.

It is clear that British policies and attitudes in Cyprus cannot be lumped under one sweeping category such as 'imperialism' or 'orientalism'. The construction of ideologically charged school buildings can be seen as specific 'colonial projects' (Thomas 1994: 105; Crinson 1996: 6), each with its own motivations, representations, and relationships to broader historical developments. The same applies to the various Greek Cypriot manifestations of nationalism, and to different observers' interpretations of buildings.

Another issue which greatly complicates what is clearly not going to be a simple 'picture' is that these different ideologies must be examined together. This article could not investigate nationalism in colonial Cyprus without imperialism, or imperialism without nationalism. The two are profoundly intertwined, influencing and rebounding off each other, one statement or building or policy being put forward in opposition to another. The only way to understand either is to understand both, to read the two together as parallel texts or, as Edward Said would say, 'contrapuntally' (1993: 59). Paradoxically, the conflicting aims of nationalism and imperialism often used the same mechanisms. The opposing cultural representations that will be examined in this article are different strands of a rope which can be pulled in both directions. Often, indeed, they are the same strands.

The untidiness gets worse. This article deals with representations, and must therefore somehow represent them. These secondary representations are open to a whole series of potential objections, not least that their author was himself educated at what used to be some of the most notorious breeding-grounds of colonial administrators, and then spent several years in a variety of British ex-colonies. Projecting a post-colonial ex-patriate's guilt onto one's imperialist forebears, one suspects, is no less unfortunate than displaying a sneaking sympathy for them. Protestations of love for Greek culture are immediately open to suspicion (as anyone who has read Ronald Storrs' *Orientalisms* will know), and even the Greek items in the bibliography could be an attempt to gain imperialistic authority by displaying a knowledge of the vernacular.

A year of teaching multivocal history at an international school suggests a more constructive approach. This article should be read in conjunction with a range of other voices: those in Cyprus who defend the new university as a bastion of Hellenism; those who argue that British colonial education policies were genuine altruistic attempts to improve and develop the natives; those who argue that history teaching must actively and exclusively defend minority rights; and, above all, those voices which have not been suggested by this one.

Representation and Education

The European compulsion in the 19th and 20th centuries to represent the Orient is now well explored terrain, as is the relationship between those representations and imperialist rule. They covered a wide range of cultural aspects and artefacts: comprehensive surveys of archaeological sites and objects, from the *Description de l'Egypte* to the *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*; ethnographic (Thomas 1989: 43) and archaeological museums; the emotive combination of landscape, ruins and natives, such as in the paintings and sketches of David Roberts; postage stamps, with their juxtaposition of local colour and imperial monarchy; the fashion for 'oriental' or 'islamic' architecture in 19th century Britain (Crinson 1996: 61–70); and the grand colonial exhibitions and *expositions universelles* (Mitchell 1988: 1–21). Such representations are, above all, a public demonstration of knowledge, and therefore of power: the European knows an oriental society better than its members do, and this knowledge both explains and justifies his rule (Said 1978: 32).

Representation in education can be enacted in school buildings, curricula and textbooks, and takes this display of knowledge and power a step further. The audience who is shown these carefully calculated representations consists not just of benefactors, teachers, parents and local citizens but, above all, the schoolchildren themselves. They are the present incarnation of future society, and so are jealously guarded by those trying to shape that society. One of the most powerful mechanisms for doing that is to represent the preferred ideal, and impose that representation on the schoolchildren (Hodge and Lewis 1966).

V. Edouard Dor, the Inspector-General of Egyptian schools in the 1870s, explicitly stated education's representational role. 'To describe public instruction,' he declared, 'is to paint at the same moment a picture of the manners and the character of a people' (quoted in Mitchell 1988: 105). To change public instruction, then, is to change the national character. Separatist identities consisting of tribal or ethnic groups can be suppressed by the creation and propagation of a new colony-wide identity. Nationalist movements can be ridiculed in the imperialist classroom as misguided, extremist, and unrepresentative of the state as a whole. Education is a means for the colonial power to acquire a dominating cultural influence in the lives of local people. This is best done by the propagation of metropolitan values. In November 1898, for example, Lord Salisbury encouraged the victorious H.H. Kitchener to build a college in the newly-conquered Khartoum in memory of Charles Gordon. The only way to reconcile the races of the Nile Valley to a Western government, he wrote, was to give them 'access to the literature and knowledge of Europe' (quoted in Magnus 1958: 144-145). European values, that is, were to be represented and imposed on the new subject people. Similarly, textbooks could present a glowing image of the colonial power's benevolence and altruism in governing its colonies, as French history textbooks did between the wars (Said 1993: 218).

A less obvious way of using the colony's school system to maintain imperial domination is by means of 'adaptation' or 'adapted education' (Bude 1983). Rather than teaching primitive tribesmen the sophistications of western literature, this theory ran, it was much more advantageous to teach them practical subjects which were adapted to local needs. This policy was applied by British officials particularly in African schools in the 1930s, with subjects usually focusing on hygiene, care for the environment, community support, and training for profitable local work (Bude 1983: 343). A curriculum of gardening, craftwork and latrine construction may not have been a systematic and deliberate policy to suppress nationalism (Whitehead 1988: 226), but it certainly stimulated little enthusiasm among the colonized, who accused their imperial rulers of having one standard for themselves and another for their subjects. Local people, particularly but not exclusively the elite, often preferred a western literary education for their children as the best path from the village to an easy, well-paid office job in the city. With the policy of adaptation, the education system came to represent the backward but clean native society fondly imagined by the colonial rulers.

Nationalist movements often use education in the same way as imperialist regimes, by promoting nationalism or patriotism to transcend people's local allegiances to family, community, or tribe. In western Europe in the nineteenth century, mass education was one of the principal mechanisms for extending national sentiments from an intellectual elite to the population as a whole (Anthony Smith 1986: 134; Hobsbawm 1987: 150). In the newly independent states after the Second World War, the schoolroom was often the principal battleground between the conflicting languages, religions and ideologies that fractured the new national identity (C. Geertz 1963: 274). Representations of the national character appeared in a wide range of educational media: the language or dialect used for teaching; the

literature and history selected for the curriculum; the values held and handed on by the teachers; and, as we shall see, the architecture of the school building itself.

The Greek nationalist movement that developed during the nineteenth century had a rich heritage for its intellectuals to draw on and propagate in the schools. The corpus of classical literature and history provided a sophisticated language of political and social rhetoric, and a sense that Greek culture was the foundation of European civilisation. It was also a rich source of anecdotes to stimulate national pride. This classical Hellenic nationalism or *ellinismos* had an uneasy relationship with *romiosini*, the widespread popular identification with the Orthodox church and local customs and traditions, many of which post-dated classical Greek civilisation. From the middle of the 19th century many Greek classical scholars, ethnographers and archaeologists worked hard to bridge the two thousand years that lay between the two cultures (Skoupetea 1988: 171-204), but the disjunction between the values of the city school and the village home remained. Michael Herzfeld characterises *romiosini* as self-knowledge, an awareness of the traditions and attitudes that make up social life, and *ellenismos* as self-display, a public demonstration of Greece's classical heritage which justified its status as a full European nation (Herzfeld 1987: 102). Greek education was very clearly on one side of this divide: it aimed to represent a Hellenic Greece that was fully engaged with its classical heritage, and to people this representation with young and enthusiastic Hellenes.

Cyprus in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries underwent a nationalist transformation closely related to that of Greece. It had the underlying cultural characteristics on which a nationalist and Hellenic movement could be built, and so was receptive to the rapidly expanding ideological process which transformed local traditions into a politics of identity (Kitromilides 1987: 206). Although the nationalist movement in Cyprus shared the same tensions between *ellinismos* and *romiosini*, and had been essentially 'pirated' from Greece (cf. Anderson 1983: 77-79), by the beginning of the twentieth century it had an added degree of vitality and dynamism. This was partly because of the presence of a more substantial Turkish minority than anywhere in Greece; but more significantly, the nationalist struggle in Cyprus was intensified and its mechanisms elaborated by the constant opposition of British colonial rule.

Representation and Architecture

One of the most powerful visual means of expressing nationalist or imperialist ideology is in public and domestic architecture. Particular architectural styles or features are generally interpreted by the observer as representing specific cultures or nations. In nineteenth century Britain, architecture was seen as an expression of the race, spirit or character of a people (Crisson 1996: 39-61). Gothic, for example, might be 'northern' and 'vigorous', and Moorish 'southern' and 'effete'. Such associations remained current even into the middle of the twentieth century, and play an important role, for example, in the work of Lawrence Durrell (Given 1997).

The most straightforward mechanism for representing a culture or 'national character' in architecture is by historical quotation. Gothic arches, classical pediments and Byzantine domes all produce specific cultural associations in the mind of the observer. The effect can be heightened by the addition of particular styles of decoration, historical or religious symbols, representative sculpture, inscriptions, or associated monuments. The facade of a building is often the most advantageous site to locate a representation. In nineteenth century Greece, the neo-Classical facade of a town house displayed the occupant's Hellenic pretensions, while the simple interior respected local traditions and habits (Herzfeld 1987: 112, 118-119). In public architecture, a facade is a representation of the institution it houses,

and in colonial cities the imposing facades of public offices were outward expressions of the bureaucratic hierarchies inside that controlled the passers-by (Mitchell 1988: 59).

Schools are particularly significant institutions because of their formative role within society, and so the buildings which house them are excellent vehicles for the representation of the desired 'national character'. In his treatise on school architecture published in 1874, Edward Robson directly related schoolchildren's characters to their architectural surroundings:

[Children's] manners, morals, habits of order, cleanliness, and punctuality, temper, love of study and of the school, cannot fail to be in no inconsiderable degree affected by the attractive or repulsive situation, appearance, out-door convenience and in-door comfort, of the place where they are to spend a large part of the most impressionable period of their lives. (Robson 1874: 6)

Robson was concerned primarily with practical and aesthetic considerations, and in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century the political or nationalist implications of school architecture were rarely, if at all, explicitly stated. Even so, a great many schools were built during this period in architectural styles which were clearly highly relevant to their political and social contexts. Because of their obvious educational and academic functions, cultural and national issues would have been prominent in the consciousness of those who designed and used them.

One problem with analysing architecture in a historical context is that of local interpretation. Such interpretations can often be implicit, non-verbal, multiple and contradictory, and so it is very difficult for outsiders, in both space and time, to understand or reconstruct them (H. Geertz 1980: 63; Crinson 1996: 8–9). With schools, however, the potential audiences are more restricted, and there are particular activities which highlight the ideological content of the education system. Of great significance, though difficult for the historian to detect, are the continual and usually automatic observations and interpretations of the children going in and out of their school every day. A child tends to visualise her experience at school not as a policy document or hierarchical system, however crucial they might be, but in terms of the school building's architectural facade.

More accessible are the rituals and ceremonies which convey a heightened awareness of culture and significance, and are often recorded in some reasonably permanent form. The school year, like the school day, abounds in ritual, scholastic as well as national and religious, and the ceremonies, speeches and processions always have an architectural context. The meanings and interpretations created during these rituals maintain the strong association with their material and architectural context, and so ceremonies such as school photographs, dramatic performances, and Flag Days carry over their symbolic meanings into the everyday coming and going from school (cf. C. Geertz 1966: 112–113). If the context of the observer is carefully noted and other parallel activities are examined, then the original interpretations of these school buildings can still to some extent be understood.

Education Policies in Colonial Cyprus

From the occupation of Cyprus in 1878 to the First World War, British education policy was dominated by the debate between the Philhellenes, who recognised the Hellenic identity of the Greek Cypriots, and the Orientalists, who regarded all Cypriots as Oriental and therefore in need of authoritarian and paternalistic rule. The Philhellenes combined with the new British Liberal Government of 1880, as well as an imperial policy which tended to favour indirect rule, to give both communities in Cyprus considerable autonomy within separate

education systems. This autonomy, which lasted until the 1930s, can be seen in the hierarchical system of control, the languages of instruction, and school architecture.

The hierarchy of control was set up in 1882 and elaborated by the Education Laws of 1895 and 1897 (Educational 1905: 434–444; Orr 1918: 125–126). The Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities had their own independent systems, each of which was made up of three levels. The Village Committees, elected by the tax-payers of each village, appointed the teachers, assessed their salaries and decided on the contributions that the villagers had to pay. These were controlled by the District Committees, elected by the villages which supported schools, and they in turn came under the central Greek or Turkish Board of Education. In a further law of 1905 the two Boards of Education acted together as the central education authority, with the Chief Secretary as President.

In 1880 Sir Robert Biddulph, the High Commissioner, and the Reverend Josiah Spencer, his Director of Education, had advocated an education system entirely in English, thus giving Cypriots 'the means of access to every branch of human knowledge' (Biddulph to Granville, 27/7/1880, C2930, no. 17, p. 29; cf. Baker 1879: 409–410). This policy had been generally accepted since Lord Macaulay had recommended it for India in 1835 (Morley 1907: 268–269). Lord Kimberley, however, the new Liberal Secretary of State for the Colonies, disagreed, and in 1881 instructed Biddulph firmly that Greek and Turkish Cypriots were to learn in their own languages; in particular, he declared, the Greek language 'affords ample means, not only for an ordinary education, but for the attainment of a high degree of mental culture' (Kimberley to Biddulph, 10/6/1881, C2930, p. 136; cf. Agnes Smith 1887: 330; Persianis 1978: 18–24). This language policy remained in place even after the centralisation of the education system in the 1930s.

Of subsequent High Commissioners, Sir Walter Sendall (1892–1898) and Sir Charles King-Harman (1904–1910) had particularly strong Philhellenic sympathies, and so allowed the Greek Cypriot community to continue and expand its classical, Hellenicising education policies (Persianis 1978: 62). At the opening of the Pancyprian Gymnasium in Nicosia in December 1893, Sendall gave a speech replete with the usual Philhellenic themes, praising Hellenic education and upholding ancient Greek culture as a heritage for all of Europe (Katalanos 1914: 87). By the beginning of the twentieth century, it could even be convenient for a Secretary of State for the Colonies to refer to Cyprus as 'European' (Persianis 1978: 27).

With the rapid increase of Greek Cypriot agitation for *enosis*, or union with Greece, culminating in the burning down of Government House in 1931, this comparatively liberal education policy was dramatically reversed. Beginning in 1923, the system which administered education gradually became more and more centralised. From that year elementary teachers were appointed by the Boards of Education, rather than Village Committees; and from 1929 they were appointed by the Government. Under the Education Law of 1933, British control over elementary education became total, with the government supervising the curriculum, buildings and furniture; even the Town Committees were appointed by the Governor. Two years later secondary education also came under total government control (Persianis 1978: 92–103).

Before this colonisation of the entire education system, both communities were permitted to design, build and pay for their own schools. The Greek Cypriots, as we shall see, took full advantage of this opportunity. The Turkish Cypriots were not so concerned with proclaiming a national and separatist identity in opposition to their colonial rulers. In the preceding Ottoman period, the government had funded and controlled the Turkish 'Rushdie' schools which provided secular secondary education. After 1878 the Turkish Cypriot community tried to maintain as much government funding as possible for their schools, even if this meant British

control over curricula, textbooks, school buildings, and appointment of staff (Gazioglu 1990: 199–201). By the 1898–1899 school year, twelve Turkish Cypriot schools were receiving government grants-in-aid (SA1/793/1898). It was characteristic that a new Turkish secondary girls' school, founded in Nicosia in 1901, should be called 'The Victoria School for Girls'.

The Rushdie School in Nicosia, founded in 1862, was the most well-known of the Turkish Cypriot schools controlled by the British government. Because of this relationship, its new building in 1897 was funded by the government, and designed and constructed by the Public Works Department. The plans show a functional square building with a central hall giving access to four classrooms and a masters' room (PWD plan S17). Members of the Turkish Cypriot Board of Education had to agree 'not to interfere in the plan of the building', though they could complain to the foreman when 'the labourers were idling etc' (SA1/734/1896). Apart from a special room for the schoolboys to leave their shoes, there are no stylistic or functional indications of this school's Turkish Cypriot character.

This was the case with all secular Turkish Cypriot schools built in the colonial period. The Turkish Lycee in Nicosia, for example, the successor of the Rushdie School, was designed by the Public Works Department architect Allan McLaughlan in 1928 in a straightforward colonial style (PWD plan L200). The architectural battle between imperialism and nationalism concerned the British and the Greek Cypriots alone. It began in 1920, with the construction of the first Greek Cypriot school in the Greek revival style.

Star of the Parthenon

Determined not to cede control of their schools, the Greek Cypriots relied for their funding on local subscriptions, the church, associations such as the Cypriot Brotherhood of Egypt (Persianis 1978: 47), and private benefactors (Michaelides 1983: 92). In the first three decades of the twentieth century the Hellenic ideal, combined with a more general desire to educate one's children as the best path to their worldly success, encouraged a great crop of privately-funded Greek Cypriot schools throughout the island.

One occasion which revealed the political content of this otherwise cultural and philanthropic phenomenon was the laying of the foundation stone of the Greek School of Limassol in April 1899. The building had been paid for by the Greek government, and the foundation stone proclaiming that fact was laid by Philemon, the Greek Consul in Cyprus. This was followed by a speech by the Bishop of Kition:

The sons of the Greeks in Limassol educated in this school would always remember with emotion the noble maternal gift which the great Greek Mother made to her. Unfortunate daughter in days of misfortune and trials, in days of trouble. Let this noble gift of the free Mother be at least a proof of the holy golden fetter which binds us indissolubly to her. (Quoted in Persianis 1978: 55–56. cf. Hill 1952: 505; Michaelides 1981: 154)

In a symbolic moment focusing of the construction of the new building, the intended political purpose of that building received direct expression.

With Cyprus's greater prosperity following the First World War and an escalation of the agitation for enosis, this wave of school building reached its peak. It was in this same period, as Ioannis Ionas points out (1992: 764), that the craze for Greek revival schools spread across the country, beginning with the Holy Cross School in Lefkara built in 1920. At least twenty of these schools were built during the decade, in each of the six towns and in larger villages such as Aradhippou, Athienou and Morphou.

As well as the political factor, the influence of one individual was crucial in the spread

of the Greek revival style in the 1920s in Cyprus. This was the Cypriot architect Theodoros Fotiades (1878–1952), who learnt the Greek revival style in Athens, practised it in Alexandria for fourteen years, and returned to Cyprus permanently in 1920 (Ionas 1992: 763–764). As the first trained Cypriot architect, with no connections to the Public Works Department of the colonial government, he was lionised by the Church and the Greek Cypriot elite, building luxury town houses as well as churches, public buildings, and above all schools. This does not mean that he worked solely for Greek Cypriot clients: he was, for example, the architect of the Evkaf, the Islamic Foundations Trust, though he limited his use of the Greek revival style to mouldings and minor details. Given his popularity with the Greek Cypriot elite in particular, it was only natural that his preferred architectural style, which quickly became that of his clients as well, should be widely emulated by less skilled master masons and builders working for middle class clients. This social process dovetailed with the political one, making the 1920s in Cyprus the decade of the Greek revival, long after it had fallen out of fashion in Greece itself.

In October 1920 the Pancyprian Gymnasium in Nicosia, constructed in 1893 with funds from the Cypriot Brotherhood in Egypt, burnt to the ground. With a large grant from the cigarette manufacturer Ioannis Vergopoulos, a replacement was constructed and opened in 1922 (figure 1). The designer was Fotiades, and the new Pancyprian Gymnasium became the flagship of Greek education and the Greek revival style in Cyprus. The building differs from Fotiades' other schools only in the greater elaboration of the classical detail. A central porch carries four Ionic columns, an entablature with the words 'Pancyprian Gymnasium' in Greek, and a pediment with acroteria and a medallion of the ancient Cypriot philosopher Zeno. The classical mouldings are detailed, accurate, and well-executed, and as with the building's 19th century Greek predecessors, are based on the Erechtheum. The proportions of the porch are well-balanced, almost identical to those of William Wilkins' hall block for Downing College, Cambridge (1806–1811). Long wings on either side continue the entablature in a simplified form over pilasters and panelled windows, terminating in pedimented gables. As well as providing the necessary classrooms opening off a long corridor, the building well satisfied the nationalist demand for the outward symbols of a putative classical past.

During the 1920s Theodoros Fotiades built at least three Greek revival schools in Nicosia, two in Paphos, one in Famagusta, and one each in the villages of Kato Zodia and Komi Kebir (Ionas 1992: 769; *Fileleftheros* 21/8/1994: 19). He also popularised the same style in town houses, municipal markets and libraries all over the island. In the same decade schools were built in many villages, emulating the new fashionable, scholastic and nationalist style. The builders and masons who constructed these village schools were clearly unfamiliar with the details and proportions of classical architecture. The pedimented porch of Aradhippou school (1925), for example, seems added onto the building as an afterthought, and the confused entablature is precariously supported on two spindly columns (figure 2). The rudimentary Ionic capitals have clearly been incised onto the original block of stone, rather than sculpted out of it. Although the colonial Public Works Department inspected the building while under construction, it was only there to advise, and played no part in the designing of the building (SA1/1509/1921). Similarly the porch of the second Holy Cross School of Lefkara (1930) seems gap-toothed, with a wider opening between the two central columns to reveal the excessively broad door, while the capitals have only been blocked out, thus appearing more Nabataean than Ionic. These emulations from the periphery emphasise the power and influence of the models in Nicosia, the island's Hellenic core.

An architectural style, however, does not translate quite so straightforwardly into an ideological statement. To understand Cypriot interpretations of these Greek revival schools

in the 1920s and afterwards, we have to find classical influences in other related contexts, and to examine particular situations when the architecture might have had a symbolic or ideological influence on its observers. The use of a classical architectural style, inspired most immediately by models in 19th century Athens, finds a direct parallel in the classical curriculum of Greek Cypriot secondary schools. The Cypriot Brotherhood of Egypt had demanded that the Pancyprian Gymnasium should follow the pattern of a classical Gymnasium; given their nationalist activities in Cyprus, this decision clearly had a political motive (Persianis 1978: 47, & n. 68). This was confirmed in the detailed curriculum drawn up by the school's headmaster M. Volonakis in 1898, which was firmly based on that of Greece (Spyridakis 1954: 6).

The teaching of classical Greek language and literature was accompanied by a carefully selected history curriculum, which helped to foster national pride, demonstrate the antiquity and endurance of the Hellenic character of Cyprus, and focus attention on Turkish and British suppression. Greek history, particularly the War of Independence of 1821–1831, was taught at the expense of Cypriot, as was Greek geography (Weir 1952: 36). Sir Ronald Storrs, Governor from 1926 to 1932, noted that even the best schoolchildren, 'though always exactly informed as to the distance between Athens and Thebes . . . would hazard guesses varying from 20 to 1500 miles as to the length or breadth of their own country' (Storrs 1943: 468).

These choices of history and language were often displayed in direct association with the Greek revival architecture of the schools. The emblem of the Pancyprian Gymnasium, the philosopher Zeno, appeared in the main pediment, while the school's badges showed Athena's owl. Similarly Famagusta Gymnasium took as its emblem Evagoras, the 4th century B.C. king of nearby Salamis, who was portrayed by Isokrates as a Hellenic crusader against the barbarian Persians and Phoenicians. The emblem of the Pancyprian Commercial Lyceum in Larnaca was Hermes, the Greek god who protected travellers and therefore traders (Persianis 1978: 185). As well as these emblems, the Greek language often supported the Greek architecture, with the name of the school in almost all cases inscribed in large letters along the frieze of the Ionic entrance porch. Often, too, there were commemorative plaques on the wall inside the porch. Later additions enhanced the classical Hellenic environment of the school. Busts of founders and headmasters were set up in front of the building, to be seen by the viewer framed against the classical backdrop of the school facade, and sculpted memorials usually took the form of classical Attic stelai.

All these architectural and cultural symbols lie inert until seen and interpreted by particular viewers on particular occasions. Most accessible to the historian are the ceremonies, which were often very carefully staged, with the classical facade of the school acting as a highly loaded backdrop to the action. School photographs are deliberate, self-conscious attempts to fix the transient character of the school, thus creating a lasting representation for posterity. Frequently, especially after about 1920, these photographs were taken in front of the school, and so the backdrop of Ionic columns and pediments establishes the school's character as definitively Hellenic (eg. *Pancyprian* 1944: pl. XI).

Just as carefully staged were the Flag Days, which marked the beginning of the school year in the second week of October. In 1915, for example, the students of all the schools of Nicosia congregated at the Pancyprian Gymnasium. After a religious service, the Director of the Gymnasium formally handed a Greek flag to the students and gave a speech exhorting them to Hellenic virtue and patriotism (Weir 1952: 106). Greek national days such as Independence Day on the 25th of March were similarly marked by patriotic speeches and processions of schoolchildren round the town with the Greek flag.

The heavy symbolism of these occasions irritated the colonial authorities intensely. Sir George Hill, whose four volumes on Cyprus constituted the authorised version of the colony's history, picked out various unsavoury incidents so that he could categorise such ceremonies as 'Hellenic propaganda in schools' (Hill 1952: 508, n. 2; cf. Orr 1918: 131–132). A more sympathetic account describes the pupils of Limassol Gymnasium leading the 'patriotic demonstrations' and 'stirring everyone to enthusiasm with the hot flame of youth' (Michaelides 1981: 155). Invariably those hot flames were lit by headmasters and mayors in a series of speeches outside the secondary school: once again the Ionic columns and porches provided a highly charged backdrop to patriotic and nationalist ritual. These symbols were to keep their associations even after Greek nationalism in Cyprus had shifted its focus from opposing the British. In Aradhippou on Greek Independence Day in 1990, schoolchildren marched in procession behind the Greek flag, and were received by school and town officials standing to attention outside the Greek revival school (photograph in *Aradhippou* 1990: 101).

This use of school facades for staging nationalist ceremonies was enhanced by their literal use as theatrical backdrops. In keeping with their classical curricula and the celebration of ancient Greek culture, secondary schools regularly produced performances of classical Greek drama. These tended to be tragedy rather than comedy, and were often recorded by photographs showing the cast and the set. In the 1910s classical architecture had to be constructed for the occasion. In 1910 the Pancyprian Gymnasium performed Sophocles's *Antigone*, a highly topical exploration of the conflict between personal conviction and state power. On the stage of the Papadopoulos Theatre a distyle in *antis* Doric porch was constructed, with a longer facade behind it of columns and anthemia (*Pancyprian* 1944: pl. XIV; cf. XV–XVI). At a performance of the same play two years later, a classical porch with carved metopes was erected against the school building itself (figure 3; Volonakis 1913: 128; cf. 180; Michaelides 1981: 241). This architectural costume equated the classical *skene* with the modern school, and dramatised the conflict between the Hellenic aspirations of the actors and audience and the imperialist power of the state.

Reconstructions of classical architecture were just one means of representing ancient Greece at ritual occasions charged with nationalist significance. Again and again classical culture was projected onto the schoolchildren, in the curriculum, the values propagated by the teachers, and their material surroundings. In 1944 the poet Kypros Chrysanthis wrote the *Hymn of the Pancyprian Gymnasium*, in which he created a shining image of ancient Greece and appropriated it for the young Greek Cypriots who sang his hymn (*Pancyprian* 1944: v):

Faithful worshippers of a classical Greece,
Scions of Arcadia, deep within our breasts
We hold the holy flame of the Athenian lamp,
And with that, we have life.

Centuries have not quenched our fires,
For Greece, the goddess, fills us,
The olive-trees of Colonus shelter us,
And the star of the Parthenon shines upon us.

Cypriot *Mélange*

In the years following the First World War, the rise of Hellenic national sentiment in the schools became a major headache for the British colonial rulers of Cyprus. The Chief

Secretary Charles Orr, when writing for a general audience in 1918, could afford a certain degree of sympathetic Philhellenism; but even so he totally condemned what he called 'propaganda for union with Greece' in the schools:

The Greek elementary schools are used largely for fostering the Hellenic idea; there is hardly a school in the island whose walls are not adorned with portraits of the Greek royal family; Greek flags are displayed on all occasions, and Greek Independence Day celebrated every year with great fervour. (Orr 1918: 131)

It was a familiar colonial problem that a liberal education policy fostered a highly vocal and critical intellectual class that used their newly learnt Western values to demand freedom from colonial oppression. In 1907 the Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley, expressed his outrage that 'schoolmasters and schoolboys have taken an active part in political propaganda' (Morley 1907: 274). British officials in Africa learnt that lesson, and tried hard to prevent the proliferation of 'a disaffected pseudo-intellectual or "babu" class' (Whitehead 1988: 217). This increasingly negative attitude was shared by Charles Orr and his colleagues and successors in Cyprus.

Officials had for some time tried to counteract the 'propaganda' of the Greek schools by using the principle of adaptation. In 1913 an Agricultural School was built in Nicosia to give some thirty students between the ages of fourteen and eighteen some basic practical instruction in modern methods of farming (Schaar, Given and Theocharous 1995: 51–52). As the Director of Agriculture at the time commented, it was 'not intended to turn these farming lads into scientists' (*Annual Report* 1913–1914: 28). A simultaneous scheme aimed to create school gardens in the villages (*Annual Report* 1913–1914: 29), so that children in rural primary schools could learn the basic principles of agriculture. By 1923, as the *Annual Report* (1923: 21) proudly announced, 95 of these school gardens were in operation, promoting apolitical peasant values and deflecting primary schoolchildren from their Hellenic sentiments with the down-to-earth practicalities of planting and irrigation.

British efforts to promote adaptational education continued during the 1930s, though this was partly due to the very genuine need for agricultural reform and development (Persianis 1978: 48–49). In 1930 plans were drawn up for a Teachers' Training College at Morphou with the specific purpose of giving trainee teachers a basic course in agricultural methods. As the Governor Sir Ronald Storrs told the Secretary of State, the aim was that future teachers would be trained to educate senior children in rural schools in 'nature study and elementary agriculture'. 'Purely doctrinal instruction,' he added, 'will be studiously avoided' (SA1/1284/1928/1: Red 148).

In spite of initial funding problems, a Teachers' Training College for agricultural education was finally constructed at Morphou in 1936, though on a considerably smaller scale than originally intended. In architectural terms it was functional and fairly characterless, apart from a slight modernist emphasis on strong horizontals and juxtaposed volumes (Schaar, Given and Theocharous 1995: 67–69). This was considered appropriate for a building intended for Greek and Turkish Cypriot teachers alike, though the most significant factor which influenced the building's appearance was undoubtedly the scrimping on funds.

In 1939 the Governor Sir Richmond Palmer proudly announced in *The Crown Colonist* the success of adaptational education in Cyprus:

Education in the villages has been made more closely applicable to the needs of the people by the inclusion of gardening in the curricula, and by altering the method of teaching so that the subjects taught will have practical use and a close connection with the lives in Cyprus of the pupils. (Palmer 1939: 51)

Such efforts to foster adaptational education may well have encouraged a healthy growth in popular agricultural knowledge. Whatever the general educational value of 'gardening', however, it had little success as a red herring to sidetrack teachers and children from their increasingly nationalist path.

Nationalist agitation came to a head in the burning down of Government House in October 1931. Martial rule and the abolition of the Legislative Council were followed by similarly authoritarian measures in education policy. The flying of the Greek flag and the singing of the Greek national anthem were outlawed, and in 1932 Flag Day was forbidden in elementary schools. In the course of the next three years, as we have seen, all aspects of education were brought under direct government control.

More subtle methods were also used by the colonial government during the 1930s to try and purge education of its nationalist content. One such measure was the promotion of Cypriot history in order to displace the Greek history that was considered so inflammatory to young minds. New textbooks written in and about Cyprus were produced, such as the *History of Cyprus for Public Schools in Cyprus*, written in Greek in 1932 by M. Koumas, the headmaster of the 2nd City School of Famagusta. This book still targets episodes illustrating the Hellenic character of Cyprus, such as the reign of Evagoras and the effects of the Greek War of Independence on Cyprus, but even so it is exclusively a history of Cyprus, not Greece. Two years later an Education Department report noted proudly that history and geography were no longer dominated by Greece and Turkey 'but proceed outwards from Cyprus, through the Near East and Mediterranean area' (Weir 1952: 36). The 1935 curriculum reforms abolished Greek history as a separate lesson, and tried to foster a 'Cypriot nationality' and more interest in English culture (Spyridakis 1954: 17–18).

This 'Cypriot nationality' was a major component of the colonial government's response to Greek Cypriot nationalism. It was first suggested in 1928 by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Leopold Amery (Georghallides 1985: 73–74), and was firmly propagated by Sir Ronald Storrs (Given 1991: 16). This identity was held to be neither Greek nor Turkish nor a simple amalgam of the two, but a *mélange* of the many different races which had come to the island over the past six thousand years. In the field of archaeology, so powerful a medium for the invention of origins, a new race was discovered and elaborated during the 1930s. These were the 'Eteocypriots', or 'true Cypriots', and were supposed to be the remnants of the indigenous Cypriots, living alongside Greeks and Phoenicians in the first millennium B.C. (Given 1991: 185–186).

A medium closely related to archaeology, with an equal facility for representing national character, is that of architecture. During the 1930s the architectural remains of Cyprus were duly reinterpreted to endow them with this new defining characteristic, the Cypriot *mélange*. This composite character was articulated by the architect Alban Carøe in an article whose first draft, fittingly enough, was lost in the burning of Government House in 1931. Even its title is an expression of the new Cypriot national identity: *Cyprus architecture: the fusion of Byzantine, Western and Mahommedan architectural styles in Cyprus*:

It is the fusion of these several styles which makes Cyprus unique and with which we are here concerned, and we shall not touch on the so-called 'pure' examples except to illustrate the origins of the resultant Cypriot *mélange*. . . . The peculiarity of the local style is the intermingling and fusion of varied earlier motifs, regardless of date. (Carøe 1933: 46)

As well as representing the new Cypriot identity in their reinterpretations of existing architectural remains, British architects in Cyprus created new examples of the *mélange* style. The Public Works Department architect George Jeffery (1855–1935) had led the way in this, though for him the *mélange* was merely a demonstration of the inferiority of native Cypriot culture, as compared to the pure examples of European culture such as the Cathedral of Ayia Sofia in Nicosia (Jeffery 1918: 67–68). St. Helen's Anglican Church in Larnaca, which Jeffery designed in 1907, expressed his idea of a traditional Cypriot church, with Byzantine construction and Gothic detail (plans in Parish Office of St. Paul's Cathedral, Nicosia; cf. Jeffery 1918: 165, 180). British architects in the 1930s and 1940s gave the *mélange* a more positive image, and borrowed a whole range of motifs from the Cypriot vernacular for their own work. Like the British architects in India who propounded the Hindu-Saracenic style, they used local styles, decorations and materials to produce their own representations of local culture. The pointed arch, for example, which derived from medieval Gothic and was widespread in Cypriot vernacular architecture, became very popular during this period, used in residences built for government officials and even the new Government House itself (Schaar, Given and Theocharous 1995: 78, 80, 84).

These British representations of Cypriot character convinced mainly themselves, so that by the 1950s there was a widespread approval among British officials and residents of traditional Cypriot customs, values and architecture. Like Lawrence Durrell, they were searching for 'a Cyprus beyond the red pillar-boxes and the stern Union Jacks' (Durrell 1957: 34), though they were also looking for a Cyprus beyond the Aegean blue and white of the ubiquitous Greek flags. According to a characteristic paradox of the later phases of colonial rule, the British favoured local village traditions, while the educated city Cypriots advocated European modernism. Even within the Public Works Department, the work of Cypriot architects such as Costas Christofides and Ch. Ioannides was characterised by its total rejection of traditional forms and motifs and its espousal of modernist international trends (Schaar, Given and Theocharous 1995: 102–104).

The most distinguished British architect working on Cyprus during this period was Austen St. Barbe Harrison (1891–1976), who had been Chief Architect to the Public Works Department of Palestine from 1922 to 1937. He had long used local architectural styles in his work, adopting an architectural ideology which has been termed 'colonial regionalism', the desire to treat local culture with paternalistic respect and protect it from modern, international trends (Fuchs 1992). One of his most well-known buildings, the Palestine Archaeological Museum (1927–1935, now the Rockefeller Museum), is a clear attempt to represent the history and culture of Palestine without allowing any one racial or religious group to dominate. The monastic cloisters, the Islamic pool fed by a fountain inside a tiled liwan, and the Crusader tower over the entrance (figure 4) all represented the historic multi-racial and multi-faith Holy Land that the British colonial rulers were trying to propagate, while the building's strong axial symmetry imposed a classical Western order on this Oriental *mélange*. To make the message even more explicit, the sculptor Eric Gill at Harrison's suggestion carved a series of ten panels to go between the arches of the courtyard. These sculptures portrayed all the various cultural and historical influences on Palestine, such as the Hebrew alphabet, a conquering Assyrian king, the grain harvest, Romulus and Remus, and a Crusader.

In 1949 the British colonial authorities in Cyprus decided to construct a central Teachers' Training College in Nicosia, as part of their continuing campaign to use schools to foster a Cypriot rather than Greek or Turkish identity. By that time Harrison was based in Lapethos in northern Cyprus, but had designed no public building on the island since his plans for a new Government House had been rejected in 1933 (Schaar, Given and Theocharous 1995: 77).

In 1952 the Teachers' Training College project had advanced to the planning stage, and the authorities invited Harrison and his partners to design it, feeling that it was time Harrison's 'association with this Island was reflected in one of our public buildings' (Fletcher-Cooke to Hubbard, 23/6/1952; E1/304: Blue 185). Harrison initially refused, considering it more appropriate for a Cypriot architect to design the building (E1/304: Blue 186), but was overruled by his less sensitive official compatriots. He started work on the plans in 1953, and the building was completed in 1958, in the midst of the EOKA campaign to free Cyprus from British oppression and unite it with Greece.

Like the Palestine Archaeological Museum and the most recent colonial public buildings in Cyprus, the Teachers' Training College drew on a range of local historical and vernacular styles: broad Ottoman eaves and kiosks were combined with arcades of pointed arches, roofs with semi-circular village tiles, and a series of varied courtyards and quadrangles. As in so many of Harrison's designs, a single tower visible from many different perspectives provided a strong vertical accent to the composition (figure 5). What is lacking in this *mélange* is any reference to classical architecture; there are no Ionic columns, pediments or friezes. In keeping with British attitudes to Greek nationalism in Cyprus, the building through which all future teachers were to pass had been firmly de-Hellenized.

In a borrowing from the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Harrison decorated the spandrels between the pointed arches with sculpted medallions. These lack the originality and technical skill of Eric Gill's panels, but have just as much ideological interest. There are four repeated designs, very carefully selected from the coins of Cyprus in the 6th to 4th centuries B.C.: a lion attacking a hind, the emblem of the Phoenician kings of Kition; the ram of Salamis with a syllabic inscription and a crescent and disc motif, which was the very un-Hellenic symbol of the Phoenician and Cypriot religion (figure 6); the lion's head of the 'Eteocypriot' kingdom of Amathus; and the flying eagle of Paphos. Coins with Greek deities or the Greek alphabetic script, which were certainly available, were studiously avoided. In the sculpture and architecture of the Teachers' Training College, Cyprus was represented as a cultural *mélange*, but one totally devoid of any Hellenic influences. This representation, made during the intense ideological dichotomy of the EOKA campaign, was enforced on all new teachers passing through the college, and therefore, it was hoped, on the youth and future citizens of Cyprus.

Conclusion

With hindsight, it is clear that the British attempt to de-Hellenize Cyprus was doomed to failure. Ionic columns and pediments retained their vitality as symbols of Hellenic identity in Cyprus, and in the late 1950s and early 1960s there was a second wave of Greek revival schools, theatres, and civic monuments, particularly in Paphos and Nicosia. Outside the Makarios III Lyceum of Paphos, itself a neo-Doric building constructed in 1960, a memorial commemorates in classical Greek the 'students of the Greek School of Paphos who became national martyrs for the freedom of Cyprus between 1955 and 1959'. It represents a schoolboy attacking a lion with a stone, the thrusting diagonal lines of the attacking boy reflecting the composition of the Parthenon metopes (figure 7). 'It is no small thing,' Athens Radio had proclaimed on the 23rd of November, 1955, 'that young boys and girls should leave their desks and stand up to the raging lion' (quoted in Crawshaw 1978: 146). The imagery of the sculpture and the language of the inscription equate the fallen schoolboy heroes with the greatest figures of ancient Athens.

In August 1960, less than two years after the opening of the Teachers' Training College, Cyprus became an independent state under a Greek Cypriot president and a Turkish Cypriot

vice-president. The Teachers' Training College became the *Pedhaghoyiko Institutouto*, or Paedagogical Institute, and was 'reinhabited' or 'reinscribed' (Said 1993: 253) as a focus of Hellenic education and culture. An Attic stele set up outside portrayed a youth receiving a wreath of victory; a relief of a 5th century B.C. hoplite under one of the pointed arches inside commemorates teachers who fell in the national struggle.

In the 1990s a new architectural and ideological trend is emerging, as Greek Cypriots react against the characterless international style of the post-independence years and begin to restore traditional houses and build new houses with pointed arches and other motifs taken from the vernacular. The colonial Teachers' Training College is now the temporary quarters of the University of Cyprus, and its mixture of pointed arches and broad eaves has become characteristically Cypriot. The Cypriot *mélange* has been reinhabited by post-colonial society, even though the Hellenic ideal is still represented in the education system, in opposition not to the British any more but to the Turks. The controversies surrounding these issues demonstrate the continuing vitality of cultural symbols and their social power when represented in the education system. Today the star of the Parthenon shines upon the Cypriot *mélange*, and there is no more conflict between them; but in a dynamic society there will always be new representations and new oppositions.

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Figure 1. Pancyprrian Gymnasium, Nicosia (1922).

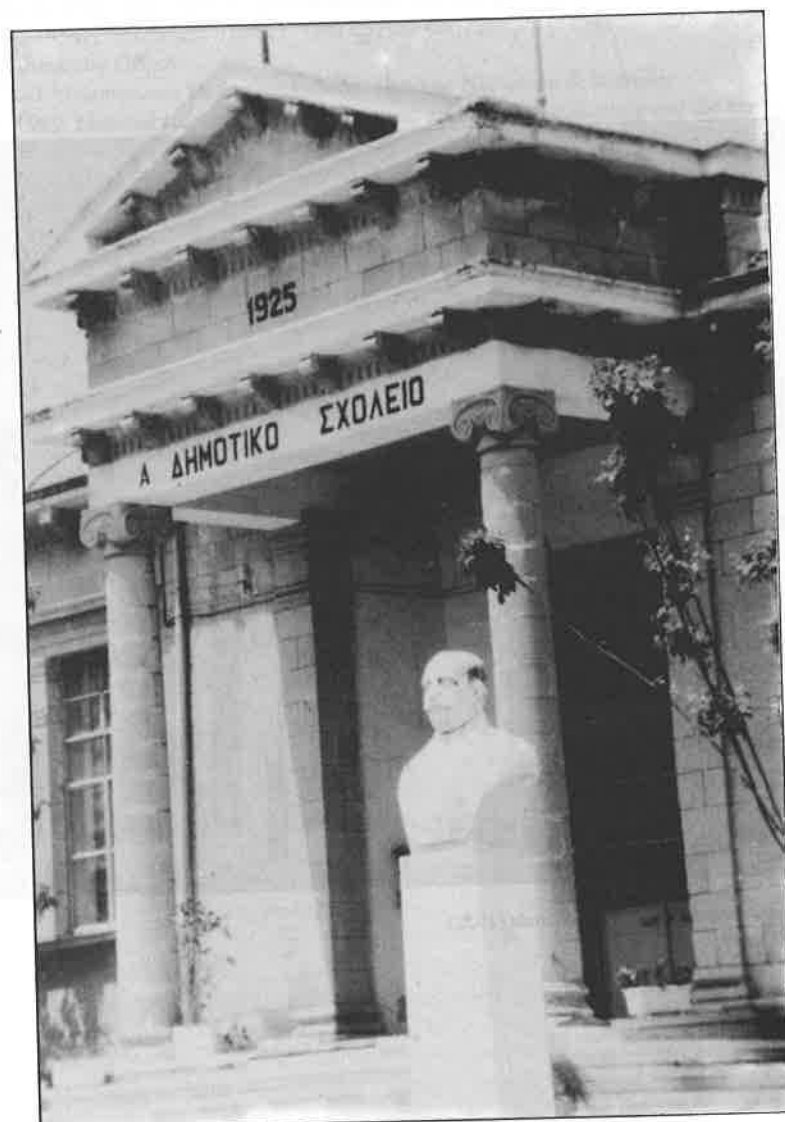


Figure 2. 1st Public School, Aradhippou (1925).

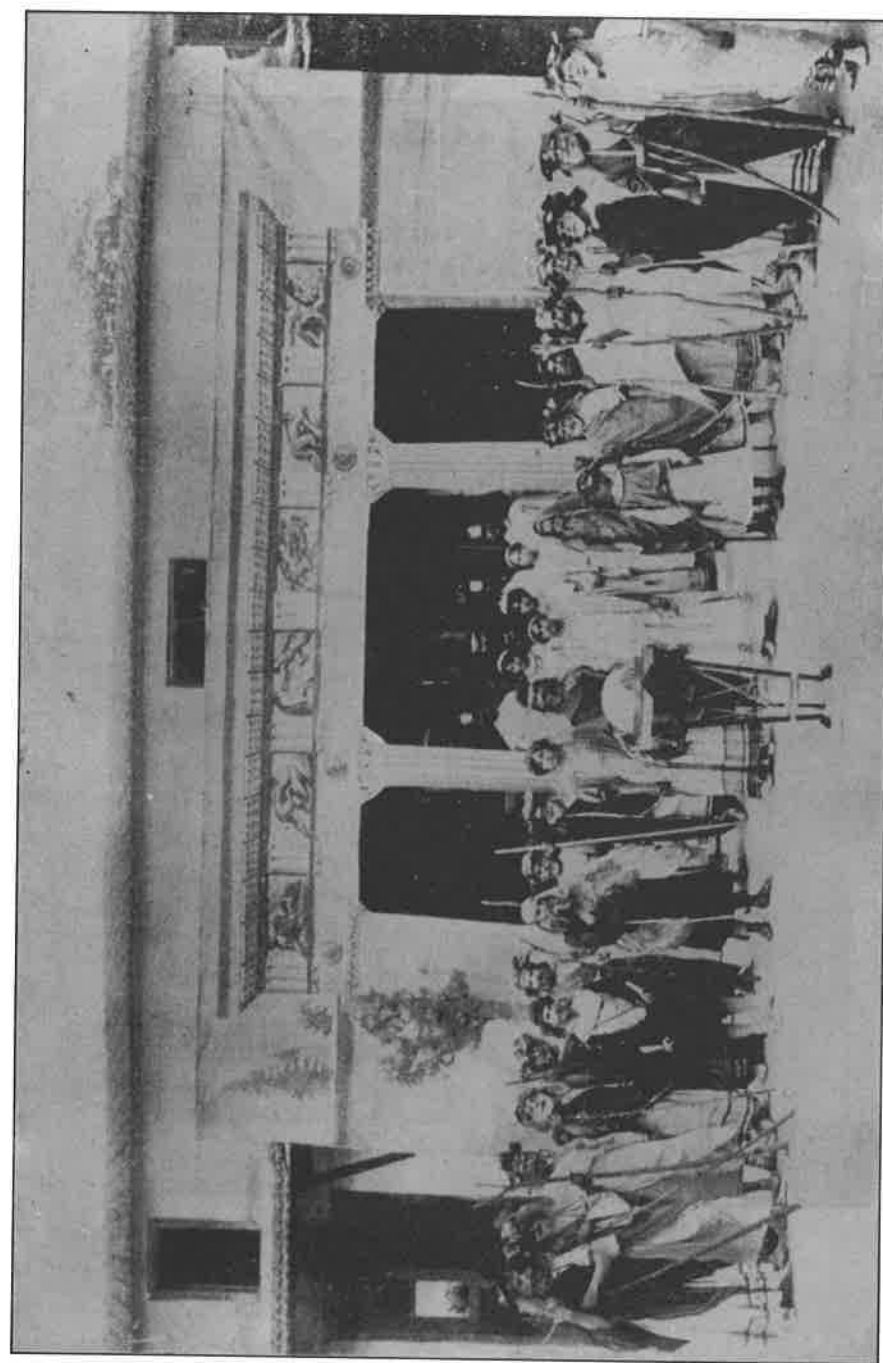


Figure 3. Production of Sophocles' Antigone at Pancyprrian Gymnasium, Nicosia (1912). Photo: Pancyprrian Gymnasium.

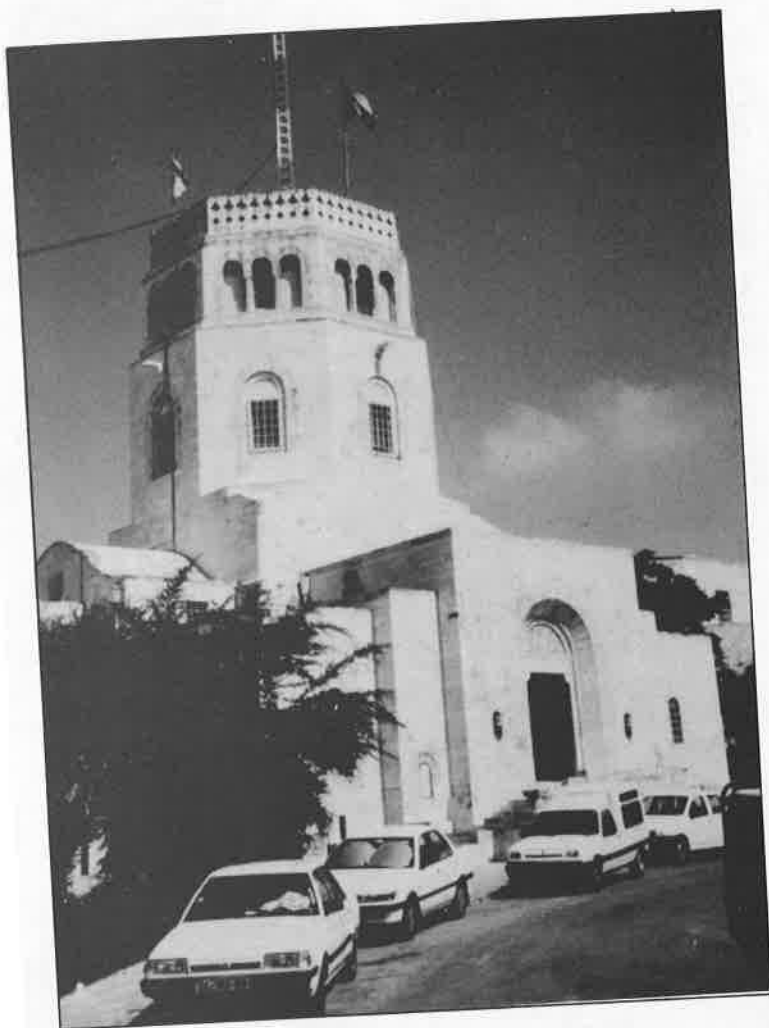


Figure 4. Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem (1927–1935).



Figure 5. Teachers' Training College, Nicosia (1958).



Figure 6. Roundel of ancient coin, Teachers' Training College, Nicosia (1958). Rotate 90° to right



Figure 7. Memorial outside Makarios III Lyceum, Paphos (1960).

CITIZENSHIP DISTRUSTED: RESPONSIBILITIES, REPRESENTATIONS OF VALUE AND INTERESTS¹

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Representations of value, and interests have profound influence on the ways in which citizenship is defined across society and on the complex relations between ordinary people and the establishment. This essay develops a critique of 'organic' (to religious and political ideology) visions of what real people do and why they do it. The discussion draws on case material from contemporary South Italy to examine the conflicting approaches of ordinary citizens and of dominant élites, political, religious and intellectual. It offers an in-depth investigation of the moral legitimacy of power looking at choices and actions, individual and collective, that affect in significant ways the economics of responsibility and trust in democratic society. Empirical analysis encourages serious questioning of arguments on the social and cultural subalternity and ruthless individualism of ordinary Southerners offering, instead, a fresh view of society-oriented value of their morality and styles of citizenship.

In this essay I expand on my own and other scholars' (Parry 1986, Parry and Bloch 1989, Lukes 1991b; Offe 1991; Prato 1993; 1995) recent work on the relationship between morality and interest to investigate central issues in the definition of 'good' citizenship in democratic society. Given that such a definition is inevitably diversified in society (Barbalet 1988; Marshall 1950, 1964), our analysis will have to address the questions who represents what citizenship and what processes determine belonging and exclusion. Case material from Naples and its periphery helps to address styles of citizenship that, defiant of superimposed values, particularly those of collectivism, challenge powerful interests.

The discussion draws on extended fieldwork among the élites² and among the *popolino* (roughly, populace)³ and the petty bourgeoisie.⁴ I suggest that the empirical study of what people do and why they do it in this major centre of Western life encourages an understanding of actors' individual and collective negotiations of their lives in the system to which they feel they belong beyond the widely held conclusion that their morality and actions, expressions of false consciousness, are functional to their marginality and subordination.⁵ Such a conclusion underlies the difficult relations of dominant élites, political, religious and intellectual, to ordinary people's culture and actions. I contend that it is unsustainable and should be dropped because it fosters mismanagement of responsibility and control in the exercise of democratic power, fundamentally pre-empting trust—with equal intensity, complexity and importance, from below to above and from above to below.