

Re-imagining the Past

Antiquity and Modern Greek Culture

ABSTRACTS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

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Classical vs. Byzantine pasts in the nineteenth century: Athenian monuments and archaeological practice

This paper examines the changing role of Byzantium in the Greek national narrative of the nineteenth century and its relation to archaeological practice. The Modern Greek state, influenced by the European admiration for classical Greece, chose to emphasize cultural continuity with the classical past. In contrast, Byzantium was viewed as a long dark age, an alien past, which interfered with the efforts of the re-born state to establish an unbroken link with classical antiquity. Thus, the 'purification' of Athens was carried out by archaeologists who shared these views and felt little sympathy for the material remains of the Byzantine era.

Concern for the protection of the Byzantine monuments was slow to develop. It went hand in hand with the re-discovery and rehabilitation of Byzantium, a slow process which gained momentum in the 1850s with the work of *Zambelios* and *Paparrigopoulos*. The inclusion of Byzantium into the national narrative influenced the direction of Greek archaeology which gradually began to lose its exclusive classical emphasis. Still, the demolition of medieval structures such as the Frankish tower at the Propylaia (1875) did not stop. However, there was considerable opposition and the dismantling of the tower sparked an intense debate, a debate which will be examined here in some detail. A few years later, the Christian Archaeological Society was established, and the programmatic destruction of the remains of Medieval Greece gradually came to an end.

The incorporation of the Byzantine past into the national narrative brought about a new perspective, a fusion between Orthodoxy and Hellenism, an indigenous rather than a European version of national history. The treatment of the material record of Byzantium in the course of the nineteenth century will be viewed within this broader context of evolving national ideals.

Anastasia Bakogianni

Electra as a modern Greek survivor: The figure of the tragic heroine in the poetry of Yannis Ritsos

Yannis Ritsos explored the character of the fifth-century BC tragic heroine Electra in three poems: *The Dead House* (1959), *Under the Shadow of the Mountain* (1960) and *Orestes* (1962-66). All three were published in his collection *The Fourth Dimension* (1972). In these poems Ritsos re-imagined the character of Electra from ancient Greek myth and tragedy and gave her a new voice in the format of the dramatic monologue thus retaining her association with both the dramatic stage and with theatrical *logos*. One of the most notable features of Ritsos' reception of Electra is that he portrays her as a survivor of war. Modern Greek identity, the reception of the classical past in the modern state and the impact on the arts of its turbulent history in the twentieth century all inform and shape his poetic reception of Electra.

The dangers of an unquestioning reverence towards the past are highlighted in Ritsos' poetry. Surviving is not enough: one must put down the burden of the past in order to be free to look forward to the future. Ritsos, however, also demonstrates how difficult that is because of the hold that the past has on the present. He demonstrates this both in terms of the classical source texts and contemporary events. Ritsos' Electra personas are survivors of the wars that plagued Greece throughout its long history. They are surrounded by death, loss and the ghosts of the past. Only by their death can they serve the future. Ritsos never offers his readers any solutions for the future, however, just questions. He thus reprises one of the main functions of ancient drama as a platform for the exploration of a variety of dilemmas.

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Classical themes and allusions in Veneto-Cretan literature: the role of the local Neoplatonic Academies

Many of the Veneto-Cretan Renaissance literary works of c. 1560-1669 are based on classical themes or imbued with classical allusion, sometimes filtered through vernacular versions. Treatment of this material ranges from satire to exploitation for spectacle to serious exploration of themes of particular interest or relevance to Cretan society. Thus, we have dramatic interludes based on the Iliad and the Metamorphoses; a pastoral tragicomedy set in ancient Arcadia; a tragedy set in Memphis, capital of Egypt; a romance of chivalry set in pre-Christian Athens; and comedies enlivened by ludicrous misunderstandings of the Pedant's would-be learned allusions (the last suggesting an audience of considerable educational sophistication). This should not come as a surprise. Three Neoplatonic Academies are attested as having existed in Crete under Venetian rule: the Vivi of Rethymno (1560s); the Stravaganti of Iraklio (1590s), who sponsored some local theatrical performances; and the Sterili of Chania (1630s).

The Sterili may have had an earlier precursor. A group of Cretan youths studying in Italy were fortunate enough to have witnessed the inaugural performance of Oedipus Rex (in Italian translation) at the new Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza; on their return to Crete in the mid-1580s, they badgered their elders to set up an offshoot of the Accademia Olimpica in their home town of Chania. At just this time, Georgios Chortatsis was composing his plays Panoria and Erophile, which he dedicated to two wealthy notables of Chania. Thus, the same educated elite who founded the Academies, and who enjoyed discussing philosophy, studying classical and Byzantine texts, producing critical editions and parallel translations, composing verses in Tuscan Italian, Latin and Pindaric Greek, and delivering orations replete with beautiful imagery, may also have been instrumental in encouraging literary and dramatic composition in the Cretan dialect, spoken and understood by all longterm residents of Crete.

Erato Basea

“I am (not) the Acropolis”:

Filmmaking, national culture and the anxiety of heritage

The paper draws on recent scholarship on the Acropolis as the quintessential 'symbolic capital' of Greece and moves on to discuss three recent films where the ancient monument takes centre stage: *Akropolis* (dir. Eva Stefani), *Parthenon* (dir. Costa Gavras), and *My Life in Ruins* (dir. Donald Petrie). What links these case-studies together is that Acropolis becomes in them a topos of surveillance and

spectacle. What is also interesting on a metacinematic level, is that all three films held a prominent place in recent widely publicized discussions about the role of heritage in contemporary Greece.

State-funded *Akropolis* (2001) is part of Eva Stefani's ongoing project about the renegotiation of the national symbols. Its shortened version was later included in the Destroy Athens biennale (2007), where a number of nationalist associations and right-wing commentators demanded its censoring. Costa Gavras received state funds to make *Parthenon*, a short film screened at the opening of the new Acropolis museum. After an attack against it by circles linked to the Orthodox Church, the film became the focus of a widely publicized discussion about state censorship and cultural inheritance. Donald Petrie, the director of Hollywood funded *My Life in Ruins*, received state permission to screen on the Acropolis hill (on the basis of the film's potential for tourism and international visibility), while scriptwriter and producer Nia Vardalos received a state award on the even of the film's release.

These films' reception and the discussions they provoked do not simply reveal modern Greek anxieties regarding national identity heritage in a post-national, postmodern and globalised world. They also show the potential of cinema and new media to promote a discursive space where national identity and culture are constantly re-negotiated, instead of simply sustained or antagonized.

Roderick Beaton

Re-imagining Greek antiquity in 1821: Shelley's *Hellas* in its literary and political context

The last large-scale completed work by the English poet P.B. Shelley is a poem in dramatic form, entitled *Hellas* (written in autumn 1821, published the following spring). Shelley's model for his poetic tribute to insurgent Greece was Aeschylus' *Persians*. In its well-known Preface, Shelley provocatively declares that 'We are all Greeks,' and states the Romantic claim of a general European indebtedness to Greek antiquity in memorable and extravagant terms. The poem elevates ancient Greece, after the manner of Winckelmann, to the status of a timeless ideal, standing outside history. Anticipating the later celebration by another visionary poet, Angelos Sikelianos, of a 'higher Greece', the poem ends not with the political assurance of Aeschylus' play, but rather with wistful hope that even if the political cause is lost, the transcendent reality of Greece will somehow still be vindicated. The significance of the poem's use of antiquity arises a) out of Shelley's dialogue with Byron, whose championship of the classical form for tragedy he had rejected, but here tried out for his own purposes, b) Shelley's contemporaneous role in urging Byron towards an active part in the Revolution, and c) the impact on both Percy and Mary Shelley of their recent friendship with Alexandros Mavrokordatos, the dedicatee of *Hellas*, until his departure for Greece in June 1821. A series of letters from Mavrokordatos to Mary Shelley, mostly unpublished, in the Bodleian Library, reveals the extent to which she and her husband were informed and felt involved in the progress of the Revolution at that time. It has also been suggested that the liberal/nationalist orientation of this influential figure in the Greek Revolution may have owed something to this friendship.

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Ancient Greeks in Modern Greek songs:

The case of Sokrates

In twentieth-century Greek song production antiquity has been negotiated in a number of selective albeit, in some cases, parallel ways. For example, in state-sponsored compositions intended for particular contexts the ancient ancestors are collectively invoked as models to be emulated (military songs) or eternal glories to be prided on (Eurovision song contests). Characters from mythology, on the other hand, usually appear when their story provides an edifying parallel to be exploited either in a light-hearted (Photeinakis' *Nine girls*) or a more sophisticated manner (Gatsos' *Persephone's nightmare*). Finally, the reader comes across the use of ancient philosophers as wise men (Eustathiou's *Diogenes the wise*) or familiar figures of the Attic landscape (Lades' *Sacred Way*).

The most emblematic philosophical figure of all provides the subject for the present paper. Sokrates features in a few songs normally in the presence of other ancients. Two compositions, however, merit special attention for they focus almost exclusively on him, at the same time representing the two main strands in Socratic reception: (a) *Mister Teacher* (1972) is a surrealistic dialogue between a schoolteacher and his students who want to learn about the teachings of Plato and Sokrates (!): this ingenious piece of mock-wisdom literature exploits fully the motif of Sokrates the wise teacher; (b) *Sokrates*, Greece's Eurovision song for the 1979 contest, is a narrative "hymn" praising Sokrates as a martyr of philosophy, victim of social prejudice, and forerunner of Christ: the song pays homage to a powerful Socratic image born in the first Christian centuries and current throughout the Byzantine times up until the Enlightenment.

The paper ends with a brief comment on Sokrates' unexpected appearance in a hip-hop 2004 song.

Ana Chikovani

The Image of Medea in Modern Greek Poetry

The paper aims to investigate the literary image of Medea, a heroine of some Modern Greek poems. Medea's image, interpreted in many different ways, has been popular among writers for thousands of years. Medea, *who contained within herself mutually contradictory traits, was an ideal vehicle through whom authors and artists could explore what modern scholarship has called the problem of "self" and "other"*.¹

Greek poets - Kostis Palamas, Petros Vlastos, Giorgos Seferis, Andreas Embirikos, Nikos Engonopoulos and later - Petros Pieris, Konstantinos Bouras and others in one way or other refer to the theme of Medea. The poets revived the myth about Medea and the comparative approaches of the poems that refer to Medea bring out all that is tragic and ambivalent in her nature. Medea attracts the attention of poets mainly as a symbol of the terrible murder, but poets also are interested in the image of Medea as of a traitor daughter, as loving wife, as abandoned women left alone in a foreign country, or as a representative of Barbarian world. In the late 1990-ies, Modern Greek playwrights started to take vigorous interest in the Medea's character. There are various motivations. Some authors are more concerned with discharging Medea from moral responsibility; others turn her image into a certain symbol of accomplishment of the so-called feminist ideas.

Bearing in mind many various interpretations, the 20th century Greek poets mainly are inspired by Euripidean version of Medea's image, but toward the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century in the Greek poetry the new interpretations of Medea's image occur and disorganization of the Hellenocentric

¹ Sarah Iles Johnston, "Introduction", in James J. Clauss & Sarah Iles Johnston (eds): *Medea, Essays on Medea in Myth, Literature, Philosophy and Art*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey 1997, p. 7.

approach can be observed. Nevertheless, the rehabilitated image of Medea is mainly met in Modern Greek theatre plays rather than in Modern Greek poetry.

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Antiquities and pop culture in modern Greece

The paper examines whether and to what extent any pop culture media deal with antiquity and its material remains in contemporary Greece. The paper explores topics related to the heated debate of the last decades on the contradictory relation between high and popular art. Antiquity with its material remains seem to be in Greece the expression of high art par excellence, to be treated with appropriate respect, owing to the Greek state's perception of Antiquity as the highpoint in the linear course of Hellenism, variously expressed by means of a national narrative of continuity.

An intriguing genre of pop culture, graphic novels, is examined in this paper as a case study. Although graphic novels production seems to be rather marginal in Greece, one can nevertheless draw various conclusions on how Antiquity is made use of by Greek artists, and to what ends. Another interesting aspect is the impact of internationally acclaimed novel, as the recently famous "300", with the current artistic production in Greece. Exploring the huge success of this work, one could explore Greek recent production. As contradictory it may be at first sight, artists do not seem to be encouraged to add to their agenda stories related to Antiquity. With an exception of one young artist, who did read Iliad from his own point of view, the rest of them prefer to tell contemporary stories, letting the past rest on the *Grande Histoire*-character as it was favored by Modernism. Antiquity seems for them to be far away, which stresses the conclusion that the lines between high and popular art are still rather hard to overcome, owing to the heavy shadow of the ancient Greek past and the role it holds for Modern Greek collective imaginary.

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The Dorian side of the Greek legacy in Kazantzakis and Karagatsis

Philhellenism values in Greek antiquity its contribution to civilisation. With regard to the traditional antinomy, in classical Greece, between Athens and the Dorians, it clearly prefers Athens.

It is interesting to see that in two novels by leading modernist authors, *Στα παλάτια της Κνωσού* (1940? 1943?) by Kazantzakis, and *Άμρι α Μούγκου* (1954) by Karagatsis, the Dorians are appreciated, albeit in very different ways, precisely for their struggle against civilisation, but for freedom and dignity.

Both novels are situated within a colonial framework. Kazantzakis' novel may be read at an allegorical level, where Minoan Crete stands for the Western European colonial powers, and poor and little Athens for modern Greece, which has to fight for its independence. The Dorians, playing, as Fanis Kakridis has convincingly pointed out, the role of the Soviet Russians, are the natural allies of the Athenians. It is their destiny to destroy, with the brutal violence of a primitive race, colonial hegemony. In two generations' time, the Dorians will assimilate to Greeks, and thus give Greece the energy needed to create a bright new Greek culture.

In Karagatsis' novel, the colonial framework is that of South-East Africa at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. The Greek adventurer Andreas, of aristocratic, ultimately Venetian stock, is driven by the same

aristocratic ideology as Nyota, his Masai warrior associate, who is explicitly compared to a Dorian. Both Andreas and Nyota clash with the colonial regime, and Andreas' attitude towards the Africans is felt by them to be typically different from the behaviour of the colonizers: Greeks are different.

In this way, the Dorian component of Greek identity is highlighted in both novels as the part that stands for permanent rebellion against an oppressive society, even though the ideological framework of the two novels is very different.

Rowena Fowler

Plato, Seferis and Heaney: Poetry as redress

The *nekylia*, talking with the dead, is a familiar metaphor in classical reception. Conjuring a shade is an attempt to understand the past, influence the present or see into the future, to seek guidance, reconciliation or revenge. Unlike metamorphosis (another powerful trope of reception) it is explicitly concerned with justification and knowledge. Plato, re-inventing the Homeric *katabasis* and *nekylia*, moralised the afterlife; his eschatological fables introduce an ethics of judgement and punishment and therefore of redress.

My paper examines Seferis' «*Ἐπί ασπάλáθων*» and Heaney's rejoinder, "To George Seferis in the Underworld", in the light of Heaney's essay *The Redress of Poetry*. Acknowledging the poets' broader engagement with classical texts (in particular Seferis with Homer, Heaney with Vergil) I concentrate on their use of Plato as "the court of appeal through which poetic imagination seeks to redress whatever is wrong . . . in the prevailing conditions". I argue that a classically-inspired poetry of redress will have several distinctive features: an insistence on the local, specific and topical; direct reference or address to a classical author; some engagement with the source language; a consciousness of the pressures of testimony.

A hallmark of Heaney's poetics is the weaving of language back into landscape; his reading of «*Ἐπί ασπάλáθων*» reveals correspondences between two national poetries. The interplay of language and political violence in Ireland gives a special edge to his understanding of Greece. Alongside his own "much-contested" political poems (e.g. "Punishment", "Whatever You Say Say Nothing"), «*Ἐπί ασπάλáθων*» strikes him as dangerously unequivocal, lacking any shade of doubt. However, Heaney's reservations about declarative utterance should not be read as a reproach to Seferis (as some have argued) but as a surprised awareness of the two poets' dissimilar uses of a classical authority.

Bruce W. Frier

The 'New Hellenism' of Constantine Cavafy

In an earlier paper, I tried to explain Constantine Cavafy's fascination with the Hellenistic world during the last two centuries BCE, when the Hellenistic kingdoms were being gradually subjected to Roman rule, as a device he used to explore aspects of his own sense of marginalization as the subject of a great empire and as a homosexual – a condition in which he eventually learned to glory as a liberating intellectual force. In the present paper, I want to describe this complex reevaluation in more detail, by linking Cavafy more closely to the historiographic debates of his own time.

About the depth of Cavafy's interest in the late Hellenistic monarchies there can be no doubt. Nearly a sixth of his surviving poetry is linked to this era, and many of his best known poems – such as "Orophernes" (1904) and "Of Demetrius Soter"

(1915) – consider events that are familiar, in our time as in Cavafy’s, only to experts. If I am correct in believing that Cavafy used these poems in order to explore troubling aspects of his own era, but in a way that avoided direct political or social confrontation, then the question arises as to how he reached this intellectual point d'appui. I believe that in some respects he did so in part as a response to contemporary debates about the nature of “Hellenism,” of what it was to be Greek.

A major starting point is the later nineteenth-century understanding of the Hellenistic world in relation to classical Greece – which still served, of course, as an academic paradigm for European liberal values. The Hellenistic world was undeniably awkward for this paradigm: the sudden dramatic conquests by Alexander the Great, followed by a century and a half in which the ancient city-states of the Greek motherland were largely eclipsed by the great Hellenistic monarchies of Macedonia and the Seleucid and Ptolemaic empires, who, between them, dominated the Eastern Mediterranean’s political and intellectual life before the rise of Rome.

Though nineteenth-century historians hotly debated this problem, the dominant liberal answer was given by the great English historian George Grote in his magisterial 12-volume *History of Greece*.

Stathis Gauntlett

Antiquity at the margins: rebetes and rebetika, 'ancient' and modern

With their insalubrious social connotations, Ottoman musical features, and low-brow content, rebetika might appear an unlikely candidate for mention in the same breath as the revered culture of ancient Greece. And yet the seemingly sacrilegious conjugation of rebetika with Greek antiquity was repeatedly contrived in a variety of forms throughout the twentieth century by exponents of the genre and commentators on it, unlettered and educated alike, to the extent that reference to antiquity periodically became almost *de rigueur* in the discussion of rebetika. A similar fascination also regularly exercised the ingenuity of literary poets, fiction writers, translators, stage directors and graphic artists.

This paper surveys and discusses a range of the resultant confections, including: Markos Vamvakaris's pipe-dreams of gods and ancient heroes; the claims of classical resonances in the content and form of rebetika verses; the representation of rebetika as latter-day *skolia*; their use in modern productions of ancient theatre; the alleged ancient pedigree of rebetika instruments and dances; and the rebranding of ancient celebrities, such as the insouciant Hippocleides of Athens (Hdt.6.129), as archetypal rebetes.

Some of these conceits are plainly whimsical or scurrilous, but others are intensely earnest and designed to serve a range of strategies for either validating modernity via a glorious ancestry, or for cutting antiquity down to size and subverting its modern veneration by revealing a grubby underside. This paper explores the underlying contestations of cultural authority, the abiding fixation with etymology, and the percolation of classical knowledge to the unschooled.

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A harmonious co-existence? Antiquity and Christianity in nineteenth-century Greece

The paper explores the complex relation of the concepts “Hellenism” and “Christianity” in modern Greece by primarily focusing on discursive shifts and

connotative processes that surround the emergence and articulation of the “helleno-christian civilization.” It discusses the ways Byzantine controversies about the Ancient Greek thought were re-interpreted and re-conceptualized in the modern Greek context, mainly in the second half of the nineteenth century. The paper defines the reading of ancient Greek philosophy as of primary importance in a set of cultural politics that aimed at the re-conciliation of pagan thought and Christian metaphysics and at the formation of a canon that ruled their relation. The interest lies upon the image of three Church Fathers of the 4th century, known as the “Three Hierarchs”, as both ideal readers of the ancients and as gate-keepers of Christian Orthodoxy. In this vein, the paper discusses the ways eleventh century disputes and polemics over the place of ancient thought in the curriculum of Byzantine (Christian) education re-emerged in the nineteenth century. The “Three Hierarchs” became re-interpreted as “ideal types” of the so called “harmonious co-existence” between Ancient Greece and Orthodox Christianity. The paper also discusses how this particular reading of patristic scholarship contributed to the institutionalization of an official “school holiday” in honor of the “Three Hierarchs” in modern Greece. Main argument of the paper is that critical aspects of the Greek national narrative lie upon constant conceptual metamorphoses that incorporate older symbolic capital in a new setting and make possible the close intersection of ethnicity and religion. In this context, not only Byzantium stands as the critical link between Ancient and Modern Greece but Hellenism and Christianity are interpreted within the context of a “harmonious co-existence”.

Stathis Gourgouris

Derealizations of the Ideal: Walcott Encounters Seferis

In *Dream Nation* (1996) I had argued that Greek modernity emerged from and was subjected to a condition, fostered by colonialist Europe, that I called the “colonization of the ideal” – the ideal, of course, signified by Greek antiquity. I reconsider this notion and re-evaluate its heuristic merit by examining the close relation of the poetics of George Seferis and the Caribbean poet Derek Walcott. Not only does Walcott seem to understand the problematic that Seferis was laboring under but directly addresses, in poetic form, the predicament of postcolonial Caribbean through a critical reading of Seferis’ own Neohellenic modernist predicament. I focus on a couple of poems by Walcott that counter Seferis’ *Mythistorema* explicitly, as well as the grand opus *Omeros*, which is a magnified *Mythistorema* from a Caribbean standpoint. The issue at hand is not only that a postcolonial poet determines his response to colonial Europe through a re-mythification of Greek antiquity, but even more how he mediates this re-mythification through a poetic encounter with Greek modernity. Walcott is known for coining the term “Afro-Greeks”; what’s under-researched in regard to this phrasing is how it requires, in his poetics, an assessment of Modern Greeks.

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Realpoetik in Cavafy’s ‘Give Back the Elgin Marbles’

In the *traumatic neuroses*, Freud writes, “the dream life . . . continually takes the patient back to the situation of his disaster”; he is “obliged to repeat as a current experience what is repressed, instead of, as the physician would prefer to see him do, recollecting it as a fragment of the past” (*Beyond the Pleasure-Principle*, trans. J. Strachey). This compulsion to *repeat as a current experience*, instead of *recollecting*

it as a fragment of the past, is a defining feature of modern Greek writing in its dreams of classical antiquity. I propose to examine, as a test case, two pieces of prose on the subject of the Parthenon Marbles. Writings on the Parthenon Marbles (or *parthenography*) are, as a rule, dominated by various resuscitative tropes we may identify with the lyric mode, and which betray the operations of the repetition-compulsion. But Cavafy's "Give Back the Elgin Marbles" is a polemic against the lyrical impulse itself. To the extent that it treats the past as something to recollect, not repeat, Cavafy's text may be classified as a piece of *realpoetik*. Contrast this with Seferis' elegiac "Foreword" to Bruno d'Agostino's *Monuments of Civilization: Greece* (1975) as a textbook case of unregenerate repetition-compulsion.

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Greek Present: The inflection of the scholarly self in the nineteenth century

"Nachleben", the German term for "afterlife" that has a part in the dictionary of Reception Studies, was a concept that arose out of a specific constellation within the German scholarly attitude towards classical antiquity and its study in the long nineteenth century. There is a concomitant stress, which Classical Studies, or *Altertums-wissenschaft*, in Germany put on experience and empathy as a heuristic term in interpreting ancient material and textual evidence. In this context, it is worth looking at the writings of a range of German scholars that arose from their first-hand experience of Greece as a country they visited. The usual story we tell is either of the German philhellènes who never visited Greece (maybe, most famously, Winckelmann); on the archaeologists/historians who came for obvious material reasons (L. Ross; K.O. Müller); or on the thinkers with a literary and cultural agenda who found their narratives inflected by the place of Greece when travelling there (S. Freud, H. von Hoffmannsthal). What this paper wants to explore is the effect of seeking "presence" on the work and self-presentation of classical scholars that were first and foremost philologists and scholars of literature. My examples will include the German archaeologist Ernst Curtius, who in the late 1830s spent time there as a tutor, indulging also his own literary aspirations; the German scholar Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, who visited Greece more than once in the 1870s; and the American (though German-trained) philologist Basil Gildersleeve, who visited in the 1890s on a journalistic mission.

Lorna Hardwick

Exceptionalities and paradigms: ancient and modern Greek culture and classical reception research

Recent research on the relationships between ancient and modern Greek culture has provided a richly informed and often ideologically contested field for debate about the specificities of texts, topologies and contexts, the continuities and discontinuities within and between cultural, ethnic and national maps and the distinctiveness of the experiences of Greeks.

This talk takes those issues as the basis for an exploration of a possible next stage in classical reception research in general. I start from the proposition that Greek studies can be emblematic rather than exceptional and that they provide a stimulating microcosm rather than a potentially alienating separatism. How can researchers learn from these debates to help with the critical evaluation of other areas of research?

What do Greek dimensions of the problems of time, place, language, diaspora, nostalgia and reciprocity suggest about the theoretical frames of classical reception research?

How does the case of Greece contribute to understanding of relationships and disjunctions between scholarly analysis and public and popular modes of experience? Above all, how can understanding of the problematic interactions between ancient and modern Greece be used to help work through the challenges of a move from national to cosmopolitan and global frames of investigation?

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National Popular Culture and the Classics: Performances of Greek drama under Metaxas' Regime

Although there had been previous uses of ancient spaces as well as quests to establish Greek drama festivals in modern Greece, Kostis Bastias' initiatives in this direction in the 1930s were constitutive of a discourse that associated ancient Greek drama with the popular culture politics of the modern Greek nation. The enhancement of the official ancient drama festival in Athens [*Εβδομάδες αρχαίου δράματος*], the first use of the theatre of Epidaurus in the modern era in 1938, the plans for the building of a large capacity open-air theatre in Athens and the treatment of ancient drama on a par with Shakespeare, were all linked to Bastias' idea of *popular performance*. The cultural politics introduced by Bastias regarding the performance of ancient drama will be examined in relation to similar developments in Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, of which Bastias was well aware. The parallels between the three countries can make manifest that the accommodation of ancient drama within institutional contexts in this period did not just aspire to bring the classics to the people, but it also signified an attempt to promote forms of popular theatre which would refer back to ancient theatre. However, what in Italy and Germany was mostly related to the rise of totalitarian regimes and the cultural politics implemented in order to forge the sense of community, in Greece became further associated to the official cultural politics of continuity. It is interesting that under Metaxas' regime this link was supported by a view about popular culture which vanished in the official reception of Greek drama after WWII. It was then that ancient drama festivals became demarcated as the uncontested realm of high culture, while any popular culture elements introduced in performance are still resisted by both critics and audiences as sacrilegious encroachments.

Tassos A. Kaplanis
Άπειροι από Έλληνες: Perceptions of the Hellenes and the Construction of Ethnic Identity in the Early Modern Greek Period (12th-early 19th c.)

Modern Greek popular culture perceived *Hellenes* as mythical people with supernatural powers who did not make part of the core of the *Romeic* (= Early Modern Greek) identity. Recent studies have confirmed that the formation of this *Romeic* identity must be placed around the time of the Frankish conquest of Constantinople (1204): the conquest encouraged the growth of an Orthodox Christian identity (with cultural/ethnic characteristics) that became detached and eventually replaced the political/imperial Byzantine Roman identity. This new ethnic identity, in the long period from the 13th (when it was decisively formed) to the 19th century

(when it was officially replaced by the Hellenic national identity), was not static, but developed in response to major political changes in different times and different places. Thus, it developed differently among Greek-speaking Orthodox populations of the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean basin who lived under Venetian rule and among those who lived under Ottoman dominion: the former became attached to the West and associated the fate of Hellenism with Venice, Rome and all Christian European leaders, while the latter were hostile to an alliance with a Christian Catholic power and saw in the relatively tolerant Ottoman religious system a guarantee for securing their faith and, thus, their identity. Nonetheless they both perceived and described themselves as *Romeoi* and the major question that has not been adequately addressed so far is where *Hellenes* came into all this. Although some perceptions of Antiquity in e.g. Cretan Renaissance literature have already been examined, this paper aims at contributing to the recent debates on the role of the Hellenic past in the formation of Modern Greek identity by the presentation and discussion of the various appearances and perceptions of *Hellenes* in Early Modern Greek literature (12th-early 19th c.), focusing particularly in texts produced in the Ottoman East.

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The University of Athens and Greek Antiquity (1837-1937)

During the 19th century, the University of Athens contributed, in a decisive way, to the formation of the relation between Modern Greeks with their past. Through its public presence and its curriculum, it elaborated a powerful discourse on the past, which contributed to the formation of the historical culture of Modern Greeks. At the same time, the University incorporated moments from the broader historical environment into the creation of its physiognomy, it legitimised its aims and purposes through resorting to the past. Since its founding, its symbolic field of reference was Greek antiquity. In addition to the curriculum and the tutorials, Greek antiquity occupied a prominent position in the architecture of its buildings, in official ceremonies, in rectors' speeches, in university's symbols; a position that took on a new meaning through time. The paper shall attempt to reveal and depict this multiform dominance of antiquity within the University in comparison to the other two significant periods in national history (Byzantium and Modern Greek History), as it was developed by Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos in the middle of the 19th century. It will focus on the manner in which antiquity took on a new meaning through time on the basis of scientific developments as well as political and social processes; e.g. through the linking of antiquity with liberal ideas in the discourse of the students of August Boeckh, to the linguistic archaism of K. Kontos and G. Mistriotis. In this paper, the time boundaries are defined by two ceremonies which depict this relation most characteristically: the University's opening ceremony (1837) and the centenary celebration by the Metaxas regime (1937).

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Antiquity as Cold War Propaganda:

The use of the classical past in the discourse of *ethnikofrosyni*

This paper investigates the symbolic uses of antiquity in the political discourse of the post-Civil War Greek state and its connections to the notion of *ethnikofrosyni* (national-mindedness). In contrast to previous studies, the proposed analysis will start

from the premise that *ethnikofrosyni* is neither an ideology nor simply a variant of Greek nationalism. Instead, it will suggest an alternative definition that interprets it as an anti-communist political system which used state propaganda - among other repressive instruments - to establish and spread itself.

On this basis, the main section of the paper will focus on the prominent position accorded to Greek antiquity in the propaganda discourse of *ethnikofrosyni*. The analysis will draw on a variety of primary sources, including publicity leaflets on the 'rehabilitation' of communist prisoners, army sponsored pamphlets written by academics, press articles, radio broadcasts and highly publicised political speeches. The extensive deployment of ancient themes and their use in allegorical fashion to fight Greek Marxism will be analysed to support three central conclusions:

- a) *Ethnikofrosyni* used Greece's classical past in a highly superficial and instrumentalist manner with the aim of portraying the culture of the ancients as a monolithic totality amounting to a unified worldview.
- b) Ancient Greek themes were also deployed as propaganda vehicles to suggest that Western ideas about the Cold War were essentially similar with the parochial values of Greek nationalism.
- c) Classical themes were also projected in *ethnikofron* propaganda because of their totemic function as psychological tools capable of evoking deep rooted symbols and taboos which many Greeks developed through early education.

Vassiliki Kolocotroni

Writing Remains: Heidegger and Derrida in Greece

Heidegger and Derrida both claim to have delayed their trip to Greece, and like Freud before them wrote of the visit in terms of uncanny anticipation, meditating on memory, language and death. This paper considers those philosophers' accounts of the visit to Greece, *Aufenthalte* (1962) and *Athènes à l'ombre de l'Acropole* (1996), with a view to drawing out the motifs through which they stage in their writing modernity's exemplary encounter with antiquity, which in a different context Jacques Rancière has called the 'archaeomodern turn'. Cast in the form of an insistent questioning of the possibility of return, Heidegger's ruminations on (and in) Greece suggest a constant negative as well as a wonderment in the presence of empty temples and still inhabited words ('Afaia', 'Delos'). Derrida's homage to Greece's 'luminous memory' is likewise preoccupied with language and the dwelling on (and in) what remains, as ruin and abode, while reflecting on the photographic image as an apparatus for mourning and recollective thinking.

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Modernism and Antiquity: Parisian perspectives and Greek artists during the interwar period

Europe of the interwar period was going through a re-evaluation of notions of tradition. With Paris as its centre, modern art was often linked to styles of the past and to claims of national identity. In this context, and given that most Greek modern artists passed by and spent time in Paris, the influence of artistic movements of the time conditioned not only the general directions that Greek art took, but also the way that Greek artists chose to confront their ancient past. In this paper, I wish to demonstrate the role that French thought and discourse regarding Antiquity played for the development of modern art in Greece.

Taking into consideration the fact that various coincidental or rival approaches coexisted in interwar Europe and were most apparent in French art and criticism, I will try to associate Greek artists in Paris with the most indicative cases onto which a reference to Antiquity is mostly registered: *primitivism*; classicism and the *rappel à l'ordre*; modernism and post-cubism. Through references to Antiquity, I will examine the morphological and ideological contingencies and contrasts of these different receptions of French modernism. To what degree did references to Antiquity serve the Greek artists' need to connect to European modernism and to what degree did it reflect their desire to search for a Greek identity in art?

In this framework, I will examine the influence of Greek art critic and editor Christian Zervos and his artistic journal *Cahiers d'art*, in the work of Greek artists who were in Paris at the time and frequented him, such as Nikos Hadjikyriakos-Ghikas, Michalis Tombros and Giorgos Gounaropoulos. In parallel, I will demonstrate how other Greek artists, mostly sculptors, like Thanassis Apartis, preferred to adopt a modern classicism inspired by the teaching of Émile-Antoine Bourdelle. Finally, I will examine artists like Constantinos Parthenis and Gerassimos Steris, who used antiquity-inspired themes and forms in their own creative terms.

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Post-War Visions of Antiquity: Ideology and Pragmatism

Classical antiquity never ceased to inform modern Greek culture, in various manners and according always to the contingencies of history. In the wake of the Cold War era, “Hellenism” —which since the 18th century, hand in hand with classical scholarship and archaeology had fired people’s imagination and informed new aesthetic, moral and political orders—was employed to shape new ontological and epistemological distinctions between the Democratic West and the Communist East. Evidently, the Greek ideal of Hellenism had been informed by European queries of modernity and the Enlightenment; now, however, it was conditioned by American postwar visions of democracy, development and modernization.

To trace these emergent new properties of “Hellenism,” I focus on a number of projects which elicited the collaboration of the Greek archaeological authorities with the American School of Classical Studies at Athens—in effect the gatekeeper of American archaeology in Greece. Most importantly, I focus on the reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos as the Museum of the Ancient Agora, a project that stands on the shoulders of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, while I further explore a program by the Economic Cooperation Administration to support the development and repair of museums in Greece, a program seen as concomitant with economic growth. For, I argue, the American vision of classical antiquity was not merely ideological or idealistic; it had a strong pragmatic component which the Greek state would espouse. Antiquity and its promotion equaled tourism and economic development and, consequently, political stability and democratization.

In the basin of the Athenian Agora and in the springs of antiquity, victorious America and civil war wrecked Greece re-affirmed their democratic legacies and pledged to combat communism with tourism and Doric columns. The story may, fittingly, probe us to reflect upon the most recent merging of the ministry of culture with that of tourism and the struggle of Greece to remain within the European family.

Vassilis Lambropoulos
The Hubris of Rebellion in Modern Tragedy

Modern tragedy is preoccupied with the question of the revolution, of revolutionary change that faces new ethico-political challenges as it starts politics anew. Revolutionary violence, in particular, is a matter of urgent concern in that it represents the hubris of radical change: in order to create a different world, the revolution often resorts to the same means used by its predecessor; in order to free people from fear, it deploys terror. Modern drama stages the tragedy of rebellion whereby the quest for autonomy invokes heteronomy to reach its goals. The legitimacy of the revolution has also been important to modern political theory. How is a political community instituted? What are the claims authorizing a totally new beginning? How is it possible for a self-examining polity to guard against the excesses of self-rule? Several theorists have discussed these questions drawing on Sophocles' *Antigone*, which dramatizes the challenges facing justice in a polis founded on radical immanence. This paper examines revolutionary violence in a Greek tragedy that takes place during the 1940s, first the Occupation and then the Civil War. In terms of both technique and politics Aris Alexandrou's *Antigone* (written in 1951, not performed until 2003) is one of the most innovative Greek plays and will be discussed here from the perspective of political theory as a reflection on freedom and necessity in modern radicalism.

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Archaeology in Greek Dress

Modern clothing design is a rich, emerging subject for classical reception studies. Many dress designs of the past two centuries have conjured up the look of clothing in ancient art, as Harold Koda's exhibition catalog, *Goddess: The Classical Mode* (New York 2003), has shown. What is especially interesting about Greek-inspired dress as an instance of classical reception is its complex negotiation of temporality and theatricality. Like all modern designs, it tends toward obsolescence, yet as something classical it is linked to both a particular historical moment and timelessness. And, as dress derived from museum pieces and used in theatrical reconstructions, it is semiotically marked for display; yet, as everyday dress, it requires some degree of unmarked casualness.

This paper studies the case of Eva Palmer Sikelianos (1874-1952) as a maker and advocate of Greek dress for everyday wear. Palmer developed an "anadromic" method of working through contemporary weaving practices while retracing visual clues from ancient art in order to reproduce the look of Greek dress. She used this method to design Greek costumes for performances at the Delphic Festivals of 1927 and 1930; but she also gave life to ancient dress by wearing dresses she made after a Greek fashion from the time she arrived in Greece in August 1906 until her death in 1952. Indeed Palmer was probably the most ardent promoter of Greek dress in her day. She argued that home-woven, Greek-styled clothing made on Greek looms was an antidote to social alienation, exploitation, and unemployment. By following the threads of Palmer's arguments and the rather complex responses to them, the paper probes the connections between classicism, women's bodies, and the chronological paradoxes of the modernism, which saw the youth of the world in antiquity and its future dependent on reanimating and occupying the materiality of the ancient past.

Athena S. Leoussi

Who is a Greek? Appropriations of the Greek classical heritage in nineteenth-century England and France

This paper examines the claims to ethnic, genealogical affinity between the ancient Greeks and the modern English and French nations. These claims involved the denial to the modern inhabitants of Greece of ethnic continuity with the ancient Greeks. The English and French belief in Greek ancestry was based on evidence from comparative anatomy and the life sciences. These new studies of the nature of humankind were rooted in the Enlightenment's impulse to know all things, including humankind, through empirical observation. They culminated in the creation of a new science, Physical Anthropology, whose key analytical concept was the idea of race. Physical Anthropologists in Britain and France imagined a genealogical affinity between their own nations and the ancient Greeks on the basis of common appearance – some key phenotypical or racial characteristics.

The imagined physical identification with the ancient Greeks and the desire to look Greek that marked English and French culture from the middle of the nineteenth to the early twentieth century, found cultural expression in art, in the works of major English and French artists, such as Frederick Leighton, PRA, and Edward Poynter, RA, in England, and those of Cezanne and Renoir, in France. The desire to be Greek also found practical expression in the active pursuit of the strong, healthy and 'beautiful' Greek body, as this was supposed to have been represented in the naturalist sculptures of the Parthenon by Phidias, Myron's Discobolus, Polyclethus' athletes, and the Venus de Milo, believed to be the work of Praxiteles. The Greek body was pursued in two main ways: through physical exercise and through outdoor life in the sun and fresh air of the countryside. The new classical revival that made the Greek body an object of collective imitation changed radically English and French life: it brought a reaction against the industrial city and a return to the countryside.

Alexandra Lianeri

Greek Modernity and the Transcultural European Translation of Antiquity

This paper discusses how the modern Greek translation of antiquity interrogates the idea of modern Greek culture as a belated form of the Western European experience of modernity. Focusing on translations and performances of *Antigone* over the long nineteenth century, it locates the modern Greek encounter with the ancient past in the context of a multivocal European modernity, wherein translation both affirmed and challenged relations of domination developed between centre and periphery, and thereby mediated not only diachronic, but also synchronic frameworks for defining the relation between ancients and moderns. While apparently divided by the Greek language question and the opposition between archaist and modernising visions of history, translations by N. Doukas, A.R. Rangavis, K. Christomanos and others, but also Y. Mistriotis' reactionary condemnation of translation did not merely respond to, but acted to redefine European modernity. They thus interrogate, on the one hand interpretations of Greek modernity as a derivative project marked by a radical split between unoriginal importation and hostile rejection of the European paradigm, and, on the other, considerations of European modernity as a unified operation, whose imperialist expansion managed to absorb whatever local traditions it touched.

It is not possible to tear Greek modernity's vision of antiquity out of the European context, to allow it to acquire a radical autonomy that would then be

reproduced on a theoretical level, where the domination of the particular would manifest its dissociation from European history and historical temporalities. However, it is still possible to account for the multiple existences of modernity outside the imaginary core of its origin, the aesthetic, cultural and political transmutations and conflicts of translation that cannot find resolution within that core, but evoke, through their separation from it, a potential for self-questioning that was indwelling in the modern project.

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The Christian Hellenism and linguistic archaism of Neofytos Doukas

The priest and teacher Neofytos Doukas (c.1760-1845) was one of the chief proponents of linguistic archaism in modern Greece. He believed that the Greeks (by which he meant the Orthodox Christians who recognized the Patriarchate of Constantinople as their religious leader) should learn to speak Ancient Greek as their natural language. By doing so, he believed, they would be able to regain the wisdom, virtue and glory of the ancient Greeks. Doukas was a romantic religious nationalist who believed that all traces of Greek (and, even more so, non-Greek) culture that had developed in the Greek world since early Christian times should be effaced, so that the multilingual modern Orthodox Christians would be reborn as pristine Christian Hellenes.

My paper will analyse the ideological presuppositions behind Doukas' rhetoric (with its mixture of pagan Greek, Jewish and Christian references) within the context of the Greek language question and nation-building and against the background of attitudes to the Ancient Greek language adopted by other leading contemporaneous Greek intellectuals, whether or not they represented the Orthodox Church. In particular, it will contrast Doukas' Christian Hellenism with the secular Hellenism of Korais. In view of the similarities between the religiously and nationalistically motivated attempts by Greeks and Jews to revive their ancient tongues as modern spoken languages, the paper will also compare and contrast Doukas' failed attempt to revive Ancient Greek as a spoken language with the successful revival of Hebrew in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Vasilios N. Makrides

Christian Civilisation, Helleno-Christian Civilisation, Hellenic Civilisation: Ideological Developments in Post-War Greece

This paper will deal with certain ideological developments in Greece after the Second World War and the ensuing Civil War concerning the relations between Hellenism and (Orthodox) Christianity. More specifically, it will focus on the programmatic construction of a "New Greece" in the 1950s after the previous disastrous decade, the visions connected with it and their promoters and bearers. Particular emphasis will be placed on the religious organization "Zoi" and other groups affiliated with it, such as the "Christian Union of Scientists", led by Law Professor Alexander Tsirindanis, which were instrumental in the articulation and dissemination of such ideas in Post-War Greek society. In fact, various terms were interchangeably used to describe the basic tenets of this ideology, such as "Christian Civilisation", "Helleno-Christian Civilisation", "Hellenic Civilisation". These were aimed – among other things – at providing a coherent national ideology and defending Greece from the imminent danger of Communist infiltration. It will be argued that all these fermentations

gradually formed the ideological background that led to the dictatorship of 1967-1974.

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Images of Greek Antiquity and nineteenth-century Athens: Monumental decorations and periodical illustrations

This paper explores the different meanings of Antiquity and the way they were visualized, de-historicized and aestheticized to become a spectacle in 19th century Athens. Furthermore, it attempts to describe their crucial role in the formation of social and national identities. In other words, its basic aim is to connect the notion of Antiquity with the complex process of constructing social meaning.

In order to do so it discusses how certain visions of Antiquity include but also shape specific social identities (referring to class, gender, age, etc) and examines how they participate in the formation of modern institutions in 19th century Athens.

More specifically, the paper comments on the monumental paintings inspired by and referring to Antiquity both in public and private buildings, of a state and a capital “under-construction”, in comparison with their contemporary periodical illustration, in an effort to lighten the purposes that this imagery served in the particular social, cultural and political context in which it was created.

My case study focuses on the monumental decorations of the University and the Academy buildings, the Heinrich Schliemann and Giovanni Battista Serpieri mansions and also educational and satirical periodicals mainly from the last three decades of the century.

I propose to examine a number of questions in order to be able to reach some conclusions regarding the main aim of the paper, as described above: how, for instance, are the monumental decorations and periodical illustrations contributing factors to as well as constituted in ideology? Where is the meeting (and maybe melting) point of private and public, of monumental and ephemeral? How the notion of Antiquity becomes a means of reconciliation in the social field? In what ways it introduces role models and ways of behaviour in everyday life?

Despina Margomenou **Playing with Colors: Colorful, Colorless, and The Politics of Color in Public Representations of “The Greek Past”**

Summer of 2009. Opening of the New Acropolis Museum, Athens. Centerpiece: the Caryatids remaining in Greece; those that can now be admired by visitors from every angle and preserve traces of color on their clothing and hair; unlike the “orphaned ones” only facing visitors of the British Museum, those that might even have been scrubbed to remove all traces of color in accordance with western expectations. Posters of the Caryatids and their elaborate hairstyles adorned Athens that summer, amidst a political climate of general dissatisfaction, lack of interest for European elections, and the events at Hagios Panteleimonas, where immigrants and locals clashed violently, still fresh in public memory. The word belabored by the media was “color”: *our* Caryatids have not been stripped of their color; *ours* are still “authentic”. Yet, other recent images may be juxtaposed to this one. The Athens Olympics Opening Ceremony of 2004 and the stark whiteness of “Classical Greece” represented in the so-called Hourglass in marked contrast to the colorful earlier and later periods, or exhibits like the Goulandris Museum of Cycladic Art, where despite archaeological evidence (buried in long-winded museum labels) the entire display is designed to

stress the whiteness of prehistoric objects. Has our daily engagement with “colorful others”, people and images on the move, changed a way of seeing that goes back centuries in less than six years? Are we witnesses to a major aesthetic shift? Or is it perhaps that adding or removing color from our representations of “The Greek Past” affords shifting discourses: from engaging with the colonizing to being colonized; from sharing with the “west” to embodying the subaltern; from “white” to colorful (or “colored”)? The paper explores these questions from the perspective of visual anthropology, focusing on display politics, representation, and discourses of “authenticity” particular to contemporary Greece.

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Tragic sites: landscapes in film adaptations of Greek tragedy

The cinematic landscapes of film adaptations of Greek tragedy fall broadly into two categories. On the one hand there are allegorical landscapes such as rocky deserts, dense forests, industrial wastelands, sleepy suburbs, and futuristic cityscapes. On the other hand there are landscapes which aestheticize the natural environment of the Mediterranean and the material remains of the Greco-Roman world. Rather than setting these two types of cinematic landscape in opposition to one another, this paper argues that they are both deployed in film adaptations of Greek tragedy as similarly ambivalent sites of personal crisis or collective identification. A film that exemplifies the interplay between allegorical and aestheticized representations of cinematic landscape in a specifically modern Greek context is Michael Cacoyannis’ *Iphigenia* (1977). The film depicts Aulis as a liminal, desert-like landscape by the sea, scattered with ruins. The aim of the paper is to argue for the historical and cultural specificity of this seemingly timeless and abstract backdrop to the film’s narrative. Aulis, the site associated with a foundational act of Greek culture and a foundational narrative of Greek identity, is depicted as a space of pre-modern ‘authenticity’ but also as a metaphor for the disorientation and alienation associated with the dilemmas - and their consequences - that underpin modern history. Cacoyannis’ Aulis draws on the ambivalence of the desert in Western popular culture, especially in the cinematic legacy of the classic western; on the emergence of the desert as a locus of cultural critique enabled by countercultural discourses of the early 1970s, most notably those associated with Pier Paolo Pasolini; and finally on the dissonance of the desert within the national aesthetics of integration, harmony and tradition as it is played out in modern Greek culture of the mid 1970s, in the immediate aftermath of the Greek military junta and the division of Cyprus.

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**Greek antiquity through the Byzantine looking-glass: an
Enlightenment paradox**

In this paper I set out to address what appears to be one of the most intriguing and still unresolved paradoxes of the Greek Enlightenment: the seemingly untimely publication of a massive six-volume historical work, the *Istoria tis Byzantidos* in 1767 at the very beginning of the Greek Enlightenment. What is problematic about this publication is that it focused on the history of Byzantium in an era when Greek-speaking scholars, under the influence of the European classicist fashion (*le retour à l’antique*), started to be interested in their historical relationship with the Ancient

Greeks and Greek antiquity. So far, scholars have been silent on the matter since they have found it very difficult to explain the reasons why a compilation of Byzantine historians was translated into the spoken Greek idiom in an era when Greek antiquity was dominating the intellectual debates all over Europe. Nevertheless, one of the most interesting aspects of this historical work is its preface in which Greek antiquity becomes the focal point of a relentless criticism. Although this attack appears obsolete, it challenges the mainstream view that during the Greek Enlightenment the imagining of the past, and in this case Greek antiquity, was mostly expressed in positive terms. Consequently, this work calls for scholarly attention for two reasons: on the one hand, its publication is a marker of a historical interest in the Byzantine past well before the advent of Greek Romanticism when Byzantium became part of a Greek *ethnohistory*; on the other hand, it shows that during the Greek Enlightenment antiquity was not always the ideal yardstick against which the present was measured. All in all, in tackling these questions, my analysis sets out to provide plausible answers to explain why this work appeared at the time it did.

Dimitris Papanikolaou
“Ancient Greek men were just holding hands”:
Contextualizing modern Greek views on ancient Greek
homosexualities

While the use of Classical Greece as a model and means of legitimization for modern homosexual identity in the western 19th and 20th centuries has been analyzed at length in recent years, little attention has been paid to the way discourses about ancient Greek homosexualities circulate in Modern Greece. “I haven’t met anyone, *outside modern Greece at least*, who believes that ancient Greek men just held hands” writes James Davidson in his *The Greeks and Greek Love*, quite accurately distinguishing popular perceptions on the matter inside and outside Greece.

This paper will start by analyzing a number of popular discussions about Ancient Greek homosexualities held in Greece during the 20th century. The material surveyed will range from articles in Greek newspapers in the 1920s and 30s, to the recent debates in popular media about the sexuality of Alexander the Great.

What comes out of these discussions, it will be argued, is an unease (or, at times, direct hostility) towards evidence about same sex relations in ancient Greece. This can only be understood if we take into account

- a) the extent to which Greek nationalist discourse presents ancient Greece as a unified past for modern national culture *and at the same time*
- b) the heteronormative gender and sexuality structures promoted by nationalist discourses and lodged in the centre of modern Greek national culture.

However, a third factor should also be taken into account: the use of Greek homosexualities to support modern western homosexual identity *outside Greece*, has often resulted in a view of Modern Greece and the Greeks shaped by a cryptocolonial gaze that conflates classicalist essentialization and orientalist sexualization. This has been shown at work, for instance, in a number of cultural texts and trends, from the photography of Von Gloeden and Isherwood’s *Down There on a Visit*, to gay pornography shot in Greece and gay tourism patterns. Its nationalist overtones notwithstanding, Modern Greek hostility to “ancient Greek homosexuality” should therefore also be assessed as part and parcel of the dynamics introduced by the cryptocolonial gaze that to a certain extent defined the use of ancient Greece in modern day sexualities.

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George Seferis, photographer of antiquity

It is perhaps more actively with his camera that George Seferis conversed with modernity than with his poetry, in which most elements of modern life are purged. A large part of the 2500 photographs held in Seferis's photographic archive is devoted to archaeological sites and ancient monuments, be those the ruins of Assine, the Athens Acropolis or the Apollo temple in Kourion, Cyprus. This paper will look at the aesthetic implications of these photographs within modernist discourses. Following a long line of professional and amateur photographers, Seferis consciously employs technology to record material remains of Greek antiquity. The paradoxical complexity of documenting man-made ruins with a modern, mechanical device is very much at the heart of modernist controversy, as explicated by Benjamin and Kracauer. The singularity of antique sites, enveloped in their unique 'aura', contradicts photographic mass reproduction, a contradiction well noted by Nicolas Kalas in his condemnation of Boissonas and by Karyotakis in his scathing remarks on the use of Kodak cameras in Delphi. But in modernist terms, ruins present the same iconic qualities of the photograph as a revival of the past in a modern context, and as a transgression in time.

In spite of the fact that he does not attribute artistic merit to photography, Seferis addresses modernist concerns and controversies through his use of the photographic medium alone. His photographs do not monumentalize antique sites; rather, they focus on the physicality of ancient ruins and their presence in landscape, but without blending in modern life, as does Embeiricos who photographs Eleusinian statues against a backdrop of factory chimneys. Seferis's photographs of ancient sites were intended for personal use, and would therefore be expected to exclusively comply with a vernacular idiolect, yet to a certain degree they conform to the aesthetic and ideological premises of commercial – and Western – depictions such as those found on prints by Boissonas and Bonfils, confirming the iconic specifications of the medium.

Eleni Papazoglou

**Between Texts and Rituals: Ancients against Moderns in the
reception of tragedy in Greece**

The *Oresteia* of 1903 drove "Ancient" Mistriotis to a famous wrath but "Modern" Xenopoulos to a little known boredom. Ancient Greek culture is "*dead*", Xenopoulos argued, and the ritual, hence profoundly strange, essence of its drama renders its "*revival*" impossible. Those spectators who declare themselves thrilled by the experience "*are simply lying to themselves and others.*" If we are to use the ancient texts, he concluded, these should be "*adapted*", so that they respond to the theatrical and intellectual perspectives of the present.

Set against the holy cause of tragedy's "revival", this critique signals a challenging modernism. Xenopoulos himself was to oscillate between ancient canons and modern manifestos. However, there is evidence to suggest that his 1903's polemic was neither idiosyncratic nor circumstantial to the linguistic Querelle.

This critique has been totally eschewed, thereafter, by an all too confident orthodoxy, rooted on classicist idealistic doctrines and, of course, integral texts. Cultivated by the National Theatre, and disseminated to massive audiences through the Epidavria Festival, this orthodoxy ritualized its dramatic and theatrical "authenticity" by continuously recycling it. Modernism, in the 1980's, emerged as a

mere reconciliation of 1903's polarities, achieved through the evocation of profoundly Greek, byzantine and folklore, rituality (cf. Vrachorit's "mystique" *Antigone* in ancient Greek and Tsianos' "rustique" *Electra*). What was earlier seen as (ritual) gap is resolved now into a (ritual) continuum of sorts.

More than a century after the *Oresteia*, some now declare and many more take for granted that the ancient *texts*, albeit in translation, are or could be "*diateretea*" (conservable). And (otherwise quarrelling) theatre critics agree that the Epidavros' spectators are a "*class-less and popular audience*" which "*thirsts for methexis* (enthusiasm) *not xenisma* (estrangement)": a national community regressing to a textual and theatrical dogma of pre-modern rituality.

Michael Paschalis

Kalvos, Solomos and Greek Antiquity

The Italian culture of the Ionian Islands and the Italian education of Kalvos and Solomos favored the knowledge of Latin and acquaintance with Latin literature. As regards the knowledge of Ancient Greek, they represent different cases. Solomos was given the opportunity to learn Ancient Greek but his knowledge of the language remained almost non-existent and direct Greek literary influence on his poetry is also non-existent or negligible. Kalvos was urged to study ancient Greek Literature by Ugo Foscolo but his inadequate knowledge of the language and superficial acquaintance with literature bear the marks of self-education. Yet he developed ambitions in this area that offer a misleading picture. For instance, in the notes to the Italian "Ode to the Ionians" Kalvos talks like a Homerist doing original scholarly work, while in fact he reproduces Foscolo's criticisms of contemporary Italian translations of Homer's *Iliad*. Kalvos' *Odes* give the impression of a direct dialogue with ancient Greek literature but lines that look like a reworking of ancient Greek poetry, like engaging in an intertextual dialogue, turn out to be a pastiche of Greek words or phrases drawn from different sources. Having written Italian poetry and being well-acquainted with the Italian poetic tradition, Kalvos was searching for ways and means to render this experience into Modern Greek. On the whole the overall image of Greek antiquity in the poetry of Solomos and Kalvos is mediated through Italian sources — conveying Italian or contemporary European perceptions — and in some cases through Latin sources.

Georgia Pateridou

Antiquity, national identity, and cultural politics in Palamas's work

At the end of the nineteenth century the young poet Kostis Palamas emblematically combined in his work and ideological formation the different tendencies that were active at the time: on the one hand a new poetic vision that was based on the choice of simple and everyday themes, giving special place to the formal constructions and the satirical outlook; on the other hand a strong current of promoting the popular culture as the authentic creation, representative of the Greek spirit.

Palamas's poetic vision focused on the concept of Greek identity throughout the centuries, but also, on the burden of the past. The "Hymn" to celebrate the spirit of the Olympic Games, for example, gives an idea of his belief in the everlasting ideals that require their revival in the Modern world; the same point can be seen reflected in his extensive poem "Askraios", where the Ancient poet Hesiod delivers the scepter of creativity to the modern poet of the future. At other times, however, as in the "Twelve Lays of the Gypsy", a poem that aims to create a synthesis of many heterogeneous

elements, all the idols of civilization (including Antiquity) have to be annihilated in order to renew the world from a fresh start. In short, Palamas encompasses both the social function of poetry in conjunction with the constant search for the lyrical expression, and the ideal of the artist as a global citizen, one who can reflect on diachronic and universal values bequeathed by Antiquity. Palamas can be viewed as a negotiator of the past and the future with an aim to present the uniqueness of Greek identity.

This presentation will aim to discuss these different tendencies in his poetry, the reflection on Ancient Greek culture, and the desire to form a comprehensive poetic plan relevant to the national identity, with an aim to explore his position in the Greek literary field. It will also attempt to offer some insights regarding the formation of this field in Greece.

Dimitris Plantzos

Dead archaeologists, buried gods: Greece's incomplete modernity

Archaeology, both as an academic discipline and a state institution, has been an essential nation-building, identity-forging agent in 19th-20th c. Greece. As a public servant, entrusted by the state with the production of the tangible remains through which to prove the nation's antiquity, the archaeologist plays a central role in defining the state's strategies towards the past and its management. This however is all but ignored by the popular imaginary, as it is expressed in 20th c. Greek literature.

Illicit excavation and trade of antiquities (as in the case of Ilias Venezis' 1939 novel *Galini*) offer a more appropriate means to the Greek intellectuals – themselves striving to chart their peoples' ties to their nation's mythical past – in order to present their case for a lost Greek national identity, manifest in the forgotten marble gods and the dry landscape, while at the same time express their own frustration at the overwhelming powers of rapid modernization (usually represented by state officials and foreign emissaries). In this paper I will try to investigate how Greece (as represented by its self-appointed spokespersons like Karkavitsas and Venezis) undertakes its own archaeology as a means of surviving in a rapidly changing world system and – ultimately – claiming new kinds of centrality in it. Described as cases of *peripheral (post)modernity* these developments are the result of “incomplete” – or merely inadequate – modernization, where modernity is injected from the top down in the form of narratives constructed by colonialism, Orientalism etc. Such “always already postmodern” cultural situations, idiosyncratic or peripheral as they may be, have been produced by an effort to come up with a modernity for the Third World, in order to reshuffle hitherto accepted time- and place-frames by means of “re-centring” the globalization flow.

Marinos Pourgouris

Yiannis Ritsos, Marxist Aesthetics, and the Mythical Subtext:

A Contribution to the Critique of Classical Greece

In his *Aesthetic Dimension*, Herbert Marcuse argues that Marxist aesthetics must urgently clarify the relationship between Marxism and the Classical tradition. How can Marxists reconcile, he asks, the fact that the ‘great’ or ‘authentic’ Greek tragedies are at the same time works of an ancient slave society? To put it simply, Leftist writers (themselves often steeped in a classical education) were frequently unable to account for the disjuncture between the “greatness” or “authenticity” of the Greek tradition and the fact that this same tradition emerged in an oppressive slave-owning

society. Marcuse's commentary comes as a response to Marx himself who—in his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*—can only justify the tense relationship between antiquity, political systems, and aesthetics by arguing that ancient Greece was the social childhood of humanity. This paper explores Yiannis Ritsos's mythological poems (and especially some of the dramatic monologues of *The Fourth Dimension*) in the context of the Leftist critique of the ancient Greek tradition. In general terms, what I propose is that several of Ritsos's mythological characters are not only modernist re-appropriations of the classical subtext, but, more importantly, characters that attempt to negotiate the split between aesthetics and material history. I am interested, in other words, in the ways in which Ritsos addresses, or negotiates, the Marxist 'problem' of the mythological subtext, as well as in the ways in which this solution becomes a commentary on the act of writing (and its relationship to what Peter Bürger calls the "Praxis of Life"). What is particularly interesting in the case of Ritsos's poetry (in comparison to other European Leftist writers) is that his use of classical mythology allows for both an investigation of the reception of Greek myth in the Leftist literary tradition and an examination of it in the modern Greek context. These two trajectories (or receptions of classical myth) are often at odds with each other, particularly when one considers the utilization (or even the rejection) of myth in a national context.

David Ricks

Lucretian moments in modern Greek poetry

'Lucretius ... gave in his poem the loftiest possible expression to that view of life from which Christianity offers to liberate us.' Writing in 1900, the satirist and social thinker W.H. Mallock summed up the importance that Lucretius had for his fellow-Victorians -- an influence he felt he had himself escaped by a whisker. The present paper aims to look at some Greek manifestations of the post-Darwinian debate which had generated Tennyson's poem 'Lucretius', concentrating on three poets not often seen together: Kostis Palamas, Konstantinos Theotokis, and K.G. Kartotakis, for each of whom Lucretius had a central place.

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Hellenism and Christianity: Greek antiquity in the public discourse of the Greek Orthodox Church

The relation between Hellenism and Christianity is one of the most controversial issues for the humanities and the social sciences. The purpose of this paper is to study how this relation emerges from the public discourse of the Greek Orthodox Church during the 20th and at the beginning of the 21st century. Having in mind the encyclicals, the official journal, 'Ecclesia' and the proceedings of the Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church, I will draw my attention to certain books and articles regarding the relation between Hellenism and Christianity, which were written by Metropolitans or Archbishops of the Orthodox Church. The goals of this paper are on the one hand, to find the similarities and the differences between these texts and bring them to light and on the other, to examine if and how this kind of public discourse contributes to the re-production of the ideology of Greek-Christianism/ Greek-Orthodoxy. As a consequence, the main questions are two: How each Church official perceives and incorporates Hellenism and antiquity in his public discourse? And how this appropriation of the antiquity is related to the ideology of Greek-Christianism/ Greek-Orthodoxy? The theoretical background of the paper is based on the sociological

reflection of the German sociologists M.Weber and W.Sombart, who argued that the beliefs, the ideas and the meaning that people give to their actions are very important in order to study a society; the method that is going to be applied is the classic thematic analysis of discourse.

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The birth of music out of the spirit of tragedy: On the role of music in productions of ancient drama in twentieth-century Greece

The main purpose of this paper is to offer readings of the ways that Greek composers depict ‘images’ of Greece in music for stage productions of ancient dramas and comedies in twentieth-century Greece, by taking into account the broader attitudes of Greek archeology and of how Greeks view their past.

In modern Greece of the first decades of the twentieth century, the predominant notions of ‘Hellenism’, or ‘greekness’, interpret Greek history as an uninterrupted evolution from the classical past to Byzantium. In terms of music, continuity was believed to be found from ancient Greek music to Byzantine hymns and folk songs. This theory, supported by important scholars and composers like George Pachtikos and Ioannis Sakellaris who wrote music for productions of ancient dramas at that era, was also encouraged by foreign intellectuals such as Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray. The incorporation of folk songs and Byzantine modes into the musical means of narration became a central compositional practice for a large part of music written for ancient dramas throughout the twentieth century, with or without nationalistic undertones.

Music written for productions of ancient drama in modern Greece distanced itself from the mainstream of European operatic tradition. Productions of ancient drama and comedy in twentieth-century Greece, as I will attempt to prove, deliberately and systematically avoided the adaptation of operatic forms. Also, symphonic music in productions of ancient dramas was introduced as early as the interwar period. However, characteristics like folk tradition and byzantine music, non-western elements, a more lyrical approach due to respect of the words, the use of magnetic tapes and electronic sounds and other experimental approaches formed alternative approaches to ancient drama as musical theatre, especially from 1960s onwards, by important composers like Jani Christou, Jannis Xenakis, Theodoros Antoniou, Argyris Kounadis, Giorgos Kouroupos and so forth.

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Greek Antiquaries and Archaeological Knowledge in Early Modern Venice

Current research on the emergence of archaeology in modern Greece has largely left a blind spot around the period preceding the formation of the Greek nation-state. On the one hand, traditional historians imply that Ottoman-ruled Greeks directly identified with antiquities through notions of continuity with the ancient Greek civilisation. Against these assumptions, other studies have argued that early modern Greeks regarded antiquities as alien artefacts belonging to the realm of legend, and that contact with European neoclassicism and the rise of Greek nationalism since the eighteenth century reversed this perception.

This paper questions the validity of both perspectives insofar as the former suffers from the limitations of ‘Hellenocentrism’ and the latter rests on a linear evolutionary/Eurocentric approach. In place of these narratives, the paper projects the neglected role of Greek antiquaries who lived in seventeenth-century Venice and analyses their contribution to the formation of archaeology as a field of scholarly knowledge. In so doing, it shows how different Greek scholars, university professors, physicians and advisors of elite collectors developed antiquarian interests in relation to the intellectual pursuits and collecting practices of their time. On the basis of new evidence, the proposed analysis stresses the role of these antiquaries as cultural intermediaries in the European Republic of Letters and their involvement in local networks of antique dealers, agents and informants in Venice’s overseas territories. Finally, the paper underscores the importance of conceptualising early modern Greek antiquarianism as a practice of cultural mediation in an imperial context.

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Sin and the City: A Mid-Fifteenth-Century Lament for the Fall of Athens to the “Persians”

This paper presents a little-known vernacular Greek lament over the capture of Athens by the Ottoman Turks in 1456 (merely three years after the fall of Constantinople). Its anonymous author identifies the invading enemies as barbarian “Persians” and invokes the revenge and protection of the Virgin Mary while blaming the Athenians’ sinful lifestyle for provoking the disaster. The poem reinforces the (pre-existing) identification of the Turks, the Arabs, and generally the Muslims with the ancient Persians and draws on notions from the classical through late antique ekphrasis of the besieged and captured city to describe the destruction more vividly. Yet (despite some contestation of the poem’s date) the “Lament of Athens” was composed at least a century before other major episodes of the West-East conflict, such as the 1571 battle of Lepanto and the Greek War of Independence, sharpened the West-East and Christian versus Muslim divide—and the burgeoning Orientalist rhetoric. The lament may, in fact, provide a missing link in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine development of that long-lived rhetoric. The questions it raises have more than a narrow academic relevance in that our proposed answers may shed light on the continuity and growth of an actual discourse of West versus East, which Edward Said identified as the discourse of modern Orientalism but which he saw flourish only from the late eighteenth century onward.

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Shifting myths of origins: Greek prehistory and Greek national ideology

This paper will explore the assimilation of the pre-historic, pre-Hellenic past into the myths of origins that underlie the creation of the Greek national ideology in 19th and

20th century. This will be undertaken by an integrated analysis of intellectual developments and shifting attitudes to the (prehistoric) past. The investigation will start in the last decades of the 19th century. Schliemann's spectacular discoveries in Mycenae coincided with a period of internal instability and external pressures when the consolidation of the Greek State was of paramount importance. In the first part of the paper, we will see how Greek prehistoric archaeologists, under the influence of romantic nationalism and despite resistance among more classically trained scholars, extended Paparrigopoulos' tripartite scheme of linear continuity to include the prehistoric past. The discussion will also reveal the tensions between classicism and romanticism, diffusion and evolution, continuity and progress that characterize scholarship during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. With the failure of nationalist and expansionist dreams, the decline of the Classical Ideal in the European history of ideas and the onset of modernism, intellectual debates on modern Greek identity shifted away from the veneration of the past to issues such as the language debate, the significance of authentic manifestations of the Greek cultural spirit (e.g. vernacular architecture, folk art or poetry), or to the Greek landscape in general. At the same time, the Classical (and increasingly also the pre-historic) past became the cornerstone of the official nationalist discourse of the Greek state, culminating into Metaxas's Third Hellenic Civilization or the colonels' Helleno-Christian Civilization. In the second part of the paper, we will consider the various positions adopted by Greek prehistoric archaeologists. These range from a full, almost monolithic endorsement of the nationalist ideology, to more complex and nuanced positions that apply elements of contemporary intellectual debates on Greekness to the pre-historic past, or redefine the relationship between the prehistoric past and the present.

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The Olympic contest between 'matter' and 'spirit' in Athens 2004

The staging of the Olympic Games is always accompanied by appeals to 'the Olympic spirit' which is usually presented as in danger of being buried under the material world of mass consumption and as having nothing to do with the ancient Greek world of 'lost ideal purity'. In spite of the negative nuances attributed to the contemporary material world, the latter has provided potent means of expressing the 'immaterial', 'spiritual' power of the Olympics: Olympic torches, flags, and other paraphernalia are designed to convey and celebrate 'the true spirit of the Games'. The power of things does not simply rest on their ability 'to represent', but also on their ability 'to act' (Gell 1998, Latour 1993, 1999) upon the world and have consequences on people. So maybe instead of repudiating 'materiality' as representing 'the surface' that masks 'the pure spirit', we may find it more useful to engage with it in order to explore the ways it is involved in the constitution of the modern Greek culture and, more generally, in the human world (see Miller 2005).

This paper will discuss different examples to explore the separation, the meshing and the flowing that takes place between these seemingly opposing ends. Particular reference will be made to the Olympic flame which was thought of as the par excellence manifestation of 'the Olympic spirit'. By oscillating between the tangible and the transcendental, 'nature' and 'culture', the past and the present, the ephemeral and the eternal, the touring flame makes and re-makes literal and metaphorical borders through which 'the imagining' of the Greek past and 'the dreaming' of the Greek nation (Gourgouris 1996) take place. It becomes a metaphor that establishes resemblances, creates meanings and provides a meeting ground where

personal, local, national and international histories, fantasies or expectations are interweaved.

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Ancient Greece as inspiration for Greek design

Resorting to ancient Greece in order to gain legitimacy is a widespread and well-studied neohellenic phenomenon, which reflects the peripheral and insecure status of contemporary Greece. Several recent academic symposia and publications have recorded and analysed the obsessive preoccupation with antiquity in many areas of Greek life and cultural production. This obsession has also expressed itself in the domain of Greek design during the 20th century and into the 21st, through the extensive use of pompous, populist and commercialized references to ancient Greek culture. Antiquity-inspired visual loans are meant to infuse modern design with time-honoured prestige and quality; however, they mostly lead to formalist results. The paper argues that inspiration from antiquity has acted as an unnecessary and outdated filter and has had a detrimental effect on Greek design in the fast-changing modern world.

Nevertheless, the case of the Athens-based design consultancy *Greece is for Lovers* shows that a different way is possible. Their playful, ironic, even provocative take on ancient Greek iconography and culture exemplifies a more creative re-thinking and re-imagining of the past. The approach by *Greece is for Lovers* indicates that contemporary design may not become relevant unless it moves beyond the uncritical adoration and glorification of a respected past and unless it employs user-centered strategies which are meaningful to a range of modern audiences.

The paper will draw on bibliography, visual analysis and interviews to discuss the evolving role of ancient Greece as inspiration for Greek design, as well as to highlight wider cultural and social implications.

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Postcards from Greece: The uses of antiquity in early tourist photographic depictions

I will present my findings on the construction of the image of Greece in early photographic depictions esp. those generated by state-sponsored organizations as seen in tourist brochures, maps, posters, and postcards of the Greek Ministry of Tourism since 1929, the date of the first-dated poster featuring Nelly's photograph of the Parthenon, following the foundation of the Greek Tourist Organization during the leadership of Venizelos. I will focus on the Greek Pavilion at the 1939 New York World's Fair during the Metaxas' regime, collated from unpublished archival materials.

As I engage in the "semiotic ethnography" of the tourist brochures, I employ the ideas of Bourdieu's cultural capital, and borrow from the fields of ethnography, anthropology, and cultural studies, capitalizing on the work I conducted last decade on representations of Greek ethnicity from antiquity in literature, historiography, and film. Seeing Greek tourism as a collection of projected images which establish the boundaries of experience, define what is beautiful, what should be experienced and with whom one should interact offers some insight into the reasons why particular sites, destinations and their peoples have been portrayed, packaged, and promoted by the Greek travel authorities who act as cultural 'brokers in ethnicity.'

My research on the tourist image of Greece presents a new perspective for the involvement of the state in the construction of the national image. I will probe the concepts of Greece as ‘cradle to western civilization,’ and of ‘Greece’ as a transnational artifact. And I may discuss how ethnicity took a cultural form enhanced by the early tourist image promoted by state-sponsored organizations; and, how the right to national identity has formed the foundation for cultural property to be viewed as symbolic capital for the nation and features on heritage debates and national initiatives for the reclaiming of specific artifacts.