

# Notes

## I INTRODUCTION: TAKING TESTIMONY, MAKING ARCHIVES

### NOTES TO PAGES 2–5

1. K. Gavroglou, "Sweet Memories from Tzimbali." *To Vima*, August 29, 1999.
2. I am indebted for the use of the term *personal archive* to a panel organized by colleagues Laura Kunreuther and Carole McGranahan at the American Anthropological Association Meetings in San Francisco in November 2000, entitled "Personal Archives: Collections, Selves, Histories." On the historian's "personal archives," see LaCapra (1985b).
3. On the history and theory of collecting and collections, see, for instance, Benjamin (1955), Stewart (1993), Crane (2000), Chow (2001).
4. The interdisciplinary literature on memory is voluminous, including studies on the "art of memory" from antiquity to modernity (Yates 1966; Matsuda 1996); monuments, public commemoration, and "lieux de mémoire" (Nora 1989; Young 1993; Gillis 1994; Sider and Smith 1997); photography, film, and other kinds of "screen memories" (Kuhn 1995; Hirsch 1997; Sturken 1997; Davis 2000; Strassler 2003); public history and national heritage (Wright 1985; Hewison 1987; Samuel 1994); and trauma, testimony, and the "sciences of memory," such as psychoanalysis (Langer 1991; Felman and Laub 1992; Caruth 1995, 1996; Hacking 1995; Antze and Lambek 1996); as well as many theoretical analyses, review articles, and comparative cultural studies (Connerton 1989; Hutton 1993; Olick and Robbins 1998; Bal, Crewe, and Spitzer 1999; Ben-Amos and Weissberg 1999; Stoler and Strassler 2000).
5. For commentaries on the "memory boom" as a "postmodern" phenomenon, see Fischer (1986), Huyssen (1995). James Faubion has argued that anthropological interest in history and memory might be ascribed to astute "participant observation" of a world in which the past has become the "privileged ground of individual and collective identity, entitlements, of *la condition humaine*," but charges nonetheless that "anthropologists have been more likely to reflect this transformation than reflect upon it" (1993b: 44).
6. The term *cultural memory* derives from Maurice Halbwachs's (1992) concept of "collective memory" and his well-known assertion that although it is individuals who remember, they do so only as members of the various social groups to which they belong (family, nation, etc.); for Halbwachs, individual memory was far too elliptical and fragmented to amount to much without being integrated into collective memory narratives. Replacing Halbwachs's "collective memory" (with its the strong Durkheimian connotations) by "*cultural memory*" underlines the unavoidably confrontational, rather than consensual, means by which particular narratives of the past come to be seen as more persuasive and credible than others. Since as Marita Sturken notes in her work on the politics of memory and amnesia in the

contemporary United States, this struggle is really a struggle over which social groups have a hand in defining collective meanings, cultural memory can be seen as a process that “both defines a culture and is the means by which its divisions and conflicting agendas are revealed” (1997: 1). The composing and recomposing of public memory narratives (in popular culture, public ritual, monument making as well as in diverse media technologies, such as television and film), thus, can be said to play a crucial role in the formation of national culture and political identity more generally.

7. For critical work on historiography by scholars associated with the Subaltern Studies Collective, see Guha and Spivak (1988), Guha (1997a, b), Chakrabarty (1992, 2000), Prakash (1992), Chatterjee (1993), Amin (1995). For a historical anthropology, defined neither in terms of “borrowing” methods across the two disciplines nor as a form of “social history,” but as a politicization of categories of cultural difference and social knowledge and hence their historicization, see Cohn (1980, 1987), Comaroff and Comaroff (1992), Dirks (1992, 1996, 2001), Trouillot (1995), Cooper and Stoler (1997), Stoler (2002a). For a recent set of essays on historical anthropology in this framework, see Axel (2002).
8. The limitations of White’s literary readings of historiography may be more evident to scholars coming to his work from disciplines other than history. As Dominick LaCapra notes, even though White’s mode of reading historical texts draws heavily on New Criticism, a theoretical approach that is now viewed as conventional, if not obsolete, by literary critics, in historical circles it can still seem radical and controversial (2000: 38).
9. Refusing familiar genres of historical writing, Trouillot does not plot a “chronology of silences,” but telescopes between different stages and levels of historical production. He thus considers both the Haitian historical establishment’s silencing of the role of African-born slaves in the Haitian revolution and the silencing of the Haitian revolution *as a whole* within a Western historiography he shows to be ideologically and politically unable to acknowledge the revolutionary agency and, ultimately, the humanity of the enslaved.
10. Despite the fact that this new critical work on archives is, in archivist Terry Cook’s (2000) words, “sadly usually not written by archivists,” he notes that practicing archivists are also beginning to treat the archive not as “product,” but to consider archiving as “process.” Instead of “static physical objects” to be described in terms of their “singularity” and original context, then, archival records are coming to be understood as “dynamic virtual concepts” to be analyzed in relation to their function and potential for multiple authorship during the course of use.
11. On anthropology, colonialism, and travel, see Pratt (1986), Geertz (1988), Trouillot (1991), Clifford (1997). On gender and racial hierarchies in the anthropological profession, see Behar and Gordon (1995); on the gendering of historical practice, see Smith (1998). For comparisons between ethnographic fieldwork and archival research, see Cohn (1987), Farge (1989: 65), Dirks (2002: 48). If anthropologists have been chided for their excessive self-reflexivity, the reverse could be said for historians, whose accounts of archival research often unabashedly celebrate the “bravery” involved in historical “time travel,” while demonstrating remarkably little self-consciousness about the ethics and politics of such “explorations” (e.g., Farge 1989; Steedman 2001).
12. In *Tristes Tropiques*, Lévi-Strauss describes his anxiety about traveling across national borders with a chest full of ethnographic materials, what he calls his “sole wealth,” which includes “linguistic and technological card-indexes, a travel diary, anthropological notes, maps, diagrams and photographic negatives—in short, thousands of items” (1992: 33). Although the postmodern ethnographer’s archive might not resemble Lévi-Strauss’s chest or Malinowski’s *corpus inscriptionum*, the production of “ethnographic documents” (through taking notes, audiotaping, videotaping, photographing, etc.) remains a standard component of anthropological research. See Sanjek (1990) on anthropologists’ ambiguous feelings about their fieldnotes.

13. In the evolutionary paradigm of late-nineteenth-century anthropology, writing was treated as the developmental watershed separating “primitive” and “civilized” societies. Explicitly antievolutionist and cultural relativist approaches in anthropology would continue to treat the absence of writing as the salient feature “earmarking” societies for anthropological study, but in that classic move of anthropological liberalism, the creativity of oral products of the folk imagination (songs, folk tales, oratory) would be celebrated, valorized, and sometimes even placed above those of written culture. As a result, a bias against native exegesis and suspicion of the expertise of local elites would be entrenched in the discipline from the outset.
14. Of the hermeneutics of culture, Geertz has written characteristically: “Doing ethnography is like trying to read (in the sense of ‘construct a reading of’) a manuscript—foreign, faded, full of ellipses, incoherencies, suspicious emendations, and tendentious commentaries, but written not in conventionalized graphs of sound but in transient examples of shaped behavior” (1973: 10).
15. In a recent textbook, Alessandro Duranti has defined linguistic anthropology as the “study of language as a cultural resource and speaking as a cultural practice” and identified “speakers” as its subjects (1997: 2–3). Keith Basso’s (1974) call for an “ethnography of writing” that would treat writing as a fundamental mode of “communicative activity,” situated “squarely in the context of ethnography of communication” (426), has not been taken up with especial fervor. One trajectory of linguistic anthropological research on written culture has emerged, though, out of the critique of the “autonomous model of literacy,” which views properties inherent to alphabetic literacy as catalyzing fundamental changes in the structure of societies; the ethnographic approach, by contrast, contextualizes literacy in relation to local social practices and ideological systems (cf. Besnier 1995). Other avenues of research into written culture have been opened up by Bakhtinian readings of the political struggles of “voices” in texts (cf. Hanks 1986; Messick 1995; Lyons 2001). On the ethnography of reading, see contributions to Boyarin (1993).
16. Derrida’s theorizing of the archive in his 1996 *Archive Fever* has not been central to recent anthropological approaches to the archive. Derrida’s writings on the archive draw on and extend his long-standing concern with issues of citation, authorization, authenticity, origins, and the techniques and technologies of mediation and do not represent as some believe the opportune adoption of an academic buzzword or a direct intervention into historians’ debates about archival research. Although Derrida, like Foucault, does not speak of literal, “historical” archives (*Archive Fever* is a meditation on psychoanalysis, memory, and religion), his semiotics, along with Bakhtin’s and Peirce’s, can in my view invigorate anthropological and historical investigations into the acts of quotation, transcription, translation, and textual reproduction at the core of the archive’s discursivity.
17. For a recent volume of interdisciplinary writings on archives and archiving, including articles written by historians, anthropologists, and archivists, most of them focused on “archives of power,” see Blouin and Rosenberg (forthcoming).
18. Michael Herzfeld argued in *Anthropology through the Looking-Glass* (1987a) that the “charming but theoretically secondary field” of anthropology of Greece might by dint of its peculiar relationship to European colonial projects and ideologies and its location on the “margins of Europe” open up new kinds of questions for the field as a whole.
19. The Internet does not so much dematerialize, dislocate, and denationalize archives, relegating them to a neutral and immaterial “nowhere,” as redefine in radical ways the relationship of archives to materiality, territoriality, and sovereignty. The emergence of the digital archive has led to the development of new transnational archival collections and memory places, new virtual documents whose legitimacy is not staked on their physicality, new modes of surveillance and control over access to information (as well as radical resistance to them), new “surfing” social scientists (whose presence in the archive or field

is not a prerequisite for the production of authoritative research), and, of course, a proliferation of new categories of documents (e.g., e-mail records). These transformations, in turn, are refiguring relations between the real and the virtual, public and private, and national and transnational involved in the construction, use, and management of archives. While our current ability (and need) to think critically about the “paper archive” could be said to have been occasioned by this current “crisis” and reformulation of the archive concept, at the same time, critical studies of “traditional” archives can contribute importantly to theorizing the continuities and discontinuities in archiving practices entailed by the digitization of documents.

20. On the “domestic archive,” see Kunreuther (2002).
21. The opening of the Stasi archives after the collapse of the East German communist state did not so much expose shocking, previously unknown, state secrets, as provide an unparalleled opportunity to examine a particular system of state surveillance and its role in constituting the East German state itself as subject and agent. Thus, in his 1997 personal memoir, *The File*, Timothy Garton Ash reconstructs the production of his Stasi file in order to reflect on the everyday culture of spying and betrayal under communist rule. In the Greek context, see the comments of historian Filippos Iliou on the archives of the infamous Makronisos internment camp; he describes the disappointment of not finding in the archives direct evidence of the torture of leftist inmates and instead a more elusive record of the workings of the camp’s bureaucracy (2000: 166–7).
22. During the evacuation of Washington in 1814, the Constitution and Declaration of Independence were stuffed in a linen sack and stashed in a grist mill outside the city. Upon return to Washington, they were kept for a time at an orphan asylum (!) before being deposited at the Library of Congress and later “settled” in the National Archives in 1952 (O’Toole 1993: 250).
23. In contrast to annals or chronicles, which present the world as a “mere sequence without beginning or end or as sequences of beginnings that only terminate and never conclude,” modern historiography, according to White, creates meaning through *closure* (1987: 24). As he notes: “The demand for closure in the historical story is a demand, I suggest, for moral meaning, a demand that sequences of real events be assessed as to their significance as elements of a moral drama” (21).
24. As Samuel Weber explains: “To retrace the mediatic articulation at work within the boundaries of the individual *work* is to call attention to the way in which what had hitherto been considered to be accessory and intermediary—the program, its transmission, reception, storage, recycling, retransmission, etc.—infiltrates the inner integrity of the work, revealing it to be inscribed in, and as, a *network*” (1996: 3).
25. Saussure’s concept of linguistic “value” is modeled on that of economic value in a free-market global economy (cf. Bourdieu 1991): in Saussure’s view, word-coins drawn from national “storehouses” of language can be easily exchanged for foreign linguistic currency. By contrast, as Marx once noted, objecting to the frequent use of money as metaphor for language, but implicitly assuming the “mother tongue” to be singular, unmixed, and authentic: “Language does not transform ideas, so that the peculiarity of ideas is dissolved and their social character runs alongside them as a separate entity, like prices alongside commodities. Ideas do not exist separately from language. Ideas which have first to be translated out of their mother tongue into a foreign language in order to circulate, in order to become exchangeable, offer a somewhat better analogy; but the analogy then lies not in language, but in the foreignness of language” (1973: 162–3).
26. In his study of the history of the footnote, Anthony Grafton has argued that Ranke overstated his role as originator of source criticism. He concedes, though, that the German historian was a master in bringing “the flavor and texture of documents into his own

- text”; by turning his “book into a sort of archive,” he allowed his “reader to share something of the impact of his own direct encounter with the sources” (1997: 57).
27. The relative authority accorded to written and oral sources is, of course, historically and culturally contingent. Derrida’s (1976) concept of logocentrism refers to the privileging of the spoken word and its association with truth, presence, and authenticity in opposition to the written word as sign of the false, absent, and artificial. In his study of Yemen as a “calligraphic state,” Messick (1993a) has described the development (*within* a context of literacy) of a recitational culture favoring the recited word over the written text. For interdisciplinary research on the history and culture of evidence, proof, and “fact,” see Chandler, Davidson, and Hartounian (1994), Poovey (1998).
  28. For attempts to apply Peirce’s thought to cultural analysis and, in particular, to establish a “semeiotic anthropology,” see Daniel (1984), Singer (1984), Deeley (1994). References to Peirce follow standard citation form (volume, paragraph number) from *Collected Papers* (1931–58).
  29. In addition to their primary collections of documents and artifacts, archives often contain another tier of writings relating to the history of their manufacture and management, ranging from correspondence to programmatic statements about archival policy to those most neglected of writings—finding aides, catalogues, inventories, and publications about archival holdings. As prisms onto the imagining of the archive’s future order and dreamed-of completeness, even amid a chaotic surfeit of materials or gaping lacunae, these texts expose the historically shifting criteria for categorizing holdings and publicizing the archive’s collections. For the idea of finding aides as “the archivist’s own manuscript,” I draw on Nancy Bartlett, “Archivists as Mediators in the Production of Historical Knowledge,” a presentation given on September 13, 2000 at the Sawyer Seminar, “Archives, Documentation and the Institutions of Social Memory,” University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
  30. The permanent building of the General State Archives long seemed to be under permanent *construction*. See M. Loverdou, “Archives without Beginning or End,” *To Vima*, May 5, 1996. The supermodern structure, which was built on land donated by a private benefactor in 1972, finally opened in November 2003. Historical researchers also have many complaints about other Greek public archives and libraries. The underfunded Greek National Library is housed in a historic building much too small for its collections, while Greece ranks last among European Union countries (of the fifteen-member federation) in networks of public, municipal, and school libraries. See N. Bakounakis, “The Shallow Memory of Society,” *To Vima*, May 11, 2003. The city of Athens also lacks a working municipal archive; documents relating to the modern history of the city (which have escaped destruction) “wallow” in the basement of the municipal building. See N. Yiakovaki, “Athens: A Capital . . . without a Municipal Archive,” *To Vima*, April 7, 1996.
  31. During the parliament session of October 6, 1914 at which the law mandating the establishment of the General State Archives was passed, a government minister lamented the Greek state’s belated recognition of the importance of archives as well as its reckless treatment of documents as salable (or waste) paper: “It is well known that the Greek State, from the time of Capodistrias [the first Prime Minister of Greece] and thereafter, took no care at all for historical documents and the organization of archives. Many of great value were sold by the *oka* [unit of weight] by clerks and civil servants, while others are to be found in damp basements and have turned into pulp and yet other documents of great historic value have been found in groceries by various independent researchers. In all states there exist public institutions of this kind [i.e., archives]. I consider the discussion and voting of this bill imperative so that we can contribute, even if slowly, to the prevention of further destruction of all these historical documents.”

32. See Articles of Association of the Athens-based Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece (Athens 1882) and the first volume of the *Bulletin of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece*, published in 1883.
33. For a century, the society's collections were on the move. In 1884, a first exhibition was held at the Polytechnic where the society's collections would remain "temporarily" for some decades despite repeated attempts to relocate them to various other sites, including the trophy room of the Royal Palace (today's Parliament Building). During World War II, the collections were packed up in wooden crates for safety and in the 1950s were briefly on display in rented rooms of the "Workshop of Destitute Women"(!). In 1960, the society's collections were installed in the former Parliament Building at the core of the new Historical Museum of Modern Greece (Lappas 1982).
34. See I.M. Varvitsiotis, "The Odyssey of the State Archives," *To Vima*, January 19, 2003. Varvitsiotis's distress at the *materialization* of documents as wrapping paper and garbage also echoes Vlahoyiannis: "In all the countries of the world the national archives gather, document and preserve all records that are necessary for the knowledge and documentation of the historical development of the nation. In Greece, however, the National Archives are stacked up in warehouses and basements, resulting in their often suffering destruction from rainstorms and fires and being in great danger of theft, which in fact recently occurred. I remind you that a few years ago it was discovered that in a grocery in the central market documents from the War of Independence were being used to wrap sardines!!!"
35. The founding of the Historical and Ethnological Society has been ascribed to just this kind of shame. One morning in 1882, the folklorist Nikolaos Politis complained to historian Dimitris Kambouroglou that German scholars with whom he had recently met were startled to hear that there was no historical society or museum in "our so historical country." Hence, the society's formation became an urgent priority (Lappas 1982).
36. Of course, they pose radically different arguments: leftists protest the technological enhancement and extension of surveillance, while the Orthodox demonize technology *tout court*.
37. Aside from national *katharsi* (cleansing, purging), the justification put forth for destroying the files was that they were "partial" (*meroliptikoi*) and "untrustworthy" (*anaxiopistoi*). Besides overriding historians' understandings of how even "faulty" sources can be used to write history, this incineration has significantly compromised the degree to which the history of the state's persecution of the Left can be reconstructed. Incensed historians would come together in attempting to stop the destruction of the files, which was undertaken with lightening speed during the middle of August summer vacation time. The fact that communists were participating in the short-lived coalition government then in power appears to have paralyzed critical discourse, while also nominally legitimating the destruction of the files. (Among the signatories of law N. 8504 for the "destruction of the personal files of the *ethnikon frontimaton* [national loyalties] of Greek citizens" was Nikos Konstandopoulos, currently president of the left coalition party *Synaspismos*.) Some historians interpreted this event as a stunning symbolic negation of the project of creating archives for modern Greek historical studies; as one historian wrote: "It is inconceivable . . . to be hunting after archives for thirty years, conducting missions, researching in damp basements, even finding ourselves amid dead rats and suddenly for contemporary archives to be destroyed" (Droulia 1991: 34). For the depositions of other outraged historians, see the rest of the contributions to the 1991 *Contemporary Archives, Files and Historical Research*, an appendix to volume 6 of the journal *Mnimon*.
38. In a review of trends in modern Greek historiography post-1974, Antonis Liakos notes that the "problem" of what Greece is *not* when compared to western European nations has formed the common theme of otherwise quite different schools of historical research

- (i.e., history of the Greek Enlightenment, political history, economic history). These frameworks, he suggests, collude in viewing modern Greek history through the prism of a perpetual dilemma of stagnation vs. modernization, tradition vs. rationalization, and Western vs. anti-Western orientation (2001: 82). Gourgouris, for his part, explicitly ascribes the Greek academic discourse on “underdevelopment,” and especially that on “clientelism,” to the broader postcolonial predicament in which “Greece” has been inscribed: in viewing patronage as a precapitalist form and survival of Ottoman times, rather than as the product of modern capitalist relations, these theories, he argues, implicitly accept the rationale of the same colonialist ideologies of development on which a supposed European “superiority” is based (1996: 64–71).
39. Rather than a boon for the Greek nation, Philhellenism, according to Gourgouris, should be considered a “punishment,” precisely because it consistently fails to be recognized as an “Orientalism of the most profound sense” that “engages in the like activity of *representing* the other culture, which in effect means *replacing* the other culture with those self-generated, projected images of otherness that Western culture needs to see itself in: mirrors of itself” (1996: 140). As Gourgouris also importantly notes, the enthusiastic Greek embrace of Enlightenment discourse resembles the Haitian case, in which, as famously described by C.L.R. James in *The Black Jacobins* (1963), the “wrong” subjects (i.e., slaves) took the universalist language of human rights literally (as really applicable to *all* humans). In Greece, the emancipatory project of the French Revolution seemed even more relevant given the metaphorical status of the “Hellenes” as Western subjects; after all, as Shelley once famously remarked, “We are all Greeks” (74).
  40. Todorova (1997) has disputed the use of the term Orientalism to refer to all forms of Western domination. Instead, she proposes the term Balkanism to describe a power dynamic in the region that did not involve *direct* colonization by European powers. The commonplace representation of the Balkans as a “bridge” between East and West as well as the region’s internal racial and religious heterogeneity make Balkanism, in Todorova’s terms, an “imputed ambiguity” rather than, as in the case of Orientalism, an “imputed opposition.” Moćnik argues that Balkanism should be seen as an even more “radical mechanism” than Orientalism: “Contrary to *Orientalism*, where the logic of domination is imposed by colonial rule, in Balkanism, it is the immanent logic of self-constitution itself that generates the incapacity to conceive of oneself in other terms than from the point of view of the dominating other” (2002: 95).
  41. On the dilemmas of producing anthropological discourse *in* Greece (as well as in *Greece*), see Bakalaki (1997).
  42. The postwar period was marked by a proliferation of social science research on Greece, much funded by American aid organizations and centered on the prospects for Greek “modernization” (Kovani 1986). In the 1960s and 1970s, during the first phase of anthropological research on Greece, the dominance of the “honor and shame” paradigm, with its focus on “farmers” and “shepherds” (who could possess honor even if they did not possess wealth) should be seen as an implicit (and sometimes explicit) disavowal of the politicized project of Marxist “peasant studies.” Julian Pitt-Rivers, an anthropologist of Andalusia and one of the main figures in Mediterranean anthropology, remarked in 1995 that the first conference on Mediterranean anthropology, held in 1959, had deliberately been called “Rural Peoples of the Mediterranean” in order to avoid the “contention-ridden word ‘peasant’ ” (26).
  43. Arjun Appadurai (1986) has used the term “gatekeeping” to describe the distorting effect of viewing specific geographical areas through the lens of particular theoretical paradigms, and vice versa. One could argue that the shift in Greek ethnography toward themes of history and memory corresponds to a recategorization of “Greece” from the symbolic

topography of the “Mediterranean” (cf. Davis 1977; Herzfeld 1980, 1987b) associated with the *longue durée* to the “Balkans” where the politics of histories and their relationship to nationalisms have been as much a focus of contemporary geopolitics as of academic discourse, and, further, to “Europe” (or the “new Europe”) where “local histories” are opposed to various “metahistories” (European integration, unification, and “end-of-history” narratives).

44. Exceptions to the ingrained ethnographic refusal of the written text can be found in James Faubion’s (1993a) analysis of the novels of Margharita Karapanou and Michael Herzfeld’s book-length study of a Cretan novelist-chronicler (1997). In both cases, though, literary writers are involved and the anthropological reading comes to supplement the textual analysis by elaborating a “social context,” gleaned through interviews with the (speaking) author.
45. Following from critiques of anthropology’s depiction of “people without history” suspended in a “timeless time” of “cyclical” memory (Wolf 1982; Fabian 1983), the “historicity” argument views all peoples as possessing some kind of historical sensibility, but asserts that conceptions of temporality, agency, and the event vary widely across cultures, with significant consequences for the social uses of historical knowledge (Rosaldo 1980; Sahlins 1981; Lederman 1985; Rappaport 1994). In some anthropological work on Greece, aspects of Greek historical consciousness, thus, have been ascribed to forms of cultural practice and belief (religion, kinship) typically defined as antithetical to modern, secular, “Western” history. Renée Hirschon (1989), for instance, has suggested that the resilience of Greek refugees’ historical memory of their Anatolian homelands be attributed to the predominance of “oral culture” among the refugees as well as to the emphasis placed on memory and memorialization in the Greek Orthodox liturgy. According to David Sutton (1998), the intense hostility with which many Greeks reacted to the naming of one of the Yugoslav successor states “Macedonia” stems from indigenous kinship ideologies and specifically the significance given to passing down names and property within the family. In this case, “historicity” is marshaled to explain (to a “Western” audience) seemingly “irrational” historical and political claims by placing them outside the frame of purportedly normative historical discourse.
46. In her work on the “memory of the senses,” Nadia Seremetakis (1994) has posited the existence of a Greek sensual register and aesthetic sensibility that differs fundamentally from a “Western,” and especially an “American,” one. In arguing for the recuperation of the realm of the “traditional” and the “rural” from their association with folklore, she attempts to delineate an autonomous archive of Greek cultural experience and historical memory. Also taking up the “tradition”/“modernity” opposition, but from the vantage point of modernity, James Faubion (1993a) has argued that the development of a cosmopolitan discourse on history among the Athenian elite testifies to the existence of “another modernity” in Greece despite the absence of Weberian technical rationalism.
47. In a 1991 ethnography of the Old Town of Cretan Rethimno, Michael Herzfeld describes residents’ resistance to the designation of their neighborhood as a monument of the Venetian past by learned and powerful outsiders. As he demonstrates, the concomitant imposition of strict building codes rendered residents’ lives literally, but also existentially, unlivable as intimate local meanings of buildings and public spaces were overwritten. Roxani Kaftantzoglou and F. Kamoutsi (2001) have studied the case of Anafiotika, a neighborhood originally settled in the nineteenth century by immigrant-squatters from the Cycladic island of Anafi, who constructed their island-style homes just below the Parthenon, the “West’s” *Ur*-monument. She examines ongoing conflicts between local residents and the state archeological service over the meanings and proper custodianship of this place.



48. For anthropology as a “contribution to the social history of modern Greece,” see Papataxiarchis and Paradellis (1993). For studies using oral history methodologies to address controversial subjects of modern Greek history such as the wartime Resistance, foreign occupation, the Civil War, and ethnic minorities, see Collard (1993), Hart (1996), Karakasidou (1997), Van Boeschoten (1997), Doumanis (1997). For the history and anthropology of memory, see Benveniste and Paradellis (1999).
49. Greek historians have begun to turn critical attention to the rhetorics of historical writing, but have focused on classic works of prominent Greek historians (Liakos 1994; Gazi 2000) or institutional discourses such as history textbooks (Koulouri 1988). The Greek historical journal *Historein* sponsored an important conference in Athens in 2001 entitled “Claiming History: Aspects of Contemporary Historical Culture,” with historical culture being defined as the past’s “second life beyond the bounds of the historical discipline.” For interdisciplinary approaches to historical “narrativity,” see Benveniste and Paradellis (1994).
50. A highly politicized “language question” (*glossiko zitima*) was a pronounced aspect of Greek national culture beginning in the late nineteenth century. In what has been considered a classic case of “diglossia” (Ferguson 1959), the purist register of *katharevousa*, as official language of state, bureaucracy, and schooling, was opposed to the vernacular *demotiki*, which was used in informal communication, but also in much literature. *Katharevousa*, which was created by intellectuals to serve the ideological needs of the new Greek state (i.e., to demonstrate historical continuity), purged “foreign” elements (i.e., Turkish, Italian, Slavic, Arvanitika (Albanian) words) from the modern Greek language as well as “returned” ancient Greek words and morphology. Although often depicted as the “authentic,” “oral” language of the “people” in relation to the artificial, and patently exclusionary, purist register, *demotiki* also was a codified, *written* standard, espoused, promoted, and above all used by the progressive elite (cf. Skopetea 1988a: 111; Frangoudaki 2001: 57–8). Rather than fixed and autonomous linguistic essences, these registers are best understood in terms of a symbolic opposition with constantly shifting linguistic “content” and associated with historically contingent political ideologies. The 1976 institution of *demotiki* as language of state following the demise of the *junta*, whose language policies and own use of the purist register were widely reviled, promised the end of the “language question.” Instead, a “language problem” emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s, as conservatives spoke out about the “loss” of the Greek language in the wake of the liberal language reforms: namely, the language’s “bastardization” from the influx of English loan words, disconnection from its ancient Greek “roots,” and politicization (Christidis 1995). More recently, “Greeklish” (Greek written with Latin characters for use on the Internet) has come under attack by the linguistic establishment as a new form of (self-)colonization. This politicized relationship between “archaizing” and “vernacular” registers in Greek linguistic ideology has tended to obscure a complexly *polyglossic* situation in the Greek past and present, including in addition to non-Greek languages historically spoken by citizens of the Greek state (Turkish, Slavic, Arvanitika, etc.), regional dialects, new varieties of Greek (such as the “Gringlish” (Greek-English) of Greek-Americans), and hybrid orthographies that have developed as a response to the “new” media technologies of different eras (e.g., Karamanli, Turkish books printed in Greek characters; Internet “Greeklish”).
51. In 1997 talk about the archives and private papers of Greek politicians reached a particularly feverish pitch with the publication of the “archive” of former Prime Minister Konstandinos Karamanlis (which actually comprises a much-edited volume of his writings and hardly an archive of “primary” documents, see A. Bayias, “Rigid Texts.” *To Vima*, June 1, 1997); the personal memoirs of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou’s second wife, Dimitra

- Liani-Papandreou, with its “Appendix of Documents,” including some highly personal letters and notes; and the “lost archive” of famous communist guerrilla leader Aris Velouchiotis, one of the founders of ELAS, the armed wing of the EAM wartime resistance force.
52. Much research on contemporary Greek history has been conducted at the Greek Literary and Historical Archives (ELIA), the Gennadeios Library, and the Archive of the National Bank of Greece. Until the opening of the new permanent building of the General State Archives in 2003, the 1923 building in which the National Bank archives are housed was the only structure built in Greece specifically to house an archive.
  53. In the Greek context, an analogous example might be the archive of the Alexandrian poet Constantine Cavafy, originally purchased by the philologist and literary editor Yiorgos Savidis in 1960 and later incorporated into the privately run Center of Neohellenic Studies in Athens (*Spoudastirio Neou Ellinismou*). Along with Cavafy’s personal archive, the center also holds Savidis’s library and that of historian and philologist Konstandinos Dimaras. In this way, the careers of these master interpreters and scholars of modern Greek literature and history are symbolically linked and intertwined with the work and life of the legendary poet. Since researchers are typically told that all the center’s materials “soon” will be available on the Internet, access to “original,” nondigitized materials “for the time being” is granted on a limited basis.
  54. The 1991 law (N. 1946) for the organization and management of the General State Archives, which replaces the law of 1939 (N. 2027), significantly broadens the definition of “historical” to include activities not directly related to the state (e.g., banking and commercial activity, political parties and unions, culture and the arts, etc.) and nonwritten sources (e.g., audiovisual materials). Given the newness of the state’s interest in cultural and economic history, the important “gap” filled by private archives such as the Greek Literary and Historical Archives (ELIA) and the Archive of the National Bank of Greece can be better appreciated. For the “belated” interest in Greek audiovisual archives, see K. Halvatzakis, “‘Electronic Guide’ for the Salvation of Archives: Pan-European Effort for the Documentation of Audiovisual Memory.” *To Vima*, April 29, 2000. See also the 1998 volume, *Martyries se Ihtikes kai Kinoumenes Apotyposeis os Pigi Istorias* (Testimonies in Auditory and Cinematic Records as Historical Source) (University of Athens, Department of History and Archaeology. Athens: Katarchi).
  55. In the introduction to a finding aide for the EDA archive, historian Ioanna Papathanasiou describes the process of reconstructing an archive whose “original” sense had been shattered as a result of plundering and selective reordering by security forces as well as from haphazard storage following the regime change. In doing this work, she notes that a “historian did not just wear the uniform of an archivist; she began to study and discover the mysteries of archival science (*archeionomia*)” (2001: 15). The description of the EDA archive as “under persecution” (*ipo diogmo*) and “wounded” (*travmatismeno*) comes from a short preface to Papathanasiou’s text written by Filippos Iliou and Ilias Nikolakopoulos.
  56. In a brief article entitled “Closed Archives,” Iliou (2003) cites A. Papapanagiotou, formerly in charge of the Greek Communist Party’s Department of History, who describes parts of the Party archive relating to the wartime resistance movement as closed up with “forty locks” (*saranda kleidaries*) that opened only for “‘researchers’ (interrogators)” looking to indict (*fakeloma*) other Party members and cadres.
  57. During the Civil War and then following the communist defeat in 1949, the archives of the Greek Communist Party relating to the Resistance and the Civil War were gradually sent to Bucharest from where they were later transferred to the small Romanian town of Sibiu, the base of the translation department of the Communist Party-in-Exile. (KKE archives dealing with the period from 1918 to 1939 had been sent earlier, by boat, “up” to Moscow.) Following the 1968 party split, the parts of the archive that came into the hands of the Communist Party of the Interior were moved to Skopje for cataloguing and

microfilming; these materials, which make up the central collection of ASKI, were “repatriated” after the end of the military dictatorship (1967–74). On the history of the Greek Communist Party archives “in exile” and “refugeedom” (*prosfygia*), see Matthaïou and Polemi (1999), Iliou (2003).

58. In describing the “eclipse of the event” in French historiography, Ricoeur points to Braudel’s critique of the notion that individuals are the ultimate agents of historical transformation and that “pointlike” changes of extreme suddenness and brevity are those that fundamentally transform people’s lives (1984: 96–7).

## 2 COLLECTORS OF SOURCES: LOCAL HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THE POSSESSION OF THE PAST

1. Antonis Liakos (2001: 78–9) has described “new history” as the Greek turn toward social history and the social sciences. In relation to the historical discipline as a whole, new history’s belated emergence and the style of its research, he argues, should be attributed to local political circumstances (especially the 1967–74 dictatorship) and the influence of specific scholars (such as Konstandinos Dimaras and Nikos Svoronos). As a result, even though many consider new history simply the Greek *Annales*, Liakos insists on key differences, such as the fact that while *Annales* initiated a break with Marxism, new history incorporated it. New history, he points out, has not proved particularly open to developments in 1980s and 1990s historiography (such as new historicism, the linguistic turn, and poststructuralism). Conflated under the capacious label of the “postmodern,” research influenced by these theoretical approaches is often dismissed by those allied with new history as a betrayal of historical “truth” and leftist politics (see n. 2).
2. For instance, a heated interchange about “postmodern” historiography took place in various newspapers and periodicals (e.g., *To Vima*, *Avgi*, *O Politis*), following the conference “Historiography of Modern and Contemporary Greece (1832–2002),” organized by the Institute for Neohellenic Research–National Hellenic Research Foundation and held in Athens in fall 2002. The debate was sparked by Kremmydas’s closing remarks, reprinted in *Avgi*, the newspaper of the left coalition party Synaspismos, in which he accused “young historians” of the “American” school of having confused historiography with history and, as a result, of having abandoned the archives: “I am reminded,” he writes, “of something that a young historian told me a few years ago half-joking: ‘Archives? What archives? Who looks at archives anymore?’—maybe he wasn’t joking.” See V. Kremmydas, “Six Days of Historiography: That’s How We Ended . . .,” *Avgi*, November 17, 2002. For articles related to the debate, see [http://www.historein.gr/index\\_gr.htm](http://www.historein.gr/index_gr.htm)
3. For the social history and ethnography of local and amateur historical production in different historical and cultural contexts, see Levine (1986), Thiesse (1991), Mallon (1995), Manoukian (2001).
4. Academics, including historians, often write editorials in the Sunday editions of national newspapers, while amateurs frequently contribute articles to the popular history supplements of national newspapers (such as *7 Meres* in the newspaper *Kathimerini* and *Istorika* in *Eleftherotypia*). Occasionally, local histories are briefly reviewed in the book review sections of the national newspapers.
5. For the introduction of “scientific” national historiography in Greece in the second half of the nineteenth century, see Gazi (2000).
6. In folklore studies, the prominence of archaeological metaphors in phrases such as “monuments of the word” (*mnimeia tou logou*) or “living monuments” (*zonta mnimeia*), which

- refer to folk songs, proverbs, fairy tales, and other linguistic customs, reflects the status of archaeology as paradigmatic discipline, demonstrating the “survival” of the past in the present and, by extension, the cultural continuity of the Greek people (Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1978: 66–7; Herzfeld 1986: 10–11).
7. The typical press run for academic historiography also happens to be 1,000 copies, except in the case of books earmarked for university classrooms (Liakos 2001).
  8. Of course, the relationship between “local” and “national” historiography has also been in flux. Although local history now appears to be a quintessential form of national (if not national*ist*) history, Stathis Gourgouris points out that the publication of Konstandinos Paparrigopoulos’s *History of the Greek Nation* (1860–74), the classic exposition of the master-narrative of Greek historical continuity, initially shocked local historians, who believed national history should be gradually composed from an aggregate of local histories. In practice, however, as Gourgouris notes, Paparrigopoulos’s history ended up leading to a rise in the publication of local histories (1996: 253).
  9. The 1990s introduction of desktop publishing technology has greatly affected the production of local historiography in Volos. *Ekdoseis Ores*, the vanity press at which most local writers were publishing their work during the time of my research, was established in 1991. Owner Yiorgos Tsitsinis did not hesitate to point out to me the commercial dimensions involved: he told me that he charged one-and-a-half-million drachma (approximately \$5,000) to print 1,000 copies of a 300-page book. Also the editor of a local newspaper, Tsitsinis told me that he and his staff were journalists by trade who had gotten into this line of work accidentally, only to find themselves amazed by local demand. When I met with him in February 1998, the press had published 123 books, including history, fiction, textbooks, and conference reports.
  10. For analyses of thematic and theoretical shifts in contemporary Greek academic historiography, see Kitroeff (1989); Liakos (2001). For the state-of-the-field in the late 1980s, see the 1988 three-volume issue of *Synchrona Themata* 35–36–37 (“Contemporary Currents in the Historiography of Modern Hellenism”). For an annotated bibliography of post-1974 historical production that includes developments in the 1990s, see the 1999 exhibition catalogue, *The Historical Book from the Regime Change until Today: Trajectories in Modern Greek History* (*Historiein!* National Book Center).
  11. Since Thessaly was not liberated during the Greek Revolution of 1821 and, thus, did not play a prominent role in that historical “drama,” local historians had focused anyway on the earlier period of the “Greek Enlightenment” and especially on several key local figures associated with it, such as Grigorios Konstandas, Anthimos Gazis, Daniel Filippides, and Rigas Velestinlis. A tome entitled *Figures of Magnesia* (Volos: Ekdoseis Nomarchias Magnisias, 1973), including biographical portraits of these and other “great men” of the region, was published during the dictatorship. Written exclusively by male historians, this volume is representative of the kind of chauvinistic historical discourse to which subsequent local historical production is counterposed.
  12. See, for instance, the 1985 *The Modern Greek City: Ottoman Legacies and the Greek State*, two volumes of papers from a conference sponsored by the Etaireia Meletis Neou Ellenismou (EMNE). Academic research on the “neohellenic city” has been focused largely on “exceptional” cases, such as that of the port city of Ermoupolis on the island of Syros, a major hub for commerce, shipping, and industry in the mid-nineteenth century; the ethnically and religiously diverse city of Thessaloniki; and Athens, the megalopolis where the Greek state apparatus and the economic, cultural, and intellectual life of the nation have been disproportionately centered.
  13. Despite the fact that the publication of memoirs has increased dramatically nationwide (see, for instance, M. Papayiannidou, “Autobiographies of Non-Famous People,” *To Vima*, August 11, 1996), when I asked local writers in Volos to recommend memoirs or

autobiographies of local people, my query usually was met either with a grin (perhaps because writing autobiography was viewed as an act of vanity) or a confused look (since I had asked about a genre rather than a particular historical subject to which the text might refer). Although I ultimately located a few autobiographies written by local people, these were primarily war memoirs, not full life stories. Many autobiographies probably never end up getting published; municipalities and community groups, which have funded so many recent local historical publications, usually would not be interested in sponsoring the publication of an autobiography unless it concerned a famous person from the area. For more on the political economy of the memoir in Greece, see chapter 5.

14. Genealogies appear to be a relatively rare genre of Greek historical writing. My queries led me to three unpublished genealogies of local families. Two had been written by descendants of elite families, while the other was a deliberate parody of the genre by a left-wing typesetter from a Thessalian village.
15. One of the most rousing calls for Greeks to take up the writing of local history was made by Daniel Filippidis and Grigorios Konstandas, natives of a Pelion mountain village. In their *Modern Geography*, originally published in 1771, they exhort: “May others copy us and each person describe the land where they were born, not mathematically, not with geographical precision, in other words designating its width and breath . . . but narratively, each person writing the history (*istorondas*) of the places and villages of their native land (*topos*), its government, how many souls are in each village, what kind of people they are, with what morals, religion, trees, income, animals . . .” (1988: 172–3). Local writers in Volos often invoked this famous passage in conversations about local history or used it as an epigraph in their books.
16. This view of the city-as-character, of course, is modeled on the depiction of the state in national historiography. As Hayden White has pointed out, it was Hegel who first identified the modern state as the entity that provided not only the rationale for the production of historiography and the preservation of the records needed to write it but also with history’s subject matter and leading “actor”: a “legal subject that can serve as the agent, agency and subject of historical narrative” (1987: 13).
17. This is not to say, of course, that writers of local history have not made efforts in the other direction (i.e., to highlight the originality of their texts). Thus, Marxist historiography, for instance, presents itself as a radical break with and critique of “traditional” historiography.
18. See, for instance, Koliou (1994), Dimoglou (1995), Diomidi-Kormazou (1995).
19. See, for instance, Voyiatzis (1980, 1987), Koliou (1991), Triandou (1994), Mougoyiannis (1990, 1992).
20. See, for instance, Yiasirani-Kyritsi (1996).
21. See, for instance, Frezis (1994), Katsirelos (1994), Konstandaras-Statharas (1994), Kartsagouli (1995).
22. See, for instance, Koliou (1985, 1988, 1997), Haritos (1989).
23. On colonial era “ville nouvelles” in the Muslim world, see, for instance, Mitchell (1988), Rabinow (1989), Wright (1991), Messick (1993a: 246–7). In 1882–3, immediately following the annexation of Thessaly by Greece, Volos city officials approved a town plan that was an impoverished version of the early-nineteenth-century neoclassical town plan for Athens. In the same period, similar town plans were approved in other former “Turkish” cities of Thessaly, including Larisa, Karditsa, and Trikala (Hastaoglou 1995: 103).
24. In 1924, Asia Minor refugees were settled in an area north of the city: this refugee “settlement” (*synoikismos*) became the municipality of Nea Ionia (i.e., the “New” Ionia) in 1947, during the Civil War.
25. By the early 1960s, approximately 4,500 people had lost their jobs. Once-profitable textile and iron industries faced tremendous difficulties competing with foreign imports. A comparison of prewar and 1960 figures shows dramatic drops in employment: in

- textiles (3,149 to 452), tobacco (2,340 to 903), and iron industries (1,789 to 533) (Dimoglou 1995: 136–7). In the 1970s, the city experienced another brief period of industrial development marked by the establishment of a national Industrial Zone in 1969, the remodeling of the port, and the opening of a cargo boat line between Volos and Syria (which was terminated during the Iran–Iraq war).
26. The 1999 desk calendar of the Volos municipal history center (DIKI) marks the date of the earthquake with the following comment: “Disastrous earthquakes. Old Volos is now history.” The same “end point” is used in the history of the city published by DIKI, *Volos, One Century: From Incorporation into the Greek State (1881) until the Earthquakes (1955)*.
  27. Between 1981 and 1993, approximately 4,000 more jobs in manufacturing were lost (Maloutas 1995).
  28. While Paparrigopoulos ended up proposing *five* Hellenisms (ancient, Macedonian, Christian, Medieval, and modern), his schema has been remembered in terms of these three periods (Liakos 1994: 184).
  29. Indian historiography similarly has “explained” the chasm separating ancient and modern India through recourse to the concept of a middle ages. As in the Greek case, the attribution of that “night of medieval darkness” to Muslim rule had the further “advantage” of catering to European prejudices against Islam (Chatterjee 1993: 98). As Liakos has argued, the incorporation of the Ottoman era, that most “recalcitrant” period of Greek history, into the diachronic narrative of Hellenism was enabled by the emergence of the “Greek Enlightenment” as a historical thematic. By focusing on Greek scholars of the diaspora and their contribution to developing Greek national consciousness, the Ottoman period, he explains, was transformed from one characterized by Greek subjugation and passivity to one animated by Greek agency and accomplishment (1994: 195–6).
  30. This antithesis was most pronounced in the rivalry between Volos and nearby Larisa, a prosperous city that derived its wealth primarily from agriculture. Voliotes typically juxtaposed their history of cultural refinement to the “provincial” ways of people from Larisa, who always seemed to be in the news for sex scandals, clergy corruption, or unruly farmer protests.
  31. While many elite families did leave the city after the war, the mantra about the “disappearance” of the bourgeoisie mostly seems to operate as a *deus ex machina* to account for the changing relation of class to occupation.
  32. I heard numerous explanations for this term, the simplest being that the Voliotes have the cold, snooty, and superior manner “typical” of Austrians. One local historian traced the origin of the term to the end of the nineteenth century when Thessalian peasants used to come to sell their goods in the city: seeing flags of foreign consulates, they thought they had left Greece and entered a foreign country (i.e., “Austria”). A cardiologist, himself a descendant of an established Voliote family, provided me with a more elaborate story. He believed that the real significance of the term lay in the relationship of Austrians to other Germanic peoples (i.e., more refined and epicurean, they were the “supervisors” who occupied high positions in the army). He suggested that Voliotes used to play a similar role in Thessaly, overseeing economic activity both on Mt. Pelion and the fertile Thessalian plain. Occasionally, I even heard Voliote urbanity distinguished from that of Athenians. Echoing a common neohellenic barb about western Europeans (i.e., “When they were hanging from the trees and living in caves, we built the Parthenon . . .”), a young civil engineer, who had worked on several of the municipality’s restoration projects, reminded me: “When they were still tending sheep in Athens, here in Volos we had the industrial revolution. We had the consulates of European countries . . .”
  33. A repositioning of Greek cultural particularity within a universalizing framework of “primitive” humanism also can be seen in postwar social science research on Greece. As

Michael Fotiadis (1995) has argued with reference to the first large-scale archaeological survey in Greece (1950s to 1970s), the shift from salvage excavations at isolated sites (“treasure hunting”) to field surveys producing demographic and economic data created a new focus on “man-in-his-environment” in place of one on the “uniqueness” of Greek antiquity. Similarly, the postwar turn from folklore (with its emphasis on locating “survivals” of ancient Greek language and culture) to anthropology (with its “universal language” of kinship) led to the classification of the “Greek folk” within the “family of man.” Testament to this “discovery” of the Greek as “aboriginal” European (Herzfeld 1987a), anthropologist John Campbell in the first ethnography of Greece, his 1964 study of the transhumant Sarakatsanoi, compares the huts of this shepherd group to those of the African Nuer, famously described by Evans-Pritchard, Campbell’s teacher.

34. This interest in Pelion as a *natural*, not just a historical, landscape appears to have developed in the interwar period. At this time, the Hiking Club of Volos was established (1922) and Voliote commercial photographer Kostas Zimeris, a founding member of the club, extensively photographed the “picturesque” landscapes and peasants of Mt. Pelion and other rural areas near Volos.
35. On the allegorical use of the symbols of the 1821 Greek War of Independence in descriptions of the World War II Resistance and left-wing insurgence, see Petropoulos (1978: 175), Collard (1993: 378), Liakos (1994: 195). In representing communist guerrilla fighters (*andartes*) as successors to *kleftes*, the mountain rebels who fought against the Ottomans in 1821, leftist discourses emphasize the *nationalist* dimensions of the resistance movement, thus, countering accusations of disloyalty and treason made by opponents of communism. Tracing a diachronic history of Greek “freedom fighting,” however, has had the effect of obscuring connections between European and Greek wartime radicalism, making resistance seem like a particularly *Greek* legacy.
36. Makris can be considered the Voliote Angeliki Hatzimihali, the Athenian aristocrat whose study of Greek traditional material culture (furniture, handicrafts, architecture, etc.) formed part of an elaborate strategy of self-fashioning that culminated in her construction of a neotraditional home in the center of Athens (Hatzimihali 1949; Faubion 1993a: 95). Like Hatzimihali’s house, Makris’s seems to have been built with a future folklore museum in mind and indeed posthumously was donated to the University of Thessaly as a museum.
37. Maloutas (1995) reports a decline in local employment in manufacturing from 34.6% in 1981 to 20.3% in 1993 and an increase in service sector jobs from 18.9% to 39.2%. The municipality itself became an important local employer during this period and the rise in service sector jobs was attributable, in part, to hiring by the municipality.
38. With funds from the European Community Initiative URBAN, the municipality of Volos took possession of nine industrial buildings or building complexes. Volos was one of seven Greek cities that participated in the 1995–96 program “Inventory and Appraisal of Historical Industrial Equipment,” which documented information about Greek factories in operation between 1850 and 1950.
39. The *trenaki* (“little train”) of Mt. Pelion, which runs along a tiny 60-cm-wide track, was built in 1895 and operated until 1971. A private association “Friends of the Train” was instrumental in its restoration and return to operation as a tourist attraction in 1996. The engineer responsible for the construction of the Thessalian railways was the Italian Evaristo de Chirico, father of the artist Giorgio de Chirico, who was born in Volos.
40. Greek municipal investment in historical production is not entirely new. As far back as 1879, the Athens Town Council funded the publication of a history of an Athenian archbishop written by Spyridon Lambros, a prominent history professor at the University of Athens (Gazi 2000: 96–7).

41. Established in 1971, the Society for Thessalian Studies previously had been at the center of the city's historical activity. The Society, to which many amateur history writers in the 1990s belonged, publishes a journal, *Archive of Thessalian Studies*. In 1991, the Local History Archive of Thessaly, originally founded by the Society, became a local branch of the General State Archives. In addition to holding archival material from state institutions, the archive also collects some of the same kinds of materials of interest to DIKI, such as the archives of local factories. During the time of my research, neither the Society for Thessalian Studies nor the local branch of the state archives was nearly as active as DIKI in generating public interest in the city's history.
42. For instance, after the 1993 DIKI conference, "Industry of Volos," Koliou (1994) and Diomidi (1995) wrote brief books about the history of local industry. Eleni Triandou (1994), the author of the most patently nostalgic book about the city, told me that she decided to write her book after participating in the 1994 DIKI event, "Volos . . . until the Earthquakes," which featured the panel "Ten Voliotes Discuss Their Memories of the Volos of Then."
43. The term *topiki aftodoikisi* deliberately echoes that of *laiki aftodoikisi*, the system of local self-government set up in so-called Free Greece, the parts of the country run by the communist-led Resistance during World War II. Other historical precedents drawn on by the Left to legitimize this institution include the "community" (*koinotita*) of the Ottoman period and the political philosophy of the revolutionary Rigas Velesinlis, who proposed a model of a decentered democratic state based on the Ottoman *millet* system in his 1797 constitution (cf. Tomara-Sideri 1999).
44. The conflation of local history and industry is striking in the case of Maroula Kliafa, a local historian from the Thessalian city of Trikala. One day while we were speaking at her house, she pointed through a lace curtain to the old building of the beverage factory owned by her husband (the new factory is located outside city limits). With their own money, she and her husband are turning the now-defunct factory into a cultural center to which she will donate her large personal archive of local newspapers and old photographs.
45. According to David Harvey, the study of urbanization should entail the examination of the capitalist process as it "unfolds through the production of physical and social landscapes and the production of distinctive ways of thinking and acting among people who live in towns and cities. The study of urbanization is not the study of a legal, political entity or of a physical artifact" (1989: 6–7).
46. Although my interlocutors in this chapter all share the negative self-identification, "I am not a historian," there are, needless to say, many distinct groups and subgroups among local history writers based on differences of age, politics, education, and research interests as well as affiliation with various cultural associations and historical societies.
47. In theory, if not in practice. Instead of banishing religion from the cemetery, the new civic cemeteries made the non-Orthodox "matter out of place." Thus, in Volos, as elsewhere in Greece, a separate Jewish cemetery borders the "municipal" one. One day at the Volos cemetery, Yiasirani showed me a nineteenth-century tombstone that had an inscription written in the Armenian alphabet. She claimed that cemetery officials had planned to remove it to make space for a new grave until she protested that it was a "historical monument." On Greek municipal cemeteries and their liminal position in public space, see Panourgia 1995: 185–6.
48. On the social construction of autochthony through the narration of originary history, see Papataxiarchis (1990) and Panourgia (1995: 54–8).
49. An exhibition of photographs taken by the local commercial photographer Kostas Zimeris entitled "Old Volos" was held in 1981. The following year the municipality installed a permanent slide exhibition (also entitled "Old Volos") of the photographs of Stefanos Stournaras, another of the city's commercial photographers.



50. In DIKI's *Volos: One Century* (1999), everyday records of commercial activity (old receipts, bills, correspondence) have been enlarged and reproduced, thus highlighting their period letterheads and antiquated handwriting and, by extension, their status not only as documents (to write the history of industry) but also as aesthetic objects.
51. Nitsa Koliou's *Typo-foto-graphic Panorama of Volos* (1991) is an example of a history of the local press and Maroula Kliafa's *Trikala, From Seifoullah to Tsitsanis: The Transformations of a Community as Recorded in the Press of the Day* (2 vols., 1996, 1998) of a history as told from the "pages" of local newspapers.
52. In testimonial genres, as I will discuss in the following two chapters, the same reverence has been accorded to the *spoken* voice. In his 1929 *A Prisoner of War's Story*, Stratis Doukas, for instance, describes the process of documenting testimony as a self-conscious effort to efface the intervention of writing. He explains that he made his cousin read aloud to him the transcription of his informant's testimony so he could reoralize his retranscription.
53. That photography is itself part of the "romantic" past can be discerned in the nostalgic comments of Voliote local historian Yiannis Mougoyiannis in a 1997 article entitled "The Charm of the Old Photograph" (*Makrinitsa* 15: 39): "The publication of some of these photographs is intended to acquaint younger generations with ways of life from the past, when every peasant of Pelion came down to Volos to be photographed, when people abroad sent their photographs to relatives back home so that they would remember them, when weddings still were held at home and photographs were taken in the courtyard. When people lived with a different view of life, more human and romantic."

### 3 WITNESSES TO WITNESSING: RECORDS OF RESEARCH AT AN ARCHIVE OF REFUGEE TESTIMONY

1. In 1844, politician Yiannis Kolletis introduced the term *Megali Idea* (Great Idea) into the political discourse of the newly established Greek state. Ever since the Ottoman conquest of Byzantine Constantinople in 1453, however, the dream of "return" had been a part of Greek popular culture: many folk stories and songs center on the theme of the eventual "redemption" and "salvation" of the lands of classical and Byzantine Hellenism (Layoun 2001: 24). In its implication that Greeks' destiny should have been to rule in the East as a "chosen people" and that their "martyrdom" in 1922 fulfilled some kind of divine prophecy, the term "Catastrophe" draws on and amplifies the religious undertones of Great Idea discourse (Gazi n.d.).
2. The terms "Asia Minor" (in Greek *Mikra Asia* or *Mikrasia*, "Little Asia") and "Anatolia" (from the Greek *anatoli*, or "east") refer to the Asian peninsula of contemporary Turkey. Prior to 1922, "Infidel Smyrna" (*Giaour Izmir*), as the Turks called it, had been the center of ethnic Greek commercial and cultural life in the Ottoman Empire. At the time of the "Catastrophe," European parts of the Ottoman Empire, such as Istanbul and Eastern Thrace, also had sizable populations of ethnic Greeks.
3. The 1923 Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations stipulated "a compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory, and of Greek nationals of the Moslem religion established in Greek territory." Only the Greek Orthodox of Istanbul and the Muslims of Thrace were exempted from the exchange. In 1919, Greece and Bulgaria had ratified a similar Convention Respecting the Reciprocal Emigration of their Racial Minorities but emigration had been voluntary (Pentzopoulos 1962: 60–1).

4. The majority of refugees arrived in Greece in 1922 following the withdrawal of the Greek army. After the signing of the Convention in Lausanne, 200,000 Greek Orthodox residents of Turkey and approximately 350,000 Muslim residents of Greece were “exchanged.” The League of Nations estimates that 20% of refugees died within one year of their arrival in Greece due to wretched health conditions. For a detailed discussion of the population exchange, see Pentzopoulos (1962). Many ethnic Greeks of the Ottoman Empire (Pontians, for instance) had fled their homes years before the “Catastrophe,” victims of the persecution and violence of an increasingly aggressive Turkish nationalism.
5. See K. Koulouri, “‘Catastrophe,’ ‘Campaign’ and ‘War’ in School,” *To Vima*, Sunday, September 1, 2002. Although the events of 1922 were always included in Greek history textbooks, Koulouri notes that the 1983 textbook represented a turning point in the representation of the “Catastrophe” because of the amount of material presented and the fact that refugee testimonies were included along with information about political and military history.
6. Ironically, even though the exchange was proposed as a means of creating homogenous “national” populations, religion was considered the principal determinant of ethnic identity, thus demonstrating, as Layoun notes, the “confusion of ethnic, religious, linguistic and political citizenship that underlies the attempt to forcibly (construct) and exchange populations of ‘the same’” (2001: 32). Turks, for their part, continue to mark the difference between citizens of the Greek state and ethnic Greeks living in other post-Ottoman lands (i.e., Asia Minor, Istanbul, Thrace, Cyprus, etc.) by calling the former Yunanlı, from the Turkish word for Greece, *Yunanistan*, and the latter *Rum*, a word deriving from “Roman” and alluding to these Greeks’ historical descent from citizens of the former Roman-Byzantine Empire.
7. For instance, testimony is used as a narrative frame in works of fiction, such as Stratis Myrivilis’s 1924 *Zoi en Tafō* (Life in the Tomb), Stratis Doukas’s 1929 *Istoria Enos Aichmalotou* (A Prisoner of War’s Story), Ilias Venezis’s 1931 *To Nomero 31328* (The Number 31328), Dido Sotiriou’s 1962 *Matomena Homata* (which literally means “bloodied earth” but has been translated into English as *Farewell Anatolia*), Elli Papadimitriou’s 1975 *O Koinos Logos* (The Common Language) and more recently Evgenia Fakinou’s 1983 *To Evdomo Rouho* (The Seventh Garment) and Yiorgos Mihalidis’s 1991 *Ta Fonika* (The Murders). For discussions of the impact of the “Asia Minor Catastrophe” on modern Greek literature’s thematic and stylistic repertoire, see, for instance, Doulis (1977), Haas (1992), Mackridge (1992).
8. Merlier had formed the Folk Song Society (*Syllogos Dimotikon Tragoudion*) in 1930 along with some of the most distinguished Greek politicians and liberal intellectuals of the time, including Penelope Delta, Chrysanthos Trapezoundos, Filippos Dragoumis, Panagiotis Kanellopoulos, and Eleftherios Venizelos. When Merlier decided to focus on the songs of Asia Minor refugees, she established the Asia Minor Folklore Archive (*Archeio Mikrasiatikis Laografias*) in 1933 and the Musical Folklore Archive (*Mousiko Laografiko Archeio*) in 1934. In 1949, at the end of the Greek Civil War and following her return to Greece from France in 1945 (where she and Octave had lived during the Occupation), she renamed the Asia Minor Folklore Archive the Center for Asia Minor Studies (CAMS). These name changes—from “Society” (*Syllogos*), which brings to mind a philanthropic club, to “Archive” (*Archeio*), which suggests a nineteenth-century historicist collecting project, and finally to “Center” (*Kentro*), which proclaims an area studies program—give a sense of Merlier’s growing scholarly ambitions and sensitivity to scholarly trends.
9. Two volumes of *Exodus* (1980, 1982) have been published by the center and a final volume is in press. In the prologue to the first volume of *Exodus* narratives, Yiorgos Tenekidis notes that the term “Exodus” had originally been used in the 1926 League of Nations’

report on refugee settlement in Greece to refer to the “uprooting” (*xerizomos*) of the ethnic Greek populations of Asia Minor. The center, he explains, had chosen to employ this term in order to convey the tragic dimensions of the event, as well as to offset the phrase “exchange of populations,” which made the ethnic homogeneity of Turkey appear a “fait accompli,” thus obscuring Turkish expulsions of ethnic Greeks prior to and after the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne. With its overt Biblical connotations, the term “Exodus,” however, also bestows *meaning* on the refugees’ movements, implicitly scripting them into the role of a divine people fleeing the scourges of Turkish tyranny and casting “Greece” as their “promised land.” Furthermore, the use of the word “Exodus” draws attention away from the fact that the population exchange was *two-way* and that ethnic Turks were displaced from their Greek homes.

10. Greek social and political life had already been polarized by the so-called National Schism (*Ethnikos Dihasmos*) of 1917 between Venizelists, who sided with the liberal politician Eleftherios Venizelos, and Royalists, who supported King Constantine.
11. See A. Liakos, “The Ideology of ‘Lost Homelands.’” *To Vima*, September 13, 1998.
12. Although the Lausanne Convention had specified that refugees would be compensated for immovable property abandoned in Turkey, the Ankara Convention signed by Venizelos and Atatürk in 1930 withdrew these obligations. In the same year, the Refugee Settlement Commission (RSC), an autonomous organization that had overseen resettlement, also was disbanded. Even though the problems of the refugees were far from solved, the international community and the Greek state clearly signaled their desire to close this chapter of Greek history.
13. Octave Merlier served as director of the French Institute of Athens from 1938 until 1961 when he was summarily removed from this position for political reasons and appointed professor of Modern Greek at the University of Aix-en-Provence. Merlier, a specialist in Modern Greek literature, was an important figure in Greek cultural and political life in his own right. He is well known for having helped many bright, young Greek leftists, including the philosopher Cornelius Castoriadis, escape the Civil War by arranging scholarships for them in Paris in 1945.
14. Specifically, I have focused on the fieldwork reports (*Deltia Metavasis*) and informant reports (*Deltia Piroforiton*) held in the Archive of Oral Tradition (*Archeio Proforikis Paradosis*) and the Work Letters of Melpo Merlier and Notes in Place of Minutes (*Grammata Ergasias Melpos Merlier kai Simeiomata anti Praktikon*) in Melpo Merlier’s personal archive.
15. Prior to 1948, the Asia Minor Folklore Archive was held at the Society for the Propagation of Beneficial Books (*Syllogos Pros Diadosin Ofelimon Vivlion*). Between 1948 and 1962, the (renamed) Center for Asia Minor Studies was housed in the French Institute. In 1960, the French ambassador had demanded that the center’s archives be given over to France as French property. Octave Merlier refused to comply, and between 1962 and 1982, when the center moved to its present location and came under the auspices of the Greek state, it occupied a rented space in Kolonaki, near the border of the student quarter of Exarcheia. In these movements through Athens, one can read major shifts in the institutional frameworks for the study—and funding—of modern Greek historical scholarship as much as the “fate” of this particular archive.
16. In a 1951 paper, Merlier notes that there were two researchers between 1930 and 1935, three between 1935 and 1938, and five in 1939. During the war, the center (then the Asia Minor Folklore Archive) was closed and reopened in 1945 with a three-person staff. Ten people were working at the center in 1948, nineteen in 1949, and thirty-two in 1951, the majority of whom were volunteers.
17. Melpo Merlier was director of the center from 1930 to 1976 and Fotis Apostolopoulos from 1976. Paschalis Kitromilidis served as acting director from 1980 until his election

- as director of the Institute for Neohellenic Research in 2000, at which point the operation of the center passed to Vice Director Stavros Anestidis.
18. In the years immediately following the “Catastrophe,” these associations focused on practical matters related to refugee settlement, such as advocating for housing reform; over time, however, these original groups as well as new ones (which still continue to be founded) turned to the preservation of the “culture” of specific “lost homelands” (through staging public events involving music, dance, theater, and food as well as sponsoring publications, exhibitions, and other cultural productions). These associations also have been actively engaged in the memorialization of the “Catastrophe” (through monument-building and the celebration of “days of memory”) (cf. Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1993: 238; Varlas 2003).
  19. For a characteristic example, see the best-selling autobiography of Yiorgos Katramopoulos, the 1994 *How Can I Forget You Beloved Smyrna*, which describes his comfortable life as son of a well-off Smyrna goldsmith and classmate of Aristotle Onassis. From his perspective, few Greeks knew Turkish in Smyrna because Greek was essentially the “national language” (26). Since in “lost homelands” discourse Greek Asia Minor is forever “frozen” in 1922, the strange impression is often created that if Asia Minor had not been lost, urban life itself might have retained the glamour and flair seen in old black-and-white photographs of Anatolian Greek clubs, cafés, and residences. Thus, in “The Social Life of Smyrna,” an article in a popular history newspaper supplement entitled “Smyrna: The Pride of Ionia” (*Kathimerini* May 3, 1998), N. Viketou, general secretary of the Union of Smyrniots, can note of pre-“Catastrophe” Smyrna: “Generally the social life in Smyrna rolled along with simplicity and liveliness and in a carefree way, totally different from the anxious, rushed and pleasureless life of today’s big cities.”
  20. In Turkish public culture, the fate of Muslim refugees from Greece also was a nonsubject until quite recently. No analogous discourse on lost *Greek* homelands developed following the refugee crisis, which is usually referred to in Turkish rather prosaically as the *mübadele* (“exchange”). In Turkey, refugees from Greece, like those from other neighboring Balkan countries who fled to Turkey at this time, are not even known as refugees, but simply as “migrants” (*muhacir*) with no indication given of their place of origin. This profound silencing can be attributed, at least in part, to the fact that the events of 1922 represented a triumphant victory for the Turks; stories of suffering and loss were incompatible with a national narrative proclaiming the glorious formation of the modern Turkish state. In the past fifteen years, though, against the backdrop of an internal war against the Kurdish minority, there has been a growing Turkish scholarly as well as popular interest in the “missing” minorities of the former Ottoman Empire. The population exchange has been the subject of several contemporary novels, such as F. Otyam’s 1985 *Brother Pauli*, F. Çiçekoğlu’s 1992 *The Other Side of the Water*, A. Yorulmaz’s 1997 *The Children of War*, K. Yalçın’s 1998 *The Entrusted Wedding Trousseau*, E. Aladağ’s 1997 *Sekene* and 1999 *Maria: The Pain of Migration*. For more on the population exchange from a Turkish perspective and on the cultural politics of Turkish representations of Self and Other through the “Greek,” see Arı (1995), İğsız (2000), Millas (2001).
  21. In her ethnography of the social life of Asia Minor refugees, the anthropologist Renée Hirschon describes memory as refugees’ and their children’s “most valuable property” and argues that it has served as a “rescuing bridge” between a “meaningful past” and a difficult present. According to Hirschon, the centrality of memory for the Asia Minor refugees can be attributed to their predominantly “oral culture” and the salience of memory practices in Greek Orthodoxy (1998: 15–17). For a discussion of trauma that rejects this assumption of the transmissibility of memory, see Anna Vidali’s (1996) study on the transgenerational blockage of memories of the Greek Civil War.

22. The center's use of testimony to record Greek-Turkish cooperation and cultural symbiosis takes on particular significance when juxtaposed to uses of refugee testimony as evidence to *incriminate* the Turks as incorrigible enemies. Immediately following the "Catastrophe," Greek police, for instance, had taken depositions from refugees about their violent expulsion from coastal regions of Asia Minor. As Mihalis Varlas (2003) has pointed out, this practice of documentation was modeled on that of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul, which had recorded Turkish atrocities against Greek populations during World War I in publications such as the 1919 *Mavri Vivlos Diogmon kai Martyrion tou en Tourkia Ellinismou 1914–1918* (The Black Bible of the Persecutions and Torments of Hellenism in Turkey 1914–1918) and the 1919 *O Golgothas tou en Tourkia Ellinismou* (The Golgotha of Hellenism in Turkey).
23. Personal Interview. February 6, 1999, Athens.
24. Dominick LaCapra has described the transference relation of historians to their subjects as involving the unavoidable projection of contemporary concerns onto supposedly "objective" accounts of the past (1985a: 123–4). Rebel points out that in addition to the transference and countertransference of the historian, analysts might attend to the way that the "construction of historical texts by historical subjects is itself grounded in *imagined* contexts that permeate the creation, interpretation, and implementation of their texts and may span and conflate several temporalities in creative interpolations of the 'present' and the 'historical'—and is therefore not just a directed, consciously selective and controlled project but also operates unconsciously, projectively, transferentially, transtemporally" (1991: 52–3). These multiple and overlapping layers of desire for the past can be detected in the comments of literary critic Mary Layoun about her experience of doing research in the center's Archive of Oral Tradition. Seeking to counter the mythologies of ethnic purity and incompatibility on which the population exchange was based, Layoun drew heavily on the center's "Exodus" testimonies, themselves created on the basis of similar impulses. Unaware of the archive's context of production, Layoun, however, does not consider the acts of re-collection that lay between her research and the descriptions of the refugees. Thus, she can describe her discovery of the harmony in which Greeks and Turks lived as "one of the trenchant ironies of reading through the almost one thousand pages of testimonials" (2001: 42).
25. According to Paschalis Kitromilides (1987), British linguist Richard Dawkins's interest in linguistic survivals (such as dialects of medieval Greek spoken in Cappadocia) and cultural syncretism (such as Karamanli, Turkish language literature printed in the Greek alphabet) played an important role in shaping the center's research priorities. The fact that the center's research began with the remote Farasa of Cappadocia, whose dialect preserved forms of medieval Greek, also can be attributed in large part to Dawkins's influence on Merlier.
26. The refugees were not all Greek speakers (some were primary speakers of Turkish, Kurdish, or Armenian while others spoke dialects of Greek, such as Pontic), Greek Orthodox (some were converted Protestants, for instance), or even ethnic Greek (at least 50,000 Armenians were among the refugees who came to Greece). As Petropoulou (1997) gleans from reading between the lines of the refugee settlement reports, the "local" Greeks whom the refugees encountered also were more linguistically, religiously, and ethnically diverse than is often acknowledged.
27. The poet George Seferis dedicated his 1953 travelogue *Treis Meres sta Monastiria tis Kappadokias* (Three Days in the Monasteries of Cappadocia) to the Merliers. The novelist Ilias Venezis was to undertake the final editing of the "Exodus" narratives. The poet Angelos Sikelianos and his wife Eva Palmer were close friends. Merlier had even participated in their "revivals" of the Delphic Rites (1927–30), a seminal cultural event of the interwar period in Greece.

28. Many of the authors who comprised the core group of the “Generation of the Thirties” were themselves from Asia Minor or Istanbul, including the novelists Kosmas Politis, Stratis Doukas, Ilias Venezis, Fotis Kondoglou, Maria Iordanidou, Yiorgos Theotokas, and Dido Sotiriou as well as the Nobel Prize-winning poet George Seferis. While Greek literary history associates their writing with modernism and some of these authors did experiment with aspects of a high modernist style, much of their writing is actually closer to neorealism. More radical experimentation can be found in the works of surrealist poets (Emberikos, Engonopoulos, Rantos, Elytis, Sarantis) and in some writers of that period who were more marginal to the canon (Axioti, Pentzikis, Skaribas). For critical discussions of Greek modernism, see Vitti (1977), Tziovas (1989), Layoun (1990).
29. These historic folk song recordings are the prize collection of the Musical Folklore Archive. The novelty of the technologies of voice recording introduced to Greece by Merlier is attested by the archive’s unique recordings of the speech (and even singing) of prominent Greek writers and politicians, such as Venizelos and Palamas. As Friedrich Kittler has pointed out, with the advent of voice-recording technology that could preserve the “live voice” for posterity, famous people were often called on to “immortalize” themselves (1999: 78).
30. Before participating in the center’s project, writer Elli Papadimitriou, who in 1975 would publish a well-received literary collection of refugee testimonies, *O Koinos Logos* (The Common Language), had worked for the Refugee Settlement Commission. This experience might explain her politicized orientation toward recording the voice (and image) not of the folk, but specifically of the refugee. Testament to this early interest in documenting refugee experience is a text in her personal archive dated 1927 and entitled “Uncle-Ilias Speaks,” which consists of a refugee’s testimony and his photograph (Petropoulou 1999–2000: 298). While other people close to Merlier were pushing her toward an Orientalist-style project of ethnological knowledge-gathering, Papadimitriou would certainly have been among those who encouraged Merlier to focus on the pathos of the refugee as displaced person.
31. In *The Last Hellenism of Asia Minor*, Octave Merlier explains how in the case of Asia Minor refugees it was impossible to maintain the pretence that history and politics did not impinge on the life of the “folk.” As an awakening to this fact, he points to his attempt one day to take a photograph of some refugees dressed in traditional costume; while he was changing film, they disappeared. He later learned from a shoemaker that the men had left because he was French and they were angry about France’s role in the “Catastrophe”: “We are not folklore images or photographs. We are Christian, Europeans, allies, who were betrayed by our allies, European, Christian like us—but surely without memory or heart” (1974: 17–18).
32. The Folklore Archive, established in 1918 by Nikolaos Politis, the “father” of Greek folklore, and the National Music Collection, founded in 1914, were the center’s archival precursors. The questionnaires used by center researchers were adapted from questionnaires originally designed by folklorists Yiorgos Megas and Stilpon Kyriakidis.
33. Malkki (1995b) notes that the “refugee” did not become an object of social science research and a global legal problem until after World War II. Then the unprecedented numbers of people displaced by the war led to the development of refugee law and standardized procedures for settling refugees as well as to the institutionalization of the refugee camp. However, earlier in the century, albeit in a more piecemeal manner, populations that had been displaced during the dismantling of various empires (e.g., Ottoman, Hapsburg, Romanov) had started to become the subject of international attention and management. Attesting to the protean nature of the category “refugee” as well as the prevailing view that the “population exchange” entailed a “return” to a native land, the proposal for the 1923 Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish

- Populations was introduced under the heading of “repatriation of prisoners,” and the exchanged populations were referred to as “involuntary emigrants.”
34. As early as 1958, Merlier had decided to write the history of the center (Work Letters. April 21, 1958).
  35. Work Letters. September 22, 1956, p. 59.
  36. Work Letters. March 16–17, p. 19.
  37. Work Letters, p. 156.
  38. With the founding of the Greek state, the distinction between Greeks living within the nation’s borders, *Elladites* or *autochthones*, and those in the diaspora, *Ellines* or *ete-rochthones*, already had taken on significance (cf. Skopetea 1988a).
  39. By 1958, the center’s researchers had spent so much time studying Cappadocia that, in a seminar to which many Cappadocian refugees were invited, Merlier called on educated refugees to help them “finish” Cappadocia (i.e., by writing up historical and folklore materials themselves) so research on other provinces of Asia Minor could proceed: “We must not forget, said Mrs. Merlier, that we are not the Center for Cappadocian Studies, but the Center for Asia Minor Studies.” Work Letters. December 22, 1958, p. 436.
  40. Ilias Anagnostakis and Evangelia Balta (1990) argue that the Greek “discovery” of Cappadocia took place in three stages: (1) prior to 1860, the Orthodox church had attempted to “protect” Orthodox populations in the region from the proselytizing of Protestant and Jesuit missionaries; (2) between 1860 and 1890, Greek-speaking communities in Cappadocia were “discovered” and folk songs were collected avidly with the hope of finding survivals of ancient Greek; (3) after 1890, with the growing interest in Byzantine studies and the 1875 discovery of the manuscript of the medieval vernacular epic *Digenis Akritas*, Cappadocia not only found a place within a narrative of Hellenism but also came to be seen as Hellenism’s *first* homeland. For more on “Greek” Cappadocia, see Ballian, Pantelaki, and Petropoulou (1994).
  41. Work Letters. May 7, 1964, p. 1127.
  42. Work Letters. June 14, 1962, pp. 768–70.
  43. Work Letters. August 19, 1956, p. 8.
  44. Historical and ethnological material was filed according to province, region, and settlement. The “region” (*periferieia*), a unit devised based on conversations with refugees, refers to a group of towns and villages centered on a small or large city (M. Merlier 1948: 15).
  45. In an early essay on her folk song research, Merlier explained why she ascribed such importance to “re-placing” refugee singers in their native homelands: “For Eastern Thrace (Turkey), Northern Thrace (Bulgaria), and Asia Minor (Turkey), we have fictively maintained the map of Hellenism prior to 1922, the date of the Asia Minor disaster. It is only in relocating (*replaçanti*) these populations of refugees in their country of origin, in their geographical and historical frame, that it is possible to know them and study their folklore” (1935a: 12).
  46. At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, as the Ottoman Empire’s collapse appeared imminent, Balkan mapmaking flourished. German cartographer Heinrich Kiepert, whose ethnological maps of the Balkans, such as his famous 1876 ethnographic map of the “European Orient,” were considered particularly sympathetic to Greek territorial claims in the region, was recruited personally by historian Konstandinos Paparrigopoulos to make maps for the Society for the Propagation of Greek Letters. Through its vigorous mapmaking campaign, this group aimed to demonstrate the Greekness of various regions not yet under Greek control, such as Macedonia and Epirus, and published maps (many produced especially for use in Greek school classrooms) highlighting Greek historical presence in the area (i.e., Macedonian Hellenism under Alexander the Great, medieval Hellenism in the age of the Macedonian Emperors, etc.) as well as Greek versions of Kiepert’s ethnological maps (Tolias 1992).

47. In a letter to staff in Athens, Merlier describes her punctilious vision of the “order” of the archive thus: “I will tell you if you like how I would like the Archives, today and in the future. Envelopes for every village separately; naturally, in the case of chapters with few pages, two or more chapters will go in the same envelope, and every village, of course, will have as many envelopes as are needed for its material. The envelopes will stand *straight* and on their spine, as on their envelope—on their façade, we might say—will go the title or titles, and the number of pages will be in *red*. It will be the only number (we might say the ‘personal number’ of the chapter)—which will be given on the spine, but it will be the only one, because that will be the only thing that will interest the researcher . . . I return to the subject of the envelopes; I would prefer them to be plain, one after the other, straight—neither envelopes like your pretty one, or boxes. When the envelopes of one village end and there is still room on the shelf, one village will be separated from the other by two metal bookends such as I have here for my books” (Work Letters. May 17, 1967, pp. 2007–9).
48. Work Letters, p. 46.
49. In 2003, over 200 files with information about how research was conducted, including meticulous monthly and yearly reports recording how many pages of material were collected (according to theme, geographical region, and researcher), were “discovered” and brought up from the “dust” of the center’s basement for cataloguing and rearchiving. This find suggests that the center’s research is just starting to be viewed as of historical interest in its own right.
50. Researcher Sophia Dondolinou’s father and two brothers were killed by the Nazis. Researcher Hara Lioudaki’s sister Maria, who also had worked briefly at the center, was murdered by the Nazis as was Hara’s fiancée, a famous early union leader. Researcher Kaiti Reppa-Kritsiki’s brother was murdered during the Nazi Occupation and her sister was executed during the Civil War.
51. I, thus, primarily examine reports of center fieldwork conducted in the 1950s and 1960s. Although interviews were also done during the interwar period, they appear to have been less formal and fieldnotes about them were not kept systematically. Merlier herself had trouble remembering when researchers started keeping fieldnotes: “I found one of Loukopoulos’ from 1935,” she notes, “but it was only 4 or 5 lines.” (Work Letters. April 29, 1967, p. 147). I focus on fieldwork done in Athens because research in the provinces was less thorough and did not engage individual informants in depth and over time.
52. Personal Interview. February 6, 1999, Athens.
53. In response to drastic changes in the ethnological composition of the Greek state following the Balkan Wars and the population exchanges with Turkey and Bulgaria, Merlier believed that Greek folklorists should have begun to address the multiplicity of Greek ethnicities. In 1948, she wrote: “I might add that in Greece we folklorists should have widened the borders of our science after 1912 as a natural and logical consequence of the events of recent Greek history . . . since then Greek folklore—and Greek scholarship generally—should have been moved by the migrations and movements of Greek populations” (26). Over time, rather than attempt to reform Greek folklore, though, Merlier turned away from the discipline and embraced ethnology and geographical history.
54. In the preface to her *Tripolis of Pontos*, Tatiana Gritsi-Milliex says she wrote the book to “pay back an old debt of her father” who disliked refugees and did not live long enough to realize how much Greece gained from them and their labor (1976: 14–15). Researcher Kaiti Reppa-Kritsiki told me that her first contact with refugees was through maids who worked at her house in central Athens when she was a child (Personal Interview. March 14, 2000, Athens).
55. Personal Interview. December 17, 1999, Athens.



56. Work Letters. March 1, 1957, p. 123.
57. Personal Interview. March 14, 2000, Athens.
58. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Pontos, Tripolis. March 15, 1949.
59. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Pontos, Kerasounda. Researcher: Tzoulia Souli-Tsouri. October 3, 1956.
60. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Cappadocia, Nigdi-Kayiavasi. April 12, 1957.
61. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Cappadocia, Kaisareia [Kayseri]. January 23, 1959.
62. Merlier planned to have well-known folklorist Angeliki Hatzimihali (cf. 1949), who had popularized the study of peasant material culture and decorated her own home in Athens in a neotraditional style, study the folk art of Cappadocia (1948:45). For more on Hatzimihali, see, Faubion (1993a: 95–8) and chapter 2.
63. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Cappadocia, Kaisareia [Kayseri]. January 8, 1955.
64. While Renée Hirschon's ethnography of a refugee community in Piraeus, based on participant-observation research conducted in the 1970s, has been hailed as the first urban ethnography of Greece, she describes the city neighborhood in which she did her research as if it were a transplanted rural community: "In contrast to the ubiquitous modernity of angular cement, marble, and glass structures which increasingly suffocate the city, low houses appeared with tiled roofs and walls painted in pastel shades of blue, deep ochres, greens and pink. Jasmine and honeysuckle twined around gates and walls, pots of geranium and sweet basil lined wooden balconies. Streets were clean and pavements marked with fresh lines of whitewash" (1998: 2).
65. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Pontos, Sampsounda. November 2, 1964.
66. A most egregious example was the so-called Book of Simela. Although researcher Tzoulia Souli-Tsouri had worked for many years collecting testimony from Simela, a particularly "good" informant from Cappadocia, Merlier presented this material to the well-known novelist Ilias Venezis to edit and publish under his name. Venezis, who had also agreed to edit the center's "Exodus" narratives, did not complete either project, though he did publish his own book with the title *Exodus*. Frustrated that their books were either delayed many years in publication or, most often, never published, several researchers chose to leave the center (Personal Communication. Christos Samouilidis [February 6, 1999] and Maria Asvesti [December 17, 1999]). Although for many researchers the center would serve as a stepping stone to graduate study abroad and successful careers, as in the case of Eleni Glikatzi-Ahrweiler, a renowned Byzantine scholar in France and President of the University of Europe, for others it turned out to be a bitter dead end. When Fotis Apostolopoulos became the director of the center in 1976 and started the publication of the *Bulletin of the Center for Asia Minor Studies*, the center's research finally began to reach a broader public (Petropoulou 1996: 419).
67. Work Letters. October 2, 1959, p. 58.
68. Work Letters. April 1–5, 1965, pp. 1354–5.
69. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Cappadocia, Askerai-Gelveri [Karvali]. April 12, 1953.
70. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Cappadocia, Kaisareia [Kayseri]. November 17, 1958.
71. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Pontos, Trapezounda [Trabzon]. October 5, 1956.
72. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Cappadocia, Farasa. August 12, 1939.
73. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Cappadocia, Nigdi-Kayiavasi. Researcher: Eleni Gazi. May 10, 1957.

74. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Pontos, Trapezounda [Trabzon]. Researcher: Hara Lioudaki; Informant: Vasiliki Papadopoulou. September 25, 1957.
75. As Varlas (2003) has pointed out, papers issued to refugees by various agencies (municipalities, settlement committees, refugee organizations), including travel papers, certificates of property abandoned in Turkey, refugee identity cards, and receipts of dues paid to refugee organizations, testified to the process of *becoming* a refugee while also representing “proof” of a lost identity (and often wealth). Thus, for some refugees, these documents became valuable tokens to be preserved in family archives years after they had expired and donated to refugee societies or local folklore collections.
76. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Pontos, Tripolis. June 13, 1950.
77. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Cappadocia, Nigdi-Kayiavasi. Researcher: Eleni Gazi. March 29, 1957.
78. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Pontos, Tripolis. Researcher: Tatiana Millie; Informant: Dimakos Chrysopoulos. April 6, 1949.
79. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Cappadocia, Farasa. Informant: Anastasia Zaharopoulou. August 12, 1953.
80. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Cappadocia, Nigdi-Kayiavasi. Researcher: Eleni Gazi. April 24, 1957.
81. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Pontos, Tripoli. May 15, 1950.
82. Work Letters. July 11, 1960.
83. Work Letters. December 19, 1958, p. 403.
84. Archive of Oral Tradition, Informant Report: Pontos, Tripolis. Researcher: Eleni Karatza. May 13, 1957.
85. Evmorfilis is lucky to have even survived. In 1916, the Greek Orthodox population of Tripolis was exiled to the interior of Turkey: 2,500 of 2,800 perished. Many Pontians who, like Evmorfilis, subsequently crossed the Black Sea to Russia later become victims of Stalin’s ethnic purges. Since 1982, but especially after 1989, a new wave of Pontic Greeks has come to Greece from the former Soviet republics of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Armenia, and Georgia, many settling in “traditionally” Pontic neighborhoods, such as Kallithea in Athens. Ironically, if predictably, they have been targets of discrimination by “native” Greeks, who commonly refer to them derogatorily as *Rossopondi* (Russian-Pontians).
86. The Balkan Wars of 1912–13 would set the stage for the development of Greek war photojournalism. In turn, the Asia Minor Expedition, the subsequent defeat of the Greek army, the expulsion of the ethnic Greek populations from Asia Minor and most sensationally the burning of Smyrna and the arrival of the bedraggled refugees in Greece would be extensively covered in news photography and film (Xanthakis 1985: 140–52). The plight of the refugees and their living conditions in Greece would be the subject of a new genre of photographic social reportage pioneered by, among others, Nelly’s. For more on the use of photography and film in documenting the “Asia Minor Catastrophe,” see Varlas (2003).
87. Work Letters, p. 47.
88. By contrast, the Latin American testimonial (*testimonio*) has mobilized a more mutual coalition between intellectuals (as compilers and activators) and the poor (as narrators), thus more emphatically empowering the subaltern narrator as author(ity) (Beverly 1996a). See also chapter 4, n.19.
89. Most observers agree that given the great numbers of refugees and the political and economic instability of the Greek state, the relatively smooth settlement of the refugees under the aegis of the international Refugee Settlement Commission represented a significant achievement. Nonetheless, the mishandling of refugee compensations and the liquidation of Greek properties in Turkey led to decades of frustration and economic hardship for many

- refugees. For the most part, rural refugees fared better than urban ones. In 1952, there were still 14,241 refugee families entitled to settlement living in shanties and even as late as 1978 3,000 urban families were awaiting settlement (Mavrogordatos 1983: 186–91).
90. Venezis's *The Number 31328* and Doukas's *A Prisoner of War's Story*, two of the most important literary works about the "Catastrophe" written during the interwar years, were republished in slightly revised versions after the war. As Abatzopoulou (1998: 82–4) has argued, changes made to the texts draw attention to the connections between genocides. In the 1958 edition of *A Prisoner of War's Story*, Doukas, for instance, dedicates the book to the "common ordeals of people everywhere" instead of, as in the first two editions, to the common ordeals of the Greek and Turkish people. In a similar spirit, in the second edition of *The Number 31328* published in 1945, Venezis has inserted epigraphs from Psalms. Indeed, the themes raised in these two books, which both depict the experiences of ethnic Greeks as prisoners in Turkey do resonate with literature on World War II and the Holocaust in focusing on the civilian population in wartime, the scapegoating of an ethnic "Other," the functioning of a system of persecution and total domination, the marginalization of victims and their dehumanization (the title of Venezis's book refers to the substitution of the narrator's name by a number), and the physical suffering and humiliation of the body of the persecuted.
  91. Archive of Oral Tradition, Informant Report: Cappadocia, Kaisareia [Kayseri]. Researcher: Ermolaos Andreadis; Informant: Mihalis Avramidis.
  92. In her 1975 *The Common Language*, Elli Papadimitriou, who had worked at the center and also been actively involved in communist politics, highlights, in Petropoulou's words, "precisely the unseen and forbidden dimension" of the refugee narratives collected by the center; her book casts the refugee testimonies within a leftist narrative that presumes the "natural" evolution of refugees into communists. Dido Sotiriou gave a similar leftist spin to her 1962 *Matomena Homata* (Farewell Anatolia), one of the best-selling Greek novels of the 1960s. This book features the testimony of a man who had been sent to Turkish labor camps during World War I, participated in the Greek military campaign in Asia Minor, and later come to Greece as a refugee. In the novel, international capital is identified as the real cause of the suffering of ordinary Greeks and Turks.
  93. In her discussion of the famous moment in the Eichmann trial when prosecution witness K-Zetnik faints on the stand, Felman suggests that he was "re-traumatized" by the authoritarian discourse of a court that "ordered" him to speak in a certain way, thus "trigger[ing] a legal repetition of the trauma that [the legal institution] put on trial . . ." (2002: 146). Like law, historical inquiry (especially oral history) often overlaps with practices of political interrogation and bureaucratic documentation but tends to remain "blind" to such resemblances.
  94. Archive of Oral Tradition, Informant Report: Cappadocia, Farasa. Researcher: Aglaia Loukopoulou. April 29, 1955.
  95. Archive of Oral Tradition, Informant Report: Cappadocia, Farasa. Researcher: Aglaia Loukopoulou. January 24, 1954.
  96. Archive of Oral Tradition, Informant Report: Cappadocia, Farasa. Researcher: Aglaia Loukopoulou. April 22, 1955.
  97. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Cappadocia, Askerai-Gelveri [Karvali]. Informant: Alexandros Leondopoulos. February 12, 1958.
  98. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Cappadocia, Nigdi-Kayiavasi. March 26, 1957.
  99. Work Letters. July 18, 1963, p. 171.
  100. In total, 474 manuscripts were collected, the majority of which were written after 1950 when the center made concerted efforts to encourage refugees to write. Many refugee-writers followed the guidelines of the center questionnaire and in some cases

- produced multivolume studies; others wrote brief, entirely unstructured texts. For a discussion of one of these manuscripts, see, Petros Pasalidis (1992). “To Vivlion tis Zois mou” (The Book of My Life), comp. I. Petropoulou. *Bulletin of the Center for Asia Minor Studies* 9: 253–80.
101. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Cappadocia, Farasa. August 25, 1953.
  102. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Cappadocia, Kaisareia [Kayseri]. November 21, 1958.
  103. Archive of Oral Tradition, Fieldwork Report: Pontos, Trapezounda [Trabzon]. July 5, 1960.
  104. In her work on the Partition between India and Pakistan, Veena Das (1995: 9) has argued that women who refused to be “recovered” by the Indian state following their abduction, preferring instead to stay with their abductors, protected their love from the state’s order and in the process “escaped being inscribed in history”; as a result, though, these women represent “an enigma to the orders of the state and the family” and often remain “invisible” to researchers.
  105. In the late 1980s and 1990s, the recording of filmic and video testimonies of refugees was sponsored by state television and private cultural organizations, such as the Historical Archive of Refugee Hellenism in Kalamaria (Thessaloniki) and the Institute for the Hellenic World in Athens (Varlas 2003).

#### 4 READING (CIVIL) WAR, THE HISTORICAL NOVEL, AND THE LEFT

1. Valtinos’s fiction has been widely anthologized in collections of postwar Greek literature as well as translated into several foreign languages, including German, Dutch, Swedish, Italian, French, and English. Valtinos is also well known in the world of cinema. He collaborated for many years on screenplays for the films of the prominent Greek director Theo Angelopoulos and was awarded the screenplay prize at the Cannes Film Festival in 1984 for Angelopoulos’s *Voyage to Kythera*.
2. As this book was going to press, however, the controversy had sparked once again in the pages of the newspaper *Ta Nea*. A so-called dialogue on history was opened by Stathis Kalyvas and Nikos Marantzidis’s controversial article entitled “New Trends in the Study of the Civil War” (March 20, 2004). Held up as an example of right-wing historical revisionism, the views of the authors have been condemned in a long series of articles, many of which refer directly or indirectly to Valtinos and *Orthokosta* (see, for instance, M. Piblis, “They Kill Your Mother. What ‘Stakes’ Are You Talking About?” *Ta Nea*, August 14–15, 2004). Testament to the extent to which Valtinos’s novel has become *the* touchstone for Greek debates on history and literature was the publication, also in 2004, of *The Deal: A Game of Literature and History* (2004), a book-length harangue on *Orthokosta*. Written by literary critic and author Kostas Voulgaris who comes from a village near Valtinos’s, *The Deal* attempts to dissect—and defuse—*Orthokosta*, which Voulgaris says he respects for its literary artisanship but castigates as part of this contemporary trend of right-wing revisionist historiography. Voulgaris openly professes that an *antidote* to Valtinos’s novel is needed, an “anti-*Orthokosta*,” in other words, a documentary fiction that could “play” in the same “ballpark” but with different players (141). Voulgaris, in fact, has already tried his hand at finding a “cure” to *Orthokosta* in his novella *Always in My Dream the Peloponnese* (2001), a strained imitation of Valtinos’s spare style, even printed to *look* like a Valtinos novel (i.e., a small format book with

- thick, good-quality paper, typical of the publisher *Agra* where Valtinos published his work in the 1990s), but narrated by a politically conscious EAM partisan.
3. Valtinos's novels include the 1963 *I Kathodos ton Ennia* (The Descent of the Nine), 1964 *Synaxari Andrea Kordopati, Vivlio Proto: Ameriki* (The Book of the Days of Andreas Kordopatis, Book I: America), 1978 *Tria Ellinika Monoprakta* (Three Greek One-Acts), 1985 *Ble Vathi Schedon Mavro* (Deep Blue Almost Black), 1989 *Stoiheia yia ti Dekаетia tou '60* (Data from the Decade of the Sixties), 1992 *Ftera Bekatsas* (Woodcock Feathers), 2000 *Synaxari Andrea Kordopati, Vivlio Deftero: Valkanikoi-'22* (The Book of the Days of Andreas Kordopatis, Book Two: Balkan Wars-'22), and 2001 *Imerologio: 1836–2011* (Journal: 1836–2011). Collections of his short stories *Tha Vreite ta Osta mou ipo Vrohin* (You Will Find My Bones Under Rain) and *Ethismos sti Nikotini* (Nicotine Addiction) were published in 1992 and 2003, respectively.
  4. Responding to a question about why he writes about history so often, Valtinos has explained: "History, from the standpoint of literary interest, is an extremely stimulating sphere. An extremely dramatic sphere that, even in its rougher dimensions, comprises a patchwork of individual fates. If assessing the coordinates of this sphere consists in the knowledge of history, personally I am interested in the partial fates of which it is composed, which is the opposite of knowledge, it is the feeling of History" (1997: 333).
  5. The modern Greek word for testimony and evidence, *martyria*, combines the ancient Greek juridical concept of "witnessing" with the Orthodox Christian *martyrio* (martyrdom, suffering, ordeal). The verb *martyro* has numerous meanings, including to bear witness in court, to be tortured and killed as a martyr, to tell on, to be an informer, to reveal, to give away. This etymology underscores the fact that the line between telling the truth and betrayal is thin indeed while exposing the degree to which oral historical inquiry borders on political and legal interrogation. For Valtinos as a key figure in modern Greek testimonial fiction, see, for instance, Tziovas (1987: 100), Abatzopoulou (1998: 106–7), Nikolopoulou (2002).
  6. EAM is the acronym for *Ethniko Apeleftherotiko Metopo* (National Liberation Front) and ELAS, its military wing, for *Ethnikos Laikos Apeleftherotikos Stratos* (National People's Liberation Army). The Greek Communist Party (KKE) lay behind EAM/ELAS, which was the largest and most powerful of the wartime resistance organizations.
  7. As Tasoula Vervenioti notes, the term "Civil War" was not used by the Left either until after the end of the dictatorship. Instead communists usually referred to the conflict as "the second guerrilla war" (*deftero andartiko*) against a second foreign occupation, this time by the United States (*Amerikanokratia*) (2002: 164).
  8. Of the over 80,000 people prosecuted in Greece in 1945, the great majority were leftists. Remarkably, by the late 1940s, the ratio of those charged for collaboration to those charged for fighting in the Resistance was estimated at about one in ten (Mazower 1995: 275). During the *junta*, a law was passed that declared EAM/ELAS partisans enemies of the state and awarded pensions to former Security Battalionists. Several members of the *junta* leadership themselves had been in the Battalions (Mazower 1993: 376). For more on the grossly uneven prosecution of war crimes in the postwar period, see contributions to Mazower (2000).
  9. An extreme example is Reno Apostolidis's *Pyramid 67* (1950), based on 5,000 pages of letters the author wrote over the course of his thirty-month service in the government army, during which time he participated in thirty-five battles of the Civil War. Apostolidis, who had been recruited against his will and claimed allegiance to neither side, swore he would never (and never did) shoot a bullet in the conflict, instead directing his energies into writing about it.
  10. The "Law for the Recognition of the Resistance of the Greek People against Occupation Troops, 1941–1944" was passed in 1982. In 1989, another law would officially "reform"

- the discourse on this period: in the first article of “Abrogation of the Repercussions of the Civil War 1944–1949,” the term “brigand war” (*symmoritopolemos*) was replaced with “Civil War,” and the word “brigands” (*symmorites*) with the “Democratic Army.”
11. Mark Mazower (1995) has described how the legacy of EAM/ELAS was used strategically by PASOK’s founder, the charismatic Andreas Papandreou, to form a popular center-left coalition around a platform of anticapitalism *and* anticommunism. The EAM/ELAS resistance movement was cast as part of an unfolding drama of “national liberation” linking the Greek Revolution against Ottoman rule in 1821 to the 1970s anti-*junta* protest movement. As Mazower argues, memorializing a “national EAM” had the effect of stripping the history of the resistance movement of its specific political (i.e., Marxist) agenda as well as repressing its “non-Greek” dimensions (the most egregious example being the differential treatment of Slavic-speaking political refugees after the socialists came to power). Despite this depoliticization of the Resistance, many on the Left, as Mazower notes, were exhausted from years of persecution and, thus, supported the “recognition” of the Resistance without closely interrogating the motives behind it. Historian Filippos Iliou similarly has spoken of the transformation of the Resistance into an “alibi for Greeks and for us ourselves [i.e., communists]” that refers to something “obvious” (i.e., that “Greeks fight foreign conquerors”) while its politically subversive aspects are forgotten (2000: 162). Based on her oral history research, Riki Van Boeschoten has observed how this misleading portrayal of a unified, national Resistance has obscured histories of social conflict, and especially that of the Civil War itself, in the name of a “painless,” but superficial, reconciliation (1997: 137, 230).
  12. The first academic conference on the Greek Civil War has held in Copenhagen in 1984; not until 1995, however, did a conference on that war take place on Greek soil. The year 1999 was marked by a notable density of conferences and publications on the Civil War (Margaritis 2000; Liakos 2001: 83–4). In 2000, the popular encyclopedic *Istoria tou Ellinikou Ethnous* (History of the Greek Nation) (1970–78) was finally brought up to date: after having been stalled for decades in 1940 with the Greco-Italian war in Albania, that last moment of unified *national* resistance preceding Nazi, Italian, and Bulgarian Occupations, the series addressed the war years and the military dictatorship. Liakos has suggested that this updating could occur because the national-religious revival of the 1990s had enabled a “silent mutual acceptance” of former political differences (2001: 74–5).
  13. The tensions that emerged at this time resulted in the fracturing of the radical Left. After the Greek Communist Party (KKE) withdrew from the original *Synaspismos* coalition, which had been founded in 1989 by leftist and progressive parties and groups, a new *Synaspismos* party was formed in 1992. Its current appellation is “Coalition of the Left of Movements and Ecology” (*Synaspismos tis Aristeras ton Kinimatou kai tis Oikologias*).
  14. On the post-1981 flood of autobiographical accounts about the war years and postwar political imprisonment and exile, see, for instance, Papathanasiou (1996), Margaritis (2000). For a brief discussion of the place of oral history in contemporary Greek historiography as a whole, see, Liakos (2001: 84). In a survey conducted by the Oral History Group of the National Center for Social Research (EKKE) in 1999, the “decade of the 1940s” was the preferred area of research of those polled (Boutzouvi and Thanopoulou 2002: 13). For oral history methodologies in research on the Resistance and Civil War, see Collard (1993), Hart (1996), Van Boeschoten (1997, 2002), Vidali (1999), and Vervenioti (2002). For a discussion of an archive of audiovisual recordings of resistance testimony, see Varon (1994). Needless to say, the common use of the label “oral history” to describe all interview-based historical research on this period obscures the actual range of (often contradictory) theoretical approaches (empirical, interpretive, psychoanalytic)

- currently being employed. For our purposes, however, this convergence of different analytical frameworks and academic disciplines manifests the degree to which “oral testimony” emerged as a privileged object of study in the 1990s.
15. Papers from the conference, many to which I will refer in this chapter, were published in 1997 in the volume *Istoriki Pragmatikotita kai Neoelliniki Pezografia* (1945–1995) (Historical Reality and Modern Greek Fiction [1945–1995]) put out by the Etaireia Spoudon Neoellinikou Politismou kai Genikis Paideias.
  16. Explicitly linking authorship to punishment, Foucault (1977) argues that discourse was not originally considered a “thing” or a “product,” but a transgressive *act*. The author function, he points out, emerged when authors became subjects of punishment. At the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, as authors were placed in a new system of property and ownership that codified rights related to textual property (copyright, etc.), discourse’s transgressive potential came to be seen as an “imperative peculiar to literature.” For Foucault, the concepts of “author” and “work” are profoundly ideological: thus, he argues that in reducing fiction to the “genius” (and property) of the author and limiting its circulation, manipulation, decomposition, and recomposition, the *danger* of fiction was also reduced.
  17. Questioning the point of presenting the reader of *Orthokosta* with multiple testimonies of the “same” event (an issue I discuss at length below), Voulgaris espouses the view that the witness who is “closest” to the event is naturally the best witness: in the name of “narrative economy,” he suggests, Valtinos might have provided this person’s testimony and dispensed with the “repetition” (2004: 55). Propounding the commonsense logic of “salvage” ethnography in the face of Valtinos’s “assault” on the historical record, he asks in dismay, “What will the historian of the next generation do, who does not have my information? Will she/he turn to oral history, collecting the testimonies of the second generation?” (90). Ironically, Voulgaris’s own performance of memory undermines this mocking dismissal of the testimony of the “second generation.” Even though Voulgaris, born in 1958, is much younger than Valtinos, his essay on *Orthokosta* attests to a deep knowledge of the events of the war years as experienced in his village and the surrounding region and, perhaps most importantly, to their profound impact on him—despite the fact that he did not live through them.
  18. In the 1960s and 1970s, along with the rising influence of Marxism in historiography as well as advances in voice-recording technology, “ethnobiography” started to become a popular genre among journalists, academics, and activists in many parts of the world. The Latin American testimonial (*testimonio*), perhaps the most well known of such genres, developed when sympathetic intellectuals set about interviewing illiterate and semiliterate working-class people (Gugelberger 1996). As a result, the *testimonio*, which developed alongside armed national liberation movements in Latin America, has a pronounced political and juridical dimension as its narrator “testifies against abuses suffered by a class or community” (Sommer 1999: 117). Or, as John Beverley puts it: “The situation of narration in *testimonio* has to involve an urgency to communicate, a problem of repression, poverty, subalternity, imprisonment, struggle for survival . . .” (1996a: 26). Philippe Lejeune (1989) has written of the emergence of “ethnobiography” in France in the 1970s, as individual informants, the “ones who do not write,” were called forth to speak to educated mediator-scribes on behalf of a social class or occupation or in regard to a particular historical experience.
  19. In discussing the Latin American *testimonio*, John Beverley has argued that this genre not be seen as merely a kind of oral history. In oral history, the intentionality of the recorder of testimony remains dominant while in *testimonio*, by contrast, the intentionality of the narrator takes precedence over that of the educated “compiler” or “activator” (1996a: 26).

- Beverly, thus, suggests that *testimonio* not be treated as a mere “reenactment of the anthropological function of the colonial or subaltern ‘native informant’”: in *testimonio*, the relationship between the oral narrator and literate compiler is not characterized so much by “liberal guilt” or “charity” as by a politicized reciprocity, stemming from the union of radical intellectuals and the poor and working class in a struggle for social justice and change (31–3).
20. While critics often refer to Valtinos’s writing as “ethnological” or “anthropological” (see, for instance, Raftopoulos 1994a), Vangelis Calotychos has more usefully compared *Orthokosta* to contemporary research on the Civil War based on ethnographic fieldwork and/or oral history, including that of M. Mazower, R. Van Boeschoten, J. Hart, Y. Margaritis, and S. Kalyvas. Calotychos notes that *Orthokosta* appeared just as such work was “beginning to pick up speed and achieve a critical mass” (2000: 152). For his part, Yiannis Dallas (1997) connects trends in “foreign historiography” (the Italian school of “microhistory”) with recent “domestic” literary production (in which he includes *Orthokosta*). By contrast, Tzina Politi’s (1996) argument that *Orthokosta* presents us with a “preliterary, prehistoriographic” discourse and an “older understanding of the role of narration” that replaces “official history” and “bourgeois reading habits” ignores the long history of constructing the “voice” of the “common people” in bourgeois literature, as well as the contemporary authoritativeness of testimony-based historical accounts.
  21. Valtinos’s short story, “The Plaster Cast” (O Gypsos), one of the more memorable contributions to that volume, plays on and mocks dictator Papadopoulos’s favorite metaphor, “Greece as a patient in a cast” (the narrator of the story is wrapped in plaster as he speaks). Instead of speeding national recovery, as Papadopoulos intended, the cast is depicted as suffocating, stifling, and ultimately murdering Greek society. In her study of literary resistance to the military dictatorship and its tactics of censorship and “textual authoritarianism,” Karen Van Dyck has highlighted Valtinos’s attempt in this story at “erasing the figurative with the literal” as a means of parodying the regime’s rhetoric and stripping it of its legitimacy (1998: 37–50). The story ends when *glossa* (language, the tongue) itself is cut off as plaster fills and gags the narrator-patient’s mouth.
  22. The film *Descent of the Nine*, directed by Christos Shiopachas, won the Golden Prize in the Moscow Film Festival in 1985.
  23. This reading was held on the island of Skopelos on March 21, 1998.
  24. Voulgaris’s (2004) essay on *Orthokosta* (see n. 2) elaborates on Elefantis’s line of argumentation, even to the point of including a fictional historian-of-the-future. It is 2014 and this (male) historian is attempting to write the history of the Civil War in Kynouria after the last eyewitnesses have died. With only a few badly written and cheaply produced Resistance memoirs to go on, the historian, in Voulgaris’s vision, is unable to *not* treat *Orthokosta* as a “primary source” on the history of the region (32–42, see also n. 33). In depicting this future historian as employed in a (fictional) provincial university where he teaches the history of the “Age of Extremes” (i.e., an apologetic history of fascism and communism viewed as two equally fanatical and totalitarian ideologies, two evils, two sides of the same coin), Voulgaris implicitly links the critique of leftist metanarratives on this period with the emergence of a new breed of theory-minded, careerist, professional historians who have come of age within academia rather than spheres of political (and historical/archival) activism.
  25. In his 2002, *They Took Athens from us . . . : Rereading some Points of the History of 1940–1950* (Athens: Vivliorama), Elefantis also makes this connection by reprinting his review of *Orthokosta* just following one for Gage’s *Eleni*.
  26. The standard periodization of the Civil War is 1946–49. At the October 1999 conference in Athens, “The Greek Civil War from Varkiza to Grammos,” however, the “beginning” of



the Civil War was set in 1945 at the time of the Varkiza agreement that officially demobilized ELAS. Another common start date for the Civil War is December 1944 (*Dekemvriana*). Going even further back, the period to which *Orthokosta* refers is sometimes described as the Civil War's "First Round." Needless to say, these different chronologies pose arguments for (or against) seeing particular moments of internecine conflict as related.

27. Referring to Hannah Arendt's critique of the prosecution case at the Eichmann trial, Felman judges Arendt "jurisprudentially conservative" because she is unable to accept the new revolutionary conception of the *victim* that emerged at the trial to de-center the *criminal* (i.e., Eichman or the "banality of evil") on whom Arendt remained transfixed. On the other hand, she considers Arendt's commentary on the trial "historiographically revolutionary" because she refuses to accept the prosecution's depiction of Nazism as a "traumatic *repetition* of a monumental history of anti-Semitism." For Arendt, this interpretation problematically "screens the new" (2002: 122). In her discussion of Paul Celan's poetry, Felman also points out how Celan turned Christian metaphors of resurrection and transcendence on their head, making them testify to the historical specificity of the Holocaust and showing the "concrete historical reality of massacre and race annihilation" to be "unerasable and untranscendable" (Felman and Laub 1992: 30).
28. The description of the novel as a "literary reproduction of the complaints of the anonymous Security Battalionist" comes from "The Security Battalionists are Vindicated" (October 26, 2003), a special issue of "Sunday's 'Virus' (*O "Ios" tis Kyriakis*), a left-wing investigative news supplement to the high-circulation Sunday edition of the *Eleftherotypia* newspaper. In this reportage, *Orthokosta* is described as the "first step" in a program of revisionist historiography funded by right-wing think tanks and spearheaded by particular historians with ultimate aim of establishing the reputation of the Security Battalionists as "defenders of the peace."
29. Interestingly, in the 2000 sequel to *The Book of the Days of Andreas Kordopatis*, Valtinos turns his attention to the "Asia Minor Catastrophe," that other key moment in the production of Greek literary testimony. In this book, though, he highlights the violence of Greek military campaigns of territorial expansion during the Balkan Wars (focusing, for instance, on the rape of Turkish women by Greek soldiers) and not only their tragic conclusion in 1922 with the expulsion of innocent Greek victims by Turkish aggressors.
30. At the end of Stratis Doukas's *A Prisoner of War's Story*, the narrator-scribe remarks of his informant: "When he'd finished telling his story, I said to him, 'Sign your name.' And he wrote: *Nikolaos Kozakoglou*" (1999: 64). With this command ("Sign your name"), the narrator reinvests his informant with his Greek name (as a fugitive in Turkey the narrator had disguised himself as a Turk), as well as establishes that this name with its Turkish suffix (-oglou) is (now) Hellenic Greek. Having the informant *sign* his name, however, also symbolically forces him to "claim" his testimony and recognize the fullness of his subjectivity through it. Finally, given the highly asymmetrical nature of this linguistic exchange, the signature might be seen as evidence that the informant willingly consented to signing over the "rights" to his story to Doukas.
31. In an interview, Valtinos observed that the discerning critic would find that the structure of *Orthokosta* had been inspired by music: "a graduate student also could note that 24 rhapsodies comprise the spine of the book. Exactly 24. And not a 'collection of narrations.' I have to make clear here that I was not interested in the number alone. There are other such things to be discovered. I am not going to be the one to list them though" (1994b).
32. As Raphael Samuel has noted in the tellingly entitled 1971 essay "Perils of Transcription" (reprinted in 1998 in *The Oral History Reader*): "The spoken word can very easily be

- mutilated when it is taken down in writing and transferred to the printed page. Some distortion is bound to arise, whatever the intention of the writer, simply by cutting out pauses and repetitions—a concession which writers very generally feel bound to make in the interests of readability” (389).
33. In what he remarkably describes as a purely “textual” analysis (by which he means that he does not compare the story in the novel to his knowledge of “real” events), Voulgaris reads several testimonies in precisely this plot-centered way, parsing out chronologies, kinship relations, and political maneuverings (2004: 104–36). (Desperately trying to make sense of the Civil War with *Orthokosta* as a key “source” and hoping to put things “in some order” [46–7], Voulgaris’s fictional historian-of-the-future even goes so far as to scan *Orthokosta* into a digital file so that he can cross-check names in the novel with a CD of the local census he secured from the municipality!) If, for Voulgaris, the “first reading” of the novel, the one at which most readers stop, produces a sense of “chaos,” the second reading proves this chaos to be incredibly well organized and masterfully orchestrated and, thus, a dangerous fabrication, a trap (76, 138). Despite the fact that Voulgaris identifies himself as “not a historian, but a literary critic” (100), he does not show any particular sensitivity to the textual or poetic (something evident in his use of arbitrary passages from the novel as epigraphs); in blatantly privileging the historical reading over the literary, he treats the fictional as little more than a *mask* to be lifted from reality (as most notably in his identification of the “real people” behind *Orthokosta*’s pseudonyms).
  34. By far the most common monuments relating to this period celebrate the battles and heroes of the “National Resistance” (*Ethniki Antistasi*) in familiar national-military terms (often including implicit or explicit reference to other moments of “Greek” resistance to a foreign enemy, e.g., the 1821 War of Independence against the Turks). These monuments were constructed following the “recognition” of the Resistance and replace an earlier genre of monument commemorating battles against the “communist bandits” (*kommounistosymmorites*), some of which still stand, especially in villages of northern Greece. State discourse on “reconciliation” had stipulated the (re)construction of memorials with names of those who died in the Civil War from both government and communist sides; however, there has been no notable collective and spontaneous mobilization to mourn the trauma of (the) war, and emphasis remains on excavating its “heroic” moments. The 1989 declaration of the Makronisos concentration camp a “national historical monument” by then culture minister Melina Mercouri importantly transformed a site of state-inflicted postwar violence on communists into a memory *topos*, but one associated not only with the Left but also with its most politicized part (cf. *Historical Landscape and Historical Memory* 2000). Testament to the symbolic capital associated with this site, politicians of the conservative New Democracy party ironically have also participated in recent “pilgrimages” to Makronisos.
  35. As Felman notes, the *historical particularity* of traumatic events such as the Holocaust paradoxically lies in their “disappearance as an historical actuality and referential possibility.” Since these events cannot be incorporated into existing conceptual frameworks for thinking about “History,” they take on specificity precisely in the fact that they “cannot, historically, be witnessed” (Felman and Laub 1992: 104).
  36. *Orthokosta*, as I have already noted, has often been spoken about in the same breath with journalist Nicholas Gage’s *Eleni*. As Maria Skamaga (1999) has argued, this comparison is particularly unconvincing, as Gage’s dogged pursuit to discover the single, undeniable “Truth” of his mother’s death partakes of none of *Orthokosta*’s self-consciousness about the (re)construction and interpretation of the historical past. Valtinos’s novel also has been frequently paired with political scientist Stathis Kalyvas’ research on left-wing violence (e.g., Kalyvas 2000). Again this comparison seems unwarranted: Kalyvas’s explicit aim in his

research is, as he puts it, “to set the record straight” and contribute to a “full exploration of the nature of violence during the Greek civil war” (2000: 143). He treats testimony as merely a source for otherwise unrecorded information. By contrast, as we have seen, *Orthokosta* explicitly refuses this kind of totalizing masternarrative of the war and uses testimony to speak to issues of narrative responsibility, the ethics of listening, and the pitfalls of ideological essentialism. It is, thus, curious that in recent left-wing interrogative reportage about contemporary representations of the Security Battalions (see n. 28), Kalyvas’s work has been described as a “postmodern—and definitely selective—description of ‘red terror’ between 1943–4 in the Argolid” (“The Security Battalionists are Vindicated.” *Eleftherotypos*, October 26, 2003). In regard to the contested history of the Civil War, it seems “postmodernism” can be used as a synonym for “revisionism,” even if the contingency of historical events, the mediation of experience through language, and the multiplicity of subject positions and historical narratives are not at issue.

37. The work of Frangkiski Abatzopoulou on Greek Holocaust testimonies (1993, 1994: 25) represents an important exception to literary scholars’ avoidance of texts that make claims to historical truth.
38. In response to charges that *Orthokosta* fabricates and falsifies the past, Valtinos has countered that “to talk of a painting—*Orthokosta*—with the negative of a photograph is hardly satisfying” (cited in Calotychos 2000). In other self-reflections on his writing, Valtinos has also resorted to metaphors from the visual arts not only to underscore the “impressionism” of historical fiction in relation to “scientific” accounts of the past but also to defend the work of literature as rightful product of its maker’s art. In responding to the frequent charge that his writing simply reproduces things other people have said, Valtinos has pointed out that painters would never be accused that a “painting is its model” (1991: 14). The switch in media (from writing to painting) on which such an analogy depends is not, however, insignificant. In emphasizing the aura of the original artwork (not its technological reproducibility), Valtinos does not seem to take into account the citational principles of writing—to which his novels, ironically, make us more sensitive—and the fact that literary authenticity is so often produced through “conjuring,” and borrowing the authority of, another’s “live” voice.

## 5 AMERICA TRANSLATED IN A MIGRANT’S MEMOIRS

1. It is difficult to tell which notebook was written first. The copy I have labeled version A (6" × 4") has 84 written pages, followed by several blank pages and a 23-page poem. Version B, contained in a tinier notebook (5" × 3½"), has 158 pages (though only every other page has been numbered). I think Version B was written second because it contains a much fuller account of Mandas’s journey to the United States, but also because topic changes are more frequently indicated by page breaks. Version B, however, does not constitute the “clean” copy or revision of Version A (as “original” text); the events narrated and the language used to describe them are both similar and different enough in each version to suggest that Mandas did not write the second copy while looking at the first, but rather that he had a well-rehearsed account of the story in his head. Since Mandas’s spelling errors are impossible to convey in translation and the original texts are not in circulation (and the edited text barely is), I quote extensively from Mandas’s original Greek text. In cases in which I have transliterated phrases into English, Mandas’s spelling errors are sometimes “concealed” by my transliterations.

2. In this poem, which has as its fictional addressee a lover back home, Mandas describes the hard lives of Greek immigrants in the United States from the textile plants of Lowell, Massachusetts to the railroad companies out west. He complains that the Greeks are a “small” people in comparison to other ethnic groups and that Americans do not care if they die or are exploited in their workplaces. He also laments that while living in the United States, Greeks lose their cultural identity and religion. The poem concludes with a rousing call for Greece to retake Hagia Sophia in Istanbul and realize the “Great Idea” of Greek territorial expansion. The fact that the poem is written in such a different style than the memoirs and uses phrases from popular songs of the time (such as “Columbus is to blame for discovering America”) suggests that the poem draws heavily on other poems and songs that were circulating in Greek immigrant communities in the United States at the beginning of the century.
3. *Palatia Ellada* refers to the territories that comprise the original kingdom of Greece, including Mandas’s native Peloponnese, as opposed to the so-called New Lands (*Nees Hores*), such as Macedonia, which were annexed post-1830. For *Palatioelladites*, migrant labor and soldiering in the Balkan Wars formed characteristic aspects of their historical experience of the first quarter of the twentieth century. Thus, we can understand why in the sequel to *The Book of Days of Andreas Kordopatis*, Valtinos “sends” Kordopatis, also an Arcadian, to the Balkan Wars after his return from working in the United States.
4. Mandas’s age group had not in fact been called up (he was thirty-seven at the time), but when his parents registered his birth, they had declared him three years younger than his actual age. At the time of the Balkan Wars, many Greeks who were working in the United States returned to Greece to enlist. Mandas, by contrast, does not appear to have been so eager to fight; he simply happened to have already returned to Greece.
5. According to a study on the Greek community of Spartanburg, the first Greek “settler” arrived in 1900 from Arahova, a village near Vourvoura, and set up a “candy kitchen” (Boyd n.d.). “Candy kitchen” appears to be the Anglicization or “Gringlish” (i.e., “Greek-English”) for *zaharoplasteio*, patisserie or cake shop. Arahova was the principal village from which Vourvoriot men took their brides.
6. According to an official Greek government study on migration, between 1890 and 1911 Arcadia was the province with the highest number of migrants in relation to its population: 15.10 percent (cited in Kitroeff 1999: 143). Migration had a tremendous impact on Mandas’s own village of Vourvoura. A 1924 village yearbook, which has a section entitled “Vourvouriots in America,” lists the names of a hundred villagers living in Washington, D.C. According to statistics compiled in the 1925–6 village yearbook, 173 of a total Vourvouriot population of 1,064 were in the United States, including one-quarter of the male population.
7. See, for instance, Saloutos’s (1964) landmark study of the successful assimilation of the immigrant Greek population into U.S. society. For critiques of the overwriting of Greek working-class history in the United States and the labor organizing and radical politics of the community’s past, see contributions to special issues of the *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* (“The Greeks in America” 14(1–2), 1987; “The Greek American Experience” 16(1–4), 1989; “Rethinking Greek America” 20(1), 1994) and Georgakas (1992). For a fascinating study of the 1914 Greek strike in the Colorado coal mines and the murder of strike leader, Louis Tikas, see Papanikolas (1982). Early sociological studies had assigned immigrant Greeks a low status in racial hierarchies: see Fairchild (1911), Burgess (1913); on the relation of race, class, and ethnicity in shaping immigrant discourses as well as on the progressive “whitening” of Greek Americans, see Anagnostu (2004).
8. While studies of immigrant communities began to be conducted in the United States quite early because immigration could be viewed as part of a story of “national accumulation,” by contrast, emigration as “loss of national capital” was not for a long time a subject of mainstream European historiography (Laliotou 1998: 36).

9. If one factors in the large number of Ottoman Greeks (from Crete, the Aegean islands, Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, and Asia Minor) who began emigrating to the United States around 1905, it is estimated that a total of as many as 900,000 people of Greek ethnicity emigrated to the United States during the “first wave” of transatlantic migration (Petmezas 1995: 428). Migration did form a subject of intense public discussion and cultural production in Greek society, with returned migrants symbolizing either physical and moral degradation or “reformed Greekness” (Laliotou 1998). For an overview of the salience of the theme of diaspora in Greek cinema, see Sotiropoulou (1995). Cultural texts produced by Greek migrants themselves about their experiences of migration and repatriation, however, have been mostly ignored in the historiography of Greek migration to the United States (Kalogeras 2001).
10. See, for instance, the extensively illustrated 1997 coffee-table book, tellingly entitled *Anywhere on Earth Greece: The Epic of Migration in Pictures*, ed. Fondas Ladis.
11. The most recent (academic) encyclopedia of modern Greek history, the *History of Greece in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Christos Hatziosif (1999), is organized around socio-economic and cultural historical topics, with migration constituting an important “chapter.” For an important study that considers Greek transatlantic migration from the perspective of transnational movement and diasporic cultural formation rather than as an adjunct to national historiography, see Laliotou (1998). Postwar Greek migration to western Europe and Australia has also recently emerged as a subject of historical study; see, for instance, Ventoura (1999).
12. See, for instance, reportage in the newspaper *Eleftherotypia* by the left-wing journalist team *O Ios tis Kyriakis*: “The Unknown Pogrom against the Greeks” (June 14, 1998), “The Criminality of the Greeks in the U.S.A., 1929–30” (November 28, 1999) and “Australia: The Undesirable Greeks” (October 10, 2000).
13. For more on the use of the slogan “Greeks were once Albanians” in Greek public discourse as well as on the way 1990s Albanian migration to Greece has reenacted Greek histories of migration and poverty, activating Balkanist tropes of representation without, however, “coming to terms” with them, see Papailias (2003).
14. Describing his interrogation by the Nazis, Mandas, for instance, admits to being very impressed by the German officer who eventually released him. He notes: “after I said to myself may god bless him we left he was a Man of great Stature handsome and he wore a small medal on his chest and spoke greek like us hicks.”
15. In statistics compiled for the 1925–26 Vourvoura yearbook, the Mandas family was listed as the largest in the village: of 1,064 “Vourvouriots” (including those in the United States), 159 were *Mantaioi*.
16. For the classic philological study on the Greek funeral lament, see Alexiou (1974); for anthropological and performative approaches to mourning practices, see Seremetakis (1991), Panourgia (1995).
17. Most songs of *xenitia* actually were produced during an earlier wave of Greek migration (between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, mostly to central Europe). Rather than reflecting a continuity of practice, the reproduction of these songs in twentieth-century print discourses such as folklore compendia might be seen as a re-creation of this “tradition.” The 1924 Vourvoura village yearbook, for instance, contains two versions of the classic folk song of *xenitia*, “The Death of the Emigrant (*Xenitemenou*).”
18. While emigrant remittances provided a great boon to the Greek economy, the state was concerned about the drop in population caused by migration (and the concomitant loss of military conscripts) as well as by the poor physical and “moral” health of returned emigrants, many of whom were suffering from tuberculosis (Petmezas 1995: 428–9; Laliotou 1998: 124).

19. As Laliotou notes, cultural discourses represent first-wave migrants as nostalgic for the bachelor life of the early years of immigration and especially the “flirtatiousness of . . . everyday life interaction with women of different nationalities” (1998: 132).
20. Other common terms included: “That’s-all-right-*ides*” (Δεσσοράιηδες) from the Greek American habit of inserting the English phrase “that’s all right” into their Greek; “Jimmy-*des*” (Τζιμηδες) from “Jimmy,” the Anglicization of Dimitris; and *Kounimenoι*, “shaken,” from the immigrant’s boastful shaking of their bodies as they walked (Triandafyllidis 1963: 275).
21. To the extent that Mandas presents his life as an example (or counterexample), his text might be compared to the explicitly pedagogical 1945 *Engkolpion Metanastou* (Manual of an Immigrant) by Emmanuel Polenis. This author, who had lived in the United States between 1907 and 1921, advises future migrants not to make the mistake of letting nostalgia tempt them to return to Greece: with great regret, he recalls the day a prophetic bank cashier told him that it was a bad idea to withdraw his money and leave the United States, because Greece is poor and “good only for her History” (74).
22. As Susan Buck-Morss has suggested in reference to Greek migration to Germany in the 1970s, the dominance of family-based capitalism in Greece might have made Greek products noncompetitive in global markets, but family control over the means of production prevented the divorce of a large labor force from the land, thus maintaining ownership as an alternative productive means. Temporary proletarianization through periods of migration, thus, often strengthened family capitalism or created the basis for its establishment (1987: 226).
23. In their ethnographies, Campbell (1964) and Couroucli (1985: 136) note the oppression of common people by the formal discourses and paperwork of state bureaucracy, but do not make the relation of writing to social power an explicit subject of inquiry. In his discussion of the Greek “language fetish,” Herzfeld (1992) has underscored the conjunction of language, bureaucracy, law, and nation-state in the “rhetorics of normativeness.” For a subtle analysis of the workings of Greek linguistic hegemony from the perspective of speakers of a “minority” language, see Tsitsipis (1998).
24. In the 1939 Vourvoura yearbook, the authors of a statistical study on the village remark that to come to a correct conclusion about the population of Vourvoura, one must stop trying to do the statistics of “Vourvoura” and instead do those of “Vourvouriots.”
25. One of Mandas’s stories pokes fun at the fact that there were so many people in Vourvoura named Yiorgos (or, more informally, Yiorgis) Mandas. He writes: “To find a Yiorgis Mandas in Vourvoura you have to know his nickname (*paratsoukli*). A good friend of mine, whom I met when we were traveling from New York to Piraeus, promised me that he would come to see Vourvoura, such a famous place. And indeed he came two years later” Mandas’s friend had trouble finding him, though, because he was looking for “Fatty” and by then Mandas had become quite thin.
26. In the same spirit, see the brief autobiographical note written in the 1930s by a Greek migrant laborer in the United States named Gus Markos (Anagnostu 1999). A contemporary of Mandas’s, who eventually settled in Columbus, Ohio, Markos’s account of his work and travel in the United States is composed almost entirely as a story of wages. It begins: “On March 18, 1902 I arrived in Chicago, America. On April 1st of the same year I got a job as a bootblack in Milwaukee, Wisconsin for \$100 a year. I worked in the shoeshine parlor for fifteen months, made a total of \$130. In July, I left Milwaukee and went back to Chicago. I worked in a hotel for two months for \$15 a month and in a factory for a month for \$5 a week.”
27. The “tactful” suppression of the subject of money in the travelogues of the select few who are considered travelers (as opposed to migrants, exiles, refugees) is merely one of the

- many ways such movement conceals its privilege. Contemporary tourist guidebooks, bristling with costs and estimates, however, unabashedly proclaim the significance of money as a standard of cultural comparison. As Buck-Morss notes in an article about tourism in Greece in the late 1970s and early 1980s: “In the cafés talk of money is incessant. The most frequently asked question to foreigners is *posso kostizi?* (‘how much?’) How much was your plane fare? your camera? your watch? The question is the means by which the villagers attempt to position themselves within a world system of abstract exchange” (1987: 224).
28. An analogue to Mandas’s text might be *To Imerologion tou Viou Mou* (The Diary of My Life), the autobiography of a Cypriot migrant worker named Savvas Tserkezis (1874–1963) whose travels overlapped with Mandas’s. Tserkezis was in Los Angeles between 1908 and 1912 and fought in the Balkan Wars before returning to the United States where he lived from 1915 until 1923. Tserkezis, who also wrote an adventure novel, casts his story entirely in a travel–adventure mode and only writes about his travels not his life at home.
  29. Mandas’s story resonates with narratives of the lives and deaths of “neomartyrs” (saints who were canonized after the fall of Constantinople in 1453). Unlike earlier saints, the neomartyrs were poor, socially marginalized people [cf. Nikodimos (tou Agioreitou) 1794]. Laurie Hart (1992) notes that in the Greek rural village where she did her fieldwork in the 1980s, the most common kinds of printed matter that entered the home were little pamphlets about the lives of saints or histories of monasteries. In addition, she notes that the stories of saints were very present in the public discourse of the village. She suggests that saints’ lives be seen as a successor to the “late antique romance, concerned with the theme of ‘capricious fate’ ” (203). For the relationship between saints’ lives and early Greek biographical novels, see Farinou-Malamatari (1997).
  30. In a discussion of the significance of martyrdom in Orthodox Christianity, Hart (1992) notes that the early Christian concept of the martyr placed stress on witnessing: the *martyras* was viewed as someone who could testify through observation or revelation to the truth of God’s power or Christ’s sacrifice. Over time, however, the concept of *physical suffering* became predominant, and martyrs were considered people who could testify because they had endured a particular *martyrion* (physical torture, torment, ordeal) and nonetheless had maintained their faith (1992: 193–223). It is important to note the difference between a religious and a historical or legal *martyras*: while the *synaxari* (saint’s life) was a biography written in the third-person about a martyr who had died, the historical/legal witness, also called *martyras* in Greek, testifies in the first-person as a *survivor*.
  31. Even though Latin American testimonial (*testimonio*) has been incorporated into U.S. multicultural literary canons, Beverley (1996a, b) argues that its narrators never claimed to have come into their “true” identity when they became writers (as is the case in some working-class and ethnic literature). For narrators of *testimonio*, literacy represents just one of several tactics to effect social change, not an end in itself.
  32. In a 1953 article, written on the basis of a trip to the United States in 1939, Manolis Triandafyllidis (1963), the renowned demoticist linguist, describes the “Greek of the Greeks in America” not as a separate idiom, but as “native Greek” that has gradually “weakened” and been spiritually “emptied” because of having lost contact with the “live, renewing source” of the Greek “mother tongue” as well as as a result of coming under the pressure of American life and language. His analysis focuses primarily on changes to the lexicon: “misused” Greek words; Greek words used to express new meanings; and neologisms based on English words but adapted to Greek morphology, which were used to represent new meanings or replace “original” Greek words. “Gringlish,” like “Spanglish” (Spanish-English), however, might be seen less as a “degeneration” from a putatively

- “pure” mother tongue than simply as a new variety of Greek that developed in the context of migration and cross-cultural interaction.
33. The conflation of the two versions of Mandas’s memoirs in the edited text not only undoes the rough poetry of Mandas’s prose and disrupts the integrity of each account as a distinct act of writing, but also in many cases results in even more grammatically unclear sentences.
  34. In the *monotoniko* (single-accent system), there are no breathing marks, monosyllabic words are written without accents, and words of more than one syllable are written with only one accent (an acute) over the stressed vowel (Mackridge 1985: 367–8). Due to technical limitations, I am afraid that I, too, have rendered citations from Mandas’s original text in *monotoniko*.
  35. The most common spelling errors for writers of Greek involve the many different spellings of /i/, which can be represented by various letters or combinations of letters. Mandas’s text includes all sorts of incorrect spellings of this sound: for example, *απομνημονεύματα*, instead of *απομνημονεύματα*; *συμέα*, instead of *σημάτια*; *πλούσιη*, instead of *πλούσιοι*. He also does not use the letter omega at all, representing all “o” sounds with omicron: (*ανυιο*, instead of *ανήρω*). As a result, Mandas often accidentally produces homonyms of the words he wants to write *αφτή* instead of *αυτοί* (feminine nominative singular, instead of masculine nominative plural) or *των ανταρτών* instead of *των ανταρτών* (accusative singular, instead of plural genitive).
  36. The use of capital letters and underlining in Mandas’s text also seems to indicate extra stress. When reflecting on the communist argument that only poor men end up fighting in the front lines, Mandas notes: “and that was Correct” (*και αυτό είναι Σωστό*). Of his departure for the United States he writes: “. . . in [18]98 on 26 of August I left.”
  37. As reified by particular technological media (such as the printing press and the typewriter), the space has been central to the postulation of the sign’s arbitrariness and abstract exchangeability. It is not insignificant, for instance, that Saussure, even though he lionized orality, treated the “word” as his model for the linguistic sign. As opposed to the “flow” of handwriting, typewriting, as Kittler has argued, turns writing into a process of selection from discrete elements of the keyboard: what matters are the *differences* between letters as marked by spaces. See also Ong (1982) on the historical role of print and moveable type in transforming writing into a visual object.
  38. Evidence of Mandas’s use of *katharevousa* can be found throughout the text: including (1) word choice (*εντούτις* [*sic*] [however], his favorite conjunction; the use of the preposition *δια* [for] instead of the colloquial *για*); (2) the use of archaizing verb forms (*εγενίθην* [*sic*], instead of *γεννήθηκα*); (3) spelling (*πανδρέφο* instead of the demotic *παντρέψω*); and (4) grammatical forms (the use of the terminal *-ν* in accusative nouns, the use of formal accusative plural noun endings [*τας εορτάς*]).
  39. In the tradition of Greek historical orthography, a specific closed set of digraphs (two-letter sequences) are referred to as diphthongs.
  40. Mandas systematically overuses the diphthong “ει” (as in *εικογένεια*, instead of *οικογένεια*, or *είταν*, instead of *ήταν*), but does not use other diphthongs when he should. He also commonly hypercorrects verb endings by employing those of “more difficult” middle and passive verbs: i.e., *πληρώναμαι*, instead of *πληρώναμε*, or *εφργαμαι*, instead of *εφργαμε*. As this last example indicates, Mandas uses the augment for aorist verbs, which is an element of formal, not demotic Greek; in local idioms of Arcadia, however, the use of the augment was common.
  41. Mandas does not use the circumflex (*perispomeni*) at all. He only uses smooth breathing marks (*psili*), even when a rough breathing mark (*daseia*) is in order. Mandas also assumes that the breathing mark always goes on the first letter of words and, as a result, often incorrectly accents those that begin with diphthongs.



42. On the social history and politics of the modern Greek standard, see Frangoudaki (2001). On Greek multilingualism and “minority” languages, see Tsitsipis (1998), Embeirikos (2001). For Greek sociolinguistics more generally, see the 1992 special issue of the *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* on “Language, Power, and Freedom in Modern Greece” (10: 1) and the 1997 special issue of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* on “Aspects of Sociolinguistics in Greece” (126).
43. Mandas has similar problems transliterating the word “junction” in “Napa Junction.” He starts and ends the word in Latin letters, but for the “ct” alternately use the Greek letters “ξ” and “χ”: *Ναπαξιοξιον, Ναπαξιονχιον*.
44. Gus Markos’s brief autobiographical text (see n. 26) also includes many American place names written in both English and Greek, such as “*Τσικάγο της Αμερικής*, Chicago, Ills. U.S.A.” and “*Μηλοβόρη Βισκάνσον*, Milwaukee Wisconsin” (Anagnostu 1999).
45. Triandafyllidis (1963: 281) refers to this phenomenon as the “lightening of the consonant cluster” (i.e., “pictures” becomes “pitses”). Another example is “sweet-heart” (*συνιχάρτ*) for “sweetheart” as in the Greek American *rembetiko* song “Why my sweetheart/Do you wound me so hard?” (*Αχ, γιατί γλυκό μου συνιχάρτ/Αχ, να με πληγώνεις τόσο χάρτ*). See the 1995 CD *Cafe Aman Amerika: Greek American Songs Revised and Revisited* (Music World Productions).
46. Triandafyllidis notes the remarkable profusion of dialects and idioms of Greek used by immigrants in the United States, many of whose speech had not been significantly affected by schooling in the national standard. He himself also learns some new Greek words during his trip to the United States (1963: 271–2).

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