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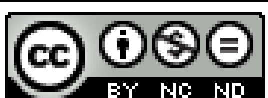

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Partial exposures

Photography and
the visualization of Greek collective identities

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Resubmission for the degree of Byzantine and Modern Greek Research PhD

1/11/2022

Abstract

Photography and the modern state of Greece were invented almost concurrently, in the 1830s. Ever since, photography has visualized the unfolding historical developments of the modern Greek nation, mediating and narrativizing Greek history as well as Greek collective identities. In this thesis I explore how Greek collective identities and their close companion, memory, have been mediated and imagined through Greek photography. Thus, this thesis' main research question is which collective Greek identities have been visualized by Greek photography in the twentieth century. A related question is what part Greek photographic archives play in the safekeeping and dissemination of Greek collective identities. I explore national identity by cleaving it into two strata: cultural-historical and social-political. This is a necessary heuristic device that allows me to structure my research into Greek collective identities' photographic visualization.

I researched two nationally important Greek photographic archives at the Benaki Museum and the Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive-Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece (ELIA-MIET), respectively. At the Benaki Museum I studied the archive of one of Greece's most prominent photographers, Elli Souyioultzoglou-Seraidari (1899-1998), better known as Nelly's. Through Nelly's images I explored the visualization of a cultural-historical Greek identity, grounded in a national mythology of unbroken continuity to the ancient Greeks. At the ELIA-MIET, I studied a collection of images produced for and by the US Marshall Plan (MP) in Greece (1948-1951). Through this collection I studied the formation of a Greek post-war social-political identity geared towards a liberal, capitalist, Western modernity. In both cases, I paid close attention to the content of the images as well as the social-historical contexts in which the photographs were produced, archived, and used.

In both my research cases, I argue that we are seeing a partial image of Greece. National narratives and collective identities require stable, yet partial images to thrive. Photography's truthfulness allows for these partial images of Greece to be formed and to be sustained in collective and cultural memory. Furthermore, I argue that what connects the two strata of Greek identity as well as my analysis of them, is the centrality of time. Nelly's images collapse ancient and modern timescapes to visualize the continuity of Hellenism. The MP's images

elide the past and look towards the horizon of the modern future. Finally, I show that while photography has served broader Greek national narratives well, closer scrutiny of the partial nature of photographs unsettles established dominant narratives, such as diachronic Hellenism or the visualization of post-war Greece as a sun-drenched tourist resort without societal struggles.

Preface

In early March 2020, I was visiting Athens for some archival research. The news at the time had just started to report on an outbreak of a mysterious virus in Wuhan, China. Italy was experiencing a cluster of cases, but otherwise there were only a few cases in Europe. The situation seemed serious but European public health experts and officials were issuing calm and confident statements, easing peoples' worries. I did not pay too much heed to this news at the time. Instead, I was excited about a meeting. Through one of the archivists at the Benaki Museum in Athens, I had come into contact with Nikos Paisios, who is perhaps the closest thing to an *éminence grise* for the study of the Greek photographer Elli Souyioultzoglou-Seraidari (1899-1998), better known as Nelly's. Nelly's is an extraordinarily important figure in the history of Greek photography. Paisios had not only met and interviewed Nelly's, but he had also amassed a sizeable archive of material relating to Nelly's. After an initial meeting over coffee at the Benaki museum's café in central Athens, Paisios told me to show up the next evening at his office, where he would share his digital archive on Nelly's.

Paisios, however, was no archivist or researcher of Greek photographic history. He was–ironically enough–an infectious disease doctor with a keen interest in Greek art. So keen was his connoisseurship of Greek art that he has on numerous occasions curated exhibitions at the Benaki museum, such as the major 2019 retrospective exhibition of the Greek painter Giannis Moralis. At Paisios' office, a treasure trove of digitalized newspapers, magazines and other materials were loaded onto my USB stick. While waiting for the files to transfer, we talked about the virus that was in the news. With the USB stick safely in my jacket pocket, I took my leave of Paisios, thanking him for his help.

This proved to be the last research opportunity for this thesis. The Covid-19 pandemic has since then made new research opportunities impossible or too risky. Therefore, the pandemic has impacted this thesis in several important ways. As mentioned, early March 2020 marked the end of my ability to conduct further research for this thesis. Luckily, the bulk of my archival research was pursued in the summer and fall 2018. Material that I collected during that period at the Benaki museum and the ELIA-MIET provided the foundations for my two analytical cases. A more consequential aspect of the pandemic has been the inability to access libraries and other archives which have important secondary sources. Literature and albums on Greek photography are often impossible to find outside of Greece. The lack of

access to this Greek material has unfortunately made it more likely for me to overlook certain aspects of the photographic visualizations of Greek collective identities. Although, the libraries to which I have had access to have done their utmost to provide digital copies of requested literature, this has its limitations. However, I have done my best to cover literature gaps to the extent that has been possible. For instance, the Small Research Grants scheme for postgraduate students at King's College London has allowed me to purchase books from Greece that were necessary for my research. As mentioned, follow-up visits to the archives I visited in 2018 have not been possible. Certain queries I had about archival materials were answered by the archivists at the respective institutions. Yet, my inability to conduct repeat visits to the archives has prevented me from exploring certain aspects of my research to their fullest extent, such as the particular role that the National Historical Museum's (EIM) photographic archive plays in visualizing Greek identity and history.

Lastly, the pandemic has certainly delayed the completion of this thesis. May future generations of PhD students be spared the extra burden of a pandemic in the already long and often lonely PhD journey.

Researching and writing a PhD is a particularly solitary endeavour. Thankfully the journey to completion was made possible and less lonely by those who helped me along the way.

I have had the privilege to be supervised by four supervisors, two of which were the previous and the current Koraes Chair of Modern Greek and Byzantine History, Language and Literature at King's College London. I am deeply grateful to Professor Roderick Beaton for the confidence and support he showed in me at the earliest stages of my research. As a latecomer to the study of modern Greece, Professor Beaton's supervision and guidance during my first year of my PhD was invaluable. My gratitude also goes out to Professor David Ricks, the secondary supervisor for most of my PhD, for his encouragement and helpful feedback. Dr Kate McMillan was my second supervisor for the last year of my PhD journey. I would like to thank Dr McMillan for helping me to see my thesis from different perspectives and for challenging me to push my work beyond its own horizon. Professor Gonda Van Steen has been my principal supervisor and I owe her an immense debt of gratitude for her ceaseless support, encouragement, and constructive criticism. These things have been particularly important during the Covid-19 pandemic. Professor Van Steen's enthusiasm and generosity are indelibly

exposed on this thesis, as has her encouragement to write clearly yet forcefully. I also thank her for showing me how to continue to see my research–and the research process in general–as meaningful, even after the fatigue of bringing a PhD thesis to completion.

My deepest gratitude goes out to the archivists at the photographic archives I visited in Athens, Greece: Aliki Tsirgialou at the Benaki Museum's photographic archive, Mathilde Pyrli and Vasiliki Hatzigeorgou at the ELIA's photographic archive, Niki Markasioti and Betty Chorianopoulou at the National Historical Museum, and finally Dimitra Karli at the War Museum. I thank all of them for facilitating access to their archives, for providing me with images, for taking the time to talk to me about their archives, and even for the occasional coffee or *koulouri*. My conversations with the archivists were crucial for helping me study the processes by which Greek cultural memory is formed.

My research has at various points benefited from the feedback and input of several people. I thank Kristina Gedgaudaitė for the coffee breaks at the library in Amsterdam and for helping me to think constructively and clearly about memory. I am thankful to Konstantinos Kalantzis who read my chapter on Nelly's and provided timely and important feedback that helped strengthen and structure that chapter. My chapter on the images of the Marshall Plan has benefited from its presentation at the *Photographic Encounters* conference in Chania (2019), the *Modern Greek Studies Colloquium* in Sacramento, CA (2019) and the *Modern Greek Studies in the 21st Century* workshop at Oxford University (2020). Parts of my chapter on the Marshall Plan will be published in the forthcoming volume *Ο Πόλεμος των Ιδεών. Ο Πολιτιστικός Ψυχρός Πόλεμος και η Κατασκευή της Φιλελεύθερης Δημοκρατίας στην Ελλάδα*. I would also think to thank the editors of this volume, Despina Lalaki and Christos Mais, for helping me to develop some of the ideas I explore therein.

This thesis would not have been possible without the generous financial support of a A.G. Leventis Foundation Educational Grant. I would also like to thank Christina Rudbeck-Reimondos and the Stiftelsen Hildur Nordin for their critical financial support over the years. During the summer and fall 2018 I was a doctoral fellow at the Swedish Institute in Athens. Many thanks to the Swedish Institute and its director, Dr Jenny Wallensten for facilitating uninterrupted archival research over the course of several months. I also thank the Nordic Library and its librarians for providing me with the space to process my archival material in peace.

I would also like to thank John Papadopoulos, who long ago started nurturing the idea that pursuing academic research might be something for me. The outcome may not have been what he expected, but I think he might still appreciate it. Finally, I would like to thank my parents for their ceaseless support, moral, financial, or otherwise. It is doubtful that I would have thought this closely about photography if my parents had not dragged me along to their photographic assignments at archaeological sites and museums all over Greece when I was a child. For this I thank them as well. Without Hanna Mühlenhoff's support and daily encouragement this thesis would not have seen the light of day. To her I am grateful every day, for bearing with me on this journey.

List of abbreviations

Where the abbreviation refers to a Greek organization, I have kept the transliterated Greek abbreviation. The Greek names are included in the parentheses, in a transliterated form.

Abbreviation	**Name**
AMAG	American Mission for Aid to Greece
DEI	Public Electricity Corporation (*Dimosia Epicheirisi Ilektrismou)*
DSE	Democratic Army of Greece (*Dimokratikos Stratos Elladas*)
EAM/ELAS	National Liberation Front/People's Liberation Army (*Ethniko Apeleftherotiko Metopo/Ethnikos Laikos Apeleftherotikos Stratos*)
ECA, ECA/G	Economic Cooperation Administration/Greece
EIM	National Historical Museum (*Ethniko Istoriko Mouseio*)
ELIA-MIET	Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive – Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece (*Elliniko Logotechniko kai Istoriko Archeio-Morfotiko Idrima Ethnikis Trapezis*)
EON	National Youth Organization (*Ethniki Organosi Neolaias*)
EOT	Greek Tourist Organization (*Ellinikos Organismos Tourismou*)
ERT	Hellenic Broadcasting Corporation (*Elliniki Radiotileorasi*)
GAK	General State Archives (*Genika Archeia tou Kratous)*
IEEE	Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece (*Istoriki kai Ethnologiki Etairia tis Ellados*
KKE	Communist Party of Greece (*Kommounistiko Komma Elladas*)
MP	Marshall Plan
NPAP	National Policy for Artistic Photography
NSDAP	National Socialist German Workers' Party (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*)

UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
USIS	United States Information Service
ERP	European Recovery Program
OSR	Office of the Special Representative
USIA	United States Information Agency
MSA	Mutual Security Agency

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Introduction

The nation marches by

In the spring of 2021, the bicentenary of the 1821 Greek Revolution was celebrated on March 25, Greece's National Day. As part of the celebrations a grand military parade with some civilian elements was organized. Resembling in many ways the parades of previous years, the troops and various other parading groups marched in lockstep in front of the officials' dais on Syntagma Square in central Athens. The bicentenary was however a grander event than that of any other normal year. Important foreign dignitaries from Greece's historical allies–Russia, France, and the UK–were in attendance. Even the British Crown Prince Charles along with his wife Camilla Parker Bowles, Duchess of Cornwall, participated. The year 2021 was historical for another reason too, namely the Covid-19 pandemic that was raging across the globe. Dignitaries and parading troops alike were wearing masks discreetly emblazoned with the Greek flag, making the presence of the invisible airborne virus known. Furthermore, the pandemic turned the parade and the bicentenary celebration into a purely televised and visualized event, as the 2021 parade was performed without any crowds. Hence, *what* we were seeing on our individual screens, in our atomized pandemic bubbles, was essentially the same staged-directed event.

While most of the parade consisted of soldiers with guns and armoured vehicles, an early section of the parade was dedicated to the past. This segment began with a detachment of men and women on horseback, wearing costumes and uniforms from Greece's 200-year-old (military) history. Leading the charge were the stand-ins for the representatives of the 1821 revolutionary war, who had donned traditional costumes of the period. Following them in chronological order was the cavalry of the Balkan Wars, WWI, the Asia Minor campaign, and, lastly, the cavalry division of WWII.

Behind the cavalry came children dressed in costumes from all over Greece, waving Greek flags and waving at the cameras and officials. The last and largest part of this march through history was made up of groups–referred to as 'platoons' by the presenters from the Hellenic Broadcasting Corporation (ERT)–marching in the traditional costumes of Thessaly, Crete, the Peloponnese, Macedonia (*makedonomachoi* uniforms), Epirus and various islands. Leading this section were the banners of the 1821 revolution, the banners of the *Filiki Etairia* (Society of Friends) and the *Ieros Lochos* (Sacred Squadron). Even a 'platoon' of the *Ieros*

Lochos made its presence known, looking like its members had just stepped out of Peter von Hess' famous paintings depicting Alexandros Ipsilantis' doomed band of young revolutionaries.

Greece's self-narration of its national history was on full display in this mediated parade. Although the public was expressly excluded from the national bicentenary, they nevertheless participated in this re-enactment of history and material culture and in the performance of a Greek national identity. The viewers participating in this review of the nation were not only watching the nation march by but also imagining the nation. If we are to take seriously Benedict Anderson's dictum that the members of an imagined national community do not need to know or see one another in order to imagine the nation (2006, 6), this live-streamed parade offered a great opportunity for the Greek nation to imagine itself as a united body. For this is precisely what this mediated parade did, it unified and streamlined the history of Greece into a coherent narrative. The national community returns to its dream of modern Greece and renarrativizes it.[1]

The parade was mediated in another crucial way as well. As this was all televised, the parade was narrated by two commentators who sat in their special booth, meticulously explaining the significance and symbolism of this flag or that costume, shaping the narrative around the parade and the history of Greece. The presenters' backgrounds are also noteworthy. One of them was Nikos Alliagas, a Greek-French reality TV presenter on French television and the other was Sofia Korma, the presenter of the weekly public television programme Virtue and Valor (*Areti kai Tolmi*). This programme is officially tied to the Ministry of Defence and showcases the Greek armed forces, its military exercises, and its aid to the civilian population. Korma is a Chief Master Sergeant (*archisminias*) of the Greek Air Force, attached to its Public Relations division. Although not quite YENED, the broadcast service of the Greek Armed Forces from 1966-1982, *Virtue and Valor* repackages militarism and nationalism in a modern media format (cf. Van Steen 2015; Paschalidis 2013). The narration of the parade was therefore part reality TV sentimentalism and part military wonkery, replete

[1] Theatre studies scholar Philip Hager recently explored the performative nature of the 2021 bicentenary parade. Hager notes how '[a]s Greeks watch their (re)discovery take place through their televisions, they are assumed to play their silent part in the production and transfer of memory' but fundamentally from a position of exclusion. Greeks watched as the foreign historical allies of Greece rediscovered Greece at the parade and other celebratory events, strengthening Greece's reciprocally ambivalent relationship to Europe (Hager 2021).

with information about the history of military units or the various types of ground-to-air rockets.

Thus, the Greek national day parade of 25 March 2021 was an embodied performance of Greek national time. History marched past the dignitaries and past our screens, marching inexorably towards presumed progress. The parading re-enactors of the past decked out in their various local costumes and historical uniforms symbolized the unity of history and of the nation. The more complex diachronic past had been smoothed over and reassembled so that the Greek nation could remember in the synchronous time of 2021 that there is a unity and homogeneity to Greece, its history, and its national identity. The parade's live-streaming further engrained the synchronicity of national experience. Live-streaming entrenched the restricted spatiality of the national experience as well. After all, most of us watched the bicentenary events on our small screens, barely bigger than a photograph.

The parade, its images and the narrative therefore shape into a screen-memory for Greek history (Sturken 1997, 23). A memory that obscures the nuances and discontinuities of the revolutionary struggle and the larger Greek nation-building project. None of the heterogeneity of Greek society throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century was included in the parade's march through history. The multi-ethnic and complex social map of early-twentieth-century Macedonia–and the Balkans more broadly–or the impact of the million-strong refugees after the 1923 Greek-Turkish population exchange on post-1922 Greece is nowhere to be seen. Neither is the Jewish-Greek presence, the presence of the Greek Roma populations, or other minority groups. Greece was shaped in a linear unified trajectory, always moving towards purported progress, always more or less homogenous, or so the screen and the narration make us believe.

Key concerns

The bicentenary parade highlights a crucial aspect of *how* Greek collective identities and memory have been shepherded through modern Greek history: through its *mediation*. Greece imagines and remembers itself through various selected conduits: history, folklore, literature, archaeology, and others. While the 2021 parade presented a very clear example of Greek history's narrativization and the embodied performance of national identity, the 2021 parade reminds us of the crucial role that the visual plays in upholding Greek national myths and identities. Without the broadcasted images from the parade, Greek society could not have

imagined itself as a community gathering around this parade. This would have been equally valid in the past as well. All of Greece cannot possibly be at the same national parade, all at the same time. Imagery hence facilitates an affective yet indirect participation in the national narrative. However, the visual is taken for granted in Greece. Images and particularly photographs are often regarded as superficial and not substantive. The bicentenary parade is therefore a good–albeit anecdotal–starting point for introducing a programmatic concern of this thesis, which is the overlooked importance of the visual in the projection of Greek collective identities, during the first half of the twentieth century.

Throughout this thesis I examine how Greek collective identities have been visualized in twentieth-century Greek photographies. The use of the plural hints at the heterogeneity at play in both terms. The collective identities that I discuss are by their proximity to the Greek state aligned to certain hegemonic Greek national narratives, yet these collective identities are still marked by heterogeneity in terms of the symbolic resources they draw on. In addition, Greek photographies are also distinguished from a singular Greek photography by these photographies' production and uses.

Similarly, Greek *photographies* rather than the singular photography express the variety of photographic languages that emerged throughout Greece's history. This is particularly important to keep in mind in the post-1980s era, wherein historical and contemporary Greek photographic production and practices underwent a process of canonization and historicization, leading to the formation of a Greek photographic history. Furthermore, a thorny question remains as to what constitutes the *Greek* in Greek photographies? The photographic visualization of Greece has historically been undertaken by outsiders and insiders alike. While the photographic visualization of Greece was initiated by foreigners and later taken up Greek photographers, this was a dynamic and dialectic process. This heterogeneity is also apparent in the photographic collections that I researched in this thesis. Nelly's is a diasporic and cosmopolitan Greek who is considered to be Greece's national photographer. The Marshall Plan's photography is on its surface US photographic propaganda, yet it is also an important visualization of post-war Greece, undertaken by Greek photographers.

Moreover, the links between photography and modern Greece are not as tenuous as they might seem. Both were created almost concurrently in the 1830s. The would-be modern Greek state was founded in 1833, while two of the earliest photographic methods–the

daguerreotype in France and Henry Fox Talbot's calotype method in the UK–were invented in the mid-1830s (Newhall 1972, 18–21). Photography and Greece have ever since shared a close relationship. Starting in the late 1830s European and North American visitors could for the first time capture the country with the technology of photography. Fuelled by a long-established love for the ancient Greek world, these Western visitors focused mostly on the ancient ruins and the landscape, creating images of modern Greece that sought out the glorious past of ancient Greece (G. Edwards 1985, 16–20). This Western photographic gaze confirmed classical Greece's centrality to Western culture, while at the same time flattening modern Greece to a backdrop for the ruins of the classical past. In similar terms, Hellenism in its cultural-political form initially strove to legitimate the founding of the modern Greek state as rightful heir to ancient Greece, or at least of its ideals (Stathatos 2015a, 25–28). The influence of the Western gaze is readily apparent, as the complex history of Greece is sanitized in favour of a narrow focus on ancient Greece. Classical antiquity was not only 'the mythological base' that the Greek state was built on, this past was also the appeal used by the young Greek state to secure vital support from the European powers (Hamilakis 2007, 63). Both Hellenism and photography were quickly adopted, adapted, and applied in the newly formed Greek state.

Much has been written on the uses of photography in Greece in its early years, especially on the close connection between photography and the creation of an image of Greece, often as a land of antiquities, but perhaps bereft of people.[2] Partly reflecting Western views of Greece as birthplace of high classical culture (and consequently of European civilization) and partly reflecting a Western market thirsty for images of Greek ruins, the imagery created evoked an idealized version of Greece that validated Greece as the descendant nation of classical Greece.

This ideal of Greece has had a profound influence on Greek national identity. However, the positioning of Greece as central to European civilization, yet peripheral in today's political and economic world, has created tensions and ambiguities in the negotiation of Greek national identity (Herzfeld 1989, 3). Furthermore, the ideal of pure classical ancestry clashes with the historical and social reality of having for centuries been part of the Ottoman Empire,

[2] Hamilakis (2001), Panayotopoulos (2009), Szegedy-Maszak (1987), Tsirgialou (2015).

Europe's eastern historical and discursive Other. This is an issue that has dogged the formation of modern Hellenism since the birth of the Greek state.

Greece is an especially interesting case of national identity formation and photographic imagery for two main reasons. Firstly, it was one of the first modern states to successfully emerge in Europe during the nineteenth century (Díaz-Andreu García 2007, 83, 94–95). Secondly, as mentioned above, modern Greece and photography emerged roughly at the same time and have a long history of interaction. Although some research has focused on the role of photography in Greek national identity building, the role of Greek photographic archives in the framework of identity building remains relatively unexplored. In *Camera Graeca*, a recent volume on photography in Greece, photographic archives are singled out as objects of research in and of themselves, as loci with 'their own biography, internal logic and aesthetic-cum-social and political impact' (Carabott, Hamilakis, and Papargyriou 2015b, 16).

Against this backdrop, I research the relationship between Greek photography and Greek collective identities and historical memory on the one hand and Greek photographic archives on the other hand. My work builds on the research and theoretical concerns found in *Camera Graeca,* but my approach introduces new issues relating to the use of photography and photographic archives as cultural resources in national identity building and the formation of cultural memory. While my approach builds on the research and theoretical concerns found in *Camera Graeca*, my work is defined by the re-examination of photography's visualization of twentieth century Greek history. To paraphrase Siegfried Kracauer (1995a), my work uses photography to think *through* Greek history, rather than above it. Photographs are therefore examined as central to the visualizations of the Greek past, its history, its collective identities, and its cultural memory–entities whose strands are all interwoven in this thesis. This re-examination of Greek history is however a synthetic endeavour, as it brings together sources that offer a more comprehensive contextualisation of the socio-cultural and political frameworks that affected the production, dissemination and preservation of the images analysed.

Also central to my novel approach is the examination of photography's relationship to *time* in Greece. Photography's ability to call upon several different tenses–the past, the present and the future–is particularly important in Greece, where the historical and recent past are constant points of reference. Throughout this thesis, I explore how photography has helped Greece remember its past while imagining its present and future. Despite the time-

contingent character of photographs–i.e. capturing discreet and fleeting moments of the past–they end up producing numerous intersecting timelines, traversing past and future. I see this is as a crucial element in photography's relationship to the visualization of Greek collective identities where images of the past are shaping the present.

Identities, archives, and time

In this thesis I focus on two types of collective identities that are visualized by Greek photography in the two photographic archives that I have researched: a cultural-historical identity and a social-political identity. The two types of identities are not rigid and hence elements from each category bleed into the other. Such a two-part distinction is a necessary heuristic device that will help me discuss the relationship between Greek photography and Greek collective identities in a structured manner.

The cultural-historical collective identity I explore through the images and life of one of Greece's most famous photographers, Elli Souyioultzoglou-Seraidari (1899-1998), better known as Nelly's. As I will show in chapter five, Nelly's images distinctly visualize one of Greece's great cultural-historical shibboleths, the historical continuity of Greece from the ancients until today.

In chapter six, I explore a social-political identity through the photographic imagery produced for the Greek Marshall Plan (MP) (1948-1952), the USA's reconstruction programme for post-WWII Europe. Although the imagery is to a certain extent US propaganda, the photographs were made by Greek photographers and spoke to Greek as well as foreign audiences. In this imagery we find a distinctly post-war social-political identity being shaped, an identity geared towards the future, towards progress and towards Western liberal capitalist modernity. The two identities and research cases I discuss in chapter five and six respectively provide valuable contrast to each other, showing the different ways in which photography has visualized Greek collective identities.

My two research cases come from two of the most important photographic archives in Greece. Nelly's collection is housed at the Benaki Museum (photographic archive founded 1973) while the MP imagery is stored at the ELIA-MIET (founded 1980). The archives combine official as well as vernacular images and professional as well as amateur photographs of modern Greece. Both archives are located in Athens, Greece, and both are very important repositories of the social and cultural history of modern Greece. Researching the photographs

and the archives, I looked at several factors and characteristics. Key issues are what subject matter is represented and what is not represented in these images–and archives. While I am interested in what can crudely be called the 'content' of the images, I am equally interested in the historical, social, and personal contexts in which these images were created and used, as well as how they subsequently were received. Overall, I will place the photographs' production, aesthetics, and reception in the larger context of photographic archives, Greek collective identity creation and the social and cultural history of modern Greece.

Crucially, what ties my two research cases to photography and modern Greece is their relationship to time. Photographs are time-contingent, able to provide markers in the historical trajectory of the modern Greek nation-state, as in the MP documentation of the post-war development of Greece. They are able to flatten and compress pre-modern, mythical time to fit modern narratives, as Nelly's does in her photographic juxtapositions of ancient Greek statues with 1920s and 1930s rural Greeks. Photography, like the modern state, is a profoundly modern creation that functions within a modern sense of linear national time. Therefore, the study of Greek photography's relationship to Greek collective identities highlights the oxymoron of using the modern technology of photography to craft an image of a mythical national past. My thinking around linear, national time draws on Walter Benjamin's 'empty homogenous time' within which the nation moves. This conception of time is bound up in that of historical progress, against which Benjamin critically places himself (2019, 205). As we saw in the bicentenary of the Greek revolution parade, Greek national history is tied up in a structure of progress. I explore the concept of national time further in chapter two.

On a practical level, two specific time frames are important for this thesis: the time frame of when the images were originally taken and the time frame of the photographic archives. Regarding the first time frame, I have concentrated on the first half of the twentieth century, up to the mid-1950s. This time frame encapsulates two important pillars in my research, one regarding photography and one regarding the history of modern Greece. During this period, the use of photography expanded, and the medium solidified its position in the visual economy of Greece and in Europe in general. This period also represents the era in which the modern Greek state reached its limits, territorially as well as structurally. Finally, in this period we witness the continued search and contestation of dominant expressions of modern Greek identity, as described in chapter one. The time period also includes some of Greece's most important irredentist campaigns and aspirations, a factor that exerted a

profound influence on Greek collective identities. The mid-1950s is the endpoint for my research as this is period in which the MP's immediate effects come to an end.

The second time frame refers to the time period in which the archives I researched were created and made accessible to the public. As mentioned, both photographic archives I focus on are creations of post-1970s Greece, although the Benaki Museum itself dates to the 1930s. The era after Greece's military dictatorship (1967-1974) is significant as Greece takes decisive steps towards democratization and modernization. It is also the era in which photography's status in Greece is raised from mere documentation to a creative and artistic medium.

Some notes on methodology

Disciplinary gaps

By necessity and by choice, this thesis is interdisciplinary, drawing on several disciplines and research strands. History, anthropology, political science, cultural and literary studies and more, all contribute to my study of Greek collective identities' many visual manifestations. This interdisciplinarity fits well within Modern Greek Studies (MGS). MGS attracts a wide variety of scholars who contribute a broad range of perspectives on the historical, political, and social developments in Greece. Although MGS has a regional focus, it is intimately concerned with Greek culture's place in the wider world. Therefore, my two research cases find a suitable home within MGS. Nelly's (chapter five) was a diasporic and cosmopolitan Greek who was central to the visualization of Greece, illustrating thus the Greek diaspora's important role in imagining modern Greece. The MP's Greek photography (chapter six) was the result of bilateral US-Greek relations, highlighting therefore an unexamined side of the important US-Greek relations of the post-war era.

Yet, despite the interdisciplinary character of MGS, certain aspects of Greek cultural life have received the lion's share of attention, such as literature and language. Greek photography has not received much attention within MGS. A search of the articles published in the *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* and in the journal *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, two important platforms for scholarship on Greece, reveals that photography has

received scant attention.[3] The more recent *Journal of Greek Media & Culture* (founded 2015), however, does feature more research on Greek photography.[4] Some notable exceptions to this lack of attention to Greek photography exist. The aforementioned *Camera Graeca* (2015a) volume is one such exception. Another exception is nineteenth-century photography in Greece. This period of Greek history (of photography) has received ample attention in prominent photography journals such as *History of Photography*.[5] Lastly, scholarship about Greek photography in Greek outnumbers anything written within the English-speaking academy. Sadly, Greek scholarship on photography remains for the most part unknown outside of Greece.

Hence, there is a dearth of academic scholarship, relating specifically to Greek photography, on which I can build my thesis. This has two major consequences. Firstly, it pushes me further down an interdisciplinary path, as the academic sources I need are not found within my own narrowly defined discipline of MGS. Secondly, it shows that my research fills a crucial gap both in the study of Greece but also in the study of photography, where Greece is largely absent as well.

Visual analysis

How am I approaching photographs in this thesis? On a general level, my interest in the uses of photography and photographic archives' role in knowledge-making processes aligns my research with the work of John Tagg (1988, 2009) and Allan Sekula (1986, 2003) amongst others. More recent work that explores photography's role in nation-building (cf. Stimson 2006) has also contributed to my thinking within this thesis. Furthermore, photography's important relationship to cultural memory underpins a significant part of my analysis. I explore these linkages in chapter two.

At the level of visual analysis, I am concerned both with the Greek archival images' *content*–what can be seen in the images–and with *context*–who made the images, why and

[3] Eleni Papargyriou (2008, 2020) has published the most on Greek photography in both journals. Other notable exceptions include Kalantzis (2020), Katsari (2013) and Giannakopoulou (2002).
[4] See Papargyriou (2015b, 2015a), Kourelis (2015), Giannakopoulos (Giannakopoulos 2016), Petsini (2019).
[5] See Hamilakis (2001), Adam and Xanthakis (1992), Szegedy-Maszak (2005b), Bohrer (2016), Edwards (1990), Hanoosh (2016b).

how have the images been used throughout time. Both iconographic and historical concerns are therefore at work in my visual analysis. Seeing is thus an active process, a *pas de trois* between 'photographer-subject, photographed object, and beholding audience' (Stimson 2006, 171) as well as the photograph's distributor. It is also 'a form of organizing knowledge and of weaving a net of signification' (Jäger 2018, 48). My treatment of photographs does not limit them to historical evidence or illustration. Instead my approach also looks at how photographs have helped form historical imagination (Burke 2001, 13). As Gregory Paschalidis notes 'photographs do not represent history, they represent *in* history. They form part of history, are part of the way we make sense of and give form to history' (emphasis in original) (2004, 41). In addition, photography is part of the 'modern apparatus of technologies, institutions, and practices involved in representing, remembering, and administrating the past–along with such things as museums, monuments, archives, commemorative rituals, and national narratives' (Paschalidis 2004, 40).

Historian Annette Vowinckel's definition of photographs as *argument* is pertinent here. Vowinckel suggests that photographs make an argument about our world–physical and social–as photographs make and depict reality simultaneously (2016, 17). In contrast to other types of imagery, photographs are unique in their ability to be both impression (Abdruck) and expression (Ausdruck) (2016, 16).[6] Lastly, I also see photography as an affective 'technology of memory' (Sturken 1997), which produces memory. I understand this aspect as an important feature for photography's role in visualizing Greek collective identities. Photographs shape our vision of the past, conveying both knowledge and–importantly–emotion (Morris-Suzuki 2005, 2, 23). As Tessa Morris-Suzuki puts it, 'any encounter with the past involves feeling and imagination as well as pure knowledge' (2005, 24). I explore the linkages between memory and photography in detail in chapter two.

The originality of my research lies in the interdisciplinary and the visual methodologies that I use. Photography is not central to the historiography of Greece or to the study of modern Greek culture and society. The aversion to photographs as legitimate sources for historical or social science research, however, is not new or limited to Greece.[7] Yet, Greek

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[6] Roland Barthes formulated a similar argument in his 1961 essay 'The Photographic Message' (1977, 15–31) referring to photography's denotation and connotation (Batchen 2009, 7; cf. Hariman and Lucaites 2016, 57–59).
[7] Burke (2001), Paschalidis (2004), Jäger (2018), Stanczak (2007).

photography has often played an important role in the visualization of collective identities in Greece, albeit an unacknowledged one. In this thesis I explore how two hegemonic Greek collective identities are visualized by photography. In the first instance, a cultural-historical identity orbiting around the national myth of Greece's historical continuity. In the second instance, a social-political identity constrained by Greece's ambivalent modernization and Cold War anti-communism. What unites both cases, is the state's use of photography to visualize and promote the desired images of Greece. This use is, however, indirect or it is at least a tepid embrace of photography by the Greek state. Only in the promotion of Greece abroad is photography embraced by the Greek state. Fred Boissonnas' collaboration with Venizelos, Nelly's interwar photography and the post-war EOT are good examples of this. The ambivalence towards photography makes it difficult to draw clear conclusions about what the state's intentions were in its uses of photography. Instead, photography has been used in a more diffuse, yet unacknowledged way to visualize collective Greek identities. Therefore, it is important to speak of collective identities.

Mediating a contested past

At this point, I would like to illustrate how photographs from Greek history are important for shaping the present. I do so by examining a peculiar battle over a photograph on the social media platform Twitter that took place on October 28, 2021. The skirmish, which on a superficial level was just one of many fights between the Greek political Left and Right in the early 2020s, was a most fitting example of the photographic mediation of Greek identities and historical memory that I argue for throughout this thesis.

October 28 is Greece's second calendrical national day–after March 25–celebrating the Greek dictator Metaxas' 'NO' (OXI) to Mussolini's ultimatum of surrender on October 28, 1940. While the day marks Greece's entry into WWII, more importantly it celebrates the legacy of Greek resistance to the Axis powers. Most mainstream Greek political discourses will agree on Greece's unified front against the initial Italian invasion. The legacy of Greece's later resistance against the German, Italian and Bulgarian occupation is on the other hand

much more contested.[8] Unsurprisingly, the photograph in question dealt with this contested legacy of WWII resistance.

At 11.30 in the morning of October 28, 2021, Nikos Pappas, a prominent left-wing MP of the SYRIZA political party, posted a tweet celebrating the 'heroic 'No' of 1940 against fascism'. He went on to draw comparisons to today, calling on society to say 'no' against modern-day forms of fascism, stressing that some '"noes" are timeless'. Attached to this tweet was a black-and-white photograph depicting a group of uniformed armed men and women walking in a rocky landscape. The image's context, the uniforms worn, and the black-and-white image led us to read the image as a depiction of members of the Greek resistance during WWII. Lastly, as this image was posted by a left-wing SYRIZA MP, it is most likely a depiction of members of the leftist EAM/ELAS resistance force.

Later that day, Adonis Georgiadis, Minister of Development and Investments for the right-wing New Democracy government, commented sarcastically on Pappas' tweet, calling out Pappas' hypocrisy for caring about fascism while having been in government with Panos Kammenos' nationalist, rightist party Independent Greeks (Ανεξάρτητοι Έλληνες).[9] Crucially though, Georgiadis states that the photograph Pappas posted was of the Democratic Army of Greece (*Dimokratikos Stratos Elladas,* DSE), the communist-led army during Greece's Civil War (nominally 1946-1949). Georgiadis' tweet ends by stressing that celebrating Metaxas' 'No' is meant to unite and not to divide. That same day, Sakis Moumtzis, writer at the *Kathimerini* daily and close friend of Georgiadis, also criticized Pappas' choice of image. Moumtzis posted on Twitter that '[t]he photograph you uploaded is from the Civil War with rebels [male and female] from DSE. Some caution [is needed].'

[8] The debates relating to the contested legacy of the WWII resistance and the dramatic decade of the Greek 1940s are myriad and ongoing. See indicatively Mazower (1995), Lialiouti (2016, 106–7), Voglis and Nioutsikos (2017), Avgeridis (2017).
[9] Georgiadis himself, before joining the centre-right New Democracy party, was a leading member of the far-right nationalist LAOS party.

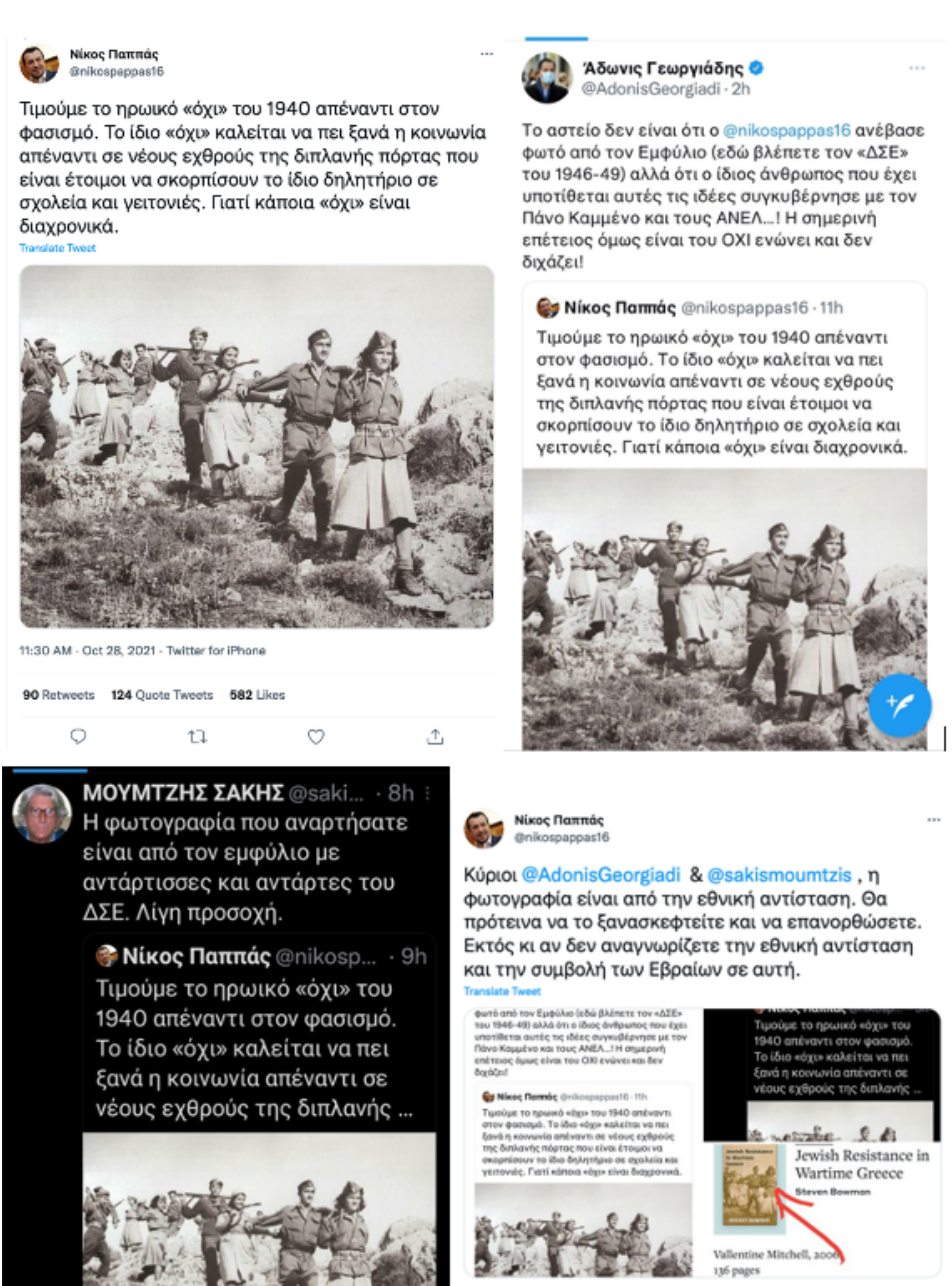

Figure 1. The discussion on Twitter about a contested image of WWII resistance fighters. October 28, 2021. Author's image.

Pappas responds a few hours later to both these comments by pointing out that the image is indeed from the WWII resistance. Specifically, it depicts members of the Greek Jewish resistance. Pappas finishes by pointedly asking Georgiadis if he perhaps does not recognize the contribution of Jews to the WWII national resistance, hinting at Georgiadis' flirtations with antisemitism.[10]

All parties in this dispute agree on a *national* memory of WWII, grounded in the defence of the nation against a foreign invader. What all three parties disagree on is the interpretation of that memory and its importance to national identity in the present. Hence, the photograph concisely illustrates the function of photography as *argument*. The photograph is both an *impression*, a depiction of the resistance members, as well as an *expression* of a narrative. What was at stake in the above skirmish was which narrative might prevail.

On an abstract level, however, the photographic dispute provides a fitting summary of photography's critical mediation of the Greek past. How Greece remembers its past is structured by images in the present. This is highly contested, however, as we saw in the above example. Photography's polysemic nature allows each side to find the narrative or counternarrative that they are in search of. While the contextual use of the image of the partisans was indeed correct–portraying as it did the Greek wartime resistance to the Axis–it did not by default exclude other narratives. So, what started off as an image of a group of WWII resistance fighters, morphed into DSE soldiers during Greece's bitter Civil War, yet ending up in an image of Jewish resistance fighters, thus highlighting an underexplored aspect of Greek history (cf. Bowman 2006; Chandrinos 2021). Within the space of a few tweets, one photograph's 'multiple biographical trajectories' (Schwartz 2020, 515) are neatly illustrated. The above example illustrates well this thesis' interest in understanding Greek photography's important role in visualizing collective identities and collective memory.

Thesis Structure

In chapter one I begin by examining how modern Greek identity might be defined. This is a vast, open-ended, and potentially fruitless question. A more productive approach is to focus

[10] On Georgiadis' antisemitic flirtations and subsequent apologies see Psarras (2016) and *Kathimerini* (2017).

on the value of mapping the complexity of Greek identities. Yet, as I argue in chapter one, it is possible to identify and scrutinize what I refer to as the pillars of modern Greek identity. I examine and critically reflect on both essentialist and constructivist approaches to Greek identity (cf. Politis 1993; Skopetea 1988; Liakos 2008, 2007). I pay particularly close attention to the uses of the past as pillar of modern Greek identity (cf. Hamilakis 2007). Lastly, I interrogate the lack of scholarship that centres visual material in the study of Greek national identity. I conclude that Greece's logocentric culture has obscured the important contribution of visual culture in the formation of Greek identity and the mediation of the Greek past.

My theoretical frameworks are developed in chapter two. In this chapter I deal with the conceptualization of nationalism and national identity, examining theoretical approaches that help me analyse my bipartite distinction of Greek national identity into cultural-historical and social-political strata. I draw on Benedict Anderson's concept of imagined communities (2006) to examine the formation of social-political Greek identities. Anthony D. Smith's work on ethno-symbolism (2003, 2008, 2009) informs my analysis of the cultural-historical aspects of modern Greek identity.

Furthermore, in chapter two I also examine a second cluster of my theoretical framework, which deals with memory and national identity. How a nation imagines itself depends on how a nation remembers and forgets. I look closely at the intersection of memory, photography, and archives. Cultural memory is a guiding concept throughout, with particular emphasis placed on the active and passive aspects of cultural memory (cf. J. Assmann 1995, 2008; A. Assmann 2008a). Furthermore, I examine photography's and archives' relationship to memory, homing in on the mediated nature of national memory. Photography's existence on the interstices of indexical truth and socially constructed document also informs my exploration of photography's role in shaping national identity through memory.[11]

Chapter three provides a brief history of Greek photographies. This history is not widely known outside of Greece and is not widely publicized in languages other than Greek. Therefore, it is necessary to provide this historical background. Crucially, a history of Greek photographies is also an account of photography's role in the mediation of Greek historical memory. Furthermore, I also examine how previous scholarship has looked at Greek photography, particularly as it pertains to fostering national identity or belonging.

[11] Cf. Shevchenko (2015), Strassler (2010), A. Assmann (2011), Sturken (1997).

Chapter four examines the archives that I used for my research. On the one hand, I examine the important role that Greek archives play in preserving and shaping collective memory in Greece. On the other hand, I reflect upon my own positionality as a researcher in these archives. Throughout this chapter I pay close attention to the archives' own understanding of their role as custodians of the past. A particularly important aspect of Greek archives' relationship to Greek historical culture is the predominance of private archives as repositories of the national past and the Greek state's historical neglect of archival matters.

Chapters five and six are dedicated to my two case studies. Chapter five deals with the life and work of Nelly's, Greece's unofficial national photographer. Nelly's images provide me with an opportunity to explore a cultural-historical Greek collective identity that rests heavily on the historical continuity of the Greeks. Nelly's visualization of Greece and Greek identity is resilient to this day, even though it was predicated on official visions of Greece in the 1930s, and particularly that of the quasi-fascist Metaxas regime. Most scholarship on Nelly's has been unwilling to confront the above conundrum or has inadequately problematized it and instead pointed at Nelly's search for beauty. This points to the resilience of a national mythology that accepts a link between ancient Greek statues and modern Greeks–as visualized by Nelly's. At the same time, it also points at the narrative Nelly's spun about her life during her rediscovery in the 1970s and afterwards, a narrative that elides any political or ideological underpinnings and whitewashes her work of its instrumentalization by the quasi-fascist Metaxas regime. Therefore, while I play close attention to the inter war years–when Nelly's took her images–I also pay close attention to Nelly's autobiography, 'rediscovery' and rise to national fame in the post-dictatorship era.

In chapter six I examine the photographic imagery of the MP, through which I will analyse the consolidation of a post-WWII Greek social-political collective identity that has its gaze turned towards the modern, productive future. I also reflect on the desired social and political subjectivities that the MP imagery promotes, in which anticommunism features strongly. The self-help programmes for the Greek Civil War refugees that the MP initiated, and the MP's electrification programme are my two main areas of focus. In the images from both programmes, the countryside is central to the visualization of a post-war Greek identity. I argue that at both the individual and collective level, the MP's imagery fosters a Greek self-image steeped in a marginal modernity. By this I argue that this self-image is pulled in two

opposite directions, between a desire for a modern future and a desire to hang on to a nostalgic past, uncorrupted by the modern world.

The last and concluding chapter of this thesis provides a discussion on the photographic visualization of Greek collective identities. This chapter brings together the discussion of the cultural-historical and social-political expressions of Greeks national identity, reflecting on photography's relationship to collective identities and memory in Greece. In this conclusion I attempt to look beyond the spectrum of circumscribed timelines and time periods that I place my thesis' analysis within. Finally, I critically reflect on my findings, identifying its limitations and suggesting paths for future research.

Chapter 1

What is Greek identity? I argue that there is no clear-cut way to define Greek identity as-it-really-is. Paying attention to the conceptual boundaries within which collective identities find meaning–like language, history and religion–offers a more fruitful approach to the analysis of Greek collective belonging. Furthermore, it is far more appropriate to speak of multiple collective identities, reflecting the various manifestations of Greek collective belonging across time (cf. Hokwerda 2003; Zacharia 2008a).

I would like to draw attention to some observations made by Stathis Gourgouris about imagining the Greek nation.

> 'What a nation *is*, pure and simple, shall always remain just one step ahead of our inquiry as to *what* it is. In this respect our research into the phenomenon of the nation cannot but abandon any ambitions as to its identity, which entails that writing about the nation cannot but be, simultaneously, both historical and speculative, both empirical and sophistic.' (1996, 8, emphasis in original)

Identity formation is thus not quantifiable and, on some level, can only be imagined and speculated on. Nationalisms might well deal in categorical absolutes of Us and Them, but shared national identity is a frustratingly slippery concept. Gourgouris describes Greece as being 'stubbornly without reach' for him, caught as he is between the subjective–'belonging' to Greece–and objective–knowledge positions in relation to the institution of modern Greece which he studies (1996, 5). The spectre of national identity is equally just out of reach. We can imagine it and almost grasp it but never truly see or feel its contours.

Hence, participation in the Greek nation requires–at some level, at least–that the members of the national community turn a blind eye to the imagination required to create this community (Gourgouris 1996, 26). I am not doubting the 'realness' of the Greek nation. Rather I argue that it is the imagination which makes the nation real. And it is made real through the mediation of institutions, artefacts, history writing, images and the like. Hence, the importance of photography in visualizing Greek collective identities. Importantly, both

photography and the imagination require a leap of faith and a significant suspension of knowledge of this required leap of faith.

We must therefore study Greek collective identities obliquely, paying attention to the structures these identities are built around. This is the aim of this chapter. I will discuss the main elements that have been used to demarcate modern Greek identity, by examining some past approaches used to study the formation of Greek national identity. These approaches focus greatly on language, history, and literature. In the latter part of this chapter, I will examine to what extent the visualization of Greek collective identities has been studied and end with a consideration of the lacunae in the literature on modern Greek identity formation, as well as a brief examination of some non-Greek examples.

Pillars of Modern Greek Identity

The essentialist paradigm

A discussion of modern Greek identity is to a great extent a discussion of modern Greece's place in history. It is a discussion hedged by contradictions, new interpretations, and continuities in time. Some of the following issues are still alive today, close to two centuries after Greece's creation. In the following sections I will provide a review of some key ideas relating to the construction of Greek national identity. My goal is not to provide an exhaustive account of the scholarship on modern Greek national identity, but rather to identify the key debates and literature relating to this thesis, to then show how my project will contribute to the field.

The essentialist yet dominant narrative of identity in Greek society centres around one unifying Hellenism, spanning the ages. This structure derives from the five-part historical classification of Greek history established in the seminal work of nineteenth-century historian Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos (Liakos 2008, 210–11). Although five eras were proposed by Paparrigopoulos in his national history–ancient, Macedonian, Christian, medieval, and modern–only three eras are widely remembered and enshrined in the conception of Greek historical time: ancient, medieval (Byzantine), and modern Hellenism. [12] Furthermore, the

[12] Note the absence of the Ottoman past, or rather the obscuring of the Ottoman eras under another label such as medieval (Papailias 2005, 58, n.28). Cf. Koubourlis (2009), Kitromilides (1998), Politis (1993, 36–47).

essentialist argument posits two more cornerstones to the national identity of Greece: language and religion.[13] The Greek language's continuity was a key feature in the diachronic scheme of Hellenism, while Greek Orthodoxy was seen as the vessel which retained Greek culture through the Ottoman era, and links Greece with the East, not the West.

Constructivist approaches to Greek identity

Since the 1980s, new, constructivist interpretations of modern Greek national identity have been developed. Instead of seeing one unitary Hellenism, many different Hellenisms have been recognized, each existing within its own socio-historical context (Hokwerda 2003; Zacharia 2008a). Two influential constructivist approaches to Greek identity are found in the works of Elli Skopetea (1988) and Alexis Politis (1993). Although different in scope, they share the same methodological approach and time frame (1830-1880), analysing the creation of a modern Greek identity as a political and social reaction to the nineteenth-century realities of the post-revolutionary modern Greek state. Strife, both internal and external, was an integral part of early modern Greece, and both authors see this as key to the formation of a national identity. Greece was facing a number of serious issues: Greece was not whole–there were still Greeks living under Ottoman rule; other Balkan nations were demanding national independence and territory, encroaching on Greek claims; the questioning of Greece's descent from the ancients; the slow economic and social development. Skopetea (1988) in particular paints a nuanced picture of the chaos that plagued the state and the pessimism that plagued the mindset of Greek society at the time.

The constructivist argument posits this backdrop as the mould from which Greek national identity was formed. As Politis notes, elements that make up Greek national identity –like language and religion–were already there, but their incorporation into an ideological structure of modern Greek identity was a historical exigency (1993, 31). A coherent national identity was vital for the national unity that the Greek state was striving for. Therefore the elements of identity were geared towards the needs of the state (Skopetea 1988, 98). Language and religion were pre-existing unifiers, but historiography and ethnography were two new avenues on which Greek unity travelled (Herzfeld 1986). Politis (1993) and Skopetea

[13] On language's importance for Greek national identity formation see Mackridge (2009a, 2009b), Frangoudaki (1992, 2001, 2002).

(1988) argue that the new national, romantic historiography was crucial for the solidification of Greek national identity, uniting Hellenism in time and space, through the rehabilitation of Byzantium by the likes of Paparrigopoulos and Spyridon Zambelios (Koubourlis 2005).

Both Politis (1993) and Skopetea (1988) analyse the creation of the modern Greek nation and its self-perception grounded in the historical context of the nineteenth century. The authors offer a revisionist alternative to the essentialist historiographic paradigm, but they stop short of engaging in a theoretically based discussion on the nature of Greek national identity. Both accounts are mostly historical narratives of the nineteenth century with a constructivist interpretative scheme applied to the development of Greek identity. There is scant or no elaboration on the definition of a national community, and the assumptions behind their analyses are not defined. The mechanisms through which Greek identity is constructed are examined and placed within the socio-historical context, but a discussion on whether the Greek national community is an essential, diachronic entity is absent. Furthermore, both accounts do not scrutinize the creation and use of an essentialized external Other to define the Greek nation.[14] Both authors posit the Great Idea as an instance of Othering, but it would have been fruitful to have Othering studied in a systematic fashion. A more robust theoretical framework would have helped to structure the authors' conclusions. Beaton (2009) and Kitromilides (2009) have raised the need and importance of theoretically grounded approaches to the study of Greek national identity and to Modern Greek Studies in general. The application of theory has not been consistent though.

Similar constructivist approaches can also be found in the work of the historian Antonis Liakos. His work likewise looks at the construction of Greek history and its significance in developing Greek identity, engaging also with the importance of language as the starting point for a continuity in Greek history (Liakos 2008, 223). His critical approach sees national identity as restructuring the perception of time, creating a sense of time different from the one found in pre-national periods. The nation's history becomes a linear narrative that incorporates all the elements, symbols, and institutions of the nation, including the bearer of national identity.

[14] Edward Said's *Orientalism* (2003) is a touchstone for discussions of othering. Said studied how the formation of a body of a European knowledge and cultural texts about the 'Orient'– the Arab Islamic world–emphasized its alterity and otherness to Europe and helped facilitate European colonial projects in the Middle East. The process of othering was based on a false and essentialized image of the other, which helped demarcate and define the self.

In this narrative the nation is moving through the past to the present and ultimately into the future, giving itself an active role (Liakos 2008, 202; see also Liakos 2007). At the same time, Liakos views Greek historiography as a product of the Greek state, constructing history to justify its links to the past (2008, 204). Liakos provides a concrete Greek example of the changed nature of Benjaminian national, linear time, that I referred to earlier in the introduction.

Liakos' scholarship raises the pertinent question whether national identity is dependent on national history (and therefore the state) or vice versa. Liakos places himself in line with modernist understandings of the construction of the nation,[15] but the above contradiction points to the need to analyse the overlapping linkages and disparities between Greek national identity and the modern nation-state. As Liakos notes, to be part of the Greek nation, ethno-nationalist factors (ancestry, tradition, language, religion, etc.) weigh more heavily than citizenship (Liakos 2008, 211).

The ancient past as identity

As will be clear by now, the past and its uses are central to the creation of Greek national identity. Recent research of the uses of the Greek past comes from an interdisciplinary and theoretically informed standpoint. I will begin by looking at the relationship between archaeology and Greek national identity–an important ontological relationship for the Greek nation.

A theoretically informed and at times conceptually dense analysis of the role of archaeology can be found in the work of Yannis Hamilakis (2007). Archaeology and its material end results are not neutral objects with an innate historical value–they are interpreted and utilized for the ends of the archaeologists and the nationalist discourses in which they operate. Seeing both nationalism and the discipline of archaeology as elements of modernity, Hamilakis analyses their interrelations in producing a past that is useful for the Greek present. Nationalism is cast as a secular religion, with its own symbols and rituals, while the nation is seen as constructed through a type of dreaming, creating a 'heterotopia', a national space that is structured on utopian ideas but is nonetheless real and material (Hamilakis 2007, 16–

[15] Indicatively, Liakos is the main editor of the book series that has published the Greek translation of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1997).

17). The focus on materiality is an important element in the analysis of archaeology's ability to invest objects with meaning and history. In the case of Greece this is seen as particularly important as the remains of the ancient (primarily Classical) world were the ultimate validation of both past glories and of present nation-state status. Hamilakis (2007) also applies a post-colonial framework to the archaeology-nationalism axis, taking a critical look at the impact of Western Hellenism, questioning how an indigenous Greek Hellenism (which incorporated Byzantium into a unitary Hellenic history) developed in reaction to Western Hellenism (cf. Greenberg and Hamilakis 2022).

The analysis that Hamilakis (2007) offers shows how archaeology in the nineteenth century was invested with the task of restructuring the landscape, sanitizing the parts of history, such as the Byzantine and Ottoman periods, that were deemed unimportant to a Greek national mythology grounded in the classical past. Furthermore, antiquities made for highly cherished symbolic capital that were used both within the developing Greek nation and in its dealing with the rest of the (Western) world. These same antiquities though were created by a nationalist discourse, while simultaneously feeding into it (Hamilakis 2007, 122). This conclusion draws parallels to the creation of nationalism in general, where the nation is said to create nationalism while nationalism creates the state. Hamilakis (2007) uses four case studies to support the above arguments: the life and work of the archaeologist Manolis Andronikos, the use of antiquity under the authoritarian Metaxas regime, the use of antiquity in the Makronisos concentration camp during and after the Greek Civil War, and the Parthenon marbles.

Hamilakis' book (2007) offers a clear example of classical antiquity's inescapable gravitational pull on Greek national discourses. Despite Hamilakis' critical study of Western Hellenism, the national trope of classical antiquity as the Greek nation's historical bedrock is still reproduced in his critique. Even though Hamilakis clearly identifies the profound influence that indigenous Hellenism's rehabilitation of Byzantium has on Greek identity, it is still Western Hellenism and classical antiquity that take centre stage (2007, 116). The absence of an in-depth discussion of the role of Paparrigopoulos' continuity scheme of Greek history in Greek perceptions of the past is therefore conspicuous. Granted, Hamilakis is making a case for the sensory and material importance of classical antiquities for the Greek national imaginary. My point is that critiquing and analysing national(ist) narratives and tropes always risks reproducing their basic, essentializing form.

However, I find Hamilakis' approach useful as it provides methodological frameworks for analysing discourses of national identity in Greece, as well as tackling visual sources. The study makes copious use of visual material that is woven into the overall discussion. The theoretical framework is also geared towards analysing Greek nationalism as a shifting, multi-layered structure that is not necessarily internally coherent, although the projected image is one of a unitary Hellenism.

Receptions of the past

Another important study on the uses of the past but this time from an architectural and city planning perspective comes from Eleni Bastéa (2000). In her 2000 book on the creation of modern Athens (2000), Bastéa (2000) argues that the nineteenth-century Greek city planning efforts should be seen as both a leap into modernity through the rationalization of city planning as well as a dive back into the past. This is perhaps best exemplified by the introduction of neoclassical city designs, the most vivid example of which is Athens. Bastéa's (2000) rich and insightful study traces the development of modern nineteenth-century Athens, which shares many of the same issues that the development of modern Greece shares: grand plans that could not be implemented due to lack of funds and the many internal social divisions and fissures.

Bastéa (2000) manages to capture the multifaceted nature of Greek nineteenth-century society in ways similar to those of Skopetea (1988). Most importantly, Bastéa (2000) shows how the classical heritage was instrumentalized to create a modern capital for a modern nation, or as she puts it 'the government of the state was reflected on the government of the capital *and vice versa'* (emphasis in original) (Bastéa 2000, 106). This goes back to an earlier point, that the creation of a modern Greek identity was very much a state issue, one that could be physically manifested in the new capital. This process did not go uncontested by the citizens of Athens who, in the rich and varied press environment, critiqued not only the lack of housing and proper sanitation but also the value placed on ancient remains and the importation of Western values and ideas. The attitude towards antiquities though was reassessed over the course of the nineteenth century, to align with the discourse on the historical, national value of history for modern Greece.

I find Bastéa's (2000) work a valuable cultural history of the nineteenth century as well as a nuanced take on Greek society's understanding and engagement with modernity and its

past. Although it is a firmly based historical analysis of nineteenth-century city planning in Athens, without greater theoretical concerns, it offers incisive reflections on societal reactions to change and understandings of communal history and spaces.[16] Further, Bastéa's work invites reflection on the preservation of architectural and natural heritage in photographs. This issue particularly relates to the uses and readings of images of the disappearing past in the context of the archive, which itself preserves the past for future use.

Visual culture as identity

Research on the material uses of the Greek past has also looked at school history books (Hamilakis 2003), the collection of the past through memorabilia (Yalouri 2014), as well as stamps and currency (Gounaris 2003). Visual culture is largely absent though from the mainstay of scholarship on Greek national identity. When visual material is used, it is often as illustration or as a secondary concern to a larger argument. A couple of observations can be made here. Firstly, most research on Greek national identity formation has come from a field dominated by discussions of history, religion, language, and literature. Secondly, given the primacy of language and the written word in Greek culture, visual culture has perhaps fallen in the shadow of this main cultural preserve.

Katerina Zacharia has explored the ways in which Greek cinema offers outlets for different types of portrayals of Greece and Hellenism (2008b). Basing her analysis on two internationally and nationally recognized directors, Theo Angelopoulos and Michael Cacoyannis, she goes on to discuss the evolving trends in Greek cinema up to the early twenty-first century. In Angelopoulos and Cacoyannis we find two different manifestations of Greek identity: the introverted, exceptionalist Hellenism of Angelopoulos and the extroverted, internationally oriented but perhaps equally essentializing Hellenism of Cacoyannis. Both directors tap into visual languages and understandings of Greece that exhibit a hybridity of essentialist Hellenism and modernist aesthetics, being fully conversant in both discourses. Zacharia utilizes and critiques the concept of 'cultural syncretism' to discuss contemporary Greek cinema, particularly regarding the changing demographics of Greek society and how this is expressed on screen (2008b, 341). Recently, Dimitris Papanikolaou (2021) has written

[16] For a more theoretically informed approach to national architecture in Greece and Turkey, see Bastéa (2003).

about Greek cinema's Weird Wave. Papanikolaou (2021) explores the complex dynamics within the emergence of a Greek cinema that was shaped and identified by the biopolitical discourses of the 2008-2009 financial crisis, as well the identification and ascription of a weird alterity to Greek cinema by Western cultural critics. Although this conceptual framework is applied to cinema and to the contemporary period, it provides good examples of the productive use of visual culture to study Greece.

Areti Adamopoulou (2019) has recently written about four important international art exhibitions that took place in post-war era Athens, analysing their part in fostering a Western-facing cultural identity in Greece during the Cold War. Looking at how both elites and the general public received these exhibits, Adamopoulou (2019) provides crucial insights into the efforts of cultural actors and institutions, foreign and domestic, to keep Greece firmly in the Western, liberal Cold War camp through culture. Adamopoulou's (2019) analysis is valuable for my research for two reasons. Firstly, her research shows how post-war Greek identity was guided towards a modern, liberal capitalist outlook which can also be seen in the MP images I look at in chapter six. Secondly, Adamopoulou's detailed look at *The Family of Man* photographic exhibit sheds light on US attempts to exert influence through visual culture as well as shedding light on Greek perceptions of photography in the mid twentieth century (2019, 85–124). Although one of the first stops of the exhibition's world tour, *The Family of Man* seems to have passed through Athens without much notice (Adamopoulou 2019, 121, 365). I will extensively explore photography's mediation of Greek history and collective identities in chapter three.

Photographic nations

It is useful at this point to briefly consider some other instances of the photographic visualization of nations and collective identities. Both similarities and differences can be observed to the Greek case. The photographic depiction of heritage has been a common theme in visualizing the nation, which is particularly evident in the Greek case too. Heritage is however an ambiguous term, assuming different meanings in different settings. In Europe during the nineteenth and twentieth century, heritage lent itself to an impulse to document and appropriate the past in order to establish modern nationhood. France (Boyer 2003) and Italy (Serena 2015) present two interesting cases. Both the French and the Italian states

sought to catalogue their cultural heritage through photography. In France, the *Mission Héliographique* set out to depict and preserve the architectural patrimony of France for French collective memory. Although these cataloguing efforts were ultimately short-lived and perhaps fruitless–the French *Mission Héliographique* never published or exhibited its work (Boyer 2003, 51)–their contribution rather lay in forming early photographic imaginings of a common community and space by state authorities.[17]

In Italy, several attempts were made to create an archive of the country's rich cultural heritage. The desired end result was to establish a collective national memory or as Tiziana Serena (2015) describes it, a 'memory pact' between the Italian citizenry and the state, which was trying to define the elements of Italian identity. These attempts started after Italian unification and were instigated by the political center, which was eager to consolidate the diverse Italian regional identities into one central collective identity. Later attempts in the early twentieth century were carried out by private actors such as the Alinari photographers but were ultimately taken over by the state.

In Poland, photography was also used to create a national visual canon that informed Polish collective identities and memory (Manikowska 2015). In 1916-1918 several photographic archives were created, which documented Polish material culture that had been taken out of Poland–mostly by Russian military forces–since the collapse of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth in 1795. After the break-up of the Tsarist empire and ensuing Polish independence, this missing cultural heritage became a matter of national importance and photographic surveys were undertaken in Russian museums to ascertain what had been removed from Poland. These photographic surveys created a visual canon of Polish cultural heritage, paving the way for the incorporation of these canonized objects in the Polish national museum (Manikowska 2015).

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[17] The photography of architectural heritage was similarly used for the visualization of a Dalmatian cultural narrative under Austrian rule (Belamarić 2015). In Britain, photography came to be a powerful tool in imagining the British empire during the mid to late nineteenth century. British subjects in colonial settings as well as institutions such as the Royal Engineers utilized photography to visualize and fix Britain's place in the world, geographically as well as imaginatively (Ryan 1997). During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in England, national and local photographic imaginings were often negotiated from an amateur perspective, as the English Survey and Record movement shows (E. Edwards 2012).

In North America, nation-imagining through photography was very much focused on the documentation of the new and on the development of new territories. In the post-Civil War USA, the landscape of the far western territories, which were then being settled, became a matter of heritage. As Martha Sandweiss (2015) shows, the government-sponsored photographers that accompanied the scientific expeditions of the 1860s and 1870s to the Far West participated in creating an image of a land that was empty and open to settlement (Sandweiss 2015; cf. Schmidt and Faisst 2018). In Canada as well, the state used photography to document the expansion of its western borders as well as its development in terms of education, urban centers, and railways (Schwartz 2015; cf. Osborne 2003). Both North American examples draw parallels to Greece's own use of the Boissonnas' photographic dynasty to visualize an expanding state (cf. Boudouri 2013).

Bulgaria (Baleva 2015) and Albania (Mancini 2015) provide some close historical parallels to Greece. Martina Baleva's 'de-archiving' of a famous image of the Bulgarian freedom fighter and national hero Georgi Benkovski reveals that the image is actually not of the national hero but of an Ottoman intellectual. The image is ultimately a construct of the national archive, laying bare the processes of meaning-making and narrative sedimentation in the (photographic) archive. Roberto Mancini (2015) shows how the Albanian Marubi photographic dynasty and their archive provide an important visualization of the Albanian national liberation struggle and the tumultuous history of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Albania. Pietro, the first Marubi photographer, was an Italian exile with strong Garibaldian convictions. In Albania he opened a photographic studio and from early on employed the political potential of photography, something he had witnessed first-hand in Garibaldian-era Italy. The Marubi studio served the needs and demands of a modernizing Albanian society, establishing a record of both public and private Albanian nationhood. Marubi's images show an Albanian society that is embracing modernity at the same time that it is tradition-bound, an example of which can be seen in the wearing of both Western and traditional dress. Mancini problematizes the reception of such images, arguing that Albanian audiences saw an image of Albania moving forward– although not too rapidly–while Western audiences saw an image that conformed to their expectations of Albania, an image that leaned towards exoticizing, folkloric preconceptions. These observations have some bearing on the Greek case, seeing as this tug-of-war between modernizing ambitions and conservative traditions were present in the post-Ottoman Greek world as well.

Critiques and lacunae

To sum up, the study of Greek collective identities has mostly fallen to historians or scholars employing historical methods. This is perhaps not surprising in Greece's case, as history has played such a pivotal role in both the formation of the Greek state, and in the identity formations of the Greek nation. Throughout the history of modern Greece, historians have sought the definition of Hellenism in Greek history, shaping historiography over the course of time to meet nationalist ends. Greek historical research has not been very theoretically informed for most of the twentieth century, a situation that only began to change in the 1980s. New ideas that followed in the tracks of international debates about nationalism and the construction of national identity entered the scholarship on Greek history, questioning the decades-long essentialist paradigm. These theoretically informed historical revisionist approaches developed an analytical framework that saw a multitude of Hellenisms that have existed throughout history, rather than one unitary Hellenism spanning three millennia.

The study of literature, language and religion has also yielded valuable insights into Greek national identity formation. As key constituents of modern Greek identity, language and religion[18] have been extensively studied. Similarly to history though, the efforts to undergird these studies with theory have not been systematic–an issue that scholars have pointed out in recent years. In my reading, the Greek language's importance for Greek culture and identity has led to a focus on literary sources and materials when analysing Greek national identity. I find this to be one of the major lacunae in the study of Greek collective identities since the study of visual sources has been relegated to a secondary concern.

One of the major gaps in the literature on Greek national identity construction is the lack of a systematic look at the relationship between photography and the visualization of Greek collective identities. Furthermore, the relationship of photographic archives and their part in creating, upholding, and developing Greek national identity is largely unexplored. My research project will fill some of these gaps in the literature, incorporating the analysis of individual imagery with the analysis of the images' afterlives. I will conduct such an analysis

[18] Cf.Gazi (2009), Hatzopoulos (2009), Kitromilides (1990, 29, 2013).

taking into account the historical and societal frameworks at play as well as critically reflecting on the portrayals and understandings of Hellenism found in the photographs and the archives.

On a final note, my project will contribute to broadening the scope of the research on both Greek history and the visualization of Greek collective identities. It does so by engaging in a more systematic way with visual sources, in synthesis with other historical sources that offer a more comprehensive contextualisation of the socio-cultural and political frameworks that affected the production, dissemination and preservation of the images analysed. As mentioned earlier, visual studies perspectives are greatly lacking in the mainstream of research into modern Greek history and collective identities. Lending greater weight to visual materials will not only yield new, interesting, and thought-provoking insights, but it will also greatly complement and augment the existing analytical structures that have centred on history, language, and religion.

Chapter 2

This chapter presents the two theoretical frameworks that help me explore the formation and visualization of Greek collective identities. The first framework deals with the formation of national communities and the bonds that keep national communities together. The second framework deals with the importance of collective and cultural memory in the national imaginary.

As described in the introduction, I identify two important forms of Greek collective identities that are visualized in twentieth-century Greek photography: the social-political and the cultural-historical. Benedict Anderson's (2006) concept of imagined communities guides my analysis of a Greek social-political identity. Anthony D. Smith's (A. D. Smith 2009, 2008) work on ethnosymbolism, which looks closely at the cultural foundations of nations, informs my analysis of a Greek cultural-historical identity

Theoretical frameworks

Social-political identity: Benedict Anderson's imagined community

In Benedict Anderson's (2006) influential analysis of the modern nation, a nation is a political community that is imagined by its members. It exists in the imaginations of the members of this national community, even though the members of this community might never see or meet most of its other members. Still, these members feel a sense of belonging to each other (Anderson 2006, 6). Furthermore, this community exists outside of and independent of any previous 'divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm' (Anderson 2006, 7). Finally, it is a community imagined in contrast to other nations or communities, setting a limit to the boundaries of imagination as well as highlighting the importance of Othering for nationalism (ibid).

Anderson is most often associated with this neat definition of a national community, but it is worth highlighting that he prefaces his analysis of nationalism with two key observations: a) 'that nationality […] as well as nationalism, are cultural artefacts of a particular kind. To understand them properly we need to consider carefully how they have come to change over time, and why, today, they command such emotional legitimacy' (Anderson 2006, 4), and b) that because nationalism can at once be philosophically incoherent and spawn visceral reactions and loyalties from its adherents, that it is best treated in the

same way as religion or kinship (Anderson 2006, 5). I take this last point to imply that the study of nationalism must consider the seeming contradictions in nationalism and explore the ways in which attachments to it are created and sustained. This is a useful analytical tool when considering the use of photographs in visualizing and projecting Greek collective identities. Particularly in the context of a photographic archive, the national narratives that are created and reshaped in different historical circumstances exhibit such an ambiguous nature. Photography's polysemic nature encourages the recoding of photographs with new meanings, producing such inherent contradictions (see also Schwartz (2020)).

How does Anderson imagine that the nation could come to imagine itself as a coherent, cohesive yet intangible community? His answer is that this was made possible with the advent of print capitalism and the spread of mass vernacular languages, phenomena he sees developing in tandem (Anderson 2006, 37–46). Printed media in vernacular languages allowed its users to sidestep divine hegemonic languages like Latin (that they might not speak or read) and imagine themselves as belonging together, outside traditional structures of power. Thus new, secular, and nationally imagined communities are born.

Another crucial aspect of Anderson's model was the new perception of national time. An imagined community was premised on existing within capitalism's synchronous 'homogenous empty time' as described by Walter Benjamin (2019, 205), which Anderson in his analysis identifies within print capitalism (2006, 24). The press and the novel allow the members of a nation to imagine themselves as belonging together. Members of a community could imagine themselves reading the same printed material, at the same time. The transformation of perceptions of time was therefore crucial to Anderson's theorization (Secomb 2003, 87; Anderson 2006, 25–26). Furthermore, the nation must also construct a mythological history out of which it emerges. Forgetting events and eliding details are integral parts of this process of remembering the national unified past (Anderson 2006, 201–2; Secomb 2003, 89).

Cultural-historical identity: Anthony D. Smith's Ethno-symbolism

As Anthony D. Smith (2009) argues, the ethno-symbolist approach to nationalism is not a distinct theoretical paradigm. Rather, building upon modernist interpretations of nations and nationalism, ethno-symbolism provides tools to explore the cultural and symbolic foundations that nations rest on (2009, 1, 13). Therefore, Smith's ethno-symbolic approach is useful for

exploring the cultural-historical facets of Greek collective identities. Smith's ideas can be said to share some of the assumptions of a modernist approach such as Anderson's, seeing nineteenth and twentieth-century nationalism and national communities as modern phenomena emerging within specific historical contexts and spaces, as well as seeing nations as communities of purposive action (A. D. Smith 2009, 13–14). The similarities tend to end there though, as ethno-symbolism is opposed to the centrality of modernity in fostering nations, focusing instead on these five key areas: 'symbolic resources; *la longue durée*; *ethnie* and nation; elites and masses; and conflict and reinterpretation' (A. D. Smith 2009, 14, emphasis in original). I do not intend to go into great detail on all these five areas, but I will attempt to summarize the main points.

What primarily separates ethno-symbolism from other approaches to nationalism is the emphasis placed on the 'ethno-cultural resources' that a national community draws upon to forge a collective national identity (A. D. Smith 2009, 21). Shifting from the instrumental approach observable in Anderson, ethno-symbolism looks to the myths, symbols, and shared cultural affinities of a nation. It turns to the content of national communities and analyses the inherent intensity that makes many of its members lay down their lives for the nation. This necessitates looking farther than the eighteenth century and the birth of modernity, delving into longer historical periods that can shed light on the roots of nations. Parallel to this, is the need to look at ethnicity and *ethnies* to trace the roots and underlying interlinkages that create modern nations. This approach also delivers insight into the 'inner world' of these communities (A. D. Smith 2009, 16), shedding further light on the symbolic resources discussed above.

In contrast to modernist approaches, ethno-symbolism also goes beyond the analysis of the elites as sole actors in the formation of national communities. It devotes attention to popular understandings of national symbols and cultural identities, allowing for the interplay between the elites and the masses in forging national identity and community (A. D. Smith 2009, 19). The final element of the ethno-symbolist approach is the analysis of conflict and reinterpretation, which draws attention to the ruptures in monolithic national narratives. In modernist accounts conflicts are often viewed as mostly structural and unidirectional, e.g. conflict arising against industrial modernization processes. Ethno-symbolist approaches cast a wider view on conflict, focusing on conflicts taking place amongst and between elites, sub-elites and the masses. This nuanced approach invites a reinterpretation of national narratives

and cultural resources. Although the ethno-symbolist approach is heavily engaged with the cultural foundations of nations–often a visceral and emotional topic for members of any national community–Smith cautions against an essentialist reading. Ethnic communities do not have an immutable character, their composition changing over time and circumstance (A. D. Smith 2008, 30–31).

I find Smith's ideas useful, as they provide a structured approach to the cultural-historical facets of Greek nationalism and national identity formation. The cultural, religious, and linguistic bonds of the Greek nation have deep historic roots, which have been used in imagining the modern nation of Greece. Further, the historical record of the Greek ethnic community is long[19] and can thus be appropriately inserted into Smith's analytical scheme. In general, Smith's analytical model of internal conflict and reinterpretation adds valuable nuance to the analysis of collective identities. The model provides a framework to assess what enables the dominance (or not) of a single national narrative. Smith uses Greece as an example of this tug-of-war between contrasting narratives, discussing the conflict between the republican Hellenism of the early nineteenth-century elites and the Orthodox Christian sodality of Greek non-elites (A. D. Smith 2008, 160–64).

Memory – collective and cultural

O mia patria sì bella e perduta!
O membranza sì cara e fatal!

[Oh, my homeland, so lovely and so lost!
Oh memory, so dear and so dead!]

Chorus of the Hebrew Slaves
Nabucco, Giuseppe Verdi

This next section explores an important question looming above this thesis: why are the photographs and the photographic archives which house these photographs important for collective Greek identities? The answer to this question is explored through the theoretical

[19] Cf. Hokwerda (2003), Zacharia (2008a), Hall (1997).

framework of memory. I begin by examining the importance of collective memory, particularly in its manifestation as cultural memory. Through cultural memory I discuss the importance of the archive in structuring our remembering and forgetting of the past. Particular attention is paid to the affective nature of memory. This leads me to a discussion of photography's relationship to memory, where I home in on the ways in which photography mediates our understanding and sense of the past.

The field of memory studies is vast and varied. It is also an expanding area of research which has experienced something of a boom. This rapid development has happened despite concerns voiced by prominent theorists such as Pierre Nora and Reinhard Kosseleck that memory is being lost by its disconnection from the living past (A. Assmann 2010, 35, 2011, 1, 5–6; Gensburger 2016, 396–97). My thesis is at least tangentially part of this growing interest in the function of memory, although I do not count myself amongst the memory studies scholars. Memory is also a recurring frame of analysis in the study of Greece, as recent scholarship on post-war adoption (Van Steen 2019), the post-1922 formation of refugee memory and identity (Salvanou 2018), the memory of Asia Minor in contemporary Greek culture (Gedgaudaitė 2021) and contemporary Greek photography (Petsini 2016b) shows us.

In an attempt to make sense of the vastness of memory studies, I will focus on the intersection of memory, photography and archival work. This approach will narrow down the discussion and provide a necessary theoretical foundation for the rest of thesis. A foundational concept in this context is Maurice Halbwachs' 'collective memory' (see 1992, 2011). Although there are diverging opinions on the definition of the term, it is nevertheless central to the field (Gensburger 2016, 397). The crucial element of Halbwachs' theory is the relational aspect of memory, namely that memory arises within the individual but is contingent on the social space which the individual inhabits. As Sarah Gensburger explains, '[t]he structuration of the social space and the position that the individual occupies within it explains [sic] the expression of memory' (Gensburger 2016, 401). Humans have a collective memory but the point of view of that memory, its expression, changes with the position of the individual within the group. Memory as well as the collective are therefore relational: the collective does not define memory but is defined by the relations among the individuals as well as by the position of the individual in the complex social space. Thus Halbwachs allows us to conceive of the individual and the collective within a single scheme (Gensburger 2016, 401). Crucially, Halbwachs tied his concept of collective memory to social frames. Memory in

his schema could not exist outside the societal frameworks that people negotiated, and through which people remembered (A. Assmann 2008b, 51).

The memory boom of the past two decades reflects an increased interest in the ways in which societies' collective memory shaped the historical present (Blight 2009, 240–41). This boom has not gone uncontested though. Gensburger (2016) argues that Halbwachs' theory of memory has been disconnected from its original sociological context and use, misreading Halbwachs' insights along the way. The interest in memory has also been criticized as more 'trendy than durable' (Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy 2011, 4). Such criticism has shown the need for an effort to address the intellectual conditions that would lead to a consolidation of memory studies as a coherent field of inquiry (Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy 2011, 5; Erll 2008, 1).

Definitions of memory are as slippery as definitions of 'memory studies' as a distinct scientific discipline prove to be. Since memory intersects with diverse fields of inquiry in the social sciences, the humanities, and the life sciences, it is necessary to stake out some boundaries around the form of memory in which I am interested. On the broadest level, I am concerned with *cultural* memory, which in an expansive definition can be defined as 'the interplay of present and past in socio-cultural contexts' (Erll 2008, 2). As such, cultural memory overlaps with the *ur*-concept of collective memory. What is central to cultural memory, however, is its engagement with the ways in which a culture lives its life and with the cultural expressions of that culture (Erll 2008, 2, 4). As Astrid Erll points out, the transdisciplinarity of cultural memory leads, on the one hand, to terminological richness but, on the other hand, to a disjointed nature (2008, 3).

A related definition of cultural memory is found in Aleida and Jan Assmann's work which draws inspiration from both Halbwachs and the German art historian Aby Warburg (J. Assmann 1995, 129). Jan Assmann identifies cultural memory as a form of collective memory that is shared by a social group and confers upon them a collective cultural identity (2008, 110). In the first instance it is defined by its distinction from communicative or everyday memory. Communicative memory is that which arises in the everyday interaction between individuals of a social group. Jan Assmann identifies communicative memory with Halbwachs' definition of oral history, a history with a temporal horizon of about three to four generations (J. Assmann 1995, 126–27, 2008, 112–13). In contrast, cultural memory is marked by its distance from the everyday. Cultural memory operates outside a fixed temporal horizon,

instead forming itself within a constellation of fixed points, 'fateful events of the past, whose memory is maintained through cultural formation (texts, rites, monuments) and institutional communication (recitation, practice, observation)' (J. Assmann 2008, 129). A key aspect of cultural memory is that its objectivation contributes to the stability of cultural memory over time. This notion is a clear nod to Warburg's thinking that objectivated culture (such as art, posters, customs, costumes etc.) is endowed with a 'mnemonic energy', meaning that images may carry memory. Warburg is most intimately connected to his thesis that a pictorial memory of Western civilization exists which transcends time and societies, ready to be reconstructed and accessed across the millennia (J. Assmann 1995, 129, 2008, 110).

Within this scheme, memory is therefore externalized in material things and images such as photographs. This is true of individual memory and collective memory in its cultural form. Both these types of memory are linked and interdependent as they exist only within social frames, another Halbwachsian term (A. Assmann 2010, 36–37). Aleida Assmann clarifies this dynamic when she writes that 'human beings do not only live in the first person singular, but also in various formats of the first person plural' (2010, 37). Assmann, however, makes clear that social frames should not be confused with any metaphysical *völkisch* notions of a 'we' but should instead be treated a useful tool to identify and theorize memory's role in fostering collectives (ibid).

Cultural memory is also a bulwark against the inevitable decay of humans and against the very human quality of forgetting. Forgetting and remembering are nonetheless both predicated on an active involvement. Aleida Assmann therefore cleaves cultural memory in two parts, the canon and the archive, according to the distinction between active and passive memory (2010, 43, 2008a). These terms are cognates of the previously discussed functional and storage memory. The canon is what ought to be remembered, while the archive is the sum of a culture that is in the long run neglected and deemed unworthy but not too unworthy to be cast aside. It is the kind of passive memory expression that is open to rediscovery. Judged by their relationship to the past, the canon preserves the past as present while the archive preserves past as past. Furthermore, the permeability of canon and archive, hints at the dynamics of both remembering and forgetting.

The archive part of cultural memory is of particular interest to my work. Aleida Assmann identifies the archive as existing in a state of latency and possibility (A. Assmann 2010, 43), as its contents are stored, inert yet available to be interpreted and able, under the

right circumstances of re-activation, to cross over to the canon. This process of interpretation is performed by specialists–such as scholars or artists–who reinterpret or reaffirm the canon. So, while the archive is not common knowledge, the boundaries between archive and canon are contestable and permeable. Remembering and forgetting are both at play here, making the archive a liminal space of intermediary storage (*Zwischenspeicher*) (A. Assmann 2008a, 103). Most importantly, these structures are not fixed but are negotiable: they create the dynamic and contested nature of memory, which keeps it alive and an integral part of the collective (A. Assmann 2010, 44). In a similar vein, Canadian archivist Joan Schwartz defines the archive as an entity that contains, manages and creates knowledge (2015, 21) as well as a repository and creator of memory (2000, 17).

Memory and forgetting are bound up with personal and collective identities through affect. Remembering–and forgetting–engenders social obligations of belonging, doing so through the visceral affect of memory, creating what Halbwachs called 'communautés affectives' (J. Assmann 2008, 114). Yet again, it must be stressed that identities and these affective communities are not stable or fixed. The unstable and contestable nature of cultural memory finds expression in the ambivalence of individual and collective identities (J. Assmann 2008, 114). Hence, the archive might present opportunities for reinterpretation and contestation of identities and memories. Yet memory is a highly delicate topic, precisely because of its affective qualities. As David Blight notes 'memory is often treated as a sacred set of absolute meanings and stories, possessed as the heritage or identity of a community. Memory is often owned …' (2009, 243). In Greece we have repeatedly seen how challenges to Greek national identity's stability and mythical 'blissful clarity' (Barthes 1972, 143) cause great turmoil. The school history textbook debates of 2006-2007 (Millas 2019) and the Macedonian question[20] are prominent examples of this type of backlash.

[20] A particularly prominent example is the publication of Anastasia Karakasidou's study of ethnicity and identity in Greek Macedonia, *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood* (1997). The original publisher Cambridge University Press declined to publish the book, citing fears of violence towards its staff because of the controversial nature of the book's topic (Lyall 1996). See Sjöberg (2011) for an analysis of the Macedonian question and history education in Greece.

Photographic memory

The connections between memory and photography are commonplace. In our everyday life, we might refer to 'photographic memory' when someone can recall precise details from our material world, as-they-were. The implication is that a photograph can capture more than what the human eye can perceive, and the human mind might remember. Photographic memory is therefore a contradiction in terms, as photography can be all-encompassing as to what it captures within its field of vision, whereas memory is selective with what it recalls and omits. This observation has been made by Siegfried Kracauer (1995b) in his early writing on photography in the 1920s. Kracauer was keenly aware that photography could provide detail but not meaning, while memory could provide the opposite. As Olga Shevchenko puts its 'it is thus not despite but because of the indexical nature of a photographic image that the memory analogy fails' (Shevchenko 2015, 279).

Photography and memory do share close connections. Photographs are perceived as *aides-mémoire,* helping us to trigger and engage with memories. Indeed, photographs convey long-lasting emotions that are integral to remembering (Morris-Suzuki 2005, 23). As Morris-Suzuki puts it, 'any encounter with the past involves feeling and imagination as well as pure knowledge' (2005, 24). However as Shevchenko notes 'this intuitive equation between photography and memory is not a reflection of anything that is inherent or inevitable to the act of photography, but is rather itself a product of a particular history' (2015, 272). How we use photographs is shaped by social forces and how we choose to remember (Morris-Suzuki 2005, 82–83). So, while memory is commonly perceived as photographic in nature, as a static imprint of the past, this does not diminish visual memory's importance. Photography and memory might overlap in their common fear of loss and their preoccupation with the past (Olick 2014, 21–22), but this is true for other types of memory as well.

Jeffrey Olick (2014) traces much of the confusion around memory and photography to the nineteenth century. Photography was the ascendant medium of the modern scientific era, allowing for the inscription of light on paper, arresting the fleetingness of the present. At the same time, the birth and the consolidation of the modern nation-state unsettled and unmoored social and cultural ties, complicating the present's relationship to the past unleashing a memory crisis in the process. Nineteenth-century thinkers such as Henri Bergson, Ernest Renan and Marcel Proust were also greatly preoccupied with memory (Olick 2014, 22, 26–27). Proust was not the first or the last to draw connections between the two,

when he compared memory to an undeveloped photographic negative: the negative contains the past, but it is unclear if this negative will ever be developed (A. Assmann 2011, 8).

What I have described above is a substantialist view of memory and photography, which treats them both as static things rather than processes. Although a photograph does indeed have the kind of material substance that memory does not, the ways in which humans engage with photography is part of a process that is not solely dependent on its substance. As Elizabeth Edwards reminds us, photographs are only the final outcomes of complex as well as embodied processes (E. Edwards 2014, 179). Similarly, memory is processual but, most importantly in this context, it is mediated (Shevchenko 2014, 5).

The mediation of memory and photography is the key juncture of these two phenomena. We remember through images, but we also see photographic images through memory. As the curator David Campany notes though, the *aide-mémoire* function of photography can hinder our perception and understanding of the past (quoted in Shevchenko 2015, 278). Photography's intimate association in the popular mind with the function of memory stands in the way of moving beyond the traces of the material world that are visible on the photographic image. Nonetheless, questioning the assumption that photography accurately corresponds to the memory of an event is necessary in order to engage with the mediated nature of memory and photography. How we remember is greatly influenced by the means we use to represent ourselves and our societies (Campany 2003).

In order to think through the logic of mediation in memory and photography, I will briefly discuss two strands of thought that examine the matter. Here I follow Olga Shevchenko's (2015) categorization, which broadly follows what anthropologist Karen Strassler identifies as 'techno-logical essentialists' and 'social constructionists' in the perception of photography (2010, 19). Seen from the perspective of memory these two approaches try to explain why and how photography impacts memory. On the one hand, the essentialist argument states that the specificity of the medium of photography–strongly linked to its indexicality and its 'irreducible historicity' (Shevchenko 2015, 278)–as well as its materiality, are what makes photography a potent conduit to the past and to memory. On the other hand, the social constructionist or contextualist (in Shevchenko's phrasing) rejects the essentialism of photography and situates the ascription of meaning and memory to photography in the social and institutional practices that surround photography's use. As Shevchenko rightly points out, most approaches to photography's role in memory creation

fall somewhere between these two poles but this is a useful scheme to navigate the heterogeneity of the approaches to photography and memory (2015, 278).[21]

In my research of Greek archives, I situate the archivists as contextualists even though they might not put their roles in such terms. All three photographic archives I researched saw the ascription of meaning and the negotiation of national identity in photography as happening within a social context. That the archivists might be part of this social context, and that their archives are not isolated 'silent vessels', was not readily acknowledged. While the ELIA-MIET placed that burden on researchers and agents external to their archive, the National Historical Museum (EIM) claimed the mantle of custodian of Greek historical memory itself. None of this would be possible though without subscribing at some level to the essentialism of photography, to its indexicality and irreducible historicity. Taking photography seriously therefore means taking a leap of faith, believing that the photograph is indeed an imprint of the material world. This notion is not enough to ascribe meaning and significance to photography, as for that to happen a social context is necessary (Morris-Suzuki 2005, 82–83). Photography reveals striking parallels to collective memory in this sense. Collective memory arises and gains importance through and among members of a collective, just as photography's social functions and meanings arise amongst the members and institutions of a collective.

Braving a metaphysical argument, there is no inherent essence to photography that resides within itself as matter (a photographic print) or medium. There are no photographs-in-themselves as there are no memories-in-themselves that exist independently of us. Memory tied to photography (or any other medium) cannot therefore be predicated on a pre-existing and pre-mediated memory. Memory and the relationship of memory to photography arise within cultural and social frameworks. How we remember is socially and technologically mediated, meaning that memory is inherently unstable, situational, and intersubjective (Shevchenko 2014, 4-5). This state of flux, however, does not negate stability of meaning to

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[21] The divide between essentialist and contextualist frameworks is also a historically situated divide. During photography's first century of existence the belief in photography's immanence–linked to its indexicality and materiality–was the dominant interpretative paradigm. Since the 1970s a sharper critique of photographic realism developed partly under the influence of structuralism. Scholars such as John Roberts (1998) and John Tagg (1988, 2009) have interrogated photographic realism's constraints and potentials, tracing in their respective theorizations the historicity of photographic 'truth'.

memories and photographs, particularly those pertaining to national identities. The stability of meaning is rather a function of the social frameworks in which memory and identity is formed. Choices are constantly made to remember this, but to forget that, so as to perpetuate and reinforce the stability of national identity.

The questioning of photography's essence and 'truth' has a long lineage, tracing back most notably to John Tagg's work in the 1970s and more recently. Tagg (1988) in his ground-breaking work argued that photography had no static and fixed meaning tied to an external reality but was instead determined by its social and material uses. It was power relations that shaped these social and material uses of photography and the formation of its many meanings. As photography was determined by power relations prone to shifting, Tagg preferred to speak of photographies in the plural, reflecting the multitude of ambivalent and often inconsistent negotiations of photographic meaning that were tied to a belief in the medium's realism. Drawing on Michel Foucault, Tagg identified photographies as discursive practices which were tied into a whole set of institutional frameworks, practices, and technical processes (1988, 119). Tagg was greatly concerned with the critique of photographic realism. The New Deal documentary style was a major object of analysis for Tagg in his earlier (1988) and more recent work (2009). Importantly, Tagg encourages the reader to ask why certain images would 'appear realistic' (1988, 156, emphasis in original), stressing the importance of historicizing the spectator.

Photography, affect and memory

Photography's particular draw and importance for memory is best understood as a matter of affect. Photographic images engage emotional registers that other vectors of memory cannot. Images convey/contain impressions, experiences that are independent of language (A. Assmann 2011, 11, 208). Roland Barthes' distinction between photography's *studium* and *punctum* in his seminal work *Camera Lucida* (2000) homes in on the affective qualities of photography. The *punctum* as the detail that pricks the viewer and disturbs its *studium*, the 'informational' reading of the photograph, is a matter of affect. While the *punctum* is seen as personal in Barthes' work–his examples are taken from family photographs–the affective pricking of individual memory is tied up in collective memory and identity. As Geoffrey Batchen (2008) has remarked though, treating the *studium* and the *punctum* as distinct and

different to each other erases the complexity of Barthes' argument (2008, 85–86). The (post-structural) inseparability of these two elements is what makes Barthes' last work on photography so important, as it directs our attention to the 'political economy of their relationship' (Batchen 2008, 85).[22]

Partial images

The uncertainty and instability rooted in photography's affect is integral to the medium. Photography therefore disrupts possibilities of asserting singular and final truths or of attaining complete knowledge (Kuhn and McAllister 2006, 15). Hence remembering with and through photography is rooted in uncertainty and instability. This instability is not simply a problematic side-effect. It is integral to the functioning and the continuous renewal of memory as well as the negotiation of the past (Sturken 1997, 17). Photographs can function as question marks, setting reflection of the past in motion (Morris-Suzuki 2005, 118). Keeping in mind that memory is an ongoing process of mediation, how we remember as well as the ways in which we speak about memory are contingent on the media at our disposal (A. Assmann 2011, 145–46, 209; Olick 2014, 31).

As Marita Sturken (1993) argues, photography is a technology of memory with its own particular logic. A technology of memory produces memory, which Sturken contrasts to a vessel of memory which passively stores it (Sturken 1997, 9). However, a vessel that contains memory is contradictory to the interactive and relational character and function of memory itself. If memory is produced through images or objects and is therefore mediated, then a vessel of memory is by default an impossibility. As mentioned above, memory does not exist on its own, outside the workings of a collective. Sturken situates photographs as Freudian screen memories that obscure other underlying memories. The distinction between image and memory becomes indistinguishable, raising the question whether 'the photographic image allow[s] the memory to come forth, or does it actually create the memory?' (1997, 22).

[22] *Camera Lucida* has since its publication had an enormous impact on photographic studies. However, this has also led to concerns that the lessons of *Camera Lucida* have ossified into Barthesian *doxa*–a commonly agreed upon body of knowledge that is uncritically reproduced (Batchen 2009a, 3). See *Photography Degree Zero* (Batchen 2009b) for a collection of texts that attempt to move the discussion on *Camera Lucida* forward and beyond itself.

A contradictory yet essential relationship to memory is therefore at play, as photography is capable of obliterating memories and inserting others in its place. This capability exposes the permeable boundaries of cultural memory and history in relation to imagery. Imagery moves from the domain of cultural memory to official discourses and back again. This permeability feeds into another element of Freudian psychoanalysis, that of secondary revision, as when a patient returns to a dream or a memory to give it coherence. Over time and revisions, the 'original' memory loses its importance. Sturken identifies such revision processes taking place in re-enactments of events and images from national history and cultural memory. 'Participation in the nation thus often takes the form of watching or taking part in reenactments' (Sturken 1997, 43). Participation through popular culture and imagery also involves forgetting, as the renarrativization that is central to and defines memory rearranges and obscures prior and current memories. Photography therefore becomes a screen memory for history (Sturken 1997, 23).

The state of flux between multiple fictions, between original and renarrativized is seen by Sturken as an effect of postmodernity (1997, 43). I would argue though that this fluidity has a longer history. The 'invention of tradition' in the nation-building projects' of the nineteenth and twentieth century are an example of the blending of truth and fiction (Ranger and Hobsbawm 2012). The strength of Sturken's analysis is its elucidation of the shifting boundaries between imagery, popular culture, cultural memory, and formal historical discourses. Or, in her own words '[m]emories and histories are often entangled, conflictual, and co-constitutive.' (Sturken 1997, 43).

Photographs shape our vision of history (Morris-Suzuki 2005, 2). However, it is not the instability of photography, that makes photographs important to our understanding of the past. It is photography's ability to provide partial, yet stable images of the past that allows photographs to shape our vision of history. As Morris-Suzuki argues, history is caught between a paradigm of interpretation and identification. How we identify with the past shapes present identity (Morris-Suzuki 2005, 22–23). Photographs' indexical relationship to the world primes photographs as loci of history as identification. Phrased otherwise, photographs are a portable past, travelling over time and space (Morris-Suzuki 2005, 78, 86).

National mythologies and narratives are dependent on partial yet stable images to thrive–promoting certain aspects of history, while eliding others. Photographs are often paraded as truth in such a scheme. However, this truth should instead be studied in terms of

historical truthfulness, that tries to understand ‘the processes by which people create meaning about the past’ (Morris-Suzuki 2005, 27) and ‘to trace, as far as possible, the series of mediations through which narratives and images of the past reach us, and why we respond to them as we do’ (2005, 28). Exploring the truthfulness of an image lays bare the partial views of history that images provide. It does so by telling us how images’ truthfulness involves viewers, producers, as well as the ways in which images are used in connection with other images and texts (Morris-Suzuki 2005, 99, 117). Images are chosen to be representative of a partial truth.

Yet, photography also promises a ‘distinctive form of universality’ and sense of belonging, as a representation without bias (Stimson 2006, 20). This myth of universality was particularly salient in the post-WWII world as Blake Stimson argues, when photography’s affect was used to imagine a community separate from the nationalist passions that had recently wreaked havoc on the world (Stimson 2006, 7). Photography was envisioned as a way to relate to each other detached from national markers, race, language, etc, forming photography’s ‘nation’ (Stimson 2006, 20). The capacity of photographs to constitute a ‘laboratory of social reconstruction’ (Stimson 2006, 17) and conjure up new forms of political subjectivity in the interplay of images are valuable insights for this thesis (Stimson 2006, 169, 171).

Instability and unpredictability have been underlying themes in my exploration of memory’s entanglement with photography and archives. Yet, as discussed above, national identities and national memory rely on stable narratives, thriving in the ‘blissful clarity’ (Barthes 1972, 143) of oversimplified historical and mythical national tropes. The bicentenary parade of the 1821 Greek War of Independence, with which I began this thesis, is an illustration of this stability of narrative. A neat and tidy Greek national history was presented, actively erasing the complex multi-ethnic and religious past of the last two hundred years. I argue that the fluidity as well as the stability of national memory operate from within the same social frameworks. This stability, however, is the result of choices made: for example, the repetition of national narratives in history textbooks or the re-enactment of history in national parades. National narratives, however, are not the sole prerogatives of the state or officialdom. In the following chapter I will discuss the archives I have visited, examining how they are key players in the formation of national culture. I will pay particularly close attention to the crucial fact that archives of national importance are often private.

Summary

To sum up, my theoretical framework dealing with the formation of Greek collective identities can be divided into two distinct yet overlapping parts. The first part, based on Anderson and Smith, deals with the overarching question of Greek collective identity creation and Greek nationalism. Anderson's concept of imagined community establishes the larger framework in which to approach modern Greek nationalism, helping me to sketch out the social-political facets of Greek collective identities. Smith's ethno-symbolist approach helps me analyse the dominant cultural-historical facets of the Greek nationalist narrative, which rests heavily on cultural, linguistic, and historical foundations. These aspects are particularly important for the study of Greece, as the past is so fundamental to collective Greek identities.

Furthermore, I also discussed the role of cultural memory in forming Greek national identity. The theoretical framework of memory will help me analyse how photographs become integral to the formation of Greek identity and the mediation of the Greek past. Photographs externalize cultural memory, which helps national communities form bonds to each other based on this shared memory. The process of remembering or forgetting is important, as it allows for reinterpretation of the past and consequently of established collective identities. This points us towards the partial nature of photographs and memories, a guiding concept for this thesis. Photographs may present a partial yet stable image and cultural memory of Greece, but this is the result of material and discursive choices and practices. What these choices and practices are will be examined throughout this thesis. Partiality also inflects my methodological approach, which treats the visualizations of Greek collective identities I examine as contingent on discursive relations and formations (Tagg 1988, 2009; Stimson 2006). Therefore, this partiality and contingency also highlights the necessity to treat the visualizations of Greek collective identities as interrelated photographies of Greece.

Chapter 3 – Greece through the lens. Mediating the Greek past in photography

In this chapter, I will briefly discuss the varied ways in which Greek photographies have visualized Greek national imaginaries throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As mentioned in the introduction, Greek photographies are not limited to photography produced by Greeks. Rather, the use of Greek *photographies* intends to reflect the various visualizations of Greece undertaken by Greeks and non-Greeks alike. This chapter is an extended argument about photography's important yet unseen role in Greek history, accentuating how Greek photographies have mediated our understanding of the Greek past and contributed to the formation of Greek collective identities. Furthermore, Greek photographies are little known in the English-speaking academe,[23] a situation which calls for this extensive narrative of Greek photographic history. Indeed, this history of Greek photography is sparsely known amongst scholars of modern Greece as well. While I engage critically with Greek photographic histories and its historiography, this chapter nevertheless expresses a dominant, partial image and narrative of Greece. As the chapter is compiled from secondary sources, it aims to reflect the current state of scholarship on Greek photographies. John Stathatos argument that 'photography provided [Greek] society with a record, mirror and a model' (2015a, 25) has been influential in the writing of this chapter.

Travelers and foreign gazes

Photography's beginnings can be traced to the early nineteenth century (Newhall 1972, 13). This new visual medium which combined art, science and craftsmanship experienced a dynamic start, with several actors developing ways to set photographic images. Independently of each other, the Englishman William Fox Talbot and the Frenchman Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre were the first to develop functional, reliable, and repeatable photographic processes. In 1839 Daguerre and then Talbot publicly claimed the invention of their photographic methods as their own (Newhall 1972, 18–21).

[23] Yet see Xanthakis (1988), Moschovi et al. (2009).

It did not take long for photography to arrive in Greece, or rather to be used in Greece. In 1839 Pierre-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière, a French-Canadian nobleman of Swiss extraction, set off from Marseille for a Grand Tour of the Eastern Mediterranean, stopping off in Greece along the way. Joly de Lotbinière visited the island of Syros, parts of the Peloponnese, and Athens (G. Edwards 1985, 16–17; Xanthakis 2008, 18; Hannoosh 2016a, 264 n.8). Equipped with his daguerreotype photographic camera, he seems to have taken images solely in Athens. Perhaps the cumbersome nature of his photographic equipment prohibited him from making photographs outside of Athens. In Athens, Joly de Lotbinière focused on the archaeological monuments of the city, particularly of the Acropolis. The original daguerreotypes have not survived. The only record we have of Joly de Lotbinière's images comes from their reproduction as aquatints in the illustrated volume *Excursions daguerriennes: Vues et monuments les plus remarquables du globe* (1842). This volume was produced by Noël-Paymal Lerebours, the Parisian optician and photographic supplier, who had asked Joly de Lotbinière to supply him with images from his travels. Lerebours was preparing an album for sale, with images from all around the world, capitalizing on the new technology of photography. As it was impossible to reproduce daguerreotypes, the photographs were traced and engraved to reproduce the original images. In Joly de Lotbinière's case, three views of the Acropolis survive depicting the Propylaea, the Parthenon and the Acropolis as seen from the East, with the temple of the Olympian Zeus in the foreground (fig. 2) (Lyons 2005, 30; Tsirgialou 2015, 80).

Figure 2. The Athens Acropolis with the temple of Olympian Zeus in the foreground. Aquatint based on daguerreotype by Pierre-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière. 1842. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

In these first photographs of Athens, a number of themes develop that will recur in the future of photography in Greece, particularly as it relates to foreign photographers. Joly de Lotbinière's images depict monumental antiquity, which was a longstanding concern of travellers to Greece (Szegedy-Maszak 1987, 130). For the first time the art of ancient Greece could be accurately depicted but not easily reproduced. Also, the photographs were made with a market in mind, as Joly de Lotbinière knew they were going to be reproduced in Lerebours' album. Such publications fuelled further interest in the photography of ancient Greek antiquities and stimulated the market for more published images. Joly de Lotbinière's images also established what Gary Edwards has called an iconographic programme, a set visual route of sites that subsequent travellers and photographers would follow in (Tsirgialou 2015, 77, 80).

The early photography of Greece performed another important task, that of making Greece seem like a safe place in the eyes of foreign travellers. As Szegedy-Maszak notes '[w]ithout robbing the land of its unusual qualities, photographs nonetheless domesticated it [Greece] and conveyed the message that it was a safe place to go'. The ancient sites became 'stage-sets' where the traveller-actor could be part of a mythical epic of Western civilization (Szegedy-Maszak 1987, 129). It is important to remember that only in the 1820s did Greece gradually overtake Rome as the dominant expression of classical antiquity within the Western imagination (Szegedy-Maszak 1987, 127).

The views of the ancient ruins were reused by many subsequent photographers. A visual photographic language that dealt with ancient Greek remains and with the Parthenon, especially, had been launched. This visual language was further developed and emulated by foreign and Greek photographers alike (Szegedy-Maszak 2005a, 13). The new, realistic medium of photography of the late 1830s was seen as a certain corrective to the Romantic travel accounts of earlier decades, both visual and literary. Joly de Lotbinière, too, adhered to this opinion, and his image of the Parthenon featuring large amounts of rubble and a small, modern hut posited a sober, unromantic depiction of the ancient site (fig. 3) (Hannoosh 2015).

Figure 3. The Parthenon with the remains of a hut in the foreground. Aquatint based on daguerreotype by Pierre-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière. 1842. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Greece became an important stop on the Grand Tour for wealthy foreign travellers. The first surviving photographs of Greece come from the travels of Frenchman Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey. Unsurprisingly, his images depict antiquities, prominent among them the Acropolis and the Parthenon. De Prangey, an eccentric wealthy polymath with a strong interest in (chiefly Islamic) archaeology stopped in Greece on his way to the Near East in 1842. He produced several daguerreotypes that are unique documents of the state of ancient Athenian monuments and of the early cityscape of the capital. The Acropolis held particular sway for de Prangey and he took many views of the site. He also took images of Byzantine monuments, however, such as the Daphne monastery (L. S. Stewart 2005, 74, 79).

Figure 4. Erechtheion, Athens. Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey. 1842. Metropolitan Museum of Art.

At this early stage in the history of Greece and especially in the history of Greek photography, it is still a foreign gaze that shapes the visual identity of Greece. It is also a gaze that is mostly oblivious to modern Greece, searching instead for confirmation of a classical past, a past very dear to Western-European ideals and civilizational underpinnings. As Hamilakis (2007) has argued, however, early nineteenth-century Greek attitudes towards ancient ruins and the ancient past were complex. While Greeks admired the craftmanship of ancient remains, 'the cosmological realm of people at the time was structured by religion' (Hamilakis 2007, 65) rendering these antiquities idolatrous. There is little evidence that early nineteenth-century Greeks saw the remains of the past as works of their own illustrious forebears (Hamilakis 2007, 74). This was to change during the course of the nineteenth century (Hamilakis 2007, 83–85).

The beginnings of Greek photography

Antiquity became a key photographic theme for Greek photographers as well. Amongst the earliest images by Philippos Margaritis, the first Greek photographer, we find views of ancient Athenian sites. Margaritis in these early images purposefully included elements of "modern" Greece, in contrast to foreign photographers deliberate obfuscation of a modern Greek present (Tsirgialou 2007, 35). Margaritis, an Italian-trained painter and professor at the School of the Arts in Athens (Scholeio ton Technon, Σχολείο των Τεχνών), learned daguerreotype photography from the Frenchman Philibert Perraud. The first portraits of Greeks are attributed to Margaritis, depicting the revolutionary fighter Panagiotis Naoum (fig.5) and King Otto (fig. 6) (Konstantinou 2013, 25; Xanthakis 2008, 31).

Figure 5. Portrait of revolutionary fighter Panagiotis Naoum. Philippos Margaritis. 1847. ELIA-MIET.

Figure 6. Earliest known daguerreotype portrait of King Otto of Greece. Philippos Margaritis. Ca 1848. EIM.

Both are depicted wearing traditional Greek dress, offering possible insights into contemporary understandings of being Greek in the mid-1850s. King Otto's choice of attire signals his desire to be seen as Greek, but given the near impossibility of reproducing daguerreotypes, his image was most likely not meant for wider circulation. However, it delivers an interesting insight into Otto's self-imagination as a Greek (ruler). Dressing up as a *kleft* resonated with a society that was shaped by its experiences in the War of Independence. However, even young men who had no experience of the War of Independence followed King Otto's lead and donned this national dress (Stathatos 2015a, 29). By the 1870s though, the *foustanella* grew out of fashion and it was even mocked (2015a, 30). Women of the royal court on the other hand, held on longer to traditional, national dress.

The role of traditional women's dresses in early Greek photography is noteworthy. In 1848 Philibert Perraud photographed Queen Amalia's Ladies-in-waiting, all decked out in a wide gamut of traditional costumes from around Greece (fig. 7) (Stathatos 2015a, 28–29).

Figure 7. Queen Amalia's Ladies-in-waiting, wearing traditional Greek dress. Philibert Perraud. 1847. Benaki Museum.

Queen Amalia's dress, however, is the most interesting from the perspective of national identity creation. Her dress, which came to be known as the Amalia costume, became a symbol of the newly formed Greek nation and its identity (Macha-Bizoumi 2012, 68). Crucially, the costume was Amalia's own invention, combining traditional Greek and modern European style elements (Macha-Bizoumi 2012, 69), thus serving as a bridge between Greece's recent liberation from its Ottoman past and its new-fangled status as a European nation-state (2012, 75). In Perraud's image the Ladies-in-waiting wearing traditional dresses visualize a Greek unity of various Greek regions, traditions, and factions.[24] Perraud's images provide an example of photography's unparalleled ability to visualize these embodied markers of regional and national Greek identity, providing what Stathatos has called a record, mirror and model of Greek national identity (2015a, 25).

At the time of their production, the circulation of these early Greek photographs was an elite affair, possibly staying within the narrow confines of the court. Photography was still a luxury good and medium and the visual literacy surrounding photography was still underdeveloped in Greek society. The image of King Otto in his foustanella, which led other men to copy his style, was most likely spread in ways that did not involve photography since photographic reproduction was not yet available. Today we see these photographs as infinitely reproducible and easy to disseminate. Therefore, we might attach greater importance to an image of Otto culturally crossdressing as a kleft than might be merited by the conditions of mid nineteenth-century Greece. This interpretational dichotomy between the era in which the photograph was created–here, Otto's reign–and the interpretative present will occupy me throughout this thesis.

[24] The Ladies-in-waiting came from important families that had participated in the Greek War of Independence, such as Foteini Gennaiou Kolokotroni, Kyriakoula Kriezi and Kondylo Miaouli (Macha-Bizoumi 2012, 69).

Figure 8. King Otto of Greece, exiled in Bavaria, wearing Greek dress. Unknown photographer. 1865. Wikimedia.

Athens

The modern nation of Greece and its new capital of Athens did not seem to be very attractive subjects for the early photographers of Greece. A few early views of the cityscape survive: some of the photographs of the British Rev. George Wilson Bridges from 1848 show the newly built royal palace flanked by the low structures of the time (fig. 9). These images provide rare testimony to the state of the city and its important ancient monuments after years of war and neglect (Konstantinou 2013, 25).

Figure 9. Modern Athens from the lower rocks of the Acropolis. George Wilson Bridges. 1848. Canadian Centre for Architecture.

As mentioned, antiquities were the preferred subject matter of most photographers and, by the 1850-60s, a lucrative market had developed for the sale of such images. Spurred by a greater interest in the new art of photography and by advances in photographic techniques that rendered sharper images in less time, foreign professional photographers came to Greece to produce images to meet the demands of the European market. Thus, the first large Greek photographic studios appeared, most famous amongst them that of Petros Moraitis. A sales album showcasing Moraitis' photographs reveals that only 5 of the 76 images shown were not of ancient monuments (Tsirgialou 2015, 81).

Documenting change, private and public

Over the course of the nineteenth century, new themes and market demands developed in Greek photography. Portraiture gained a steady foothold amongst the members of the bourgeoisie, who sought images that confirmed their social standing, copying the habits of the European bourgeoisie (Konstantinou 2013, 30). By the 1870s the wearing of traditional dress had all but disappeared as a marker of prestige and had instead become something of a cultural cliché. King George I, the first Greek royal of the Glücksburg dynasty, does not seem to have engaged in any cultural crossdressing like his predecessor.

Figure 10. King George I of the Hellenes. Photographer unknown. Date unknown. Wikimedia.

Queen Olga and her entourage, however, held on to the prestige of the traditional Greek dress, as seen in a photograph from ca. 1895 (fig. 11) (Stathatos 2015a, 30). The image suggests that the wearing of traditional dress had likely become gendered by the end of the nineteenth century.[25]

Figure 11. Queen Olga, photographer unknown. Date unknown. Wikimedia.

[25] The portraits taken by the Kastoria photographer Leonidas Papazoglou offer us insights into Greek non-elites' attitudes towards photography and traditional versus modern dress. See Antoniadis (2021). Albania offers an interesting parallel case of the social importance of being photographed taken in either traditional or modern–European–dress, highlighting how Albanian society negotiated a transition to a modern present (Mancini 2015).

Views of expanding urbanity constituted another main theme in late-nineteenth century Greek photography. The shop windows of Athenian photographic studios prominently displayed views of the city's squares, avenues, and neoclassical buildings. The Romaidis brothers' studio was the first to persistently record the modern city of Athens by the end of the century, selling these images widely (Tsirgialou 2007, 39). Earlier photographers such as Pascal Sébah and Dimitrios Konstantinou had also photographed the city during the mid-1870s. Importantly, the Istanbul-based Sébah had photographed the ancient historical sites 'with an eye to their contemporary surroundings' (Grossman 2015, 113), thus placing modern Greece and modern Athens in the historical present. As Heather Grossman notes, 'Sébah thus satisfied the touristic demand for views of the sites of ancient Greece, while also artfully providing his Greek customers and philhellenes with images that played to their notions of burgeoning modernization and European statehood' (2015, 113).[26]

Figure 12. Syntagma square. Romaidis brothers. Ca 1900. Benaki Museum.

[26] While most Greek photographic activity took place in and around Athens, prosperous regional centers like Syros and Ottoman-controlled Thessaloniki and Chios have also left us valuable photographic testimony from this era (Tsirgialou 2007, 39–40).

The end of the nineteenth century also saw the introduction of smaller, portable cameras and celluloid-based photographic film, two inventions which allowed greater and easier access to photography for amateurs. Many amateur photographers took photographs of the city and of their private lives. The high cost of photography meant that only the affluent could afford to practice it as a hobby. As a result these private images showcase the lives of the wealthier strata of Greek society but are still rare visual testimony to everyday life at the end of the nineteenth century.[27]

Figure 13. Construction of the Corinth canal. Unknown photographer. 1880s. BNP Paribas.

The end of the nineteenth century also ushered in photography's role in documenting major events in Greece's history. The grand infrastructure projects set in motion by Charilaos Trikoupis were captured on camera marking this imagery as the timid forerunner of industrial photography in Greece. Major projects such as the building of the Corinth Canal (fig. 13) and the railway between Athens and the port of Piraeus made for dramatic images of societal

[27] Konstantinou (2013, 32), Tsirgialou (2007, 45–46, 2015, 86). The family albums of wealthy Greeks from this era provide valuable insights into private attitudes towards photography, see Hatzigeorgiou (2021a).

modernization. Outside Athens, photography was used to lure investors or to promote the economic activity of a city or region. Three photographic albums made in Thessaly after its 1881 annexation–two of which were dedicated to Th. Diligiannis, minister and prime minster during this era–attest to photography's visualization of an expanding Greek nation (Stathatos 1997b, 31; Tsirgialou 2007, 39). As Stathatos notes elsewhere, little is known about how "industrial" images were disseminated at the time. The missing information might otherwise have shed light on photography's role in spreading a national message of modern progress (Stathatos 2015a, 31). Other major events such as the first Olympic Games of 1896, the funeral of former Prime Minister Charilaos Trikoupis, and the royal wedding of Crown Prince Constantine, were likewise documented on film and became part of the early Greek visual economy.

The Olympic Games attracted much attention from Greek and foreign photographers alike, although images are scarce today. The German photographer Albert Meyer documented the Games most thoroughly. Photographic technology at that time captured movement with difficulty. The images, therefore, are often static and arranged. The participants had to pose as athletes after the fact in order to convey their athleticism on film (fig. 14) (Xanthakis 2008, 182–92; Konstantinou 2013, 33). The Greek photographer Ioannis Lambakis, however, documented the Games from the stadium seats providing a more dynamic perspective than Meyer, presaging Greek photojournalism's ascent in the twentieth century.[28] Notably, images of important moments during the Games, such as the award ceremony, were photographed from the sidelines. One image by Meyer shows the Greek Marathon winner Spyros Louis receiving his medal alongside other athletes. This photograph is taken from the side, from behind a low staircase, making for an awkward picture (fig. 15). This points to the unimportance of photography at the time, at least in Greece. It was not yet a central element in the wider communication and publicization of public events. Yet, as Markus Stauff (2018) notes new media technology such as photography, telegraphy and the newspaper would in the second half of the nineteenth century become instrumental for the development of mass spectator sports and the formation of these sports' rules. Another

[28] Lambakis was likely also the first photographer to document public festivities such as Carnival and the "Dionysia" in the 1890s (Tsirgialou 2007, 44–45).

image of the 1896 Olympics that depicts the Greek king awarding winners incidentally also captures several photographers (Stauff 2018, 59).

Figure 14. Athlete Panagiotis Paraskevopoulos posing as discusthrower at the first Olympic Games. Albert Meyer. 1896. Benaki Museum.

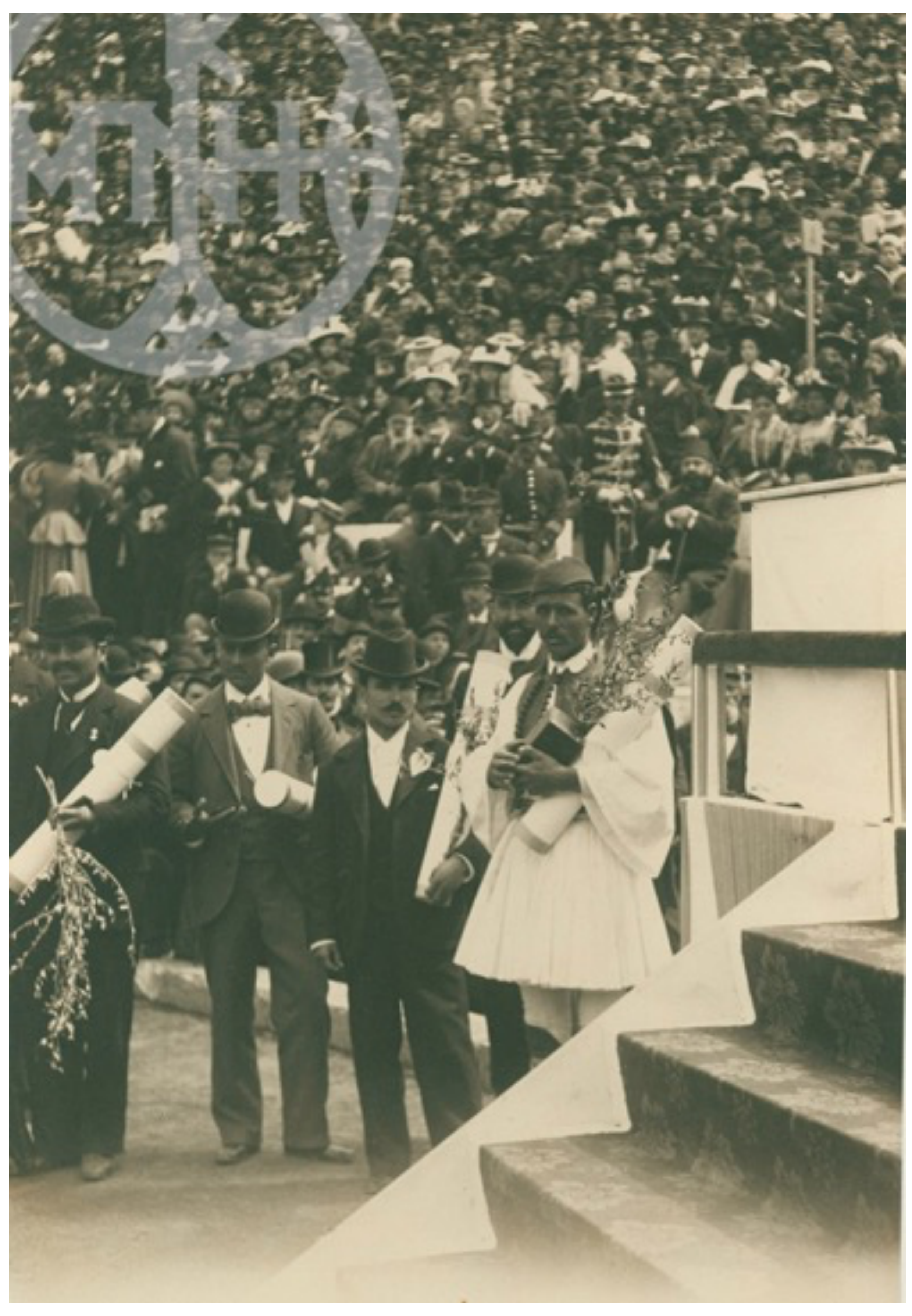


Figure 15. Spyros Louis, winner of the first Olympic marathon race, (dressed in traditional Greek dress) together with other Olympic winners receiving their awards. Albert Meyer. 1896. Benaki Museum.

Shooting wars

Greece's 1897 war with the Ottoman Empire was the first war captured on camera in Greece by Greek and foreign photographers alike. Few images survive from the front. Images portraying the return of the wounded to Athens and their treatment there are more common. Queen Olga can be seen in a number of such photographs performing the role of nurse tending to the wounded. In a photograph by Carl Boehringer, Queen Olga tends to Pavlos Kouzounas, who is referred to as the first of the wounded in the 1897 war (Konstantinou 2013, 33). Photographers and the royal court clearly realized the new medium's condensing capacity, of being able to distil major national events into images of personal interaction, such as the one between the queen and the soldier. Given that such images were not easily mass produced, however, it remains questionable whether these images were public images intended for wider circulation in the Greek press. According to Xanthakis, only from 1898 onwards were images photomechanically reproduced in Greek newspapers and journals, which previously used woodcut or engraved forms (Xanthakis 2008, 221).

The half-tone photomechanical process which allowed for the simultaneous printing of text and photographic image was only commercially viable after the 1880s. This step heralded the proliferation of illustrated magazines by the turn of the century, although important illustrated journals such as the *Illustrated London News, L'Illustration* (Paris, France) *and Illustrierte Zeitung* (Leipzig, Germany) had first appeared in the 1840s, printing woodcuts and engravings made from photographs. It was only in 1912 that the *Illustrated London News* fully integrated text and half-tone photographic reproductions. The London *Daily Mirror* was the first daily newspaper in the world to be completely illustrated with photographs in 1904 (Lenman 2005, 267, 298, 488; Newhall 1972, 175–76).

Nonetheless, photographs of the 1897 war were disseminated through other commercial ways, such as the purchasing of individual photographic prints. A noteworthy example comes from Underwood & Underwood, the successful US manufacturer of stereoscopic photographs. The firm produced a series of stereoscopes about the 1897 war, marking the beginning of its engagement with news photography, which had started a year earlier. The firm's photographer John F. Jarvis travelled to Crete and northern Greece to

document civilians and soldiers alike (figs. 16, 17), and to capture the mood in Athens during that time (fig. 18) (Lenman 2005, 644).[29]

Figure 16. Insurgents from Sparta - guarding the mountain pass, Grecian frontier. John F. Jarvis. 1897. Library of Congress.

[29] For a selection of Underwood & Underwood images of the Greco-Turkish War see the collection at the Library of Congress (https://www.loc.gov/item/2005679456/, last accessed 05/10/22).

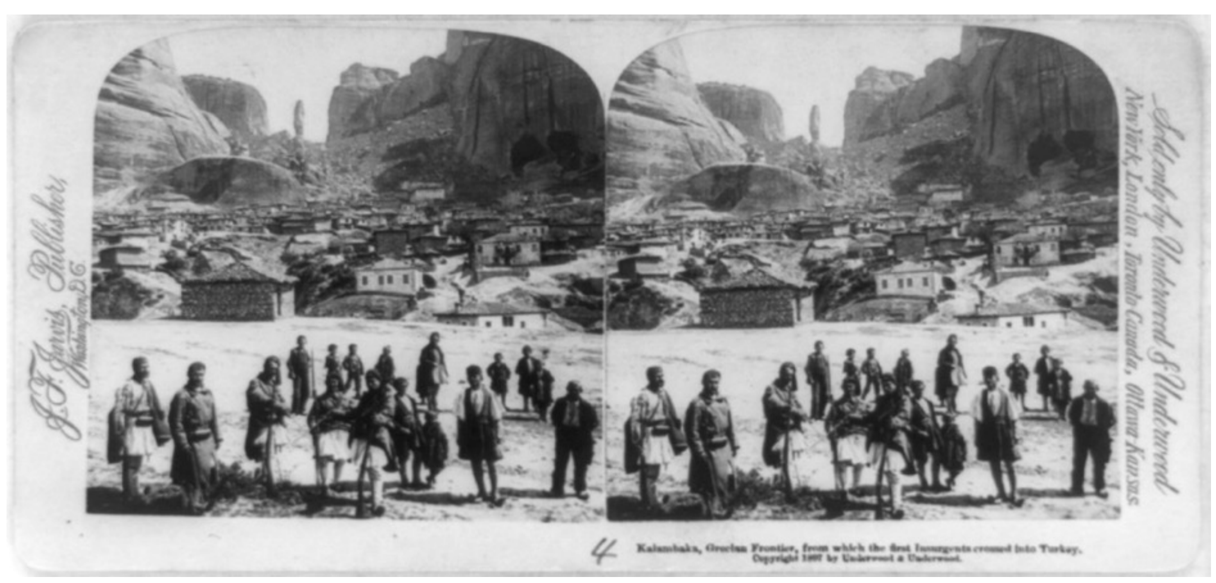


Figure 17. Kalambaka, Grecian frontier, from which the first insurgents crossed into Turkey. John F. Jarvis. 1897. Library of Congress.

Figure 18. Ladies of Athens feeding the Cretan refugees, Athens, Greece. John F. Jarvis. 1897. Library of Congress.

Curiously, the army hardly ever censored the photographers at the front, which suggests that photography's narrative and messaging functions were not fully embraced in Greece at the time. The foreign war correspondents who were following the war campaign witnessed that no one was controlling their movements (Xanthakis 2008, 193–97). Jarvis' candid yet staged images of Greek soldiers and irregulars, in poses vaguely reminiscent of Old Master civic guard portraits, can be seen as result of this freedom of photography. No battlefield images seem to have been taken or sold by Jarvis and the Underwood & Underwood firm.

A new century heralded new armed conflicts for Greece, which up until 1922 were to be set against the background of the irredentist Great Idea and the patriotic fervour it garnered. Following the 1897 Greek defeat by Turkey, the struggle for Macedonia was kept alive with low intensity battles by Greek irregulars, who fought against both Turkish forces and Bulgarian comitadjis. During this time Greek revolutionary and artillery officer in the Hellenic Army, Pavlos Melas, one of the *makedonomachoi*, (the Greek irregulars), was killed in battle shortly after assuming command of forces around Kastoria and Monastir in 1904. Melas' short-lived contribution to the Macedonian cause coupled with his social pedigree made him into a romantic hero of this struggle. Local photographer Leonidas Papazoglou took a photograph of Melas' grave which was widely circulated and made into a postcard (Stathatos 2015a, 34; Xanthakis 2008, 241–50).

Melas presents us with an excellent example of the diffusion of photographs in Greek visual culture. Melas is well known today from his painted depictions by Georgios Iakovidis, a prominent Greek academic painter of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Iakovidis made two paintings of Melas, both in uniform and both done posthumously from photographs (fig. 20). The most well-known painting depicts Melas as a man about to go into battle, bandolier strapped across his *makedonomachos* uniform, pistol holstered in his waist belt and a small cross pinned over his heart. This battle-ready posture is based on a photograph of Melas taken some two months before his death.[30]

[30] The second painting depicts Melas in a conventional officer's uniform, standing with hat in hand and resting lightly on his officer's sabre. The whole mood of the painting is sombre and serious. The commission for this painting came from countess Riancour after Melas' death, stating that Melas should be depicted in full figure and in uniform and that the painting itself should be presented to Melas' widow. The painting was only completed in 1910, six years after Melas' death. Melas is without a doubt painted from a photograph, likely one in which he is posing together with his family. See Christou (1975, 246, n. 51).

Figure 19. Pavlos Melas dressed as a makedonomachos*. Gerasimos Dafnopoulos. 1904. Wikimedia.*

The photograph (fig. 19) on which this painting and many other posthumous depictions of Melas are based has become iconic, almost mythical in stature. Taken by the Larissa photographer Gerasimos Dafnopoulos, Melas sent this photograph to his wife Natalia, demanding that it should not be shown to anyone, but should serve as a memento in case he died in battle. In the letter accompanying the photograph he also expressed the feeling that if he returned home without having accomplished anything, he felt it would be comical to see himself dressed up in that attire (Gounaris 2006, 8). Apart from Iakovidis' painting, numerous other visual reproductions of Dafnopoulos' photograph have circulated on postcards, popular woodcuts and more.[31] As mentioned earlier, the iconic nature of this image can be ascribed to the tragic sudden death of Melas, along with his celebrity status before death.

[31] There is even a metal miniature soldier artist who has created a miniature version of Melas based explicitly on the photograph, http://www.greekheroes.gr (last accessed 31/10/22)

Figure 20. Painting of Pavlos Melas. Georgios Iakovidis. Ca 1904-1908. Wikimedia.

However, the key to this status is the visual narrative that is spun from the photograph, of Melas performing the role of a *makedonomachos*, condensing military valour, irredentism, nationalism, and local Macedonian patriotism into one succinct image. This is yet another potent example of photography's ability to visualize overlapping national archetypes in one image. At the same time, a curious tension is noticeable: Melas wanted to wear the *makedonomachos* uniform and act as a Macedonian warrior, but at the same time was self-conscious of his performative act. A photograph becomes a fitting vehicle for this nationalist performance, memorializing the act and allowing Melas to carry a 'portable past' (Morris-Suzuki 2005, 86), allowing him to revisit himself as a *makedonomachos* whenever he wanted.

During the ensuing Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, photography participated on a much broader scale than before. Officers (and some soldiers) brought their own portable Kodak cameras, which allowed them to photograph the ongoing battles and life during the campaigns (Stathatos 2015a, 34). For this reason, much of the surviving photographic material of the Balkan Wars is anonymous. Professional photographers did document the wars, and some were rewarded handsomely for their efforts. The general patriotic mood in favour of the war created a great demand for images from the front, which was satisfied by postcards, original photographic prints, mass produced albums and magic-lantern slides. These albums seem to have been particularly popular. The most well-known album was Anestis Konstantinidis' *Panorama of the 1912–1913 War* (Πανόραμα του Πολέμου 1912-1913) (figs. 21, 22). In the later editions of this album, Konstantinidis asked people who had photographs from the wars to send them to him in exchange for payment (Stathatos 2015a, 34; Xanthakis 2008, 241–50).

ΠΑΝΟΡΑΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ
1912-1913

ΑΘΗΝΑΙ
Α. ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΙΔΗΣ & Σ^Α ΕΚΔΟΤΑΙ
2. ΠΛΑΤΕΙΑ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩΝ
1913
ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΝ "ΕΣΤΙΑ" Κ. ΜΑΪΣΝΕΡ ΚΑΙ Ν. ΚΑΡΓΑΔΟΥΡΗ

Figure 21. Panorama of the 1912-1913 war, title page. Anestis Konstantinidis. 1913. librodorobooks.gr.

“ΑΪΝΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΟΝΤΕΥΟΥΜΕ„

Αὐτὴ ὑπῆρξεν ἡ παρακελευστικὴ κραυγὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἡρωϊκοὺς στρατιώτας μας. «Τοὺς κοντεύουμε τοὺς Τούρκους!» ὡς νὰ ἐπρόκειτο περὶ θηράματος, περὶ κυνηγίου.

ΔΥΟ ΑΝΤΙΘΕΣΕΙΣ

Φεύγουσαι τὴν ἀγριότητα τῶν αἱμοβόρων δημίων των αἱ γυναῖκες τῆς Μακεδονίας, ζητοῦσιν ἄσυλον παρ' ἡμῖν. — Ἐλᾶτε κοντά! Μὴ φοβᾶσθε! Ἐδῶ τοὺς ἔχομεν τοὺς δημίους σας!

Figure 22. Album page from Panorama of the 1912-1913 War, showing scenes from the Greek front and refugee women from Macedonia fleeing towards the Greek troops. Anestis Konstantinidis. 1913. librodorobooks.gr.

Konstantididis’ album of war presents a noteworthy case of the use of photography to bolster a Greek national narrative, which at that time was dominated by the Great Idea. The images in the album catered to an audience keen to see Greece victorious and to celebrate the country’s further territorial expansion. We can assume that the images conformed to these expectations and the prevailing nationalist discourse. However, this was not an effort led by the state but by entrepreneurial photographers who incorporated in the war albums their own professional images and images taken by participants in the battles. This type of album functions as a form of mini archive that blends both commercial and private imagery. The photographer-producer of the album collects those images that can coherently inform the viewer of a particular national narrative. In this case the collecting is done with the demands of the market in mind, but similar narrative constructions could be seen at work also in private albums, as in family albums (cf. Hatzigeorgiou 2021). Although a family album focuses on the

private narratives of a particular family, certain larger narratives can also be detected, like those relating to the nation.

In another photographic album from the Balkan Wars known as the *Photographic Album of the Unknown Corporal of 1912*, the photographs were compiled by an unknown soldier who served as an army driver in Epirus and Macedonia. There he came into contact with photographers documenting the war and obtained photographs from them, later compiling something of a mirror image to Konstantinidis' album–a private album with commercial photographs (Stathatos 2015a, 34). This personal album can be seen to belong within the same discursive vein as the commercial albums, using photography to forge a visual narrative of Greek history and memory. A familiar photographic trope can be seen in this album: women in nurses' uniforms–identified as members of the aristocracy–tending to the wounded.

Figure 23. Injured soldiers from the First Balkan War front are transported to the hospitals of Filippiada, Epirus, in January 1913. Princess Alice is depicted in white uniform, first standing from the right. Unknown photographer. 1913. Wikimedia.

The echoes of Queen Olga's 1897 photographs as carer are clear but it begs the question if this reference was evident to the photographed and the photographer. Regardless, this type of imagery and the service it depicted were to survive into the WW2 era (Stathatos 2015a, 34). In the post-war era, the photographic trope of the caring royal is repeated in images of Queen Frederica visiting the "children's cities" (*paidoupoleis*) that she set up to care for the orphans of the Greek Civil War.[32]

The Great Idea

Since the 1840s the irredentist Great Idea, which sought to unite the 'unredeemed' Greeks that were not living within the narrow confines of the Greek state, had been a major mobilizing ideology for the growing Greek state. The thrust of the Great Idea was directed towards the Ottoman Empire as most of the 'unredeemed' Greeks lived there (Kalyvas 2015, 44–45; Beaton 2019, 127–29; cf. Skopetea 1988). With the end of WWI, Greece made considerable gains in the fulfilment of its irredentist dreams. Its participation on the allied side of the war combined with the deft diplomatic skills of PM Eleftherios Venizelos secured for Greece considerable territories of the Ottoman Empire where Greek-speaking populations lived. Since May 1919 the territories around Smyrna and Aydin were a Greek mandate occupied by Greek troops. The signing of the Treaty of Sèvres (1920) ceded further territories in the west of the Ottoman Empire to Greece (Beaton 2019, 217). In 1920, the occupation of the Greek mandate had morphed into a military campaign that pressed further and further into Anatolia, but increasingly without the financial, diplomatic or moral backing of the Great Powers (M. L. Smith 1998, 124–25; Clogg 2021, 95–96). The campaign that PM Venizelos had embarked upon, and which subsequent Greek governments followed through with, was by September 1922 put to a catastrophic end by the army of the Turkish nationalists, led by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk (Beaton 2019, 223–26; Clogg 2021, 97; cf. M. L. Smith 1998, chap. 13).

The ultimately ill-fated Asia Minor campaign was documented by several Greek photographers, locals and Helladic alike. The Greek Army had by 1920 established its own photography division that besides photographing the victories of the Greek army exercised

[32] On the *paidoupoleis* see indicatively chapter three in Danforth and Van Boeschoten (2012) and Van Steen (2019, 49–67). See also Karagiannakidis (2021) on the photography from the *paidoupoleis*.

control and coordination of the photojournalists following the war. In June 1922 the Ministry of Military Affairs organized an exhibition at the Zappeion exhibition hall in Athens, showcasing paintings and photographs from the Asia Minor front (Anonymous 1922; Sideris 2002). Although slated as one in a series of exhibitions, this never came to pass. As a result of a dispute between the Greek military command in Asia Minor and the Ministry of Military Affairs, the exhibition was moved from Athens to Smyrna. Its arrival in the city coincided with the rout of the Greek Army from Asia Minor and close to 500 paintings were destroyed in the fire that swept Smyrna (Sideris 2002).[33]

[33] A news article from 2002 reports that some of the paintings resurfaced years later in the archives of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece (IEEE)–the parent organization of the National Historical Museum–as well as on the private market (Katimertzi 2002).

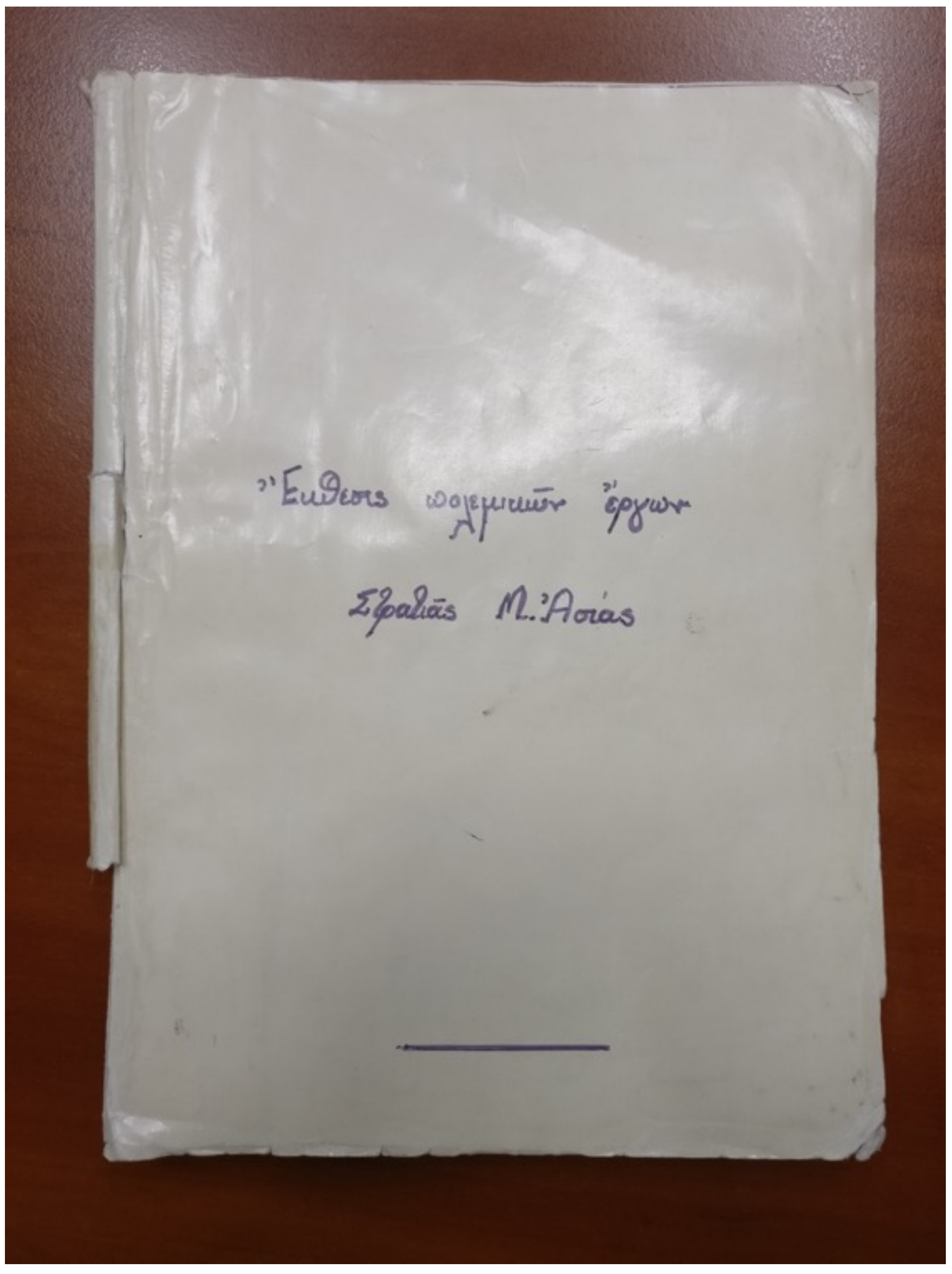


Figure 24. Catalogue cover of Asia Minor campaign exhibition. Author's image.

The photographs (fig. 25, 26, 28) and a copy of the catalogue of this exhibition (fig. 24, 27) survived though and were deposited with the EIM after the end of the exhibition.[34] That these

[34] Some 6000 photographs of the army's photographic division were deposited at the EIM, but curiously this detail about the Zappeion exhibition is only mentioned in the English

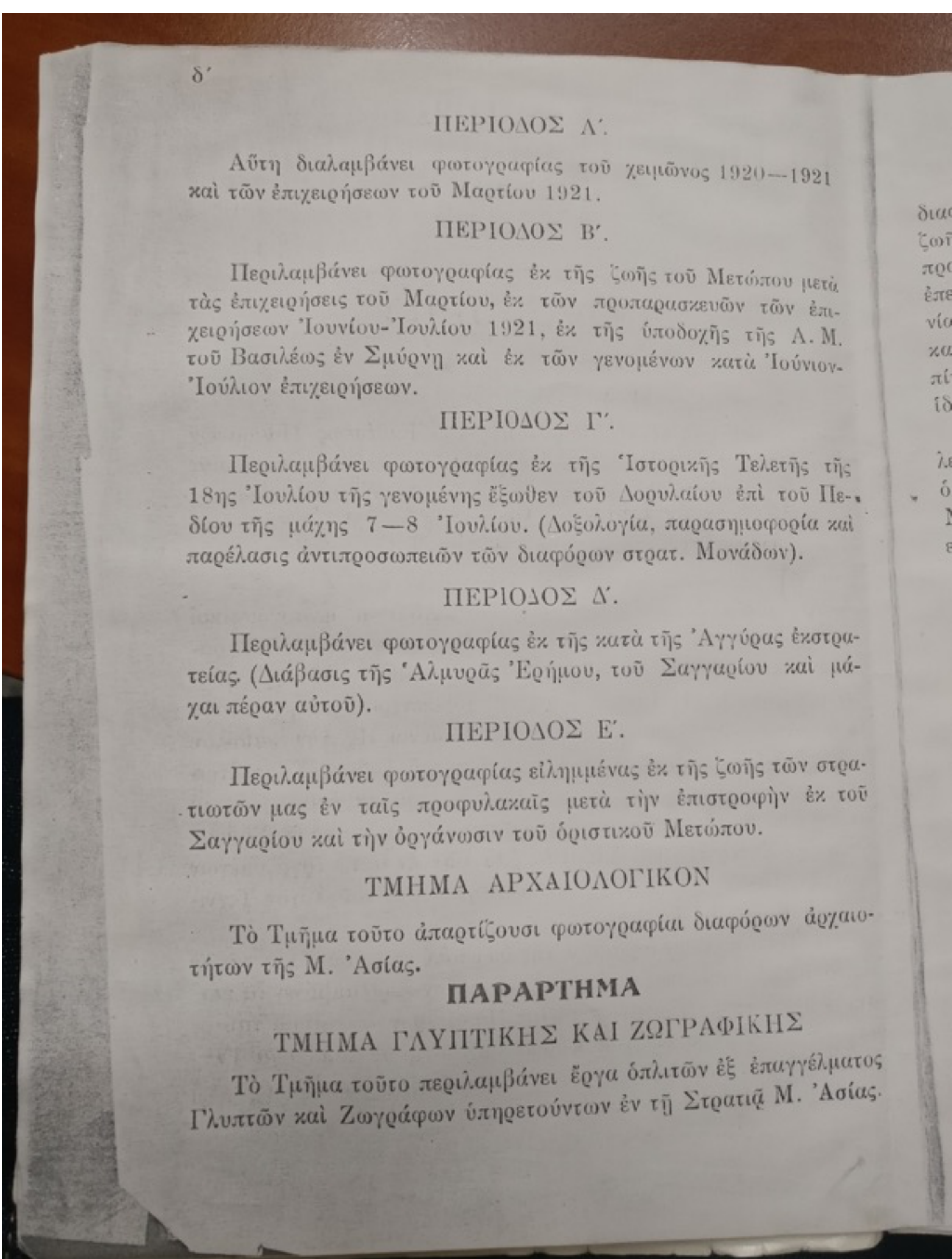
images were deposited at the EIM is noteworthy. Even then they were deemed to be important historical documents that needed to be preserved for the future, in an institution with a clear mandate to collect objects and materials relating to the history of modern Greece. The exhibition catalogue informs us that the exhibition was organized chronologically, documenting the Greek army's life on the Asia Minor front from winter 1920 until 31 January 1922.

Figure 25. Counter-attack. Unknown photographer. March 1921. EIM.

version of the EIM website and not in the Greek version ("Εθνικό Ιστορικό Μουσείο. Φωτογραφικό αρχείο" n.d.).

Figure 26. Erecting barbed wire. Unknown photographer. March 1921. EIM.

Two separate, special exhibition sections are devoted to archaeology as well as painting and sculpture.



δ'

ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Α'.

Αὕτη διαλαμβάνει φωτογραφίας τοῦ χειμῶνος 1920—1921 καὶ τῶν ἐπιχειρήσεων τοῦ Μαρτίου 1921.

ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Β'.

Περιλαμβάνει φωτογραφίας ἐκ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Μετώπου μετὰ τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις τοῦ Μαρτίου, ἐκ τῶν προπαρασκευῶν τῶν ἐπιχειρήσεων Ἰουνίου-Ἰουλίου 1921, ἐκ τῆς ὑποδοχῆς τῆς Α. Μ. τοῦ Βασιλέως ἐν Σμύρνῃ καὶ ἐκ τῶν γενομένων κατὰ Ἰούνιον-Ἰούλιον ἐπιχειρήσεων.

ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Γ'.

Περιλαμβάνει φωτογραφίας ἐκ τῆς Ἱστορικῆς Τελετῆς τῆς 18ης Ἰουλίου τῆς γενομένης ἔξωθεν τοῦ Δορυλαίου ἐπὶ τοῦ Πεδίου τῆς μάχης 7—8 Ἰουλίου. (Δοξολογία, παρασημοφορία καὶ παρέλασις ἀντιπροσωπειῶν τῶν διαφόρων στρατ. Μονάδων).

ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Δ'.

Περιλαμβάνει φωτογραφίας ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τῆς Ἀγγύρας ἐκστρατείας. (Διάβασις τῆς Ἁλμυρᾶς Ἐρήμου, τοῦ Σαγγαρίου καὶ μάχαι πέραν αὐτοῦ).

ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Ε'.

Περιλαμβάνει φωτογραφίας εἰλημμένας ἐκ τῆς ζωῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν μας ἐν ταῖς προφυλακαῖς μετὰ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἐκ τοῦ Σαγγαρίου καὶ τὴν ὀργάνωσιν τοῦ ὁριστικοῦ Μετώπου.

ΤΜΗΜΑ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΝ

Τὸ Τμῆμα τοῦτο ἀπαρτίζουσι φωτογραφίαι διαφόρων ἀρχαιοτήτων τῆς Μ. Ἀσίας.

ΠΑΡΑΡΤΗΜΑ

ΤΜΗΜΑ ΓΛΥΠΤΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΖΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΗΣ

Τὸ Τμῆμα τοῦτο περιλαμβάνει ἔργα ὁπλιτῶν ἐξ ἐπαγγέλματος Γλυπτῶν καὶ Ζωγράφων ὑπηρετούντων ἐν τῇ Στρατιᾷ Μ. Ἀσίας.

Figure 27. Page from catalogue of Asia Minor campaign exhibition, listing exhibition's sections. Author's image.

The archaeological section is particularly important, as it clearly aims to show that the Turkish territories occupied by the Greek army are Greek. This section almost exclusively depicts ancient Greek remains and Byzantine Christian structures. Thus, the images combine

antiquity and Byzantium, the two historical pillars of indigenous, Greek Hellenism, to prove the area's unique Greek identity, legitimating the occupation of these areas. A characteristic image is the one below, where four Greek soldiers are studying an ancient Greek stele bearing a Greek inscription. The image's caption reads '[o]ne of the countless examples of Greekness in Asia Minor' (fig. 28).

Figure 28. 'One of the countless examples of Greekness in Asia Minor'. Unknown photographer. ca 1921. EIM.

The photographers who documented the Asia Minor campaign most consistently were from the Swiss Boissonnas photographic dynasty (Boudouri 2013, 43–45). As Stathatos describes it, '[t]he Boissonnas family of Geneva were, to all extents and purposes, the Greek government's photographic and propaganda branches rolled into one' (2015a, 36). Already in 1905 Fred Boissonnas, the head of the dynasty, had written the Greek government presenting ideas on how to promote Greece, stressing the role that photography could play and particularly in solidifying claims to the Greek irredenta. In 1907 Boissonnas secured a small grant from King George I of the Hellenes (1863-1913) for this purpose, but Boissonnas' commercial propaganda venture would only come to fruition in 1913-14 when he was

commissioned and paid to produce an album on Epirus in North-western Greece (1914) (Boudouri 2013, 36–37).

A staunch Philhellene, Boissonnas had previously photographed ancient Greek remains that existed in, for instance Epirus to prove the Greekness of Epirus and Greece's claims to the territory.[35] Although Fred Boissonnas kept photographing in Greece and pitching his ideas to the Greek government, it was only after the end of WWI and the approaching Paris Peace Conference of 1919 that he found a responsive partner in PM Eleftherios Venizelos. Boissonnas was contracted to produce an exhibition in Paris entitled *Visions de Grèce* that would showcase photographs of Greece as well as originals and copies of ancient Greek objects. The exhibition proved to be a big success and the lectures given in conjunction with the exhibition were quick to remind the audiences of the Greek claims to areas like Thrace and Asia Minor (Boudouri 2013, 40).

The Boissonnas family's propaganda work for the Greek state continued with the signing of a contract on March 27, 1919, to produce numerous illustrated volumes for the purpose of showcasing Greece abroad. Two such volumes were set for production during the same year, one about Thessaloniki–which focused on its Byzantine heritage–and one about the Aegean and Crete. Shortly after the conclusion of this agreement, Greek forces occupied Smyrna and the Boissonnas photographers quickly made their way there as well, accelerating the production of a volume on Smyrna that had originally been planned for 1920 (figs. 29, 30).

[35] Fred Boissonnas was also the first photographer to meaningfully turn his photographic attention to the Greek landscape and see Greece beyond its ancient ruins (Stathatos 1997b, 30).

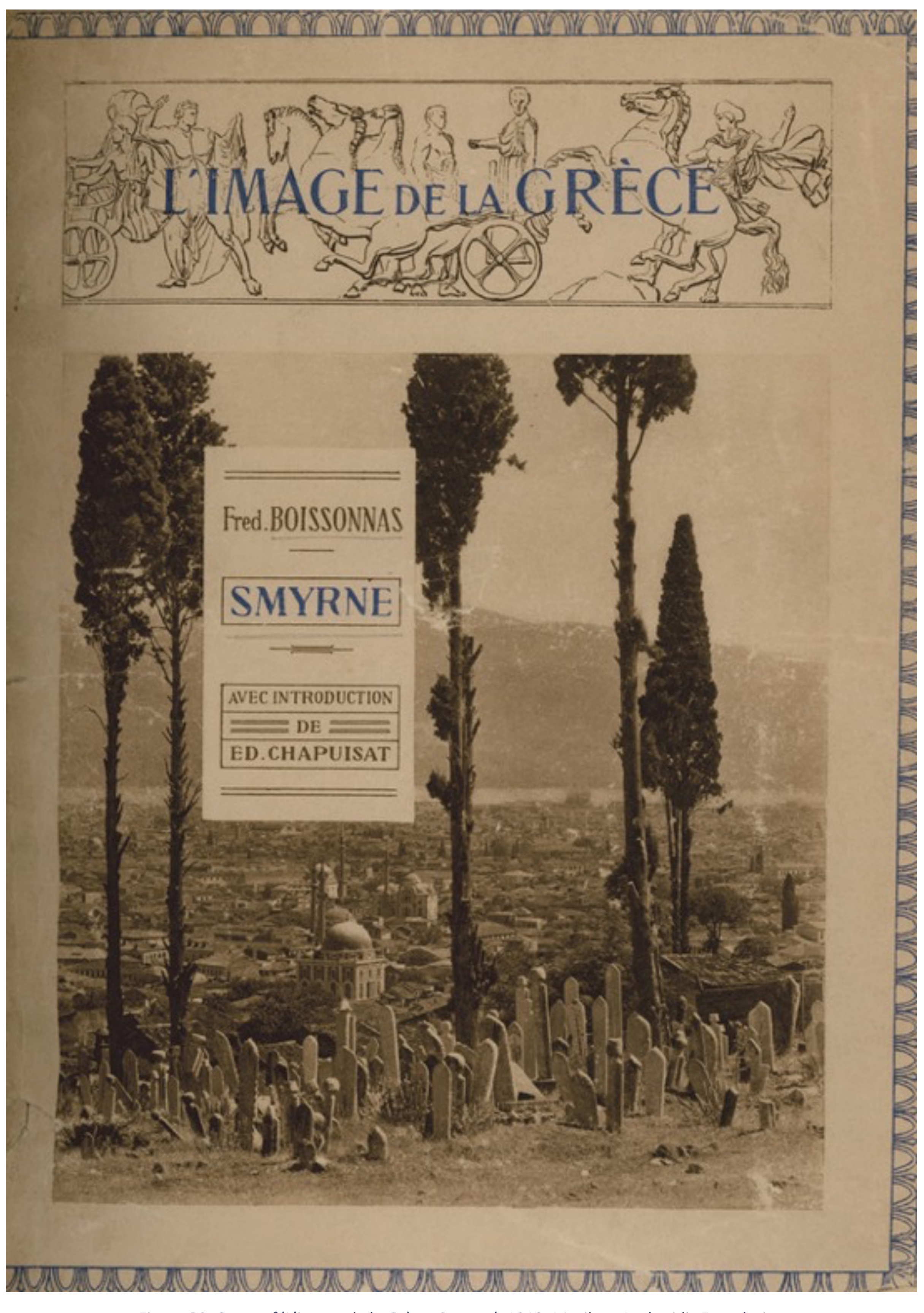


Figure 29. Cover of 'L'image de la Grèce. Smyrne'. 1919. Marilena Laskaridis Foundation.

Figure 30. Everyday life scene at the Greek quarter, Smyrna. Ed. Boissonnas. 1919. Marilena Laskaridis Foundation.

This volume was published in 1919 with images taken by Edmond Boissonnas, son of Fred. The propagandistic qualities of this volume were not very strong as the images highlighted the polyethnic character of Smyrna, rather than any inherently Greek character of the city. At

the same time, Fred Boissonnas and his other son Henri were traveling in Greek Macedonia and Thessaloniki, producing an album that was to be distributed to Greek embassies abroad and to prominent politicians, albums whose intention was to visualize the Greekness of the areas depicted (Boudouri 2013, 41–43).

Later in 1921, when Greece had found itself diplomatically isolated because of its push towards inland Turkey, the Greek Foreign Ministry signed a new contract with Henri Boissonnas, Fred's son, and the Swiss colonel Fernand Feyler to report from the Asia Minor front. The Ministry's aims were to disseminate these images to the foreign press as well as to produce a book about the military campaign. At the same time, the Greek Foreign Ministry paid French newspapers to refrain from publishing negative stories about Greece and to publish material that was supplied by them (Boudouri 2013, 43–44; Stathatos 2015a, 38).

As Eirene Boudouri (2013) argues, the Boissonnas family was pioneering in its use of photography to promote Greece abroad, as well as in the visual documentation of the width and breadth of the country. This documentation was not strictly for political purposes, as large parts of the Boissonnas' production was geared towards the touristic promotion of Greece and to highlight the country's modernization (Boudouri 2013, 45). The tale of the Boissonnas family shows though that the Greek state saw the use of photography in an opportunistic way, seeing its narrative potential only at key moments in its foreign relations. There is little indication that these images by Boissonnas were meant for circulation domestically. Whether the state used photography to showcase the new territories of Epirus or Macedonia for its own citizens is an open question. This and similar questions about the Greek state's use of photography in projecting national narratives will be explored further in my analysis.

The interwar years

The interwar years were a dramatic period for Greece that heralded the final defeat of the Great Idea, which led to a huge influx of refugees as a result of the 1923 Greek-Turkish population exchange. The economy and society of Greece were significantly affected. One major change was the development of a new urban working and middle class. This new working class in particular used its new collective identity to form unions and make political demands. Another significant societal development was the enjoyment of leisure time by the middle and working classes.

One of the effects of this new social phenomenon was the creation and proliferation of hiking and mountaineering clubs, whose members came from the Greek bourgeoisie. Amateur photography proliferated in these clubs and its activities. As Stathatos notes, this process took longer than in other countries. In 1900 Greece had no amateur photographic clubs while England had 256 (Stathatos 2004, 3). This new interest in nature tracked similar trends in Europe, but in Greece this discovery of nature and the landscape was caught up in an effort to renegotiate national identity in a society that had been significantly affected by the resettling of over one million Greek refugees from Asia Minor. Once the dream of the expansionist Great Idea had collapsed in 1922, the collective imagination turned inwards and back in time, to an Arcadian ancient Greece as a common denominator for all Greeks (Moschovi 2013, 148–49). Amateur and professional photographers alike turned to the countryside and its inhabitants to find unspoiled Greekness, 'to recover a sense of stability in the diachronic values of folkloric tradition' (Moschovi 2015, 57), nurturing a folkloric visual language that was to survive through the post-WWII era (cf. Katsaridou 2010).

The photographer Petros Poulidis recorded the growth of the interwar working and middle classes in a methodical and exhaustive manner (Stathatos 2015a, 44). Notably, he recorded the new social phenomenon of leisure time, which until then was unknown outside of the upper classes of Greek society (2015a, 45). As a photographic reporter, he photographed public life and captured scenes like those of the first holidaying Greeks on the beaches of Attica (figs. 31, 32). In such images Poulidis worked at the intersection of the private and the public sphere. His subjects are ordinary citizens going about their daily lives who consciously or not are showcasing their identity, be it class, gender, national or any other identity marker.

Figure 31. Bathers at Vouliagmeni, Attica in front of the 'Kyani Akti' taverna. Petros Poulidis. ca 1932. ERT.

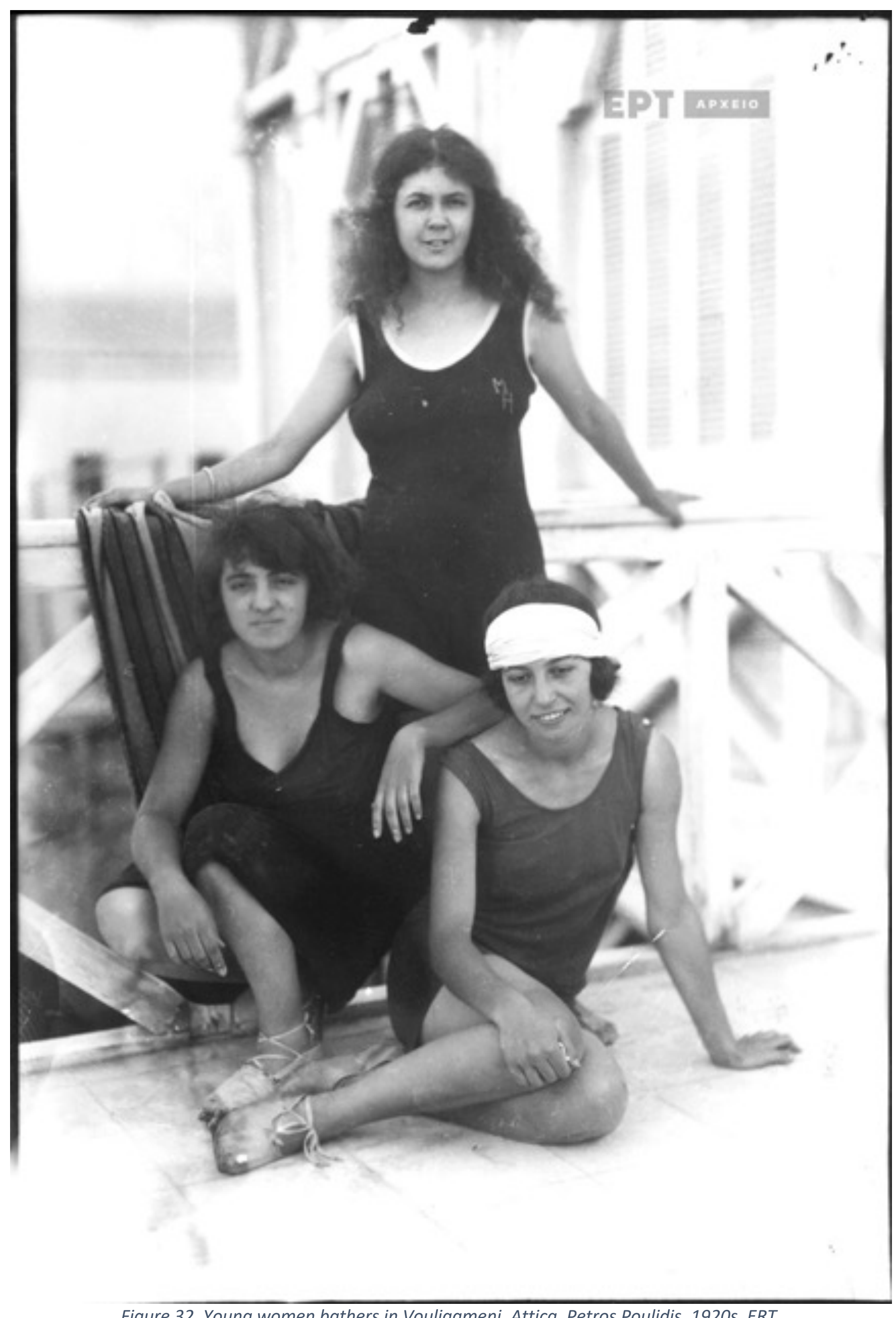


Figure 32. Young women bathers in Vouliagmeni, Attica. Petros Poulidis. 1920s. ERT.

Poulidis' images of the bathers in Vouliagmeni are at face value unremarkable. It is the surrounding context, be it historical (1920s Athens), textual (the captions and/or notes that accompany the images), the medium of dissemination (e.g. a 1920s Athenian daily), as well

as the archive in which the images ended up (the Hellenic Broadcasting Corporation (ERT) archive) that lend the images their meaning and importance. A photograph by Poulidis operates on several different levels: as photographic reportage of 1920s Greece, as a historical document full of information regarding the 1920s Athenian middle class, as an archival document by a famous photojournalist, and last but not least as a national *aide-mémoire*. All these different levels interact and influence each other, illustrating the complex nature of critically engaging with photography's role in the visualization of Greek collective identities.

It is particularly photography's role as a national *aide-mémoire* that interests me since it illustrates the ambiguous character of photography as document. The trust in the positivist nature of photographs–i.e. they depict the world as it was–that still reigns, is what facilitates the externalization of national, collective memory to photography. Furthermore, there is a particularly close relationship between national identity and photography, as '[a] photograph – whether analogue or digital – is still able to play this [giving visual substance to national identity] role better than other types of document [sic], since by its very nature it is linked to the concept of identity as self-recognition' (Constanza Caraffa and Serena 2015, 8).

This trust in photography has two consequences. Firstly, photographs can be called upon like memories, to frame and bolster a national narrative, strengthening national identity. Human memory is selective and so are photographs, which can only capture one scene at a time, framed in their turn by the intentions, conscious and not, of the photographer. Secondly and relatedly, the external function of photographs assisting in the creation and recalling of memory suggests that the processes by which the images become *aide-mémoires* are to be found in the archival institutions that house them. All images might be created equally but not all images are archived equally. The ways in which archives participate in the formation of historical memory and national identity will be explored more closely in the next chapter.

The interwar years also produced perhaps the most important figure in Greek twentieth-century photography, Elli Souyioultzoglou-Seraidari (1899-1998) better known as Nelly's. Nelly's offers the most explicit, aestheticized, and nationalist example of the idealization of the Greek countryside and its people. Nelly's hailed from Aydin in Asia Minor and is therefore part of the wave of new Greeks that arrived in Greece after September 1922. Nelly's however studied art and photography in Dresden in the early 1920s, thus managing

to avoid the catastrophic collapse of the Greek presence in Asia Minor. Between 1924-1939, Nelly's was active in Greece and built an illustrious career photographing the Greek bourgeoisie including prominent personalities, such as PM Venizelos (fig. 34) and the poet Kostis Palamas (fig. 33).

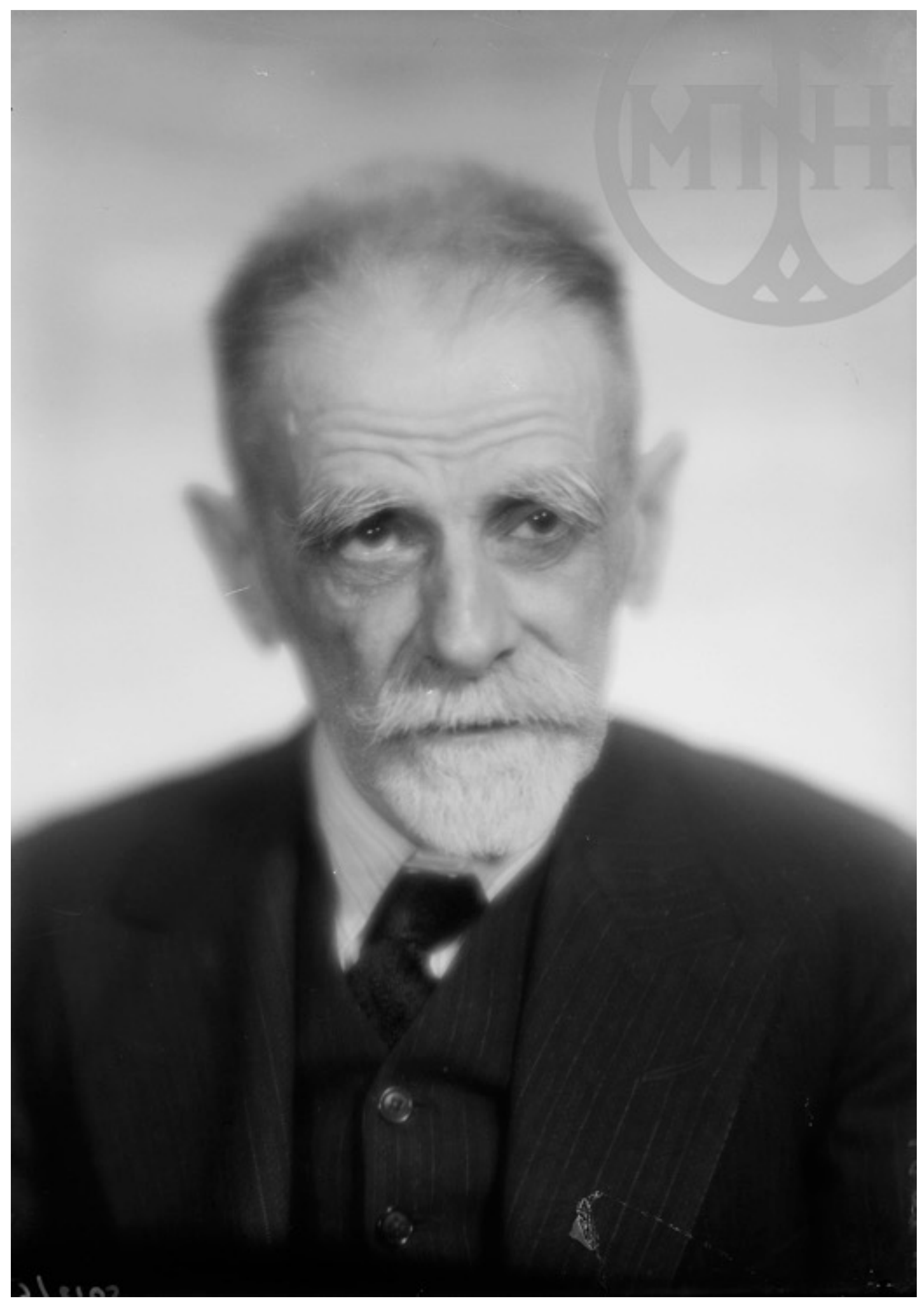


Figure 33. The poet Kostis Palamas. Nelly's. 1920s. Benaki Museum.

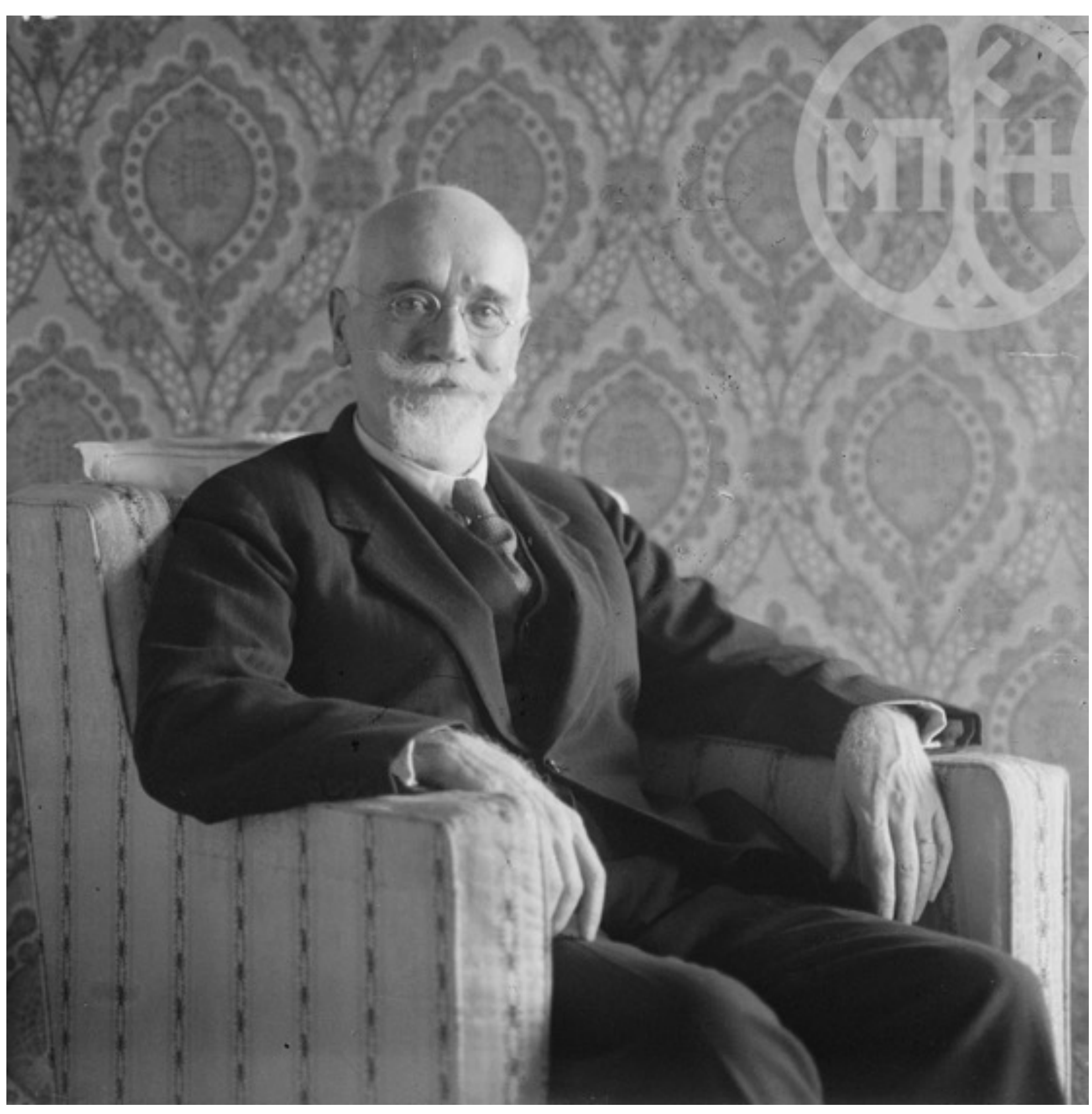


Figure 34. PM Eleftherios Venizelos. Nelly's. 1928. Benaki Museum.

However, Nelly’s is primarily associated with the evocative, classicizing images that drew heavily on ancient Greek culture and the idealisation of the Greek countryside. It is this visual language that likely caught the eye of the Greek state, both under the parliamentary and the quasi-fascist rule of the interwar period. The Greek Tourist Organization (EOT), which Nelly’s had worked for in the late 1920s, was dissolved by the dictatorship of General Ioannis Metaxas in 1936. Nelly’s was kept on, however, to work for EOT’s replacement, the new Under-Secretariat of Press and Tourism (fig. 35). In this new organization, she was tasked ‘to give a visual content to the concept of “Greece”’.[36]

[36] Eirene Boudouri as quoted by Zacharia (2015, 235). Nelly’s depiction of the Greek landscape–inspired by Fred Boissonnas–added a new register to the visualization of Greece. Her landscape

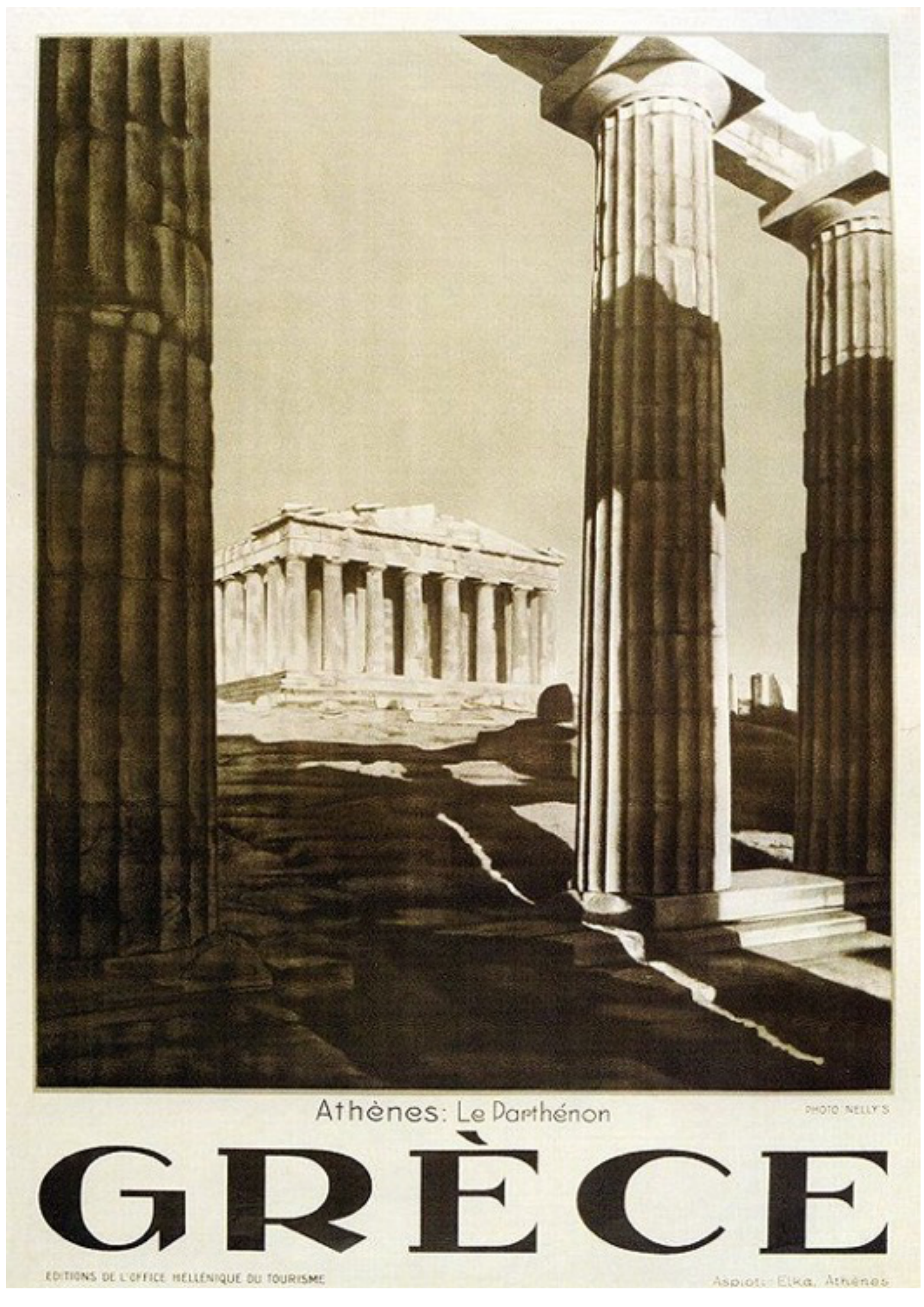


Figure 35. EOT poster with the Athens Parthenon. Photograph by Nelly's. EOT.

Nelly's production has yielded a sizeable body of work that exemplifies the use of photography to frame a state-directed Greek national narrative. The result is not without

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photography went beyond the dominant picturesque depictions of Greece, rooted in a pictorialist tradition (Stathatos 1997b, 33–34). Yet, see Papaioannou (2014, 200, 202–3, 205, 208)

some controversy, however. Nelly's work during the Metaxas regime (1936-1941) clearly aligns itself with a concept of Hellenism that sees an unbroken link between modern and ancient Greece, historically and racially. Her work was also aligned with Metaxas' vision of a Third Hellenic Civilization, modelled on the German Third Reich. The images that Nelly's produced include collages of headshots of contemporary Greeks and ancient statues, which have been juxtaposed to draw out the unbroken physical link over time (fig. 36).

Figure 36. Collage likening modern rural Greeks to ancient Greek statues. Nelly's. 1939. Benaki Museum.

Nelly’s has been rediscovered and reassessed since the fall of the military junta in 1974 but, as Katerina Zacharia argues, the links of her work to Metaxas’ political ideologies are not reflected upon or have simply been brushed aside (2015, 233). In her own words Nelly’s

claimed that she never took political sides (Nelly's 1989, 303), although her work explicitly supported a hyper-nationalist narrative. I concur with Zacharia's observation that 'images do not exist in a vacuum … [t]hey are socially constructed, exchanged and nationalised' (2015, 242).[37] I will be discussing Nelly's extensively in chapter five.

Narratives of war, photographing famine

The Second World War brought great destruction to Greece. The country's occupation by three Axis powers led to one of the deadliest famines in recent European history. Two strands of photography strongly defined this period: the photographs of the famine of 1941-42, mainly in the urban centres, and the images of the communist-led resistance forces in the mountains. Both strands have been very important in visualizing collective Greek identities of this era, although in different ways and at different points in time. Both strands are also political, or rather the photographers were engaged in political discourse whether they wanted to or not.

Anyone familiar with the 1941-42 famine that devastated Athens has almost certainly seen the images produced by Voula Papaioannou. Although there were others who documented the devastation of the famine and the occupation, most prominently the photographer Dimitris Harissiadis, the journalist Kostas Paraschos and the members of the forensic division of the Athenian police (figs. 37-40), Papaioannou has produced the most iconic and most widely circulated images of that time.[38]

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[37] See also Panayotopoulos (2009), Moschovi (2014), Petsini (2016a).

[38] For a list of photographers active during the Axis occupation of Athens, see Xanthakis (2008, 387–94).

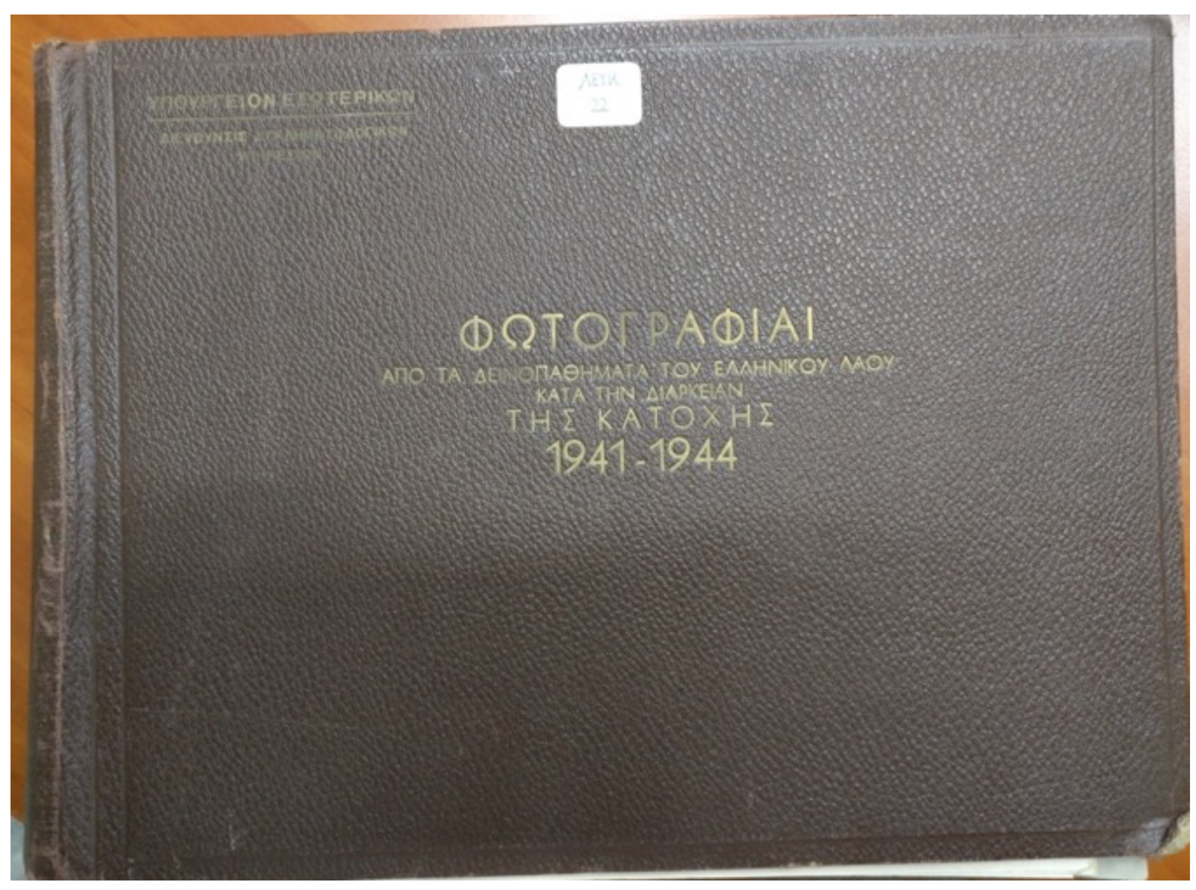

Figure 37. Album produced by the Athens police's forensic division, depicting the hardships of occupied Greece. 1941-1944. Author's image.

Figure 38. Starving Athenians during the Greek famine. Unknown photographer. 1941-1942. EIM.

Figure 39. Athenians looking for food during the famine. Unknown photographer. 1941-1942. EIM.

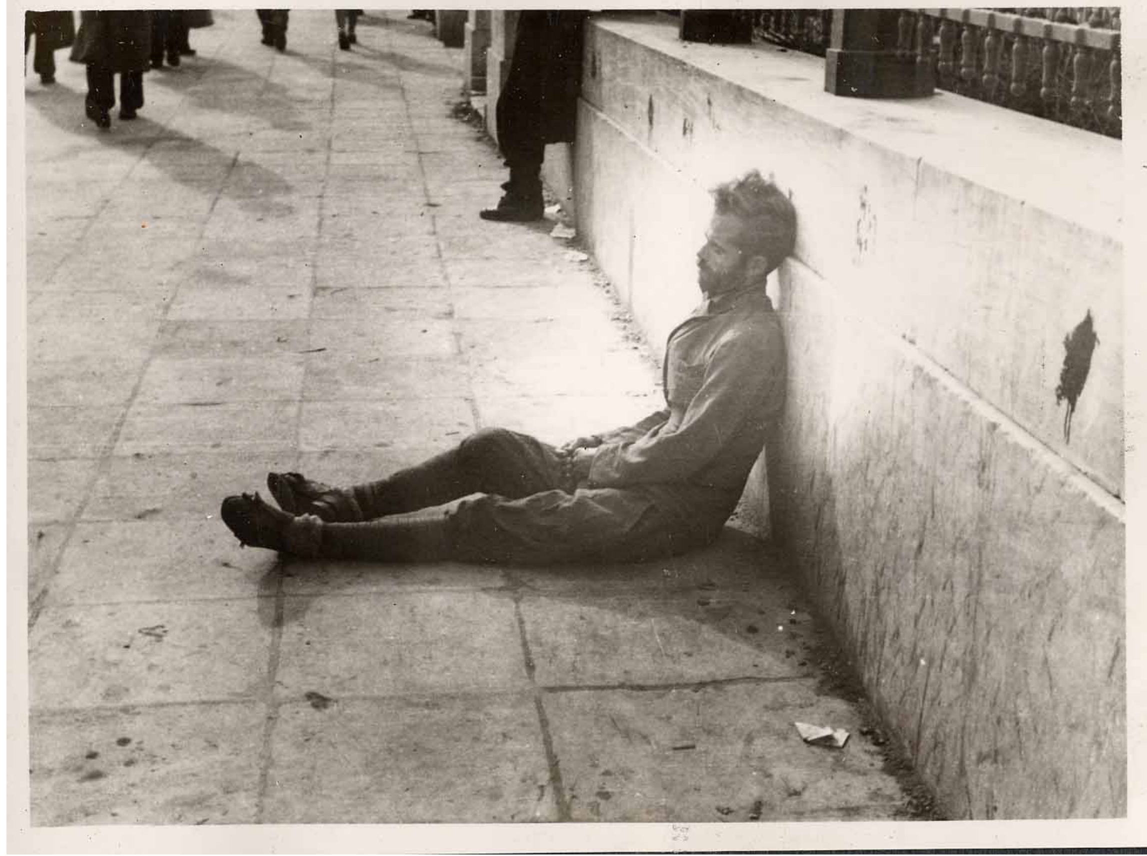

Figure 40. Man in Athens collapsed from hunger. Unknown photographer. 1941-1942. EIM.

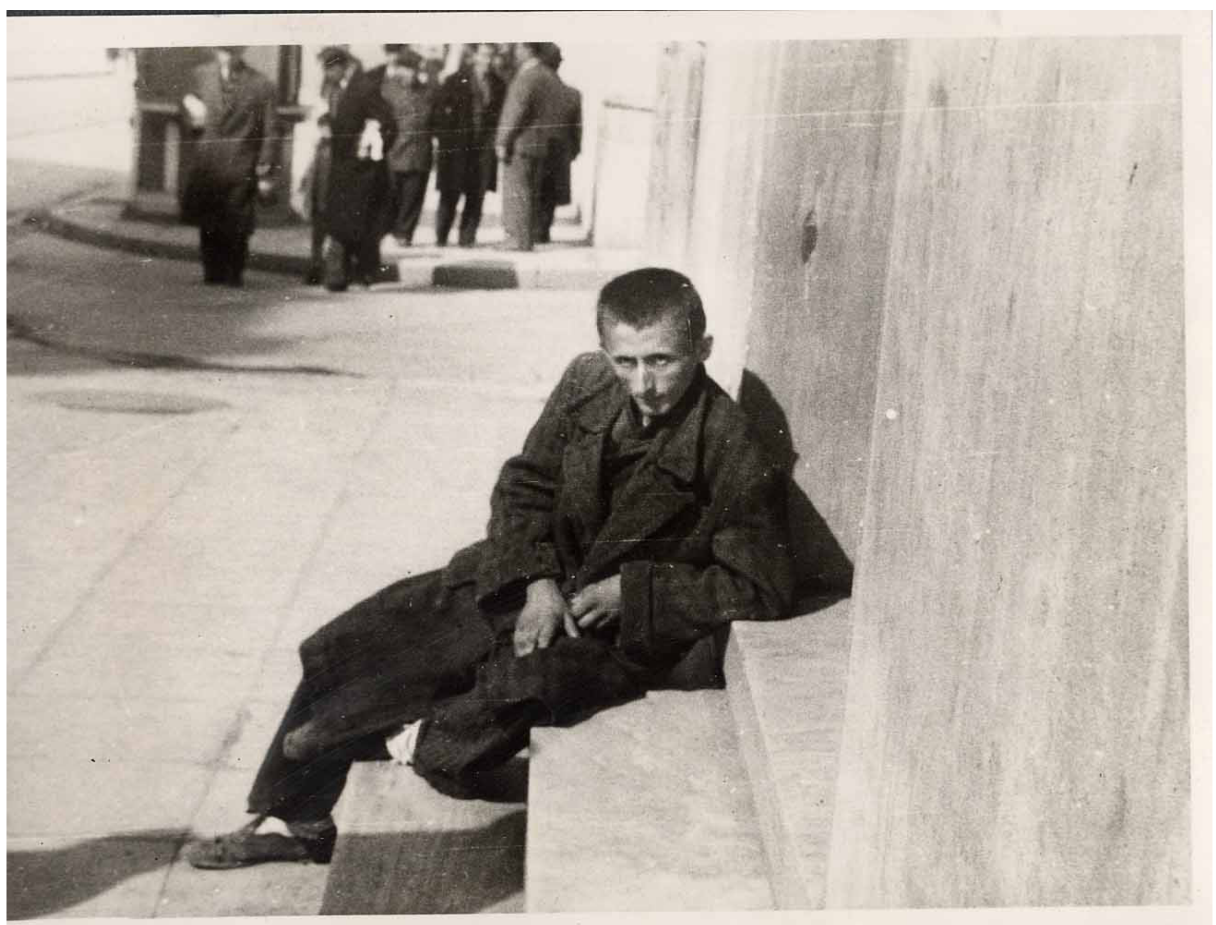

Figure 41. The famine in Athens. Unknown photographer. 1941-1942. EIM.

Papaioannou showed great courage while photographing famine-struck Athens (fig. 42), defying the prohibition against street photography. Initially, her work for the Greek Red Cross and the Near East Foundation depicted occupied Athens, but it soon turned into a more comprehensive record of the ravages of the famine. Through her connections with the aid organizations, her photographs of the famine were smuggled out of the country and reached the International Red Cross, which further distributed them (Konstantinou 2007, 13).

With her photography, Papaioannou became politically involved, in an act of resistance to the occupation of Greece (Stathatos 2015a, 46). Her images are to this day harrowing reminders of a dark era in Greek history and of the brutality that war inflicts on civilian populations. The importance of these photographs at the time rested primarily on documenting the famine, but they affected the national image and identity of Greece abroad as well as at home. Papaioannou was a skilled photographer who accentuated the documentary qualities of photography through an aesthetic framing. This overlap of the documentary and the aesthetic nature of photography heightened the impact of her images, something that she herself was well aware of. In 1943, when the worst of the famine was

over, Papaioannou produced a number of handmade albums known as the *Black Album,* featuring a selection of her famine photographs (Moschovi 2013, 153–54; Stathatos 2015a, 47). The closely cropped images laden with chiaroscuro are strongly aestheticized, negotiating the ambiguous nature of photography, caught between art and documentary witness.

Figure 42. Starving child during occupation of Athens. Voula Papaioannou. 1941. Benaki Museum.

The occupation by the Axis powers, the suffering that followed and the resistance to the occupiers belong to the national narrative of modern Greece. Papaioannou's images are an

integral part of this narrative and as such have become canonical in Greek collective memory. They have been further canonized by their inclusion in the Benaki Museum's photographic archives.

Turning to the other canonical strand of Greek photography from WWII, we find the work of photographers Spyros Meletzis and Kostas Balafas (figs. 43, 45-47). Both these photographers were attached to the EAM/ELAS (National Liberation Front–People's Liberation Army) resistance forces, photographing the men and women of the communist-led resistance. The approaches of these two men could not have been more different though: Meletzis espoused a socialist realist aesthetic that lionized the fighters he photographed (fig. 44), while Balafas depicted the same fighters as mere mortals striving to overcome their fears and weaknesses (Kassianou 2013a, 74, 77–78). Both photographers were the visual documenters of the communist-led resistance, and they turned their cameras to soldiers and to non-military subjects alike: political meetings, schooling, the co-existence of the guerrillas and the local populace, the popular courts, the free printing press, and theatre and other outdoor events (2013a, 80).

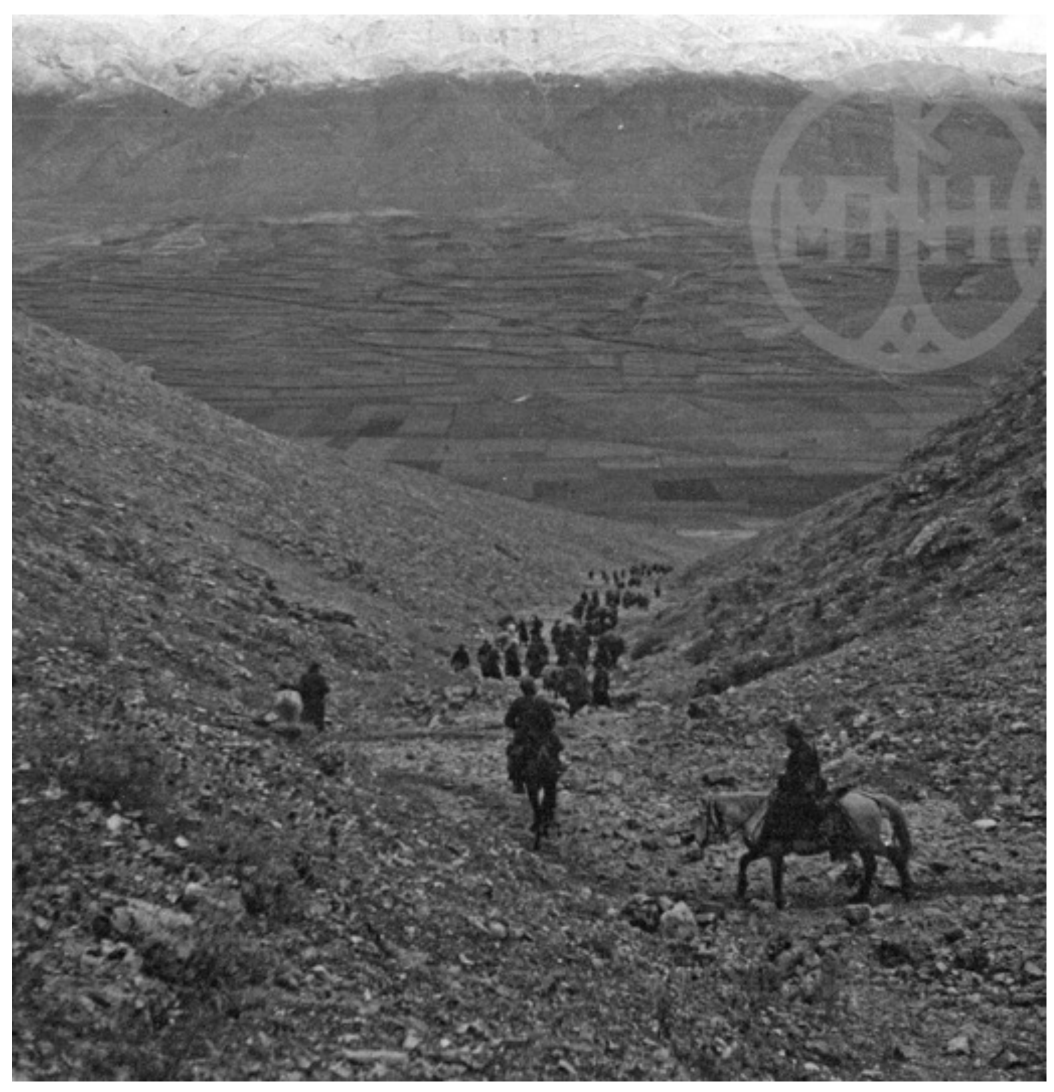

Figure 43. ELAS resistance fighters on the move in Epirus. Kostas Balafas. 1942-1944. Benaki Museum.

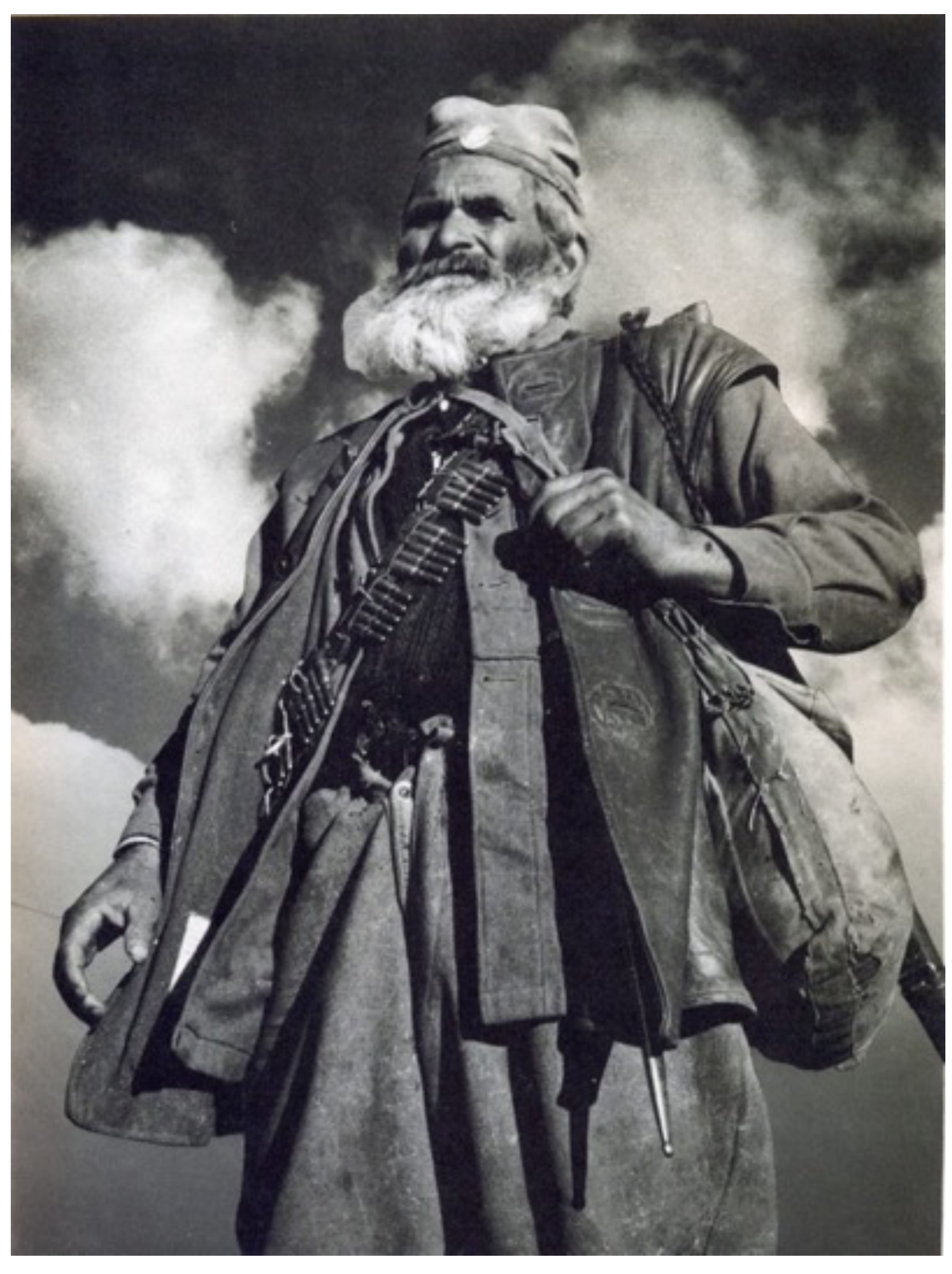

Figure 44. ELAS Greek resistance fighter. Spyros Meletzis. 1940s. photologio.gr.

Figure 45. Members of the ELAS resistance in Epirus. Kostas Balafas. 1942-1944. Benaki Museum.

Figure 46. General Stefanos Sarafis and Aris Velouchiotis, leaders of the ELAS resistance, entering Yianina. Kostas Balafas. 28 December 1944. Benaki Museum.

Figure 47. Crowd gathered at memorial service for ELAS soldiers killed in action. Kostas Balafas. 1942-1944. Benaki Museum.

The EAM/ELAS leadership and its fighters kept a lukewarm attitude towards both photographers. While Meletzis had at been invited in 1942 by the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) Central Committee to document the resistance in the mountains, by February 1944 his photographic work was met with great suspicion (Kassianou 2013a, 71, 76). Meletzis recalled how in 1944 he was told that all the artists, including him, who had joined the resistance in the mountains were ‘freeloaders’ (χαραμοφάγηδες) (Kassianou 2013a, 76). Balafas likewise had to shoot many of his images in secret, as people did not want their picture taken (Kassianou 2013a, 78).

During the Greek Civil War both photographers hid their images so that the security services would not find them and presumably destroy them. It was only after the fall of the

military junta (1967-1974) and the return of stable democratic rule that their photographs would see the light of day and be published, in the 1980s and 1990s (Kassianou 2013a, 72–74). The rediscovery of these politically engaged images and their contents dovetails with the normalization of the Left's participation in Greek political life during the *metapolitefsi*, the 1974 transition to a pluralistic democracy. The period of the repression of leftist politics is to this day a topic of heated discussion, but the resistance to the foreign occupiers of WWII has since the 1980s become a building block of national unity.

I find that the canonization of Meletzis' and Balafas' images has primarily to do with their narrative of resistance and their time spent in obscurity. The temporal gap between their reception post-*metapolitefsi* and the date of their production in WWII allows for different narratives to emerge, perhaps obscuring the original intentions of the images as set out by the photographers. A similar pattern of forgetting and rediscovery took place with Nelly's imagery, highlighting two very different cases of photography's polysemic nature and its infinite recodability (E. Edwards 2001, 5).

Furthermore, after 1974 and the return to democracy, we see the foundation of several important photographic archives such as the Benaki Museum and of the ELIA-MIET. These archives then started to collect some of the most canonical photographers and images of Greek nineteenth and twentieth-century photography. For example, Balafas' images can now be found in the Benaki archive.

Visual amnesia

The Civil War (1946-1949) is a dark period in the history of Greece, which bitterly divided the country and presaged a long period of repressive rule. The photography of this period, too, suffered from the climate of fear and repression. Many images of this era were censored, and others were created specifically for propagandistic purposes like Dimitris Harissiadis and Apostolos Ververis' images of the Makronisos prison camps for left-wing political exiles (figs. 48, 49) (Petsini 2016a).

Figure 48. Cover of 'Makronissos' album by Apostolos Ververis. 1949. ELIA-MIET.

Figure 49. 'Arrival of a group of suspect Soldiers at Macronissos'. Apostolos Ververis. 1949. ELIA-MIET.

Ververis even produced albums of these images for the Ministry of Military Affairs.[39] Ververis portrays these prisons as leisure camps replete with athletic activities, far removed from the harsh reality of actual prison life. These images stand in stark contrast to the photographs taken by the political detainees themselves, such as Vasilis Manikakis and Stelios Kasimatis on the islands of Ai Stratis and Ikaria, respectively (Moschovi 2013, 155–56). Due to the fraught nature of the period, the internecine conflicts of the era were not extensively photographed in comparison to the Resistance of WWII. This has been the prevailing explanation at least.[40] But as Kostis Liontis notes, most of the photography of the Civil War came from photo-journalism, a field that in Liontis' view has not been properly researched (Liontis 2013, 98). Besides, any apprehension towards the images of this period relates to their reception as well. Photographs of the time were either censored or simply hidden away for decades. Some like Meletzis and Balafas hid their images while others such as Takis Tloupas self-censored and destroyed images from the Civil War years. This scant imagery was thus only properly reassessed from the mid-1970s onwards, and that process is still ongoing.[41] A notable example of this reassessment is historian Tasoula Vervenioti's (2009) research on the International Committee of the Red Cross archives (IRC) and its work in Greece during the 1940s. Vervenioti researched the archival photographs alongside the official IRC reports bringing to light important visual testimony of the tumultuous 1940s. In particular, the IRC images visualize the human cost of WWII and the Civil War. The IRC in its aid capacity had access to prisons and places of exile for political prisoners, "reform" camps for leftist soldiers such as Makronissos, and refugee detention centres. There, the IRC photographers made unique visual documents of an era that has been until recently photographically absent. As Vervenioti notes however, the images are only representations of history, representations guided by the two Red Cross delegates who led the IRC's work in Greece. Yet, these images allow today for multiple readings, highlighting photography's polysemic nature (Vervenioti 2009, 12).

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[39] These albums can be found at the ELIA-MIET photographic archive.

[40] A noteworthy exception are the recently published photographs of Apostolos Mousouris (2016), who was a DSE film operator. His images detail the lives of DSE soldiers as well as Greek communists' early years of exile in the USSR.

[41] Moschovi also notes that the Civil War period remained curiously absent from amateur photographers' archives. See Moschovi (2013a, 156, n. 32).

Reconstruction

After the end of the Civil War, Greece began the slow path towards reconstruction, while also negotiating an identity for the post-war world. This path of reconstruction will become a particular photographic trope in post-war Greek photography. In the mid-1940s, Papaioannou worked directly for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) (fig. 50), documenting the relief works and producing images that showed how this aid was helping Greece—as per UNRRA's intentions. By 1948, she was producing similar work for the American Mission for Aid to Greece (AMAG) and for the Economic Cooperation Administration in Greece (ECA/G) (Konstantinou 2007, 25–26).

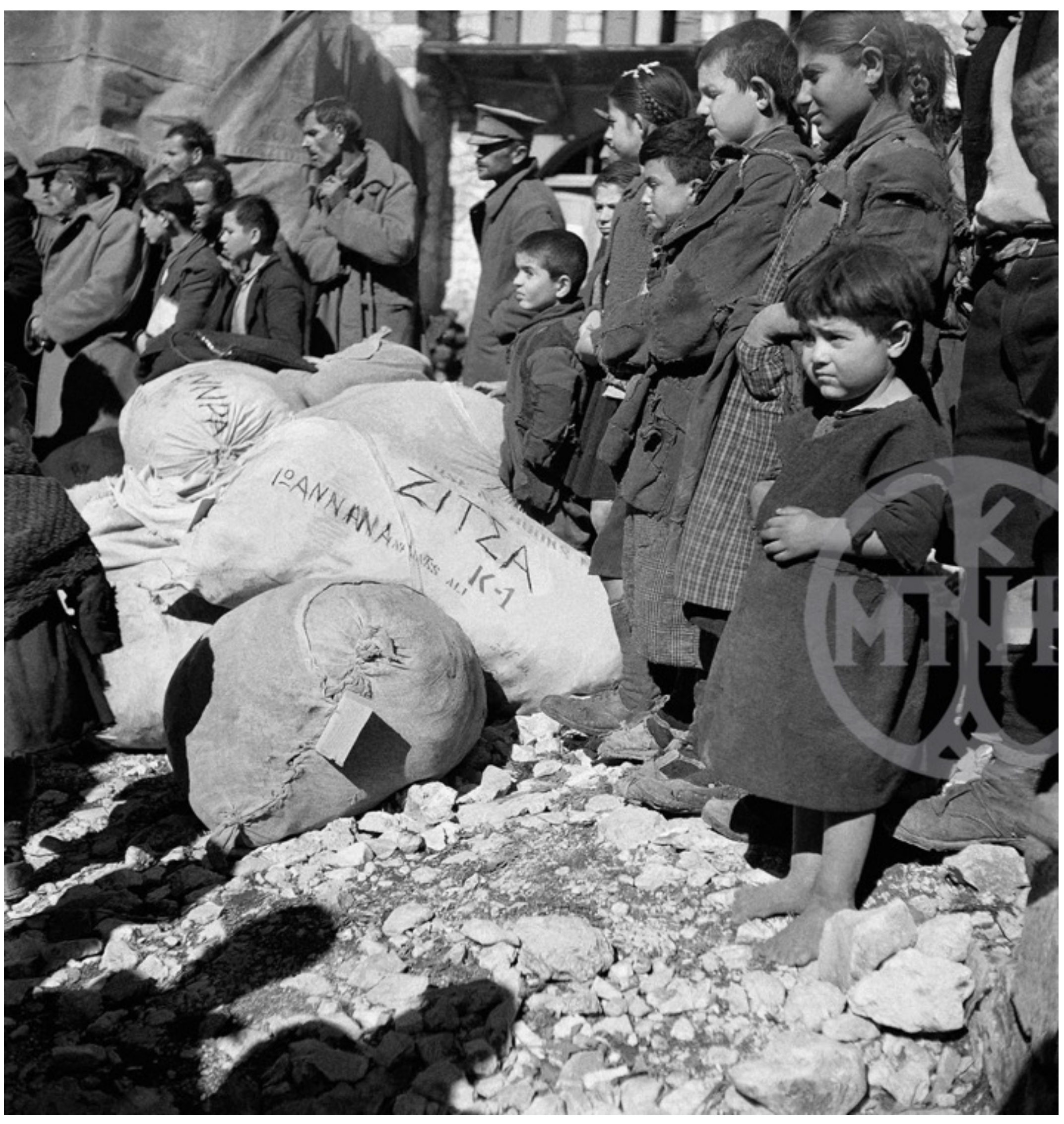

Figure 50. UNRRA relief work in Zitsa Ioanninon. Voula Papaioannou. February 1946. Benaki Museum.

Similarly, Dimitris Harissiadis also photographed for the ECA as well as documenting the decennary of the Greek Marshall Plan in 1957 (Moschovi 2009, 26; Imsiridou 2009, 17).[42] Both photographers used the immediacy of the photographic image and their modernist belief in the medium's ability to speak unmediated, universal truths to construct a narrative of steady reconstruction in Greece. These tenets became even more pronounced in their personal, creative and especially in their engagement with the Hellenic Photographic Society (EFE).

The post-war period ushered in a new era of modernization for Greece, pulling the country out of the war-time rubble and generally raising Greece's standard of living. After a fitful start of the recovery under the MP, the economy greatly improved over the next couple of decades. The rebuilding of the country was documented by photographers who cooperated either with foreign aid initiatives like the MP or with the relevant government ministries and the press. The Megalokonomou brothers, the United Photojournalists agency (Ηνωμένοι Φωτορεπόρτερ), and Dimitris Harissiadis (figs. 51, 53) were among the professionals who documented the industrial regeneration. Several dedicated amateurs also participated in this photographic depiction of progress, such as Ioannis Lampros (fig. 52) (Moschovi 2013, 157). The images they produced were of a new mythical landscape, of large industrial projects next to ancient ruins and rural villages.

[42] The images of MP decennary were exhibited in the *A Decade of Progress* exhibition that was held at the Zappeion in Athens in 1957 (8 November-2 December). The exhibition was a collaboration between USIS and Eleni Vlachou, the publisher of the *Kathimerini* daily and *Eikones (Εικόνες)* magazine. *Eikones* was an important outlet that projected an aspirational post-war Greek identity geared towards the capitalist and liberal West (Adamopoulou 2019, 89–90).

Figure 51. Water works at Mesolongi. Dimitris Harissiadis. 1957. Benaki Museum.

Figure 52. Ground breaking ceremony for railroad works, with Konstantinos Karamanlis, Minister of Public Works and Transport, in attendance. Ioannis Lampros. 1950s. Benaki Museum.

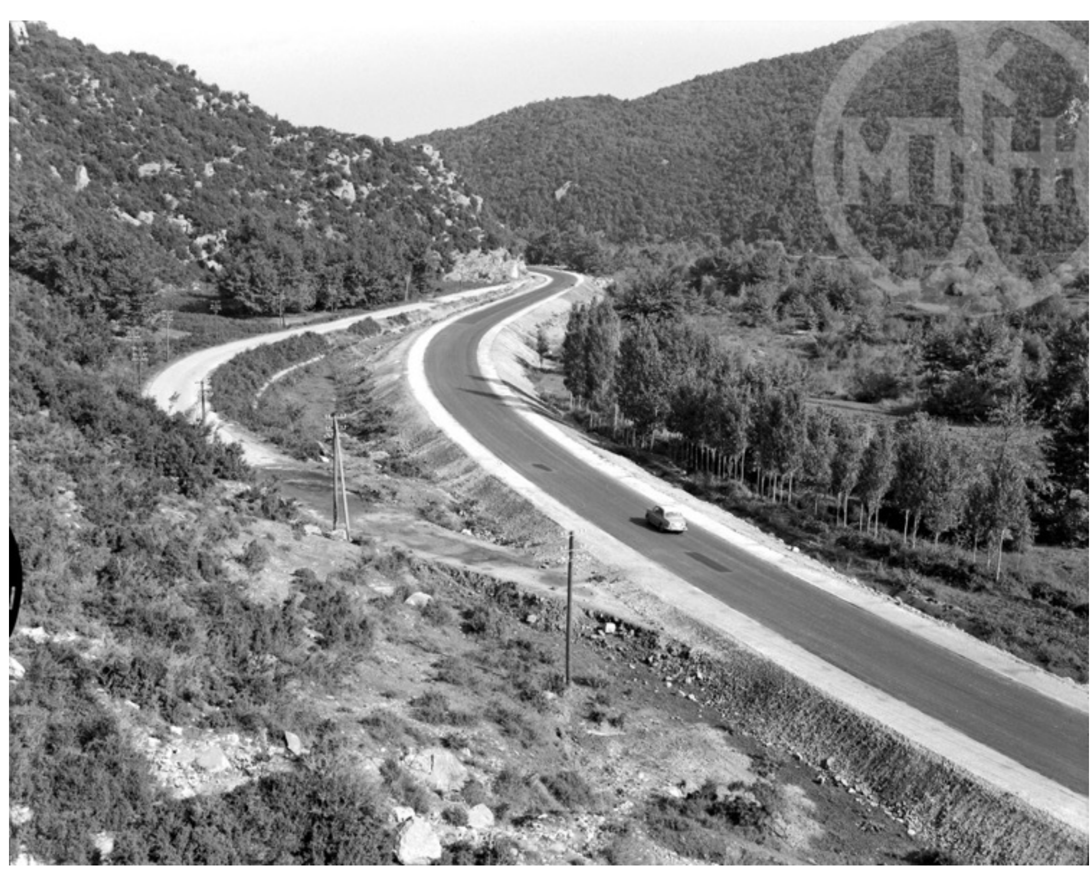

Figure 53. Road in rural Macedonia. Dimitris Harissiadis. 1962. Benaki Museum.

Harissiadis, especially, was very active in documenting the reconstruction of Greece after the war. He was fascinated by the major works of infrastructure that were being built, for which he produced images that exalted technology and the progress of modern capitalism. He aimed at staying neutral while photographing the major changes affecting Greek society and the landscape, and his images betray a distant approach to the scenes depicted, not commenting on the responses to the major shifts taking place in Greek post-war society.[43] In the images produced at the conclusion of the MP's activity in Greece, Harissiadis created a narrative of a modern Greece gazing towards the future. As these images were produced for the ECA administrators, they served propagandistic purposes for showcasing the progress made (Moschovi 2013, 157–59).

One of the major projects in the reconstruction of Greece and its economy was the electrification of the country. In the post-war period, the existing power plants were restored, and new hydroelectric and steam-powered plants were built throughout Greece. These major projects were captured on film by the photographers employed by the Public Electricity Corporation (DEI), such as Harissiadis and Balafas. The construction of the dams and plants destroyed the natural landscape but the photography of these projects presented the electrification programme as progress and as less detrimental to society and nature (Kassianou 2013b). Starting in 1951, DEI actively strove to document the ongoing construction as well as the benefits the country was reaping from its electrification. Electricity became a common good. Photographs such as the ones showing the electrification of the Nea Kavilou village by the Evros river were strategically created to frame an ideal image of a society that provides for all (Kassianou 2013b). Another defining element of the visual narrative constructed in the DEI archive is that of a new society which is built by its members: by the construction worker building the power plant, the miner extracting coal, and the technician running the plant (Kassianou 2013b).

The DEI images invoked the benefits of Greece's electrification, but they also offered a vision of what Greece is, or rather wants to be, after years of devastating war. The photographers who documented DEI's work were active participants in this endeavour, believing in a future-gazing society that was industrializing and modernizing rapidly. This

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[43] A small number of Greek photographers such as Kostas Balafas, Takis Tloupas and Dimitris Letsios documented the social and environmental effects of Greece's modernization and technological progress (Moschovi 2013, 160; I. Papaioannou 2014, 314–15, 334, 2020).

perception changed sometime around 1970, when the photographers working for DEI started seeing their photography as a mere occupation and no longer as a contribution to the building of a new society. Curiously, the DEI archive did not preserve the names of individual photographers. For Balafas, the silence of the archives, i.e. the absence of their names in the DEI archive, meant that the photographers did not see their DEI work as personal (Kassianou 2013b). This interpretation parallels the view that creating the photographic narrative of DEI was a common goal or that the personal contributions by the individual photographers were diminished for the benefit of the greater good.

However, there was a separation between the professional and the personal work of Greek photographers of the era. The distinction can be broadly divided between a utilitarian and an artistic conceptualization of photography. This is best observed in the case of Dimitris Harissiadis. After starting his photographic studio in 1956, Harissiadis kept a strict separation between his professional and his personal/amateur work. Professional commissions were defined by a distant coolness to the subjects Harissiadis was photographing, as well as an exacting fidelity to the commission's goal. Harissiadis was purposefully assuming this distant tenor in his professional work (Moschovi 2013, 158). Harissiadis' personal work was defined by a definition of photography as art, clearly aligned with a modernist concern with the medium's aesthetic autonomy. For Harissiadis, the good photograph was one that was 'simple and unadulterated/pure' and that would deliver the greatest aesthetic results. This is a throughline in both Harissiadis' professional and personal/creative work (Moschovi 2009, 26–27).

The documentation of Greece's post-war reconstruction can be seen to serve several political and national purposes. Within the political climate of the post-war era, this imagery established a unifying and forward-looking narrative, that either did not want to or could not dwell on the internal strife that had affected the country. In one sense, the photographic record bears the guise of political impartiality, of a national narrative meant to unify all sectors of Greek society.

Institutional photography

In 1952, the Hellenic Photographic Society (*Elliniki Fotografiki Etairia,* EFE) was established, open to professionals and amateurs alike. Papaioannou, Harissiadis, Meletzis and Balafas were all members along with other Greek photographers such as Takis Tloupas, Maria

Chrousaki, Petros Brousalis and Zacharias Stellas. The EFE had a great impact on the development of Greek photography from the 1950s and up until the 1980s. Two strands defined the society's mission: the promotion of Greek photography and the promotion of Greece abroad through photography.[44] These goals can be seen to intertwine in the visual language that EFE adopted, a photographic language that was part Hellenism and part folklore, projecting an image of a picturesque Greece, of a countryside that was caught in a

[44] See article two of the EFE's statute (https://efe.com.gr/katastat.htm, last accessed 26/09/22).

rustic, uncomplicated past (figs. 54, 55). In a similar vein, the sublime was sought after in the landscape photography of this era (Stathatos 1997b, 37).

Figure 54. Nafplio. Petros Brousalis. 1960s. Benaki Museum.

Figure 55. Villager with children. Zachrarias Stellas. 1975. Benaki Museum.

Papaioannou's Swiss-published albums *Hellas* (1949), *La Grèce à ciel ouvert* (1952) (fig. 56) and *Iles grecques* (1956) illustrate this narrative of Greece, albeit not in full-fledged EFE style.[45] Still, the albums' visual language that juxtaposes the ancient with the modern and the

[45] In an interview in 1989, Papaioannou admits that she found the EFE quite 'boring' (V. Papaioannou et al. 2007, 77).

landscape with the people became a cornerstone of Greece's touristic image in the 1950s and remained dominant through the 1960s (Moschovi 2015).

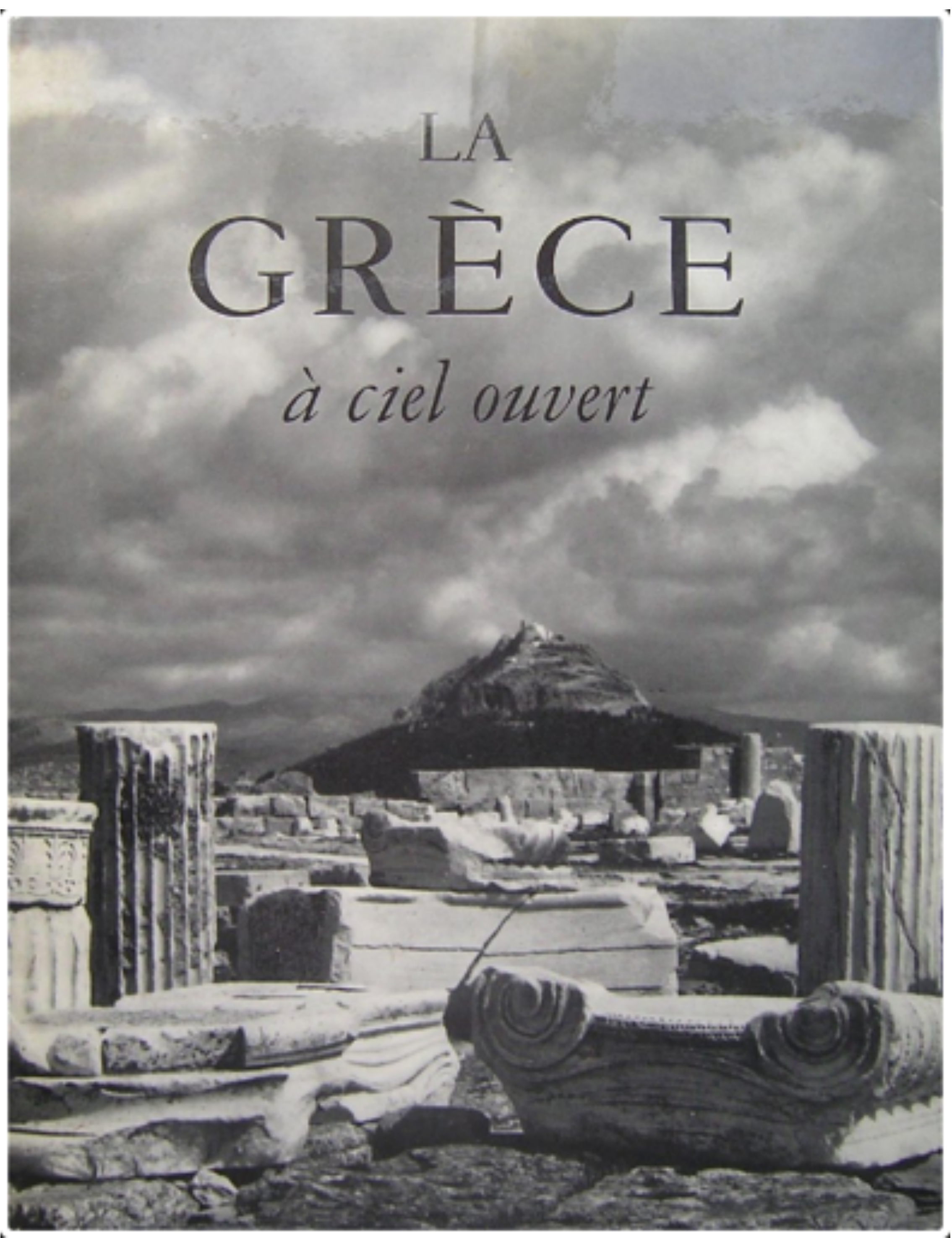

Figure 56. Cover of 'Grèce à ciel ouvert' by Voula Papaioannou. 1952. boekwinkeltjes.nl.

The visual language that EFE espoused–a mixture of folklore and the search for a universal humanity–is also a result of the political and historical circumstances of the 1950s and of the class structure of EFE itself. As a mostly urban(e), middle-class organization EFE adopted in its

photography an apolitical narrative of Greece.[46] By focusing on the vanishing customs and ways of life in the countryside, EFE could avoid touching upon the social and political issues that Greece was experiencing at the time. This approach was also beneficial to the narrative that the EOT wanted to project abroad, a narrative that EFE was willing to help promote and spread (Moschovi 2013, 160–61). In many respects, the interest in folklore is a continuation of earlier salvage paradigms of Greek folklore studies. By photographing these vanishing customs, the photographers were helping to preserve them for posterity, providing a bulwark against an ever-encroaching modernity.

Stagnation and new beginnings

The 1960s was not a dynamic period for Greek photography. The naively folklorist visual language promoted by EFE had become all but dominant in representations of Greece. The

[46] Cf. Stathatos (1997b, 36–37)

promotion of Greece abroad was in full swing and the country continued to be portrayed 'as a Kodachrome paradise of noble ruins, blue skies and golden beaches' (Stathatos 1988).

Figure 57. Official tourism poster. 1960s. EOT.

Figure 58. Official tourism poster. 1960s. EOT.

Professional photography, on the other hand, espoused a no-nonsense approach that was uncritical and apolitical. Combined with few photographic journals and a lack of educational institutions to support photographic exhibitions and practitioners, high import duties on photographic supplies and the absence of a market for photography, the situation was dire for Greek photography. As a creative medium, photography was not taken seriously and was seen simply as a technical aid to record reality. The lack of any larger discursive space for photography to develop its own critical identity led creative photography to become the preserve of amateurs, such as the members of the EFE (Moschovi 2015; Stathatos 1988, 1997a).

The major social and political changes that took place after the fall of the military junta in mid-1974 had a positive and catalytic effect on Greek photography. A new generation of photographers emerged who rejected the Kodachrome-tinted depiction of Greece. This new generation of photographers practiced what is referred to as 'creative photography' (Antoniadis 1996, n.p.), an ambiguous term that describes a broad range of photographic practices, professional as well as amateur, whose common denominator was the use of photography for personal expression (ibid). Greek photography tracked similar developments in Europe, where the term creative photography was often used to describe the process by which photography became aestheticized and exhibited as art in galleries (Katsaridou 2010, 238–39). Greek photography of the 1970s was focused on the particularity of photography as an artistic medium, very much inspired by American photography, which was expressed most fully in street photography (Moschovi 2013, 164). Although the themes with which Greek photographers engaged were social issues, their photography was not geared towards political ends (Moschovi 2013, 166).

The 1980s saw a reassessment of the representational issues surrounding photography, generally following postmodern ideas about the nature of realism and the deconstruction of a modernist, photographic humanism. While Greek street photography of the 1970s strove to capture the elusive 'authentic' moment, the same photography in the 1980s was confrontational, breaking down the fourth wall between photographer and subject, reflecting back on the medium itself (Moschovi 2013, 165–68). Another pillar of this new Greek photography was the construction of what Stathatos (1988) has termed a 'post-classical landscape': this landscape eschewed any unifying nationalist narrative in favour of

exploring multiple, fractious and personal narratives (Moschovi 2015, 65; Stathatos 1997b, 39).

Greek photography in the post-*metapolitefsi* (the post-junta transition to democracy) era gained and asserted a self-reflexive identity. Since no theoretical and educational space had opened up for Greek photography, the medium only experienced a critical awakening from the end of the 1970s onwards. This awakening grew out of several initiatives, chief among them the Photography Centre of Athens (*Fotografiko Kentro Athinon*), which was founded by photographers Kostis Antoniadis, Nikos Panayotopoulos, Giorgos Depollas, John Demos and Stefanos Paschos. All had lived or studied abroad and were greatly informed by international photographic developments. Other important initiatives started in Thessaloniki: the launch of the magazine *Fotografia (Φωτογραφία* (1977)) and the activities of the Parallaxis group (1985), which was a forerunner of the *Photosynkyria* photofestival. Also, the opening in 1985 of the first state photography school at the Athens University of Applied Sciences had a major impact on the development of Greek photography, commercially and creatively.[47]

Most of the photographic archives that I researched were created within this climate. The fact that photographic archives were created or formalized just before and after the *metapolitefsi* signals a reassessment of the critical need for such institutions in Greece. It is vital, however, to highlight at an early stage the importance of the 1970s and 1980s for Greek photography: during this era Greek photography redefined and asserted its status, and photography was deemed to be an art form and a document worth archiving and preserving for the future.

[47] Moschovi (2013), Antoniadis (1996), Georgiou (1996). The development of official state policies towards photography would only materialize in the mid-1990s, see Panayotopoulos and Kyrtzaki (1995).

Chapter 4 – Greek national archives. A private matter

In the summer and autumn of 2018, I spent countless hours in four Athenian archives, collecting research material for this thesis. I will not go as far as saying that the archives became my second home, as in general I was not allowed to spend too much time in them. I was a guest, benefiting from the archive's *filoxenia* (Greek hospitality). Archival visits were also limited to specific days and hours, and then only if one of the archivists had time to accommodate me. Still, the archives became places of return, although each time I felt almost equally humbled and intimidated as the first time I set foot in the archives. How was I to deal with all this material? What had I gotten myself into? Searching for the visualization of Greek collective identities in Greek photography and photographic archives was turning out to be a dizzyingly large undertaking. Had I bitten off more than I could chew? Luckily, my return visits to the archives eased my most intense anxieties and I was able to see beyond the stacks of photographs on my researcher's desk. I started to take note of the archive itself and the goings-on there, of the archive as a social space (Papailias 2005, 12). I might ostensibly have been at the archives to look at their collections of photographs, but the archives' infrastructure and internal workings turned out to be important objects of analysis themselves.

First impressions were always important during my archival research. The first meetings would often define the extent of the archives' *filoxenia*. Much of the goodwill necessary to work at the archives came from satisfying the archivists' curiosity about my research. Either indirectly or directly I was asked why I was interested in the visualization of Greek collective identities. This was often followed up by questions such as how come I spoke Greek so fluently? Looking at me, the archivists would not be wrong in assuming that I had just arrived from a university campus somewhere in Northern Europe or the USA. Yet, my spoken Greek indicated something different. My response was that I was born in Athens and sent through Greek school, implying that I had an intuitive experience and knowledge of Greek identities' border-setting. My academic interest was an extension of this personal experience. Furthermore, my own family's presence in Greece was tied up in the photographic depiction of Greece. Both my parents worked as archaeological photographers at the American School of Classical Studies, documenting the material remains of the ancient Greek past.

Sharing this personal biography with the archivists helped me to articulate what I was trying to accomplish with my research and why. My analysis of Greek collective identities' photographic visualization was not only geared towards unpacking Greek self-understandings. It was also aimed at unpacking the Western gaze's photographic visualization of Greece as rooted in ancient remains, something that my own family had contributed to. I was critically analysing these visualizations of Greece from within Greek society yet simultaneously from without. As a non-native who grew up in Greece, however, I have seldom felt that I was meant to belong to the Greek society I was raised within. Hence, my own personal biography constitutes a big motivation for this research. At the same time, it also problematizes what the content of Greek identity is.

This is not an anthropological study of Greek archives though. I am not an anthropologist, and I did not ask the archivists or any of the—very few–researchers in the reading room to participate in an anthropology of the Greek photographic archive. In my archival research, I focused (almost) exclusively on the photographs in front of me. I collected my visual material and then proceeded to analyse it against established facts, keeping a critical eye on both the material and the context in which it was created and–for lack of a better verb–consumed. What am I seeing? How does this relate to a visualization of Greek identity? Is this photograph or stack relevant? Often though, I did lift my gaze and take in the surroundings, disengaging from the abstraction of the photographic past and engaging with the social space of the archive. This is only human in my view. And the archive is a very human and subjective place, despite its many claims to objective, scientific principles. It might intend to bring order to the chaotic production and collection of the human past, but it is suffused with human concepts and measures. Photographs organized according to place names, that elicit memories of childhood for the person browsing through the images. A handwritten note on the back of a family portrait gives us information about the depicted but also gives us an indication why this image was worth saving. The archive's humanity is therefore built in, one might say. Furthermore, as researchers we might brush aside the stimuli of the archive and focus on our intended goal. Elizabeth Edwards reminds us however that we should not focus on the photographic image alone, since it is only the final product of a long line of social, embodied and material practices (2014, 204). One of these processes is the archive. These practices shed further light on my visual analysis revealing the many layers of embedded and embodied meanings, accrued over time.

Each photographic archive that I visited in Greece was its own social space, reflecting the institution's mission and history. Therefore, the experiences that I carried away from each archive differed ever so slightly. One of the first archives I visited in July 2018 was the photographic archive of the War Museum in central Athens. The museum and the archive are run by the Greek Ministry of National Defence (MoD). This managerial hierarchy is reflected both in the policies of the photographic archive and in the prevailing attitude towards outside researchers. On arrival at the museum, I was escorted by a uniformed soldier[48] to the small room housing the archive. I was warmly received by the archivist, who graciously gave of her time and shared her insights into the archive she ran. We were not alone in this room though. Two young men in civilian clothing–a key detail in this uniformed environment–were sitting at a desk set against the back wall, while I and the archivist were speaking at a small conference table. The men were interns, I was later told by the archivist. They were there to digitalize the photographic collection. Not much digitalisation was taking place though during my one visit, as the interns were quite clearly following our conversation and glancing over at us.

As my conversation with the archivist progressed, the interns' curiosity made more and more sense. The museum's military character and hierarchy–a recurring point of reference for the archivist–did not make for a welcoming environment for outsiders. So much for *filoxenia,* let alone the freedom with which one hopes to conduct research. The museum's unwelcoming attitude towards outsiders was changing according to the archivist, with the museum and the archive espousing a more extroverted character. The archivist's accommodating welcome towards me was a case in point. But belonging to the MoD presented a significant hurdle. Although notionally a state museum and a member of the Greek chapter of the International Council of Museums (ICOM), it could not viably cooperate with other (Greek) museums. I heard a similar story at the Benaki museum about the War Museum which confirmed this intransigent position. In 2011, the Benaki museum held an exhibition of Kostas Balafas' photographs and the *andartiko* (partisan struggle against the Axis

[48] I wondered if my escort was a young man doing his military service and whether he was a native Athenian. In such a case this would be a plum position for an Athenian to do one's military service.

Occupation) in Epirus during WWII. The Benaki[49] had been seeking to cooperate with the War Museum regarding imagery. No such cooperation ever came to pass.

The influence of the institution on the archive is most obvious at the War Museum. The hierarchical and hostile nature of the institution has left the photographic archive isolated from broader society. As few visitors and researchers set foot in the photographic archive, the valuable sedimentation processes of knowledge and meaning production end up not taking place (Constanza Caraffa and Serena 2015, 6–7, 9). The archive remains static. In lieu of any collection policies or purchasing budget, the archive relies on donations of images. But if few people make it to the archive, how will donors know that they can donate to the War Museum's photographic archive? This is one important aspect of an archive's social character, its ability to attract new interpretations and new materials. In the War Museum's case, its hostile institutional nature provides an impediment to the dynamic character of the photographic archive's renewal and expansion.

All the archives I visited exhibited symptoms of their institutional history. The key feature of the rest of the archives I visited is that they were all private institutions, which are not affiliated with the state or government. They may be national archives or have national importance–hence my research interest in them–, but they keep at arm's length from the state itself. Furthermore, private and public photographic archives in Greece have suffered the fate of a neglected stepchild. Important photographic archives are part of larger institutions (mostly museums) whose main concern is not photography. Therefore, photography is not seen as a priority by these institutions, as Fani Konstantinou, the former head of the Benaki museum's photographic archive, has noted elsewhere (Stathatos 2015b, 102). Photographic collections have historically been treated as auxiliary to the rest of the museum's work and not important on their own merits (ibid). Photography's misunderstood nature in archives and museums is long-standing (Schwartz 2020, 514). As Joan Schwartz notes, photographs in archives are primarily kept for their 'archival-evidential and historical-informational value'. This does not mean, however, that the aesthetic qualities are

[49] The Greeks often display familiarity with museums and archives by dropping the word 'museum' or 'archive' from their colloquial references to them. This familiarity is not necessarily based on the speaker's multiple visits to the venue, but rather on familiarity with the location and its prestige.

antithetical to the documentary nature of photography, or, that one of these aspects of photography renders photographs more or less worthy of study (Schwartz 2020, 524–25).

The Benaki museum offers an excellent Greek example.[50] Its photographic archive was established in 1973 by Byzantinist Aimilia Geroulanou, who compiled a collection of photographs documenting late Christian, Byzantine and post-Byzantine art based on the collection of Byzantinist Rena Andreadi and photographer Periklis Papachatzidakis.[51] Over time, the scope of the Benaki's photographic archive gradually expanded to include images of Greek daily life and the Greek landscape, a change that was greatly driven by donations of private photographic archives to the Benaki (Tsirgialou 2013, 32). As the Benaki's photographic archivist told me, the archive has found itself in the shadow of the general ethnographic character and mission of the museum.[52] Relatedly, the photographic archive has since its early days concerned itself with the preservation of the historical past. In 1977, Aggelos Delivorias, the erstwhile director of the Benaki, stressed the importance of the photographic archive as a repository of the past, preserving the images of objects or structures that might no longer exist. In Delivorias' words the photographic archive was 'a workshop that tries to protect the historical memory against the devastating invasion of modernity' (quoted in Tsirgialou 2013, 32). Delivorias stresses elsewhere that the preservation of Greek historical memory is a paramount concern for the Benaki (Tsirgialou 2013, 44)

A defining feature of the Benaki's photographic archive is its role as keeper and caretaker of the photographic legacies of many important Greek photographers. Several

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[50] I was not able to locate any statutes that deal with the photographic archive's founding. When I queried the Benaki's photographic archivist about a statute, she was not able to provide me with one. Instead, I was referred to a text about the archive written by the archivist herself (Tsirgialou 2013).

[51] Oral communication with Aliki Tsirgialou, 16/05/2018. See also Karveli 1999, 100, Tsirgialou 2013, 32. Geroulanou is the granddaughter of merchant and benefactor Antonis Benakis, the founder of the museum. Geroulanou's idea for a photographic archive of Byzantine art and architecture at the Benaki museum may be traced back to her work on the *Byzantine Art – An European Art* exhibition held at the Zappeion exhibition hall in Athens in spring 1964. The exhibition provided the opportunity to create a photographic archive at the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens. The archive, sponsored by the Council of Europe, held ca 2500 images of the exhibited items. Geroulanou was one of the two first caretakers of the photographic archive (Adamopoulou 2019, 190, n. 4). For the exhibition *Byzantine Art – An European Art* see chapter five in the same monograph.

[52] Oral communication with Aliki Tsirgialou, 16/05/2018.

prominent Greek photographers such as of Voula Papaioannou, Nelly's, Dimitris Harissiadis and Kostas Balafas (Tsirgialou 2013, 34, 36) donated their archives to the Benaki, ensuring the institution's stature as a serious custodian of Greek photographic history. This importance was also recognized by the Greek state. During the early 1990s, the Greek Ministry of Culture tasked a working group to develop a *National Policy for Artistic Photography* (NPAP) (1995),[53] which was published in 1995. Within the many aspects of the national policy, the importance of photographic archives was highlighted. The policy stressed though that Greek photographic archives are mostly unrelated to artistic photography (Panayotopoulos and Kyrtzaki 1995, 122), illustrating Schwartz's argument that archives often kept–and keep–photographs for their 'archival-evidential and historical-informational value' (Schwartz 2020, 524). The policy singles out the Benaki photographic archive as an institution that should be supported by the state, primarily because the Benaki archive functioned well and was already an important repository of Greek photographic history (Panayotopoulos and Kyrtzaki 1995, 121). Furthermore, the Benaki's archive sees itself as clearly participating in the research and writing of Greek photographic history (Tsirgialou 2013, 42). Coupled with the photographic archive's frequent exhibitions, the Benaki's key role in shaping Greek photographic discourses becomes apparent. The archive is simultaneously a keeper of Greek photographic memory, its historian, and the disseminator of these photographic discourses.

Similarly to the Benaki, the EIM's photographic archive was a late addition to the museum's priorities. Although photographs were collected from the very beginning of the museum's foundation in 1882 as a way of documenting Greece's modern history, there was no specialization in terms of collection management and cataloguing until the 1960s. The drive towards some degree of specialization coincided with the museum's move in 1962 to its current home, the Old Parliament in downtown Athens. Previously, everything was one large collection. A dedicated photographic archive did not come into existence until later, in the 1980s. Aliki Solomou-Prokopiou, an archaeologist who had worked on reconstruction projects on the Acropolis, became the first curator and head of the photographic archive. Solomou was succeeded by Maria Papanastasiou, a philologist by training, who is currently the deputy director of the EIM.[54] I will explore the EIM in greater detail in the next section.

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[53] On the definition of artistic photography see Panayotopoulos and Kyrtzaki 1995, chap. 1.
[54] Oral communication with Niki Markasioti, 18/07/2018.

The ELIA-MIET is the only non-museum institution that I visited.[55] Founded in 1980 by Manos Charitatos and Dimitris Portolos, it holds some of the premier research collections for the study of modern Greek history, literature, and society. Charitatos and his associates were voracious collectors, saving for posterity materials of high and low status. Archives of illustrious Greeks were as important as cigarette boxes from the early twentieth century. The collection of ephemera is a particularity of the ELIA-MIET, which collected these seemingly unimportant objects when no one else was interested in them. They are a good example of objects that had been deemed too 'raw' for academic history to take seriously, similarly to photography (Edwards 2014, 204). From 1983 to 1990, photographs were moved from the ELIA general archives and put into thematic categories, thus forming a dedicated photographic archive.[56]

Today, the ELIA-MIET photographic archive houses one of Greece's premier collections of photographs from the mid-nineteenth to the late twentieth century. The lives of known and anonymous Greeks are documented therein, alongside images of the Greek landscape and Greek antiquities. Curiously, in a 1999 ELIA publication that described Greece's most important photographic archives, the ELIA photographic archive is described as primarily a 'photographic collection', whose primary goal was to save and collect Greek photography for posterity. I understand the distinction made between archive and collection to lie in the systematicity of what is collected. A collection seems to imply to me a much more open and diverse collecting strategy. Furthermore, the publication describes the images' use as geared towards their historicity, which according to the text might be discovered even in the most mundane of photographic imagery and subject matter (Karveli 1999, 48). Yet again, we detect a similar concern for the preservation of the past–the 'historicity' mentioned above–yet without the expressed goal of preserving historical memory as found at the Benaki and EIM archives respectively. The ELIA-MIET's photographic archive perhaps comes closest to the photographic archive with equal standing to the other departments of its institution. As the ELIA-MIET is not a museum, the activities of the photographic archive are not necessarily dependent on or auxiliary to another function or activity of the ELIA-MIET. Like

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[55] I was unable to locate a statute relating to the ELIA-MIET's photographic archive. When I inquired the ELIA-MIET photographic archivist about their statute, I was provided with an official description of the ELIA-MIET, wherein the photographic archive is briefly described.
[56] Oral communication with Mathilde Pyrli and Vasiliki Hatzigeorgiou, 6/7/2018.

the Benaki and the EIM, the ELIA-MIET archive is detailed in the NPAP as a nationally important Greek photographic archive.

So far, I have briefly discussed the histories of the photographic archives and their ambivalent position within their respective institutions. This ambivalence is an extension of the general ambivalence towards photography as a medium, as an artform or as an indexical representation of our physical world. I will now delve into a key aspect of the Greek photographic archives that I researched, namely the archives' own understanding of their role in meaning and knowledge production. This will help me better examine the sites and processes of Greek collective identities' photographic visualizations. I will do this in in an oblique fashion, using March 2021 as a point of departure.

Silent vessels

This thesis is a product of its own historicity. What I mean by this, is that the creation of this thesis is neatly divided into two parts, before and during the Covid-19 pandemic. As I am writing this, it is almost exactly a year since the Covid-19 virus spread around the world. The interruption of my doctoral thesis is small change compared to the devastating effects that the pandemic has had on human lives and societies. Nevertheless, the pandemic has upset my well laid out plans for this thesis on a very practical level. For the past year I have not been able to revisit archives and conduct further research. This means that one of my research objects, the photographic collection of the EIM, had to be scuttled on the shoals of the Covid-19 pandemic. Luckily, my analysis of two of my other research objects, the archives of the ELIA-MIET and the Benaki museum, was largely completed before the pandemic took hold. The fourth and last archive, the War Museum, I abandoned early on. Although an important and interesting object of research, my interest was in archives that were canonical institutions for Greek photography and its history. Therefore, the War Museum became somewhat of an outlier for my research interests.[57]

These necessary modifications still left me without the opportunity to discuss the important material collected at the EIM. The museum is important on many levels for the study of modern Greek history and particularly Greek collective identities and memory. According to the museum's own description on the website

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[57] For a recent study of the uses of the War Museum's photographic collections see Kouki (2015).

[T]he National Historical Museum was born out of a joint action of a rapidly changing society, during a time when connective [social] bonds and national identity were sought out and its institutions were built. (“Εθνικό Ιστορικό Μουσείο” n.d.)

Indeed, I will not be able to perform a close reading of the EIM collections as I have done with Nelly’s images at the Benaki archive (chapter five) or with the Marshall Plan images at the ELIA-MIET archive (chapter six). Initially I experienced this as a major setback. Fostering national identity is a programmatic concern for the EIM. The museum is perhaps the most explicit in its mission to preserve and further Greek historical memory. This mission is also expressed by the photographic archive of the EIM. My notes and the hundreds of images I took of the EIM archival photographs–essentially building my own archive–will have to await further study, perhaps at the postdoctoral level. Revising my notes though, I kept encountering a recurring pattern from my visits to the EIM. Most of my notes were dedicated to the images and assorted research concerns–who was depicted, in what context, issues of provenance. Occasionally though my notes were interrupted by brief snippets of the archival present:

‘Alexandros Mazarakis:
Markasioti [EIM photo archivist] discusses with descendant [Ioannis Mazarakis-Ainian] about which image of Alexandros Mazarakis should be given to a TV show (michani tou chronou) about the Balkan Wars. Mazarakis (younger) decides to bring his own image.’[58]

This was an overheard conversation, so I am not sure of the whole context. *Michani tou Chronou* is an important and popular historical documentary series, with the potential to shape popular understanding and memory of the Balkan Wars and Alexandros Mazarakis, an important figure of twentieth century Greek history. What struck me the most was that the narrative of the Greek nation and the personal narrative of the Mazarakis-Ainian family were deeply intertwined in the mundane task of choosing an appropriate photograph for a documentary. Not only was the EIM as a national institution involved, but also the national

[58] Notes taken on 09/10/2019.

institution of the Mazarakis family. The Mazarakis personal, family photograph helps mediate national memory of the Balkan Wars, collectivizing this image and the family in the process. The visceral mediation of memory through photographs is what makes the EIM and other Greek archives so important for Greek collective identities and memory.

More so than the other archives I researched, the EIM was a busier social space, something that was born out in these flashes of the present in my notes. So in lieu of a close reading of photographs, I propose an alternative interpretative framework, that looks at the EIM's photographic archive more broadly as an institution. I will then use this reading of the EIM archive as a point of departure to discuss the role of photography and the photographic archive in fostering Greek collective identities and memory.

The photographic archive of the EIM is housed in the centrally located Old Parliament building in Athens. Ascending the grand marble staircase of the main entrance, you immediately turn right once inside the building and descend a semi-circular staircase to reach the archive which occupies a rectangular windowless room. Standing at the base of the staircase you see the two archivists' desks set against the far opposite wall. On the shorter left side of the room stands the researcher's desk where the material from the archive was brought for study. Behind the desk was a door to the outside that was never used, most likely a fire escape. Finally, on the shorter right side of the room was an opening to a hallway that led to the rest of the museum's offices. Along each wall of the hallway and along the walls of the archive's room were filing cabinets containing part of the archive's photographs.

The photographic archive occupied an odd place in the museum's building. Although quite a large room, it was in essence a thoroughfare to the rest of the museum's administrative and scientific offices. Therefore, the middle of the room was completely empty, with the office desks pushed towards the edges of the room. This room was most certainly repurposed as an archive and not designed as such. The archive room was also an in-between zone–dare I say a liminal space?–between the public and the institutional parts of the museum. This was due to a very concrete and practical reason, as the museum's visitors had to pass through the photographic archive to reach the bathrooms.[59] Confused-looking visitors would descend the staircase, look around the archive and wonder if they were on the

[59] 'Where is the bathroom?' is anecdotally regarded as the most commonly asked question in museums. My own professional experience in museums suggests this is correct.

right path to the bathroom. So the EIM's photographic archive was a very busy and social place, not congenial to uninterrupted, quiet study. Members of staff walked through the archive to reach their offices, often stopping to chat with the photographic archivists, coffee in hand. The recently deceased general secretary of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece (*Istoriki kai Ethnologiki Etairia tis Ellados*, IEEE), Ioannis K. Mazarakis-Ainian (1923-2021), was a frequent visitor to the archive who often stopped to ask or to be asked on a particular matter by the archivists. Occasionally there was even food involved, on the occasion of holidays or name days, or even mundane weekdays.

The archivists were not only generous with their time and knowledge but would sometimes even share their morning haul from the bakery with me. On another memorable occasion, a staff member had just returned from the *laiki*, the neighbourhood farmers market, with a large bag of plums. After sharing them with his colleagues, I was offered some too– *Vanilia na keraso?* (Can I treat you to a plum?). I gratefully said yes, promising to eat them only while I was taking a break, so as not to damage any precious archival material. Some level of familiarization seemed necessary to secure the level of goodwill that would allow me to conduct my research over the course of many visits. On most days, I was the only outsider present in the archive/reading room.

From my perch at the researcher's desk, I could follow and sometimes participate in all of this interaction with great interest. The in-between nature of the archive's placement in the building made for interesting everyday theatre as a space constantly in flux. It also provided interesting parallels to the museum's and the archive's understanding of participating in the stewardship of Greek historical memory. The EIM's photographic archive is easily accessible and even impractically public, for a space of concentrated study. This openness of the archive's space is part of the museum's larger mission of fostering national identity and shaping historical memory, by inviting people to remember Greece's history through the museum's collections. The openness does not signify an openness to multiple interpretations of Greek identity though. However national identity might be imagined by the EIM, it is a settled matter, supported by the museum's collections. In comparison, the ELIA-MIET is a dedicated archival institution with limited public exposure. All access is regulated by appointment and the archive does not participate in public outreach on an everyday basis. The archive rests peacefully, untroubled by an interfering public. The Benaki's photographic archive might be part of a museum that often puts on photographic exhibitions, but the

archive is sequestered from the public in a section of the new Benaki Museum that is inaccessible to the public.

The ELIA-MIET and the Benaki Museum archives expressed inward-looking attitudes towards their respective archives' roles, which differ greatly from the extroverted nature of the EIM's archive. Both of them collect material, catalogue it and safeguard it for the future, while also researching the archive's collections. Another major part of their mission is to make the material accessible to the public. The archives do not interfere in the ascription of meaning or instrumentalize their collections, even though no archive is ever entirely 'unmediated'. As the Benaki Museum's archivist expressed it to me, the archive reflects Greek photography and therefore if Greek photography has been used to construct or visualize national identity, it is the use of the photographs that is responsible and not the archives.[60]

My interpretation of this reasoning is that the archive provides the infrastructure and thus has no normative function. It is a silent vessel. What was left unsaid were the ways in which the collections were arranged by the archivists and crucially how material was made accessible. This greatly affects our interpretation. The archivists are the ones who more often than not select the material researchers ask for. Archivists are guides and gatekeepers– wittingly or unwittingly. Speaking with the two archivists of the ELIA-MIET, I encountered a similar line of reasoning. Their archive was not involved in any ascription of meaning or sentiment to the photographs. They are only responsible for the documentation (τεκμηρίωση) of the photographs and their preservation for the future. It is the researchers and people using the archives that are interpreting the images according to their respective theoretical frameworks and outlooks.[61] Indeed, this is how archivists tend to view themselves in general, as impartial servants of documentary order (Schwartz and Cook 2002, 1).

Nestled within the above reasoning I identify cultural historian Aleida Assmann's (2011) bipartite separation of cultural memory into functional and storage memory. The functional part is what participates in the production of cultural memory, profiling a 'distinct identity' (A. Assmann 2011, 130). Storage memory on the other hand includes the '[r]epertoire of missed opportunities, alternative options and unused material' that on its own has no meaning or use (A. Assmann 2011, 127). It is the permeability and interdependence of

[60] Email exchange with Aliki Tsirgialou, 8/11/2016.
[61] Oral communication with Mathilde Pyrli and Vasiliki Hatzigeorgiou, 6/7/2018.

functional and storage memory that sustains them and gives them meaning (A. Assmann 2011, 132). The function of the archive described by the Greek archivists reflects this and particularly their position that the archive is little more than a neutral storage. Nevertheless, the archive is not a neutral space. Archivists' decisions such as opening hours, whether to allow full, minimal, or no digital access to the collections and crucially how collections are arranged, shape the archive and the ways in which the collections are interpreted and mediated. The permeability of storage and functional memory is facilitated by the archivists, who guide researchers through the thickets of the archive. As Ann Stoler notes, archives that might be accessible are often difficult to navigate. Access to the right stack, the right collection, and the right image rests on knowledge. Knowledge that archivists possess or knowledge of how the archive produces knowledge (Stoler 2009, 9). In the next section I will problematize this professed archival neutrality, turning my attention to the EIM photographic archive.

The relay race of memory

The position that the Benaki Museum and ELIA-MIET share concerning their archival neutrality is a product of their professionalism. It is indeed largely my job as a researcher to interpret how collective identities are visualized in their photographic collections. The archives, however, establish the parameters for my interpretative journey, even if they do not acknowledge this. This is why the EIM's stance on its participation in processes of meaning creation stands out in such contrast. During my first visit to the EIM I sat down with the archivist Niki Markasioti to hear her explain the history of the archive and the way it functioned. From the start, Markasioti was very cognizant and forthright about the role of the museum and the archive in creating and preserving historical memory. This role was linked to the IEEE's founding in 1882, to preserve the recent historical past, particularly that of the 1821 struggle for independence. The IEEE is the parent institution of the EIM. Markasioti described the archive as participating in the important goal of 'the relay race of memory', meaning the preservation of historical memory and its handover to the next generation through the archive. Furthermore, the archive was according to Markasioti placing images in history,

which can be interpreted as the archive illustrating history.[62] Which images these might be was left unsaid.

When our discussion turned to the ways in which researchers and the general public used the EIM archive, the importance of memory again came to the fore. Researchers and television production crews seek out historical images–the most requested type of image–to engage with national historical memory. A key question here is which images rise to the status of historical images? Is the archive perhaps making these images historical? There is certainly an interdependence between the archive and the dissemination of its images to a wider public. I see historical images as public images, that are or become part of a national canon. Markasioti noted that there is a great demand for images of prominent historical figures like Greek revolutionary Pavlos Melas and politician and writer Ion Dragoumis. Similarly, lay people use images from the photographic archives as an aide memoire, helping them remember past events and *create* memory. The reaction of people to photographs is immediate and visceral according to the archivist. Markasioti told and retold a story of an older man who was searching for images of his old Army company and whose eyes welled up with tears while he was leafing through the photographs of his past.

Memory was often intimately tied to locality. At the ELIA-MIET archive many people came searching for old photographs of their hometowns or their *ιδιαίτερη πατρίδα* (birthplace). At the EIM, the thematic categorization of the archive was often tied to locality, e.g. Athens, Thessaloniki, Aegina, alongside the chronological organization. In line with the EIM photographic archive's self-awareness, the archivist expressed particular interest in the Hellenism found abroad and for the Greek diasporic preoccupation with *χαμένες πατρίδες*, the lost homelands of Hellenism. This interest was related to the archivist's own ancestry from Istanbul and manifested itself in the archivist's concerted efforts to acquire images pertinent to the historical Greek diaspora. Although not an official collection policy, the archivist had established a collection practice that was grounded in popular feelings about national identity and the nostalgia for a historical Hellenism that crossed current national borders. Although there is no archival separation between *απόδημος ελληνισμός* (the expatriate or diasporic constituents of Hellenism) and the Helladic variety ('autochthonous' or 'indigenous'), the geographical designations of the archive attest to the historical spread of Greeks across the

[62] Oral communication with Niki Markasioti, 10/7/2018.

Balkans and Turkey (or areas of the pre-1920s Ottoman Empire). By prioritizing and instrumentalizing the nostalgic past, the EIM participates actively in the consolidation of Greek historical memory and identity, going so far as to claim the 'lost homelands' of Hellenism as Greek.

Indeed, this instrumentalization of Hellenic past and place has been a guiding principle imbedded in the very foundations of the IEEE and the EIM. The underpinning philosophy of these institutions was to bolster national consciousness and to foster a sense of national community and identity that spanned time and place. Shaping a narrative of an unbroken Hellenism was integral to the EIM's mission and modus operandi. The museum was trying to shape a unified and timeless Greek history that bound ancient Greece to modern Greece through Byzantium, on the model of the national historiography of continuity written by Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos (1815-1891). Another integral element was the incorporation of the Greek-speaking communities outside the national borders of Greece into the narrative of a unified continuous Hellenism (Dermitzaki 2017, 345–46, 350, 357). This narrative manages to homogenize Hellenism and simultaneously erase the histories of non-Greek speaking communities. The collection practices of the IEEE reflected this transhistorical Hellenism already in its founding statutes. Objects that were 'national monuments' and which proved the cultural and historical unity of Greece in medieval through modern times were considered valuable and worthy of collecting. The objects collected were ones that could fit into a museum–paintings, documents, ethnological artifacts, alongside immaterial objects such as poems, songs and local traditions (Dermitzaki 2017, 348). The monumentality of these objects had little to do with their physical size and all to do with their importance in bolstering a unifying Greek national narrative. Each small monument can therefore act as a placeholder for national historical memory.

It is therefore fitting that one of the first photographic items donated to the EIM was an album bridging Hellenism over time and place. In 1934 I. G. Filimon donated an album made by the Cacoulis brothers photographers of Trabzon (today's Trabzun in Northeastern Turkey). The album was gifted by the Cacoulis brothers to Filimon's father Timoleon Filimon, one of the founders of the IEEE, while he served as the Greek consul in Trabzon, among the Greeks known as the Greeks of the Pontus (Black Sea) or the Pontian Greeks. The photographs depict Trabzon and the surrounding environs, showing the historical reach of Hellenism on the shores of the Black Sea. Considering that this album was made and gifted at the end of

the nineteenth century, the appeals of the Cacoulis brothers to Filimon as the representative of the Greek state are in line with the era's heady irredentist fervour. The dreams of a Greater Greece, known as the Megali Idea ('The Great Idea'), is made even more explicit in one of the photographs of the album (fig. 59). Decked out in Pontian dress and armed to the teeth, three young men pose in the Cacoulis photographic studio. With stern expressions they stare slightly away from the camera. Inscribed above the men on the photograph is a text in Pontian Greek that reads:

And we are Greeks too
and our speech/language is Greek
Digenis Akritas and David Komninos
Conversed with pride[63]

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[63] I am grateful to Lena Kalpidou, archaeologist and curator of the Museum of Pontic Hellenism in Athens, for her help in translating the Pontian Greek text on the photograph into the following Modern Greek text:

Και εμείς Έλληνες είμαστε
και ομιλία (μας) η ελληνική
Συνομιλούσαν /
Συνεννοούνταν ο Διγενής Ακρίτας
και ο Δαυίδ Κομνηνός
να μιλούν/φλυαρούν "εν εγωισμώ"

Figure 59. Three young men in Pontian dress. Cacoulis Bros. Late 19th cent. EIM.

Let us take a moment to tease out the various elements of identity projection in this text. Pontians are Greeks too, united by language but also by a common Byzantine history, religion, and tradition. They inhabit the same timeless community of Hellenism in both history and culture. Fact and fiction are interwoven as David Komninos, the last of the Trebizond Emperors of the 15th century, converses and shares a relationship with Digenis Akritas, the mythical borderland protector of Byzantium of the homonymous literary epic. Described here is the 'imagined, willed, and felt community' (A. D. Smith 2008, 23) of the Greeks, where fact

and fiction interact. Although this narrative of Hellenism is imagined, it provides a way for the Greeks to imagine themselves as belonging to a unified nation.

Although rooted in past tradition, this Hellenism is firmly anchored to the historical present of the photograph. The text and the photographic album are part of the fermentation of the irredentist Great Idea, dedicated as it is to the representative of the Greek state, Timoleon Filimon. The album is clearly part of an overture by the Pontian Greeks of Trabzon towards the Greek state, through Filimon's person, claiming a part of Hellenism and participating in the narrative of a transhistorical Hellenism. The use of photographic technology is key here as well, as it allows for the collapse and the erasure of historical time within the frame of the photograph, carving out a space for the visualization of Hellenism's timeless continuity. Photography's indexicality enables the viewer to accept that what is seen is historically truthful, making sense of the past (Morris-Suzuki 2005, 27–29). As Morris-Suzuki notes 'any encounter with the past involves feeling and imagination as well as pure knowledge' (2005, 24). While photography and nationalism are fruits of modernity, they paradoxically enable narratives for the present that are steeped in the factual and fictional past.

Whether the photographic archives embrace or distance themselves from processes of memory creation, they are always involved in it. So, in what ways are these photographic archives entwined in processes of identity and memory creation? I will try to answer this important question by examining the crucial fact that all the archives I researched are private. As I will show, the *national* in Greece is not always a matter of the state or any other official authority.

Archiving Greece

In discussions with the archivists at the ELIA about my research, I was criticized for not focusing on any state archive. The criticism centred around the issue of national identity formation. How can I be looking at the visualization of national identity in photographic archives, if I am not looking at the state's archives? My interpretation of this criticism is that it stems from a reasoning that the site of national identity formation lies with the state or within the sphere of the state. More concretely, this line of thought implies that state archives 'can be seen as one of the many potential arenas in which the state can depict itself as able to bridge the hyphen between nation and state' (Papailias 2005, 14). The ELIA-MIET archivists

even brought out recent publications–from 2017–of the Library of the Hellenic Parliament, to show me that Greek state archives are engaged with photographic material. These publications were both stand-alone books or photographic exhibition catalogues, where the stand-alone books centred on the lives of political leaders and great men of Greek history. In this sense, the state was predictable in its affirmation of the established past and the host of characters that contributed to it. Yet, as I will argue, the Greek state does not hold a prominent position in archival matters.

The story of archives and archiving in Greece involves both state neglect and private initiative, to the dismay of many Greeks. Proper document collection and adequate archival storage has historically not been a top priority for the Greek state. The neglect of state and national records started already under Greece's first King, Otto (rule 1832-1862). His administration took good care of its own records but showed little concern for the documents of the Greek revolution that had been amassed by the revolutionary governments and Ioannis Kapodistrias (1776-1831), the governor of newly independent Greece. Otto's successor, King George I, shared the same indifferent stance towards record-keeping and went so far as to sell off the revolutionary archives by weight–more precisely by the *oka.*[64] It was only in 1914 under the government of Eleftherios Venizelos that a law (N. 380/1914) was passed establishing a state archive service under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of religion and public education (Topping 1952, 249).

The passage of this law and the subsequent establishment of the state archives is often credited to the efforts of Yiannis Vlahoyiannis, amateur historian, erstwhile teacher and first director of the General State Archives (*Genika Archeia tou Kratous*, GAK). From his student days in Athens, he started buying historical material that he found across Athens, saving documents from being used as food wrapping or getting turned into pulp. Even during the sell-off of archival material in 1893, Vlahoyiannis managed to amass an important collection of documents that he subsequently donated to the state archives. The Vlahoyiannis collection remains to this day an important repository of documents from the period of revolutionary struggle and Otto's reign (Papailias 2005, 26; Topping 1952, 251).

[64] An *oka* was an Ottoman weight measurement that continued to be used in post-Ottoman states like Greece. One *oka* equalled 1282 grams.

Private initiative and agency have left a considerable imprint upon the archival landscape of Greece, even within the state. As mentioned above, Vlahoyiannis was a dedicated private citizen who amassed a substantial private collection of materials and documents that came from both private and public sources, saving historical documents from state neglect. He was not the only private citizen pushing the state to assume responsibility for the preservation of documents of the past. According to the history of the GAK on their website,[65] the historian Spyridon Lampros was also closely involved in lobbying for the establishment of a state archive. Lampros had also been intimately involved with the IEEE, which he helped found in 1882. Another founding member of the IEEE, folklorist Nikolaos Politis, was the first director of the GAK Supervisory Council.

As mentioned earlier, the IEEE was itself founded with the expressed aim of 'collecting, preserving and promoting the relics and testimonies that illuminate the history of Modern Greece' ("Εθνικό Ιστορικό Μουσείο" n.d.). It was a private initiative aimed at the collecting of historical documents and materials for the ultimate benefit of the nation. The language used at the time to describe the IEEE's effort was heavily laden with religious zeal, likening the collected materials to relics of the nation. Although prolific in their collecting, the IEEE faced acute housing problems. It only found a permanent home in 1960 when it moved into the old Parliament on Kolokotroni Square in downtown Athens (Papailias 2005, 26–27; "Εθνικό Ιστορικό Μουσείο" n.d.). The GAK suffered an even more protracted housing limbo, only moving into its own building in 2003. Previously the GAK had been housed in a number of locations in central Athens, including the basements of both the Academy of Athens and the Old Parliament (Topping 1952, 251; "Γενικά Αρχεία του Κράτους" n.d.). In a familiar refrain, the final home of the GAK was the result of a private contribution, that of controversial industrialist Prodromos-Bodosakis Athanasiadis and his foundation. The building's design had been set in 1978 and construction began in 1979 but would take more than two more decades to complete ("Γενικά Αρχεία του Κράτους" n.d.). The lack of a proper archival building for the GAK and the criticism of this, has been a constant in discussions surrounding Greek archives. It has served as an index of the neglect that both state and citizenry have shown for the preservation and documentation of the past–or at least for that past which is outside certain

[65] http://www.gak.gr/index.php/el/menu-el/poioi-eimaste/istoriko-gak, last accessed 31/08/2022.

mythologized eras like antiquity, the war of independence and the WWII resistance (Papailias 2005, 27).

Private and public

The historical absence of the Greek state in the preservation of the recent historical past and its unwillingness–or incompetence–in supporting its own state archives has made private archives into the venues where collective narratives and identities can form. Thus, the role of the archive in bridging the hyphen between nation and state is significantly diminished. While the archive does still contribute to the nation, the role of the state in this equation remains uncertain and ill-defined. As I have shown, private actors preserving the recent and not so recent past for the Nation has a long tradition in Greece. As will also have become apparent, the Nation does not always include the state. An illustrative example of this is the donation of the Benaki museum to the Greek nation by Antonis Benakis on 22 April 1931. 'ΤΩ ΕΘΝΕΙ ΔΩΡΕΙΤΑΙ' (IT IS GIFTED TO THE NATION, my translation) reads the commemorative plaque at the main museum building in central Athens. The collections were legally donated to the Greek state, although the museum continues to function as a foundation under private law. As the oldest and possibly the most important private museum foundation in Greece, it is telling that the material culture the museum displays and cares for is entrusted to the state, but the actual administration of this heritage, including its archives is still kept in private hands.[66]

The tension between private and public archiving in Greece 'underscores the fact that the politics of archiving and documentation in a "peripheral" state like Greece are anything but straightforward or predictable' (Papailias 2005, 33). The prevalence of so many small and large private archives in Greece highlights the profound interest and investment of Greek society in the past and its preservation. Yet, it should also be seen as a response to the state's unwillingness and incompetence in preserving the past. Although the collecting and archiving drive of the various archives and private individuals might share certain key traits–such as saving the relics of the past for the benefit of the nation–it also highlights the highly fractured nature of narrative and identity construction at work in Greek society. At the same time, the atomized collecting underscores a fundamental aspect of the relationship between historical

[66] Cf. law N. 4559/1930 (*Εφημερίς Της Κυβερνήσεως* 1930).

culture and ownership in Greece. The ancient past is a national, common History. The more recent past in contrast, is not so clearly considered a commonly shared History. Therefore, important archival documents of modern history are kept in private hands, out of the reach of researchers (Mathaiou 1989, 215).

This fracturing of the archival landscape involves drawbacks that relate directly to the atomized, private character of the archives. Issues of access and transparency are common issues in Greek private archives. Anecdotal evidence suggests that private archives might show certain collections to certain researchers, keeping the choice materials for those already on the 'inside' (Papailias 2005, 31). In such a way scholarly patronage networks entrench themselves, making the writing of Greek public history a privately mediated affair. In their turn, reformist archives–which are also private–such as the Archives of Modern Social History (ASKI) position themselves against both the nepotism of private archives and the indifference of the state archives (Papailias 2005, 31–32).

I end my examination of private archives' role in the formation of Greek historical culture by sharing a personal example of the ambiguous private-public nature of Greek archives. Over the course of a few months in 2018, I had made repeat visits to an archive, focusing on one specific collection. Subsequently, I wrote a paper based on this research that I was going to present at a conference. When I then contacted the archive to request some images for my presentation, I was told that I should have talked to the archive first before even submitting an abstract to present this material. The point of contention was that I did not ask for permission to present my research which was based on the archive's collection. In the end the situation was resolved amicably but it was an illustrative example of the diffuse borders between private and public in Greek private archives. Even though this archive has a welcoming and open policy towards researchers, and I was allowed to consult this material without any–initial–restrictions, the archive did feel it necessary to control *how* the material was being used. Even though a nominally public collection for the benefit of all–the collection in question had in its past circulated in the press–it was treated as private property. In the next chapter I move on to discuss Nelly's, one of the most important figures in Greek photography.

Chapter 5 – Shaped by time and soil. Visualizing Greece in Nelly's photography

In this first analytical chapter, I examine the visualization of a Greek cultural-historical identity that leans heavily on the historical continuity of Hellenism. I do so by looking at the work of Elli Souyioultzoglou-Seraidari, best known by her *nom d'artiste*, Nelly's. Nelly's is without a doubt one of the most iconic photographers of Greece, her oeuvre and name easily recognizable. Her images are likewise central parts of the visual history of Greece, having made singular contributions to the photographic expression of historical Hellenism, the ideology of an unbroken link between ancient and modern Greeks. Nelly's effective visualization of the Greek nation's historical continuity, its *longue durée*, contributes therefore to the potent 'ethno-cultural resources' that have formed the modern Greek national community (A. D. Smith 2009, 14, 21). Nelly's photography of interwar Greece has similarly attained canonical status, particularly her images of rural subjects. Although she was not the first professional photographer of Greece–and not even the first professional female photographer[67]–she is very much regarded as the first artist-photographer of Greece. In the late 1970s and in the 1980s Nelly's came to be considered as Greece's national photographer.

Unsurprisingly, the exhibitions and publications about Nelly's are numerous. From glossy coffee table books to Sunday newspaper giveaways, Nelly's images have been used and re-used in a variety of different ways. On a visit to the Benaki photographic archives, the archivist kept piling up books on Nelly's work in front of me. My question whether Nelly's was the most publicized Greek photographer was received as somewhat naïve and self-explanatory. The fame and wide dissemination of Nelly's images makes her an ideal candidate for my research on the visualization of Greek collective identities. Furthermore, the bulk of her archive was deposited at the Benaki, which provides a fruitful path to analyse the visualization of collective identity within Nelly's oeuvre alongside the canonization of Nelly's in that same archive.

[67] The first professional female photographers were the Kanta sisters from Corfu. In 1888 the Paris-trained photographer duo opened a photographic studio in Athens on 40 Stadiou St and subsequently on 12 Ermou St (Xanthakis 2008, 201). The ELIA-MIET photographic archive has a small collection of the Kanta sisters' work.

Throughout this chapter, I will analyse the ways in which official visions of Greek national identity came to be expressed in Nelly's imagery and consequently in her archive. Nelly's images perform a two-fold function. They shape cultural memory of the Greek nation's historical continuity, as well as the cultural memory of interwar Greece. The photographs' objectivation of these clusters of Greek cultural memory contributes to the stability of this cultural memory as well as the national narratives visualized in Nelly's images (J. Assmann 2008, 110, 1995, 129). Yet, this cultural memory and these collective identities are partial, as I will show.

Similarly, my analysis of Nelly's oeuvre is also partial. Within this chapter I will focus on two specific parts of Nelly's oeuvre: her images of antiquities and her images of rural Greece, which depict both its people and the landscape. These two parts of Nelly's oeuvre relate specifically to what I identify as the visualization of a cultural-historical Greek collective identity rooted in the continuity of Hellenism. My focus on these two themes is a necessary choice as well. The space constraints of this thesis require me to narrow the analytical scope on Nelly's oeuvre. Nevertheless, there are several aspects of Nelly's photography from the inter-war period that might have provided me with further insights into Nelly's visualization of Greek collective identities. These are the images of Asia Minor refugees that Nelly's took for the Near East Relief foundation (ca 1925-1927), the images of "Old Athens" that Nelly's made together with Dimitrios Kampouroglou, historian and close friend of Nelly's, the images of urban professions in interwar Athens as well as her few images of the port of Piraeus.

All these groups of images would certainly provide valid contributions to a discussion of Nelly's visualization of Greek collective identities in the interwar years. The refugee images might help me explore the shifts in collective Greek identities after the 1923 population exchange with Turkey. Nelly's own Asia Minor heritage is another important aspect to consider when analysing her refugee images. The images of "Old Athens" might allow a nuanced look at Nelly's relationship to the historicity of Athens, her adopted hometown. Lastly, the images of the urban professions and Piraeus might provide a useful contrast to Nelly's preoccupation with rural Greece. However important these discussions might be, these are issues that I will not deal with in this thesis, but I hope to bring forward in future research.

Nelly's images are today an important part of the canon of Greek photography and of Greek cultural memory. This would not have been possible without her archive and its

deposition at the Benaki photographic archive. Nelly's archive functions as a *Zwischenspeicher* for Greek society, a liminal space of remembering and forgetting (A. Assmann 2008a, 103, 2010, 43–44; Schwartz 2000, 17, 2015, 21). This function is crucial to the formation and negotiation of Greek cultural memory. Furthermore, the dynamics of remembering and forgetting remind us that Greek cultural memory is always partial.

The relatively large number of publications on Nelly's provides fertile ground for a discussion of her reception since her 'rediscovery' in the 1970s. Nelly's autobiography is important as well, as it allows me to analyse the construction of Nelly's as national photographer. I will critically examine this literature while presenting my own visual analysis of Nelly's images. Throughout the chapter I will also reflect critically on the Benaki's photographic archive and its place in the formation and dissemination of ideas of Greekness as expressed in Nelly's work. My study of the Greek cultural-historical identity that is visualized in Nelly's photography is intricately tied to Nelly's own life. Therefore, this chapter adopts a narrative yet critical approach, that places Nelly's life, her images, and her canonization in relation to each other.

The chapter will proceed as follows. After giving an introduction of Nelly's archive and biography, the subsequent section will focus on the historical, political, and societal background against which Nelly's work has to be analysed: the inter-war period and specifically the quasi-fascist Metaxas' regime. Several important themes such as the rural, the concept of the Greek *phyli* (race) and Greek history are explored, which are central for Nelly's images and the Metaxas regime. Nelly's personal connections to the Metaxas regime are also scrutinized. Furthermore, I will also situate Nelly's photography in terms of its search for Greekness, placing it against the interwar years' debates on *ellinikotita*. This will lead me back to Nelly's proximity to German and Greek fascism. Following this, I will discuss in detail the two key themes that inform Nelly's visualization of Greek cultural-historical identity, antiquity and the rural. Although separate themes, they are inextricably interlinked. The chapter will end with a discussion of the 'afterlives' of Nelly's images and some concluding remarks.

The focus of this chapter rests on the interwar years, and more specifically on the era after the Asia Minor Catastrophe (1922). This era represents a shift in Greece's history, when the heady irredentist desires fomenting in the Great Idea were violently put to rest with the expulsion of the Greek army from Asia Minor and the ensuing population exchange with Turkey. Ironically, the defeat of the Great Idea's irredentist aspirations followed by the

population exchange, made Greece into a much more homogenous nation. This is also the time period in which Nelly's lived and worked in Greece and produced her most iconic work. Her photographs of this era have in many ways come to symbolize this period and even Greek photographic history at large, an issue I will revisit throughout the chapter.

Nelly's archive

Starting in 1984, Nelly's archive was donated piecemeal to the Benaki museum. Today it represents almost the entirety of Nelly's personal archive. As I was told by the photographic archivist, some parts of Nelly's archive were left out in the donation, which have upset the larger archival integrity of Nelly's work. Since 2017 the lack of archival integrity has been brought into clearer perspective when the Benaki photographic archive reverted to Nelly's own original image numbering. When Nelly's archive was donated, a new numbering sequence was adopted by the then volunteer archivists. This system has proven to be unsystematic by today's archival standards, according to the photographic archivist. Furthermore, the return to Nelly's numbering has helped Nelly's archive attain some form of thematic cohesion.[68]

The exact size of Nelly's archive has not yet been determined,[69] although it is most certainly in the thousands of images. Many negatives are still in their original boxes but are successively being archived and assessed in anticipation of a major Nelly's retrospective exhibition that will take place in 2023. The prints by Nelly's had in the past been organized thematically but they will be reorganized according to corpus, for example the work she did for EOT.[70] Access and insight to Nelly's archive is gained via the print books that are available in the Benaki photographic archive's study/reading room. The images are organized thematically in these print books: studio portraiture, Delphic Festivals, Crete and so forth. During my archival visits, the organization of the prints followed the thematic order established by the Benaki in the 1980s. Nelly's archive also includes two binders with ancillary material. Press clippings that relate to Nelly's life make up most of these binders' contents. Other documents found within these binders deal with Nelly's correspondence with various

[68] Oral communication with Aliki Tsirgialou, 1/11/2018.
[69] Email communication with Aliki Tsirgialou, 25/09/2022.
[70] Oral communication with Aliki Tsirgialou, 16/5/2018.

institutions and persons. This correspondence reflects Nelly's recognition as an important photographer by others, hence its deposition at the Benaki in my opinion.

A life well told

Nelly's is unique amongst Greek photographers to have written an autobiography. The appropriately titled *Self-portrait* (Αυτοπροσωπογραφία) was published in 1989[71] and was edited by Emmanouil Kasdaglis (1924-1998), author and former director of the MIET. As we would expect, the autobiography is richly illustrated with photographs from Nelly's life, captured by herself and others. The photographs alongside Nelly's own narration take the reader along for a common Greek tale of uprooting (*xenitia)*, and the longing for home, for Greece. Nelly's humble narrator voice describes a life rich in experiences and joys, albeit with difficulties and obstacles strewn along the way. Hardship is in the end always overcome, be it the destruction of her childhood hometown during the Asia Minor campaign or the loss of her photographic studio and apartment in New York City in 1966.

The publication of Nelly's biography in 1989 is worth dwelling on, as it arrived relatively early in her ascent to fame in the 1980s and 1990s. Only three exhibitions and their associated publications preceded the publication of her autobiography. Most of the work written about Nelly's and the exhibitions made with her images are from after 1989. Consequently, the autobiography has become important to the commentary on her work, as well as for the frames of reference used to engage with her photography. To a certain extent, this has allowed Nelly's to shape the commentary and narrative surrounding her life and work. Furthermore, this has created and entrenched an interpretative framework for Nelly's work that is on the whole laudatory and uncritical. I will expand on this criticism throughout the chapter. Nevertheless, Nelly's biography is relevant to my analysis and I will retell her story in the following paragraphs.

Nelly's was born as Elli Souyioultzoglou in Aidini in Asia Minor, present-day Turkey, on November 23, 1899. Her family belonged to the well-off merchant class of Asia Minor Greeks and she and her three siblings grew up in comfortable bourgeois surroundings. Nelly's and her siblings went to the French school run by nuns in Aidini and later on attended the

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[71] According to the book's prologue, she started writing her autobiography after 1976.

Homereion Greek boarding school in Smyrna, spending the summers on the family's mountain estate. Her own recollection is that '[w]e had very nice childhood years, as few children did' (Nelly's 1989, 22). The fighting of the Asia Minor campaign eventually reached Aidini, decimating the town. Nelly's family managed to survive and escaped to Smyrna. There, her father was able to continue his business dealings, becoming a supplier to the Greek army. Despite–or perhaps because of–the relative stability and sense of normalcy that had returned to the Souyioultzoglou family, Nelly's asked her father to go to Europe to study painting. After initial hesitation, Nelly's alongside her brother Nikos were sent to Dresden, Germany to study in 1920 (Xanthakis 1990, 19).[72]

After initially studying painting, Nelly's moved on to study photography. She claims that the news of the destruction of Smyrna in September 1922 pushed her to photography, in search of a practical occupation with which she might financially support herself and her family (Nelly's 1989, 48). This quest for independence and strong-willed individualism are defining features of her life and her autobiography. Her initial studies were with Hugo Erfurth, an important pictorialist photographer of the early twentieth century. Pictorialism was a late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century style of photography, that approached photography through the lens of the traditional arts. Pictorialists manipulated their photographic prints to create expressive works of art that came close to resembling paintings (Bunnell 1992, 11). The pictorialist style was passé by the time Nelly's arrived in Dresden. In Athens though, Nelly's conservative pictorialist style impressed local society (Petsini 2016a, 269). Through Erfurth Nelly's met Franz Fiedler, a younger photographer who introduced her to modern approaches to photography, with whom she finished her studies. Under both Erfurth and Fiedler, Nelly's was introduced to dance photography, a theme which Nelly's famously returned to in Athens (Boudouri 1997, 22; Nelly's 1989, 53–56). Upon completing her studies in Dresden, Nelly's moved to Athens in late 1924 intent on opening her own studio.

Nelly's managed to find a studio space in central Athens on Ermou St, despite the housing shortage facing the city in the wake of the Asia Minor catastrophe and the influx of the refugees. Her studio gradually became more and more known, attracting the Athenian

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[72] The dating of events in Nelly's autobiography is non-existent or not consequent at best, therefore relying on secondary sources is sometimes necessary. Alkis Xanthakis, the Greek photographic historian, had a close relationship with Nelly's.

elite. She became a sough-after portraitist who photographed politicians, artists and intellectuals, Greek as well as foreign. Indeed, most of her work as a photographer was in portraiture, which is reflected by the voluminous collection of portraits in her archive. Some of her more well-known sitters were statesman Eleftherios Venizelos and novelists Kostis Palamas and Pinelopi Delta. Nelly's also exhibited her work in her studio, noting with appreciation that the press received it well as did the general public (Nelly's 1989, 74).

The exhibitions Nelly's organized covered a variety of themes: portraits, ancient monuments and artefacts as well as her tours around rural Greece. Two of her earliest exhibitions are worth mentioning: the exhibition of images of Asia Minor refugees (commissioned by the US Near East Foundation) and her exhibition of photographs of 'Old Athens'. It is noteworthy that the photographs in these two exhibitions were done in the Bromoil method. This pictorialist method and aesthetic involved the manipulation of the photographic print with oil paints, thus making the final work into a hybrid photograph and painting. The aestheticization of the refugee's plight is indicative of Nelly's relationship to her photographic subjects.

This exhibition of 'Old Athens' was done in cooperation with the historian Dimitrios Kampouroglou, who after seeing a few of Nelly's images of the old part of Athens, suggested taking her every Wednesday on walks around the Anafiotika and the surrounding areas. Kampouroglou even wrote texts for these images, hoping for the publication of an album with Nelly's photographs and his texts. Columnists in the press were also calling on the city or the government to fund such an album (Nelly's 1989, 79–80, 92). This album was published many years later, in 1996.

Although most of Nelly's work was done inside the studio, she is better known for her work outside of the studio. During her years in Athens she photographed the Acropolis on numerous occasions. Most notable are her nude images of the dancers Mona Paiva (1925) (fig. 60) and Nikolska (1930) (fig. 61), which scandalized Greek society at the time.

Figure 60. Mona Paiva on the Acropolis. Nelly's. 1925. Benaki Museum.

Figure 61. Elizabeta Nikolska on the Acropolis. Nelly's. 1930. Benaki Museum.

Nelly’s also photographed the Delphic Festivals of Angelos and Eva Sikelianos in 1927 and 1930. During the second Festival she was the exclusive photographer, financed by the novelist Pinelopi Delta (Boudouri 2003, 20).

Starting in 1927, Nelly’s started touring Greece photographing landscapes and the people she encountered. Her first foray was to the Peloponnese where she visited Nafplio, Mystra, Tripoli and Sparta. In 1927 she also travelled to Crete (Nelly’s 1992, 7). Significantly, she did this alone at a time when travel in Greece was difficult and even more so for a woman travelling alone. More trips around the country would follow on her own initiative or on commission. The most significant commissions she received came from the Metaxas regime, when the touristic promotion of Greece abroad became more formalized. Nelly’s was tasked by Theologos Nikoloudis, the deputy minister of Press and Tourism, to photograph Greece for its promotion abroad. Epirus and Crete were two of her major assignments for the state (Boudouri 1996, 13).

Another important and fateful commission from the Ministry was the decoration of the Greek Pavilion at the World’s Fair in New York City in 1939. Her participation at the Pavilion consisted of four gigantic photographic collages, showing Greek landscapes, people

and antiquities. In one of these collages, she famously juxtaposed ancient statuary with modern Greeks to show the racial continuity of the ancient Greeks to the modern Greeks. Within days of Nelly's and her husband's, Angelos Seraidaris,[73] arrival in NYC, Greece was thrust into WWII by Italy's invasion of Greece. The couple decided to stay and sit out the war in the USA. This decision led them to stay on in the USA for 27 years, opening a photographic studio in NYC. In 1966 Nelly's returned to Greece where she lived until her death in 1998. After her return to Greece, she never worked again as a photographer. As she and her husband had become US citizens, she could not work without a permit in Greece. Moreover, as she stated in an 1975 interview '[p]erhaps a whole circle, a grand adventure with the "camera" had come to a close' (Karavia 1975).

I have purposefully focused on the interwar years of Nelly's career as they are most relevant to the imagery she produced about Greece and the visualization of a particular Greek identity. The story of her rediscovery after the *metapolitefsi*, the era in which democratic rule returned to Greece after the fall of the military dictatorship (1967-1974), is an aspect to which I will return at the end of this chapter. Nelly's success and fame ebbed and flowed throughout her life. Crucially however, Nelly's cycles of reinvention have made critical engagement with her life and images difficult. We are constantly left with a partial image of who Nelly's was, before the narration of her life changes.

Nelly's in her telling of the story, is a survivor of hardships, adapting and rebounding from difficult circumstances. Most interestingly for this thesis, her work and her persona from the interwar years have survived and indeed flourished in the post-*metapolitefsi* era, a period in which the ideological underpinnings under which she operated in the 1930s had fallen out of favour. Nelly's work has found a new place in contemporary Greek collective memory. Nelly's is therefore a particularly important case study for the ways in which photography has shaped and expressed discourses of Greek national identity, as well as the ways in which this process has occurred within the context of the photographic archive. The canonization of Nelly's work and her aesthetics are also an affirmation of the particular, continuity-focused brand of Hellenism and national identity that Nelly's work espouses.

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[73] Angelos Seraidaris was a classically trained pianist who came from a Greek merchant family in Germany. See Nelly's (1989, 127–39).

Photographic Hellenism

Nelly's visualization of a cultural-historical Greek identity centres on two themes, that of antiquity and that of the rural. These themes are closely related to the ideals of a historical Hellenism, tying the ancient Greek past to the present. Antiquity, folklore, the countryside as expressed in its landscape and its people are all prominent elements in Nelly's oeuvre. Hence, these are the elements I analyse closely in this thesis.[74] An appropriate example of Nelly's photographic Hellenism is one of the collages that Nelly's prepared for the Greek pavilion at the 1939 World's Fair in New York City (fig. 62). This collage is better known as one of Nelly's 'parallelisms'. Ancient statues and modern Greeks are placed side by side, trying to show the similarities and the racial continuity of the Greeks throughout time.

[74] Although Nelly's is particularly known for her photography of the above subject matter, most of her work–indeed her bread and butter–was done in the studio, producing portraiture. A quick browse through Nelly's archive at the Benaki museum attests to this.

Figure 62. 'Parallelism' of modern Greek peasants and ancient Greek statues. Nelly's. 1939. Benaki Museum.

This collage is emblematic of the Hellenism and identity-visualization at work in Nelly's imagery. Antiquity, the Greek landscape, the people of the countryside are all dramatically interlaced, creating a kaleidoscopic vision of Greece. The collage might be generalizing Nelly's work and its engagement with diachronic Hellenism, but they are useful at this point in defining the scope of my argumentation.

However, Nelly's treatment of the above themes was not new or particularly original. By the 1920s, ancient Greek history and the romanticizing of folk culture were established elements of modern Hellenism. As early as 1871, the first ethnographer and folklorist of Greece, Nikolaos Politis, wrote about finding links between the lives of the ancient Greeks and that of modern Greeks in his *Μελέτη επί του βίου των Νεότερων Ελλήνων: Νεοελληνική Μυθολογία* (Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1978, 91; C. Stewart 1989, 81). The folklorist narrative of Greek historical continuity was well established and had many adherents amongst intellectuals and artists (C. Stewart 1989, 84–85).

Nelly's was also not the first to photograph rural Greeks in traditional dress. When Nelly's visited Crete in the 1930s, photographing the men of the Sfakia region decked out in their traditional black attire, she was following a typological paradigm with roots in the early twentieth century depiction of Cretan warriors (Kalantzis 2019, 97). This typological paradigm anonymized the depicted rural Greeks, a tendency seen in Nelly's images and archives (2019, 18). Nelly's rural sitters who conform to certain nationally important representation and stereotypes are unnamed while her urban, elite clientele are named (2019, 85).

Nelly's photographic Hellenism tapped into Greece's long history, a key symbolic resource of the Greek nation (cf. A. D. Smith 2008, 2009). The visualization of Greece in Nelly's photographs draws on and feeds into the cultural memory of Greece as a nation unbroken in its historical continuity (cf. Erll 2008; J. Assmann 2008, 1995). Phrased differently, Greece remembers and imagines itself in Nelly's photographs as a nation whose ethnic/racial and cultural continuity is unbroken in time (cf. Shevchenko 2014; Sturken 1997; Morris-Suzuki 2005). Photography is crucial in this respect as its indexicality bolsters the truthfulness (Morris-Suzuki 2005) of this Greek cultural memory and Greek collective identity. Yet, the mediation of Greek memory and identity in Nelly's images is dependent on the social context (A. Assmann 2010, 36–37; Morris-Suzuki 2005, 82–83). The symbolic resource of Greece's unbroken Hellenism was already present (cf. Liakos 2008, 206–12)–Nelly's was the

photographer who visualized this symbolic resource most effectively. I will return to this collage further on for a thorough analysis of the political and ideological factors at work.

Ideology, Metaxas and the interwar era

Are Nelly's images ideological, political and/or racist? This is the question that looms over any critical engagement with Nelly's photography. The images Nelly's produced for the Greek state and especially for the Metaxas regime (1936-1941) are particularly open to the above line of questioning. General Ioannis Metaxas' self-styled 'Regime of the Fourth of August' was proclaimed on August 4, 1936. The pretext for Metaxas' seizure of power was a communist-led 24-hour general strike planned for August 5. With King George II's assent, Metaxas suspended parts of the Greek constitution, establishing an atavistic, authoritarian, and paternalistic dictatorship determined on instilling discipline on Greek society. Although Metaxas pronounced his regime as the Third Hellenic Civilization, borrowing rhetoric from Hitler's Third German Reich, Metaxas' regime lacked the dynamic nature of Nazism or Italian fascism. Stronger parallels can be drawn to Salazar's corporatist Estado Novo (New State), as Metaxas's regime also called itself the *Neon Kratos* (New State).[75]

Nelly's key overlap with the ideas of Metaxism is on race, the Greek *phyli*. As Machaira (1987) has pointed out, the concept of the Greek race was not that of German Nazism or Italian fascism. The primacy of a biological, blood-bound racism was not present in Metaxism. Instead, weight was given to the cultural links to the ancient past and the survival of the past into the present via folk traditions. The rural became an idealized concept in Metaxist thought, as it connected the Greek people to tradition which in turn connects them to the ancient past. Nelly's parallelism of ancient Greek statuary and the modern Greek peasant is therefore a very clear distillation of this cultural-racial scheme (1987, 163–65). The Greek race is explicitly mentioned by Metaxas in the context of the Third Hellenic Civilization, as the race that will civilize the world. Greece and the Greeks were the bastions of civilization against barbarism (Machaira 1987, 166; Sarandis 1993, 150). Metaxas' Third Civilization was conceived as a homogenous historical unity, changing political shape through time but

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[75] Koliopoulos and Veremis (2009, 103), Clogg (2021, 115–17). On the Metaxas regime's ambivalent relationship to fascist aesthetics and fascism see Ploumidis (2016, 180, 183), Kallis (2010), Pelt (2001). On the parallels of Metaxas' regime to Salazar's Estado Novo see Ploumidis (2014, 68), Filippis (2010, 248–49).

retaining its inherently Greek spirit. This *third* civilization in Metaxas' thought, was preceded by Classical antiquity and medieval Byzantium, eras in which Greece fulfilled its historical mission of greatness (Breyianni 1999, 182).

Yet, race alongside the Land, as expressed by the Greek countryside, were never fully articulated, or systematically developed. The Land became important for the campaigns boosting agricultural production and the exaltation of tradition. Race was seen even by Metaxas himself to be a utilitarian concept, useful to boost public morale (Sarandis 1993, 164). Praising the countryside was a conventional rightist trope–it was considered patriotic to do so. This focus was common in other nationalist or fascist regimes and ideologies and is not necessarily unique to Metaxas' Greece (Close 1990, 208; Machaira 1987, 164).

On an ideological level, Metaxas' Third Hellenic Civilization can be distinguished from earlier Greek nationalist ideological projects, such as the Great Idea, by its radical agrarianism. A neo-Romantic peasantist veneration flourished, elevating the rural to an integral element of Metaxas' Third Hellenic Civilization (Ploumidis 2013, 125–27). Metaxas called for an agrarian base for this new civilization, one which would take its cues and inspiration from the countryside as well as antiquity (ancient Sparta) and Byzantium. The government praised the farmers as the healthiest body (μάζα) of the Greek Nation, as the true creators of Greek National Culture/Civilization (Ploumidis 2016, 62–63). Such appeals to the agrarian population, were part of an effort to create a cohesive conservative agrarian class that would be receptive and loyal to the Metaxist state (Ploumidis 2016, 128, 134). In policy form, this strategic courting of the rural populace expressed itself as debt relief for farmers (1937), land redistribution, irrigation works as well as other efforts to increase crop yields, all aimed at raising the living standards and social standing of the agrarian class. In visual form, Nelly's images reifying the rural Greeks and visualizing links to antiquity were therefore one part of this pro-agrarian edifice.

Agrarian policy in the Metaxas regime was firmly neo-Romantic in outlook. It portrayed farming as a higher social function that provided a vital service to Greek society, making farmers an integral part of the *Neon Kratos* (Ploumidis 2016, 134). Agriculture was more than the primary sector of the economy for the Metaxist state. The agrarian classes were imbued with a veil of mysticism by the regime, on account of the farmers daily contact with Mother Earth. Farmers did not only provide the cities and the country with food, they were also moral pillars of national culture (Breyianni 1999, 172, 175). This pro-agrarian

rhetoric was conveyed through simplified symbols and devices, constructing a homogenous, archetypal agrarian stratum for the *Neon Kratos*, in opposition to the urban and the bourgeois, which were associated with an immoral and unproductive group (Breyianni 1999, 178). Within this peasantist nationalist framework 'the nation was formally identified with the farmers' (Ploumidis 2013, 127). Nelly's photography of Crete is particularly interesting in this regard. Metaxas promoted *Cretan* farmers through Nelly's work, thus delivering a veiled attack against Venizelists whose 'homeland' was Crete but who operated in the 'immoral' middle classes.

Figure 63. Man in central Crete. Nelly's. 1939. Benaki Museum.

The preoccupation with the land and its people is also intricately linked to the veneration of the ancient past, another mainstay of Greek national identity that infused both Metaxas ideology and Nelly's imagery. From the early days of the Greek state, Greek scholars sought out peasant traditions and peasant life as the repository of true Greekness and as the site where ancient Greece had survived over the centuries.[76] Yet, the past was used conventionally within Metaxas' ideological edifice. Metaxas' call for a return to the 'springs from which the water of Hellenic civilization flowed clean' (quoted in Carabott 2003, 27) can be placed in a long line of Greek politicians and intellectuals gazing towards the past as a path towards national rebirth. Yet as the British ambassador at Athens at the time noted, there was little popular enthusiasm for Metaxas' atavism (Carabott 2003, 27).

Two historical periods, Classical Greece and Byzantium, are defined as the key historical *topoi* of Metaxism (Carabott 2003, 29). Byzantine Hellenism was important for its role in uniting Greeks in the Orthodox Christian faith, but this era was deemed to be of a lesser artistic and intellectual calibre. Ancient Greece was the pinnacle of artistic and cultural achievement, with ancient Athens at its top. A certain *contretemps* is at play in this glorification of Ancient Athens since ancient Athens developed democracy which was particularly anathema to the authoritarian, anti-democratic and anti-liberal Metaxas. Ancient Athenian democracy led to the Peloponnesian War in the Metaxist reading. Democracy's survival and revival in the twentieth century could also be seen to have led to other catastrophic failures of the Greek nation, such as the Asia Minor Catastrophe. In contrast, ancient Sparta was the role model of a sound society, one governed by 'disciplined freedom' (*peitharhoumeni eleftheria*). Total devotion to the state as developed in Sparta became a guiding paradigm of the *Neon Kratos* (Carabott 2003, 30–31; Ploumidis 2016, 64). Notions of anti-individualism and collectivism were bundled into this devotion to the State which was to represent all classes and groups, serving only the national interest (Sarandis 1993, 151).

Even though the past was omnipresent in Metaxas' *Weltanschaung* (Carabott 2003, 33), the relationship to the past must be seen as selective, underdeveloped and opportunistic. For all its stated revolutionary potential, the Third Hellenic Civilization was more concerned with saving and protecting the bourgeois order (*astiko kathestos*) (Sarandis 1993, 167) rather than breaking with the past and forming a new societal vision. Metaxism rested on

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[76] Herzfeld (1986), Politis (1993), Kyriakidou-Nestoros (1978).

conservative values and institutions (Crown, Church, Family) without any of the radical modernism of, for example, Italian fascism. Where fascism looked to the future, the Third Hellenic Civilization looked to the past (Ploumidis 2016, 68,70).

Photography, Propaganda and Metaxism

Metaxist propaganda in print, film and photographs made great efforts to show the enthusiasm of the people and particularly the peasants for Metaxas, recalling the mystical bond between the Leader and his People (Petrakis 2011, 58, 103–4). In the regime's film and newsreel propaganda, the peasants alongside the workers are the heroes of the *Neon Kratos*, embodying the state's ideology. The land was also extolled as the source of power of the Greek Nation and the Metaxas regime, thus linking the rural to the nationalist tenets of the regime (Petrakis 2011, 112). Metaxas is the star of many of these films, boosting the leadership cult that surrounded him. He identifies and is identified with the workers, the peasants, the poor whom he saved from the troubles of the past. Overlaying this calculated image-making is the harmonious relationship between Barba-Yiannis–Metaxas' nickname–and his children, the people of Greece (Petrakis 2011, 114–15).

This façade of mutual love between Metaxas and the peasants was also captured by the regime's photographic propaganda. Natalie Patricia Soursos (2018) performed a comparative study of the regime's official propaganda books and brochures with the photographic albums that were given to Metaxas as gifts by mayors, businessmen and photographers amongst others. In both the private albums and in brochures such as *Fourth of August 1938–39* (*Τετάρτη Αυγούστου 1938–1939*), the photographs convey and heighten the bond between the regime–symbolized by Metaxas–and the countryside. As Soursos notes, photography played a prominent role in the printed propaganda of the regime, both in the tourist publications such as *En Grèce*[77] and in the fascist youth organization's (*Ethniki Organosi Neolaias*, EON) magazine *Η Νεολαία* (2018, 513–14). Cinema and photography were also touted as successful indoctrination tools by EON itself (Petrakis 2011, 79).

The use of photographic collage in the Metaxas regime's brochures is noteworthy. Collages of the dictator's visits to the countryside could portray Metaxas as superhuman, with

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[77] Published in three languages: French, English (*In Greece*) and German (*In Griechenland*). Eight issues between 1937-1939 and 1948. I will be using the term *En Grèce* as an umbrella term for all versions of the magazine, unless I am referring to a specific version.

the adoring crowd at his feet, reinforcing the idea that Metaxas was loved by the farmers and that he loved them back. Such images performed the key function of fostering a collective Greek identity. It brought together not only Metaxas with the people–particularly the peasants–but also Metaxas with the viewer of these images. Collage was a modern technique for Greek audiences at the time, one that could succinctly impress the idea of the collective on the viewer. At the same time, these images and collages provided visual cover for the regime's claims that the people were firmly behind it (Soursos 2018, 519, 521). Moreover, as Soursos points out, such use of the collage technique has a clear precedent in fascist Italy and fascist aesthetics, although the Greek version was of lesser quality (ibid).

Photography was also very important for the visualization of Metaxas' Greece for foreign audiences. In its tourism promotion, the regime could again link ancient Greece to modern Greece, engaging on the one hand in established patterns of affirming Greece's Western pedigree while on the other hand exhibiting the chauvinism of Greek superiority that was a feature of Metaxas' regime (Zacharia 2014, 194). Nelly's featured prominently in Metaxas' Greek tourism promotion. The ancient past also functioned as a lure for foreigners, tapping into long-standing traditions of foreign visitors coming to Greece to experience the classical legacy up close, as a place 'where past and present organically coexisted' (Zacharia 2014, 198).

In her analysis of touristic publications of the Sub Ministry of Press and Tourism, Zacharia (2014) has shown how the tourism policies of the Metaxas regime reflected the general ideological attachment to antiquity. The fashion magazine *La Mode Grecque*, which was promoting Greek fashion and fashion houses, was also constructing a new national aesthetic that drew visible links to the classical past as well as to traditional folk costumes (Zacharia 2014, 192). Nelly's was a recurring photographer in this magazine. The regime's tourism magazines targeted an elite foreign clientele while at the same time formulating an aspirational indigenous aesthetic. Within the fashion magazines, photography visualizes a modern Greek identity linked to antiquity through fashion, thus depicting a performative atavism. In Zacharia's phrasing, Nelly's photographic juxtapositions of ancient Greek statues with the models wearing classically inspired gowns and dresses would 'ram the new aesthetic home' (Zacharia 2014, 192).

Crucially, photography is an optimal medium for the compression of time that the Metaxas regime was attempting in these images. Disparate time periods, social conditions

and aesthetics can be neatly melded into a two-page magazine spread. Ancient Greek religious statuary standing in for the ancient past, can be equated to Greek and European consumer fashion aesthetics of the mid-1930s, while at the same time using this artificial parallelism as evidence of the historical continuity of Hellenism. Nelly′s was an important contributor to this visualization of Greece. Photography makes these tenuous linkages even more potent as it collapses the three-dimensional world into a two-dimensional image, obscuring precisely the temporal and material differences between statuary and models wearing classically inspired modern clothes. This might be a fitting analogy for the Metaxist use of the past, flattening the past into a usable, compacted device. As Machaira has noted, the ahistoricity of Metaxas ideology was a feature and not a bug of its ideological edifice (1987, 177–78).

Ellinikotita

A main tenet of the Metaxist appropriation of the ancient Greek legacy was that the spirit of the past would imbue modern Greece with the power to become a modern spiritual, cultural power. At the same time, *ellinikotita* as formulated by the Metaxist state, was raised as a banner against Europeanism, rendering *ellinikotita* into an anti-Europeanism, adding another 'anti-' to the long list of anti-liberalism, anti-parliamentarism, anti-communism etc. of the Metaxas regime (Machaira 1987, 38). The debates surrounding *ellinikotita* were not new and had been part of the intellectual ferment of the 1930s, as well of earlier years (Hamilakis 2007, 174; cf. Tziovas 1989). In particular, Periklis Yiannopoulos' writings on aesthetic nationalism and the quest for a uniquely Greek aesthetic, bound to the Greek landscape had set the stage for subsequent explorations of *ellinikotita* (Leontis 1995, 73, 85). As Leontis points out, Yiannopoulos' influence grew during the Metaxas era, informing not only conservative but also modernist debates. The year 1938 was a highpoint of Yiannopoulos-mania as two major literary journals, *Ta Nea Grammata* and *Neoellinika Grammata*, dedicated whole issues to Yiannopoulos' work and to the commentary of it (Leontis 1995, 117).

How does Nelly's imagery fit into the cultural landscape of *ellinikotita*? Her stay in Athens (1924-1939) up until her departure for the USA places her squarely within the era of the 'generation of the Thirties'. Nelly's was never part of this movement and makes no mention of the 'generation' in her autobiography or in subsequent statements. She did, however, photograph at least one member of this generation, the painter Yiannis Tsarouchis,

at the second Delphic Festival in 1930.[78] The image, which survives in Nelly's archive, shows Tsarouchis dressed as a shepherd from the island of Skyros. This image is part of a series of images that Nelly's took of other urban intellectuals dressing up in traditional garb. These photographs show Aggeliki Hatzimichali (who oversaw an exhibition of traditional artefacts at the Festival) dressed up in Sarakatsani dress, and the author and poet Athina Tarsouli in dress from Trikeri Piliou (Nelly's 1989, 118, 122).

That Nelly's does not mention the Thirties generation is not surprising. This omission follows a pattern of her hardly ever acknowledging outside influences. Nevertheless, other more important factors stood in the way of Nelly's photography being considered an expression of *ellinikotita*. A major factor is that the status of photography in Greek cultural discourse was very low at the time. Artistic photography was still in its nascence in interwar Greece, lacking serious aesthetic and theoretical foundations, although exceptions such as Nelly's did exist. Critical reception of photography reflected this trend as well, tending to view photography in a negative light. The critic Pavlos Melas in 1929 wrote that good photography is only slightly better than bad painting (I. Papaioannou 2014, 172–73), while in the same year the photographic journal *Photografikon Deltion* opined that a photographer was merely photochemically transferring the geometry of the world unto paper, without being able to imbue it with any artistry or soul (ibid). The dismissive attitude of Greek critics towards photography stemmed from the lack of an aesthetic language with which to engage photography as art as well as a lack of a dynamic artistic photographic production (I. Papaioannou 2014, 172).[79] Based on these attitudes towards photography, it is unsurprising that photography in general and Nelly's photography in particular were never even considered as an artistic medium through which to express *ellinikotita*.

It is only with hindsight and the distance of more than half a century that connections between Nelly's and *ellinikotita* have been made. Iraklis Papaioannou notes that although Nelly's did not find a place in the literary and artistic canon of *ellinikotita,* her landscape photography is firmly within the discovery of the Aegean and of the Greek landscape in

[78] Tsarouchis himself recalled meeting Nelly's and having his picture taken by her in Delphi during the second Delphic Festival (Tsarouchis 1987).
[79] A similar insecurity towards photography took hold in Europe in the mid-nineteenth century, as photographic technology was first invented and developed (I. Papaioannou 2014, 172).

general as a national *topos*. Papaioannou singles out Nelly's images from Santorini, shot between 1925-1930, as illustrative of the turn towards the Aegean and the blinding light of Greece in the interwar years (I. Papaioannou 2014, 200–201, 208).

In Nelly's images sea, land and light blend with the true Greeks, the people of the countryside, 'lend[ing] visual content to the idea of Greece', as Eirene Boudouri observes (1996, 13). Although this observation is particularly valid for Nelly's tourism photography, Nelly's images from her tours of the countryside were instrumental in establishing the first visual, photographic symbols of Hellenism (Boudouri 1996, 13). Indeed, much of Nelly's work for the touristic promotion of Greece could be viewed as the discovery of Greek landscape in photography. Papaioannou sees Nelly's as the unofficial starting point of Greek landscape photography, following–sometimes quite literarily–in the footsteps of Frederic Boissonnas (I. Papaioannou 2014, 200, 202; Stathatos 1997b, 33). To borrow from Artemis Leontis work (1995), Nelly's landscape photography (*topiografia* in Greek) is an instance of 'the writing of a (common)place', of *topography* (1995, 3) contributing to the visual formation of the homeland, involving both the physical terrain and its people. Thus, Nelly's images broadly express the ideas of *ellinikotita* put forth by the generation of the Thirties. Her photographic gaze turns towards the landscape, the light, the sea as well as towards the people of the countryside and their traditions. All are elements of the search for an indigenous Greekness, rooted in tradition and in an idea of diachronic Hellenism (Tziovas 1989, 42, 74, 77, 81, 118).

Nelly's images of antiquity also offer us insights into her photography's negotiation of *ellinikotita*. Nelly's had a keen eye for photographing ancient architecture and statuary, as well as a keen eye for comparing ancient statuary to modern rural Greeks. The diachronic link between ancient Greece and modern folk tradition is visually manifested in Nelly's photography and collages. As Papaioannou incisively notes, the seeds of this sort of historical-racial parallelism in which Nelly's engages were laid out most forcefully by Periklis Yiannopoulos decades earlier:

> '…the body's lines and the cuts of the fabric, we similarly find it on every Sunday dressed peasant woman. […] The beauty of the marble human (ανθρώπου) cannot be seen and cannot be comprehended and cannot be explained, without approaching the physical body of today, meaning that of the peasant.' (quoted in Papaioannou 2014, 151)

By examining Nelly's photography of the ancient Greek legacy writ large, I argue that although Nelly's *ellinikotita* shares many commonalities with the indigenous Hellenism of the Generation of the Thirties, Nelly's *ellinikotita* owes much as well to a conservative conception of Hellenism that is strongly rooted in antiquity. Nelly's is untouched by the debates around *ellinikotita* and the search for a Greek cultural identity that was uniquely Greek yet not only tied to antiquity. This is also the great paradox of Nelly's work and its subsequent canonization. Nelly's images of Greece are clearly indebted to a Western gaze, owing particularly to her German artistic education (Skarpelos 2011, 85–86; Panayotopoulos 2009). Yet, Greece's cultural relationship to Europe is unexamined by Nelly's, putting her at odds with the debates around *ellinikotita* in the 1920s and 1930s. The centrality of ancient Greece to modern Greece is taken for granted while her interest in rural tradition–another defining characteristic of *ellinikotita*–is premised on an exoticized aestheticization. The quest for *ellinikotita's* unique Greekness is outside Nelly's photographic frame. Her partial image of Greece elides the important cultural debate going on in Greece in the interwar years, in favour of her own 'lyrical nationalism' (Petsini 2016a, 272).

The German connection

Nelly's images visualizing an unbroken Hellenism rooted in antiquity and the rural also served a useful role in the Metaxas regime's relationship to Nazi Germany. This is illustrated by the use of Nelly's images in *Unsterbliches Hellas* (1938), a joint propaganda publication of the Metaxas and the German Nazi regimes in which Nelly's images were used to show that Hellas was undying. In the next section I will take a closer look at this publication, which has received scant scholarly attention. I start off however by examining Nelly's own relationship to Germany.

Nelly's was well acquainted with Germany. In the early 1920s she had studied Dresden, where her visual language was influenced by German interwar aesthetics, particularly her concern with the body and its movement through dance (Boudouri 1997; Damaskos 2008; Katsari 2013). The German connection continued after Nelly's established herself in Athens. Her autobiography tells us that in 1937 she made a trip to Germany with her husband. It is described as a professional development trip as she wanted to learn colour photography as well as documentary filmmaking, with which '[i]n Germany, at that time, [they] were doing wonderful work' (Nelly's 1989, 171). Might this be an allusion to Leni

Riefenstahl and her filmmaking? Nelly's makes no mention of Riefenstahl in the autobiography, but much has been made of the two women's overlap aesthetically and in real life (Damaskos 2008, 332–34; Katsari 2013, 18–21). Based on oral testimony given by Nelly's to Nikos Paisios in 1996, Boudouri (2003, 27) and Zacharia argue that the two women might have met in Olympia for the lighting of the Olympic flame in 1936 (2015, 245). Damaskos recounts that Nelly's claims she met Riefenstahl in Berlin during the Olympic Games of 1936 but sees this as potentially inaccurate (2008, 332).[80] As Damaskos points out though, Riefenstahl and Nelly's both studied in Dresden in the period 1923-24. Riefenstahl was a student at the Mary Wigman School of Dance, some of whose students posed for Nelly's (Boudouri 1997, 20–23; Nelly's 1989, 56–59). Riefenstahl's own memoirs do not mention meeting Nelly's in Olympia (Riefenstahl 1994, 262-265). She mostly recounts her disillusionment with modern Greece and how it did not measure up to her expectations. Boudouri also claims that Nelly's and Riefenstahl met in Berlin the same year (1936) (2003, 27). Nelly's trip to Berlin in 1936 is curiously not mentioned in Nelly's autobiography although several images from the 1936 Olympics do exist in the Benaki archive.[81]

The people whom Nelly's did meet on her 1937 trip to Berlin are of interest, as some of them feature in *Unsterbliches Hellas*. Through Charilaos Kriekoukis, whom Nelly's describes as the Greek embassy's trade attaché, she managed to meet with Joseph Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda in the Third Reich. According to Nelly's, Kriekoukis knew Goebbels well. He also seems to have been on good terms with other high-ranking Nazi officials, such as Alfred Rosenberg, Nazi regime intellectual and leader of the Foreign Policy Office of the NSDAP.[82] Nelly's had brought two luxurious photographic albums with her to Germany intended as gifts for Goebbels and Adolf Hitler. The meeting with Goebbels took place at 'his mansion, one of the most elegant and beautiful [mansions] of Berlin'. The album was enthusiastically received

[80] As Nelly's claim is unsourced, we can only speculate about its provenance. Nelly's oral testimony to Paisios in 1996 seems to be a recurring piece of the Riefenstahl-Nelly's story.
[81] These are images from the stadium, taken from the seats. This information was confirmed by Aliki Tsirgialou, the head of the photographic department at the Benaki archive (Email communication, 25 May 2020).
[82] In his diary, Rosenberg recalls meeting with Kriekoukis, who had come to apologize for Goebbels' surprise trip to Athens in September 1936. Goebbels' trip caused some diplomatic and intra-Nazi contretemps (Matthäus and Bajohr 2015, 98–99). Rosenberg and Kriekoukis would also have had contact during their collaboration on the *Unsterbliches Hellas* (1938) book.

by Goebbels who said his wife would be delighted by the images of antiquities that they had so enjoyed on their trip to Greece.[83] Through Goebbels' introduction, Nelly's was able to get a tour of UFA, the German 'Hollywood', in order to study how documentaries were made (Nelly's 1989, 171).

Nelly's and her husband also watched the public fêting of Mussolini in the Berlin stadium on September 28, 1937. They received tickets from the Greek embassy that allowed them access to the press section behind the speakers' dais. Nelly's describes how the staging of the event turned night into day, transforming it into a 'enchanted place'. Seated so close to the dais, Nelly's and her husband could see both Hitler and Mussolini orating in the pouring rain. The images they took and the footage that they filmed on this trip do not survive however, since the Gestapo seized the film from the Souyioultzoglou couple's hotel room while they were staying in Hemelingen, close to Bremen (Nelly's 1989, 172).

In Nelly's archive at the Benaki we find several undated portraits of Nazi officials, likely photographed in her studio on Ermou St in Athens. Similar portraits of RAF officers are also found, photographed against the same light background. These were all clients of hers. Perhaps the portrait that stands out the most though is that of Adolf Hitler. Zacharia identifies this as a portrait that Nelly's made of Hitler, but this is a miss-attribution (Zacharia 2015, 245). The image is one of numerous official portraits of Hitler. A painted portrait of Hitler that seems to be based on this image was featured in a 1936 propaganda publication entitled *Adolf Hitler-Bilder aus dem Leben des Fuehrers.* A copy of Hitler's portrait such as that in Nelly's possession can be easily bought today on commercial websites (e.g. Getty Images). We are left wondering though–did she buy this portrait while she was in Germany? Was it given to her?

In 1938 *Unsterbliches Hellas* was published (fig. 73), a collaborative propaganda project of the Greek and German states, which emphasized the 'supposed Graeco–German racial relationship' (Roche 2018, 559).

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[83] Goebbels had visited Greece in September 1936. His diary entry describes great elation at being in Athens, particularly the time he spent on the Acropolis and walking the town. Goebbels like so many other foreign travellers to Greece is particularly taken by the Attic light. Goebbels made another trip to Greece in April 1939. See diary entries for 23 March 1936 and 1 April 1939 (Goebbels 2000, 987-988, 1316). See also Pelt (2001, 164). Goebbels' diary makes no mention of meeting Nelly's or receiving an album from her.

Figure 64. Cover of 'Unsterbliches Hellas', 1938. Library of the University of Crete.

The two men editing–and representing the two states–were Charilaos Kriekoukis, described in the book as press attaché at the Greek embassy in Berlin, and Karl Bömer, head of the

Foreign Press section at the German Propaganda Ministry and chief officer of the Foreign Affairs section of the NSDAP. The book is presented as a Festschrift for the National Kapodistrian University of Athens, which celebrated its centenary in 1937. Several academics and other prominent members of the Greek and German intelligentsia contributed texts to this volume, including Alexandros Filadelfeas, Nelly's good friend. As Kriekoukis (1938) informs us in his preface, this book is also supposed to contribute to the deepening of the cultural ties between Greece and Germany. The centenary of the University of Athens occasioned the first major manifestation of Metaxas' cultural nationalism (cf. Petrakis 2011). Apart from celebrating Hellenism and conveying the regime's ideology to the Greek intelligentsia and the general public, the anniversary was also an important diplomatic and propagandistic event. It became the venue where foreign governments–British, German, Italian and French–jostled for the protection of their economic and political interests in Greece. Germany went so far as to celebrate the centenary in Berlin, where it renamed the Rathausstraße into Griechische Allee on 23 April 1937.[84] During the celebrations in Athens, the British government announced the creation of the Byron Chair of English Institutions and Literature at the University of Athens (Petrakis 2011, 128–29, 132–33).[85]

As a reviewer in *Foreign Affairs* described it at the time, *Unsterbliches Hellas* was '[a]n enthusiastic picture by various German writers of life in the Greece of Metaxas' (Woolbert 1939, 639). This is correct to the extent that the volume expresses enthusiasm about life in Metaxas' Greece, but most of the authors are Greek and the enthusiasm extends to the past as well as to the present. The book's title gives the reader a direct indication that the underlying theme of this volume is the historical continuity of Hellenism, with a focus on its achievements in Metaxas' Greece. Alexandros Rizos Rangavis, the Greek ambassador to Berlin, defines the parameters of this discourse in his foreword, stressing the historical continuity of Hellenism through the Greek language and the importance of the Greek Church in nurturing 'the holy flame of the "Great Idea" through four centuries of enslavement' (1938, 6). Rizos Rangavis ends his foreword with a quote by Metaxas, highlighting the establishment

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[84] The Nazi state renamed other Berlin streets as part of its foreign diplomacy, such as Bulgarische Straße, formerly known as Parkstraße.

[85] The Koraes Chair of Modern Greek and Byzantine History, Language and Literature at King's College London was founded twenty years earlier in 1918, hinting at a reciprocal gesture.

of the Third Greek Civilization which is to be found in the soul of every Greek, the soul that has carefully preserved this 'Undying Greece' (1938, 7). A more explicitly racist discourse, prompted by National-Socialism, can also be detected in this foreword. Rizos Rangavis in the very first paragraph frames Greece as the place where Europe and Asia collide, where the sea, the land, the light and the vast air (quoting Sophocles, *Electra* 86) harmoniously mix, and where since prehistorical time people of the white race belonged (Rizos-Rangavis 1938, 5). It is therefore apparent that this volume is a collaborative project between the Nazi regime and a regime that inspired a cultural chauvinism based in Greek history which could also speak to a racist discourse.

Nelly's images make up eleven of the 172 images in the book. She is the most prominently used Greek photographer, although many of the era's important Greek photographers are also featured in the publication, such as the Megaloconomou brothers, Boukas, Zografos and Economides. Another notable photographer who contributed to the book was Walter Hege, who had previously co-authored two books with one of the contributing authors of *Unsterbliches Hellas*, the German archaeologist and president of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI), Gerhart Rodenwaldt. [86] Nelly's images are used as illustrations, acting as a visual companion to the text. Such images include views of the Parthenon, Hadrian's Arch in Athens, the Daphni monastery, the Titania cinema in Athens and a portrait of Marika Kotopouli.

It is a set of images on page 137 of the book that especially interests me (fig. 74). Nelly's parallelism project, the juxtaposition of ancient Greek statues and modern rural Greeks, illustrating the unbroken racial lineage of Hellenism, is the theme of this page. This parallelism features the head of a statue of a Lapith woman–Hippodameia?–from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, which is likened to the head of a rural woman from Hypati.

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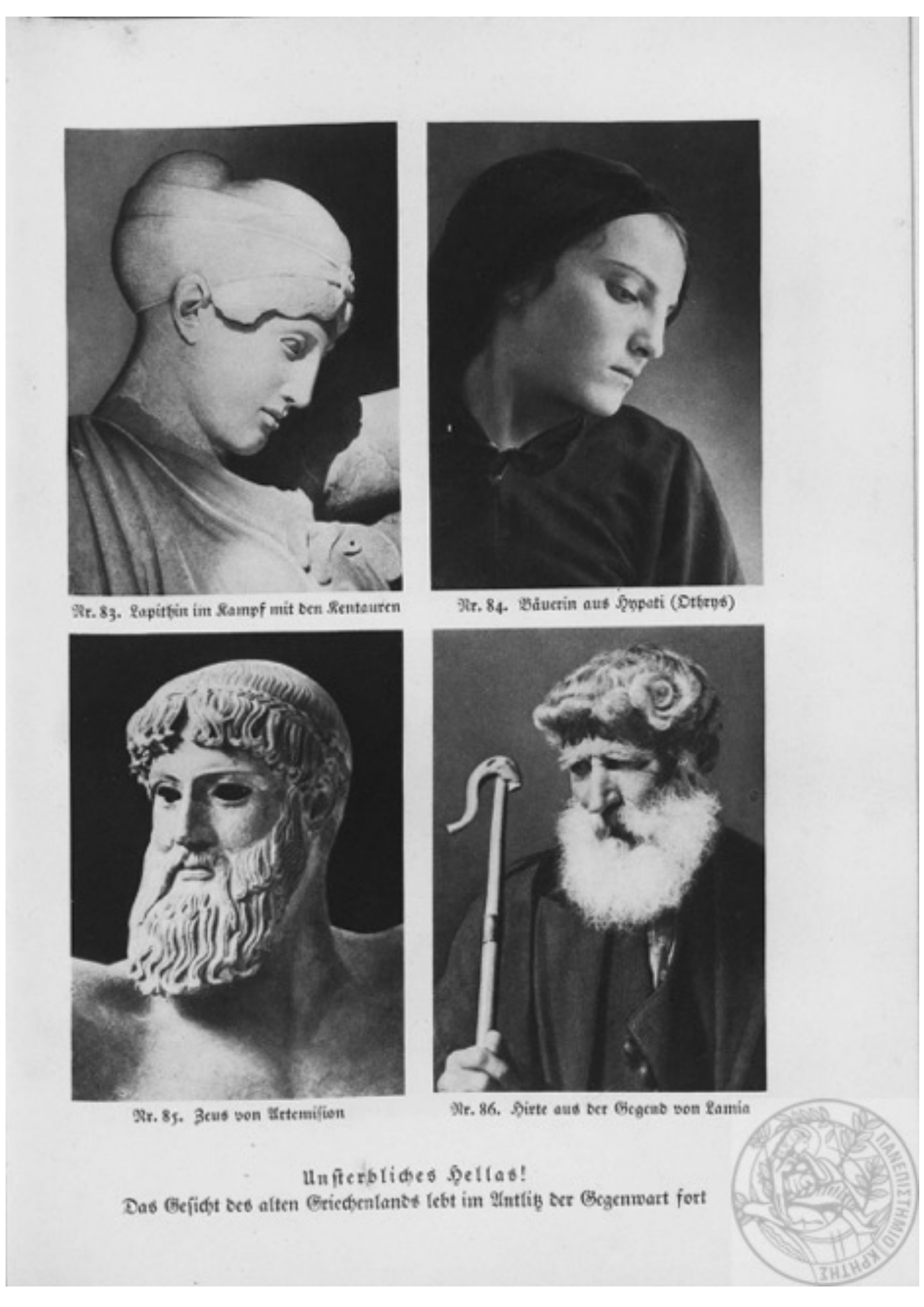
[86] *Akropolis* (1930) and *Olympia* (1937). These were both photobooks with images by Hege and text by Rodenwaldt. Walter Hege was a photographer who worked extensively in Greece and in Germany. He was an early member of the NSDAP (1930) and his images were often used by the Nazi regime for propaganda purposes. His role in the Nazi regime and his post-WWII legacy have been criticized by some (Kestel 1995), while others have chosen to see Hege's images as being appropriated by the Nazi regime (von Dewitz 1993, 12).


Nr. 83. Lapithin im Kampf mit den Kentauren

Nr. 84. Bäuerin aus Hypati (Othrys)

Nr. 85. Zeus von Artemision

Nr. 86. Hirte aus der Gegend von Lamia

Unsterbliches Hellas!

Das Gesicht des alten Griechenlands lebt im Antlitz der Gegenwart fort

ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΚΡΗΤΗΣ

Figure 65. Page 137 of 'Unsterbliches Hellas'. photographs by Nelly's. 1938. Library of the University of Crete.

Similarly, the Artemision Zeus is likened to a shepherd from the environs of Lamia (cf. pp. 230-233). The caption to this page makes the intention of this collage even more explicit:

'Undying Hellas!
The face of ancient Greece lives on in the visage of the present'
(Unsterbliches Hellas! Das Gesicht des alten Griechenlands lebt im Antlitz der Gegenwart fort)

The parallelism suite serves as illustration to a text about Greek folklore (Volkskunde), written by Professor Stilpon Kyriakidis from the University of Thessaloniki (1938). The text gives an overview of Greek ethnography (*laografia*), from ancient times up to the present, highlighting the special place that the study of folklore held in the modern Greek state, in proving the continuity of Hellenism through time. The text is a short history of the establishment of ethnography in Greece and its explicit connections to the nation-building project of the young Greek state. The debts to German authors such as Goethe and Wilhelm Müller, who studied, collected, and translated Greek folk songs, are acknowledged as well as the importance of Nikolaos Politis, whose studies in Munich influenced the formation of the academic discipline of ethnography in Greece. Kyriakidis's text ends with a rumination about the impossibility to resurrect the past, either ancient or Byzantine, and that Greece must create a new national Greek culture. The implication is that that new national culture has now arrived with the reign of Metaxas. Kyriakidis also draws attention to the double yoke of Turkish subjugation and 'the levelling influences of modern European culture' (dem nivellierenden Einflusse [sic] der modernen europäischen Kultur) (1938, 139) for the Greek people.

Kyriakidis' final rumination points to the Metaxist rhetoric of creating a new type of civilization, a uniquely Greek culture. The text is nevertheless suffused with the rhetoric of Hellenic continuity and the importance of using folk tradition to prove the modern Greeks' unbroken link to the ancients, while at the same time fending off attacks against Fallmerayer's heresies (Irrlehren) (Kyriakidis 1938, 135–36). Kyriakidis was heir to a staunch anti-Fallmerayer tradition. He saw ethnography as a national science, but he was not greatly concerned with the racial origins of modern Greeks. His was a historicist method, placing Hellenism's historical continuity within a cultural framework rather than a framework of racial superiority. Kyriakidis traced Hellenism's staying power to fourth-century BCE Macedonian Hellenism's syncretic qualities, of its capacity to Hellenize foreign subjects and cultures (Papataxiarchis 2017, 72–73).

Nelly's parallelism is an appropriate illustration for this text, although there is some dissonance between Kyriakidis's approach to historical Hellenism and that expressed in Nelly's images. Although the text and the image are both within the discursive boundaries of an unbroken historical Hellenism, they draw on slightly different sources and do not always speak to each other coherently. Nelly's parallelism draws a cultural line between ancient Greeks and modern Greeks through the statues, which are cultural artefacts. Therefore, Nelly's parallelism does speak to Kyriakidis's historicism. At the same time Nelly's images try to draw a racial, purely physiognomic line between the ancient statues and contemporary Greeks. Kyriakidis' text does not mention these images or any of the other illustrations. There is no direct dialogue between image and text, apart from them occupying the same discursive and physical space. The editors of the book might well have used Nelly's parallelism because it speaks to the ideology of racial and historical continuity that undergirds the ideology of Metaxism and Greek national ideology writ large, as well as Nazi Germany's appropriation of ancient Greece (cf. Chapoutot 2016).

Kostas Kotzias's text (1938) in the same volume, 'The Greek Youth through the Centuries', utilizes the same tripartite Greek historical scheme to show how Greek youth was educated throughout time and the importance of this education to keeping the Greek ideal alive. Noteworthy is Kotzias' focus on the strong, athletic body and the primacy given to beauty, both physical and spiritual. This body was implicitly male, as women are not mentioned in Kotzias's text. This emphasis dovetails with Nelly's own commitment to capturing beauty–which in turn might remind us of Riefenstahl's preoccupation with beauty and strength. This is a further instance of Nelly's aesthetics and motivations conversing effortlessly with the Metaxas regime's ideological positions on Hellenism and male bodily strength, which are in turn part of a greater conservative aesthetic tradition of the interwar years.[87]

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[87] Nelly's shares much is in this regard with Leni Riefenstahl's aesthetics of beauty and the strong human body. Mackenzie (2003) provides a thought-provoking analysis of Riefenstahl's aesthetics and particularly of her *Olympia* (1937) film, where he places the roots of Riefenstahl's aesthetics of the body in earlier cultural-conservative discourses of the 1920s and particularly within the Expressive Dance (Ausdruckstanz) movement. As a student in Dresden Nelly's was interested in modern dance–as expressive dance was called–and had photographed dancers from the Mary Wigman School of Dance (Boudouri 1997, 20–23), where Riefenstahl had studied.

In conclusion, the use of Nelly's photographs in *Unsterbliches Hellas* and in the previously discussed publications illustrates my main argument well. Via Nelly's visualization of Greece, Greeks can imagine belonging to each other, drawing on the symbolic resources of Greece's long history (cf. Smith 2008, 2009). The pre-modern mythical history of Greece can be placed in the homogenous, empty time of modern Greece's imagined community (Anderson 2006, 24–26). Nelly's photographs mediate the cultural memory of this long Greek history, a memory which fosters a form of collective Greek cultural identity built around an unbroken Hellenism (cf. Erll 2008; J. Assmann 2008). Importantly, Nelly's images simplify and make sense of an unbroken Hellenism within the confines of the present, doing so within a perception of linear, national time that characterizes the modern nation-state (Benjamin 2019). The unbroken continuity of the Greeks gains importance within the teleological vision of the Greek nation's progress through history, leading up to the present moment, be this Metaxas' Third Hellenic Civilization or post-*metapolitefsi* Greece (cf. Liakos 2008).

A victim of history?

Most scholarship on Nelly's has tended to avoid the question whether Nelly's images are ideological, narrowly focusing on the aesthetics of the photographer's work and her quest for depicting beauty in the world. Nelly's own admission that she has no politics[88]–itself a deeply political statement–has been sufficient for most non-academic commentators, who have elevated her photographs as works of art isolated from historical, political, and social concerns (see Karavia 1975; Trichon-Milsani 1990; Agrafiotis 1987). The earliest commentary on Nelly's, starting with her rediscovery in the mid-1970s and 1980s, is particularly lacking in curiosity about Nelly's ideological inclinations or even her implication in any ideological project. More recent scholarship has engaged with the ideas influencing her photography, particularly Nelly's interest in antiquity and the question of modern Greeks' unbroken lineage to ancient Greece.

Dimitris Damaskos (2008) has incisively explored the uses of antiquity in Nelly's work, tracing her approach to antiquity back to the aesthetic education she received in Germany in

[88] In her autobiography Nelly's states that she never took any political sides, apart from growing up to love Eleftherios Venizelos as an Asia Minor Greek (Nelly's 1989, 303). Yet, she willingly played to both sides, as she worked for the staunchly anti-Venizelist Metaxas regime.

the 1920s as well as the already present ancestor-worship of interwar Greece. Damaskos (2008) concludes that Nelly's idealization of beauty and the muscular body were elements already present in European and Greek intellectual circles, before this aesthetic was appropriated and made disreputable by fascist regimes. Whether ideological intent should be ascribed to Nelly's is left unexplored, although not dismissed. The argument is that Nelly's images were used by the dictatorial Metaxas regime, but we may not know of Nelly's intentions because we have limited material–autobiographical or otherwise–to guide our interpretation. Yet compared to other Greek photographers, Nelly's left behind a significant amount of archival material–newspaper clippings, correspondence–as well as her published autobiography. It is therefore possible for me to at least partly assess her intentions and ideas based on this archival material. Comparing Nelly's to German photographer and film director, Leni Riefenstahl–a common trope–Damaskos sees both women's aesthetics of muscular antiquity as extrinsic to their work and intentions. They were swept along by the artistic currents of the time. Nelly's or Riefenstahl's agency are markedly absent in this framework. Damaskos does not provide any clear answer on how we are to judge Nelly's imagery *today*, instead rhetorically acknowledging on the one hand the historical and political situation in which Nelly's photographs were made and on the other hand acknowledging that the continuity of Hellenism is to this day alive and well in the Greek public imaginary and therefore perhaps untouchable (Damaskos 2008, 334).

I agree with Damaskos (2008) that we must contextualize Nelly's photography within the historical era in which she lived, paying attention to the intellectual ferment of the interwar era, an era that elevated ideas of cultural and racial continuity. I also agree with Damaskos' assertion that the historical continuity of Hellenism is a topic of heated debate and emotion. This last point is manifest in the reception of Nelly's since the 1970s (cf. pp. 282-289). Critics and commentators elevate the aesthetical qualities of Nelly's work and positively comment on the historical continuities of Hellenism that Nelly's captures and creates in her images. The racial/cultural links between modern and ancient Greeks are taken for granted and not problematized. Any aspersions that might be cast on Nelly's, that relate to her work for the Metaxas regime, are fended off with arguments that centre Nelly's as an apolitical and somewhat naive artist, concerned primarily with capturing beauty in the world. Thus, these arguments draw from the same vein as common apologias of Riefenstahl do.

If we choose to see Nelly's images for the Metaxas regime simply as an aberration, as an unfortunate blemish on her career, we are missing a larger point that goes to the heart of Greek collective identity and self-understanding. I am referring to the credence given even today to the historical continuity of Hellenism. I argue that this stance hinders a richer critical assessment of Nelly's and her work. Since Nelly's mantle of national photographer rests to a great extent on this premise of Hellenic continuity, on her ability to capture the physical likenesses of the ancients in the rural Greeks of the early twentieth century, it is unsurprising that this framework of ideas has not been widely problematized.[89] A genuine engagement with Nelly's photography and its ideological position begins therefore with an examination of the intellectual and political climate in which Nelly's found herself during the interwar period. This will lead me to a more nuanced analysis of Nelly's reception and the dismissal of the political in that body of reception literature.

The scholarly avoidance of the political in Nelly's work has been noted elsewhere as well. Katsari remarks on how Damaskos sees Nelly's fascist aesthetic as unintentional and Nelly's as an apolitical figure (2013, 2). Zacharia comments on earlier critics and 'praise-singers' of Nelly's, keenly identifying the cult of beauty as the favoured argument of Nelly's champions (2015, 243). As I have pointed out, Damaskos (2008) too employs this same argument. What might a more critical approach to Nelly's look like then, and how can we best engage with the ideological aspects of her work?

Calling Nelly's aesthetic nationally and transnationally fascist as Katsari does (2013, 2) is both too broad and too narrow a description at the same time. On the one hand, it is too broad a label because ascribing a clear fascist ideology to Nelly's is difficult as we have too little direct evidence of Nelly's fascist ideation. On the other hand, the label is too narrow as it confines Nelly's to the various fascist or quasi-fascist aesthetics of the interwar years. I argue that Nelly's aesthetic finds fertile ground even in today's modern Greek cultural landscape, as it found fertile ground in the interwar era. Nelly's photography has resonated with appreciative audiences precisely because her aesthetic fits comfortably within accepted national myths of Hellenic historical continuity and cultural homogeneity. At the same time, the specific 'political and historical context of nationalist iconography is de-emphasised or

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[89] Cf. Damaskos (2008), Katsari (2013), Panayotopoulos (2009), Petsini (2016a), Zacharia (2014, 2015).

downright obliterated' (Zacharia 2015, 233) today, cutting any ties that might link Nelly's with the *specific* authoritarian regime of Metaxas. The nationalist myths with which Nelly's engaged coincided with fascist or fascist-adjacent ideas and states in the interwar period, but they were there already endemic in Greece and remained in place after the war. The contextual evidence, however, does point to Nelly's ascribing to racial thinking, particularly concerning Greek history (cf. p. 207).

It is nevertheless important to examine the ideological overlaps between Nelly's and the Metaxas regime as it ties into Nelly's reception after her rediscovery in the late 1970s. Nelly's close relationship to the Metaxas regime is borne out by her own autobiography and in the subsequent commentary on her work. Critical perspectives on this relationship are few and far between however and have only surfaced in the past decade.[90] This literature situates Nelly's within the machinery of the Metaxas regime, producing images that correspond to the desired iconography of the regime. In the body of work that Nelly's produced for the Metaxas regime, touristic imagery figures prominently. Although geared towards foreign consumption Nelly's touristic images achieved domestic importance as they legitimized the nationalist myths of the Metaxas regime and constructed this *heterotopia* of Greece, channelled through antiquities, landscapes and rural Greeks (Leontis 1995; Zacharia 2015).

One known portrait of Metaxas by Nelly's exists. In Nelly's archive at the Benaki, a clipping of an unknown US newspaper from the time of Greece's entry into World War II gives a short laudatory exposé of Metaxas accompanied by a 'new photograph of Gen. John Metaxas'. The image credit states Nelly's. Greek newspapers of the time rarely add an image credit line, so the US paper clipping provides a rare attribution of Nelly's picture. Nelly's archive at the Benaki is devoid of any attributed portraits of Metaxist politicians. Yet it is likely that more portraits of Metaxas and his circle by Nelly's exist but are not attributed. Zacharia has noted that attributed portraits of Minister of Press and Tourism Nikoloudis do not exist in Nelly's archive, although a couple of photographs attributed to Nelly's are preserved elsewhere (2015, 245).

As with Nelly's autobiography, the lack of such attributions might be the result of strategic omissions in her archive when it was handed to the Benaki, as mentioned at the

[90] See Panayotopoulos (2009), Katsari (2013), Zacharia (2014, 2015), Petsini (Petsini 2016a) and Kalantzis (2014, 2019).

beginning of this chapter. The deposition of Nelly's archive at the Benaki was part of her own personal canonization effort as much as it was part of the post-1970s creation of a Greek photographic canon. Forgetting was a vital aspect of the canonization process. Nelly's relationship to the Metaxas regime and her fascist-friendly aesthetics were silenced by ascribing an apolitical character to Nelly's and her work (Petsini 2016a, 267). As with the partial image of Greece that Nelly's visualizes, we are also left with an intentional and partial image of Nelly's, despite the large amounts of text that have been written about her.

Further evidence of Nelly's close relationship to the Metaxas regime is the work she did for EON, the fascist youth group beloved of Metaxas. This commission is not mentioned in her autobiography and is glossed over by most commentators. Examining her archive at the Benaki it is nevertheless apparent that EON was one of her clients, or rather the state was her client and used her images in EON publications. Zacharia (2015) seems to be the only scholar to have noticed this close connection and mentions the EON collage that is found in Nelly's archive (fig. 64). The images that make up this collage are also found in the archive. Images include EON youths giving the fascist Roman salute, their mass extending diagonally across the frame of the image. However, in contrast to the photographic collages of antiquity and modern Greek peasants which were exhibited at the 1939 World's Fair in NYC, the collage was not made by Nelly's.[91]

[91] This was pointed out to me by the Aliki Tsirgialou, the photographic archivist of the Benaki museum.

Figure 66. EON collage at the Greek Pavillion at the World's Fair in NYC. 1939. Benaki Museum.

Figure 67. EON parade during 4 August celebrations. Nelly's. 1936-1939. Benaki Museum.

Another image shows a column of young EON women wearing matching dark-coloured sports shorts and white polo shirts with the EON logo on the front parading in the Panathenaic stadium in Athens. The use of a telephoto lens accentuates the group's mass while the

stadium recedes into the background. A close-cropped image of uniformed EON members, holding a great number of EON flags–the Greek white and blue cross, with the Roman fasces and Minoan *pelekys* (double axe) in the middle, enclosed by a near-complete circle of laurels punctuated by the crown at the top. These images come perhaps closest to Nelly's aesthetic language resembling that of Leni Riefenstahl's movies *Der Sieg des Glaubens* and *Triumph des Willens*. This connection is borne out in the collage as well, where the background is dominated by waving EON flags, the fasces-*pelekys* combination clearly accentuated.

A noteworthy element is that the EON youth are all stern-faced, gaze raised upwards towards a new ideal world and the (self-proclaimed) ideal leader. In Nelly's archive though, this stoic stance is disrupted by a series of portraits of an EON member in the dark blue EON uniform, taken in an indoor setting (fig. 66).

Figure 68. Female EON member giving fascist Roman salute. Nelly's. 1936-1939. Benaki Museum.

Here, the EON member is laughing, clearly enjoying her moment as a photographic model. However, this might not be an EON member but Nelly's herself dressed up as an EON member. There is no indication of who this might be in the print book at the Benaki photographic archive. The similarities to the few images of Nelly's in her archive and those found in her autobiography[92] are nevertheless too strong to overlook. Furthermore, the model is too old to be an EON member as EON membership ended at 25 years old (Ploumidis 2010, 2). Nelly's would have been in her mid to late thirties at this point, aligning with the age of the depicted EON model. In addition, the quality of this portrait does not live up to the high professional standards of Nelly's portraiture. The EON model's left hand is awkwardly cropped at its fingertips, the wall moulding in the background distractingly dissects the model's head while the two-tone background is interrupted by various shadows caused by the light sources directed at the model. Comparing this to Nelly's portraiture inside and outside her studio, I suggest that this image was not taken by Nelly's herself and that the EON member is Nelly's herself role-playing as an EON member.

The juxtaposition of the fascist salute with the light-hearted nature of the EON member/role-playing Nelly's, set against the rather drab-looking wall, demystifies the disciplinary ethos of Metaxist fascism. It offers up what Walter Benjamin called the 'the spark of chance' (Benjamin 1972, 7), of contingency, that upsets the intention of the photographer and the commissioner of this image. This image was perhaps not intended for publication, for how is the viewer to take Metaxism seriously when the youth, the future of the *Neon Kratos* and one of its most potent symbols, is depicted in a dingy room and is not taking this new ideal politics all that seriously? Yet, this might also be its intended effect, showing the youth's happiness and freedom under Metaxas's rule, thus affirming its ideology.

Nelly's personal relationship to the Metaxas regime is apparent but not elaborated on by herself or others, as Zacharia (2016), too, has noted. When Nelly's does mention the Metaxas regime and goes so far as to call it a dictatorship, it is in relation to the commission to produce photographs for the Greek Pavilion at the NYC World's Fair in 1939. Nelly's recounts that travel permits and foreign currency were hard to come by in that period and that they had not originally planned to travel to the USA, even if they had wanted to.

[92] See images in Nelly's (1989) pp. 210–12, 214, 274. I thank my examiners, Philip Carabott and Alexandra Moschovi, for bringing this to my attention. Up to this day, my efforts at getting clarity about the identity of the EON member have not been conclusive.

Professional obligations towards the Sub Ministry of Press and Tourism kept her in Greece (Nelly's 1989, 173). However, a fateful phone call one summer afternoon changed everything. The secretary of the Finance Minister Andreas Apostolidis had called Nelly's requesting a photoshoot for the next day. During the photoshoot Nelly's 'dares to mention' (1989, 178) her wish to go to New York for the World's Fair. Apostolidis promised to arrange a travel permit after he returned from a government trip to Corfu. A few days later Apostolidis called to inform Nelly's that they could travel to the USA (Nelly's 1989, 173–78).

This passage highlights Nelly's close proximity to the centre of power in the Metaxas regime. She has the connections but also strategically downplays them using the phrase 'dares to mention' as if to suggest it was not entirely appropriate to mention her desire to travel on this particular occasion. Known friendships or acquaintances of Nelly's in the Metaxas regime include: Theologos Nikoloudis (Minister of Press and Tourism), Andreas Apostolidis (Minister of Finance) and Kostas Kotzias (Minister for Athens and one of the most prominent Metaxists). Furthermore, Nelly's was related to Spyros Malaspinas, MP for the Cyclades, through her sister's marriage to him. Malaspinas was good friends with the Minister of Education under Metaxas, Konstantinos Georgakopoulos, as well as the Deputy Minister of Cooperatives Babis Alivizatos.[93] Nelly's was Athenian high-society's photographer and throughout her career she had an impressive roster of clients, thus placing her close to the centre of Metaxist power.

In the following section I will explore Nelly's engagement with antiquity, one of the two major themes in her visualization of a Greek cultural-historical collective identity.

Antiquities

Nelly's archive contains 1600 photographic negatives depicting ancient monuments, artifacts, and statuary. Most of the images are from the Acropolis and the two important archaeological museums of the city, the Acropolis Museum and the National Archaeological Museum. The Acropolis was one of the first places she documented with her camera after arriving in Athens and it became a recurring theme in her photography. Her images from the Acropolis document the various stages of restoration taking place there, well into the 1930s. Delphi,

[93] Nelly's (1987, 6; 1989, 178, 184), Zacharia (2015, 244), "Γενική Γραμματεία Νομικών και Κοινοβουλευτικών Θεμάτων | ΜΕΤΑΞΑ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ" n.d.

Olympia–a place she would return to often in the 1930s–and other important sites are also included in these 1600 images (Boudouri 2003, 19–20).

Photographing antiquity was a personal pursuit of Nelly's. Although she did sell her images of antiquities as postcards in her studio, she was never tasked by any museum or other institution to photograph antiquities. Neither does Nelly's herself mention that she was commissioned by anyone to photograph antiquities. Furthermore, she was never granted a license for the commercial exploitation of her images of antiquity, which would have allowed her to sell these images in museum gift shops. Selling postcards in museums was a state monopoly. The Greek Archaeological Society was possibly a central player in the choice of the photographers allowed to sell their images in museums, since the Society itself produced postcards for the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. Amongst the photographers listed by the Archaeological Society, Nelly's name is absent (see Boudouri 2003, 19, 21, nn. 43 & 56).

Nelly's was concerned that her images of the dancer Mona Paiva posing nude on the Acropolis might anger conservative members of the archaeological establishment and hinder her professional prospects (Boudouri 2003, 20–21). As Karali has documented, Nelly's concern was rooted in her desire to receive state commissions–particularly for tourism–which might have been jeopardized by the uproar surrounding Mona Paiva on the Acropolis. Indeed, Ioannis Damvergis, an influential conservative member of the predecessor of EOT was particularly outraged at the nude Paiva, as evidenced by his letters to the press. This might have caused Nelly's understandable concern. Karali points out though that Nelly's did not seem to suffer any consequences, since her work for the state grew throughout the 1920s and 1930s (Karali 2013, 80–81 & n. 65).

Through her close friend Alexandros Filadelfeas, Nelly's had secured permission to photograph artifacts and sculpture at the Acropolis Museum and the National Archaeological Museum, but not the right to publish these images. This is partly illustrated by the following example. Filadelfeas, a prominent archaeologist and director of both museums, published his *Monuments d'Athènes* (1930) but included only one image by Nelly's, that of Mona Paiva. The most prominent photographer in that volume was Nikos Zografos, who was one of the 'official' photographers connected to the Archaeological Society (Boudouri 2003, 20–21).

Nelly's images of antiquity were circulated by herself, sold at her studio or in the case of the Second Delphic Festival in 1930–where she was the exclusive photographer–sold on

site. The postcards from the Second Delphic Festival are marked with the Greek letter Delta on the back. Nelly’s had her own booth–or even booths–at the Delphic Festival to sell her images (fig. 67, 68). Two images from her archive depict this booth which had staggered, step-like sides reminiscent of the stage that the Sikelianoi built for the performances at the ancient theatre of Delphi (fig. 69, 70).

Figure 69. Booth selling Nelly's photographs during Second Delphic Festival. Nelly's. 1930. Benaki Museum.

Figure 70. Booth selling Nelly's photographs during Second Delphic Festival. Nelly's. 1930. Benaki Museum.

Figure 71. Stage of Second Delphic Festival during rehearsals. Nelly's. 1930. Benaki Museum.

Figure 72. Stage of Second Delphic Festival during rehearsals. Nelly's. 1930. Benaki Museum.

The majority of her images of antiquity were nonetheless published in state touristic publications such as *En Grèce.* It is important to note that during the Metaxas dictatorship, the publications' images depicting antiquity declined over time, shifting the emphasis over to folk tradition, landscapes, rural Greeks, and the medieval Greek tradition. This trend reflected the Metaxas regime's wish to stress the diachronic history of Hellenism. The publication also strove to link the Greek light and the land(scape) to the creation of Greek art and the uniqueness of Greece. Images of antiquity and particularly Nelly's images of antiquity and her 'parallelisms' were used as vehicles to link past with present (cf. Morris-Suzuki 2005, 22–23, 78, 86), visualizing the ideology of the Metaxist state and establishing an iconography of Greece (Boudouri 2003, 22–24, 1996, 17; Zacharia 2015).

Steadfast images, spurious likenesses

The publication of Nelly's images of antiquities in state tourism publications (1937-1939) is an important element in analysing Nelly's conception of Greekness. Nelly's collages of diachronic

Hellenism with a cultural-racial flavour were a product of her work for the state–especially Metaxas' state as we saw in *Unsterbliches Hellas,* but not exclusively. They also expressed Nelly's own idealized and aestheticized notions of Greekness. That she was selected as a photographer for the state can to some extent be credited to her ability to give visual content to Greece, based on the national myth of unbroken Hellenism. This selection clearly foregrounds Nelly's Western gaze on Greece, which accentuated the classical past and a consumable, picturesque tradition. In turn this foregrounds the fact that Nelly's visualization of a cultural-historical Greek collective identity was indebted to this same Western gaze.

The parallelism project is emblematic of Nelly's conception of Greekness and to an extent of the intellectual search for *ellinikotita* in the interwar years. Nelly's recounts in her autobiography that the seeds of the parallelism project were planted when she photographed the old shepherd in Ypati and was struck by the likeness of this shepherd to the ancient Greek god Zeus (Nelly's 1989, 112). In a 1994 interview for the television programme *Monogramma* on ERT, Nelly's has a different take on the inspiration for the parallelism images. There she says that the impetus for the project came from her reaction to an article in the *Times of London* newspaper that claimed that the modern Greeks were not descendants of the ancient Greeks but descended from 'the gypsies, the Albanians and such races (*ratses* in Greek)'. She was outraged at this claim and set out to prove through her photography that Greeks were indeed the descendants of the ancient Greeks. To set the record straight, Nelly's goes on to say, she printed and paid for thousands of posters of her parallelism collage from the NY World's Fair 'so that we could paste them everywhere, so that they could see that even the shepherds in the mountains had the ancient features'.[94] Here we find a clear example of Nelly's racial thinking about Greek history.

The anxiety over the modern Greeks' ancestry is as old as the formation of the modern Greek state. Jacob Filipp Fallmerayer's (1790-1861) claim that the modern Greeks are not descended from the ancient Greeks but are the result of intermixing of various Balkan ethnic groups, particularly Albanians, is something of an original sin in this debate (Trubeta 2013, 154–55; see also Skopetea 1999). This anxiety was part of modern Greece's search for a national identity in a post-Ottoman world, where one aspect of dealing with the Ottoman

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[94] Ca. minute 23:57 in the interview (https://archive.ert.gr/6643/, last accessed 09/09/2022).

legacy was negotiating Greek relationships to the other Balkan nations. A hegemonic, assimilatory Hellenism was seen as the answer to this search for identity (Trubeta 2013, 153–54). We could view this anxiety as part of a broader anxiety about Greece's place within Europe. If Greece's claim to firmly be part of Europe rests on modern Greece descending from ancient Greece, the wellspring of European civilization, then any attacks on this historical legacy amount to heresy. Therefore, Nelly's account of her outrage at the *Times'* article is an embodiment of national mythmaking, allowing her to assume the role of defender of Hellenism in the face of external danger.

Significantly, this story was recounted in 1994 and in a very particular way. Nelly's is clearly dismissive of the possibility that non-Greek nations or ethnicities intermixed with the Greeks throughout the centuries. '[T]he Albanians and such races' is particularly loaded as Nelly's uses the term *ratses*, which carries clear biological connotations. The language used to describe race and nations or ethnic groups in Greek are often the same, creating an ambiguous and polysemic situation. *Phyli, genos* and *ethnos* are more commonly used to refer to the communality of Greeks. Hamilakis argues that 'nation' is the better translation for these three terms in the Greek context. Race would be misrepresentative in Hamilakis' view since race is a term closely linked to western racial theories rooted in European colonialism, a trajectory which Greece did not historically share. These three terms do change with the historical context though, particularly in the Metaxas era when European racial ideas were influential (Hamilakis 2007, 171 n. 5). In the case of *phyli* the national associations preceded any racial associations (Trubeta 2013, 151) 'while cultural, linguistic, religious and biological components appeared to be merged in both nation and race' (Trubeta 2013, 159). While *phyli* was used in political, public, and scientific language, *ratsa* (related to the Italian *razza*) was a term that became popular in the twentieth century and from the 1930s onwards had connotations to National Socialism (ibid).

Situating this language on race in the interwar years, *phyli* had become commonplace, complicating its meaning and uses (Avdela 2017, 21). The scientific Greek *phyletismos*, the study of the *phyli*, was mostly moderate, ascribing the superiority of the Greek race to geoenvironmental causes rather than biological determinants (Avdela 2017, 24). As Papataxiarchis notes, race has always hidden behind the nation in Greece (Papataxiarchis 2017, 48). Greek anthropology, born as a 'national science' in the early twentieth century, had been greatly concerned with the creation of national, communal identity and used race

as a key aspect in this search for identity (Papataxiarchis 2017, 56; Trubeta 2013). If we look towards the academic influences in Greece during the interwar period, German scholarship looms large. Consequently, the spread of German eugenics and Social Darwinism became important (Avdela 2017, 23; Papataxiarchis 2017, 56). Even within discourses on art, race was widely accepted as an interpretative framework in 1930s Greece, to make sense of the historical continuity of Hellenism. Within folklore studies, the well-known folklorist Aggeliki Hatzimichali spoke about Greek folk art as being 'ce produit naturel de la race' (quoted in Mathiopoulos 2017, 399). Linking this back to my earlier discussion on Periklis Yiannopoulos, it is unsurprising that the 30s Generation attached themselves to a unique, diachronic Hellenism in art, interpreted through the lens of the *phyli* (Mathiopoulos 2017, 398).

Nelly's use of *ratses* in the 1994 interview is an expression of two things. On the one hand, it expresses Nelly's socialization in the interwar years, a period when racial interpretations of the Greek nation and Hellenism were accepted. On the other hand, it expresses the staying power of such interpretative frameworks in Greece well into the twentieth century. While in most of the world, the experience of WWII made race unacceptable as a heuristic device in scientific as well as public discourse, in Greece the historical, racial continuity of Hellenism survived as an acceptable interpretative framework. Public intellectuals such as Georgios Theotokas evolved into semi-apologists of Greek racial continuity in the post-WWII world (Mathiopoulos 2017, 402–5). As Sevasti Trubeta (2013) shows in her study of physical anthropology in Greece, despite the failure of the discipline to establish itself in Greek academia, the discipline's underlying ideas tracing Greek ancestry on biological-genetical grounds have not been discredited in academia or in wider society. Trubeta argues that a latent 'racial nationalism' is often still at work, which she defines as 'a discourse that has been shaped in the interface of scientifically legitimate racial anthropological knowledge and its popular perception. As scientific racism, it is a form of populism 'from above' (Trubeta 2013, 290). It is within this context that we need to evaluate Nelly's imagery both in its creation and its use. The images' uses before 1939 and after 1975 operate within the confines of this racial nationalism, particularly in relation to the overlap of images dealing with the countryside and antiquity.

I will now offer an illustrative example of the confluence of racial nationalism, Nelly's images and the formation of popular attitudes towards Greek ancestry. In the article 'The eternal Greek race' from April 14, 1938 published in the daily newspaper *O Typos*, the author

identified only as ‘S.’[95] discusses how the modern Greeks look like their ancient ancestors.

> ‘Our race/nation (*phyli*) perpetuated the most characteristic aspects of the immortal Greek type, which hardly differs at all from the age in which the artists of antiquity were inspired by the living forms of beauty and would present them to us in works of the chisel or in paint.’ (Σ. 1938)

The reader is also told that it would be wrong to think that the group of female statues called Korai from the Acropolis–referring to the Caryatids–do not look like the modern Greek woman. ‘[W]e would find that the younger *kore*, despite all the intervening centuries, holds within her the blood of her ancient ancestor’. The article continues in this way, drawing parallels between the modern Greeks resemblance to the ancient Greeks making sure to stress that all social classes in Greece hold within them the seed of antiquity, young as well as old.

Most of the article is devoted to the opinion of Alexandros Filadelfeas, director of the National Archaeological Museum, whom the article’s author refers to as a ‘sage archaeologist (αρχαιοδίφης)[…]the only appropriate [authority] to answer’ the question of Greek ancestry. According to Filadelfeas the eternal Greek race throughout the centuries preserved its language, customs, national consciousness, and its physique. He does not shy away from pointing out that things have changed though. Just as the Greek language has been corrupted and deteriorated, so ‘the type of our *phyli* shed that classical purity, which all of the civilized world admires in the immortal monuments of antiquity’. Despite the mixing of other peoples with the Greeks, Filadelfeas argues that even today, examples of ancient beauty can be found throughout Greece. Filadelfeas claims that the islands are particularly good places to observe this likeness to the ancients and particularly amongst women who live a more comfortable life and take care of their bodies. What the connection between ancient verisimilitude and bodily care might be is left unsaid.

The article ends with a suggestion by Filadelfeas to conduct a study that photographically compares modern Greek men and women to ancient Greek statuary.

[95] This article was not part of Nelly’s own newspaper clippings. I thank N. Paissios for bringing this article to my attention.

Studies searching for traces of antiquity in language, music and folk customs were common, therefore a study of physique should also be done. This would be artistically important and of ‘national benefit’. An album comparing the Hermes of Praxiteles, the Caryatids, the Olympia Apollo and even vase painting to modern Greeks would lend additional glory to modern Greece and would be an important study showing the Greeks’ authentic origins.

Filadelfeas goes on to say that such parallelisms have already been done, but not consistently. He wishes that a systematic approach be taken to photographing the ancients’ legacy in the modern flesh, to show to both domestic and foreign audiences. Filadelfeas himself tried his hand at this project, photographing a young woman from Preveza, Anna Gikonti, next to the head of the goddess Hygeia from Tegea that is exhibited at the National Archaeological Museum. Filadelfeas finally urges the readers to send him other ‘living beauties’–even men–so that they might be photographed in his museum next to statuary. The article ends by saying that the importance of such an endeavour is self-evident and that it honours the ‘modern descendants of classical beauty and modern Greece’.

With the benefit of historical hindsight, we know that one of the photographers exploring ‘parallelisms’ was Nelly’s. Indeed, one of the images used to illustrate this article was one of Nelly’s images of an old shepherd from Ypati juxtaposed to the Artemision bronze statue (fig. 71).

Ο ΤΥΠΟΣ

Ο ΚΙΝΗΜΑΤΟΓΡΑΦΟΣ

Ἡ Ντανιὲλ Νταρριὲ εἰς τὸ Χόλλυγουντ

Ἡ αἰωνία ἑλληνικὴ φυλή

Οἱ σύγχρονοι Ἕλληνες καὶ αἱ Ἑλληνίδες ὁμοιάζομεν μὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους μας προγόνους

Μία ἰδέα τοῦ κ. ΑΛ. ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΣ

Ἕνα τὴν ἡμέραν

Τὸ θαῦμα

Τὸ νέο τῆς ὀθόνης

Βιογραφίες ἀστέρων

ΠΡΟΣΕΧΩΣ ΧΩΡΙΣΜΕΝΟΙ

ΑΛΦΑ - ΑΛΦΑ

ΦΡΑΝΙΑ

Τὸ κατάστημα σοῦ αἰχμαλωτίζει κάθε κομψὴ κυρία.

Ὁδὸς Βαλαωρίτου 5

Figure 73. Frontpage of 'O Typos' newspaper, April 14, 1938. Courtesy of Nikos Paisios.

Curiously, the old shepherd is identified as Peloponnesian while the bronze statue is identified as Zeus. The other image illustrating the article is Anna Gikonti and the head of Hygeia. Nowhere is Nelly's image credited though, nor is her parallelism project mentioned. Image crediting in Greek newspapers of the time is sporadic at best and most often non-existent. Filadelfeas' non-recognition of Nelly's work in the context of this article is particularly jarring. The reporter and/or Filadelfeas were surely aware of Nelly's work since it is used in the article. Furthermore, this particular photographic juxtaposition of Nelly's was published a year earlier in the state tourism magazine *In Greece* (May-July 1937), accompanying an article entitled 'The Race' by Michael Doris. Although the English language version does not credit Nelly's next to the image (credits are given at the end of the magazine, although without indicating which images are Nelly's), the German and French language version do credit Nelly's by the image.

Why this blatant omission of Nelly's pioneering work occurred is difficult to tell. Negligible image crediting practices in the daily press, sexism as well as personal competition[96] might all have played a role. Nevertheless, the underlying ideological framework of the continuity of Hellenism through biology as well as culture was firmly in place when Filadelfeas was voicing these ideas and Nelly's was giving visual expression to them. Even though this article was published during the Metaxas era when nationalist sentiments were at a high point, the ideas of Greek racial unity were not new. The philosophical foundation for the emergence of the Third Hellenic Civilization predated Metaxas on both the conservative and liberal sides of society (Mathiopoulos 2017, 402) while intellectuals such as Ion Dragoumis had earlier written forcefully about ideas of racial unity (Machaira 1987, 165).

Cultural purity as exportable good

What is perhaps most striking is that Nelly's visualization of the *phyletic* continuity of Hellenism took place in the pages of tourism magazines and in the Greek pavilion at the 1939 NY World's Fair. The intention does not seem to have been domestic consumption. That would only happen later, after Nelly's rediscovery in the mid-1970s. Her images were of

[96] This is not the first instance where Nelly's and Filadelfeas compete for the ownership of a photographic project. The famous nude images of Mona Paiva on the Acropolis have been claimed by both. Karali argues that Filadelfeas was the original instigator of this idea, as he had the necessary social connections to make this happen. See Karali (2013, 62–64).

course bought and circulated, but the specific images expressing an unbroken Hellenism did not seem to be intended for a domestic audience, as they are almost exclusively found in tourism magazines. Even amongst Nelly's photographs for EON's *Neolaia* magazine there are no images extolling an unbroken Hellenism.[97] A notable exception is an article entitled 'Why we need to be proud and happy that we are Greeks' in *Neolaia's* 19 November 1938 issue. The premise of the article is that it is a great honour to be Greek abroad, where–ancient–Greek culture is revered. It says that Greeks should be proud of their ancient past but also wary of its heavy burden. Modern Greeks however have not lived up to their ancient legacy, but fortunately the Fourth of August regime has arrived to set things right and give birth to a rejuvenated Greece. It concludes, the Greeks of today live under the same sun that illuminated the ancients and the 'racial type' of yesteryear is present in modern Greeks' physical characteristics as 'a recent photographic comparison in a publication of the Sub Ministry of Press [and Tourism] uncovered amazing similarities between Greek peasants and ancient statues'. This is a clear reference to Nelly's parallelisms in the *En Grèce* tourism magazine–most likely issue number one (May-July 1937)–but Nelly's herself is not credited. The argument about the unworthiness of modern Greeks continues in a more positive note, saying that it is possible that a 'spiritual cell (*kyttaro*)' has survived in the Greek climate, allowing for the development of a future grand civilization. Yet again, we observe the positioning of an unbroken Hellenism against an anxiety over foreign–read European–opinion. While the tourism publication is intended for foreign audiences, the *Neolaia* article turns to the domestic youth with concerns about Greece's image abroad. It is worth noting that antiquity is not a major theme in the *Neolaia* magazine, apart from ancient Sparta. The ancient Spartan martial spirit and discipline was extolled as an ideal for Greece's youth (Balta 1986, 634; cf. Carabott 2003, 31). Byzantium is a much more prominent historical era in the pages of the magazine, owing to this being a religious era of benevolent autocrats, another usable past for the Metaxas regime (Carabott 2003, 31; cf. Gounaridis 1994). Folk culture is also a stronger element than any high Classical culture, particularly in the visual material.

Within the pages of the tourist magazine *En Grèce* antiquity has a prominent place alongside contemporary folk traditions and the legacy of Byzantium. What interests me in particular is the way in which the trilingual magazine discusses race. As Zacharia has argued,

[97] I found no copies of *Neolaia* in Nelly's archive.

the Metaxas state's tourism magazines projected a clear nationalist message of 'biological or geoclimatic determinism' (2014, 205), expressing the racial nationalism of Greek continuity, using Nelly's images as persuasive visual aids. Often the state publications copied from *Le Voyage en Grèce*, an earlier private tourism publication of the era.[98] This magazine was produced in Paris by Heracles Ioannidis (1897–1950) of the Neptos agency, owned by Leonidas Embiricos. Ioannidis' goal was to create interest in Greece by appealing to an European intellectual audience wishing to follow in the footsteps of Homer. *Le Voyage en Grèce* (1934-1939) should therefore be seen as a subtler, more intellectual tourism magazine. While touching on many of the same themes as *En Grèce* does, such as the influence of the ancient past in the Greek present, the spectre of racial continuity is absent in *Le Voyage en Grèce*. *En Grèce's* copying from *Le Voyage en Grèce* is mostly performed by abridging texts and skewing its interpretation textually and visually in line with the nationalist messaging of the Metaxas state (Zacharia 2014, 198–99).

French writer Jacques Boulenger's article offers one example of *En Grèce's* copying practice. Boulenger's article 'Charmes du peuple grec' in *Le Voyage en Grèce* (issue 2, spring 1935) extols the hospitality of the Greek people and features a couple of images of Greek peasants. An abridged version of Boulenger's text appears two years later in *En Grèce* (issue 2, autumn 1937) illustrated with two images by Nelly's showing young Greek women and girls each carrying a water jug on their shoulder. The caption on one of the images reads 'A peasant girl from Florina, holding her pitcher with the grace of an ancient canephore', making connections to racial continuity that are out of context in the text (Zacharia 2014, 199).[99]

A more blatant example of the disingenuous copying by the *En Grèce* magazine is the appropriation of French archaeologist Jean Charbonneaux's article 'La Beauté Grecque' (*Le Voyage en Grèce*, issue 2, spring 1935) in the first issue of *En Grèce* (spring 1937). Charbonneaux's article is heavily abridged and included in a two-page spread entitled 'Nature imitates art'. The message of the five short lines of Charbonneaux's text is that ancestral mimicry is alive and well amongst the Greeks–'this continuity of type visibly attests to the perpetuity of the genius of the race'. While racial continuity is the main message

[98] See Basch and Farnoux (2006) for more on *Le Voyage en Grèce.*

[99] However, in the context of Metaxas' goals to Hellenize Macedonia and the Slavo-Macedonian minority, the inclusion of this image of the 'canephore' from Florina suggests an intention to solidify Macedonia's Greekness. Cf. Carabott (1997).

communicated in *En Grèce's* appropriation of Charbonneaux's text, the original in *Le Voyage en Grèce* expresses exactly the opposite message. In Charbonneaux's own words, 'Who believes any more in the purity of the race? Pure beauty does not exist and the Greek type is a modern invention' (quoted in Zacharia 2014, 203–5).

The most important difference of *En Grèce* is that it relied heavily on imagery to push its message of racial continuity, manipulating texts and images as they saw fit to buttress the desired nationalist narrative. In this respect, Nelly's role is particularly important as she provided a compelling visual narrative to accompany and back up the Metaxas state's racial nationalism. As Zacharia notes, this was taking place in a time when intellectual debates in Greece and abroad dealt with the autochthony of Greek art. None of this is reflected in the state publications though (2014, 205). Furthermore, these intellectual debates are not reflected in Nelly's imagery either. As Damaskos notes, Nelly's displays a naiveté when she links ancient artifacts to superficial physical likeness in modern Greeks, ignoring the artistic and historical differences in the extensive period of Greek history from which she draws her ancient material. It matters less if the parallelisms hold up to any scrutiny, since photography has made them into their own monument (Damaskos 2008, 328).

I conclude this discussion on the construction of race and Nelly's photographic parallelisms by examining an article by Michel Doris[100] in the first issue of *In Greece* (spring 1937), appropriately entitled 'The Race' (fig. 72).

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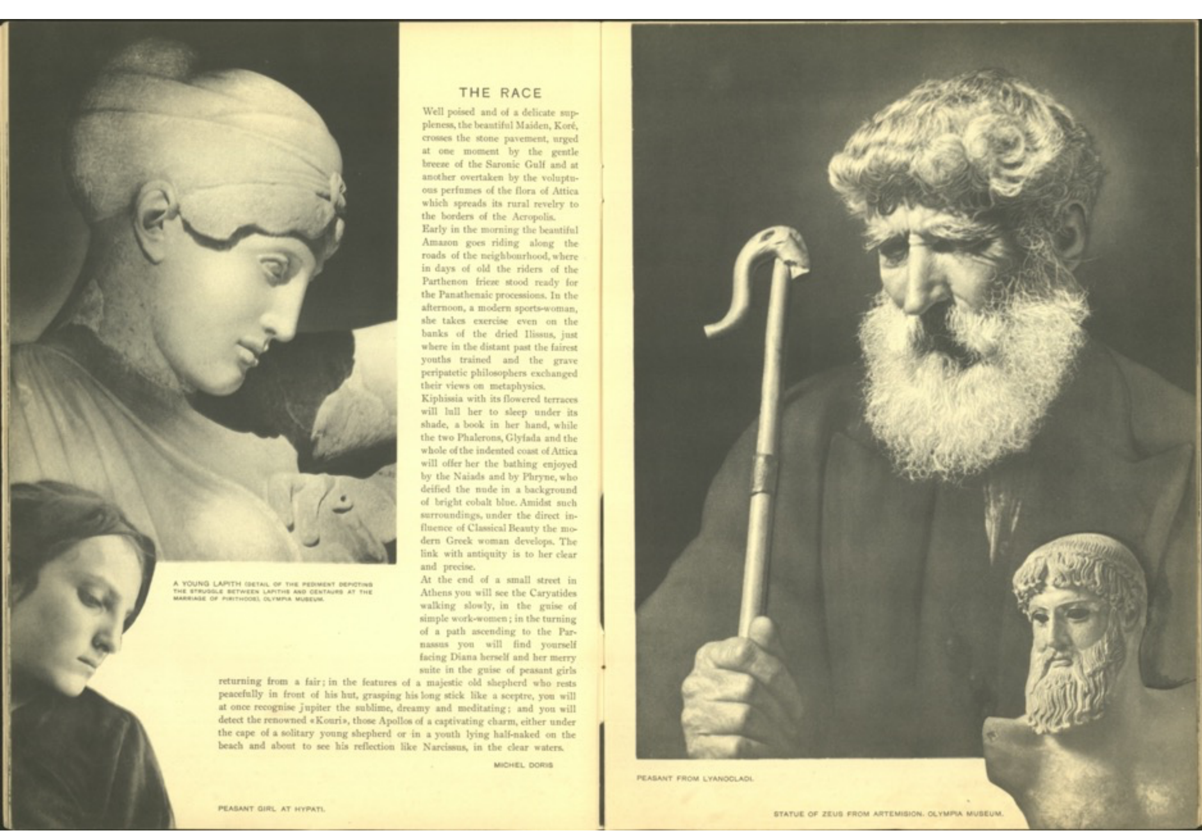
[100] Greek artist, whose real name was Michail Papayeoryiou (1896-1987). His artistic name Doris refers to the ancestral homelands of the Dorians, one of the four major ethnic groups that made up ancient Greece. Cf. Komini-Dialeti and Mathiopoulos (1997, 400)



THE RACE

Well poised and of a delicate suppleness, the beautiful Maiden, Koré, crosses the stone pavement, urged at one moment by the gentle breeze of the Saronic Gulf and at another overtaken by the voluptuous perfumes of the flora of Attica which spreads its rural revelry to the borders of the Acropolis.
Early in the morning the beautiful Amazon goes riding along the roads of the neighbourhood, where in days of old the riders of the Parthenon frieze stood ready for the Panathenaic processions. In the afternoon, a modern sports-woman, she takes exercise even on the banks of the dried Ilissus, just where in the distant past the fairest youths trained and the grave peripatetic philosophers exchanged their views on metaphysics.
Kiphissia with its flowered terraces will lull her to sleep under its shade, a book in her hand, while the two Phalerons, Glyfada and the whole of the indented coast of Attica will offer her the bathing enjoyed by the Naiads and by Phryne, who deified the nude in a background of bright cobalt blue. Amidst such surroundings, under the direct influence of Classical Beauty the modern Greek woman develops. The link with antiquity is to her clear and precise.
At the end of a small street in Athens you will see the Caryatides walking slowly, in the guise of simple work-women; in the turning of a path ascending to the Parnassus you will find yourself facing Diana herself and her merry suite in the guise of peasant girls returning from a fair; in the features of a majestic old shepherd who rests peacefully in front of his hut, grasping his long stick like a sceptre, you will at once recognise Jupiter the sublime, dreamy and meditating; and you will detect the renowned «Kouri», those Apollos of a captivating charm, either under the cape of a solitary young shepherd or in a youth lying half-naked on the beach and about to see his reflection like Narcissus, in the clear waters.

MICHEL DORIS

A YOUNG LAPITH (DETAIL OF THE PEDIMENT DEPICTING THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN LAPITHS AND CENTAURS AT THE MARRIAGE OF PIRITHOOS). OLYMPIA MUSEUM.

PEASANT GIRL AT HYPATI.

PEASANT FROM LYANOCLADI.

STATUE OF ZEUS FROM ARTEMISION. OLYMPIA MUSEUM.

Figure 74. Article entitled 'The Race' by Michel Doris in the tourism publication 'In Greece' (spring 1937). Photographs by Nelly's. Courtesy of Nikos Paisios.

The text describes in florid language how 'the beautiful Maiden, Koré' makes her way throughout the day under the Athenian and Greek skies. The kore has many guises: modern horse-riding Amazon who looks as if she sprung directly from the Parthenon frieze, a simple Athenian workwoman who looks like a Caryatid, a peasant girl on the hills of Parnassus looking like the goddess Diana herself. In whatever guise she might appear, 'under the direct influence of Classical Beauty the modern Greek woman appears. The link with antiquity is to her clear and precise', according to Doris' text. The ideology of racial continuity is indeed made clear and precise with modern Greek women as the vehicles for this continuity.

It should be noted that the text does make reference to men embodying the eternal Greek race, such as a majestic old shepherd holding his stick looking like Zeus. Unsurprisingly, the reference to the shepherd is illustrated by Nelly's famous old shepherd, juxtaposed to the Zeus from Artemision. The ancient and modern women are illustrated by Nelly's images of a peasant girl from Hypati juxtaposed to a young Lapith woman from the western pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.[101] The layout of the images is noteworthy. In the male

[101] This is of course the same parallelism used in *Unsterbliches Hellas.*

parallelism the old shepherd is dominant with the Artemision bronze head occupying a smaller place. In the female parallelism this scheme is reversed, with the Lapith woman from Olympia dominating the parallelism.

While the English version of Doris' text exhibits a certain subtlety–race is not even explicitly mentioned in the main body of the text–the German version is markedly different. To begin with, the title in German is 'The Greek Race', clearly differentiating Greeks from other races. The opening sentences are completely different:

> 'At the mention of the word "Kore" we immediately think of the Acropolis, column orders and Classical ideals of beauty, in short, they are at the heart of ancient Hellas and we take for granted that the Kores and their race are long extinct. But we are wrong. The "Kore" lives if she calls herself "Kori" too.'

Thereafter the text continues in much the same way as the English version, enumerating the various guises a modern kore may take. Whereas in the English 'the link with antiquity is to her clear and precise', in German this is expressed as

> 'when one makes the effort to compare, [one] clearly recognizes that the modern "Kori" despite the centuries still retains the blood of the ancient "Kore".'

In contrast to the English version, men are identified as being more convincing in 'emphasizing the unity of the ancient and modern Greek races'. The shepherd is yet again used as an example. Interestingly, the German text emphasizes that all Greek social classes share the link to antiquity. This is what the author of the article in the *Typos* newspaper emphasizes a year later, when he interviews Alexandros Filadelfeas about the photographic parallelism project that would show the racial continuity of Greeks. We might suspect that the article's author read the German version and not the English language version.[102] The German text ends on a different note than the English version, recommending anyone wanting to understand

[102] I have not been able to locate a French language version of the first issue of *En Gréce,* therefore I am not able to analyse the text about 'The Race' in all three languages.

ancient art to consult not only the Baedeker guidebook but also let the 'living Greece' sink in and affect them.

Considering that the text was published during Nazi rule in Germany, the German text appeals to a racist ideology with which a German tourist would have been familiar. Beyond this, the German text is much more erudite in its reference to Greek antiquity, clearly pandering to an audience as enthralled with ancient Greece as Germany was and had been. The producers of the *In Griechenland* were therefore keenly aware of the differentiated messaging needed to appeal to English, French and German speaking audiences. Even though all versions reflect the one-dimensional racial nationalism of the Metaxas regime, based on the German text we can tell that German audiences were particularly attuned to this line of reasoning, much more so than English or French speaking audiences.

Salt of the earth

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the expression of a Greek cultural-historical identity in Nelly's work rests on two main pillars: antiquity and the countryside. While the importance and the overlap of the rural in Nelly's work and in Metaxist thought has been raised, I will now take a detailed look at the rural in Nelly's visualization of this Greek cultural-historical identity.

The landscape and especially the people of the Greek countryside have an important place in Nelly's conception of Greece. As a category, the countryside is one of the largest thematic segments in Nelly's archive. In the following section I will analyse a few examples of Nelly's photography of the Greek countryside during the interwar years.[103]

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[103] Although beyond the scope of this thesis, some useful contrasts arise when we compare Nelly's representation of the Greek countryside to that of other important Greek photographers of the interwar years. Maria Chrousaki, Elli Papadimitriou and Giorgos Vafiadakis and Spyros Meletzis–all contemporary to Nelly's–were also exploring the Greek countryside during the interwar years. An important distinction in the work of these photographers is the absence of the 'lyrical nationalism' (Petsini 2016a, 272) that is so present in Nelly's imagery. As Stathatos has noted about Chrousaki's images 'as far as depictions of Greek rural life are concerned, it would not be excessive to claim that the photographs of Maria Chrousaki are superior to the often awkwardly or melodramatically posed images of the more celebrated Elly Seraidari' (Stathatos 2000). However, Chrousaki's representations of rural Greece did keep in line with the interwar era's interest in folk culture. Like Nelly's, Chrousaki approached her rural subjects over the divide of social class. Vafiadakis' representations of the Greek countryside arose out of his enthusiastic

'When I got to know Greece and set eyes on its so many beauties, almost at every step I would see a painting in front of me. Wherever I turned to look, I would see images ready to be photographed. Our Greece could make an artist out of any human.' (Nelly's 1989, 79)

Nelly's engages with the countryside on an aesthetic level as we can read in the above passage from her autobiography. Her unfamiliarity with Greece made every encounter with the country into an encounter with the picturesque. Every new view was a new image. The landscape that she encounters, however, and is mesmerized by, is the countryside. Nelly's oeuvre contains very few cityscapes, and her autobiography makes little mention of cities or urban life. Athens, the capital and the city where she lived and worked is not extensively mentioned, except in relation to her walks and documentation of Old Athens with historian and friend Dimitrios Kampouroglou.

The countryside should therefore be seen an idealized topos for Nelly's. Prior to her arrival in Athens in 1924, Greece was an unknown place to her (Nelly's 1989, 70). What she knew of Greece she knew from what her father had told her, who had often travelled to Greece for business. Her connection to Greece was a cultural one, rather than that of lived experience. As Eirene Boudouri describes it, Nelly's photography of the Greek countryside was an exploration and a discovery of this cultural homeland and of her own identity. Perhaps

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engagement with the Hiking Association of Athens. His photographs from these excursions yielded many views of landscapes and monuments that are often quite minimalist and focused on documentation, steering clear of romanticism. Furthermore, in contrast to Nelly's, the few rural Greeks that Vafiadakis photographed are almost always named, indicating that Vafiadakis only ever photographed people after he had established some form of relationship with them (Hatzigeorgiou 2021b, 324; Liontis 2004). Papadimitriou's images for the Refugee Rehabilitation Commission provide representations of the Greek countryside that are more direct and less mediated by representational strategies. Her unstaged images of the resettled refugees in the Greek countryside elaborate what Papaioannou has called an unofficial landscape, or unofficial image of Greece (I. Papaioannou 2014, 254, 257). Meletzis' images of Epirus taken in the late 1930s also fit within this unofficial landscape. While Meletzis' images of the Greek countryside were geared towards capturing Epirote nature and landscape, the representational strategies that he employed tended towards the sublime rather than the picturesque (I. Papaioannou 2014, 257). In contrast, the official Greek landscape is represented both by Nelly's imagery as well as that of the excursionist groups that Vafiadakis and Chrousaki were part of (ibid).

more importantly, Boudouri notes that Nelly's images of rural Greece should be seen as oscillating between two poles, that of Nelly's capturing images as she encounters them on her travels and her need to construct images that better express her idea of what Greece is (Boudouri 1996, 12).

The ideal and the real coexist in Nelly's images, borrowing and influencing each other. Nelly's photographs are representations of a ground truth, of what is taking place in the world in front of her camera, but the choices she makes in representing this truth–in our case Greece–shaped the ways in which the idea of Greece is constructed (cf. Morris-Suzuki 2005, 2). Nelly's iconography of Greece, an apt term Katerina Zacharia uses (2015), is not created in a vacuum, however, since the ideas that she was expressing, such as *ellinikotita,* were fomenting during the interwar years in Greece (cf. Tziovas 1989). Even an earlier figure such as Periklis Yannopoulos (1869-1910), 'clairvoyant of the Hellenic landscape and author of aesthetic nationalism' (Leontis 1995, 73), is important to recall at this point. Yannopoulos' formulation of a national(ist) aesthetic called upon the artist to express the uniqueness of the Greek landscape, of the Greek *topos*. Thus, the artist was participating in the building of a homeland through the expression of Hellenism's distinctiveness, through the study of the folk and religious traditions bound to the landscape (Leontis 1995, 84–86). Indeed, Yannopoulos became greatly influential during the Metaxas era, dovetailing as Yannopoulos' aesthetic did with Metaxist geoclimatic determinism (Leontis 1995, 114, 117). Hence, Nelly's quest to photograph Greece's beauty participates in an aesthetic nationalism à la Yannopoulos, striving to create an ideal image of the idealized Greek *topos* (I. Papaioannou 2013, 149).

Nelly's depiction of the Greek countryside can be divided into two eras, one in which she travelled for her own enjoyment and one in which she was commissioned by the state to produce photographs for touristic promotion. This last period has been identified with the period from 1930 onwards.[104] Curiously, Nelly's does not mention working for EOT[105] or the state before 1936, when the Sub Ministry of Press and Tourism was created under the Metaxas dictatorship (Nelly's 1989, 147). Nelly's does mention one occasion where she was approached by a man named Kokos (Konstantinos) Melas,[106] who wanted her to make

[104] Boudouri (1996, 12) Konstantinou (1993), Moschovi (2014, 231), Zacharia (2015).
[105] The EOT was created in 1929 by the Eleftherios Venizelos government (Papadoulaki 2011, 88) and was a policy area in which Venizelos was greatly interested.
[106] Kokos Melas was the brother of Pavlos Melas.

photographs of Greece for touristic promotion abroad but at a cheap price. After meeting with him she refused, claiming it was impossible for her to produce an inferior product (Nelly's 1989, 110). Although she remembers Melas being the director of a 'touristic office', she does not seem to remember that he was the director of EOT itself (Papadoulaki 2011, 91).

As Marianna Karali has shown, however, Nelly's was greatly interested in receiving commissions that dealt with touristic promotion from as early as 1925. In the wake of the scandal caused by the nude photographs of dancer Mona Paiva on the Acropolis (fig. 75), Nelly's was concerned with the effect this outcry might have on her employment prospects with the state.

Figure 75. Mona Paiva on the Acropolis. Nelly's. 1925. Benaki Museum.

Nelly's does not seem to have suffered any long-term consequences because of this scandal, given the numerous commissions she received during her stay in Greece (Karali 2013, 81).[107] Indeed, one of EOT's first posters featured a photograph of the Parthenon taken by Nelly's (Moschovi 2014, 231) (fig. 76).

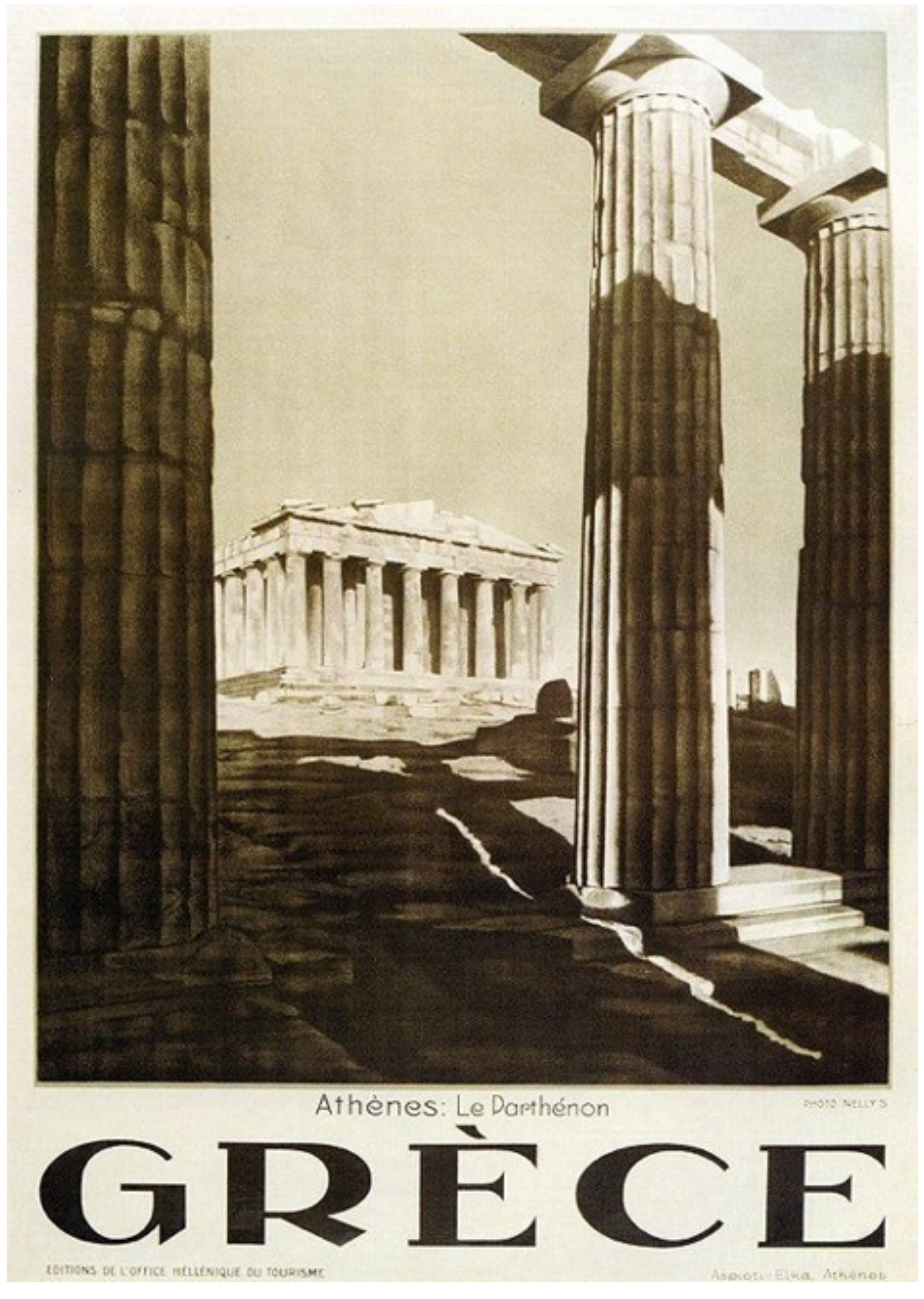

Figure 76. EOT poster with Nelly's image of the Parthenon. 1930s. EOT.

[107] See note 65 in Karali (2013, 81) for an extensive account of the touristic commission that Nelly's received.

Nelly's first foray into the countryside was southwards to the Peloponnese in 1927. Travelling alone, she started off in Argos and moved on to Nafplio (fig. 77) where she photographed Bourtzi island and the Palamidi castle.

Figure 77. Nafplio. Nelly's. 1927. Benaki Museum.

The rest of her trip took her to Tripolis, Sparta and Mystra (Nelly's 1989, 92–98). She was particularly enamoured by the abandoned Byzantine city, describing how she spent a whole day photographing without any breaks. Mystra was a dream destination for her as she had read and heard so much about it (Nelly's 1989, 98). Large parts of her description of this first trip focus on the terrible experiences she had in the countryside. Bedbugs, rats, and stinking bathrooms are some of the low points of the trip, reflecting the difficulties of travelling in the underdeveloped Greek countryside of the 1920s. Since moving to Greece, she had dreamt about the chance to occasionally tour the country and 'immortalize its infinite beauties', a desire to which the Peloponnesian adventure almost put an end, in her recounting. As she explains in her autobiography, her desire to see more of Greece was too strong and she started traveling again, this time to Crete (Nelly's 1989, 99).

Nelly's visited Crete twice, once in 1927 and once in 1939, shortly before she left Greece for NYC. The 1927 visit was for her own sake while the latter visit was on commission

for the Sub Ministry of Press and Tourism (Tsirgialou 2014, 5).[108] Yet again, her desire to get to know the country that she knew only from books and stories, drove her to visit the island. On her first trip in 1927, she stayed about ten days travelling around the villages of Crete, photographing landscapes and people. She also made it to the ancient ruins in Knossos and Agia Triada, as well as to the city of Rethymno (Nelly's 1992, 7). A noticeable feature in the photographs from both trips is the almost exclusive focus on rural subjects, on the landscape and its people (Tsirgialou 2014, 5).

Nelly's is notorious for the lack of dates in her autobiography and other statements, or just using the wrong dates.[109] This makes the dating of her forays into the Greek countryside challenging. Most of the reliable dating has been achieved by research into contemporary publications of her images in newspapers and journals. Nevertheless, a few dates can be established from her autobiography. Her iconic photographs from rural Epirus are part of her commission by the Deputy Minister of Press and Tourism Nikoloudis, i.e. after 1936. As she mentions, she worked on many commissions relating to the countryside for the Sub Ministry of Press and Tourism, which were then published in magazines such as *En Grèce* (Nelly's 1989, 150). Similarly, her photographs from Delphi, of the landscape and the people, can with some certainty be dated to her participation as a photographer of the Delphic Festival in 1927 and 1930 (fig. 78).

[108] There is no chronological distinction between these two trips in Nelly's archive. The archive was given to the Benaki museum in this blended shape (Tsirgialou 2014, 5).
[109] Her photoshoots with Mona Paiva and Nikolska are prime examples of this. The dates for both are misstated in her autobiography and therefore have been repeated elsewhere. Karali (2013) has meticulously documented the true chronology of both events and particularly that of Paiva.

Figure 78. Performance during Second Delphic Festival. Nelly's. 1930. Benaki Museum.

Many of her forays into the countryside were also done as day-trips from Athens (Nelly’s 1989, 99). Nelly’s also travelled extensively around the Greek islands, even spending a few recurring summers on Santorini starting in 1927 (Nelly’s 1987) (fig. 79, 80).

Figure 79. Santorini, with a view towards the volcano. Nelly's. Ca 1930. Benaki Museum.

Figure 80. Santorini. Nelly's. Ca 1930. Benaki Museum.

It should be mentioned though that subjects related to the sea, the Aegean and island life–'photographic thalassographies' (Boudouri 1996)–are limited in Nelly's oeuvre. Iraklis Papaioannou argues that Nelly's was the first Greek photographer to turn her gaze towards the Aegean and construct the Aegean as a photographic topos, awash in the Greek sun and full of the geometric architecture of the Aegean. Since Nelly's Santorini images were only extensively published six decades later, they never entered the literary and visual debates around *ellinikotita* of the interwar years (Papaioannou 2014, 200-201).

Nice characters

Surveying Nelly's archive, it becomes apparent how strong of an influence the Greek countryside had on Nelly's conception, idealisation, and ultimately photographic visualization of Greece. The way in which Nelly's saw and depicted rural people is particularly important in this regard. In Nelly's autobiography, while describing the exhibitions she hosted in her Athens studio she mentions that apart from the studio portraits and antiquities, there was a third category of images, 'landscapes and nice characters that I encountered capturing their simplicity and their costumes' (Nelly's 1989, 79). Separated by class as well as physical distance from the Greek countryside, its people became mere types for Nelly's. The original

Greek (ωραίοι τύποι) retains this association to types better than the English translation, hinting at the idealizing process that is at work in these photographs and in Nelly's description of her 'discovery process'.

On Nelly's first countryside tour, to the Peloponnese, she encountered in Tripolis some 'very nice characters', two of which stand out (fig. 81). Two bearded elderly men donning hats and so-called costumes are described by Nelly's as having 'true biblical countenance' (σωστές βιβλικές φυσιογνωμίες) (Nelly's 1989, 98).

Figure 81. Older men in Tripoli. Nelly's. 1927. Benaki Museum.

However, it is the image of a shepherd that Nelly's photographed in Ypati that best illustrates Nelly's idealisation of Greece. One day (year unknown), while out taking an afternoon walk around the springs of Ypati she saw a shepherd tending to his flock. Stunned by this shepherd's presence and his resemblance to an ancient Greek god, she asked him if she could take a picture of him. He initially refused as he was tired and dusty, saying she should do it another day. In the end they decided to meet on a Friday when he was not out with his sheep. At their meeting he shows up neatly dressed and with his hair washed but even then, Nelly's goes on to say, he looked like an ancient Greek statue (Nelly's 1989, 111) (fig. 82). This shepherd is the seed of her parallelism project according to Nelly's autobiography, amazed as she was that this simple man could look like an ancient Greek god (Nelly's 1989, 112).[110]

[110] As I note on p. 207, Nelly's tells several origin stories for the parallelism project.

Figure 82. Shepherd from Ypati. Nelly's. 1930-1935. Benaki Museum.

Nelly's has created a dramatic and evocative portrait here. It is a technical masterpiece, adroitly balancing contrast, light and shadows to draw out and heighten the dramatic serenity of the shepherd. It is above all timeless. The photographic verisimilitude might place it in the era of photography, but the content and the mise-en-scène is timeless. The isolation of the shepherd against the empty, dark background heightens this atmosphere of existing outside

of time, isolated from earthly concerns. I associate the mood of the image to religious imagery, of both Western and Eastern traditions. Byzantine and Eastern Christian icons construct almost dream-like images with their monochrome, often gold, backgrounds and the abstract, schematic representations of landscape and time. The strong use of shadows in the image in its turn alludes to the use of chiaroscuro by Baroque masters such as Caravaggio.

The dramatic, mysterious, quasi-religious, quasi-ancient worshipping qualities of the shepherd's photograph are not by chance. They are integral to Nelly's conception of what Greece was, refracted and expressed through the Greek countryside and its people. She was amazed at seeing this 'simple man' look like an ancient Olympian god, cementing–and perhaps overwhelming–her ideas of Greek ethnic and historical continuity. Nelly's was trying to construct a timeless image of this shepherd precisely because she was encountering the timelessness of Greece in the flesh, an embodiment of Greece's imagined community, its mythical roots stretching back to antiquity (cf. Anderson 2006; A. D. Smith 2008, 2009). Another image of this shepherd can be found in Nelly's archive, one that shows us that he is no Olympian god or Christian saint. In this photograph the shepherd is sitting down, crook still held tight, his left hand caught in a movement (fig.83). The sun lights up his grey beard and hair, illuminating his face as he gazes straight into the camera, reminding us that he is after all just a man.

Figure 83. Shepherd from Ypati. Nelly's. 1930-1935. Benaki Museum.

Nelly's quest for types is part of a larger typological paradigm. Nineteenth century anthropology, rooted in Western colonial projects, used photography to entrench the 'type' as way to generalize the form of a group. Types described the group, but a type could also be the person who exhibited some or all the general characteristics of the group. Although type was grounded in a biological and racial understanding of the term, type came also to be used as a descriptor of culture (E. Edwards 1990, 240). Types were by nature deindividualizing, erasing the depicted person's individuality and context. This was done in two important ways. Firstly, by erasing the background around the individual, or placing them against a neutral background. Secondly, by not naming the depicted, but instead giving a general description such as 'A Typical Native' (E. Edwards 1990, 241). This typological paradigm creates a partial and simplified image of the culture or people who are depicted. While the above describes nineteenth century scientific interest in types, commercial photographers utilized typology to produce images that satisfied popular market demand for images of 'typical natives'. The depicted were often photographed with cultural props–a basket, a shawl etc–, confirming their 'reality' and authenticity, while simultaneously revalidating the type (E. Edwards 1990, 242). The reproducibility of the type is therefore an integral aspect of it.

Nelly's images of the countryside are similarly refracted through an anonymizing, stereotyping and reproductive function. Her rural sitters are identified by occupation or geographical descent. This is true of all her rural imagery but is particularly valid for Nelly's images from Crete. Crucially, Nelly's is the one representing her rural sitters as types, commercially exploiting the images without the sitters' consent. This exposes the power structures that she is participating in, as a non-local with access to photographic technology and the ability to represent her rural sitters to a national audience. Furthermore, Nelly's rural sitters are never identified while her urban studio clientele is identified by name (Kalantzis 2019, 72, 85). She was not the first, nor the last outsider to apply a typological schema to Crete. As Kalantzis (2019) argues, Nelly's photographs of Cretan highlanders–especially Sfakians–trace a legacy going back to early twentieth-century studio portraits and nineteenth-century lithographs of Cretan warriors. The key difference was that Nelly's had full control of her images. While earlier studio portraits circulated in Crete as postcards and were used by the depicted and their families, Nelly's images never reached the hands of her Cretan sitters, or at least not until decades later (Kalantzis 2019, 97–98).

Nelly's relationship to rural Greece expresses itself in a semi-ethnographic, voyeuristic approach that draws in part on self-exoticization. The rural is there to be captured on film, immortalized, and idealized, rendering it partial, static and timeless. The people she encounters are catalogued in a referential framework, where the shepherd or the biblically bearded men are related and seen as part of a distant past, a *heterotopia* (Leontis 1995) come to life. Nelly's cataloguing of rural Greeks is not only for the sake of her private pantheon (Zacharia 2015, 238).[111] These images visualize a Greek national community of the long, mythical *durée* serving thus larger, nationally relevant narratives (cf. A. D. Smith 2008, 2009).

Most of Nelly's rural imagery stems from her work for the Greek state's tourism promotion, images which were meant to give a visual expression to Greece. The connection between Nelly's photography and national narratives thus becomes explicit. Throughout both republican and dictatorial rule, the national photographic image of Greece was solidified around 'a romanticized Arcadia' that extolled the simplicity of the pastoral, virtuous Greek countryside while simultaneously linking it to the ancient Greek past (Moschovi 2014, 231).

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[111] The importance of the personal in Nelly's work is often invoked as an interpretative framework. Eurydiki Trichon-Milsani (1990) posits Nelly's use of photography as a personal quest that drew on the tradition of painting and Greekness (*ellinikotita*).

The external image of Greece became internalized, and Nelly's was the perfect agent for this image construction. Her diasporic background and her German aesthetical education allowed her to easily visualize Greece for a foreign audience yet perform this as a native. Indeed, she was an optimal insider-outsider.

As Kalantzis has argued though, an analytical model that sees Greek rural tradition as an imposed foreign image–yet nevertheless useful for Greek elites' national projects and domination of the periphery–has its limits (2019, 121–22). The internalisation thesis allows for fruitful macrolevel analysis of how power structures operate in shaping Greek national imaginaries. Kalantzis gives the example of how nineteenth century folklore studies with Nikolaos Politis at the helm sought escape from foreign models by basing themselves on European models. A visual example is Eugène Delacroix's painting *Massacre of Chios* which has been used in school textbooks to illustrate Ottoman savagery, even though Delacroix never visited Chios or Greece (Kalantzis 2019, 188). The internalisation paradigm's wider scope neglects though how instances of internalisation are contested at the local level. Kalantzis interrogates this by letting Sfakian villagers in Crete engage, critique and praise images taken of Sfakians by outsiders (Kalantzis 2019, 123–24). Amongst the images that Kalantzis uses in his interaction with Sfakians, those that Nelly's took in Sfakia feature prominently.

The 'good types' are a recurring theme in Nelly's work, which can, in a generous interpretation, be read as an interest in the people she was photographing. I will argue, rather, that Nelly's strove to find ideal types that fit her ideas of Greece and Greekness, or to construct new ones. Since so much of her rural work served the purpose of visualizing Greece, this becomes a salient point. To illustrate this argument, I will examine at some length Nelly's depiction of Crete.

Leventomana–Mother of Swains

Nelly's second visit to Crete in 1939 has yielded some of her most iconic images of Cretans. The black-clad, rugged, and proud men of Sfakia seem to have been particularly interesting to Nelly's. Furthermore, Sfakia along with the White Mountains of Crete are also the only places she recounts in her autobiography and in subsequent publications that deal with her Cretan images (Nelly's 1992). It is worth dwelling on Nelly's mission to Crete and on the ways

she positions herself in relation to her employer (the state) and the photographic subjects (the Cretans).

On her journey to Crete, Nelly's carried two letters from the Sub Ministry of Press and Tourism, one for the municipality of Irakleio and the other for the gendarmerie post of Sfakia. Already at this point, we can see the importance given by the national state to the photographic capture of Sfakia, for the touristic exploitation of Crete and Greece in general. The mayor's office in Crete provided assistance to Nelly's for her tour of the island but she was explicitly warned about going to Sfakia–particularly as a woman–since the inhabitants of Sfakia were 'difficult people' (Nelly's 1989, 161). Undeterred, Nelly's made the trip to Sfakia and was met with equal resistance from the commander of the Sfakia gendarmerie. 'We cannot do anything. Our word doesn't hold sway [there]' (Εμείς δεν μπορούμε να κάνουμε τίποτα. Ο λόγος μας δεν περνά), she was told. Yet she persevered (Nelly's 1989, 163).

Nelly's set off alone for the village, with her camera as sole companion. Reaching a building with its wooden door stood ajar, she pushed it and entered the darkness of the room. Inside the building she found a man in Cretan dress stirring a pot (fig. 84). He told her that he was making cheese.

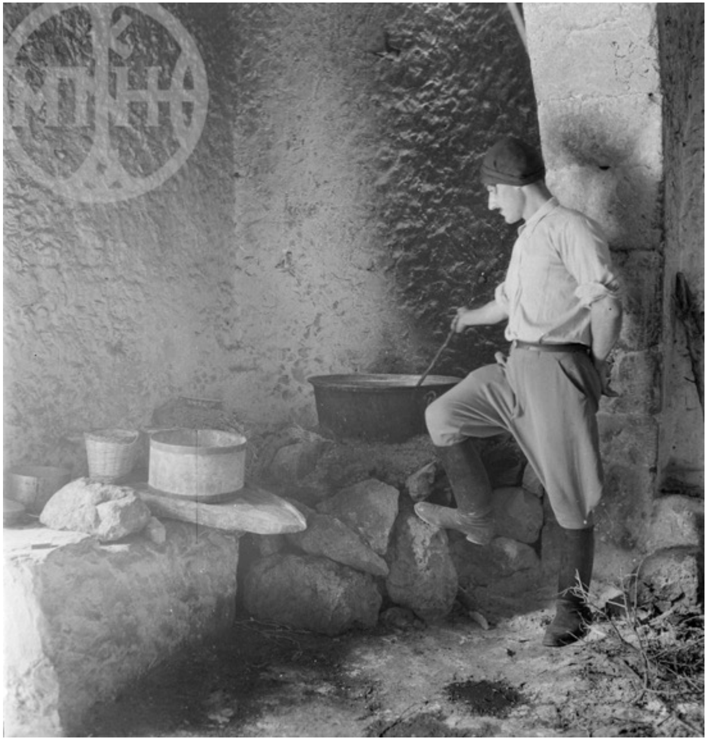

Figure 84. Cheese-maker in Sfakia, Crete. Nelly's. 1939. Benaki Museum.

This first encounter with a Sfakian native led to a number of images of this man–'he was a strapping lad, true *leventia*' (Nelly's 1989, 164)–but most crucially it led to a chance encounter

with the man's sister and his cousin. To Nelly's surprise these girls were dressed in urbane clothes, had peroxide blonde hair, and wore makeup. This left a big impression on Nelly's who did not expect to find 'girls that were so developed' in those mountains (1989, 164). It turned out that they were studying sewing in Piraeus. They were back in Sfakia for a village festival that they could not get to because the bus that was to take them there was too crowded.[112]

Nelly's reaction to the girls is an expression of a resilient trope, that of the spectre of modernity as pollution in traditionalist Sfakia (Kalantzis 2019, in particular chap. 6). The visual pollution of urbane clothes in particular upsets the nationalized image of the black clad Sfakian man as an archetype of Greekness. Even more so as the sartorial pollution comes from women, who are not framed as representative of Sfakia and by extension Greece. Women are rarely depicted by outsider photographers and are often reluctant to be depicted (Kalantzis 2019, 82). Polluting modernity as sartorial choice is itself feminized within the Sfakian context, although the wearing of black dress is not uncontested or blindly adopted (Kalantzis 2019, 280).

This brings me back to Nelly's first impression of the cheese-making man, who embodied *leventia,* a term denoting valour or worth. *Leventia* is in the context of Sfakia highly aestheticized, signifying although not limiting itself to the traditional black dress worn by Sfakian men (Kalantzis 2019, 61, 97, 101). The intrinsically gendered dimension of *leventia* and its visual expression in Sfakian male dress, posits a polarization between modernity/feminine and tradition/male. Nelly's in her comment on the cheese maker, further reproduces this polarization as well as reproducing the nationalized image of Sfakians as archetypes of Greek indigeneity. This is also compounded by the fact that no images of the mondaine women seem to exist–perhaps they were too modern for Nelly's conception of rural Crete? The rural women we do find in Nelly's imagery are simpler and more traditionally dressed. The elision of modernity as represented by the stylish young women highlights the partial image of Crete and Greece that Nelly's was crafting.

Nelly's, sensing an opportunity offered to take them to the village festival in her rented car. On the way there, Nelly's confided her purpose to the strapping lad, telling him that she was there to photograph those beautiful parts, as well as the *leventes* and the pretty girls, for

[112] In a later publication, Nelly's mentions that it might have been the village of Askyfou (1992, 7).

the promotion of tourism. People come to see the antiquities and spend lots of money, but no one knows about Sfakia, she went on to say. The government wants to 'propagandize' these areas so that the Sfakians may also see better days. Nelly's therefore asked the young man to introduce her to the village president. On arrival at the village Nelly's met the president and gave him the same pitch, after which, she tells us, she was welcomed with open arms (Nelly's 1989, 164).

Nelly's strongest impression of her time amongst the Sfakians was that she felt she was on a different planet. Her surprise was great seeing so many well-dressed and well-groomed men, all gathered in one place. In her own description, there were so many good 'characters' around that she did not know whom to photograph first (Nelly's 1989, 166). The outlandish quality of this experience brought out another of Nelly's concerns, that of seeing evidence of the ancient past in these rural people.

Figure 85. Group of Sfakian men. Nelly's. 1939. Benaki Museum.

‘Many of them reminded me of ancient statues, and some of them of statues in the Acropolis Museum’, she writes (Nelly’s 1989, 164–66). Time and place seem to meld into an alloy of historical Hellenic continuity for Nelly’s, where Cretans of the 1930s can share links with Archaic and Classical Athenian sculptures. One does wonder where the Minoans, who represent the hegemonic ancient era of Crete, fit in Nelly’s conception of Greek time and place.

Figure 86. Giorgos Valiris (nicknamed Kartsonas), Sfakia. Nelly's. 1939. Benaki Museum.

Nelly’s archival images from Crete support her narrative of fascination with Sfakia and her wish to participate in the rugged nativism that Sfakian men symbolize (cf. Kalantzis 2020, 65–66). Many are the images of the Sfakians. Pictured in groups of two or more, or simply alone, standing or sitting, active or resting, young or old, Nelly’s is drawn to the rugged masculinities of these ‘characters’, as she calls them. The photographs suggest that the Sfakians were at great ease with being photographed. Nelly’s herself mentions that she was very well received by all and that everyone she photographed posed effortlessly for her camera. No one denied her request to be photographed, and she claims that she rarely had to stage people (Nelly’s 1992, 8). Closer inspection of the images reveals that most of the images do seem staged, although all the depicted seem confident about their image being taken. To what extent they

willingly participated in the visual construction of themselves as an ideal type of the rugged rural Cretan, and by extension of Greece, remains unknown to us.

A clue to the relationship of the Sfakians to their photographic visualization can be found in local scopic regimes. Gazing at others in the Sfakian community, as well as being gazed at is intimately related to ideas of social worth. Photography therefore becomes an important way–even *the* way–'to monumentalise desirable versions of the self' for the Sfakians (Kalantzis 2015, 315). At the same time, photographic technology has been out of the reach of most Sfakians for most of the twentieth century, leaving their photographic depictions in the hands of outsiders such as Nelly's (Kalantzis 2019, 114 nn.5, 187).

Cretans, and especially Sfakians, are strongly defined by their visuality, by constituting a visible category–the rugged man in black, sporting a well-groomed beard or moustache and perhaps even some form of folk attire like a black headdress. The focus on their appearance predates the photographic era, as literary accounts of the nineteenth century exhibit a similar fascination with the meticulously groomed Sfakian man. Immediately recognizable, the Sfakians seem stuck in time, defined solely by their traditionalism. Since the nineteenth century Sfakians have been associated with a localized identity grounded in narratives of resistance and tradition that has been incorporated into, and strengthened by, photographic practices (Kalantzis 2015, 314, 2019, 61, 74–75, 158).

The photographic visualization of the ideal rural type by Nelly's, informed by her personal conception of Greece as well as the ideology of the Metaxas regime, served nationalist purposes. Ostensibly geared towards touristic promotion, the photographic capture of Sfakia was also an example of the appropriation of tradition by the dictatorial regime. Tradition, alongside the past were used by the regime to construct timeless national sacred symbols. However, the regime unable to develop any new values or express old values, resorted to an anachronistic repackaging of tradition. Tangible and intangible cultural heritage and traditions, such as the Kalamata dance, the *foustanella* or thyme from the mountain village became symbols of Greece. This obsession with tradition echoed earlier ideas by Ion Dragoumis, who wrote about finding the naked Greek soul under popular tradition. Tradition in this sense is acknowledged but never developed (Machaira 1987, 168, 178).

Within the scheme above, Nelly's construction of the ideal rural type becomes a symbolic resource (A. D. Smith 2009, 14) for imagining the Greek nation, as well as being a

part of the nationalist edifice built by the Metaxas regime. The Sfakian man as a Greek archetype is nonetheless a product of complexity. Three levels of signification are present here, interacting and depending on each other. As a national archetype, the image of the Sfakian man symbolizes the rural and the traditional, key components of the Metaxist edifice. As a photograph by Nelly's it represents her visualization of Greece, influenced by her class, her diasporic Hellenism and the goals inspired by her mission to promote Greece. As the image of a local, Sfakian man, it represents the sitter's own self-understanding about appearance and correct behaviour. As Kalantzis notes '[t]his image reflects then a point of meeting between an external Romantic signification and a local ideology and *habitus*' (2016, 326, emphasis in original). The construction of the national ideal type is therefore not possible without a '*cyclical synergy*' (ibid) between the interwoven layers of ideology, photographic practice and the presence of the subject (Kalantzis 2019, 191–97)–a *pas de trois* between 'photographer-subject, photographed object, and beholding audience' (Stimson 2006, 171).

Landscape

Crete as a *topos* is not only constructed by its people or by the Sfakians but also by Nelly's herself. The landscape is an equally important element in Nelly's visualization of Crete and by extension of Greece. Nelly's Cretan material constructs a rural landscape, which is borne out by the absence of urban photography. The absence of urban images is also confirmed by the head archivist of the Benaki museum's photographic archive (Tsirgialou 2014, 5). Nelly's does depict Chania, Rethymno and Irakleio but does so often from a distance. This distance she places between herself and the cities suggests that she was not particularly interested in urban life. The few views of urban Crete posit the cities as part of an aestheticized landscape. In Chania's and Rethymno's cases, the cities are seen hugging the coastline, caught between the sea and the surrounding mountains, becoming a focal point for the images. Photographs from within the cities are similarly distant in tone and mostly devoid of people. In several views of the port of Chania, the distance from which the image was taken makes the human figures nearly imperceptible, while landmarks such as the Küçük Hasan Mosque are clearly centred (fig. 87).

Figure 87. Küçük Hasan mosque in Chania. Nelly's. 1927/28. Benaki Museum.

In other cases, Nelly's has photographed Cretan city streets and neighbourhoods in ways that make them looked deserted (fig. 88, 89). Indeed, some of these deserted Cretan cityscapes are reminiscent of Nelly's photographs from the abandoned Byzantine city of Mystra.

Figure 88. Rethymno, Crete. Nelly's. 1927/28. Benaki Museum.

Figure 89. Rethymno, Crete. Nelly's. 1927/28. Benaki Museum.

An image from 1927 captures a narrow street in Chania which gives the impression of being inhabited–the buildings are in good condition, the window shutters are open, a streetlamp juts out from the top of the image's frame–but the street seems otherwise empty (fig. 90).

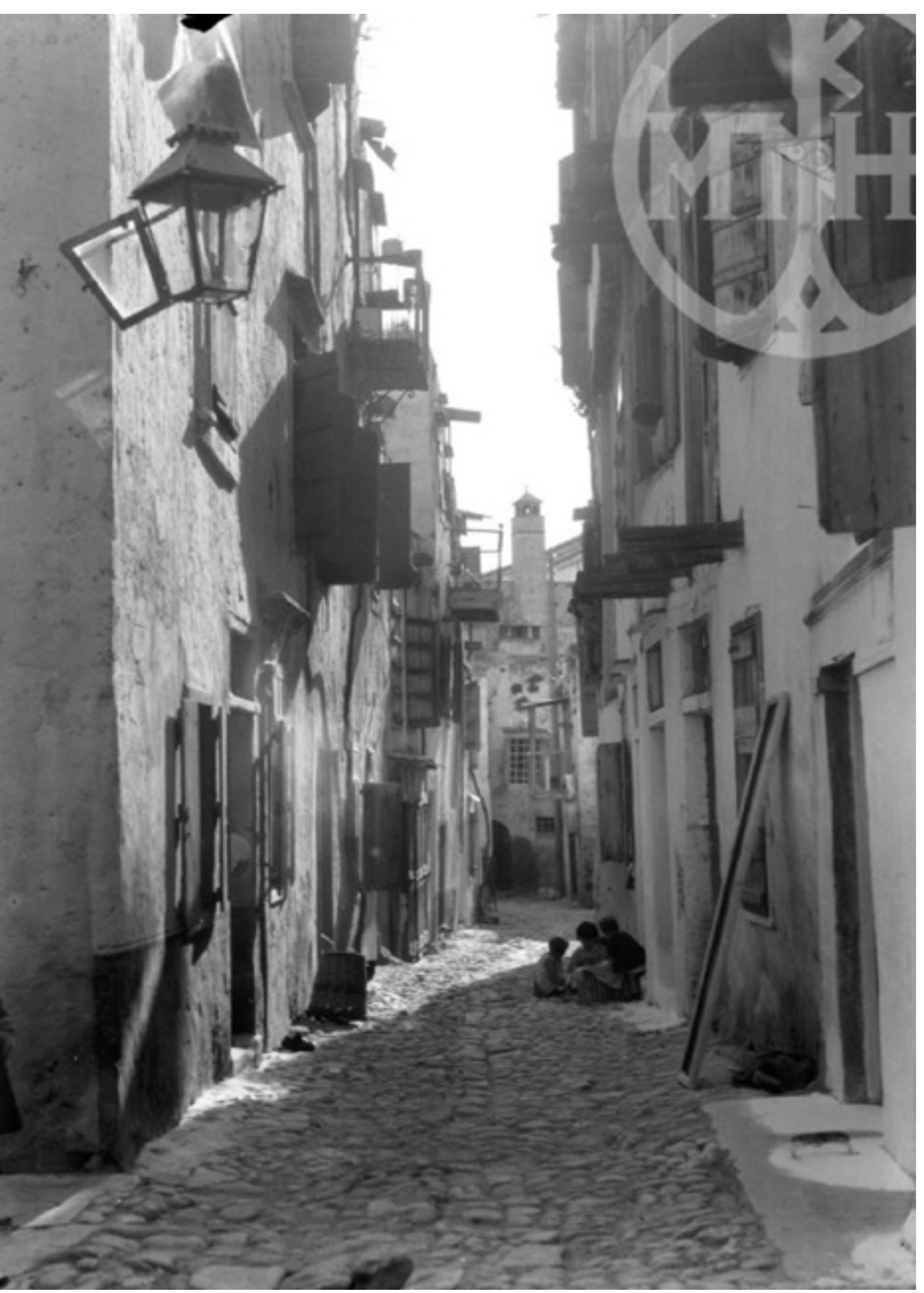

Figure 90. Street in Chania. Nelly's. 1927/28. Benaki Museum.

On closer inspection we see a small group of children huddled in the dark shadow of a building on the right. Nelly's images from the Fortezza neighbourhood of Rethymno makes the area and the city look deserted. We see buildings but hardly any people. A few people are seen in the background of a photograph of a Rethymno street but the focal point is the old stone arch which traverses the street (fig. 91).

Figure 91. Fortezza, Rethymno. Nelly's. 1927/28. Benaki Museum.

As in Chania, Nelly's photographs the port of Irakleio from afar. Irakleio's Venetian walls and aqueduct are similarly captured, distant and depopulated (fig. 92).

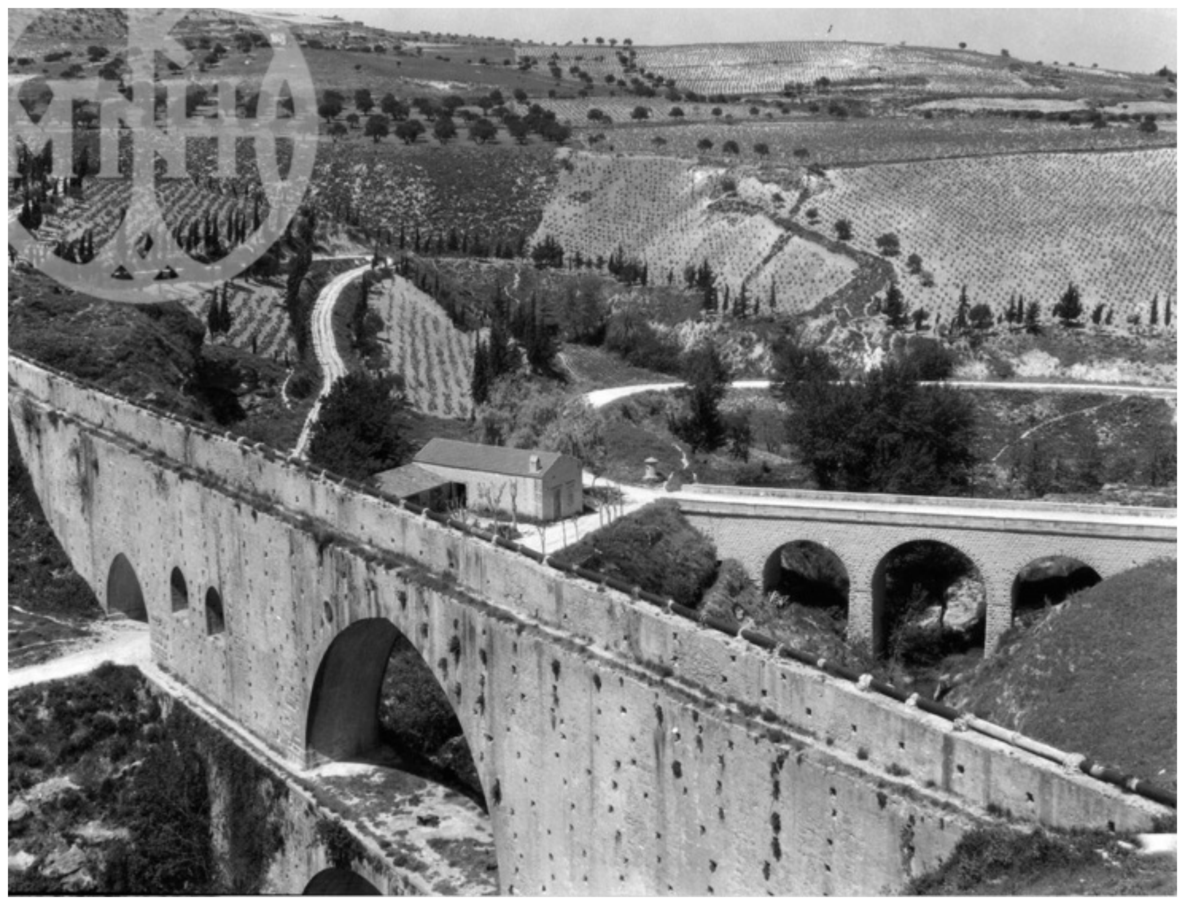

Figure 92. Irakleio aqueduct. Nelly's. 1927/28. Benaki Museum.

Only in a few photographs from within Irakleio do we get a glimpse of people going about their lives. In one notable image we see a few fully laden donkeys and a group of men occupying a small square created by the terraced architecture of the surrounding area (fig. 93). On the right, a group of women and a man sit on one of the elevated paths created by a retaining wall.

Figure 93. Herakeio street. Nelly's. 1927/28. Benaki Museum.

In another image from Irakleio, Nelly's has photographed the leafy, shaded patio of a *kafeneion*, but the table and its four chairs are empty (fig. 94).

Figure 94. Kafeneion *in Irakleio. Nelly's. 1927/28. Benaki Museum.*

The visual language that Nelly’s uses for urban spaces can perhaps best be described as architecturally interesting cityscapes. Nelly’s photographs cities as objects, attempting to create an image of Chania, Rethymno or Irakleio that captures the symbolic specificity of each place–a narrow city street, a view of the port, a local church or a mosque, the Venetian fortifications. Nelly’s employed a similar approach when she photographed archaeological sites such as Agia Triada, Knossos and Phaistos. These sites are constructed as outside of time, defined by the structures of human life but lacking in any human life. Nelly’s photographs are in both cases nearly devoid of people, overlapping in their focus on the static, built environment.

Nelly’s lack of interest in urban Crete might also be influenced by the fact that she visited Crete in an era when the island’s great urban and mercantile boom of the early twentieth century was over. The dynamic, multi-ethnic and cosmopolitan culture of urban Crete that flourished under the Autonomous Cretan State (1898-1913) had ended more than a decade before Nelly’s first visit to the island in 1927. Earlier photographers, both local (e.g.

Periklis Papachatzidakis) and foreign (e.g. the Swiss photographer Fred Boissonnas), had extensively documented urban life on Crete profiting not only from the demand for such images but also from the interest in photography by Cretan society. This came to an end with Crete's union with Greece in 1913 and the shift of political and cultural attention to Athens (Boudouri 2001, 8, 12). However, Nelly's idealisation of the rural presents a partial image of Greece, anchored to a static traditionalism that she finds expressed in Greek peasant life. This image elides and denies any agency to her rural sitters or their life. They are captured on film to act as avatars of Greece, mediating and defining Greek cultural memory in the process. By looking at Nelly's images we are led to believe that true Greece is to be found in tradition and amongst rural Greeks. Yet the hardship and the toil of eking out a subsistence living from the land is elided. This hardship is what lurks outside Nelly's photographic frame.

Following the path

Nelly's travels on Crete follow a long line of traveller-photographers but she especially follows the path of Swiss photographer Fred Boissonnas. Boissonnas had visited Crete in 1911 and again in 1920. His trip in 1911 resulted in the belated publication of the album *Des Cyclades en Crète au gré du vent* (1919) (fig. 95), one of numerous albums promoting Greece that Boissonnas produced in close cooperation with or on commission from the Greek state and PM Venizelos (Boudouri 2001, 18, 2013).

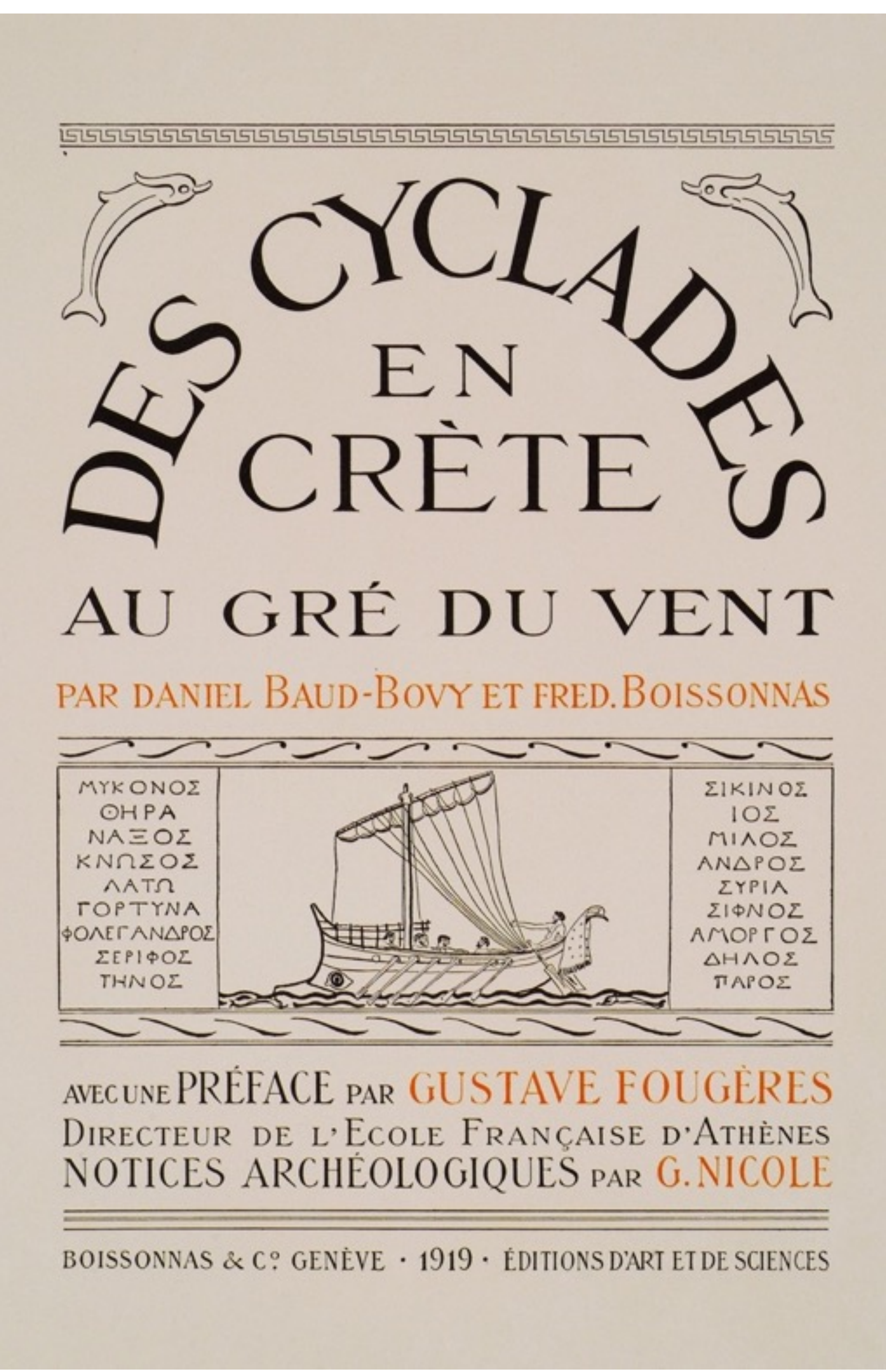

Figure 95. Album cover of 'Des Cyclades en Crète au gré du vent' with photographs by F. Boissonnas. 1919. Marilena Laskaridis Foundation.

Boudouri argues that Boissonnas set out a path that subsequent photographers followed, setting out not only the route but also the visual language and angles used to capture Crete (Boudouri 2001, 18). Indeed, Nelly’s own itinerary on Crete shares considerable overlap with Boissonnas’ itinerary on Crete in the *Des Cyclades…* album (1919, 126), as well as exhibiting stylistic influence. Nelly’s was therefore aware of Boissonnas’ album and his images. The bay of Souda, the village and surrounding area of Askyfou and Lakki have been identified by Boudouri (2001, 24-25) as clear correlations in terms of subject matter and aesthetics. I argue that the influences go even farther. Nelly’s street scene in Chania shares similarities to Boissonnas’ street scenes from Chania and more interestingly, Boissonnas and Nelly’s share the same interest in the famed Mantakas family (Boudouri 2001, 20). Boissonnas photographed the Mantakas brothers (fig. 96) as well as the bedroom of ‘Capitaine Mantakas’–a surprisingly intimate event (fig. 97).

Figure 96. Mantakas family from 'Des Cyclades en Crète au gré du vent' album. F. Boissonnas. 1919. Marilena Laskaridis Foundation.

Figure 97. The bedroom of kapetan Mantakas from 'Des Cyclades en Crète au gré du vent'. F. Boissonnas. 1919. Marilena Laskaridis Foundation.

Nelly’s took a number of portraits also of ‘gero Mantakas’ (fig. 99), whom she identified as *kapetan Mantakas* in her autobiography (Nelly’s 1989, 161–62)–as well as a younger male Mantakas family member picking oranges (fig. 98).

Figure 98. Younger Mantakas family member. Nelly's. 1939. Benaki Museum.

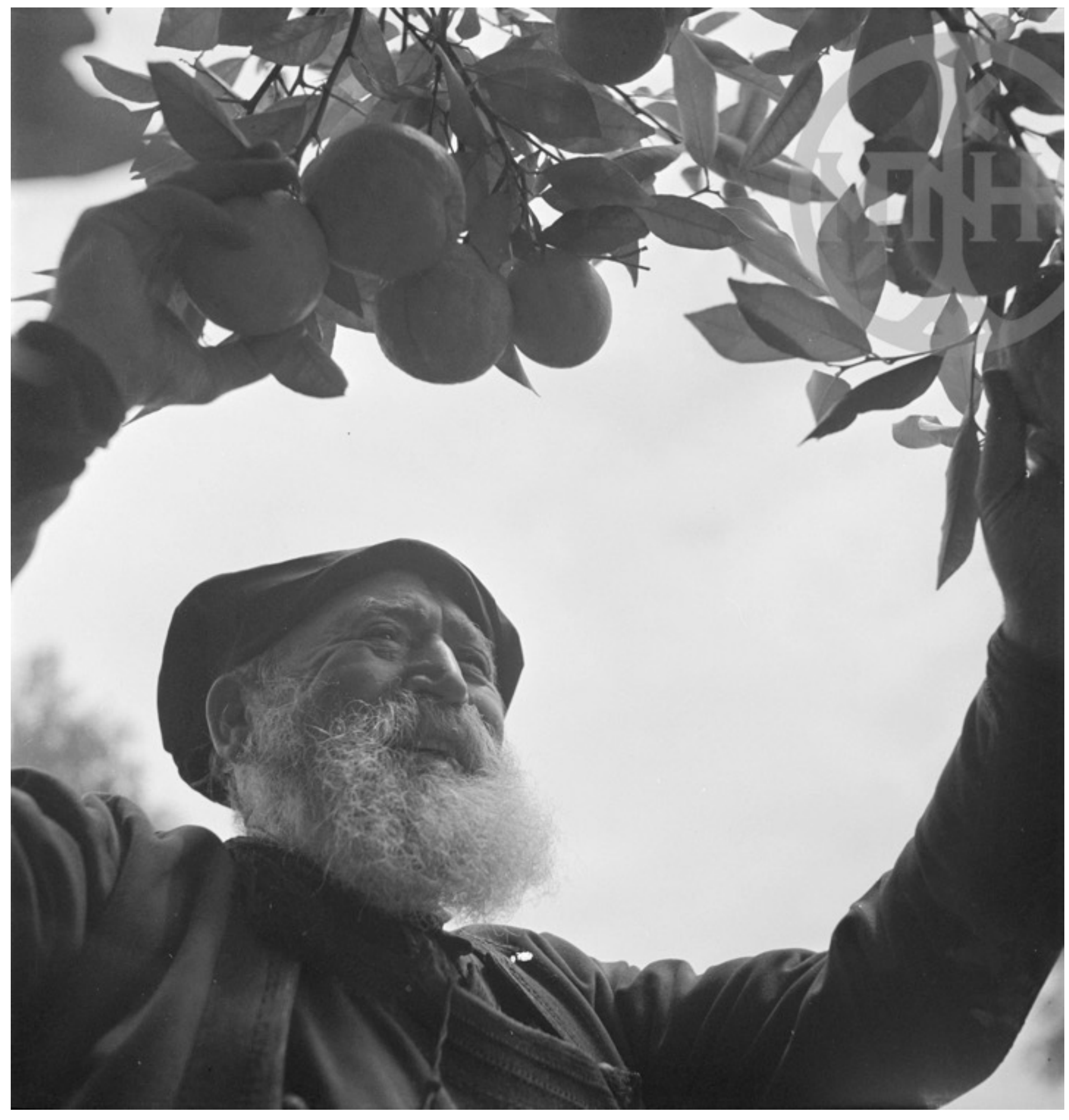

Figure 99. Kapetan Mantakas picking oranges. Nelly's. 1939. Benaki Museum.

In 1927 Boissonnas visited Nelly's studio and asked her to develop some film for him (Nelly's 1989, 110), making it plausible that Nelly's discussed her trip to Crete with Boissonnas during that visit. Boissonnas was in Greece to take part in and to photograph the centenary of the Battle of Navarino (20 October 1827), and he visited Athens after the celebration which took place in Pylos on 20 October 1927. Therefore, Boissonnas visited Nelly's after her trip to Crete which, she claimed, took place in the spring (Nelly's 1989, 161, 1992, 7). Boudouri speculates that Nelly's in 1927 might have printed some of Boissonnas' Cretan photographs and therefore had first-hand experience of his work (Boudouri 2001, 24). This strikes me as a tenuous assumption, as Boissonnas' last trip to Crete was close to a decade in the past and it is unlikely that he transported these old negatives–which might have been fragile glass

plates–on his 1927 trip to Greece. Nevertheless, Nelly's was most certainly aware of his work from Crete from his earlier publication. Any discussion about Crete they might have had in 1927 might have given Nelly's a good starting point for her second trip in 1939.

One can speculate about Nelly's interest in the Mantakas family and Boissonnas' role in kindling this interest. Nelly's might have easily seen the two images of the Mantakas family in the *Des Cyclades…* album and spoken to Boissonnas about them in her studio. Perhaps Boissonnas told her to mention his name to the family in case she went back to Crete. Or, perhaps she had already visited the Mantakas family in 1927 and they shared stories of their mutual encounters. This is however mere speculation. Nelly's did not provide dates for her images so there is some uncertainty regarding the dating of Nelly's images of the Mantakas. In the album KPHTH-CRETE (2001)–to which Boudouri as head of the Benaki museum's photographic archive contributed–a photograph of a younger Mantakas man picking oranges is dated 1939, while the image of an older Mantakas with a gendarme, most certainly *kapetan* Mantakas, is dated 1927/1939 (fig. 100).

Figure 100. Kapetan *Mantakas with gendarme. Nelly's. 1939. Benaki Museum.*

Nelly’s archive holds more images of the older man, also picking oranges. The pictures of the men in the same orange grove are, therefore, likely from the same year. [113] Comparing Nelly’s photographs of kapetan Mantakas with the portrait of the *kapetanios* dated 1936 by Antonis

[113] The fact that the oranges in the photographs are not harvested presents something of a problem for the dating of the images. Nelly’s went to Crete in spring 1927 and summer 1939, both possible seasons for the harvesting of oranges. Yet, oranges harvested in the summer belong to Valencia varieties that likely did not exist on Crete in the early twentieth century. I thank K. Kalantzis for bringing this to my attention. The Benaki photographic archive considers these orange-picking images to be from 1939.

Oikonomidis in the collection of Kostas Kotzias at the ELIA-MIET archive (fig. 101), Mantakas in Nelly's image appears to be approximately the same age as in Oikonomidis' image.

Figure 101. Kapetan Mantakas. Antonis Oikonomidis. 1936. ELIA-MIET.

The Mantakas family presents an illuminating case of the creation and dissemination of Greek national symbols and symbolic resources (cf. A. D. Smith 2008, 2009). The Mantakas were a well-known warrior family, hailing from a long line of warrior-chieftains that had participated in local Cretan independence struggles, as well as in the Balkan Wars. Anagnostis Mantakas, the elder patriarch of the family in the early twentieth century, had participated in the celebrations of the unification of Crete with Greece on December 2, 1913, raising the Greek flag on the Firka fortress, together with the chieftain Giannaris (Anonymous 1913a). The elder

Mantakas hence embodied the island in this union and symbolizing the local will and desire to join Greece. A photograph of Mantakas shaking King Constantine's hand at the celebrations was made into postcards, as well as another image of the elder Mantakas descending from the Firka fortress. The sale of postcards from this event was advertised soon thereafter, as an advertisement in the EMPROS newspaper from December 5, 1913 illustrates (Anonymous 1913b). Photographs of Minos and Odysseas Mantakas who fought in Macedonia as guerilla leaders were also made into postcards.

Nelly's was most likely drawn to this family and particularly to its men because of her acquaintance with them through Boissonnas. Her travel itineraries on Crete seem to correlate with Boissonnas's foray into the island. It is clear from the above that the Mantakas were a symbolically important family for the Greek nation and the state. By extension, the Mantakas family becomes a potent national symbol of a freedom-fighting Greek family, with a clear identity tied to the rural and the traditional, particularly the Cretan Mountain tradition (Herzfeld 1985, 9). Boissonnas had visited the Mantakas family prior to unification, as part of his tour of the Cyclades and Crete that Venizelos had encouraged and facilitated (Boudouri 2001, 18). PM Venizelos was close to both Boissonnas and the Mantakas.

The ways in which photography and mass distribution of images through postcards and personal networks interacted to establish the Mantakas as national symbols, provides us with an opportunity to trace the genealogy of such symbol creation. It also provides an excellent illustration of the externalization of memory (A. Assmann 2010, 36–37; J. Assmann 1995, 129)–in this case the memory of the Mantakas as a national family–in postcards, other imagery and lastly in Nelly's images. Nelly's had ample opportunities to consciously–or not–absorb the Mantakas as a national symbol and as a theme to be captured by her lens. Both through Boissonnas, his publication *Des Cyclades…,* and other media such as postcards, Nelly's might have engaged with the symbolic nature of the Mantakas and the Cretan highlanders as part of a Greek national myth. At the time of Crete's unification with Greece, Nelly's was fourteen years old and living in Asia Minor. Therefore, her knowledge of the events and the various participants of these events on Crete might have been limited. Nonetheless, visual imagery of Crete and its distinct identity was circulating when Nelly's arrived in Greece. The portrait of *kapetan* Mantakas from 1936 by Antonis Oikonomidis, which belonged to Kostas Kotzias, Minister of Athens under Metaxas, and now in ELIA-MIET archive, tells us that the Mantakas family was still relevant to Greek elites' conception of

national and local symbols in 1936. Kotzias's other images from Crete include a group dancing Pentozali, ancient Knossos, and one image of a water fountain.[114]

To the best of my knowledge, Nelly's images of the Mantakas were not published until after her rediscovery in the 1970s. Many other Cretan images were used for the promotion of tourism on Crete and in her parallelism project. Considering that the Mantakas were symbolically important for the Greek nation, their omission from publications is at odds with this symbolism. I argue that the reason for this omission might be found in the timing of Nelly's trip to Crete in 1939. In her recollection, she was warned on this second trip that going to the mountains was dangerous, because the fugitive Mantakas was hiding in the mountains (Nelly's 1989, 161, 1992, 7). Nevertheless, Nelly's managed to take a small number of photographs of kapetan Mantakas and a younger Mantakas male, possibly a younger brother.[115] These images are far fewer than the extensive series of other Cretans, such as the Sfakians.

The 'fugitive Mantakas' designation might at first seem obvious and not worthy of further thought. Crime and violence are key tropes of the exceptionalist national discourses related to Crete.[116] A Cretan fugitive might easily be associated with sheep rustling or a blood feud within this type of discourse. Nelly's was most likely warned about Manolis Mantakas in 1939.[117] Mantakas was wanted by the state for being a key figure in the 1938 Chania uprising against the Metaxas dictatorship.[118] Therefore the local authorities warned Nelly's about Mantakas, although he most likely did not pose any danger to a civilian like Nelly's. Mantakas was an enemy of the regime by virtue of his dissent. Nelly's images of Mantakas might have been somewhat embarrassing for the Metaxas regime, if they had been used in any touristic promotion of Crete. A rebellious Cretan family could not represent Greece, even though they

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[114] Nelly's was a good friend of Kotzias and his family during her stay in the USA, even going so far as to defend him in her autobiography against undisclosed allegations, though she hints that this relates to Kotzias being labelled a fascist (Nelly's 1989, 253, 261).

[115] Comparing the younger man to Boissonnas's group portrait of the Mantakas brothers from 1911, Nelly's younger Mantakas bears close resemblance to the youngest man in Boissonnas's photograph, on the far right (fig. 96).

[116] Astrinaki (2002, 7), Herzfeld (2003, 281, 284), Kalantzis (2012).

[117] Nelly's mentions that kapetan Mantakas's nephew was hiding in the mountains, lending further credence that this is Manolis Mantakas. Kapetan Mantakas is most likely Antonis Mantakas, who owed his title of *kapetanios* to his leadership of guerrilla bands in Macedonia.

[118] Dafnis (1955, 457–60), Detorakis (1986, 467–68). See also Kofas (1983, 146–67), Linardatos (1975).

had previously embodied the nation. Even Metaxas personally did not think highly of Crete and Cretans, regarding the island as an uncivilized, sheep-rustling place. When he heard of the Chania rebellion, he wrote in his diary that the prefecture of Chania was not a friend of the regime. The enforcement of laws against animal theft as well as Chania's close relationship to Venizelism were grievances that Metaxas perceived that the Chaniotes held against him (quoted in Linardatos 1975, 357). These nuances are easily lost across the temporal and archival divide and engaging with these images offers us good examples of how to think through photography.

Idealized toil–Nelly's depiction of the countryside

When Nelly's aims her camera at the countryside, a lively world comes to the fore, in stark contrast to the images of anaemic urban spaces. Visually defining urban Crete as disconnected from human life might seem somewhat paradoxical, but it chimes with Nelly's centring of the rural as an essential part of Greece. The empty *kafeneion* chairs in Irakleio are in rural Crete replaced by smiling, jovial men sitting in front of a *kafeneion* (fig. 102) or the courtyard of someone's home (fig. 103).

Figure 102. Men sitting at kafeneion in central Crete. Nelly's. 1939. Benaki Museum.

Figure 103. Men sitting in a courtyard in a Cretan village. Nelly's. 1939. Benaki Museum.

Empty Cretan cities contrast vividly to images from the village of Anogeia filled with men, women and children going about their busy lives (figs 104-109).

Figure 104. Village of Anogeia. Nelly's. 1939. Benaki Museum.

Figure 105. Cretan villager. Nelly's. 1939. Benaki Museum.

Figure 106. Village of Anogeia. Nelly's. 1939. Benaki Museum.

The countryside and the fields are portrayed as hives of busy activity with harvesting (figs. 110, 111), threshing and milking taking place.

Figure 107. Bread-baking in Anogeia, Crete. Nelly's. 1939. Benaki Museum.

Figure 108. A hand-mill, Anogeia, Crete. Nelly's. 1939. Benaki Museum.

Figure 109. Cutting reeds, Anogeia, Crete. Nelly's. 1939. Benaki Museum.

Figure 110. Harvest, Crete. Nelly's. 1939. Benaki Museum.

Figure 111. Harvest, Crete. Nelly's. 1939. Benaki Museum.

Nelly's approach to the rural Greeks is also markedly different. She gets close to the villagers, taking individual or group portraits of them. These portraits centre around the sitters' rural identities, capturing in various ways the symbolic representation of rural Greece. The Sfakians and Cretans more generally are defined by their black dress and headdress, the shepherd by his crook and his flock, the community is defined by the communal activity of harvesting.

Figure 112. Giorgos Valiris (nicknamed Kartsonas), Sfakia. Nelly's. 1939. Benaki Museum.

Figure 113. Man in central Crete. Nelly's. 1939. Benaki Museum.

Often laughing or smiling, these rural Greeks seem at ease with life and with the outsider photographer. In numerous images from Crete, we even see groups of men singing–most likely *rizitika*–and playing the lyre (fig 114).

Figure 114. Lyre-players, central Crete. Nelly's. 1939. Benaki Museum.

Nelly's photographic aestheticization of rural Greece stems from both personal interests and larger ideological reasons. On the personal level, Nelly's infatuation with the Greek countryside and landscape is rooted in an aesthetic of the picturesque, of finding images ready to be captured at every turn. On a larger ideological level, the portrayal of rural Greece as happy, productive, and traditional creates potent national symbolism for the Metaxas regime, obscuring the hardships of the Greek countryside while promoting the countryside as

a tourist-friendly destination.[119] These two levels intertwine and coexist (cf. Papaioannou 2014, 209).

Boudouri succinctly describes Nelly's visual conception of rural Greece in the following

> 'Nelly's Greece appears as a place without internal conflicts and violent changes, where people and the landscape coexist in harmony in a peaceful, timeless existence.' (1996, 14)

Ploughing and harvesting in Nelly's images are not signs of human toil according to Boudouri. Greece in Nelly's vision is a land drenched in soft light, peaceful and inviting and 'strongly connected to the rural people' but without signs of struggle (Boudouri 1996, 13). Although Boudouri is certainly correct in her observation, she accepts Nelly's visualization of Greece without examining the ideological underpinnings of this view. A similar line is taken by Trichon Milsani who sees Nelly's images of rural Greece–she calls them 'Rural Scenes'–as full of 'innocence and sweetness: shepherds, farmwomen in the fields and the villages […]' (1990, 38). Trichon-Milsani astutely points out the similarities to the Munich school of painting (ibid) yet does not make the link between Nelly's German aesthetic education and her romantic, picturesque aesthetics of the rural explicit.

The partiality of these images of the countryside is never particularly dwelled upon by most commentators. Partial in the sense that they only present a romanticized and embellished view of life on the Greek countryside, and partial because they reflect Nelly's intent to present Greece as a land of sweetness and innocence. Although Boudouri clearly identifies the partial image of Greece that Nelly's visualizes, the effect of Nelly's partial view of Greece is elided. As we can see in Trichon-Milsani's comment above, Nelly's images also

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[119] Nelly's images of her 1939 trip to Crete do not appear in the pages of the Metaxas regime's tourism magazine *En Grèce*, as many of her other images have. They only appear later, in the 1948 issue of *En Grèce* (nr. 8), which is wholly dedicated to Crete. Indeed, the magazine states that that issue was dedicated to the 'heroic island of Crete'. The reason Nelly's Cretan images do not appear in the Metaxas era's publications is the outbreak of WWII. As the post-war *En Grèce* notes on its first page, the 'the text of this booklet was written before 1940 and its publication was delayed because of the world war'. Hence, the post-war *En Grèce* should be considered a Metaxas regime publication. The Cretans displayed in this magazine conform to the stereotype of happy, productive, and traditional. No members of the Mantakas family are represented in the magazine.

mediate the cultural memory of the inter-war years, shaping perceptions of the Greek past in the present (cf. Erll 2008; Shevchenko 2014; A. Assmann 2010).

Afterlives

The parallelisms serve not only as a visual expression of the racially inflected ideology of unbroken Hellenism but became part of a twentieth-century photographic legacy. Nelly's juxtapositions have been used in many contexts before WWII, mostly in Greece: tourism publications in the late 1930s, newspapers, the Metaxas and Nazi regime book collaboration, and finally adorning the walls of the Greek Pavilion at the New York World's Fair in 1939. From 1939 to 1966 Nelly's lived and worked in New York City, where she set up a new photographic studio. Nelly's stay in America is outside the remit of this thesis although it is a topic well worth closer study. I will focus on a couple of examples of the uses of her interwar images during the post-war period.

In the July 14, 1947 edition of *LIFE* magazine, Nelly's had an article dedicated to her photographs of ancient statues and modern Greeks entitled 'Speaking of Pictures… Greeks still look their forebears' (figs 116-118).[120] Seven parallelisms are spread out over three pages: a Minoan fresco juxtaposed to a modern Cretan woman in profile ('The modern girl[…]has the same straight nose and large black eyes as faded painting') (fig. 114), the Archaic

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[120] The *LIFE* article was enthusiastically reported in the Athenian *Vradini* newspaper in late July of the same year. This was not the first time Nelly's had her image published in *LIFE*. The cover of the 16 December 1940 issue featured Nelly's image of an Evzone raising a trumpet call, with the temple of Olympian Zeus in the background. This image, as Zacharia correctly points out, 'falls into the category of photos reproduced in the *Neolaia* magazine to incite the regime's youth to work hard and to support the regime's effort to raise young citizens fit for the Third Hellenic Civilisation cultural project' (2015, 250). Although this particular image of the Evzone is not found in the *Neolaia* magazine, the aesthetics employed place it neatly within Nelly's other work for the Metaxas regime and EON. The publication of the Evzone's image in *LIFE* has its own interesting history as told through the exchange of letters between Nelly's and *LIFE* in late 1940 to early 1941. Nelly's felt she had not been paid the fair price for her images while *LIFE* hinted that as Nelly's was the official photographer of the Greek government, her photographs were publicity images and therefore did not even need to be paid for. Nelly's does not deny she had been the official photographer but insists that these images were taken outside of her work for the state and therefore should be paid for. She refers to Frederic Boissonnas working along a similar arrangement (referred to in a letter from Nelly's to *LIFE* Magazine dated February 13 1941, held at the Benaki photographic archive).

Moschophoros statue from the Acropolis juxtaposed to a modern day Thessalian shepherd carrying a lamb on his shoulders (fig. 117), three Sfakian men likened to the three-bodied demon from the Hekatompedon temple on the Acropolis (fig. 116), a group of dancing Cretan girls and a terracotta figurine group of dancers, the 'canephore' from *En Grèce* together with a 'canephore' from the Parthenon's frieze, and last but not least the woman from Hypati placed next to the Lapith woman from Olympia (fig. 118).

SPEAKING OF PICTURES

. . . GREEKS STILL LOOK LIKE THEIR FOREBEARS

The painters and sculptors of ancient Greece left behind them in marble pediments and on friezes of temple walls not only samples of their art but often, entwined with their mythology, revealing glimpses of their neighbors and their times. But though the craftsmen are as dead as the glory of classic Greece, 3,000 years later the faces and many of the folkways of Greece seem immune to change.

Proof of this is the striking set of photographic comparisons shown here, matching living Greeks with Greeks long dead. It is the work of Greece's best-known woman photographer, Nelly Seraidaris, who compiled them to repudiate a foolish Nazi claim that modern Greeks were merely hybrids while Germany was the true successor of Greek greatness. Mrs. Seraidaris has exhibited her match-ups in the U.S., now plans to issue them in a book to prove the Nazis as bad genealogists as they were strategists.

THESE CRETAN WOMEN, born some 3,400 years apart, look like sisters. The modern girl (*right*) has same straight nose and large black eyes as faded painting (*left*) which is part of a Cretan fresco done about 1500 B.C.

Figure 115. Clipping from LIFE magazine with Nelly's parallelism. July 14, 1947. Benaki Museum.

GREEK MEN (*bottom*) of the wild mountain tribes in Crete proved to be intractable photographic subjects but still managed to look fully as fierce as the bearded trio of classic stone heads at top. The latter are all parts of a single hybrid statue found on the Acropolis in Athens. The statue antedates the time of Pericles by a century.

Figure 116. Clipping from LIFE magazine with Nelly's parallelism. July 14, 1947. Benaki Museum.

STONE CALF BEARER (*top*) was carved about 2,500 years ago. Thessalian shepherd (*bottom*) closely copies stance but his burden is an affectionate lamb.

Figure 117. Clipping from LIFE magazine with Nelly's parallelism. July 14, 1947. Benaki Museum.

SPEAKING OF PICTURES

CONTINUED

STONE MAIDEN (*left*), from Temple of Zeus, Olympia, is more than 2,400 years old. But pretty peasant girl from Thessaly (*right*) could be her double.

WATER CARRIER (*left*), preserved from a frieze carved on the Parthenon in 442 B.C., is skillfully mimicked by a modern young Macedonian girl (*right*).

Figure 118. Clipping from LIFE magazine with Nelly's parallelism. July 14, 1947. Benaki Museum.

The article's short introductory text establishes that although ancient Greek glory is gone and past, the customs and people of Greece remain practically unchanged.

> ‘Proof of this is the striking set of photographic comparisons shown here, matching living Greeks with Greeks long dead. It is the work of Greece’s best-known photographer, Nelly Seraidaris, who compiled them to repudiate a foolish Nazi claim that modern Greeks were merely hybrids while Germany was the true successor of Greek greatness. Mrs. Seraidiaris has exhibited her match-ups in the U.S., now plans to issue them in a book to prove the Nazis as bad genealogists as they were strategists.’

Here we find yet another explanation for the origins of the parallelism project. This time Nelly’s impetus was to disprove Nazi appropriation of ancient Greece. Nelly’s and her parallelisms adapt very swiftly to the circumstances. The parallelism of the girl from Hypati and the ancient Lapith woman make quite an ideological journey. On the one hand they get used by a joint Nazi-Metaxas regime publication that plays into a racial discourse of Hellenic continuity and on the other hand in a US popular magazine, disproving Nazi uses of a racial historical interpretation of German and Greek ancient histories. Nelly’s performs something of a mid-twentieth century adaptation of an anti-Fallmerayer-ist crusade against another Germanic enemy, this time the Nazis. Nelly’s images are universal indeed.

What is striking is that the underlying premise in the *LIFE* article is that an inherent biological-physical connection between ancient Greeks and modern Greeks exists. The short text conveys to the reader that the ‘purity’ of Greeks–an underlying racial purity at that–is not in question. Nazi Germany’s fevered appropriation of the ancient Greek past was under scrutiny. Considering the recent end of WWII, this anti-Nazi rhetoric is certainly not out of place. Still, there is dissonance between the criticism of Nazi racist discourse and accepting a view of Greek history grounded in a continuity that can only be interpreted as biological. The glory of ancient Greece is dead, the article tells us, but we can still see the physical manifestation of antiquity in the faces–and ‘folkways’–of Greece.

Twice a stranger

Nelly’s returns to Athens in 1966 and experiences disappointment that she is not shown recognition in Greece. Or as she puts it ‘[t]he years were going by, no one remembered me, but even I did not give any signs of life’ (1989, 299). She is particularly sad that after all that

she did for Greece in the USA, the National Gallery of Greece was not giving her an exhibition– the only appropriate venue to host and honour her work in her opinion. Then in 1975, the tide turns. A notice in the 23 November 1975 issue of the *Kathimerini* daily put out a call for any information regarding 'the old famous photographer Mrs Nelly's' (Anonymous 1975). The impetus for this search? An old article in a 1950 issue of *Eklogi* that said that Nelly's was planning an album entitled 'Parallel Images' that would link ancient to modern Greece.[121] This album was never made but the interest in this album and the photographer, follows a certain pattern that I have laid out throughout this chapter. It is Nelly's visualizations of the continuity of the Greek *phyli* that catches the *Kathimerini* journalist's eye.

A week later, on 30 November 1975 *Kathimerini's* Maria Karavia presents Nelly's anew to a Greek audience. The article is part biography, part interview, going through Nelly's cosmopolitan life and career. Karavia points out that Nelly's was a pioneer of photography, both in terms of her gender–as the first professional female photographer–and in terms of the photographic aesthetics she brought to interwar Greece, moving photography into the realm of art and away from a simple souvenir. The author goes on to say how Nelly's was not only a successful photographer of Athenian society, but she also had a keen eye for the beauty of the anonymous people, particularly those living in the countryside. 'The way she sees Greece, is somewhat intended to prove the "grandeur of the race (*phyli*)" and this might have helped her to be named as the official photographer of the Ministry of Tourism' (Karavia 1975).

Karavia continues to say that 'regardless of ideological positions, there [at the Sub Ministry of Press and Tourism] she was given all the means to perform her work'. A few lines further down Karavia writes that the many successes of that era had given her the double-edged moniker 'the Greek Leni Riefenstahl'. The rest of the article goes on to talk about Nelly's career in the USA, the loss of parts of her archive during her long absence from Greece, and her eventual return to Greece, mentioning that by the time she returned to Greece she was a US citizen and as such could not work in Greece.

[121] An article by I. Manolikakis in *To Vima* (1950) reported on Nelly's two month visit to Greece. In the article the trials and tribulations of Nelly's US life are recounted and the author also described a book Nelly's wanted to produced, showing the continuity of the Greek race. The author described Nelly's album as a potential boon for tourism.

This was the first in a long line of articles written about Nelly's throughout the late 1970s and the 1980s. Nelly's collected many newspaper clippings about herself, which are saved in the Benaki Museum's photographic archive. This has allowed me to study her rediscovery through the press of the era. Since these clippings were collected by Nelly's herself, they risk reflecting a positive bias towards her rediscovery. Yet, Nelly's rediscovery was positive and laudatory. Critical reflections on Nelly's–particularly her *völkisch*-adjacent imagery of the Greek countryside and the physiognomic visual linkages she made between modern and ancient Greeks–only surfaced decades later, mostly from academia. There is one notable exception to which I will return to at the end of this section.

The newspaper clippings span a period of almost a decade, from 1975 to 1984. In the 1970s, the press' interest in Nelly's was driven by her rediscovery and reintroduction to Greek audiences. In the 1980s the articles tend to centre around the first documentary on Nelly's, directed by Vera Palma and written by Alkis Xanthakis.[122] Nelly's reintroduction to Greek audiences follows certain patterns that are especially detectable in the early articles of the 1970s. What is most striking is the clear, uniform narrative that these articles create and reproduce. The articles are biographical, narrating the ups and downs of Nelly's life, attenuating her phoenix-like qualities. The stories related in the articles are often repeated in other articles, such as the scandalizing photographic shoot of Mona Paiva on the Acropolis in 1925, followed by poet Pavlos Nirvanas' defence of Nelly's images. The narrative and the stories retold share much with Nelly's own autobiography. Not only is the narrative structure the same, but the specific stories are also often the same.

Nikos Grigorakis (1982), in his article on the photographers Nikos Zografos and Nelly's in the *Eikastika* arts magazine in December 1982, mentions that he was able to get his hands on a manuscript copy of Nelly's autobiography. There is therefore at least one clear indication that the narrative Nelly's shared with her interlocutors was formalized in written form and shared with Nelly's interlocutors. Regardless, the narrative reporters spun around Nelly's is strikingly coherent across the 1970s and 1980s. An obvious rebuttal to this is that this was indeed Nelly's life. Yet, what parts of her life are foregrounded–her Asia Minor heritage, Mona

[122] Xanthakis is the author of the only history of Greek photography–first edition 1981–and therefore is a key figure in the historiography of Greek photography.

Paiva on the Acropolis, the images of Old Athens, her discovery of Greece's (rural) beauty etc– hint at a formalized public narrative that Nelly's wished to share.

Nelly's mentions in the foreword of her autobiography (1989) that she started working on her autobiography after her friend Stephanos Zotos published a profile of Nelly's in the Greek American monthly magazine *Pilgrimage* in 1976. Zotos in Nelly's account encouraged her to put her story in writing. Zotos' article which is translated into Greek and reproduced in Nelly's autobiography, provided the template for Nelly's narrative in my opinion. It sets out the narrative structure of Nelly's life as told in her autobiography and as reproduced in the press of the 1970s and 1980s. Fittingly, Zotos calls her story an 'Odyssey'.

Furthermore, Nelly's public narrative is reproduced in Vera Palma's documentary. Although I have not been able to watch the documentary–primarily due to the Covid-19 pandemic–, a copy of its screenplay is saved in Nelly's archive at the Benaki, providing an insight into the documentary's narrative construction. The screenplay is divided between two voices, that of the narrator and screenwriter Alkis Xanthakis and that of Nelly's. Xanthakis provides background information, while Nelly's narrates her life in her own words. Her words are scripted though, adding another layer to the formalization of Nelly's narrative. Nothing new is presented in the documentary. As with the other stories about Nelly's, it picks up on many of the same themes in the same order: Asia Minor family disaster, studies in Dresden, settling and succeeding in Athens, Mona Paiva scandal, going to NYC in 1939 and ending up having to start over again, return to Athens.

The documentary, which was produced by the Ministry of Culture, was presented at the Thessaloniki Film Festival in 1983 and then aired on the public broadcaster ERT2 on November 8, 1983. Its airing on national TV sparked a renewed interest in Nelly's and her work. Positive reviews were featured in publications such as *Mesimvrini*, *Tilerama* and *Elliniki Fotografia*. Crucially, it introduced Nelly's to wider audiences that had not read about her in the press during the 1970s and early 1980s. It also solidified the narrative around her life, which would be further entrenched with the publication of Nelly's autobiography in 1989.

In 1986, the magazine *Anti* (*Αντί*), a Leftist political and cultural magazine, probably held the most public debate in Greece over Nelly's work in the pages of two issues. In the first instance, the magazine wondered why Dimitris Papastamos, director of the National Gallery in Athens, was not impressed by Nelly's and did not wish to exhibit her work at the National Gallery (1986a, no. 313). The origin of this denial was that Papastamos had received a letter

from Dimosthenis Agrafiotis–professor of sociology at the National School of Public Health, poet, critic and photographer–asking him to explore the possibility of hosting an exhibition of Nelly's work. Agrafiotis' letter was not published in *Anti* but a copy of it is kept in Nelly's archive. In this letter, Agrafiotis states that the 'Asia Minor' (*mikrasiatisa*) Nelly's is now 86 years old, and it would be a shame if she passed away without her work being officially recognized with an exhibition at the National Gallery.

Anti published Papastamos' response wherein he obliquely said no to Agrafiotis proposal (Anonymous 1986b, no. 315). Papastamos stated rather cryptically that while Nelly's work is interesting, there are certain pre-war topics that present 'great chasms/rifts' (*megala chasmata*), topics which Agrafiotis must be aware of. Papastamos also pointed out that since the Benaki museum has Nelly's archive, the museum would be a fitting place to exhibit her images. Lastly, he also acknowledged that exhibiting at the National Gallery would indeed lend prestige, but that the Benaki museum was not too bad either.

Papastamos' letter provoked a strong response from both Agrafiotis and *Anti*, which placed itself on Nelly's and Agrafiotis' side. Agrafiotis took umbrage with Papastamos' negative response and the tone of his letter–described by *Anti* as 'smug irony' (1986a, 53). Agrafiotis went on to criticise the National Gallery's lack of interest in photography and stated that this was not a matter of prestige for Nelly's but was simply the recognition of an important pioneer of Greek artistic photography. Furthermore, Agrafiotis stated that an exhibition would focus on Nelly's artistic work and not on her documentary-journalistic work. What this nebulous division of Nelly's work meant was left unsaid. *Anti* on its part wondered whether the 86-year-old Nelly's does not charm Papastamos, and whether he does not wish to have his authority questioned by others. Lastly, *Anti* called on Papastamos to publicly explain the National Gallery's policies, particularly as he has been director of the Gallery from the years of the military dictatorship (ibid).

Two issues of *Anti* later, the debate over Nelly's is back. In its second iteration, the debate shifted though, focusing more on the National Gallery's policies on the exhibition and collection of photography, rather than on Nelly's. Most of the second debate was taken up by Papastamos' lengthy response to Agrafiotis and to *Anti*, in which he defends his direction of

the Gallery and his appointment under the colonel's junta.[123] What Papastamos said about Nelly's is crucial though. While Papastamos acknowledged the artistic value and importance of Nelly's photography, he pointed out that there is another side to her that cannot be ignored. This side was Nelly's work that espoused a fascist aesthetic, photographs made to serve the Metaxas regime. Apologias that call upon Nelly's love of aesthetical expression are not recognized by Papastamos. He stresses that this type of imagery was especially out of place at the National Gallery, which also had a mission to educate young children. Actively ignoring Nelly's embrace of a totalitarian aesthetics would be historically false, according to Papastamos. He went on to wonder how a magazine such as *Anti* might support such an active elision of the past.

In *Anti*'s answer to Papastamos' letter, the magazine does not find Papastamos' arguments convincing. As he had not even examined Nelly's archive, *Anti* found it difficult that Papastamos could opine on Nelly's 'love for fascism and nazism' (1986b, 51). Furthermore, *Anti* found that keeping Nelly's images away from school children because of Nelly's 'hidden fascist side' was not sufficiently important. Nelly's 'artistic photographs' centre the 'human presence, the body, and not metaxist spectacle' (ibid). Furthermore, *Anti* criticized Papastamos for his general claim that an artist's personality leaves an imprint on their work asking if '[…]all Nelly's photographs show…what? Her fascist mentality? If Mr. D. Papastamos believe this he should say so' (ibid).

The debate over Nelly's in *Anti* is emblematic of the way in which Nelly's has been received and canonized in Greece since the 1970s. Her quest for beauty crowds out any unsavoury aspects of her images' production and use, or the ideological underpinnings of her racial aesthetics. Nelly's rediscovery and canonization is part of a larger trajectory, that of the establishment of a Greek photographic history and discourse in the 1970s. As Penelope Petsini (2016a) argues, the creation of this Greek photographic discourse was grounded in an art historical model which sought out 'emblematic figures' of Greek photographic history. One such figure was Nelly's. The narrative of this official photographic history was politically

[123] *Anti's* questioning of Papastamos' appointment is a legitimate query. Yet my sense is that it arose as a reaction to Papastamos' indirect aspersions cast against Nelly's own past association with the Metaxas' regime.

neutral, meaning that it silenced or overlooked certain aspects of these 'emblematic figures' lives and photographic production (Petsini 2016a).[124]

As I have shown in this chapter and as Petsini also shows, Nelly's relationship to the Metaxas regime–even to the German Nazi regime–and her obvious racial aesthetics have been subsumed under the banner of 'patriotism' and nostalgia for an innocent Greece (2016a, 271). These aspects of Nelly's were suppressed or even forgiven in the course of her canonization in Greek photographic history. To this day, Nelly's is presented as politically neutral, someone who was simply carried along by the aesthetic ebbs and flows of her time, even by critics who acknowledge that her past has been sanitized by the historiography of Greek photography (Petsini 2016a, 272).

Petsini makes a crucial point about Greek photographic discourse, namely that it is preoccupied with an analytical framework centred around aesthetics. Aesthetics becomes universal and timeless, while social and political considerations are secondary–even subversive. This type of Greek photographic discourse is inextricably tied to the art historical model that was espoused in the 1970s and onwards. Dealing with subjects outside of aesthetics would possibly question the whole model of Greek photographic history and the canon itself (Petsini 2016a, 267).

This is certainly one important reason why Nelly's photography has been selectively interpreted. Another reason is that her imagery visualized an important cornerstone of the Greek national imaginary, that of Hellenism's millennia long unbroken continuity. This cultural-historical collective identity has been extensively explored throughout this thesis, by focusing on two of its main elements, the ancient past and the rural. The parallelism project expresses this cultural-historical identity succinctly and does so in an aesthetically pleasing way. Both antiquity and the modern rural Greeks are clearly centred. Yet, the images are undoubtedly steeped in racial ideation. Nelly's images showing the continuity of Hellenism therefore exhibit striking similarities to similar projects of physiognomic photographic comparison undertaken in Nazi Germany at the time (Petsini 2016a, 271; Soursos 2018, 517,

[124] Other such canonized photographers were Voula Papaioannou, Dimitris Harissiadis and Spyros Meletzis. Petsini points out that Papaioannou's propaganda images for the Greek state and the US presence in 1945-1949 are often overlooked, similarly to Harissiadis propaganda images from Makronisos. Meletzis, who had photographed the EAM/ELAS resistance, had good relations with the Royal Palace after the war, relations which were less discussed from a leftist perspective (Petsini 2016a, 273–74).

n.37). Indeed, I have explored Nelly's relationship to fascist aesthetics and even Nazi Germany throughout this chapter. The equivalence of blood kinship to common cultural heritage was also a central tenet in Nazi race science (Chapoutot 2016, 27). To paraphrase Johann Chapoutot's description of the Nazi racial scientist who 'thought, worked and acted like an anthropologist who had forgotten the meaning of culture and attributed everything to nature' (2016, 28), Nelly's photographed and visualized Greece as if culture was nature.

In my view, Nelly's canonization as Greece's national photographer after the 1970s is also a result of her long absence from the country. When Nelly's returned to Greece in 1966, she had only spent 16 of her then 67 years in Greece. Crucially, she had been gone during WWII, the Civil War and for most of the period until the return of democratic rule in 1974. In this respect, she had not participated in the great divisions of post-war Greek society. Hence, she was politically neutral, judged by the standards of the post-dictatorship era. Whereas a photographer like Meletzis or Balafas might be claimed by the Left, and Harissiadis and Papaioannou could be claimed by a conservative and mainstream establishment, Nelly's was above such labelling. Her imagery could be appreciated for its beauty and its evocation of a simpler Greek past–a past before the rifts of the post-war era. I suggest Nelly's photography of Greece functions as a screen memory for post-dictatorship Greece (cf. Sturken 1997, 22). Her visualization of pre-WWII Greece helps to obscure the memories of the traumatic post-war decades, offering up an image of a simpler, more beautiful Greece. For whom Nelly's pre-war images were made and why is left unsaid though by most of Nelly's commentators. The images' beauty is enough to forgive the complicated and controversial past of Greece's national photographer.

Last, but not least, Nelly's identity as an Asia Minor Greek, an identity that I and many other commentators have pointed out, presented another *national* narrative that supersedes any others. The Asia Minor Disaster's prominent place in Greek historical memory offers up a national trauma that can be shared by all Greeks (Salvanou 2018, 211). Nelly's as the Asia Minor refugee therefore becomes an emblematic national figure that exists outside and above the historical present and the recent past.

Chapter 6 – Halfway to modernity. Visualizing post-war Greece in the Marshall Plan's photography

In this analytical chapter, I turn my attention to the visualization of a Greek post-war social-political identity in the photography of the Marshall Plan (1948-1952). The analysis of this imagery sheds lights on the ways in which Greek post-war subjectivities were steered towards a self-understanding as forward-looking, productive, self-reliant and anti-communist. Modernity looms large in the MP images, particularly in the images of the electrification programme. Yet, an underlying ambivalence towards the bright future permeates the images, an ambivalence which informed much of post-war Greek photography and its visualization of Greece. What makes the MP photographs important is that they capture and visualize Greece's pivotal step towards a modern(ising) nation aligned with the liberal-capitalist West at the outset of the Cold War. The MP photographs tell us that this step was the result of conscious material and visual practices.

Key issues

This chapter focuses on the crucial post-war period in Greece when the country entered a period of rapid reconstruction and modernization. The legacy of this era is complicated by the scars of the Greek Civil War and the mindset that it–and the general politics of the Cold War–imprinted on Greek society. In its turn, the Marshall Plan had a significant effect on the era's discourse on modernization, societal progress, and reform. As Evanthis Hatzivassiliou (2010) has argued, the Marshall Plan bolstered an already present although marginalized radical, reformist political grouping that had arisen in the mid-1930s. Politicians such as George Papandreou and Konstantinos Karamanlis as well as economists such as Xenophon Zolotas were able to develop and implement reformist plans within the framework of US intervention through the MP.

I do not wish to imply that the Greek post-war era's future-oriented ethos was simply a consequence of US influence. It was a complex nexus of Greek understandings, interpretations and engagements with the ideas and practical implementations of the MP in Greece. Hatzivasiliou stresses–and I agree–that the Greek reformist and modernizing discourse was not simply a US import or imposition. This discourse had pre-existed but was

strengthened and complemented by the US intervention (Hatzivassiliou 2010, 20). As I will show in my analysis, these reformism/modernization attempts were also facilitated at the local level by the MP and the US presence.

The photographs used to discuss the visualization of a Greek social-political collective identity in the post-war era are images commissioned by the ECA, the US agency responsible for the implementation of the MP. The images were distributed by the United States Information Service (USIS) to promote the MP activities in Greece.[125] Although a form of propaganda, these images offer novel and unexplored avenues to analyse how Greece negotiated a post-war collective identity, both domestically and internationally. Furthermore, the afterlife of these images as historical and archival objects adds another dimension to their understanding as elements of Greek collective identities. As archival images, the MP images exist in a state of latency and possibility (A. Assmann 2010, 43), primed to mediate the cultural memory of this turbulent period of Greek history. However, the *aide-mémoire* function of photography can also hinder a critical engagement with the past and its memory. Photography's indexicality and associated truthfulness (Morris-Suzuki 2005) stand in the way of looking beyond the traces of the world depicted on photographs, thus reinforcing the partial image of Greece we are seeing in the MP images.

The collection of ECA photographs in question comes from the photographic archive of the ELIA-MIET. Although the images are commissioned by the ECA, they are part of a collection of photographs that came from the USIS office in Patra. This collection arrived at the ELIA-MIET via an antiquarian (*palaiopolis* in Greek) who had found the images in the trash in Patra and sold them to Manos Haritatos, one of the founders of the ELIA.[126] Chronologically, the photographs are taken in the period between 1949 to 1958, encompassing the MP years and a large part of the forward-leaping decade of the 1950s. I will use this collection of images to discuss the visualization and negotiation of a social-political Greek collective identity in the post-war era and the importance of this collection today as an archival object shaping Greek collective memory.

[125] On the history of US propaganda operations and the USIS–from 1953 folded into the United States Information Agency (USIA)–see Cull (2008) and Dizard (2004). On Cold War US propaganda see Parry-Giles (2002).

[126] The history of the collection was retold to me by Mathilde Pyrli, photographic archivist at the ELIA-MIET (04/10/2018).

The ECA collection at the ELIA-MIET is important for a number of reasons. Firstly, the collection visualizes the post-war aspirations of Greece's development under the aegis of the US's ascendant global power. Secondly, it is a visualization of Greece's path to modernity–regardless of whether it is a marginal modernity–that was undertaken by Greek photographers. Lastly, the ECA collection has until now not been adequately researched. Although I am focusing on the ECA collection, there are connecting lines to the work of two important Greek photographers of the post-war era, Dimitris Harissiadis and Voula Papaioannou. Both photographers worked for the ECA and its predecessor, the AMAG (Konstantinou 2007, 25–28, 2009, 70–71). Therefore, Harissiadis' and Papaioannou's photography offer valuable insights into the visualization of "modernity" in post-war Greece. An exhaustive analysis of the connections to Harissiadis' and Papaioannou's work is beyond the scope of this thesis. While I draw some connections to Harissiadis's work within this chapter some brief contextualization of Papaioannou is valuable at this point.

At the beginning of Greece's entry into WWII, Papaioannou documented the situation in wartime Greece for the Near East Foundation. Her most important wartime work was however the documentation of the famine that struck Greece and Athens in particular in 1941-1942 (Konstantinou 2007, 19). At great personal risk, Papaioannou photographed the starving Greeks, with a particular eye for the plight of children. Her vivid and shocking images were smuggled out of Greece via the IRC and used as calls to action for the international community to aid Greece (Konstantinou 2007, 20). With the end of the war, Papaioannou's skills were enlisted by several international missions: the UNRRA (1945-1946), the AMAG (1947-1948) and the ECA (1948-1951) (Konstantinou 2007, 25–28). Unfortunately, we have little information about Papaioannou's work for AMAG and ECA, as this part of her work is mostly absent from her archive, which she deposited at the Benaki in 1976 (Weber 2007, 61).

However, the knowledge that we do have of Papaioannou's work for UNRRA provides some valuable insights into the visualization of Greece that Greek photographers pursued for foreign institutions. While on assignment in Athens and around Greece, Papaioannou was tasked by UNRRA to document the hardships of post-war Greece and the aid that was provided by UNRRA. In addition, there were also explicit instructions to make sure that the logos of the various aid organizations on the aid shipments were visible, as well as to highlight the utter destitution of the Greek people. The desired images were often realized by Papaioannou through a constructed documentary approach, which involved presenting and

staging the desired reality or visualization of Greece (Konstantinou 2007, 26; Weber 2007, 58; see also Carter 2007). Yet, Papaioannou often deviated from the narrow strictures of her UNRRA instructions, training her lens on the humanity of the war-torn Greeks and especially women and children (Konstantinou 2007, 26). Hence, Papaioannou's work for UNRRA–and for AMAG and ECA we can assume–while it aimed to represent a specific image of Greece geared towards foreign and domestic audiences, created some of the most important expressions of humanist photography in post-war Greece (Konstantinou 2007, 28–29; Weber 2007, 54). Herein we detect the structure of agency involved in the visualization of Greece, within the context of photographic propaganda for foreign institutions.

More importantly however, Papaioannou's humanist photography is what sets her visualizations of Greekness apart from the ECA images discussed in this chapter. Her direct and scaled back style centred the humanity of her subjects, especially children and women whom Johanna Weber has described as the recurring 'messengers of the contemporary Greek tragedy' in Papaioannou's work (2007, 54). Like the US New Deal photographers of the Farm Security Administration, Papaioannou's aesthetical concerns went beyond the purely documentational directives of her work for UNRRA and others. Hence, while Papaioannou's images are anchored in the realities of post-war Greece, she crafted powerful images of everyday life and individuals that tended towards the symbolic, towards a universal humanity (Moschovi 2013, 155; Weber 2007, 55). Therefore, Papaioannou's images of post-war Greece do not directly engage with a visualization of a Greek modernity. Rather, as Platon Rivellis has noted, Papaioannnou's images visualize abstract yet universal spaces and temporalities, making it hard to concretely locate Papaioannou's photographs in Greece of the 1940s and 1950s (Rivellis 2007, 43).

In contrast, Harissiadis' work provides us with a clearer view on his visualization of a Greek post-war modernity. Many of the images discussed in this chapter were taken by Harissiadis. This shows us that Harissiadis in his work for the ECA participated in the visualization of Greece that is striving towards a better, more productive future. In Harissiadis' archive at the Benaki, we can clearly trace his work for the ECA. Harissiadis' meticulously ordered archive and notebooks allow us a glimpse of the process that led to many of the ECA images we find in the ELIA-MIET collection.

Before I analyse the MP photographic collection, I will discuss some basic aspects of the MP's goals and its communication to European and Greek audiences. The communication

of the MP has received little attention, in relation to the political and economic aspects of the MP. A detailed look at the MP's propaganda operations is therefore necessary as it is not widely known. With this necessary foundation, I will analyse the MP photographs and the ways in which they formed desired behaviours and collective identities in post-war Greek society. I focus on two main themes: the Civil War refugees' self-help efforts and the MP's electrification programme. Lastly, I briefly examine the ambivalent relationship to modernity that can be detected in the MP images, contrasting it to the EFE's nostalgic, pre-industrial visualization of Greece that dominated post-war Greek photography.

The European Recovery Program

The end of WWII was for most European countries the beginning of a long and arduous road back to peace, reconstruction, and prosperity. For Greece, the end of the war was only a segue to the escalating Civil War that dragged on until 1949.[127] WWII had been particularly harsh to Greece, which experienced some of the greatest war-time destruction anywhere in Europe (Stathakis 2004, 33–34; Machado 2007, 59). The country's occupation by three armies and its subsequent partition into three separate zones would lead most notoriously to a devastating famine in the winter of 1941-42 (cf. Hionidou 2006; Mazower 1993, 23–52). At the end of the war the occupying armies pillaged what they could and destroyed the rest, leaving hardly any infrastructure intact. The war also fully exposed the ineptitude of the Greek political class, which had proven that they were not up to the task of advocating for and leading the Greek people during the war. In the aftermath of WWII, the old political classes jostled and competed for power, only this time they had to contend with the significant political and social force that the communists had become, on account of the war-time resistance of EAM/ELAS.

The post-war conflict between the reconstructed Greek state and the former communist resistance would break into a devastating Civil War, lasting until 1949 (Clogg 2021,

[127] The literature on the Greek Civil War is vast and scholarship on the subject sparks fierce debates to this day. Indicative bibliography includes Close (1993, 1995), Bærentzen and Iatrides (1987), Carabott and Sfikas (2004), Gerolymatos (2004; 2016), Mazower (2000), Margaritis (2000).

133–41; Koliopoulos and Veremis 2009, 116–26). It was the first tangible manifestation of the Cold War and inaugurated a long and close relationship between Greece and the USA. This relationship was at its closest during the heyday of the European Recovery Program (ERP, 1948-1952) and its predecessor, AMAG (1947-1948).[128]

The ERP was the US reconstruction programme that provided some 13 billion USD to Europe between 1948-1951 to help Europe rebuild after WWII. The MP, as it is better known, was based on the principle of cooperation and self-help. The US provided funds while the Europeans had to rebuild their economies and societies on their own. Only the Europeans could save themselves. US policymakers and leaders were concerned about the state of European economies for two primary reasons: the loss of an important export market if Europe did not recover, but mainly they feared that a destroyed Europe would fall into the hands of Communism and Soviet ambitions (Machado 2007, 7–10; Steil 2018, 161).

An integral aspect of the MP was the rhetoric of Europeans helping themselves to rebuild their destroyed economies and societies. US funds and materials were provided to make this self-help possible, but the architects of the MP and the US electorate did not wish to create dependencies that could not be severed. The goal was to create a self-sufficient Europe within four years (Steil 2018, 167). Furthermore, this ideal can also be seen to reflect a particular American work ethic and national self-image, rooted in individualist, capitalist endeavours. Judging how US corporate business models were understood as a necessary US export to get European economies producing again, it is perhaps unsurprising that ideas of self-help would follow in tow.

'The politics of productivity', a term coined by Charles S. Maier, describes this productivity-led US economic foreign policy in post-war Europe (Maier 1977). US policymakers saw in war-torn Europe an opportunity to apply US economic rationalism in an effort to solve not only the dire material needs of the continent but its political divisions as well. From the perspective of post-1930s USA, economic progress would ensure democracy. If people are reasonably materially comfortable, they have no reason to turn to authoritarianism (Ellwood 2012, 245). There was a belief amongst US policymakers that social and economic divisions could be overcome by engaging labour and management in a common

[128] I will be using the terms Marshall Plan or MP instead of European Recovery Program (ERP) throughout this chapter.

economic cause, such as increasing production of for example coal or steel (Maier 1977, 609). By careful economic planning, productivity and morale could be boosted to the benefit of all. Higher output would make everyone better off, though without redressing any underlying inequalities or political factors. The scientific approach made it seem to be a problem of engineering rather than politics, adding an apolitical veneer (Maier 1977, 615).

The politics of productivity and the related ethos of self-help established a discourse in which the US financial and material support to its European allies could be framed as foreign policy instilled with a particular American spirit. On this psychological level, both foreign and domestic audiences could be satisfied. Presented as an apolitical means of restarting the European economies, the US could project itself internationally as a beacon of freedom, democracy, and openness–particularly of markets. This depiction also helped sell the MP to a hesitant US electorate. US methods and ideas coupled with time-limited financial aid would reshape Europe within four years in the image of the US successes of the pre-war era. By the endpoint of US aid the Europeans–or in our case, the Greeks–would theoretically be strong enough to support themselves by virtue of their own efforts.

While the MP was intended to aid in the reconstruction of the country like in other European countries, the Greek Civil War and its legacy complicated the priorities, and the implementation of the MP's goals. Due to the Civil War, the MP prioritized military or military-related goals in the crucial two first years of the Plan. After the end of the Civil War in 1949, the MP had little time left to implement many of its goals. Even though the MP was principally an economic programme, the benefits of the MP in Greece centred around the rebuilding of infrastructure and the improvement of Greek living standards, particularly through public health programmes.[129] In the industrialized European nations, the MP's efforts could be geared towards the restart of an industrial base. Greece had no such industrial base.

Evaluating the MP's economic impact is outside the scope of this chapter. It has been extensively researched elsewhere.[130] The impact and the importance of the MP as 'history's

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[129] Close (2002, 33), Iatrides (2005, 142), Stathakis (2004, 333).

[130] See amongst others the classic accounts of Milward (2003) and Hogan (1987). Milward's review (1989) of Hogan's book is also useful, as it examines the important question whether the MP was necessary to Europe's post-war boom. See Romero (2012) for an examination of how Milward's work helped later research see the MP in qualitative rather than quantitative terms. For some general accounts on the MP see Steil (2018), Machado (2007), Eichengreen (1995). See also Burk (2001) for a short overview of the new work produced about the MP

most successful structural adjustment program'[131] is still being debated. This research is more interested in the psychological impact that the MP had on Greece in terms of shaping new collective identities and attitudes. In fact, the boosting of European morale was indeed a key concern for the architects of the MP. Later scholarship on the MP has also noted that the psychological impact of the MP has been more pronounced than the material gains (Machado 2007, 7; Romero 2012, 362). Yet, establishing a clear understanding of US propaganda in Europe and particularly in Greece is easier said than done, as we can only recreate a fragmentary picture of USIS and ECA photographic activities. Scholarship on USIS in Greece has received some scholarly attention, focusing mostly on cultural diplomacy and propaganda efforts,[132] but no comprehensive study on USIS and its role in Greece exists, or on the ECA information operations generally.

Communicating the Marshall Plan

The MP was not an easy sell, neither to the US taxpayer nor to its European beneficiaries. The idea that the USA was channelling vast sums of money and goods to Europe for its reconstruction, without a great number of strings attached, was too good to be true. As Al Friendly, the first ECA information chief noted '[o]ur first task in Europe was simply to tell the Europeans what the MP was. It was an absolutely novel venture' (quoted in Price 1955, 246). Even explaining the basics of the plan was a challenge. Selling the plan to seventeen countries with differing cultural and social traditions was an even greater task.

While propaganda efforts to sell the MP in the USA were frowned upon by US lawmakers,[133] selling the plan to European audiences was condoned and well-funded. The negative Soviet propaganda about America and its grand reconstruction plan gave the ECA greater licence in its European information efforts. Anti-communist sentiment and fear

at the end of the 1990s, which introduced new archival sources and new syncretic approaches. For perspectives on the MP in Greece see Stathakis (2004) and the October 2009 issue of the *Journal of Modern Greek Studies.*

[131] Cf. the title of De Long and Eichengreen (1991).

[132] See Lialiouti (2017), Stefanidis (2004), Zachariou (2009), Loukopoulou (2019). For a short summary of the state of research on the cultural Cold War in Greece see Bournazos (2019, 20–21).

[133] For an overview of the domestic efforts to build support for the Marshall Plan, see Fuji (2009) and Machado (2007, chap. 2). On US attitudes to propaganda see Parry-Giles (2002).

secured the necessary bipartisan support within the US government. The overseas communication campaign of the MP could therefore become much larger and more effective than the domestic one. Another major contributing factor to the successes of the ECA's information campaign was its funding. The ECA agreement stipulated that the costs of the communication campaign in the participating countries would be paid out of the 5% local currency counterpart funds set aside for administrative expenses (Price 1955, 245). Barry Machado estimates the 5% counterpart funds to approximately $430,000,000 for the whole of Europe–a truly astounding amount of money. He quotes Paul Hoffman, the ECA administrator, citing $17,000,000 as the information campaign's final bill (Machado 2007, 26, n. 27).

When the ECA was being established, the information division was purposefully given a great deal of independence alongside its considerable financial resources. Hoffmann and W. Averell Harriman, the ECA special representative in Paris, purposefully sidestepped the State Department when they set up the MP's information campaign. This allowed the ECA greater freedom and less restraint from bureaucratic concerns. In this way ECA information operations surpassed anything that the State Department could have done in terms of scale and creativity (Cull 2008, 38; Dizard 2004, 47).

By 1951 and towards the end of the MP proper, circa 30% of the staff of the ECA Office of the Special Representative (OSR) in Paris, the MP's European headquarters, worked on propaganda (Machado 2007, 24). This fact indicates how seriously the communication of the plan and the values it represented was taken. Hoffman, the erstwhile car industry executive, found effective communication of the MP as important to its success as the marketing, sales and customer relations departments would be to a large business (de Grazia 2009, 30). Freedom, democracy, wealth through increased productivity and European recovery through self-help were ostensibly the values that the US was trying to spread/sell.

Although the ethos behind the communication of the MP might have been that of commercial marketing, the men in charge–there were few women (cf. Fritsche 2018, 121, 171)–came mostly from journalistic backgrounds. With little to no bureaucratic or foreign propaganda experience, the information officers of the ECA were described as 'green-horns' that ran a rather large spending and 'free-wheeling' operation (Price 1955, 248). However, the information operations staff was by no means inexperienced. A number of the information officers in executive positions had worked in Europe before and had some

experience of European audiences (Fritsche 2018, 167). Their open-mindedness brought novel, creative and effective approaches to the communication of the largest structural adjustment programme in history. Furthermore, the information officers were kept closely informed about high-level policy decisions showing their integral role in the implementation of the Marshall Plan (Machado 2007, 24; Price 1955, 246).

While the information operations were deemed important during the MP era, later scholarship has mostly focused on the hard-power aspects of the plan. Economic, political, and social aspects have been extensively analysed. The soft-power aspects such as public diplomacy and propaganda/communication campaigns have only recently garnered scholarly attention (Bischof 2009, 7–8). With respect to the visual communication of the MP, the movies produced by the ECA film section have proved fertile ground for analysis. With an output of over three hundred movies, the prolific film section is the most closely studied visual aspect of the MP. Films could reach audiences in a way that other media could not, becoming therefore the preferred vehicle for the ECA's messaging. To give an indication of film's reach, it is estimated that by 1950 around 40 million people per week in Western Europe were watching MP newsreels or documentaries.[134]

A shrewd decision lies behind the popularity and effectiveness of the MP films–letting European directors and producers decide how to communicate the goals and ideals of the MP. The Americans in charge of the film division would provide the parameters and messaging–European reconstruction by Europeans, cooperation with and solidarity from the US etc.–but allow the European filmmakers to decide how to adapt these messages to a European context. Using local visual languages, aesthetics and symbols, the promotion of the MP would not come across as propagandistic and would engage rather than estrange audiences (Machado 2007, 28; Ellwood 1998, 36).

Steering clear of overt propaganda was an essential aspect of the MP films and the MP communication strategy in general. Ideology was avoided, instead focusing on facts, assuming that this would more effectively show the benefits of the MP in Europe as well as countering the communist efforts to discredit the plan. In Austria for example, where both Allied and Soviet occupation zones existed, the Soviets in coordination with the Communist

[134] Ellwood (1998, 36), Bischof (2009, 13), Machado (2007, 27). See Fritsche (2018) for the only monograph on the topic of the MP filmography.

Party of Austria put out propaganda in which 'warnings were made about the "Marshallization" of Austria, which would lead to an "enslavement" of the working class and a loss of sovereignty' (Stelzl-Marx 2009, 121). In France, the discrediting of the MP by communist propaganda created an internal 'cold war' of opinion, with French communists vehemently opposing the Plan while the rest of the political spectrum, including socialists and right-wing Gaullists generally favouring the MP (Cayrol 2001).Truth was seen as a far more effective tool than blatant propaganda, a lesson learned from US commercial mass marketing principles (Bischof 2009, 10–11; de Grazia 2009, 30).[135] Although this strategy of 'truth' was meant to capture the hearts and minds of Europeans–making them more amenable to US models of development–there was also a danger in going too far.

While US lawmakers were pressing for increased exposure of European thankfulness to the US in MP propaganda, ECA information officers purposefully limited the mentions of the USA and the MP itself to a minimum, fearing a backlash (Price 1955, 249; Machado 2007, 29). Furthermore, as Victoria de Grazia argues, the US did not want to promote a consumerist lifestyle like the American one, fearing the social tensions it could create. Raising living standards was the main goal while at the same time paradoxically stifling consumerist tendencies. The US was trying to disassociate material plenty from mass consumption of the US variety in the European mind, as it might trigger rising expectations which would lead to political radicalization (de Grazia 2009, 27, 29; cf. De Grazia 2005, 345–50). As de Grazia points out, this objective is evidenced by the 'narrative *restraint*' (2009, 29; emphasis in the original) employed in the MP propaganda films as they relate to the material progress of post-war Europe. Increasing productivity was the goal advertised by MP movies, not a European society of consumerist desires (de Grazia 2009, 30).

Murky waters

The historically patchy nature of US propaganda efforts and institutions has not created optimal conditions for diligent record-keeping (Cull 2008, xiv). Hence the information we might glean from available records is scattered and diffuse. This is especially valid when studying the MP. Alfred Hemsing, the last Head of the ECA film section at the ECA

[135] President Truman proclaimed that truth would serve as a bulwark against communism, inaugurating his Campaign of Truth anti-communist strategy in April 1950. See Cull (2008, 55–56) and Parry-Giles (2002, 58–59).

headquarters in Paris, stated: '…how little of that history [of communicating the MP] has been recorded in terms of the *workings* of the Marshall Plan--not just its origins and accomplishments. Our 'emergency operation' never appointed an official historian--hence there was no log of events; even basic documents are now lost or hard to come by' (Hemsing 1994, 269; emphasis in the original). Hemsing also notes that it was only in 1951 that the ECA commissioned an independent history of the MP (1994, 269, n.1). Furthermore, the parallel information operations carried out by the ECA and the State Department–while both being channelled through the local USIS branches–lends another layer of complexity to the study of MP propaganda. It was not until 1953 after the official end of the MP that all information operations came under one roof at the USIA (Price 1955, 249–50).

So, what about MP photography? Here the available information is even patchier. As of yet, no concentrated study either of MP photography or of the photographic activity of USIS exists. Inferring from the way other divisions of the ECA information section functioned, there was an American in charge of operations while the assignments were carried out by local photographers. Between 1950-1956 the ECA photographic section in Paris was run by Jackie Martin, a veteran photojournalist and, to my knowledge, one of the only women in executive positions at the ECA's information division.[136] Martin was in charge of the dissemination of photographic material to US embassies across Europe, primarily focusing on the ECA and its successor, the Mutual Security Agency (MSA), as well as US life and anti-communism.[137] Despite the above, MP photography collections can be found in various archives in Europe and the USA, such as the ELIA-MIET's USIS collection that will be the focus of my analysis below. A notable USIS photographic collection is the one that the US embassy in Austria donated to the Austrian National Library in 1977. The 10,000 negatives provide an

[136] Another rare example of a woman in a high ECA position was Helen Kirkpatrick, the first director of information (1949-1951) at the French ECA mission. She had previously been a war correspondent in Europe for the Chicago Daily News (Fritsche 2018, 167, 171). The ECA as a whole was permeated with sexism, as this next example will show. In 1951 Jean Joyce, a female ECA staffer, wrote a memo to the ECA Director of Information in Washington concerning the need to develop women as mass-market consumers, targeting their rising expectations for goods to purchase on open markets (Fritsche 2018, 121). The director passed on her suggestions to the Deputy Director of European Information with this message: 'This is obviously a good-hearted try on the part of one of our gals. Could you spare a moment to write a note of appreciation?' (quoted in Fritsche 2018, 123).

[137] The Cecilia B. Martin collection guide at the Marshall Plan Foundation briefly describes her life and particularly her work for the ECA in Paris.

important collection for the analysis of Austrian MP photography as well as the people and organization that brought it about.[138]

Projecting America and the Marshall Plan in Greece

What we know of MP communication and propaganda in Greece is even more incomplete. Knowledge of Greek MP photography is almost non-existent. However, certain aspects of the Greek MP propaganda are well-documented, such as propaganda films. *The Story of Koula*, a 1951 MP pseudo-documentary by Italian director Vittorio Gallo, which follows a young boy in rural Greece who receives an American mule through the MP, has garnered particular attention. The film has the themes of American aid, hard-work, self-help, and anti-communism all packed into the form of a modern-day parable. It did not stay a strictly Greek affair either–it was dubbed into eleven languages.[139]

The mobile USIS exhibition units that toured rural areas of Greece showing MP films–but not exclusively–have been recognized as particularly useful in the dissemination of US propaganda. USIS even enlisted a yacht, repurposed as a mobile exhibition and screening vessel, to reach the isolated Greek islanders. The yacht named after the American philhellene Samuel G. Howe was an innovative solution to the maritime geography of Greece (Stefanidis 2004, 53–54). The Howe even became the subject of its own MP film *Island Odyssey* in 1950 (Fritsche 2018, 143).

Audiences with little exposure to modern entertainment in the Greek countryside were deemed especially receptive to US films and propaganda.[140] In the Peloponnese, for example, film screenings were enthusiastically received by the locals. Greek villagers in general were no less keen for re-screenings of films, which were met with equal enthusiasm and calls for more. Regarding the types of films that were popular in Greece, documentaries and educational movies were at the top of the list as were films with Greek content (Fritsche

[138] See Friedlmeier, Petschar, and Pfunder (2009) for a brief overview and analysis of this Austrian USIS collection. The Austrian case is interesting as it shows that USIS operated in much the same way in Austria as in Greece. USIS documented ECA projects that were then publicized via its own publications and exhibitions as well as the local Austrian press.
[139] See de Grazia (2009, 31), Schröder (2009, 77), Fritsche (2018, 116–17), as well as Samson (2014).
[140] Price (1955, 247), Stefanidis (2004, 53), Zachariou (2009, 110–11).

2018, 186). In fact, this use of films for propaganda dissemination got its start during the Civil War but lived on throughout the 1950s (Stefanidis 2004, 53).

While MP films might have held great entertainment value for rural Greeks, US officials understood this fascination in a slightly patronizing manner. John Peurifoy, the US Ambassador to Greece, in a letter to the State Department on June 11, 1951 describes Greeks' 'almost naive interest' in films, judging this all the same as an asset since the audience would be receptive to USIS propaganda (quoted in Stefanidis 2004, 53). In 1952, the German film theorist, sociologist and cultural critic Siegfried Kracauer was commissioned by the US State Department to write a report on media habits in Southeast Europe and the Middle East. As a champion of the power of film to persuade audiences and steer their unconsciousness to the right cause, Kracauer was particularly enthusiastic about the mobile exhibition units mentioned above, describing these units as 'mental tractors conquering virgin territory' (quoted in Fritsche 2018, 195).[141] At the same time, Kracauer was dismissive of the audiences' intellectual abilities, suggesting that since the populations of Southeast Europe and the Middle East were mainly peasants, they were not accustomed to grasping abstract ideas. He suggested focusing on the visual rather than the verbal since the audiences did not pay attention to the verbal commentary anyway, so engrossed were they by the moving images.

Furthermore, he singled out informational films that dealt with local topics in a simple language as appropriate for such audiences. Part of Kracauer's thesis is borne out by experiences in Greece, where audiences showed little interest in movies with topics such as European integration and cooperation, which had no direct bearing on their own lives. A similar experience is shared by an information officer handling MP film distribution to Greece. This officer did not show films dealing with European integration as he claimed that Greek audiences were not interested in the topic, arguing that sophisticated documentaries geared towards Western European audiences had no value in Greece. Furthermore, the same information officer expressed concerns about showing films that promoted modernization projects and economic progress in the rest of Europe. He feared that it would anger audiences who felt that similar progress was not evident in Greece (Fritsche 2018, 189, 196).

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[141] Cinema as a medium of communication for US propaganda was also popular in Italy, particularly in rural areas. The films showed there focused mostly on American life (Tobia 2008, 64).

Kracauer's report makes a valid point, that the audiences' cultural backgrounds gave them different understandings of visual culture and visual language. This was not self-evident to the US information officers, who most often applied a universal template for their movies, regardless of where it was shown. By the end of the MP in 1952, Kracauer's advice about modifying visual languages for the local context would arrive too late to have any meaningful impact (Fritsche 2018, 196).

Informing European audiences of the MP was nominally a task for both the European governments and the US. In practice the burden fell mostly on the US, particularly in the first two years of the MP (Machado 2007, 26). In Greece, the Ministry of Coordination printed a weekly pamphlet entitled *Agon Epivioseos* (Battle for Survival*)* to inform audiences about the MP. First published in September 1948, it was funded and closely supervised by the ECA mission in Greece. The title indicates how tense things were during the Civil War period (Zachariou 2009, 109–10). The anti-communist struggle painted everything in a militarized light diminishing reconstruction efforts physically and rhetorically. Although almost exclusively published in Greek, there are also issues that were published in English.[142] It is important to note that the *Agon Epivioseos* publication was not intended for a mass audience. As stated in the publication, the weekly pamphlet was originally provided free of charge to 'interested' government agencies and was sold for 1000 drachmas to the general public in Athens and other major cities at select bookstores.[143] Furthermore, the pamphlet was densely packed with detailed reports, diagrams, tables and photographs. Hence, it is quite clear that this publication was geared towards an educated, technocratic audience. The sale of the publication eventually stopped in July 1949 and issues were from then on only provided to official agencies and organizations. To what extent this trend reflected a lack of interest from the general public or a change in the publication's outreach and dissemination policy is unclear.

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[142] A collection of this publication can be found at the ELIA-MIET library.

[143] There seems to have been some genuine interest in the publication from around the country. In the issue of March 30, 1949, the publication responded to letters they received about back issues and access to the publication. All the requested back issues were out of print. The readers requesting these issues were mostly civil servants at various government agencies in Trikala, Thessaloniki, and Agios Nikolaos on Crete. The publication also informed these same readers that their respective agencies already had a subscription to *Agon Epivioseos* something the readers must not have been aware of.

On the US side, the ECA mission in Greece and the USIS post oversaw MP information operations. In 1947 the first Greek USIS post opened in Athens with two satellite offices in Piraeus and Patra. USIS subbranches also opened at ECA mission outposts in Florina, Ioannina, Komotini, Lamia, Larissa, and Tripoli. USIS staff numbers started off at 14 in 1948, expanding to 170 (148 locals) in 1953 (Stefanidis 2004, 49–50). To give an indication of how large the USIS post in Greece was, it employed almost as much staff as the ECA OSR in Paris did for propaganda work (180 staff in 1951). The ECA mission to Greece was also the largest of all the MP country missions, indicating the importance the USA placed on Greece and the difficulties it faced in the implementation of its goals in Greece (Machado 2007, 24; Zachariou 2009, 110).[144] The separate organizational structure under which the ECA operated led to antagonism with the US embassy, particularly in the early days of the ECA presence. US diplomat Daniel Brewster, who was stationed in Greece 1947-1952 and served as Special Assistant to the first ECA Chief, John Nuveen, noted that '[…] the Embassy, frankly, also resented the ECA. When you have twenty-two officers [at the embassy] and the others [the ECA] have two hundred who are running major issues it leads to jealousies' (Kennedy 1991, 14).[145]

The ECA and USIS promoted the MP and the USA in several ways. The floating exhibition has been mentioned earlier, as well as the use of film. From 1949 onwards USIS started publishing several of its own magazines and printed materials that promoted the MP

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[144] The 13th report of the ECA's progress to the US Congress (27 January 1949) contains a section detailing the personnel and salaries of each country mission. The size of the Greek mission is striking because of its employee figures but also because of its cost. The Greek mission employed many more highly-paid experts than any other mission, including the OSR in Paris (Bridges 1949, 83). In the same report the number of local staff is also presented. Here as well, we see the Greek mission topping the list of the European ERP recipients with 227 staff (1949, 85). This illustrates the resources that the USA found necessary to expend in Greece to implement the MP.

[145] In this interview, the interviewer recounts that he has heard that at official receptions where both the ECA chief and the US ambassador were present, Greek politicians would ignore the ambassador and talk to the ECA chief directly. Brewster seems to agree and mentions that when he arrived in June 1949 the ECA was 'very strong' (Kennedy 1991). Although anecdotal it is indicative of the tensions that arose with the imposition of a whole new US foreign policy apparatus–the ECA–that competed with the US embassy. Both US ambassadors to Greece during the MP years, Henry Grady (served 1948-1950) and John Peurifoy (served 1950-1953), had frequent conflicts with the semiautonomous ECA office (Miller 2009, 25).

and the USA in Greece. *Eleftheros Kosmos* (Free World), an illustrated magazine promoting US life and US projects in Greece, started circulating in 1953 after the end of the MP, the same year a daily USIS bilingual news bulletin was discontinued. USIS also engaged in less overt press activities such as assisting in the publication of *Ethniki Amyna* (National Defence), a monthly that had been around since 1940 and was firmly in the anti-communist camp.[146] *Ethniki Amyna's* new appearance resembled an illustrated magazine, with the ERP shield prominently displayed on the back cover. Furthermore, USIS tried to get favourable news coverage placed in the Greek press, taking particular care to be discreet about this practice fearing backlash against perceived meddling in Greek affairs. It was particularly concerned about newspaper media as Greek literate audiences ranked newspapers as their top source of information, according to a 1953 poll. Although that is beyond the time frame of the MP it illustrates trends in post-war media consumption and readers' information sources (Stefanidis 2004, 55–56).

Having discussed the MP's propaganda efforts in Greece, let us now look at the MP images and their part in visualizing a post-war Greek social-political identity.

[146] The ELIA-MIET library holds these publications in its collection.

Visions of order

Figure 119. Archival boxes containing the MP collection at the ELIA. Fall 2018. Author's image.

Inside three rectangular archival boxes, 435 photographic prints record almost a decade of US activity in Greece starting in 1949–the year the Greek Civil War came to its end–and ending with the decennary of the MP in 1958 (fig. 119). Leafing through the plastic sheaths that hold the photographs, a remarkable visual history of Greece unfolds. The ring binder that holds the plastic sheaths together gives the collection an album-like feel and orders the photographs into a chronological sequence. The viewer is led from one event and image series to the next, confirming the impression of a linear visual history of post-war Greece. It quickly becomes apparent that this is a partial visual history–how could it be anything else?–that tells a great number of important stories about life in post-war Greece and the efforts made to rebuild a decimated country and society. Most of the stories are told in a feature-style format, leading the viewer to identify certain important themes, such as the revamped Greek mining industry, or the self-help efforts made by rural communities in rebuilding houses and replanting crops. No information is given on the images regarding the photographers that took these images.

The ELIA-MIET's collection of these USIS images is probably one of a kind in Greece. The notes on the backs of the images as well as the attached press releases and captions indicate that this was a working photographic collection of the satellite USIS office in Patra. Although not a complete collection, it provides a clearly defined body of USIS images–mostly of the Greek MP–for research. But the collection also stands out for its documentation of the immediate post-war era in Greece. 1950s and 1960s Greece is invariably portrayed in Greek photography as a time when Greece 'lost its innocence'.[147] As the country rapidly modernized and urbanized, a certain sense of loss of a simpler, less modern, more innocent and Arcadian Greece took hold. This loss was visualized by depicting rural Greece in a nostalgic, folklore-centred way that dovetailed seamlessly with Greece's touristic projection abroad. The EFE's[148] photographic output clearly represents this aesthetic. This same aesthetic was used in the touristic projection of Greece abroad, focused on folklore and rustic charm, utilizing visual tropes that tie into the dominant photographic discourse described above (Moschovi 2014, 234–36). As I showed in chapter five, the confluence of the touristic promotion of Greece and the visualization of Greek collective identities in the exaltation of rural folklore has a long history. The USIS collection, however, offers a corollary to these types of imagery, a visual narrative of modernization and striving for a better future. To what extent was this a truthful yet propagandistic projection of US foreign policy goals? And how were Greek collective identities and memory visualized in these images? These are the issues that I will deal with in the analysis of the USIS image collection.

Patterns and themes

Surveying the 435 USIS photographs, certain patterns and themes become clear. In line with the economic goals of the MP, industry and infrastructure are the main themes that are expressed in the images. Greece's economy is shown getting back on its feet with the help of the ECA, becoming more efficient and more productive than it had previously been. New machinery and US production methods help make old industries produce more at a lower

[147] Take for example the title of the Greek edition of American photographer Robert McCabe's book on Greece in the mid-1950s to mid-1960s: '*Ελλάδα, τα χρόνια της αθωότητας*' (Greece, the years of innocence). The first couple of post-war decades are often photographed and later framed in this fashion. Cf. Panayotopoulos (2021, 87).
[148] Cf. Antoniadis (2003).

cost to the consumer, rendering Greece less dependent on imports. Considering the lack of any significant heavy industry, the focus is on light industry and small and medium-sized companies. In many cases, the images appear to show how local forms of businesses like dairy cooperatives in Macedonia or sponge fishermen on Kalymnos thrive with the help of the MP. Throughout these images and the narratives constructed therein, the guiding principle of self-help is strongly at play.

Even in images relating to infrastructure, villagers are shown building their own unpaved roads to connect with the main roads. Within the infrastructure theme the electrification campaign–the crowning achievement of the Greek MP–is perhaps the most important topic. The thermoelectrical power plant at Aliveri on Evia and the hydroelectric power plants in Macedonia, Epirus, and the Peloponnese figure heavily in the USIS imagery. These large projects recur over the years providing a narrative continuity that bolsters the legitimacy of US aid and influence as well as creating a strong narrative of Greek development. Other themes that arise in the USIS photographs deal with education, agriculture, and trade unionism. In images of education, the narratives are strictly gendered. Men and boys learn practical trades like carpentry and masonry while women are taught to care for others, either learning home economics or studying to become practical nurses.

Lastly, the spectre of anti-communism lingers in a considerable part of the ECA images. Greece's particular history as a pioneering Cold War battleground coupled with the legacy of its Civil War, make the fear of communism perhaps even more pronounced than in other MP countries. While in the rest of Europe communism was portrayed as a threat to freedom, the USA and the Greek state could invoke the destruction of the Civil War as tangible proof to motivate their continued anti-communism. Timewise, the overt anti-communism of the ECA images is concentrated in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War during 1950 and 1951.[149] These two years also represent the greatest photographic output relating to the MP images of my study collection. In 1953 output rises again, primarily due to the near completion of the electrification campaign. Furthermore, from 1952 onwards the ECA transforms into the MSA, signalling the end of the MP.

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[149] The anti-communist bent of the MP images had been noted by another anonymous researcher at the ELIA-MIET. Inside the MP collection I found a handwritten note in Greek stating 'Anticommunism!!!'.

Indeed, the themes of modernization and anticommunism that we see at work in the MP images will become leading strategic goals for the post-war Greek state and the USA's interest in Greece (Lialiouti 2019, 40–41). As Zinovia Lialiouti notes 'modernising goals were undermined by the creation of an alliance with Greece's anti-communist elites that were to a great extent responsible for the poor quality of Greek post-war democracy. The term 'sickly democracy' has been coined to describe the post-civil war political regime. The lack of genuine democratisation stood an obstacle in the country's social and cultural modernisation creating impasses and contradictions' (2017, 232–33).

I will build my analysis of the visualization of a post-war Greek collective identity around two main clusters. Broadly speaking, the two clusters can be divided into the individual and society. I explore the theme of the individual through the fates of the rural Greeks rebuilding their lives and the refugees returning to their homes after the end of the Civil War. The theme of society I explore through the electrification campaign, which shows Greece taking a great stride towards modernization. Images focusing on the individual, delineate acceptable personal behaviours and identities for post-war Greece. Images focusing on society delineate grander societal narratives for the Greek present and future. Both themes, however, share a future-facing discourse that defines a post-war Greek identity that is being mediated through these two image clusters. As I will show, the Greece that is visualized in the MP images looks towards the productive future, where industrious Greeks build their own homes and help themselves succeed within a liberal-capitalist system. At the same time, the post-war Greek landscape is being transformed for progress' sake, providing electricity to homes and industry. This visualized collective identity sets itself apart from conventional definitions of Greek identity that draw heavily on the ancient past. Yet, as will become apparent, the modernity promised in the MP images is limited. I begin my analysis by looking at the return of Greek internal refugees to their rural homes in 1950.

Homecoming

The spring of 1950 is a time of homecoming and rebuilding. Three years have passed since almost a tenth of the Greek population had been displaced from their villages and rural homes as a result of the civil war (Laiou 1987, 62–63; Lazou 2012). Up until that spring the people who had become displaced had been in the care of the state in several major Greek cities,

housed in special centres, alternately called refugee centres or security centres. But with the defeat of the communist DSE army in 1949, these refugees–labelled 'bandit-stricken' (συμμοριόπληκτοι) by the anti-communist Greek state and establishment–are finally returning home. Although what they come home to is mostly ruins–ruins caused in the first instance by foreign occupiers and in the second instance by communists (Laiou 1987, 89–94). With MP assistance and planning though, the villagers start to rebuild homes, till the land and raise new herds of livestock. Even though years of toil awaits these villagers as they return home, they eagerly throw themselves into the work.

This is the narrative with which we are presented when examining ECA photographs and captions of returning refugees in the spring of 1950. The refugees are front and centre, rebuilding their lives through hard work and with some help from the Greek state and the USA. Although not physically present in the images, the ECA is always there, bracketing this narrative and every other success story from the post-war reconstruction of Greece. While still propaganda, the ECA images are mostly subtle, letting the images tell stories that are not heavy on US product placement. It is in the lengthy captions and press releases that discourses are set out more explicitly. At this intersection of image and text, narratives of US foreign policy and Greek reconstruction and modernization interact, informing the visualization of a post-war Greek collective identity.

Consider the inhabitants of three villages in central Greece–Olympias, Domeniko, and Karitsa. They are the stars of a suite of images labelled ECA 163 that were released on 20 May 1950 to go along with press release 632. Although this press release is not attached to the images, the captions tell the story described at the beginning of this section. The villagers forcibly moved from their homes during the Civil War were now returning home with little or nothing to their name. Nevertheless, they eagerly labour on according to the text. Men, women, and children help out in whatever way they can–clearing debris, rebuilding homes or moving their few household items. Let us look at how this story of homecoming is structured, pausing along the way to reflect on the projection of narrative and identity.

The story of return starts off at the refugee centre in Larissa, from where the refugees are driven by military truck to their former homes close to Mount Olympus (fig. 120). People, baggage, and furniture all jostle for space. In an image of a truck being loaded with an iron bedframe, the caption lets us know that not all the passengers are refugees. Ioannnis Kamakas, 32 years old, who is seen helping his family load their valuables into the vehicle, is

serving in the Greek army, fighting the communists. This establishes fairly quickly that these refugees are above suspicion and that, if they are not their victims, they are actively fighting the communists. The depicted are not *dangerous citizens* (Panourgiá 2009).

Figure 120. The Kamakas and Alvanou family loading a truck with their belongings. Unknown photographer. 1950. ELIA-MIET.

At the end of the paved road, many of the villagers still have a long journey ahead. In the seaside village of Stomion, the refugees going to the village of Karitsa disembark and unload their belongings which will be carried to their village by donkeys, as we can read in the caption (fig. 121). The photographer captures this scene from above, dividing the image in two. In the lower half of the image the truck is being unloaded by a group of men and women, while in the foreground an elderly woman sits by a mound of bundles surveying the scene. In the upper half of the image, we see the deserted village of Stomion, destroyed by bandits according to the caption. Visually efficient, the image accentuates the villagers' struggles and hopes for the future while also stressing the devastation caused by the internal enemy.

Figure 121. Unloading at the village of Stomio. Unknown photographer. 1950. ELIA-MIET.

An image of two families, the Kamakas and the Alvanoi, walking to their village, uses a similar visual trope of foregrounding the returning villagers while in the background we detect the remains of a war-torn building (fig. 122). In another photograph of the refugees' journey home, a group of villagers rest by the wayside before continuing on. This group is split into

two according to gender. In the left foreground an elderly woman stares off into the distance, her hands tightly clasped on her lap. Off to her left sits the rest of the group. The women sit closest to her, side by side, extending diagonally into the image's background where the men sit in their own neat little group. Just behind the men we see the road leading onwards, hinting at the journey ahead.

Figure 122. The Alvanou and Kamaka families returning to their village. Unknown photographer. 1950. ELIA-MIET.

In yet another image from the journey home, two trucks speed along a road. The first vehicle carries 'valuable lumber bought with Marshall Plan funds, to help the bandit-stricken villagers rebuild their homes, so that they may yet again till their fields' (fig. 123).[150] The second truck is filled with people who are smiling and waving at the photographer as they rush past. This is the first time that the MP help is explicitly featured in this image suite, demonstrating how careful the ECA was with featuring direct US aid. Even though the raw materials were provided by the MP, the reconstruction itself was mostly carried out by the villagers, which is key to the narrative that the ECA is creating in this series of images.

Figure 123. Trucks with lumber 'bought with Marshall Plan funds' and returning villagers. Unknown photographer. 1950. ELIA-MIET.

[150] My translation from the Greek caption. The captions' description of these villages as 'bandit-stricken' is severely misleading. Olympias was raised to the ground by the Germans occupiers around Easter 1943. Domeniko was almost raised to the ground by Italian forces in February 1943 and only suffered smaller damages during the Civil War. This information is provided to us by Harissiadis' notebooks, who officially documented the repatriation of these villagers. See notes referring to AG 138 in the notebooks at Harissiadis' archive at the Benaki.

Outlining identities

Hermione Petridi, 8 years old, stands on what seems to be a mound of fabrics, receiving a round box from her sister Maria, 14 years old (fig. 124). The two sisters are tidying up in their cluttered home in the village of Olympias, making for a candid family photograph of settling into a new life. Upon closer inspection, this off-the-cuff moment is not as impromptu as it seems. The sharp shadows cast by the two girls on the back wall reminds us of the presence of a photographer wielding a strong flash, shaping the narrative we are seeing. Let us briefly unpack the dynamics of photographic narrative creation.

Figure 124. Hermione and Maria Petridi, cleaning up their home after their return to their village Olympias. Unknown photographer. 1950. ELIA-MIET.

Firstly, the image is a photographic document of two young girls returning home after years of internal exile. Secondly, the image is mediated and framed by the intentions of the photographer and the commissioner of this image, the ECA. Thirdly, the image also reflects the political and social circumstances of the era in Greece. Lastly, the image mediates the cultural memory of this era of Greek history. Keeping this in mind allows us to approach the images of the MP in Greece with necessary nuance. This nuance allows to see the *partial* image of Greece (Kuhn and McAllister 2006; Morris-Suzuki 2005) visualized in the MP photographs, an image of Greece which elides the experiences of those who stood on the wrong side of the dividing line at the end of the civil war. By this, I am referring to those who were at the receiving end of the post-war Greek anti-communist state's policies, regardless of whether they were communist or not, or if they had fought in the civil war or not. Who was considered a dangerous citizen by the Greek state (Panourgiá 2009) did not track actual membership in the Communist Party of Greece as Voglis has shown (Voglis 2004). The MP images posit an imagined community (Anderson 2006) of Greeks who fared well by dint of not espousing communist ideals. Outside the MP photographs' frames are all those who did not conform to the sharp division of nationally-minded Greeks and those deemed not to be.

In the MP image suites of returning refugees, the discursive framing steers the viewer into several key themes: anticommunism and internal enemies, reconstruction through self-help, the effectiveness of US aid, etc. Set right after the end of the Greek Civil War, this period is shot through with societal tensions. It is not surprising then that these images, coming from the ECA and underwritten by the Greek state, are anchored to narratives of communist destruction that the US is helping to rebuild.[151] This anticommunism serves two purposes for two separate masters. For the US, containment of the communists was a key foreign policy goal since the proclamation of the Truman Doctrine. Significantly, this era represents the early days of the Cold War during which Greece served as a pioneer battleground. Particularly in the wake of the Greek Civil War, fighting communism became a key concern of the MP (Machado 2007, 50). For the Greek state and the conservative Greek post-war discourse in general, this was a continuation of a previous history of persecuting communists and dissidents. Anticommunism offered up an internal enemy against which the Greek state could

[151] It is however surprising that the narratives do not hold up in the case of Domeniko and Olympias, as these villages were not destroyed by the communist DSE army. Cf. footnote 151.

define what it meant to be a true Greek. A true Greek was not a communist, but someone who had suffered at the hands of communists. A true Greek might have even fought against the ‘communist bandits’, establishing in this way allegiance to the nation.

Two images from the returning refugees’ series can help me illustrate this last point. Most of the images are scenes from the unfolding story of return: loading the vehicles, travelling by truck and on foot, clearing the wreckage of the past, and rebuilding homes for the future. Although the various protagonists of this story are often named–the young girls and their families for example–it is in just two images that we meet single individuals. In Katina Alvanou’s portrait (fig. 125), the 32-year-old from Karitsa smiles at the camera despite the struggles she has endured and the hard work that lies ahead. The caption tells us that the communists burned her home and stole all her valuables and livestock. In the other portrait, Ioannis Kamakas–also smiling at the camera–has just been discharged from the army ‘after three years of hard struggle against the communists, who killed his father in 1947’ (fig. 126).

Figure 125. Katina Alvanou. Unknown photographer. 1950. ELIA-MIET.

Figure 126. Ioannis Kamakas. Unknown photographer. 1950. ELIA-MIET.

Defined in these portraits is a suitable individual Greek national identity, both visually and textually. It posits these villagers as victims of communist atrocities–being a communist or sympathizing with them would be un-Greek. Furthermore, it also draws attention to the gendered dimensions of this identity, where men are shown fighting this enemy of the nation while women are portrayed as passive victims and homebuilders. As mentioned earlier, the

ECA and the Greek state set boundaries both physical and discursive within which the refugees could act and define themselves. Physical boundaries were set by their return to their destroyed villages. Discursive boundaries were set by the narratives of 'good' citizens that are seen at work in the ECA imagery.

A national state of mind

The instrumentalization of anti-communism to shape an appropriate Greek collective identity was not foreign to Greece. Anti-communism fits seamlessly within the ideology of *ethnikofrosini* (national-mindedness), which pervaded a significant share of Greek post-war society and the post-war ideological struggle between *free* democracies and *totalitarian* communism (Papadimitriou 2006, 208–9, 270–71). Additionally, it resonated with interwar Greek conservatism. This anti-totalitarianism, a cause championed by the US, became a pillar for the ideology of national-mindedness (Papadimitriou 2006, 181–82). Most importantly, *ethnikofrosini* came to use anti-communism as an ideology of exclusion (Papadimitriou 2006, 180). Communists were, simply put, not part of the Greek national body anymore and efforts had to be made to expel them. Furthermore, the US was instrumental in influencing anti-communist practices in Greece. For example, US anti-communist legislation provided templates for Greek laws doing the same (Papadimitriou 2006, 181–82; Karamanolakis 2019, 92–93).

The doctrine of national-mindedness also pervaded the language used to describe the internal refugees of the Civil War. Describing the refugees as bandit-stricken (*συμμοριόπληκτοι*) served ideological and propagandistic purposes for both the Greek state and the US. It signalled that these refugees had been run out of their homes by the DSE or communist bandits as they were called at the time by the Greek state. The fate of these refugees therefore resulted from the communist threat. In contrast, the state with the help of the US, had provided and aided these refugees, saving them from the 'communist-bandits'.[152] However, the situation was in most cases the opposite. It was the state that had relocated the majority of the rural Greek refugees, in an effort to starve the DSE of recruits and supplies (Laiou 1987, 64–67). These refugees were then housed in cities, in so-called

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[152] Close (2002, 37), Laiou (1987, 61, 67–69). See Lazou (2012) regarding the definitional issues around the term 'bandit-stricken' and what sort of aid these refugees were entitled to. See also Voglis (2014, 305–15).

security centres, often in horrible conditions and with minimal concern for their welfare (Lazou 2012).

Furthermore, the destruction of the refugees' villages and homes was often described as the result of communist aggression. As Konstantina Kalfa (2019) notes though, government sources at the time acknowledged that the destruction of homes due to DSE was marginal. A report from Epirus, one of the key theatres of the Civil War, compiled by the Ministry of Reconstruction in 1949, described that the abandonment of villages led to their demise, rather than destruction by the DSE soldiers. This is why some villagers would vehemently confirm their national-mindedness, in order to be able to remain in their villages (Kalfa 2019, 38, 40). Such nuance is not reflected in the MP images. Instead, the viewer is shown a partial image, one which frames the destruction of Greek villages as the sole responsibility of the communists. This framing serves to shape an image of the Greek national community as antithetical to the communists and their portrayed destructiveness.

Picturing contentment

The end of the Civil War brought about the repatriation of these refugees, as we see in the ECA images. The refugees seem content and happy to return home, even though their homes are destroyed by the 'communist-bandits'. A tacit approval of their repatriation is visualized in the images–just think of the two smiling portraits described previously, or the image captions describing the enthusiasm with which the villagers returned home. The images show a return to normalcy and a step towards a more hopeful future. Yet, these images and this narrative are skewed, as repatriation was all but a clear-cut success. Many refugees did not want to return to their villages, particularly those in mountainous areas. Cultivating land in the mountains had been difficult even before WWII. Plots were small even by Greek averages, and productivity was low. Repatriation was often implemented without much planning and with no provisions for livestock, seeds, or housing. Such help only materialized in 1950 (Laiou 1987, 88). I believe this is the reason why ECA image series featuring repatriation are most prominently published in 1950.

With the end of the Civil War and the defeat of the 'communist-bandits', much of the aid to the rural refugees ceased, and subsequent aid was directed towards cities. Crucially, the relocation of the refugees to cramped urban security centres had ruptured the social cohesion of many rural Greeks. Thus, after the Civil War, there was little to return home to–

neither community nor material subsistence. Many Greeks therefore decided to abandon the countryside, marking the path towards Greece's post-war urbanization and migration abroad (Lazou 2012; Laiou 1987, 88, 102). The Greek state was aware of the unwillingness of the refugees to return home and their desire to stay in the cities. The solution was to simply erase them from the refugee registers, performing an administrative sleight of hand by making it seem that the refugees had been properly returned home. At the same time, the state was not in favour of the influx of peasants to the cities, as it was deemed harmful to the economy and the struggle against the 'bandits' (Laiou 1987, 88).

Many resettled villagers did not want to leave their homes but were forced to by the army. During the Civil War this policy was used to deprive the guerrillas of access to supplies, fighters, and information. The villages that the guerrillas sought or took support from were mainly located in the hills and mountains, so consequently these were the villages that the army depopulated (McNeill 1957, 40). In a similar way, the image caption of two masons rebuilding Theodora Zagka's house in the village of Domeniko, vaguely refers to the village being destroyed 'in the war'. In most of this image series, the destruction has been squarely placed on the shoulders of the internal enemy of the communists. Here, a vagueness in the language used suggests that the destruction could have been caused by any number of actors over the preceding war-torn years.

The question of *why* the refugees were returned to their destroyed villages might at first seem obvious–the villages were the refugees' homes and they wished to return there. This was undoubtedly true in many or most cases and surely what the ECA wanted to present in its photographs. The Greek state and the ECA are taking care of these refugees, who are helping themselves to get back on to their feet. Such is the narrative in image and text.

A critique of this photographic narrative helps yield important nuance on this period of Greek history and the societal changes at play. None of the villagers ever seem to question or raise any objections to their relocations. They are taken from their homes and then moved back again by a paternalistic state–as well as a strong US presence–which offers the refugees little to no private agency. Their agency is confined to the boundaries set by the same state and the ECA. Within the scope of self-help the villagers can shape and rebuild their lives, although what type of life this might be is questionable. Poverty and hardship were the default.

William McNeill, historian and US military attaché to Greece at the end of WWII, commented on the refugee resettlement a few years after the fact in a report for *The Twentieth Century Fund* (1957). McNeill questioned the wisdom of repopulating areas which could hardly sustain the resettled villagers. Of particular concern were those areas most affected by the Greek government displacement efforts. Life was hard there during peace time, and in the post-war period it became even harder. Yet, in McNeill's view, the relocation programme was deemed necessary as it eased the strain of refugee relief on the state budget while providing some form of employment to the swathes of unemployed refugees (1957, 49–50). This was also a politically expedient policy since it diluted the concentration of the disaffected unemployed in the urban centres where 'they could more easily have come to political expression' (McNeill 1957, 50), meaning that unemployed Greeks could not organize and threaten the political and economic status quo. In the end the observer is sympathetic to the ECA's and the Greek state's policies. Despite this, his reservations point at the types of critiques and alternative narratives that are necessary to develop a more nuanced interpretation of the ECA images and their historical and social contexts.[153]

While the ECA images are truthful about the repatriation of the villages of Domeniko, Olympias and Karitsa, they are telling a partial truth and framing a partial image. As I have discussed above, the care for the refugees and their repatriation by the Greek state and the US was not as successful as presented. The visualization of success by the ECA did not only present Greeks returning to a normal life, looking forward to the future. It also visualized what sort of behaviours and identities fit into this future-facing narrative. Nationally-minded yet positive about the future might be a truncated description of the desired Greek post-war collective identity we see projected in these ECA images. The villagers and their plight are certainly instrumentalized by the ECA and the Greek state, in the name of shaping desired identities and subjectivities.

[153] Although outside of the chronological scope of these images–and strictly therefore of this study–the main thrust of the criticism of repopulating the destroyed, poverty-stricken villages will prove valid in the 1950s and 1960s. During these decades, urbanization rapidly increased reflecting the internal migration of rural populations to larger cities, primarily Athens and Thessaloniki, where employment existed (Baxevanis 1965). On the impact of urbanization on Greek village life and communal ties see Demos (1988).

Recurring protagonists

How the ECA images were used in the press provides us with a useful way to explore the instrumentalization of the villagers and their plight. It also provides an illuminating example of Harissiadis' role in the visualization of the returning refugees and the context of the ECA images' production.

According to Harissiadis' notebooks at the Benaki photographic archive, he was on assignment in Thessaly 3-7 April 1950, documenting the repatriation of the refugees from the refugee centre in Larissa. In Harissiadis' notebooks the names of the Alvanou, Kamaka and Petridi families are all mentioned, alongside extensive information about the destruction of the villages of Domeniko and Olympias. As has been discussed, the ECA series was released on 20 May 1950. On 25 May 1950 three images from the ECA 163 series appear in the *Eleftheria* daily: the Alvanou and Kamaka families walking towards the viewer (fig. 122), the Petridi sisters cleaning up their home (fig. 124) and an image of two workmen rebuilding Theodora Zangka's home in Domeniko.[154] The accompanying text is nearly identical to the ECA caption,[155] with the difference that the Alvanou family in the first image (fig. 122) is misidentified. Ioannis Kamakas is listed as the father of the Alvanou family, when there is no kinship to the Alvanou family. Perhaps *Eleftheria* wished to present a tidy narrative of a nuclear family in this image.

In June of the same year, the ECA 163 series makes another appearance in the pages of *Agon Epivioseos*, the bulletin of the Ministry of Coordination, responsible for the Greek state's implementation of the MP. The image of two workmen rebuilding Th. Zangka's house in Domeniko graces the cover of issue nr 92 (7 June 1950) while the Petridi sisters tidying up their home (fig. 124) are also found within this issue. A few weeks later, several ECA 163 series images appeared in the *Agon Epivioseos* issue nr 95 (28 June 1950) issue, including the images of the truck unloading the refugees in Stomio (fig. 121), the truck carrying 'valuable lumber'

[154] The Zangka family is also mentioned in Harissiadis' notebook, although not Theodora Zangka explicitly. See notebook referring to Harissiadis' image series AG 138 at Benaki photographic archive. While I have not been able to cross-reference and identify the specific ECA 163 images in Harissiadis' archive, Harissiadis' notebook descriptions and the similar images found in Harissiadis' archive allow me to conclude that ECA 163 is indeed Harissiadis' work.

[155] As Stefanidis has noted, the copying of texts from press releases and the like was a common practice amongst smaller Greek newspapers (Stefanidis 2004, 56).

(fig. 124)[156] and the refugees waiting by the side of the road. In contrast to the *Eleftheria* newspaper feature, none of the protagonists of the images are named. This reflects the two separate audiences of *Eleftheria* and *Agon Epivioseos.* The latter was intended for a technocratic audience interested in the implementation of Greek reconstruction, hence the lack of any attention to the individual protagonists. *Eleftheria*'s wider readership allowed the captions to centre the individuals being helped in these images.

Regardless of the intended audiences, the common use of the ECA 163 image series taken by Harissiadis informs us a great deal about the use of visual narratives at the time. The desired visual narratives surrounding the refugees' treatment at the hands of the Greek state, as well as the desired post-war Greek subjectivities/identities are clearly set out by the Greek state and the ECA. Harissiadis' documentation of the returning refugees and the visual narrative he strives to project are all taking place within the boundaries and intentions of the ECA and the Greek state. Without official permission, it would be impossible for a photographer to participate in the repatriation process. Therefore, the ECA 163 photographic series represents the desired visualization of the repatriation processes and the desired attitudes of post-war Greeks, embodied in the refugee protagonists of this and other ECA photographic series. The Alvanou, Kamaka and Petridi families become symbolic of the desired post-war Greek identities: productive, future-facing and anti-communist. The symbolic function of the Kamaka and Alvanou family is further illustrated by this concluding example.

The repatriation of the refugees from the Larissa refugee centre in early April 1950 was a carefully staged media event. In the *Empros* daily's 7 April 1950 issue we read D. Avramopoulos' report of the refugee repatriation from Larissa to the village of Karitsa. In the company of ministers Gklavani (Health and Social Welfare, Housing and Reconstruction) and Malamida, Avramopoulos writes that this was the first time journalists were able to get close to the returning refugees and speak to them about their return home. The one direct quote we find in Avramopoulos text is from Ioannis Alvanos–a relative of Katina Alvanou we should assume–who according to Avramopoulos offers 'a characteristic image of the situation'. Alvanos expresses frustration about the lack of housing, tools, and livestock he expects to find

[156] The caption informs the reader that the lumber was provided by the Greek state and not by the ECA as the ECA caption states.

on his return to Karitsa. Avramopoulos in a somewhat patronizing manner writes that he informed Alvanos about how his new life would develop under the repatriation programme. Crucially, Avramopoulos says that 'we told him […] that the officials [of the repatriation programme] could inspire in him a sense of optimism, in parallel to the practical implementation of the repatriation programme'. The importance of a future-facing meliorism is distinctly highlighted here by Avramopoulos.

Almost two months later, the protagonists of Karitsa make another appearance in the Ta *Nea*'s 25 May 1950 issue. The anonymous author describes the last phase of the refugee repatriation programme, reporting from one of the military trucks that is heading to Karitsa. The elderly Eleni Kamaka, Katina Alvanou–identified only as Alvanou–and her two daughters Stavroula and Dimitra are all mentioned in the article. Most of the protagonists of fig. 122 are accounted for in this article. The article is however not reporting on a repatriation in May 1950 but rather the return to Karitsa in early April, which both Avramopoulos and Harissiadis participated in. The recurring appearance of Karitsa, Domeniko and Olympias alongside their returning inhabitants reflects a planned effort on the part of the Greek state and the ECA to narrate the repatriation programme. Significantly, while the written accounts in the press differ slightly between each other, the photographic visualizations of these returning villagers as examples of good Greeks by Harissiadis remain the same.

Self-help as identity

Self-help is another crucial element of the desired post-war Greek identity that is projected in the ECA visual narratives of repatriation and reconstruction. This element informed many of the goals and narratives of the MP, as well as the visualization of a post-war Greek identity.

The doctrine of self-help in the MP presents a peculiar paradox. It allows for independence from US interference–Greeks are rebuilding on their own–and it ascribes agency to the Greeks who are receiving US aid–they are able to rebuild thanks to the US aid and expertise and the opportunities it offers. This is repeatedly visualized in the ECA imagery. The principle of self-help goes some way towards framing local Greeks as willingly and on their own accord pursuing projects like communal road construction or the important self-housing programme. The local initiative portrayed in the photographs shifts the focus of the

reconstruction efforts away from the US and towards the villagers who are doing the actual work. Instead of appearing as passive recipients of US aid and perhaps even incurring claims of being co-opted by US imperialist hegemony, the Greeks and the Greek state can portray themselves as equals in the reconstruction of the country.

There undoubtedly existed an unequal power relationship between the US and Greece as well as the other European members of the MP (cf. Stefanidis 2010). Despite this inequality, there was a considerable degree of European agency and influence at work. As Daniel Ellwood describes it, '[t]he Europeans wished to be dominated on their own terms' (Ellwood 2012, 250). This meant that Greeks–or any other Europeans–were willing to accept US influence in exchange for the continued flow of US aid although always on their own accord. US expectations and hegemony were managed in accordance with the local context. The strength of the weak was utilized by all against the US (Ellwood 2012, 250).

In Greece, this manifested itself in a relationship that could be considered clientelist insofar as Greek politicians and soldiers were happy to receive US aid and ignore the US 'pep talks' about how Greece should be run. The same politicians, soldiers and the Palace were also astute at utilizing internal divisions within the US presence for their own ends (Miller 2009, 25). Most importantly for Greek politicians, the US post-war aid was seen as the beginning of a long and continuing relationship, as it had been with previous instances of foreign interference. When the US then tried to extricate itself from the country, this was perplexing to Greek politicians (Miller 2009, 29). Aid was a way for the US to exercise influence in Greece, but the short time span posed a constraint as it limited the time frame during which influence could be wielded. In the end, the US was too involved in Greek political life to completely disengage, transforming Greece into the 'tar baby' of US foreign policy (Miller 2009, 24,28).[157] Considering that the ECA had its largest mission in Greece, we see how the difficulties in implementing the MP in Greece and the entanglement of the US in Greece intersect and overlap.

[157] Daniel Brewster, US diplomat who worked at the Athens embassy during the MP and in the early 1960s, recalls the difficulty of disengaging from Greek affairs: 'Once 1956 came along and Karamanlis was elected Prime Minister, we phased out on major economic aid. In fact I was there in 1963 and for the seventeenth time we told them "the last $30 million dollars of aid, this is the last."' (Kennedy 1991).

How then does self-help offer independence from MP narratives? As much as the framing of a self-help principle satisfied US policy and rhetorical goals, it also opened up discursive room for the development of a Greek collective identity for the post-war period. The narrative produced is future-facing and led by the people themselves. *They* are rebuilding their lives, their homes, and their communities. Hardship is not negated but is, on the contrary, a key aspect of the story, one that will be overcome with cooperation, hard work and perseverance.

A melioristic outlook is a key part of the narrative, which in turn affects the projection of Greek identity in the ECA images. As noted above, the past is seldom mentioned apart from casting it as the root of current problems. The promise of a brighter future suffuses practically all ECA images and its representations of Greece. The country might be poor and ravaged by war, but its people are stoic in the face of hardship, rebuilding their lives one piece at a time. It is in the focus on local protagonists of these image stories that explorations of modern Greek post-war identity take place. The macro-narrative of the MP aid and the country's reconstruction is the arena in which the micro-narratives of Domeniko or Karitsa are playing out. While these are propaganda images pursuing US foreign policy goals, these images also constitute a benchmark of visual identity for a modernizing Greece in the 1950s. By focusing on the self-help efforts of local Greeks, their experiences and expressions of societal belonging are represented as well.

Help yourselves to help the nation

The Greek refugees rebuilding their own homes is a most potent and affective narrative for the ECA. Indeed, it was not only a potent narrative but also a compelling economic factor. Housing was one of the largest projects funded by US aid between 1947-1951. More than 35% of US aid during this period was directed towards the rebuilding of destroyed homes. It was only military aid which absorbed a larger share of US funds (Kalfa 2019, 19–20).

Hence the prominent place in the ECA photography of the rebuilding of refugees' homes. The self-housing programme for the 'bandit-stricken' refugees was the most important expression of the MP's self-help initiatives, even though the self-help schemes are only one part of a larger reconstruction programme (Kalfa 2019, 40). Self-help anchors the US aid to the human factor, to the people who are rebuilding their lives by their own actions. Thus, it tempers any criticism of the MP as a top-down, foreign intrusion into Greek society.

The ‘self-housing’ (αυτοστέγαση) as it is defined in the ECA captions and press-releases harmonizes with US policy and ideology that wants Europeans rebuilding their societies and economies on their own accord, although with US financial backing. Furthermore, self-help signals that Europeans will take care of themselves in the future, extricating the US from a longer dependency.

While the principals of self-help are on prominent display in the image series of Domeniko, Karitsa and Olympias, ECA series 253 (6 December 1950) is solely dedicated to the large scale ‘self-housing’ being implemented in Greece. Ca. 900 villages are part of this programme, but this series focuses on the ‘self-housing’ that is being implemented in the village of Nipsa in Western Thrace, close to the Turkish border. According to the captions, the village, destroyed by ‘communist-bandits’, is being rebuilt by the villagers themselves with MP funds and materials, in a new location five kilometres northwest of the old village. Only one image of the old village remains, showing the church and its belltower, which is the only thing that the ‘[…] vandal communists spared […]’ ([ο]ι βάνδαλοι κομμουνισταί εφείσθησαν) (fig. 127).

Figure 127. Destroyed village of Nipsa, Western Thrace. Unknown photographer. 1950. ELIA-MIET.

Figure 128. Families building homes in Nipsa. Unknown photographer. 1950. ELIA-MIET.

What do self-help and building your own home have to do with Greek post-war identity? Self-help was meant to empower Greeks and raise their morale, giving them hope for a better personal and national future. Building your own home had material as well as psychological importance, and the 'bandit-stricken' refugees embodied this reasoning. They had suffered war and Civil War, but were still able to raise themselves up, morally and materially through

their own efforts (Kalfa 2019, 40–41). As Kalfa points out, although the self-housing programme was of US origin, self-housing was promoted and received as a truly popular Greek demand. What could be more Greek and more down-to-earth than building your own home? This is also what the press of that period argued, that Greeks had built their own homes for centuries, so self-housing was a truly Greek practice (Kalfa 2019, 24, 28).

Self-housing and by extension self-help were crucial to the formation of post-war Greek identity. It created social behaviours and attitudes geared towards liberal capitalism, aligning with US foreign policy goals and those of the MP. Self-housing promoted the principle of the privately owned home, in which Greeks would invest capital as well as emotions. US housing experts responsible for the self-housing programme in Greece, such as Jacob Crane, clearly stated the moral and psychological importance of this type of self-help. Self-housing programmes would help Greeks–or any of the other aided self-housing programmes that the US sponsored and oversaw globally–to invest money and material in their homes, but crucially it created an emotional investment. Thus, the reasoning went, the Greek homeowner having built or rebuilt his own home after the war, could feel pride that the national reconstruction was accomplished through the Greeks' own efforts (Kalfa 2019, 51, 63, 70).

Therefore, self-housing involved Greeks physically and psychologically in the creation of a new post-war subjectivity and identity. An identity turned towards the future, towards modernity (Kalfa 2019, 92). As a US idea, self-help was also envisioned as a didactic exercise, which would teach peoples, such as the Greeks, the practices and the ethos of capitalism. This didacticism thinly concealed the anti-communism hidden within. The self-built home was the result of living in the 'free world' and cooperating with the USA, where US aid and expertise combine with the local *individual* efforts to create homes and well-being. While the US was careful to conceal their own and local governments' role in self-housing, it made sure to focus on people's own initiatives. Yet, it was obvious to most that there would be no self-housing programme without the funds, materials, and expertise supplied by the US (Kalfa 2019, 56).

The latent anti-communism of Greek self-housing and self-help influenced Greek post-war subjectivities in another significant way. As self-housing was impossible without materials and funds from the state and the US, the denial of aid to those deemed not nationally-minded enough became a way to control and exclude perceived enemies. As foreign aid was the main source of income for Greece in the immediate post-war period, this had a serious impact

materially as well as behaviourally (Kalfa 2019, 41; Lazou 2012).[158] It signalled that all those perceived to be against the nation did not deserve to be treated as equals citizens. Although this strategy of control is not expressed in the ECA images, it is undoubtedly lurking in the background of the narrative of reconstruction. Nowhere in the images of repatriation is there visual or textual mention of the fellow villagers who do not conform to the nationally-minded standards of post-Civil War Greece. People viewing these images at the time would have known that these fellow villagers existed, villagers who had been sympathetic to DSE, or perhaps had simply not been supportive of the state. An erasure of these Others takes place within the ECA image series, while at the same time showing that self-helping Greeks were doing well for themselves. They had chosen the right path, the path leading to freedom.

In the next section I will nuance my argument about the erasure of the Others described above, by discussing the one ECA image series I encountered, where the presence of the Other within a rural community was acknowledged. Yet again, the theme of Greek self-help is central.

Atonement through good (public) works

On April 22, 1951, ECA published the photographic series ECA 280 along with press release 996. Yet again the setting of the feature is a village in rural Greece. This time we are taken to Paleopanaghia in Laconia, inhabitants 1200. An olive and fruit producing village, it relies on access to markets to sell its products. Its narrow, winding road is not up to the task though, making it a long and arduous journey to the closest highway. With MP aid this is about to change as it will allow the villagers to construct a new direct road to the main road.

[158] This abuse of the distribution of essential aid to communists, leftists and fellow travellers preceded the MP. During the Civil War, UNRRA aid was withheld by the Greek state from villages suspected of helping or being sympathetic to the DSE. Cases of starvation caused by this policy were reported. This punitive control of dissent pervaded the whole bureaucratic apparatus from state to village level. As the local community leaders were responsible for distributing aid and controlling political dissent, this created ideal conditions for the abuse of power (Laiou 1987, 64; Lazou 2012).

Figure 129. Villagers of Paleopanaghia laying the foundations of the new road. Unknown photographer. 1951. ELIA-MIET.

The image series depicts the construction of the road and informs us that, although the funds for materials and equipment were provided by the US, the villagers were building it themselves as well as giving up their own land for this public road. In a short series of five images, we follow the village men as they dig through olive groves and lay down the stone foundations (fig. 129), or as they construct a border wall along the edge of the road. A portrait of Panayotis Nikolakakos taking a cigarette break from felling trees is followed by a caption that stresses the personal sacrifices made by the farmers who gave up parts of their olive groves and fruit orchards for this public good (fig. 130). As we can see, the focus is yet again on the labour of local Greeks rather than on the magnanimity of the US towards Greece.

Figure 130. Panayotis Nikolakakos. Unknown photographer. 1951. ELIA-MIET.

One particular image of this series stands out. Barbara Pirnokoki–the only woman in this series, apart from a pair of small girls in another image–is shot from a low angle, catching her mid-phrase, her right arm raised dramatically skywards, her left hand resting on her hip (fig.

131). A low wall behind Pirnokoki visually isolates her figure and brings her to the fore. In the background we see a house lost in soft focus. We are told that the 65-year-old widow has given up part of her land for the new road, which she hopes will contribute to the 'restitution' of her two sons who are imprisoned because of their communist activities.

Figure 131. Barbara Pirnokoki. Unknown photographer. 1951. ELIA-MIET.

What started off as a story of self-improvement and hard work for a better future has turned into an anti-communist offensive. Yet again, the projection of 'true' Greek identity in the ECA discourses anchors itself to the internal Other, the communists, however invisible they may be. Good and nationally-minded Greek citizens are building a road towards a better future. Yet, in this image series, crimes against the nation can be atoned for. It is worth dwelling on the timeline of this image series. It was released in 1951, just a couple of years after the end of the Civil War. The hard division between 'us and them'–the nationally-minded citizens vs. the 'communist-bandits'–that we saw in the previous image series from Thessaly has been rhetorically softened, expanding the discursive room in which Greeks who were not *ethnikofrones* might be reintegrated into the nation.

In terms of the visualization of Greek collective identity taking place in this image series, Pirnokoki's story in the MP photograph signals that wayward citizens can atone for themselves by performing good works for the nation. Yet, atonement comes at a cost. In Pirnokoki's case as well as others, whole families paid for their belonging to the Left (Panourgiá 2009, passim). Communism, like a virus, could supposedly infect whole families. However, the narrative of atonement in the ECA image series does provides a rare opening in the MP images to problematize the complexities of a divided and war-scarred Greek society.

Pirnokoki's photograph and the story it tries to tell exposes a rift in the construction of a nationally-minded Greek identity that defines itself against the internal (and external) Other of communism. In a society shaken by bitter civil war, it is unavoidable that the opposing sides coexist long after the fighting ceases. Making a distinction between 'good' and 'bad' Greek identities is therefore an arbitrary process at best. Pirnokoki's family history reveals the complexities of Greek society and the way its collective identities were shaped in the post-war period. Yet, the ECA images firmly positioned the narrative of atonement within the post-war parameters of state-sanctioned insiders and outsiders. The price to re-join this fold can be steep as Pirnokoki's story tells us, yet the MP visual narrative elides the practices that sorted 'good' from 'bad' Greeks.

The labelling of citizens as not nationally-minded did not only have a symbolic cost. Exclusion from the *ethinkofron* fold meant exclusion from education, jobs and services (Karamanolakis 2019, 78). One of the most serious exclusionary practices of the post-war Greek state was the use of the 'certificates of social beliefs'. These certificates, issued by the Greek security services, indicated that the individual in question did not have any

objectionable beliefs–read communist or leftist ideas– that were harmful to the state and society. Such certificates became necessary to apply for jobs in both the public and private sector, for entrance into university as well as for obtaining driver's licenses and passports (Panourgiá 2009, 44–46). Furthermore, a family's loyalty to the nation was also at stake. Citizens related to un-nationally minded individuals were tainted by association, producing what Neni Panourgia has called 'a political DNA of sorts, a discourse on the inevitability of one's constitutive politics' (2009, 46, see also Bournazos 2009, 15). The MP images reflect none of these exclusionary practices, providing a partial image of what post-war Greece was. This partial image is instead concerned with imagining a national community (Anderson 2006) of industrious, nationally-minded Greeks that are raising their living standards by their own efforts.

One image, two texts

The Paleopanaghia series also offers us a useful case to study the textual aspects of the ECA imagery. With few exceptions, every photograph is followed by a caption and sometimes even the press release that discusses a whole image series. The press releases and the captions invariably include the same text and messaging that the captions hold. Especially noteworthy are the bilingual texts that ECA produced. In the Paleopanaghia series amongst others, both English and Greek texts are preserved allowing us to examine them side by side. The English captions are printed directly unto the backside of the photographs while the Greek text is attached in the press release that also includes individual captions.

On first inspection, the captions read in much the same way: first, the men of the Paleopanaghia village built the road that allowed for easier access to markets for their agricultural products and, secondly, many in the village gave up their land for the passage of the new road. On closer inspection, small, subtle changes between the two languages provide glimpses into the differentiated messaging for the intended audiences. The Greek text, which is also longer than the English text, describes the village men as offering their services for building this road

'… προσέφεραν τας υπηρεσίας των δια την κατασκευή [της] οδού…'

and in the English text

'…the men donated their services to construct a road…'

Further down in the Greek text, the villagers are described as *willingly* offering their labour (προσφέρθηκαν προθύμως) and sacrificing (εθυσίασαν) their land for the new road. In the English the villagers simply 'agree to do the work' and 'many gave the land' for the new road.

A more neutral stance can be discerned in the English text reflecting the intended US, European and international audiences. All English captions and press releases are marked for distribution to Paris and Washington–the respective European and US headquarters of the ECA. Progress on reconstruction and the efficacy of ECA funds were key foci of the information campaigns and adopting a non-propagandistic language was an established modus operandi. Notably, the framing of the villagers 'donating' their labour for the construction of the road is part of a concerted effort to placate US lawmakers and the US tax-paying public. Considering the scepticism of the US electorate about giving Europe a ton of money and goods, the ECA was keen to show that the recipient nations were also sacrificing something and not only living off US largesse.

For Greek audiences the text signals a greater local enthusiasm and participation in this road project. The villagers are *willingly* offering their labour to build this road and are even *sacrificing* their own land for the public good. In an image of two young girls watching their father build the road from the balcony of their house, the Greek caption stresses how he is *voluntarily* working (εργάζεται εθελοντικώς) on this project. As observed earlier in the media coverage of Domeniko, Olympias and Karitsa, ECA images and press releases were circulated to Greek papers and other media outlets, which in turn reproduced the narrative laid out by the ECA and the Greek state.

The Palaiopanaghia images were in turn published in the *Eleftheros Kosmos*' issue 7 (1952), USIS' free illustrated magazine, in a section titled 'The road to prosperity' that highlighted local road-building initiatives. The narrative and the image captions in the magazine are nearly identical to the ECA captions discussed. Rather than stressing the MP's largesse, the narrative stresses the local villagers' voluntary contributions and the initiative that they show in making their lives better. Doing so it projects a Greek identity that is resourceful, interested in the common good and working towards a better future–with a little help from the US. Furthermore, the narrative of voluntarism frames this project as a grass roots initiative, partly deflecting attention from the US foreign policy goals at play. Crucially for the US narrative, the Greeks are seen helping themselves, a key feature of the MP ethos.

Roads to modernity

The road-building programme is a genuine example of Greek agency and action that was then incorporated into the ECA self-help narrative. The roads linking small villages to the main roads or directly to local market cities were part of small-scale land reclamation projects that fell mostly under the Ministry of Agriculture or Interior, particularly the Agricultural Extension divisions. Labour for these projects was mostly provided by the communities themselves, as in the case of Paleopanaghia. The villagers had to contribute financially to these projects but were often cautiously enthusiastic about better communication possibilities. The Greek state's Mechanical Cultivation Service, which helped farmers with the development of mechanized agriculture, was a key player in these road building schemes. It not only provided the heavy machinery for road clearing, but it also sent out its officers to 'sell' these new roads all across the Greek mountains (Munkman 1958, 122).

These communal roads originated locally and were promoted by communal councils. Such local initiative was made possible by the decentralisation of authority that started in 1948 as a result of American pressure. Town, village, and community elections were held while the *nomarchis* (provincial governor) was made into a career appointee rather than a political appointee. Funds were also made available for local projects like the roads scheme.[159] This same decentralisation has also been credited with establishing the self-help programmes for the local communities. These programmes included training the former refugees in new agricultural techniques and practical skills such as masonry and carpentry–skills that were then utilized in the repair of homes destroyed during the Civil War (Munkman 1958, 93, 253). Such images are also preserved in the ECA collection I researched.

According to the Greek state's own statistics, 4437 kilometres of these rough roads had been built by 1951, almost two-and-a-half times the length of similar pre-war roads.[160] Although rudimentary in nature, these roads would bring significant economic benefit to the villages, allowing produce to be sold in markets that were difficult to access before, thus

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[159] This decentralization started to be reversed with the Papagos government of 1952.
[160] Quoted in McNeill (1957, 51). The smaller community roads were the clear winners of the various MP road building schemes, seeing a doubling of their length in comparison to pre-war levels. Main highways and provincial roads also increased from their pre-war level but not as much (Munkman 1958, 199)

stimulating economic production. This benefit is also a main thrust of the narrative in the Paleopanaghia photographs, that the villagers can sell their produce more easily and therefore advance themselves.

The road project served many masters and narratives. The villages that had road access could indeed increase their income and their communication with the world, while the ECA could use this road building as proof of the success of the MP in Greece, of the MP helping Greeks help themselves. From a Greek perspective, the road building scheme showed the agency that Greek institutions and ideas had within the framework of hegemonic US aid. It expresses the interaction of US and Greek narratives of reconstruction, society building and modernization. On a more practical level, the road building scheme can be seen as an extension of political and military control. Former refugees and underemployed rural Greeks could be put to work while at the same time extending the reach of the state and if necessary, of the military (McNeill 1957, 50). As the American observer William McNeill put it '[t]oo much of the old style of economic self-sufficiency and communal isolation might facilitate some future guerrilla movement' (1957, 51). In the post-Civil War era these were thoughts that occupied the minds of Greek and US politicians, diplomats, and soldiers. Roads were an integral part of the early US aid and of the Civil War effort. The reconstruction of main roads and transportation networks were amongst the few reconstruction projects that the AMAG–the MP's predecessor–undertook, as transportation was economically and strategically important (Stathakis 2004, 209).

I end the exploration of the road-building programme with a look at its effects on the political geography of these villages. Over time these new roads affected the social dynamics, aspirations and horizons of the people living in rural Greece. Roads allowed easier access to larger cities such as Athens or Patras as well as to new ideas, attitudes, and aspirations. Many roads also allowed access to public buses, which made venturing out of the isolation of the villages much easier (McNeill 1957, 51). Although these effects took years to develop, the seeds of these changes are present in the ECA imagery of the Paleopanaghia road. The seemingly rough and crude roads are quite literally paths to modernity and the future in Greece, even though that might not be obvious at first glance. Paradoxically, better conditions in the villages fostered the urbanization wave in the booming decades of the 1960s and 1970s. One such participant in the urbanization of the 1960s sums up the effects of access to new places and ideas: 'We saw what the rest of the world had and noticed that all we had was

bread’ (Demos 1988, 91). On a discursive level, the politics of rising expectations should be seen as a key, somewhat unintended legacy of the MP in Greece (cf. Ellwood 2012, 253).

A space for change – The MP as greenhouse for Greek reformism

Road-building is one illustrative example of the local Greek reformism that developed under the umbrella of the MP. Self-help was inescapably a key element in this reformism. Another important example was the rebuilding of houses. I have extensively discussed the self-housing programme, which was a major component of housing reconstruction. There is, however, another parallel track of housing reconstruction undertaken during the MP, which we also see in the ECA images. This was the construction of ‘housing nuclei’, low-cost housing units that were built with growth in mind, allowing for the extension of the house beyond its two rooms (Munkman 1958, 218). Let us first have a look at this building practice and then discuss its relationship to the MP and to post-war Greek modernity.

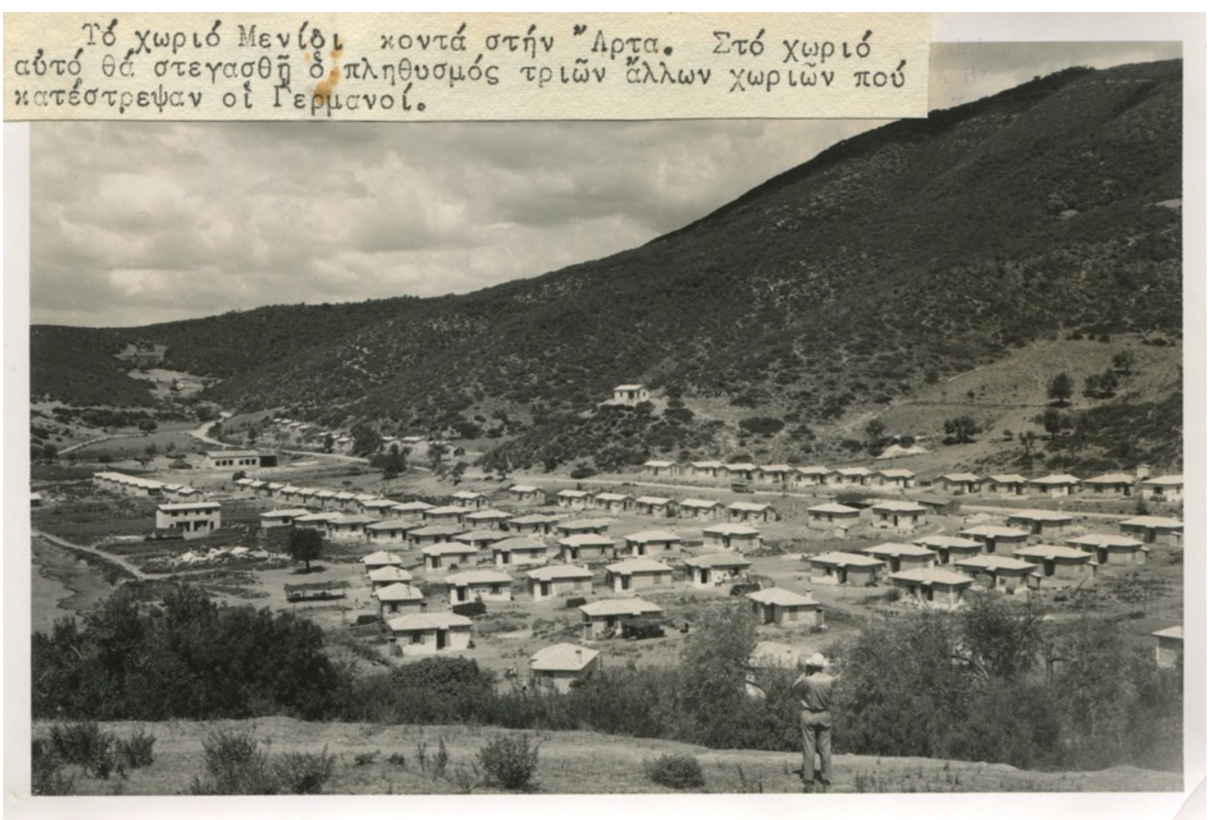

Figure 132. Newly built village of Menidi. Unknown photographer. 1950. ELIA-MIET.

An ECA image (ECA 104) from April 1, 1950 captures Menidi from afar (fig. 132). In the foreground we see a man who is also taking a picture of this new, orderly laid out village. The

Greek caption informs us that the MP credits are helping to create 'nuclei' (πυρήνες) from which the family homes can grow. Depending on the extent of a village's destruction, a village might be built from scratch on a new, nearby location. These new villages became recognizable by their uniform layout and housing design (Munkman 1958, 218). Not all new settlements were successful however, as villagers occasionally found the new locations unappealing. In one example from Crete, the new village was built in such an exposed location that in the winter it was uninhabitable because of the winds. The villagers ended up rebuilding their old homes without any assistance from the Greek state or the MP (Munkman 1958, 222).

The concept of housing 'nuclei' is a noteworthy example of the exchange of ideas between US and Greek discourses. Konstantinos Doxiadis, architect and senior civil servant, developed this concept within the framework of his proposed science of ekistics (οικιστική), a multifaceted study of human settlements (Kakridis 2013, 139–40; see also Phokaides et al. 2021). As director-general of the Ministry of Housing and Reconstruction (1945-1948) and as coordinator of the recovery programme and undersecretary of the Ministry of Coordination (1948-1950), Doxiadis had ample opportunity to develop and apply the concepts of ekistics, particularly to the resettlement effort of the Civil War refugees that we see in the ECA images. The housing nuclei concept developed out of historical studies and surveys of the housing types that existed in Greece. The Ministry of Reconstruction used these surveys to develop housing types that were standardized–keeping material waste and costs down–yet possible to expand (Kalfa 2019, 76–80). This flexibility and functionality were key components of the housing nuclei, consistent with Doxiadis' general views on the dynamic nature of human settlements. Doxiadis was also prolific in making new plans for settlements, which would often involve relocating current residents from various settlements to new locations. Within his first two years at the Ministry of Reconstruction, his division had surveyed 561 settlements and made 230 new urban plans. Few of these plans were ever implemented though (Kakridis 2013, 146-147, also n.47).

The inclusion of the housing nuclei in the ECA imagery and text gives us some insight into the role that Greek agency played in the decision-making processes on the reconstruction and modernization of Greece by the MP. As shown above, the 'nuclei' developed out of Doxiadis' and his team's work at the Ministry of Reconstruction, becoming the main practice for rehousing the Civil War refugees in the period 1946-1949 (Kalfa 2019, 26). Two things can be deduced from the above. The first is that US hegemony of the reconstruction process was

not absolute. The second and related conclusion is that the practice of the 'nuclei' is part of a Greek modernization discourse that was able to develop under the auspices of the MP. As argued earlier, Greek modernization discourses and the reformist politicians were given space by the US intervention of the MP to develop beyond the constraints of the entrenched political system (Hatzivassiliou 2010; 2014, 84).

Doxiadis and his housing nuclei are an example of this set of circumstances. Not only was his work funded by US aid, the new agencies and departments over which Doxiadis presided were set up by the same aid, in an attempt to escape established administrational and political structures that were deemed counterproductive by the US presence. US frustration at the administration of the aid led them to establish institutions and agencies that were outside of the old administrative order (Kakridis 2013, 137). Doxiadis himself was well aware of the need to build new organizations and legal frameworks for the reconstruction of the country. His vision was of a highly centralized authority, which would neutralize the powers wielded by numerous 'small dictators' in the lower strata of the civil service who were, in Doxiadis' view, the bane of the Greek state. His vision is indicative of a modern belief in technocratic managerialism and its power to effect change through technical, scientific and–theoretically–apolitical solutions for the betterment of society. Doxiadis came of age in a milieu in which the belief that scientific and technological solutions could solve all of the world's problems was particularly strong (Kakridis 2013, 144–45).[161]

Furthermore, Doxiadis had early on identified the US presence as beneficial to Greece's reconstruction and integral to his reconstruction plans. In 1945, Doxiadis had travelled to Washington to try and secure international support for Greece's reconstruction. On that trip he met Jacob Crane, the world-renowned US housing expert and architect of the aided self-housing programme that Crane had first implemented on a small scale in Puerto Rico. Doxiadis kept up a lively exchange of letters with Crane and worked closely with Crane's two collaborators in Greece, George Reed and George Speer, who were part of the AMAG and the ECA, advising on housing (Kalfa 2019, 14–15, 31–32, 36–38). In his letters to Crane, Doxiadis stressed the moral and practical support that Crane and his US collaborators in Greece lent to the reconstruction effort (Kalfa 2019, 32). In 1947, Doxiadis addressed

[161] For the milieu and technological-scientific meliorism discourse in Greece before WWII see Mpogiatzis (2012) and Antoniou (2006). See also Papastefanaki (2017).

delegates on the topic of Greece's reconstruction at a first conference which was hosted just five days after the proclamation of the Truman Doctrine. In his remarks to the assembled crowd, Doxiadis stressed the importance of self-help in Greece's housing reconstruction, an effort that was now possible because the Greek state could support it. Importantly, he placed particular emphasis on the fact that US aid and the US presence would provide the right conditions for this encouragement of private initiative, as it was in the American spirit that local initiative should be involved in its own efforts (Kalfa 2019, 91, 93).

Doxiadis' housing nuclei and the self-housing programme might appear to be antithetical. Nuclei are built by the state while self-housing is done by rural Greeks themselves. This view was shared by the Greek press at the time, which oft elevated self-housing as a miracle solution to the pressing housing needs of rural, displaced Greeks. Yet for the Greek State and the US housing experts advising it, these two ways of rebuilding homes worked in tandem. Indeed, the housing nuclei, which were principally built between 1946-1949 were also envisioned with self-help in mind. Families were expected to extend and invest in the nuclei with their own future savings (Kalfa 2019, 28). As Kalfa argues, housing became the vehicle to modernity for post-war Greeks (2019, 76). 'Architecture as a *social, communal activity*' (emphasis in original) allowed Greeks to bridge the gap between a traditional and a modern life (2019, 89). This is where Doxiadis' nuclei and the subsequent self-housing programme converge. Both practices involved Greeks in the betterment of their housing conditions, teaching them in the process new values and behaviours geared towards a modern way of life, which shaped new subjectivities (2019, 92). The MP images in their turn convey this new identity geared towards the future and self-betterment.

Housing reconstruction, as one of the MP's largest and most important projects, provides important insight into the ways in which Greek ideas of modernization and reform intersected with the MP and broader US policy goals. Doxiadis and his collaborators at the Ministry of Reconstruction placed their ambitions and plans within the parameters and the discursive space created by the US presence. Yet, this was not a one-way relationship. As Kalfa shows, Greece was the great experiment for aided self-housing (2019, 2021). US experts like Crane, Reed and Speer could for the first time apply their ideas around self-housing on a large scale in Greece. Greece was therefore crucial in the creation and exchange of knowledge and experience around self-housing (Kalfa 2019, 36). Knowledge that would inform housing

development policies in the Global South during the Cold War (Kalfa 2019, 15, 83, passim; cf. Muzaffar 2007).

Despite the importance of the housing reconstruction programme and of the self-help initiatives, we know less about how the civil war refugees experienced their repatriation.[162] The collective memory of this period is based on official accounts and on official images of the repatriation, such as the MP photographs that I discussed. Furthermore, the press of that era printed the images and the narratives that the MP provided the press with. As I examine elsewhere, the MP narrative and image series from the villages of Karitsa, Domeniko and Olympias are reproduced in the daily press, offering up the official version of villagers grateful for their repatriation by the Greek state and the MP (Mauzy, forthcoming). Yet, Greek memory of the MP seems to be short-lived. Even as early as the ten-year anniversary of the MP in 1958, only 19% of Greeks that were aware of the MP felt that it had benefited them a great deal, while 44% thought it had benefitted them somewhat, according to a USIS poll (871ialiouti 2017, 236). In the opinion of C.A. Munkman, a former MP officer in Greece, the MP was itself responsible for this amnesia, as '[n]o publicity campaign to inform people on the mechanics of [MP] aid has even been undertaken' (1958, 282). Munkman (1958) also relates the story of visiting a Cretan village in 1953. The village president, whose village had benefited from MP funds, had just heard on the radio that the USA had given Greece two billion US dollars. This could not have been true, he told Munkman, as the villagers had not noticed any effects of this astronomical sum of money in their lives. Someone must have stolen that money in the village president's opinion (Munkman 1958, viii).

The above illustrates the faintness of the MP in Greek collective memory. Decades later this forgetting of the MP has only intensified. A major contributing factor to the neglect of this period in Greek history, is that the memory of the traumatic Civil War has overshadowed the years following the end of the Civil War (cf. Van Boeschoten et al. 2008). Gonda Van Steen also notes that while the scholarly output about the Civil War keeps on growing the historiography of the period 1949-1967 remains largely unexamined, particularly as it relates to issues of social and human rights (2019, 23). Considering the dark spot surrounding the MP and the immediate post-war era in Greek collective memory, I deem the MP images of returning refugees as existing in a state of latency, as an archive for future

[162] Kalfa (2019, 95 n. 168), yet see Vervenioti (2021).

memory. Hence, the MP images might inform a new chapter of Greek cultural memory, regarding the immediate post-war era in Greece (A. Assmann 2008a, 2010, 43).

Power houses

So far, I have examined the formation of a social-political Greek collective identity at the individual level, where self-help and anti-communism are central elements. I now turn to the formation of a social-political Greek identity on the societal level by examining the photographs of the MP's electrification programme, where modernization and meliorism are core elements. What is clearly observable in these images, is the development of modernization as a component of a Greek imagined community (Anderson 2006).

The Greek electrification programme is likely one of the greatest achievements of the MP. It is also the project whose legacy has likely survived the longest. On February 8, 1950 the ECA provided a glimpse of this ambitious project, showing in a series of images (ECA 272) the start of construction at the Aliveri power station on Evia. The coal-powered plant was to provide electricity as far north as Larissa and as far south as Athens, drawing on the lignite deposits that surround the plant's location.

Figure 133. Arrival of construction machinery at Aliveri, Evia. Unknown photographer. 1951. ELIA-MIET.

The first image of this series is an auspicious choice for the subject matter. A caterpillar construction machine exits the gaping maul of a Greek Navy transport ship that has landed on what looks like a sandy beach in the vicinity of Aliveri (fig. 133). Somewhat evocative of a landing army establishing a beachhead, these construction machines seem to tell us that they are here to rebuild the present for a modern future. A crowd has gathered to witness this spectacle–men, women and children watch as the heavy machine navigates the narrow path of wooden boards that is laid down on the sand. Several of the young boys in the crowd seem almost as interested in the photographer as in the spectacle, looking straight into the camera.

Figure 134. Construction machinery and mobile offices for the construction of the thermo-electrical plant at Aliveri. Unknown photographer. 1951. ELIA-MIET.

The next image in the series shows an overview of the harbour of Aliveri, chockful of construction machinery and other equipment, as well as mobile homes that will become construction site offices (fig. 134). Here as well, people mill about the machines participating in the spectacle of the country's modernization as well as the further exploitation of the area's natural resources.[163] The third and last image of the series is the least intriguing, showing a group of workmen clearing the site where a warehouse will be built. In a reminder of the importance of context and considering the specific Greek context, this image might as well have come from an archaeological excavation with its similarly structured terrain of grids, piles of dirt and pickaxe-wielding workers (fig. 135).

[163] The Aliveri lignite deposits have been mined since the nineteenth century.

Figure 135. Warehouse construction at Aliveri. Unknown photographer. 1951. ELIA-MIET.

As photographic propaganda this certainly does not make for particularly stirring imagery. The long timespans needed to build power plants are not always conducive to making gripping visual narratives. Instead, the visual impact in the early images of Aliveri stays at the level of documentation more than anything else. Fast-forward three years and the visual narrative as well as the physical landscape have evolved. During 1953 the Aliveri power station is slated to start operating, becoming the first of the four new power stations that make up the electrification campaign. The MSA, which had taken over from the ECA in 1952, was promoting this grand achievement in its image series MSA 570.

Figure 136. Aerial view of the Aliveri power plant. Unknown photographer. 1953. ELIA-MIET.

The narrative opens strongly, with an aerial view of the Aliveri power plant and its surrounding auxiliary buildings (fig. 136).[164] The Greek caption tells us that the 51-meter-tall smokestacks rise above an ancient Greek settlement, while curiously omitting the Venetian tower[165] that is right next to the power plant. Perhaps this reflects a lack of knowledge of the area's recent history, or it reflects a centring of Greek historical and spatial imagination in the hegemonic ancient era. Regardless, it is one of the few references to the historical past in these ECA/MSA images, which otherwise point to the future.

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[164] Photographed by Harissiadis, see Harissiadis' image series AI 210 (23.12.1952) at the Benaki photographic archive. This image was used on multiple occasions in the Greek press. In 1953 *Empros* used this image prolifically in their 11 January, 3 March and 2 July issues.
[165] https://www.medievalroutes.gr/el/sylloges/antikeimena/5175_el/ (last accessed 19/09/2022).

Figure 137. Officials inspecting lignite, with the Aliveri powerplant in the background. Unknown photographer. 1953. ELIA-MIET.

A key feature of this image of Aliveri and other images of the electrification campaign is the transformation and harnessing of the landscape and the natural world. In an image from

Aliveri in 1953 (fig. 137), a group of dignitaries (Greeks? Americans? both?) stand on a mound of brown coal/lignite and are examining it while the power plant and the construction cranes loom in the background.[166] The whole endeavour at Aliveri rests on the extraction and exploitation of the landscape, mining the coal from the surrounding hills. In another image of the series, we see the two-track railway line that connects the lignite mine with the power plant, a proverbial lifeline coming from deep inside the earth.

It is the last image in this series that sums up the changes that are afoot in a modernizing Greece. A solitary man and his two fully laden donkeys walk along a country road that diagonally cuts across the frame, leading into the distance (fig. 138). Flanking the road are high tension electrical pylons that disappear along with the road into the background, where the faint outline of mountains can be seen. The pylons, evocative of gigantic trees, will carry electricity to people that did not have access to it before, offering the promise of a better future. Similarly, the man who is walking away from us seems to also be heading towards this brighter future. All these elements–the pylons and the man with his donkeys–blend the modern, rational order with the old, traditional order imagining a visual narrative and an identity that will be a recurring theme for a reconstructed and developing Greece. This and other photographs from the electrification programme present a vision of what the future looks like for post-war Greece, caught between a paradigm of interpretation and identification (Morris-Suzuki 2005, 22–23). The photographs are simultaneously an impression of the power plants' construction and an expression of a new, modern Greek identity that looks to the future (Vowinckel 2016, 16–17).

[166] This image graced the back cover of the USIS-funded illustrated magazine *Ethniki Amyna,* nr 80 (February 1953). Figs. 136 and 138 were also included in the same issue. The MSA 570 series was photographed by Harissiadis, see Harissiadis' image series AI 169 (16.10.1952) and AI 197 (21.12.1952) at the Benaki.

Figure 138. Man with his donkeys, walking along road with new electrical pylons, close to Aliveri. Unknown photographer. 1953. ELIA-MIET.

It is certainly true that the national electrification campaign that began under the MP acted as a vehicle for economic development in post-war Greece, highlighting the co-dependence of electricity and industrial growth, as well as its importance for tourism (Pantelakes 1991, 25, 33; Alifragkis and Athanassiou 2013, 704). The Greek government as well as the local ECA office were keenly aware of this fact and stressed the importance of hydroelectrical power in the ambitious yet ultimately doomed Four Year Plan, which was presented to Washington in 1949 (Stathakis 2004, 283). In the early 1950s, however, the benefits of electrification could for the most part not be widely felt, even though much of the country was on the grid. The percentage of the population that had access to power in 1955, the year in which all the scheduled power plants (Aliveri, Ladonas, Louros and Vodas) were completed, was up to 59,1% from its 55% level in 1950 (Pantelakes 1991, 422, 436). As William Hardy McNeillI, US historian and former military attaché to Greece, observes, electricity brought about a modernization of the Greek countryside when access to consumer goods such as washing

machines, fridges and light bulbs became available.[167] The ECA visual narratives convey a message of a society already modernized, while the record shows that this was only the beginning of the economic and modernization boom of the late 50s and 1960s. The images are therefore visualizing a future image of Greece, an image of Greece stepping into modernity. This is still a future waiting to happen. Therefore, these images present the 'revolution of rising expectations', which, although it was not shared by many in Europe at the time, would materialize in the coming two decades (Ellwood 2012, 253).

The two other electricity plants that are featured in the ECA/MSA images from 1953 are the hydroelectric dams at the rivers Louros (MSA 612 & 632) and Ladonas (MSA 611),[168] in Epirus and the Peloponnese respectively. In these image series a much clearer narrative of harnessing nature for the betterment of Greece can be found. The workmen and engineers of these dams are changing the physical landscapes, diverting rivers in order to provide electricity to communities that had lacked it in the past. Although from different projects and locations, the imagery is very similar. The construction sites studded by steel rebar poking out of the concrete foundations and crisscrossed by wooden scaffolding are foregrounded, while the bucolic landscape that is being transformed simply serves as a backdrop to this triumph of man over nature (fig. 139).

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[167] Mentioned in Alifragkis and Athanassiou (2013, 704). What constituted a decent standard of living became a serious concern in post-war Europe. The MP was instrumental in this discussion, contributing new ways of thinking about the pursuit of well-being. Even though the MP had originally not intended to shape a consumerist Europe, a latter goal became the expansion of transatlantic trade and consequently of consumerism. Consumerism became a core element in post-war well-being, creating the 'consumer citizen' of Europe. The standard of living became another Cold War ideological battlefield, pitting the Soviet-Communist vs Western-Capitalist model against each other (De Grazia 2005, chaps. 7, particularly pp. 338-340, 342–343, 345). This battle over standards of living shares parallels to the self-housing programmes implemented in Greece and elsewhere. The message was that the capitalist, self-made home was better than those under communist rule (Kalfa 2019, 56).

[168] Photographed by Harissiadis. See image series AJ 38 and AJ 39 (8-16.2.53) in Harissiadis' archive at the Benaki.

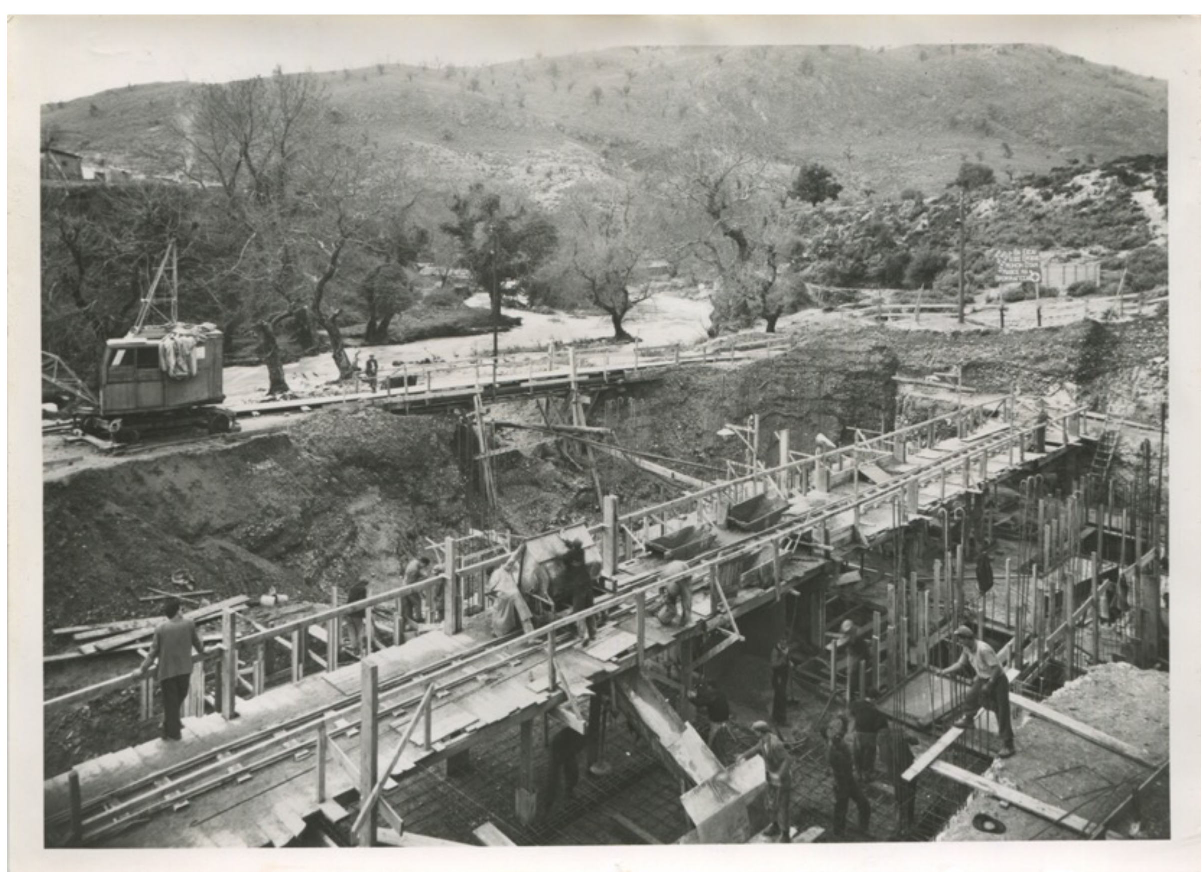

Figure 139. Construction of foundations for the hydroelectrical plant by the Louros river in Epirus. Unknown photographer. 1953. ELIA-MIET.

In these images we detect an aesthetic of the 'capitalist sublime', which dramatizes the new industrial landscape of Greece, contributing to its ideological promotion (Stathatos 2009, 272; Moschovi 2009, 158). The photographs of the power plants being built are part of an aestheticization of a post-war liberal capitalist world that Greece was becoming part of. They also illustrate what modern, post-war Greece was aspiring towards: an increase in living standards, industrialization–which was never realized–, the increase of agricultural production (Kassianou 2013b). All steps towards modernity that would arrive through the development of the MP. Similarly to the photographs of self-housing, the electrification images aim to cultivate new subjectivities and attitudes for a modern and modernizing Greece. A Greek national community geared towards the bright future is being imagined (cf. Anderson 2006) and mediated through the MP images of the electrification programme.

Figure 140. Hydro-electrical power plant at Ladonas, close to ancient Olympia. Unknown photographer. 1953. ELIA-MIET.

The future is prominently centred in the images of the electrification programme. In one of the images from Ladonas close to Ancient Olympia (fig. 140), the modern future coexists with

the stagnant present. In the background of the photograph, we see the construction of the dam and its water tunnels, nestled into a slope of a large hill or a mountain. In the foreground we see a vaulted stone bridge, on which stands a curious person, looking towards the hydroelectric dam. The juxtaposition of the old order (stone bridge) with the new order (the dam) echoes the narrative of progress we saw in the Aliveri image of the man and the pylons. Greece's future according to these ECA/MSA narratives lies with the rational exploitation of the country's natural resources. The measured, technical, and somewhat distant tenor of these images are part and parcel of this narrative of progress. Progress is the manifest destiny that permeates many of the ECA/MSA images and keeps the narrative always facing forward, never pausing to reflect on the changes at hand.

The photographs showing the men building the hydroelectric plants capture this distant tenor in a pronounced way. In the wide shots of the dams under construction, the men appear as small ants lost in a maze while in the images that focus on the men building the dams, there is a cool distance to the subject. Harissiadis, the photographer of these images, positions himself as an observer, not engaging directly with the workers, approaching them in an instrumentalizing way as if they were only another type of tool or machinery building the dams. Indeed, this was Harissiadis' approach, aestheticizing progress and industrial forms while keeping detached, or 'neutral' from the human element (Moschovi 2013, 158).

A 'happy revolution'

Although after the period under consideration here, the photographic production of the Public Power Corporation (DEI) provides a fruitful parallel to the MP images of electrification. DEI's photography captured and documented the social changes that electrification was bringing about. As photographic historian Nina Kassianou observes, in DEI's images the future is imprinted unto the present, highlighting the co-existence of the 'ideal and the real'–as in images of rural Greeks celebrating electricity's arrival in their village (Kassianou 2013b). These DEI images shared similarities to the MP images, where a narrative of modernity and aspiration for the future is shaping collective identities for a post-war Greece. Indeed, DEI's close foundational links to the MP are important in this respect.

In the MP's electrification images, the juxtaposition of the past and the present to the future is a recurring theme. Greece's future according to these visual narratives lies in the

systematic, rational, and efficient exploitation of the country's resources. It is a melioristic outlook that shows little concern for any environmental or social repercussions that this vision of the future might have. Another effect of this technological meliorism is the cool distancing from the human element. If we compare this approach with the images of the returning refugees, a marked difference appears. Whereas the refugees and their stories are directly engaged with–leaving aside for the moment the narratives created–, in the electrification images the workmen come off as anonymous and simply part of the background (fig. 141).

Figure 141. Construction of dam at the Louros river, Epirus. Unknown photographer. 1953. ELIA-MIET.

Paradoxically, the images of Greece’s electrification function as a counterweight to anxieties about the future. These images, which show the traditional past alongside the modern future present the changes to Greek society and landscape as natural and expected. Thus they create

a rhetoric and an ideology that renders modernity less threatening (I. Papaioannou 2014, 309–10). Electrification became an important and recurring theme in the photographic depiction of Greece of the 1950s, particularly in the popular magazines of the era. In 1953 the illustrated magazine *Eikones* called electrification a '*happy revolution'* (emphasis in original) that is furthering the technological development of Greece. In 1957, the magazine *Tachydromos* framed electrification in socio-political terms, likening the provision of electricity with the eradication of inequalities and the restoration of democracy. Smiling women enjoying their new household electrical appliances were prominently featured in the accompanying photography, attenuating the link between consumption as a post-war aspiration and identity. Aestheticizing electrification took on grand forms in the popular magazines of the 1950s.[169] *Eikones* likened the electrification works to the technical achievement of the Acropolis of Athens, while elsewhere it noted the picturesque nature of the Aliveri power plant or the hydroelectric dam at Ladonas, which was already attracting tourism (I. Papaioannou 2014, 306–7).

A new type of Greek landscape was visualized in these magazine images. Photographic historian I. Papaioannou describes it as an admixture of modernity and romanticism, revealing the parallel tracks of Greek post-war development, modernization and tourism, electrification and the exploitation of the picturesque (2014, 309). The magazine *Eikones* was at the forefront of visually promoting development and a melioristic post-war modernity. As the most important illustrated magazine of its era, it played a decisive role in fostering attitudes and consumerist desires geared towards a Western, capitalist way of life. Furthermore, Eleni Vlachou, publisher of *Eikones* and the Greek daily *Kathimerini*, had close relationships with USIS. Together with USIS Vlachou put on major exhibitions like *A Decade of Progress* (1957), celebrating the ten-year anniversary of the MP, and the globally famed *Family of Man* exhibition (1958) (Adamopoulou 2019, 89–90).[170]

As Areti Adamopoulou notes, *A Decade of Progress* was meant to direct Greek audiences towards the ideals and the values of the modern West (2019, 89). Hence, the exhibition, and by extension *Eikones* as co-organizer, aligned with the narratives and the

[169] Cf. the advertising of electricity during the post-war era, Emmanouil (2012, 112–55).
[170] The *Family of Man* exhibition was extensively discussed at the time and afterwards. In Greece though, the exhibition does not seem to have left much of a mark on public discourse. On the *Family of Man* in Greece see Adamopoulou (2019, chap. 2).

visual language used in the ECA images. At least one of the ECA photographers, Dimitris Harissiadis, had his images shown in the *Decade of Progress* exhibition. Harissiadis' images of the MP's ten-year anniversary formed the core of the exhibition. As with his ECA photographs the exhibition images–originally commissioned by the Ministry of Reconstruction–documented the accomplishments of the MP and Greece's march towards the future. Ca. 50 000 people visited *A Decade of Progress* (Moschovi 2009, 26, n.13).[171]

Modernization and its discontents

Eikones exemplifies how the visual narratives that we saw developing in the MP photographs persisted into the future. I am principally referring to the persistence of the paradox of modernity and development coexisting alongside and within a picturesque, traditional Greece. The avowed Greekness found in rural, traditional Greece would become the dominant visual language in Greek post-war photography. The EFE, which attracted most amateur and professional photographers, expressed this visual language most clearly. Developing a photographic language of 'simplistic, romantic aestheticism', the EFE turned its lens towards the picturesque qualities of the Greek countryside and its inhabitants (Moschovi 2013, 160).

We might be tempted to see the ECA electrification photographs as a visual counterweight to the EFE's image of Greece. Yet, I argue that both these photographic depictions of Greece are part of the same reaction to Greece's post-war modernization.[172] On the one hand, the photography of Greece's modernization idealises technology and progress, introducing modernity as a new ideological symbol in Greek photography and society. This is especially evident in the depiction of the Greek countryside, as the new, modern electrical

[171] In a repeat of history, Harissiadis' images from the MP decenary were reused for the seventy-year anniversary of the MP by the US embassy in Athens. In 2017, the US embassy hosted a small exhibition on the grounds of the embassy using Harissiadis' images as illustrations. The photographs came from Harissiadis' archive at the Benaki Museum.
[172] Harissiadis, who worked for the ECA and was a founder of EFE, provides a useful example of this dual ambivalence. In his professional work for the ECA, Harissiadis diligently portrayed Greece's development and aestheticized economic and social progress. In his 'amateur'–as he called it–photography for the EFE, Harissiadis held close to the nostalgic and romantic visualization of a pre-industrial Greece that was disappearing because of economic progress (Moschovi 2009, 26–27, 29, 2013, 158–61).

plants become part of the classical and touristic landscape (I. Papaioannou 2014, 312, 314). Images of people vacationing in the shadow of the Aliveri powerplant, as we saw in the pages of *Eikones*, bear witness to Greece's ambivalent and peculiar relationship to modernization in the post-war era.

On the other hand, Greece's rapid economic development and the societal changes it brought about–particularly an increased urbanization–acted as a catalyst for the formation of the EFE's visual language, centred around the 'lost innocence' of rural Greece. Photographers from the EFE, *Eikones* and EOT–oftentimes the same people–took to the countryside to capture the folk culture that was fading in the wake of modernization. In turn, these images of a nostalgic Greece became a key export through their touristic promotion abroad by EOT. The postcard-perfect image of Greece had been set, both at home and abroad (Moschovi 2013, 160).

The EFE's folklorist humanist language was an apolitical, urban(e), bourgeois reaction to the societal developments of post-war Greece. It allowed the members of the EFE to craft an image of the country as poor but beautiful, purposefully ignoring the social problems facing Greece. The erasure of the social landscape is what the EFE's images share with the images of electrification and large public works (I. Papaioannou 2014, 319, 327). These images idealise technological development, avoiding with few exceptions the social and technological effects of Greece's modernization.[173] To conclude this discussion on how Greece wrestled with modernization in the post-war world, I quote I. Papaioannou: '[the] modern Greek tries to keep his head high [προσπαθεί να σταθεί όρθιος] in a country where the countryside is emptying out or is transforming into a tourist resort, while pinned in front of him is a photograph of EOT' (2014, 317).

Absences and elisions

So far, I have discussed what the ECA images show us. Let us have a look at what is not shown in these images, keeping in mind that the collection of ECA images I researched was limited in scope. A major absence in the MP photographs is the past. Another major absence is that of tourism and culture. I mention these together as Greece's historical culture was identified

[173] Exceptions include photographers Kostas Balafas, Takis Tloupas and Dimitris Letsios (Moschovi 2013, 160; I. Papaioannou 2014, 314–15, 334).

early in the reconstruction effort as a crucial asset for Greece's tourism development (Alifragkis and Athanassiou 2013, 700, 702; cf. Groß, Knoll, and Scharf 2020). The ECA mission to Greece promoted tourism as a particularly important element in Greek economic development. When Paul G. Hoffman, director of the ECA, visited Greece in August 1949, he described Greece as 'Europe's California', highlighting agriculture and tourism as key sectors of the economy that the ECA should focus on, sidestepping the country's industrialization (Stathakis 2004, 330). In the official 'Story of the Marshall Plan in Greece' published by the ECA in July 1952, barely two pages are dedicated to tourism, even though tourism is presented as an engine of economic growth. Greece's long and illustrious history, its climate and landscape are raised as factors to lure tourists to Greece. Note is made of the restorations of archaeological sites and museums around the country.[174]

The armed forces are also conspicuously missing in the ECA images. Yet, this is unsurprising as the USA wished to present itself as a force for peace and well-being. Hence the absence of any reference to military matters in either images or the aforementioned report.[175] In 1957 when Harissiadis documented the accomplishments of the MP for its ten-year anniversary, the military is included in his photographs (fig. 142). The stars of these images are the pilots and mechanics of the Elefsina Greek Air Force base, quite obviously staged by Harissiadis in various poses of cheerful interaction with the military aircraft.[176]

[174] "The Story of the Marshall Plan in Greece July 1, 1948 to Jan.1, 1952" 1952, 54–55.
[175] Yet, in the report's summary of total aid numbers, military aid accounts for nearly a third (711,4 million USD) of the total reported US aid to Greece (2287,2 million USD).
[176] These military photographs are part of the same collection of images that were exhibited at the Zappeion exhibition hall in Athens in Vlachou's *A Decade of Progress* exhibition (Moschovi 2009, 26).

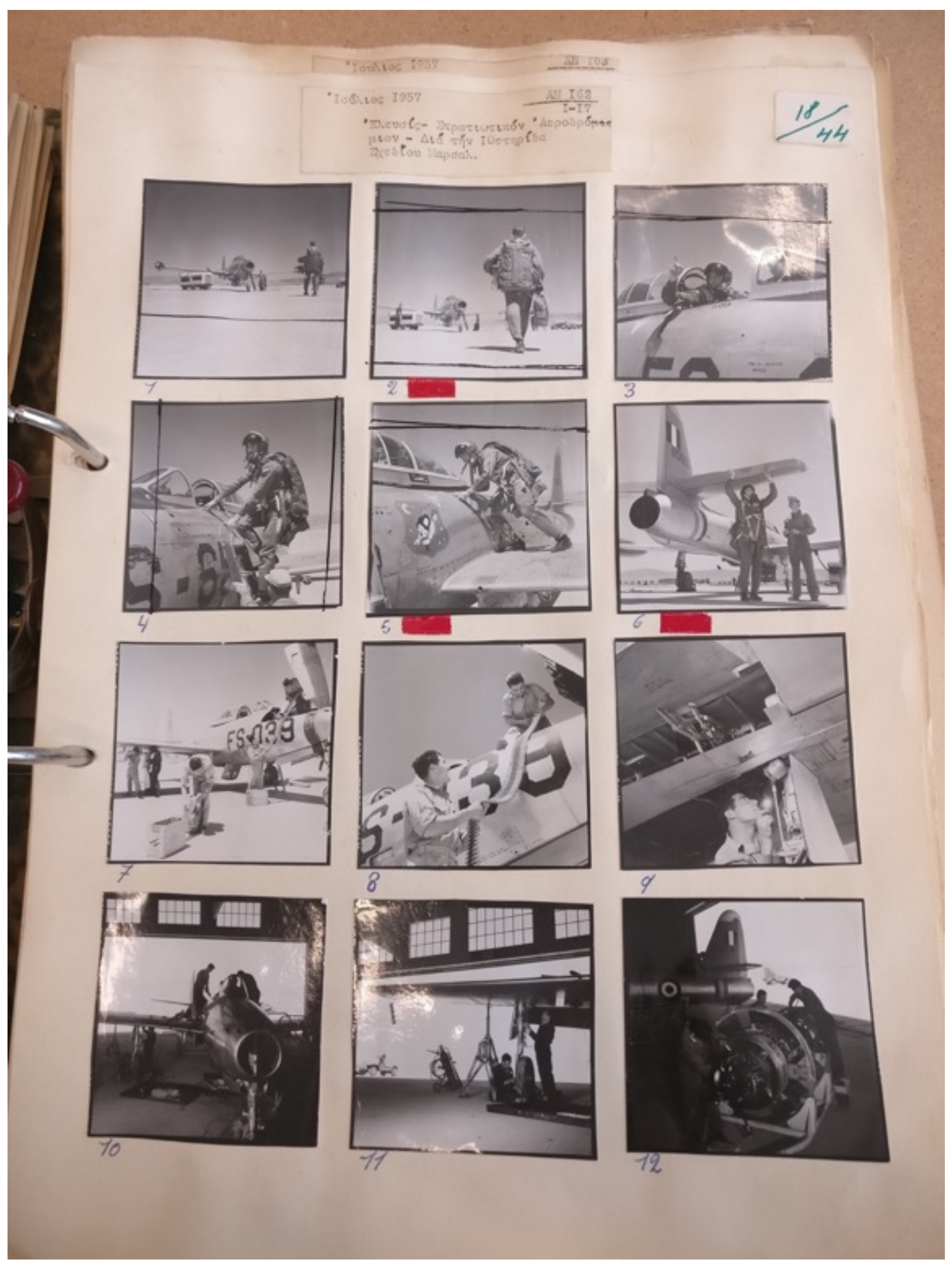

Figure 142. Elefsina airforce base. Dimitris Harissiadis. 1957. Author's image.

Another major absence from MP images is the reconstruction that did not take place and the MP aid which was not given. In the image series of the repatriated refugees and the road-building in Paleopanaghia, the beneficiaries in these visual narratives were the *ethnikofron*

Greeks. As I have discussed throughout this chapter, this leaves us with a partial image of Greek society of this period. Where are the images of those who did not conform to or fit within the confining and exclusionary limits set by *ethnikofrosini*? A possible answer to this is that such un-nationally minded Greeks simply did not get any of the aid promised by the MP. As Lazou (2012) has documented, after the end of WWII UNRRA aid to Greece often did not reach areas which were considered loyal to DSE, or this aid would be distributed to local villagers who were willing to fight against DSE on the side of the Greek state. The politically discriminatory distribution of foreign aid based on nationally-minded criteria led to the exclusion of significant parts of the Greek population from the principal source of income in Greece after the war (Lazou 2012). To what extent this type of aid discrimination took place in the MP is hard to know. Yet based on the narratives of the good, *ethnikofron* Greeks we have seen in the MP images, it does seem plausible, particularly as the MP images themselves try to visualize acceptable social-political attitudes for post-war Greece structured around a modernizing *ethnikofrosini*.

Yet another possible answer to the absence of inclusive narratives in the MP images, is that the MP collection I have studied is only a few hundred images large. Had I had access to the full collection of MP images there might well be different narratives present. Between the USIS office in Patra clearing out their archive, to the antiquarian selling these images to the ELIA-MIET in the 1980s, there were many opportunities for images to be removed, intentionally or not.

A marginal modernity?

How might we summarize the visual narrative of Greece in the MP images? I maintain that it is a narrative of partial progress with its gaze directed confidently towards the future, given that the images depict Greece's very reconstruction–materially and socially.

Some central themes can be identified in this narrative. The recent and historical past is absent or takes on a nebulous form. In the images of refugee repatriation, the Civil War is present everywhere yet also invisible. The conflict is everywhere as the 'bandit stricken' are a direct casualty of the Civil War, and their repatriation and housing were among the MP's largest projects. The Civil War is at the same time invisible, as the internecine conflict is portrayed in MP photographs and captions as a unilateral act of aggression by the internal

and external Other of communism. Such a narrative clearly expressed the shared Cold War position of the Greek state and the US.

This leads me to another crucial theme of the MP's visual narratives and a central component in the formation of post-war Greek collective identities and subjectivities, namely anti-communism. The correct, *ethnikofron* behaviour of Greeks was not to be a communist. Such a position was not new for the Greek state. With the MP though, anticommunism became materialist. In the US's optimistic view, material well-being would inoculate European societies against communism (Machado 2007, 50–55; Ellwood 1998, 34). The MP images were therefore trying to show that communism brings only destruction, while US-led liberal capitalism brings development and material prosperity. This position is clearly expressed in the self-housing images and narratives.

At the same time, Greece, as visualized in the MP's images, finds itself in a liminal space. It is caught between a shattered society grounded in pre-war conditions–which is nevertheless reconstructing itself–, and a modernizing society, where the fruits and benefits of a brighter future are just becoming apparent. Phrased differently, Greece is visualized as standing in the anteroom of a modernity structured around a liberal, democratic order led by the US. This modernity is inseparable from the rising expectations for the future. Greece, as presented to us in the MP images, is a country of partial progress but static in its character and its visuality. Besides, this is the photographic discourse that dominated post-war Greece: the depiction of a rural, picturesque Greece that was fading away as a result of modernization.

The MP's images are shaping a visual narrative that latches on to a traditional Greekness, with the exception of the MP images depicting Greece's electrification and those images showing the increase in Greek economic activity and productivity. These images are therefore an oxymoron. They presage a modern future for Greece but based on a visual narrative grounded in a traditionalist Greece. However, as Stavros Alifragkis and Aimilia Athanasiou (2013) argue, the Greek post-war state actively pursued a strategy of development and modernization that was wedded to a cultural Greekness, with antiquity as its centrepiece. Since development would happen through tourism, the touristic image of Greece had to be cultivated: authentically folkloric yet also the birthplace of ancient Greek civilization (Alifragkis and Athanassiou 2013, 702, 707). It was only in the 1960s that this image of Greece fully developed and bore fruit. In the MP images we still see in front of us Greece of a marginal modernity.

Conclusion

Identities in time

At the beginning of this thesis, I set out to answer the question of what types of national identities have been imagined through Greek photography in the twentieth century. This question ties into a larger concern, exploring photography's overlooked role in the mediation and visualization of Greek collective identities and their close companion, memory. In chapter one I examined how Greek collective identities have been conceptualized, with an emphasis on the national narrative of Greek historical continuity. I also examined previous approaches to the study of Greek identity, paying close attention to the lack of visual approaches with regards to the study of Greek identity. Following this, in chapter two I discussed the theoretical frameworks I made use of in the thesis. Benedict Anderson's concept of imagined communities (2006) and Anthony Smith's ethnosymbolist approach (2008, 2009) informed my analysis of how the Greek nation imagines itself within Greek photographies. The absence of Greece and visual approaches was examined. My approach to photography's role as mediating the Greek past was informed by the concepts of collective and cultural memory (Erll 2008; J. Assmann 1995; A. Assmann 2008). Particular attention was paid to the partial images and memories that photographs create. As Greek photographies are little known outside of Greece, I devoted chapter three to a brief overview of their photographic histories. This chapter allowed me to explore the ways in which photography helped to visualize and mediate Greek national imaginaries. Chapter four explored the role of Greek archives in the formation of collective identities and memory. I structured this chapter around my own archival visits, inviting critical reflection on my role as a researcher in the archives.

In order to explore what types of collective identities have been imagined through Greek photographies in the twentieth century, I proposed a division into a cultural-historical identity and a social-political identity. This was a necessary heuristic device, used to grapple with the slippery nature of national, collective identities. One should see these two identities as two strands of a larger national narrative, overlapping and forming part of a larger whole. Importantly, the two identities overlap in their shared concern with time. A cultural-historical identity looks to the past to visualize a narrative of timeless Hellenism. A social-political identity, while it looks to the future as the site where its identity will be expressed cannot escape the gravitational pull of the Greek past.

Cultural-historical identity

In chapter five I explored the visualization of a Greek cultural-historical collective identity in Nelly's photography. Nelly's is Greece's most published and most exhibited photographer. Hailed as Greece's unofficial national photographer, her imagery is widely known. Therefore, Nelly's is an ideal and unavoidable object of study. Crucially, her photographs have been hugely influential in how Greece visualizes the national myth of Hellenism's unbroken continuity. Her parallelism collages, which juxtapose twentieth-century rural Greeks with ancient Greek statues, are the most well-known visualization of this national myth. Much of her work, though, is suffused with a search for an idealized vision of Greece, which she finds in the Greek countryside. Combined with Nelly's photographic interest in antiquities, a cultural-historical Greek identity is made visible. Crucially, Nelly's images have mediated Greek cultural memory as a nation that has existed unified across time.

While Nelly's photographic Hellenism expressed an immanent and timeless Greek identity, Nelly's actual images are clearly context-bound. Therefore, I have paid close attention to Nelly's biography–both to the autobiography she published in 1989 and to the historical contexts in which she worked in Greece. This focus on biography is crucial as Nelly's photographic Hellenism arose in the historical specificity of interwar Greece. Although Nelly's strove for state commissions during her whole time in Greece (1924-1939), her work for the Metaxas' regime (1936-1940) is the most noteworthy and the best remembered. It was in this social and political milieu that her parallelisms and the visualization of an atavistic Greek identity took form and took root.

The relationship of Nelly's to Metaxas' regime are well known but they have mostly been left unexplored. As I showed, though, there was significant overlap between Metaxism's concern with the Greek *phyli* (race/nation) and Nelly's aesthetic interest in the uniqueness of Greece's *phyli*. Although this was not a blood-bound concern over race, it was nevertheless racial thinking that put primacy on cultural links and the survival of the ancient Greek past through folk traditions. Hence, the rural's central place in both Metaxist thought and Nelly's aesthetics. Furthermore, Nelly's selective and naïve juxtaposition of rural Greeks to all types of Greek art points to a superficial engagement with the past. Metaxism exhibited similar selective and opportunistic engagements with the past, pointing to yet another overlap between Metaxas' *Weltanschauung* and Nelly's photography. Despite the selective and

essentially mythical portrayal of Greek history at work in Nelly's imagery, aesthetics carried the day. Nelly's parallelisms and all its attendant imagery struck a chord in the 1930s and continued to do so after her rediscovery and meteoric rise to prominence in the 1980s and 1990s.

Yet, there is an underlying paradox in the uses of Nelly's imagery. The Metaxas regime leaned heavily on Nelly's photographs in its projection abroad but not so much domestically. It is in the touristic publications of the Metaxas regime that Nelly's images extolling Greek racial continuity were most prominent. Also, it was in these publications that Nelly's was credited for the images. Furthermore, Nelly's parallelisms were featured in a joint Greek-Nazi German propaganda publication, *Unsterbliches Hellas*, which clearly centres on the unbroken continuity of Greece. Nelly's, however, did also produce imagery for the Metaxas regime that was consumed domestically. This imagery was of the fascist Metaxas youth league, EON. Crucially, this EON imagery did not touch upon any of the tropes of an unbroken Hellenism.

The most important aspects of Nelly's visualization of a cultural-historical Greek collective identity are her depictions of rural Greece. As Boudouri puts it, in Nelly's images the landscape and the rural Greeks 'lend visual content to the idea of Greece' (1996, 13). Nelly's depiction of rural Greeks was based greatly on a typology of 'nice characters', as idealized avatars of the rural. In this respect, Nelly's followed earlier typological paradigms, which stereotyped and anonymized Nelly's rural sitters. Hence, her photographs created, and reproduced static, timeless, and idealized images of rural Greeks. This validated the importance and immutability of the rural for a Greek cultural-historical identity. In Nelly's images of the rural landscape and of its people, Nelly's searched for an indigenous Greekness, aligning her images with the coterminous search for *ellinikotita* in the interwar years. Yet, Nelly's seems uninterested or unaffected by these debates around Greekness. I argued that Nelly's disinterest in these debates is a function of Nelly's photographs aligning closely with a Western gaze, rather than an indigenous, Greek gaze.

Nelly's aesthetic and personal interest in the Greek countryside was a driving factor in her visualization of Greece as a rural and harmonious land. However, the commissions for the Greek state's tourism promotion facilitated and gave us most–if not all–of these important images. The Metaxas regime's tourism commissions were instrumental for Nelly's visualization of a cultural-historical identity rooted in rural Greece. Crete and particularly the highlands of Sfakia were especially important for Nelly's idealisation of rural Greece. Her

‘discovery’ of Sfakia’s strapping black-clad men sated her desire for a traditional, indigenous, and aesthetically pleasing Hellenism. A comparison of Nelly’s photographs from Sfakia and the rest of Crete betrays the centrality of the rural in her visualization of Greece. Where urban Crete’s depiction was anaemic and without many people, the countryside brimmed with life and activity.

The rediscovery and canonization of Nelly’s imagery in the 1980s and 1990s took place with aesthetic considerations in mind. What was central in the reception of Nelly’s photographs was how she captured the beauty of Greece in the 1930s. Why and for whom her images of rural Greece were made was hardly mentioned. It was as if Nelly’s images were created in a vacuum and not used to visualize a nationalist vision of Greece, based on a racial continuity of ancient to modern Greeks. When Nelly’s work for the Metaxas dictatorship was raised, it was brushed aside as irrelevant. Nelly’s narration of her life was certainly very important to the uncritical approaches to her work. Yet, the enduring popular national myth of Hellenism’s unbroken continuity is also responsible for Nelly’s uncritical reception. Her pioneering and effective visualization of a cultural-historical collective identity rooted in the survival of ancient Greece in rural Greece, found fertile ground even in the latter part of the twentieth century. Nelly’s images mediated a Greek collective memory which imagined itself existing unbroken and unified in history. Photography’s unique ability to collapse time and space, allowing for the coexistence of ancient statues and modern rural Greeks, facilitated the formation of a cultural-historical narrative and identity of unbroken Hellenism that appears to be *truthful*. Greece might see itself reflected in Nelly’s photographs, but it is a trick mirror, offering only partial images of itself.

Social-political identity

In chapter six I studied the visualization of a Greek post-war social-political collective identity in the images of the Greek Marshall Plan. The identity that was projected in this photography looked towards the bright future that Greece could expect, as part of the liberal-capitalist West. The path to this future lay with the Greeks’ own actions and efforts. Yet, for all its forward-looking ethos the identity visualized was ambivalent about Greece’s step into modernity.

The end of WWII and the ensuing Greek Civil War were pivotal moments in Greek history. Greece entered the post-war era as one of the first sites of the Cold War. The

proclamation of the Truman Doctrine in 1947 staked out the US's intention to keep communism at bay in Greece, aiding the Greek state in its fight against DSE. A year later, Greece was one of the seventeen nations participating in the US MP (1948-1952). The MP's goals were to help European nations reconstruct their societies on their own. Built on the principles of cooperation and self-help, the MP provided massive amounts of funds and technical expertise, but the Europeans were expected to rebuild their societies and economies on their own. Furthermore, the MP was envisioned as a way to increase the productivity of Europe by the application of US economic rationalism. Higher productivity was thought to lead to higher standards of living for all, without addressing underlying social and political structures.

Greece's experience of the MP was drastically different from most other European nations. A major factor of this different experience was the Civil War, which lasted until late 1949, diverting funds and attention towards military efforts and away from reconstruction efforts. Another important factor to Greece's different experience was the country's low levels of industrialization. While other European economies were getting help to restart existing industries, Greece was not industrialized. Yet, out of all the MP participant nations, Greece received some of the largest per capita aid amounts. Crucially, the MP was intended to boost the morale of Europeans. Therefore, the MP was aided by a well-funded and extensive propaganda operation. Photographs were an important part of this propaganda effort, visualizing the new productive way of life that the MP promised. The Greek MP's photography reflected Greece's particular experience of the programme. While increased productivity and a reinvigorated economy were prominent in the photographs, the legacy of the Civil War was likewise central to the visual narratives of the MP.

The Greek social-political collective identity formed in the MP photographs is divided into two clusters, the individual and society, reflecting the two levels of identity projection. On the individual level, the MP photographs and visual narratives focus on the desired behaviours and attitudes of the average Greek. This is accomplished by focusing on the refugees returning home to their villages after the Civil War. These refugees, characterized as 'bandit-stricken' by the anti-communist Greek state and the MP propaganda, are used as models for good citizenship in the post-war period. As they have suffered at the hands of the communist insurgents, they are not *dangerous citizens* in need of scrutiny or supervision. Despite their ascribed victimhood, the returning refugees are rebuilding their lives by helping

themselves–with a little aid from the MP. The principals of self-help were central to the images' rhetoric as well as to the MP's goals and intentions. Self-help was the avenue on which the individual would travel to reach a better and more productive life. Hence, self-help was a fundamental building block in the formation of a social-political identity for post-war Greeks. The most important expression of self-help in the Greek MP and its images was the repatriation programme after the Civil War. With their homes destroyed the refugees had to rebuild their homes on their own, according to the MP visual and textual rhetoric. Building materials were provided by the MP, but the work was done by the refugees themselves. In these images, the refugees are seen to overcome their difficulties on their own private initiative. This ethos of private initiative was purposefully cultivated by MP planners, as a way to instil new behaviours and attitudes for post-war Greece, geared towards a liberal-capitalist way of life.

Furthermore, the housing programme provides an example of the growth of existing Greek reform and modernization discourses under the MP's aegis. Konstantinos Doxiadis, architect, and senior civil servant used the MP as a space to develop and implement his ideas about Greece's modernization. The rebuilding of homes was the bridge that would lead Greeks from a traditional to a modern way of life. By building their own homes and learning to invest in them, Greeks were taught new ideas and behaviours, shaping a post-war social-political identity directed at the individual.

Lurking behind the MP's self-help was a Cold War anti-communism. In the liberal-capitalist world led by the US, Greeks could benefit from US aid to achieve a better life. This better life was only achievable by doing the work yourself and by denouncing communism. Yet, the MP photographs also built upon earlier Greek anti-communism. The crucial difference is that the anti-communism of the MP images was materialist. The message the MP photographs were conveying was that communism destroys while liberal-capitalism offers opportunities and a better life to those who want to work for it. Within earlier Greek anti-communism, focus would have rested on the un-Greek nature of communism.

The photographs documenting the MP's electrification programme visualize a Greek social-political identity geared towards wider societal concerns. Confidently gazing towards the future, these photographs aestheticize the modernization taking place in Greece. All around Greece, the bucolic landscape is harnessed so that a new, industrial landscape can appear. The photographs show Greece taking a step towards modernity, towards the bright

future that electricity will bring. Although melioristic in outlook, the photographs of the electrification programme cannot escape the tensions between tradition and modernity. Many of the images juxtapose these elements, as in the photograph of a man with his mule walking along a country road lined by tall electrical pylons. While these juxtaposition photographs propagate the benefits of modernization and of new Greek attitudes towards modernization, they also show the ambivalence towards a changing Greece. This ambivalence became a key feature of Greek post-war photography–best expressed by the EFE, the premier photographic institution of post-war Greece. EFE's members adopted a folkloristic aesthetic that idealized Greece's 'innocence' that was vanishing in the wake of the country's modernization. This aesthetic was instrumental in Greece's engine of post-war development, tourism.

A uniting feature of the individual and societal levels of the visualized Greek social-political identity is the future-facing gaze. The MP's images do not dwell much on the past. While the refugees are in their situation because of the Civil War, this past is not explicitly dealt with in the images. The past is elided in favour of a narrative of reconstruction and of a brighter future based on self-help. In the images of the electrification programme, the future is prominently being built in the present, harnessing nature for the benefit of mankind. An older, traditional way of life might be featured in these images but it used as a contrasting element to the modern future that awaits Greece.

Yet, Greece appears to be caught between the past and the future in the MP images. While the MP images project a social-political Greek identity geared towards the future, it is nevertheless a marginal modernity that is visualized. The refugees are building back to a previous state and not beyond it. Despite the meliorism of the MP's images, the photographs latch onto a visual idiom of traditional Greekness. In such a way, the MP images presage the folkloristic visual idiom of post-war Greek photography. The same photography became the handmaiden of tourism, Greece's main engine of post-war development.

Expanding time

The collective Greek identities that I have studied in this thesis are threaded through by time. Both the cultural-historical and social-political iterations of Greek collective identities are caught in the maelstrom of the Greek nation's empty, homogenous time. Nelly's visualization of a mythical cultural-historical identity looks towards the ancient past, but she disengages it

from its historicity, rendering the past ahistorical with the haphazard juxtaposition of ancient Greek statues with modern-day rural Greeks. Nelly's photographic Hellenism makes the past usable in the nation's linear time–present and future–stripped as it is of its tethers to reality. The MP photographs' visualization of a Greek post-war social-political identity, while looking towards the future, finds itself caught in an ahistorical space, unwilling as it is to consider the traumatic recent past, yet, unable to provide anything more than a vision of a marginal, future modernity. Crucially though, both visualizations of Greek collective identities mediate the understanding of the Greek past in order to imagine Greece in the present.

A productive way to think about the centrality of time in this thesis is to consider the various timelines that cut through this text. Nelly's photographic Hellenism inhabits a timeline that stretches infinitely out from a mythical, pre-national time and into an ever-expanding future. Unsurprisingly, Nelly's timeline ties into the persistent national myth of an unbroken Hellenism, which exhibits similar roots in a mythical, pre-national past. The MP's post-war future-facing narrative has a more constricted timeline. It begins at the end of the Civil War, nodding at the recent destruction that Greece went through, and extending into an unspecified, modern future. Modernity is promised, but what it might look like is unclear. In the MP's images case, however, we find ourselves beyond the MP photographs' timeline. In this sense, we can study the visualized future by comparing it to the history of post-WWII Greece.

Yet, the timelines of the MP's and Nelly's images do not end there. While I have mostly focused on the visualization of Greek collective identities in their historical contexts these timelines stretch farther into the future and reach up to the present moment. The analytical timeline which I constructed with this thesis, pulled the two above timelines together, making sense of them in the present. The archives establish these links in the present. The archive functions within its own time that is eternal yet always in the present. While the photographs I studied are safeguarded in the confines of the archive, preserving their historicity and original timelines, my analysis of the photographs structures a new timeline for these same images. My analytical timeline does not simply recreate or retell the original timeline of the photographs, it weaves a new timeline out of the disparate other timelines. This hints at the important processes of remembering and forgetting that take place within an archive, where new aspects of the archive become part of the canon of Greek collective memory.

Time is also the reason why photography is so important to the visualization of Greek collective identities. More than any other medium–technical or cultural–photography structures the perception of time and the linearity of the nation's past. It provides us with an indication that this event happened at this point in the past, structuring how we remember this past. This assumption is based on photography's truthfulness, which is tied up in photography's indexicality as much as it is tied up in the social forces and relationships that allow us to take a leap of faith and trust the photograph in front of us.

Photography is also the medium par excellence of the age of the modern nation-state. Recalling that the modern Greek nation was founded while photography was invented, photography has always been there to structure the homogenous, empty time of the modern Greek state. Furthermore, time is also intimately involved in looking at and studying photographs. A photograph contains multiple past and present tenses (Green-Lewis 2017, 77)–the past tense of its creation, the past tense of any buildings, artefacts or people depicted, as well as the present tense of whoever might be looking at the photograph. These sedimented layers of time are of course sedimented layers of meaning. This observation reminds us of photography's polysemic nature. Photographs might structure time but the narrative it structures is contestable.

Present tense

My thesis makes an important contribution to our understanding of photography's underappreciated role in imagining Greek national narratives, the visualization of Greek collective identities and the mediation of the Greek past. However, it also makes a singular contribution to the positioning of photography as an important source for historical and cultural research on Greece. My research draws photography out of its usual confinement as a purely aesthetic object and treats it as a complex social, cultural, and political object and act. As I have made clear throughout the thesis, I am not the first to study Greek photography as a complex social object. What I have produced, however, is a synthesis of previous, disparate perspectives, which when brought together, make a strong argument for photography's important place in Greek national imaginaries, collective memory and the understanding of the past. I believe that the ubiquity of photography has inured us to its importance in Greece's imagination and the imagining of Greece. Therefore, greater

confidence is needed that photographs are important, even in a culture as logocentric as Greece is. This optimism has driven much of this thesis.

All research is unavoidably incomplete, this thesis included. There are several aspects of photography's role in visualizing Greek collective identities that I was not able to cover. A major issue is my research's focus on the dominant narratives of a Greek collective. The historical continuity of Hellenism and the post-war era's *ethnikofron* yet modernizing identities loom large over Greek society. While I have critically studied how these identities were projected and reproduced by photography, I end up reproducing the logic of these dominant, nationalist narratives. If we recall the bicentenary parade at the beginning of this thesis, Greek history was presented as linear and homogenous. The excluded and ill-fitting elements of mainstream Greek society, such as the Roma and Muslim minorities, were nowhere to be found. Similarly, these same elements were not found in the visualizations of Greek identities that I studied.

Hence, we are dealing with the absences and elisions of images, identities, and memories of the Greek past. If Greek collective memory is mediated by images, then the absence and elision of photographs that show alternative narratives of Greece means that these Greek alterities are not visualized and therefore are not seen as part of the Greek collective. Exemplified here are the *partial exposures* of Greece that I have studied throughout the thesis. The photographs are partial as they show and reproduce the dominant narratives of Greek identities. Partial, however, can also mean partisan, reminding us of the choices made by photographers, commissioners of images etc to visualize Greece in the way we have seen it within the pages of this thesis.

Showing what is inside the photographic frame–the dominant Greek national narratives–and how Greek identities are visualized, has taken up considerable space in this thesis. This is partly by necessity, as such a concentrated study of Greek identities' photographic visualization has not been done before. However, I tried in both my analytical chapters to show or hint at what parts of Greece we are not seeing in Nelly's photographs and in the MP photographs. What is outside the frame is of course equally important to what is inside the frame. However, what is outside the photographic frame will remain elusive, if not absent from this thesis.

At its core, the dominance of certain narratives of Greek identities is a consequence of the absences and elisions of images in the archives we make use of. Therefore,

photography and photographic archives are central players in the search for narratives and identities that go against dominant Greek national narratives. This critical examination of Greek national narratives will mean exploring new archives, bringing new material to light, and approaching existing archives from a different perspective. Uncoupling photographs from their archival context and bringing them out to their sites of production, as Kalantzis (2019) has done in Sfakia, is perhaps one such strategy. Principally, this repositioning of scholarly attention means taking photography seriously as a scholarly source and resource. Furthermore, the general role of archives in reproducing certain narratives and not others need to be examined. Why, for instance, is the Benaki museum a depository for so many prominent Greek photographers? What sort of narratives and/or counter-narratives are produced by this concentration of canonical photographers? What other archives might produce contrasting narratives to the dominant ones?

Another important question is what sets Greek national narratives' relationship to photography apart from other nations? Recent scholarship on the production of national narratives in photographic archives has not taken Greece into consideration (Costanza Caraffa and Serena 2015). Greek photographic histories are practically unknown outside of Greece and is surely a contributing factor to this absence of Greece from international scholarly discourse. Therefore, even more reason to treat photography seriously as a complex, social process contributing to how Greece imagines itself. Even though a discussion of international comparisons remained mostly absent in this thesis, both of my case studies are nevertheless global in perspective.

While Nelly's is regarded as Greece's national photographer, Nelly's was a *mikrasiatissa* who lived longer abroad than in Greece proper. Indeed, when Nelly's returned to Greece in 1966, she was by that point a naturalized US citizen. Nelly's therefore visualized Greece from the point of view of the Greek diaspora. The Greek diaspora, however, is hardly peripheral to the imagined community of Greeks. The photograph of the three young Pontian men inscribed with a poem extolling a borderless Hellenism that I discussed in chapter four is another good illustration of the Greek diaspora's key place in the Greek national imaginary. From their perspective, the MP images were the clear result of Greek-US bilateral relations. These photographs visualized Greece entering and participating in the post-war international scene, taking place on the US-led camp of liberal capitalism. While the MP images reflected new values and attitudes, they did so by anchoring themselves to Greek discourses. The Greek

photographers, like Dimitris Harissiadis, who documented the MP brought their experiences and impressions of a modernizing yet picturesque country into their own future work.

Hence, we are left with another important question: how can photographs capture what it means to be Greek in a global world? Consider for example the long history of diasporic Greek communities during the nineteenth and twentieth century. What might it have meant to be Greek in British colonial India? How did Hellenism's illustrious legacy inform diasporic Greeks' standing in and attitudes towards colonial societies? Such questions can fruitfully be explored by looking at photographic archives of the Greek diaspora, broadening thus the importance and the research scope of Greek photographies. I hope that this thesis contributed to opening up such new research questions, deepening our understanding of Greek culture and society from a visual and importantly, a photographic perspective. Furthermore, I hope this thesis contributed to taking photography seriously as a complex, social phenomenon. In this sense, I hope my thesis was able to reach beyond the confines of modern Greece, while at the same time lifting Greece up as a valuable research paradigm.

Appendix

List of images used

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