MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

Dancing Greekness.

How did traditions form modern Greek identity?

Folk dances between history, identity, and politics.

verfasst von / submitted by

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Acknowledgement

DECLARATION UNDER OATH

I hereby declare that I have prepared this written work independently and that the literature or sources used have been cited by me correctly and in a verifiable manner. I am aware that I will be subject to consequences if I violate these rules.

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Ich erkläre hiermit, dass ich die vorliegende schriftliche Arbeit selbstständig verfertigt habe und dass die verwendete Literatur bzw. die verwendeten Quellen von mir korrekt und in nachprüfbarer Weise zitiert worden sind. Mir ist bewusst, dass ich bei einem Verstoß gegen diese Regeln mit Konsequenzen zu rechnen habe.

ELISABETH WEISSITSCH

Date_____ Sign _____

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The dancer is the 'soul and body' of dance.

He or she is the dance.[1]

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[1] Giurchescu, Anca (2001). The Power of Dance and Its Social and Political Uses, in: Yearbook for Traditional Music 33. P. 109.

1. Introduction

History and cultural roots begin and end with the writer/historian. Each sentence sets a starting point, each definition leaves out other aspects, each categorisation is influenced by various agreements on how to view certain activities, groupings, or social developments. When talking about nations and nationalism, scholars need to be aware of the ideological framework in which we are talking and defining regions, countries, and states. Looking at the roots on cultural aspects of humans, thinking and talking in nation-states way is indispensable. We cannot talk about "national" dances, without bearing nations and thereby nationalism in mind. Observing various claims on "our own culture", a researcher who digs deeper, will be confronted with the earliest roots of settlement of mankind. The only tradition, that seems to be typically for human, is the tradition of living in groupings, *othering* those who are not part of the group and invading or getting attacked by other such groupings. Where once was a Minoan culture, other tribes invaded and took over the region. Where to start with Greek people then? Cultural achievements and advanced civilization have been a starting point for defining (Greek) civilization. Culture emerges there, where mankind had the time, possibility, and material to develop goods or practises which exceed the simple survival. Therefore, looking at cultural aspects gives insights on the way of living, society, and knowledge at time. Either material products, such as vases, reliefs, paintings, tools, or other forms of culture, like tales, spoken language, folklore, and of course written language, have been important historical sources for the past centuries. Because of the interwoven mechanisms of strategies to survive, production of food, organization of work and free time, it is important not to neglect "untold history", such as folk dances and traditional clothing. They represent a rich source of history, which gives insights on travelling, fears of the people, contacts to other regions, and many other aspects that to this day influence their performers. When starting in early history, to come to more modern aspects, the invasion of Russia in the Ukraine serves as an example of how history happens now. Historical settlement, aspects of nationalisms, and ideas of empires, exercising power and strategies to survive come at stake once more, at start at a low-threshold level.

To understand pre-national state thinking in Greece, forms of belonging such as *religion, language* and *customs* are placed in the context of collective identity formation.[2] Within the four centuries of Ottoman rule and a century of independent nation-state, the conceptions of collective identity and attribution changed, eventually culminating in nationalism as a "concept above other forms"[3] (as in other states). The opposing voices tried to prove an everlasting continuity of their states.[4] Greeks lend themselves particularly well to this ideology because they can easily find continuity (since antiquity) in names, language, as well as landscapes.[5] This is why the term *Hellenocentrism* became established in academia for the various nationalistic approaches of Greek researchers who deal with their own customs and cultural rites.[6]

This thesis is adhered to answer the guiding research question of *„Dancing Greekness. What role do/did traditions play for modern Greek identity? "*. It is aimed at clarifying historical developments of Greek folk dances and traditions. It is important to also specify their importance today, in order to distinguish between "invented traditions"[7] and cultural heritage. Theoretical assumptions on nationalism, nation- and identity building, especially in the Greek case are explained. This background allows to conclude about the use of certain examples of Greek folk dances today. Probably the research will give some insights about the importance of the different local costumes for the perception of identity and dancing as a Greek. Dancing Greekness focuses on the self-perception of "being" a Greek person and expressing "Greek culture" via dance moves. Research in that area is interesting insofar, as re-traditionalization today is en-vogue and might link political nationalism with the cultural habitus of societies.

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[2] Livanios, Dimitris (2006). The Quest for Hellenism: Religion, Nationalism and Collective Identities in Greece (1453-1913), in: The Historical Review 3. P. 34.

[3] Ibid. P. 34.

[4] Kitromilides, Paschalis (1989). 'Imagined Communities' and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans, in: European History Quarterly 19. P. 150.

[5] Beaton, Roderick. (2007). Antique Nation? ‚Hellenes' on the eve of Greek independence and in twelfth-century Byzantium, in: Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 31(1), P. 79.

[6] Pennannen, Risto (2004). The Nationalization of Ottoman Popular Music in Greece, in: Ethnomusicology 48(1). P. 2.

[7] Hobsbawm, Eric (1983a). Introduction: Inventing Traditions, in: Eric Hobsbawm / Terence Ranger (eds.) The Invention of Tradition. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, pp. 1-14; and: Hobsbawm, Eric (1983b). Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914, in: Hobsbawm, Eric / Ranger, Terence (eds.) The Invention of Tradition. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, pp. 263-307.

Additionally, identity-related questions of origins of certain traditions still play an important role in modern Greek society and culture.[8]

Furthermore, it is a contribution to modern Greek science in English, since most scientific papers about traditional dances are written in Greek and thereby preventing the scientific community from adding a further view on an issue that is highly related with identity. By adding own data to this paper, ethnological impressions gained after 3 years of observation and "going native" in a local Greek dance club, give further insights.

Dances produce meaning each time they are performed and are thereby a powerful symbol and are an instrument of change.[9] Dances have several purposes: "they are strengthening ethnic identity, pre-martial interaction, social integration, re-enforcing traditional rules of behaviour, teaching children to dance, showing social and prestige status, and entertainment."[10] Not to forget they are a means of sports and movement.

Also, humanitarian sciences are in crisis. Scholars in higher education face "low salaries, fewer jobs, and difficult employment".[11] An explanation is the lack of modernity in the approach of humanities. Instead of focusing on future events and solutions, humanities tend to worship the ancient classics and explain phenomena by classical times.

> *"While science and technology are always presenting new theories regarding the future, the humanities seem to prefer a return to tradition."[12]*

Instead of being "museumized", as Xian (2016) calls it, humanities should interact with modernity. When talking about the move from theory to a more practical approach in

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[8] Puchner, Walter (2020). Volkskultur in Südosteuropa – Zwischen Kontinuität und Diskontinuität. Methdologische Überlegungen und das Fallbeispiel Griechenland, in: Hans-Christian Maner and Ioannis Zelepos (eds.) Antike und Byzanz als historisches Erbe in Südosteuropa (19.-21. Jahrhundert). Berlin: Peter Lang. P. 238f.
[9] Giurchescu (2001). P. 110.
[10] Ibid. P. 111.
[11] Xian, Zhou (2016). The Crisis in the Humanities and 'Invented Tradition', in: European review 24(2), P. 245.
[12] Ibid. P. 247.

sciences, Xian talks of a possible shift also for humanities, by inventing a new scientific tradition in this research fields.[13] Thereby the principles of "values, meaning and ethics" would turn from academic research to various aspects of social life. Additionally, Xian focus the question whether humanities are "just specialized knowledge".[14] Essentially therefore is to bring the academic knowledge to the public, this shall be an option for the restoration of humanitarian sciences.

Therefore, this work is aimed at explaining various events and parts of Greek identity in the present, and not only focusing on historic developments. While various research has been conducted in explaining nation- or identity building in the 19th and 20th century on the Balkans, few have been focusing on modern events which support identity-building in the same manner. An interdisciplinary approach here is important, to show tendencies or evolvements leading to potential threats for democratic institutions (e.g., nationalistic movements), and fuelling tensions regarding xenophobia. By detecting historic patterns, it allows to analyse present events and differ between patriotic or chauvinist situations, based on age old historical narratives, or on cultural preservation and worshiping old knowledge or heritage.

Until the late 20th century, questions of continuity and constructed history played a major role in nation-building on the Balkan.[15] The constructions of identity were influenced by language, history, and territory. As Puchner (2020) describes, the instrumentalization of folk culture is not something specific from the south-eastern parts of Europe but could also be observed in other European nation-building processes.[16]

Often research on pre-national culture was reflected under the criticism of "ideological abuse". While Puchner (2020) points out, that especially in Greece this sweeping judgement is not appropriate since Greece can look back at a long history of written culture. Still, criticism of the ideology of continuity-rhetoric's is important, but shall not be made with a theoretical claim to absoluteness.[17] He points out the

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[13] Ibid. P. 250.
[14] Ibid. P. 251.
[15] Puchner (2020). P. 233.
[16] Ibid. P. 234.
[17] Ibid. P. 240.

criticism of certain social anthropologists (f.i. Herzfeld, 2020)[18] who denunciated the "laography" as national, ideological and ethnocentric pseudo sciences. It is important to keep in mind that the colonial methods of indigenous research were not applicable to a European country and thereby European anthropology reflected its methodological approach towards Greek laography.[19]

> *"Replacing the ideology of continuity since antiquity with its opposite, namely the assertion of complete discontinuity, simply because the former is nationally ideologically charged, is not only a logical fallacy, but also testifies to a lack of tact in European folk culture research, [...], a lack of expertise".[20]*

The 1990s marked a great censorship regarding the world order. Since the years after WW2, for the first-time ethnic genocides and massacres took place again. Hobsbawm called this a "global relapse".[21] The events that took place in Ruanda, in the Sudan and other parts of western and central Africa, as well as the former communistic Yugoslavia, led to various wars, civil wars and numerous refugees. He claims that during the Cold War the two superpowers maintained states borders all over the world. Since 1989 there is no more security like that and since then many former stable countries started again to intervene in other regions, "which were now no longer effectively protected by an international balance or controlled by their own governments."[22]

Additionally, the fast globalisation processes have effects on trading and mobility of people. This leads to increased interstate-movements and end the "ethnical homogenic countries"[23] of the national-states of the 20th centuries. Hobsbawm mentions in this context a "nationalism of the distance". Thereby, the so far national birth certificate of the state a person was born in, got replaced by an

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[18] Herzfeld, Michael (2020). Ours Once More. Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece. New York, Oxford: Berghahn.

[19] Ibid. P. 240f.

[20] Ibid. P. 241: [dt.: Die Ersetzung des Ideologems der Kontinuität seit dem Altertum durch sein Gegenteil, nämlich die Behauptung völliger Diskontinuität, nur weil ersteres nationalideologisch belastet ist, stellt nicht nur einen logischen Fehlschluss dar, sondern zeugt auch von fehlendem Fingerspitzengefühl in der europäischen Volkskulturforschung, […], von fehlender Sachkenntnis].

[21] Hobsbawm, Eric (1990b/2005). Nationen und Nationalismus. Mythos und Realität seit 1780, 3rd edition, Frankfurt, Main, New York: Campus. P. VIII.

[22] Ibid. P. IX [translated from German].

[23] Hobsbawm (1990b). P. X.

international identity, e.g., the passport. Potential multiple citizenships question might have had influenced on the loyalty of the people towards a nation-state. The questions of how states will control its people in future therefore remains open. What has been part of the nationalistic discourse nowadays, is the hostility towards foreign people (xenophobia), which is an expression of potential threat towards one's own cultural identity. Disintegration and migration therefore challenge the old perspective of "culturally defined national identities in nation-states". Against those manners' politics try to re-establish exclusive and collective identities, with rather little success. The legitimation of nation states might decrease and demands towards citizens have shifted: nowadays less people are willing to die for their "fatherland", but many are willing to die or kill for money or less. With this discussion, Hobsbawm (1990b) wonders what model will replace the thin line between states and its people.[24]

Without claiming to find out a new model to replace the connection of the states and its people, it is relevant to detect also in modern societies which historically laden images or "Grande narratives" exist. It is the job of social and cultural scientists to focus on events which are legitimized or based on historically wrong perceptions. Since modern Greek sciences are based on historical research, it gives to possibility for specific research within an expertise area. By pointing out historical patterns in modern societies, the misuse of nationalist narratives can be prevented.

Further, it is more important than ever, to involve interdisciplinary perspectives, such as anthropology and others to historical or political sciences. Thereby scholars prevent to be focused on one subject and blending out other theoretical perspectives. Additionally, a means of science communication needs to be kept up, to avoid fragmentation between "the people" and "the science", as we can observe since the ongoing Corona-crisis. It is important to fully understand historical backgrounds of regions which are at the borders (frontier zones) and to include the reality, viewpoints, and culture of the natives to scientific findings. In that way we can avoid chauvinism of highly educated people towards folkloric topics and the presumably "simple" living. Folklore is marked by the realities and problems of natives.

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[24] Ibid. P. X-Xff.

They give valuable insights on historical events, climatic conditions, work, food, and many other aspects.

This work is structured as follows: The first part is dedicated to previous research in the field of modern Greek identity (e.g., Greekness) and the history of ethnological and anthropological research in Greece. Chapter 3 deals with the various terms and definitions of nation-state related issues. It is important to define the theoretical perspectives of the terms used. The two major theories on the origin of nations and nationalism will be explained. A focus on cultural nationalism is led and thereby the theory of "invented traditions" is further elaborated. Next, the assumptions and research question are clarified. Methods and data are explained and further the necessity of an ethnological part is elaborated. Chapter 4 deals with the history of Greek nationalism, the role of Hellenism and the "dogma" of a continuity to ancient times. How the Greek nation got structured and how this influenced the cultural events and identity until today, will be additionally explained. To clarify whether Greek traditional dances are in line with invented traditions, or which parts of them might be (mis)used, an observation of the history on Greek (folk) dances is made in chapter 5. Chapter 6 shows some examples where traditions in Greece can be claimed to be invented, when it comes to "national dances", and which events are by no means made for a nationalist purpose. It is also important to stress how dances are used and in what contexts they have been or are preserved. Finally, a conclusion sums up the main findings.

2. Literature Review

This chapter is dedicated to introducing the existing literature on research in the field of Greek identity, Greekness, Greek tradition and Ethnography in Greece.[25] Based on the theoretical approach the "imagined traditions"[26] and "imagined communities"[27] will only be introduced with a focus on Greece, while the general theoretical clarifications are further elaborated in chapter 3.

The study of ethnography in Greece began around the years after of the war of independence around 1830. According to Petropoulos (1952), those years were companioned with the need of Greeks to manifest their national identity, which was denied by various theories and thereby threatened the national independence. Those theories derived from the Austrian (sic!) historian J.F. Fallmerayer, neglecting the direct descendance of modern Greeks from ancient Greeks.[28] He stated that Greeks are rotted out[29] and that "not a single drop of ancient blood flows in the veins of

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[25] For example, about the construction of "Greekness" in different fields: Kanatsouli, Meni / Tzoka, Theodora (2005). Embracing Multiculturalism through Understanding 'Greekness', in: Bookbird 43(2), pp. 30-37; Archakis, Argiris / Tzanne, Angeliki (2009). Constructing Social Identities through Storytelling: Tracing Greekness in Greek Narratives, in: Pragmatics 19(3), pp. 341-360; Karpouzou, Peggy (2017). Beyond the East-West Dilemma: Rethinking Greekness Through Diffracted Gazes, in: Contemporary Greek Travelogues 7(13), pp. 189-220; Veikou, Mariangela / Triandafillidou, Anna (2002). The hierarchy of Greekness: Ethnic and national identity considerations in Greek immigration policy, in: Ethnicities 2(2), pp. 189-208; Angouri, Jo (2012). "I'm a Greek Kiwi": Constructing Greekness in Discourse, in: Journal of language, identity, and education 11(2), pp. 96-108.

[26] Mangan, James (2010). 'The Grit of Our Forefathers': Invented Traditions, Propaganda and Imperialism, in: International Journal of the History of Sport 27(1-2), pp. 337-361; Maudlin, Daniel (2009). Constructing Identity and Tradition, in: Journal of Architectural Education 63(1), pp. 51–63; Nowak, Zachary (2014). Folklore, Fakelore, History: Invented Tradition and the Origins of the Pizza Margherita, in: Food, Culture, & Society 17(1), pp.103-124; Roudometof, Victor (1998). Invented traditions, symbolic boundaries, and national identity in Southeastern Europe: Greece and Serbia in comparative historical perspective (1830-1880), in: East European quarterly 32(4), pp.429-468; Xian (2016); Utz, Christian (2013). Invented Traditions and multiple Identities, in: Österreichische Musikzeitschrift 68(4), pp.51-55; Stich, Torben (2011). Erfundene Tradition? Die Nationalismustheorie von Eric J. Hobsbawm, in: Samuel Salzborn (ed.) Staat und Nation. Die Theorien der Nationalismusforschung in der Diskussion. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, pp. 29-43.

[27] Anderson, Benedict (1983/2016). Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London, New York: Verso. P. 6; Kitromilides (1989). P. 149.

[28] Petropoulos, Démétrios. (1952). The Study of Ethnography in Greece, in: Midwest Folklore 2(1). P. 15.

[29] Fallmerayer, Jacob Philipp (1830/1965). Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters. Stuttgart: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung: „The race of the Hellenes is extinct in Europe" [„Das Geschlecht der Hellenen ist in Europa ausgerottet."]; Herzfeld, Michael (1986). Ours Once More. Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece. New York: Pella Publishing Company, P. 7f.; See

modern Greeks"[30] which triggered harsh ideological discussions that continue to this day. The idea of "a melange of diverse races and peoples who had entered the country at different periods throughout the centuries"[31] is the base of two scientific roots, which "have been defined as 'national'"[32], namely the history of Greece and folk studies. During the 19th century the new-born state had to develop its national identity. While Greece was divided in two identities, one the "Romios/Roman", the Greek citizens of the Ottoman Empire, and the "Hellenic/Greek" identity, which "Western Europeans had constructed for Greece"[33] referring to the glorious Greek antiquity. This contradiction was solved by historians and folklorists by constructing a continuity from ancient times, via Byzantium towards modern Greece. They readopted the ideas of Johann Gottfried Herder of a "folk as cultural entity".[34]

The question of continuity in the history of ethnological science in Greece is heavily influenced by the epoch its researcher focused on the issue. While in the 1950s, Petropoulos (1952), pointed out the researcher of that time, the same are criticized by Tsantiropoulos (2014), about 60 years later. While Petropoulos highlights the "interest in folklore" and the "following examples of a few romantic European writers"[35], Tsantiropoulos stressed, that "[…] the history became synonymous with an ethnocentric history and folk studies have the pedagogic duty for self-awareness about national identity."[36]

This diverging perception gets even clearer, when observing the methodological approach of the early folklorists in Greece. While Petropoulos (1952) is sure, that

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more on Fallmerayer: Veloudis, Georgios (1970). Jacob Philipp Fallmerayer und die Entstehung des neugriechischen Historismus, in: Südostforschungen 29, pp. 43-90.

[30] Fallmerayer (1830/1965). P. IV: „For not a single drop of genuine and unmixed Hellenic blood flows in the veins of the Christian population of today's Greece" [„Denn auch nicht ein Tropfen ächten und ungemischten Hellenenblutes fließet in den Adern der christlichen Bevölkerung des heutigen Griechenlandes."]; Niehoff, Johannes (1999). Vom Paradigmenwechsel in der griechischen Volksliedforschung (zugleich Bespr. Von Walter Puchner. Studien zum griechischen Volkslied), in: Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung 44, P. 138; Herzfeld (1986). P. 6; Roudometof (1998). P. 436.

[31] Petropoulos (1952). P. 15.

[32] Tsantiropoulos, Aris (2014). The Greek Ethnography. A Critical Overview, in: Etnoantropologia 2(2), P.1.

[33] Ibid. P. 2.

[34] Ibid. P. 2.

[35] Petropoulos (1952). P. 15.

[36] Tsantiropoulos (2014). P. 3.

> *"it was this interest above all which brought about a curiosity about the everyday life of the people, about the monument of popular literature, which quite aside from their literary qualities, presented in most instances a remarkable resemblance to the analogous monuments of antiquity and of the Middle Ages"[37],*

Tsantiropoulos (2014) stresses, that

> *"their method was mainly literary and a-historical as they extracted the cultural phenomena from their contexts and proceeded to make comparisons of similar cultural phenomena coming from different areas of Greece. This was done by separating the 'Greek authentic' from the foreign influences or 'impurities'. The ethnocentrism and 'patriotic sentiments' of the first folklorists are not accidental when taking into account context."[38]*

The person both are referring to, is the "father of Greek folklore"[39], Nikolaos Politis (1872-1942), who translated the German term "Volkskunde" directly to Greek into "laography", which means "science of the folk". He defined it as the research of traditional literature, social life and actions, psyche, and performances of the folk. In the same tradition, the folklorists George Megas (1893-1976) and Stilponas Kyriakides (1887-1964), both later professors on the university, the former of the Academy in Athens, and the latter of the University of Salonica. Important historians to mention are Spyridon Zampelios (1815-1881) and Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos (1815-1891).[40] The cover of Zampelios folk song collection was showing armed bandits and priests winning Constantinople with Palaiologos, the last Byzantine emperor in front. Therefore, folk songs have become the "expression of national resistance and illustrate national continuity".[41] Most likely, the definitions of a given culture do not derive from insiders, rather than outsiders, "who define and use concepts, such as folklore, tradition, authentic, representative and national". The decision of what is part of the folklore is made by a group, "in accordance with the ideology and political interests of that group".[42]

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[37] Petropoulos (1952). P. 15.
[38] Tsantiropoulos (2014). P. 3.
[39] Ibid.; Politis (1914).
[40] Tsantiropoulos (2014). P. 3; Petropoulos (1952). P. 16ff; Zambelios published a collection of folk songs in 1852 and classified the Greek history in Ancient, Medieval and Modern. Roudometof (1989). P. 437.
[41] Roudometof (1989). P. 438.
[42] Giurchescu (2001). P. 116.

The political support of the state for folklore research began in 1908, when the Folklore Society was founded. It is a part of the Academy of Athens since 1918. Apart from publications, the society has a rich archive of collected manuscripts on folklore.[43] Besides publications from the mentioned anthropologists and historians, also journals (mainly in French) were founded in the years from 1926 onwards.[44]

Additionally, museums have been preservers of collections of folk art, such as the historical museum of Athens, which opened in 1993, with its main aim to contain objects from the revolution and regional costumes from the islands of Psara, Hydra and Speteses. 1915 the museum of decorative arts opened in Athens, collecting embroidery, gold and silver, as well as woodwork. 1931 the private museum of the Benaki family was opened in Athens, which contain a large number of folk pieces. Other museums, such as the one of king George 1, next to the museum of folklore from Kyriakidis, and other private collections, such as of Zachos and Efklidis in Athens, contributed to the ethnographic preservation of folklore.[45]

1987 the first department of social anthropology was established in Greece at the University of the Aegean, at Lesvos. The teachers were Greek anthropologists and social historians who did their fieldwork in Greece, but their postgraduate studies in England, France or the USA. This is why their studies contained an "exotic perspective"[46] due to their theoretical background. 1991 the Department of Ethnology opened at the University of Thrace and 2004 the Department of Social Anthropology was established at the University of Athens. Until 2000 only 6 PhD theses on anthropology were written in Greece. This is explained by the lack of an anthropological theoretical background in Greece, as well as on financially issues regarding the lack of financial support by the Greek state. Additionally, the scientific and professional profile still remain unclear.[47]

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[43] Tsantiropoulos (2014). P. 4; Petropoulos (1952). P. 16.
[44] Petropoulos (1952). P. 17f.
[45] Ibid. P. 19.
[46] Tsantiropoulos (2014). P. 6.
[47] Ibid. P. 6ff.

Research on the issue of Greekness, being Greek and the nation building process in Greece have been observed from different aspects. While the research on instrumentalization or the connection of identity with traditional music[48], folk poetry[49], archaeology[50], architecture[51]and identity[52] are broadly observed, the focus on traditional dances often lacks the material and fails due to a language barrier.

Kanatsouli and Tzoka (2005) have been focusing on the change of Greece as a culturally homogenous state, to a multicultural country in connection the "Greekness" of children`s literature in schools. According to their findings, some authors for example argued, that by learning a foreign language and thereby reading literature other than Greek they "lose their national soul". By trying to find a "compromise between the new and the old", they put together a corpus of modern Greek literature over 20 years ago, aiming "the emergence of a new Greek society". As they concluded in their essay, contemporary Greek's children's literacy are indicative for the different aspects of Greek national identity. In comparison to the 20th century, where most of the Greek children's literature was full of "ethnocentric ideology and heavy didacticism", nowadays literacy promote a more open view on national cultures and on the same time valuing the history of the country.[53]

The construction of Greekness in diasporas was the focus of Angouri (2012), who found, that identity is not a "stable, predefined entity", but rather a dynamic and developing process over time. In contrast to the former belief, that identity is something that people own, she argues, that it is a proactive act of interaction between people by discourse. By asking diasporic communities who left the country,

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[48] Niehoff (1999); Pennannen (2004).
[49] Beaton, Roderick. (1980). Folk Poetry of Modern Greece. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
[50] Katsiardi-Hering, Olga (2020). The Role of Archaeology in Forming Greek National Identity and its Embodiment in European Identity, in: European Review, Vol. 28, No. 3, 448–458.
[51] Peckham, Robert (2001). National Histories, Natural States. Nationalism and the Politics of Place in Greece, London: Tauris; Bastéa, Eleni (2000). The Creation of Modern Athens: Planning the Myth. New York: Cambridge University Press.; Kardamitsi-Adami, Maro (2006). Classical Revival. The Architecture of Ernst Ziller 1837-1923. Athens: Melissa Publishing House; Biris, Manos / Kardamitsi-Adami, Maro (2001). Neoclassical Architecture in Greece. Los Angeles: The J. Paul-Getty-Museum; Roubien, Denis (2013). The origins of the 'monumental axis' of neo-classical Athens and its relationship with the antiquities, in: The Journal of Architecture 18(2), pp. 225-253.
[52] Maudlin (2009).
[53] Kanatsouli and Tzoka (2005). P. 31-37.

the perceived "authentic" Greek was negotiated between the members of the diaspora.[54]

[…] what qualifies a person of object as Greek is continuously redefined by the participants and constructed in their discourse in different contexts."[55]

The core values to maintain Greekness in her study were more flexible than those of Smolicz (1981), who includes other people who self-identify as Greek, having a Greek network, music and dance and knowledge of history of the country. He defines core values as those who are "symbolic of the group and its membership". They are essential to be part of a group, a rejection of them threatens exclusion.[56] While Angouri (2012) detected Greekness in the New Zealand diaspora to be "changing over time and life spans, but at the same time there is a clear commitment to maintaining some type of ties with the (ideal) of the homeland."[57]

The opposite perspective was observed by Veikou and Triantafyllidou (2002), when they tried to determine the role ethnic and national identity play for immigration policies. Immigration has not been considered as part of the Greek society for a long period and the definition of Greek nationality and citizenship has been tied to ethnic and cultural origins. Pontic Greeks, who had been emigrating from Ottoman areas or had left Greece in the 1930s and 1940s for political reasons, have been considered as ethnic Greeks. The same occurs towards the Greek Albanians (Vorioepirotes) from Southern Albania and with Orthodox religion. A useful immigration policy had become necessary which is why it made a "re-elaboration of who is Greek"[58] necessary, by recognizing Greek ethnic descents. Finally, both groups turned into privileged groups over other foreigners, which they called a "hierarchy of Greekness".[59] It is an interesting example of the importance still to deal with the issue of Greekness and its history, even today.

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[54] Angouri (2012). P. 98f.
[55] Ibid. P. 99.
[56] Smolicz, Jerzy. (1981). Core Values and Cultural Identity in: Ethnic and Racial Studies 4(1). P. 75.
[57] Angouri (2012). P. 105.
[58] Veikou and Triandafillidou (2002). P. 191.
[59] Ibid. P. 189.

Another example to question discourses on identity and the perceptions of being a Greek person, is given by a sociolinguistic discourse analysis. It tried to determine the identitie(s) which are constructed by storytelling. Their relation to Greekness is detected by the cultivation of in-group identity. Archakis and Tzanne (2009) were trying to find out the possibilities "people's 'Greekness' can be traced in the way they tell their stories an in the situated identities constructed thus."[60] Socio-cultural identity can be traced in the way how people narrate their stories. Those stories also construct identities on a local level which are told by the narrators.[61]

The interwoven connection of identity and Greekness can be observed in all cultural aspects. Interesting enough has been research on the Greek film industry of the 1950s. Jules Dassin's film "Never on Sunday" is playing with western views on Greekness and antiquity, as well as stereotypes of modern Greeks. Greekness is parted in two aspects, the one, the Hellenised version of an intellectual ideal Greekness, deriving from ancient times, and the modern-day Greekness which is ascribed as the unlearned, naive, sexually unrestrained Greeks. The former therefore stands for the masculinity of the West and the modern one is feminized and sexualized.[62] The main aim is to achieve the "true Greekness". There can be seen a parallel of orientalist ideas.

> *"Homer [the main male character] is a parody of the cultured*
> *Westerner who idealizes Greek antiquity and sees himself as the*
> *preserver and natural inheritor of its intellectual and artistic legacy.*
> *Ilia [main female character] is the modern Greek who falls short of*
> *his ideal of Greekness".[63]*

The parody of the over intellectual Western man is still biased by Western and European views. The modern wins over the ancient past in a stereotypical representation of female sexuality, pathos, and carnality.[64]

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[60] Archakis and Tzanne (2009). P. 342.

[61] Ibid. P. 357.

[62] Tsitsopoulou, Vassiliki (2000). Greekness, Gender Stereotypes, and the Hollywood Musical in Jules Dassin's 'Never on Sunday', in: Journal of Modern Greek Studies 18(1), P. 80f.

[63] Ibid. P. 81.

[64] Ibid. P. 91.

That the "oriental other" has a long historic path, is represented in the next example. Useful insights are presented from travel monologues as a reflection of the image between Europe and the Orient. This very old dichotomy between "Orient" (the East) and "Occident" (the West) was distinguishing the Byzantine Empire (eastern roman empire) from the Western Roman Empire.[65]

Focusing on women in travel challenges, Kolocotroni and Mitsi (2008) detect some stereotypical views of Greek journeys, which excluded women and typically were male antiquitarians or "Byronic"[66] travellers.[67] Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-17632) was an exception, and her travelogues made her famous. As part of the Orientalism, which was marked by Edward Said in 1978[68], the role of women in anti- and post-colonial discourses has reached interest.[69] At the beginning of the 19th century women also started to take part in the upcoming collection, ethnographic studies and archaeology and therefore participated in the "ideological construction by the West".[70] While on the one hand women were part of the invention of the "Greek ideal, as the sacred origin of a civilization and sole property of the West"[71], others have been forgotten or remembered only as "foreign wifes", such as the story of Eva Palmer, who is mostly known for her husband Angelos Sikelianos, a famous Greek poet, and thereby neglecting her "contributions of performance and musicology".[72]

Karaiskou (2015) observed the origin of the heroic idea, romantic models, and what role the family and Orthodox church play. She finds that "they forged a framework of ideologies, values, and behaviours that define contemporary Greek

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[65] Zelepos, Ioannis (2018). Griechenland als „Orient im Okzident: Zum ideengeschichtlichen Hintergrund eines Stereotyps, in: Südosteuropa-Mitteilungen 4, P. 74.

[66] George Gordon Byron (better known as Lord Byron) lived from 1788-1824 and was one of the most active Philhellenes in Greece.

[67] Kolocotroni, Vassiliki / Mitsi, Efterpi (2008). Women Writing Greece: Essays on Hellenism, Orientalism and Travel. Amsterdam: BRILL, P. 5. The authors describe that women typically did not fit into the image of travelling scientists or explorers and Greece was seen as a dangerous place for them (p. 7). Due to women travelling and writing about Greece they helped to reconstruct cultural fantasy of England (p. 10), while still being constantly reminded of their nonconformity as "unaccompanied females" (p. 11).

[68] Said, Edward (2009). Orientalismus. Translated by Hans Günter Holl. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer.

[69] See about their theory of Greece having been a semi-colonial state: Kolocotroni and Mitsi (2008). P. 6f. Also, Herzfeld wrote about Greece as a "crypto colony". See: Herzfeld, Michael (2002). The Absent Presence: Discourse of Crypto-Colonialism, in: The South Atlantic Quarterly 101(4), pp. 899-926.

[70] Kolocotroni and Mitsi (2008). P. 12.

[71] Ibid. P. 15.

[72] Ibid. P. 13. See more in chapter 5.

reality".[73] She also states that common grounds of ideological references with the West and Greece are made up. The heroic models became intensified and emerged towards norms in the years after the dictatorship (1974 onwards). Her research interest is to understand the cultural phenomena in Greece and how they affected Greek life. By explaining the development of heroic models during the 19th century within folk tradition and behaviours, she sums up that during the 1970s those ideals had a revival. Also important is her conclusion that the way how the Western romantic nationalism perceived the revolution, influenced the collective memory and the Modern Greek national identity. Additionally, noteworthy is the connection between art and ideology and the amount of influence by the church on identity- building.[74]

Also, looking at the role of the European Union in identity building, Karaiskou highlights Greece's need for "cultural assumption" (Athens as the cultural capital of Europe), while the Olympic Games in 2004 showed the "need of distinction", by stressing the cultural uniqueness. Interested in the reasons of Greek reality she interrogates the way in which Greece represented its cultural and national identity in 2004. Stressing a "cultural divide" between those who do not share this identity and the isolation it thereby leaves the Greeks by its "fixation" and "nostalgia" for the past.[75]

The construction of identity connected with architecture[76] is also well researched: Maudlin (2009) put emphasis on the vernacular building traditions and the neo-traditional house in England.[77] Besides architecture also music builds identity:

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[73] Karaiskou, Vicky (2015). Uses and Abuses of Culture: Greece 1974-2010. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publisher. P. 1.

[74] Ibid. P. 2ff.

[75] Ibid. P. 5.

[76] Biris, Manos / Kardamitsi-Adami, Maro (2001); Kardamitsi-Adami, Maro (2006); Roubien (2013).

[77] The government tried to preserve "regional architectural identities" and "Englishness" by a nationwide standardization of buildings (in traditional designs). Those design guides of the governments national planning policy "were not a matter of taste or local traditions, but the product of the political totems of history, heritage, and national identity". Maudlin (2009). P. 51. Planning consent also was underlying some sort of "censorship", which means, that it was easier to use the traditional design as "the safe option", which is "'easy' to design requiring no great skill". (Ibid. P. 53). While on the outside the design is given by the governments regulation, "internally" it is a choice of the consumer (Ibid. p. 62).

"Greece is folk music. The tapestry of contrasting musical styles made up by the Greek regions is extraordinarily diverse for such a small country."[78]

Concerning musical identities, Utz (2013) is questioning, whether they lead to inclusion or exclusion[79], and in what way cultural isolation and cultural universalism are interacting. How western influences or the origin of a composer influence cultural identities. He points out the role of hegemonial European discourses of aesthetics and nationalist or essentialist models outside of Western countries regarding the globalisation of artificial music.[80] Many of those feature's sound "exotic" to the "Western trained ear". Beaton (2019) states, that there is no continuous performance tradition from antiquity to modern times. While some surviving musical texts cannot be reconstructed from antiquity, it is proven that Byzantine music has a continuous performance tradition since the 9th century. Although this musical tradition has been neglected for a long time, it has contributed a major role to the consolidation and definition of modern Greek national identity.[81]

Nowak (2014) found an important difference between invented traditions and "fakelore". By historically observing the origins of the "Pizza Margherita", he detected various myths as wrong, although constructing identity. Even food can be used for the construction of national identity, and their propagation is interesting to observe.[82] In this work the focus is led on the role (folk) dances play for identity building and potential misuse of cultural aspects for nationalist purposes. This is further elaborated in the following chapter.

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[78] Beaton, Roderick. (2019). Introduction, in: Polina Tambakaki / Panos Vlagopoulos / Katerina Levidou / Roderick Beaton (eds.) Music, Language and Identity in Greece. Defining a National Art Music in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. London: Taylor and Francis, Publications of the Centre for Hellenic Studies, P. 1.
[79] See Gottstein in Utz (2013). P. 55.
[80] Utz (2013). 58.
[81] Beaton (2019). P. 1-3.
[82] Nowak (2014). P. 117ff.

3. Theoretical and methodological approach

This chapter is based on the different theories on nationalism and identity, as well as the modern approach of the "imagined communities".[83] It gives a general overview of perceptions of nationhood, collective identities, "othering"[84], "invented traditions"[85], as well as on laography. Additionally, terms like tradition, identity, nations, and nationalism are clarified and put into historical context. Further the case study of Greece will be shortly described, and the methodological approach is presented.

3.1. Ethnicity, nations, and collective identities

Distinction between groups is a human phenomenon, that occurs all over the world. Borders, commonalities, differences, stereotypes, and other measurements to define "the other" and the "own" group (this is called "othering"), can be a means of identity building, but also a means for hostility and differentiation. Social inclusion, as well as exclusion regard on definitions of belonging to a social group. Karateke, Cipa and Anetshofer (2018), argue that "dislike of others has been a persistent condition of society throughout history".[86]

Sometimes the terms "ethnic groups", "nations", "culture" or "races" are used equally. Sökefeld (2007) argues in that context, that those often are overlapping and are hard to distinguish. Also, he states, that they can be problematic as scientific

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[83] Anderson (1983); Kitromilides (1989).

[84] Karateke, Hakan / Cipa, Erdem / Anetshofer, Helga (2018). Disliking Others. Loathing, hostility, and distrust in premodern Ottoman lands. Boston: Academia Studies Press; Herzfeld, Michael (2003). Localism and the Logic of Nationalistic Folklore: Cretan Reflections, in: Comparative Studies in Society and History 45(2), P. 283f.

[85] Hobsbawm, Eric (1990a/1992). Nations and nationalism since 1780. Programme, myth, reality, 2nd edition, Cambridge: Cambridge UP; Hobsbawm (1990b/2005); Maudlin (2009); Mangan (2010); Nowak (2014); Roudometof (1998); Utz (2013); Stich (2011).

[86] Karateke, Cipa and Anetshofer (2018). P. xi.
While commonly assumed in the Ottoman Empire a high level of security and safety existed throughout the various ethnic and religious groups. This "Pax Ottomanica" still had to face aspects of xenophobia or alterophobia, the dislike of "others". Although being aware of the mainly peaceful coexistence of the diverging groups, the authors analyzed the mindsets of the people by observing texts and patterns of dislike in historiography and literature. Ibid. P. xii.

concepts.[87] Indeed, when it comes to research on ethnicity, identity, or nationalism it is an obstacle to differ between "problematic" concepts, such as the term "race", which has been banned from German literacy almost entirely.[88]

Defining *ethnicity* has been detected as a major issue, since no broadly accepted definition could be found yet. Undoubtedly it is a matter of collective identities, and this term is used with a certain meaning, which can sometimes even neglect the given definition. Ethnicity reflects, that people differ from each other, and for this process they must act.[89]

The same obstacles occur, when trying to define *nation*. Establishing criteria to distinguish and differentiate one nation from another is not objective, according to Hobsbawm (1990b). The focus on certain aspects of groups, like language, common territory, history or specific cultural habits, have been used to answer the question of why some groups became nations, while others did not.[90] However, nations must be analysed in the context of political, technical, administrative and economic conditions.[91] Common history or common language, for example, could make nations distinguishable, but not all groupings with the same language worldwide are a nation and, conversely, not all nations have a uniform language.[92] Also nations and nationalism are problematic (political) fields, when being an independent and objective researcher. Hobsbawm (1990b) summarized "[...] that no serious historian working on nations and nationalism can be a convinced political nationalist [...]" and further "some nationalist historians have not been able to do so".[93]

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[87] Sökefeld, Martin (2007). Problematische Begriffe: "Ethnizität", "Rasse", "Kultur", "Minderheit", in: Schmidt-Lauber, Brigitta (ed.) Ethnizität und Migration. Einführung in Wissenschaft und Arbeitsfelder. Berlin: Reimer, P. 32.
[88] Sökefeld emphasises the regional and linguistic dimension of terms like "race", which is common in the Anglo-Saxon area and unthinkable in German speaking countries, due to the historical events of national socialism (P. 35).
[89] Ibid. P. 31.
[90] Hobsbawm (1990b). P. 15f.
[91] Ibid. P. 21f.
[92] Ibid. P. 18.
[93] Ibid. P. 24: [„daß kein ernsthafter Historiker, der über Nationen und Nationalismus arbeitet, ein überzeugter politischer Nationalist sein kann [...]" and further "einige nationalistische Historiker waren dazu nicht in der Lage"].

Helpful for the scientific approach are the two largest theories describing ethnicity, identity and issues concerning nations and nationalism. In social- and cultural sciences those concepts are observed either by a "primordialist perspective" or a "social constructivist approach".[94]

Primordialism is a perspective that human coexistence is delimited from the outside as a natural phenomenon. Those collective groups are explained from an evolutionary- biological view that human survival is secured by living in groups. From living together as a family, those groups have expanded to live together in peasant communities and further evolved to ethnical communities leading towards a nation.[95] This theory is thereby the base of the national right of self-determination since the 17th century.

Another approach in this tradition is perennialism, who describe nations as an ancestral form of associations which reaches back to antiquity. Without ethnicity and ethnics there would not be any nations existing. They are historically laden, and it appears to be logical to become politicised sooner or later and might lead into nationalism. Both approaches have been (mis)used for racist ideologies, because they root nations in the premodern times.[96] As Sökefeld (2007) writes, those essentialist racial theories are based on biological and genetical characteristics.[97]

> *"While primordialists primarily use socio-biological arguments,*
> *perennialists argue predominantly ethno-historical."[98]*

The essential part of primordialism is therefore the historical continuity of a real and substantial society, which changes slowly. Each individual and each community or nation has "original" ties, which are gained by birth and by growing up in a certain community. Those ties are stronger than "rational" ties.[99]

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[94] Sökefeld (2007). P. 32.
[95] List Martin / Rolf, Jan Niklas (2018). Kultur in den internationalen Beziehungen. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien, P. 127.
[96] List and Rolf (2018). P. 128.
[97] Sökefeld (2007). P. 32.
[98] List and Rolf (2018). P. 128: [„Während Primordialisten vorrangig sozio-biologische Argumente anführen, argumentieren Perennialisten überwiegend ethno-historisch"].
[99] Sökefeld (2007). P. 32.

In contrast to these essentialist perspectives, from the 1980s onwards, *social constructivist* approaches reached a broad acceptance in scholarly research. As Sökefeld (2007) describes, *constructivism* sees cultural identities as social "constructs". Here it must be clarified that it does not mean they are unreal, imagined or not existing. This is important to highlight, because one of the leading theories on nationalism is based on the idea of "imagined communities" (Anderson, 1983) and is therefore sometimes misunderstood. Identities, ethnical groups, and nations are not primordial, as Sökefeld explains, in that manner that they are not based on historical continuities or immediate facts.[100]

Social constructivism and modern theories view nations as a modern phenomenon. Functional approaches focus on the internal power positions of powerbrokers. Their power was threatened by liberal and secular developments and therefore they were in search for new sources of legitimation for their power. Necessary identification with the regents was guaranteed by the massive changes in society, like state education, the establishment of the welfare state and compulsory military service; next to the modernization of economics, which lead to common currencies, taxes, and nominal rates. Nationalism here was also an important means to build a common defence against enemies.

> *"[...] it is much easier to mobilise the population for a war waged in the name of the nation than for a war waged in the name of the king."[101]*

This *political aspect* of nationalism explains how modernization led to cultural homogenization.[102] Also the term "cultural nation" has been imported from middle Europe to regions on the Balkan and constructions of identity are only successful if the tie to experiences of the people in terms of symbols, interpretations of events and social constellations.[103] Political elites give resources such as participation and public goods against the resources of the masses, the militarily defence, as well as taxes.

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[100] Ibid. P. 33.
[101] List and Rolf (2018). P. 128: [„lässt sich die Bevölkerung für einen Krieg, der im Namen der Nation geführt wird, doch wesentlich leichter mobilisieren als für einen Krieg, der im Namen des Königs geführt wird"].
[102] List and Rolf (2018). P. 128ff.
[103] Sökefeld (2007). P. 33.

Nationalism creates the "ideological reference frame"[104] in this agreement. Therefore, constructivism can be seen as a "critical perspective that does not take identities for granted but asks what social processes bring them about."[105] This means, that changes and developments in communities form identities or at least have an influence on them. While Gellner (1983) in his influential work "Nations and Nationalism"[106] put the most emphasis on the influence of capitalism on nationalism (*economic aspect*), Anderson (1983) with "imagined communities" focused on the capitalism of print media (*cultural aspect*). In this paper, the focus will be led on the cultural aspect of nationalism, by observing laographic aspects of identity building.

Those perspectives have in common that they do believe national bindings did not exist in premodern times, this lies against the traditionalist perspective, who view nations as cultural collectives.[107] "Generally speaking, nationalist ideology suffers from pervasive false consciousness."[108] Anderson described this false consciousness, as an imagined community:

> *"It is an imagined political community – and imagined as both*
> *inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members*
> *of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-*
> *members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each*
> *lives the image of their communion."[109]*

For example, national languages only emerged after there was a certain form of popular education, which could be made possible by printing presses or the like.[110] In the time before compulsory education, there were no spoken national languages, as Hobsbawm (1990b) explains.[111]

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[104] List and Rolf (2018). P. 133.

[105] Sökefeld (2007). P. 33: [kritische Perspektive, die Identitäten nicht als gegeben hinnimmt, sondern danach fragt, aufgrund welcher gesellschaftlichen Prozesse sie zustande kommen].

[106] Gellner, Ernest (1983). Nations and Nationalism. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher.

[107] List and Rolf (2018). P. 128ff.

[108] Geller (1983). P. 124.

[109] Anderson (1983). P. 5f.

[110] Hobsbawm (1990). P. 21f; Weichlein (2006). P. 13f; Puchner (2020). P. 235.

[111] Hobsbawm (1990b). P. 21f. Although a cultural identification of the people with a language may have existed, numerous evidence show that national languages are an artificial product. See: P. 67ff. As an example, Hobsbawm mentions the Hellenic "Koine", which, based on Attic Greek, should have served to return to pure, unadulterated ancient Greek, while the people spoke "Dimotiki" (vernacular), which was essentially different from the Koine or Attic, see: P. 69f, also: Browning, Robert (1983). Medieval and Modern Greek. Cambridge et. al: Cambridge University Press.

A huge part of nation-building is to misinterpret or forget parts of history. Historians are therefore critical of national ideologies and the nationalistic understanding of history, since nationalists equate the emergence of a nation state, which is supposed to be based on this consciousness and a consciousness of groups or collectives.[112] Thus, the definition of nation is linked to the consciousness of the members of a nation. However, the voluntary nature of this leads to extremes. Hobsbawm cites the island of Sylt as an example: if enough inhabitants of the island wanted to be a nation, then there would be such a "Syltian nation".[113]

That is why nations are a double phenomenon that were constructed from *above*, but must also be analysed from *below*, i.e., from the perspective of the interests of the little people. For official ideologies do not give any clue into the actual ways of thinking of loyal citizens; moreover, identification with the nation does not automatically replace all other identifications, and ultimately these can also change or shift.[114] Liakos (2001) explains the difference between those two approaches as follows: "the direction is from the past to the present, in interpretation it is from the present from the past".[115] Having the bottom-up perspective in mind, this analysis will first focus on the top-down approach of (political) leaders for the establishment of nation states, and later will be observed on the perspective from the people and their possible contribution to nation building.

In the 1980s the primordial (essential) approach of Smith[116] and his student Hutchinson was reframed to *ethnosymbolism* and they converged towards modernist positions, as the acknowledged nations as a modern phenomenon.[117] Still they emphasized that nation-building is tied to premodern ethnic identities.

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[112] Hobsbawm (1990b). P. 7.
[113] Ibid. P. 18. In that means also Gellner (1983) highlights, that there is a large number of potential nations: Gellner (1983). P. 2.
[114] Ibid. P. 21f.
[115] Liakos, Antonis (2001). The Construction of National Time: The Making of the Modern Greek Historical Imagination, in: Mediterranean Historical Review 16(1), P. 27f.
[116] Smith, Anthony (1986). The Ethnic Origins of Nations. Oxford: Blackwell.
[117] Ibid. (1998). Nationalism and Modernism. London, New York: Routledge.

> *"There can be no identity without memory (albeit selective), no collective purpose without myth, and identity and purpose or destiny are necessary elements of the very concept of a nation."*[118]

And further:

> *"While we can no longer regard the nation as a given of social existence, a 'primordial' and natural unit of human association outside time, neither can we accept that it is a wholly modern phenomenon, be it the 'nervous tic of capitalism', or the necessary' form and culture of an industrial society."*[119]

This perception contrasts the social constructivist viewpoint of "becoming and doing", rather than "being". Smith, however, is therefore criticised by other historians for his concept of ethnicity and the insufficient distinction between state and nation.[120] Smith's notion of ethnicity refers to those populations characterised by shared myths, history and cultures, common territory, and a mutual solidarity. The nation is defined mainly by ethnic ties of the past. This understanding is at odds with Anderson, Geller and Hobsbawm, who define the nation as a completely modern phenomenon.[121] Smith recognised the nation as a modern phenomenon, but only in combination with pre-modern ethnic identities that led to nation-building.[122]

> *"Thus, while for traditionalists the nation is characterised by great permanence, continuity and permanence, most modernists see it as a (by-) product of modernity."*[123]

The main difference therefore is that the primordial groups believe that nations who are historically deeply rooted, created states with nationalism, while modernists believe that states build nations via nationalism (see: figure 2). So the focus is not only

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[118] Ibid. (1986). P. 2.

[119] Ibid. P. 3.

[120] Kahlweiß, Luzie (2011). Ethno-Symbolismus und Nationale Identitäten. Die Nationalismustheorie von Anthony D. Smith, in: Samuel Salzborn (ed.) Staat und Nation. Die Theorien der Nationalismusforschung in der Diskussion. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, P. 81ff.

[121] Hobsbawm (1990b), Anderson (1983), Gellner (1983); Kahlweiß (2011). P. 79 and List / Rolf (2018). P. 130ff.

[122] List and Rolf (2018). P. 132.

[123] Ibid. P. 130: [Während die Nation für Traditionalisten also von großer Dauerhaftigkeit, Kontinuität und Permanenz gekennzeichnet ist, wird sie von den meisten Modernisten als (Neben-) Produkte der Moderne angesehen].

whether a nation is an everlasting ethnic community or not, but also if it is mass induced or, as most modernist state, is ordered by elites.[124]

Along with other scientific disciplines this fundamental question has been defined as a major unsolvable problem. Comparing the aforementioned statements on identity, also the educational sciences are dealing with those two approaches. It is still not clarified whether human beings are a "product" of their genetics, and therefore cannot be educated (*pedagogical pessimism*) or whether humans are the result of their personal experiences and only pedagogy can form them (*pedagogical optimism*).[125] Research on twins, as well as on adoption came across the assumption, that personality is formed by both. Scientific research in this field always risks of political and ideological bias, methodological shortcomings or even falsification.[126]

As this interdisciplinary example shows, the origin of behaviour, political developments and social identity, is not possible to define final. It is rather important to keep both approaches in mind, when researching historical developments and ideologically or cultural issues. In that way underlying patterns can be detected and put into context. This does not necessarily mean, that the findings of the researcher are the only explanation of a certain event. By bearing both theoretical perceptions in mind, a scientific study makes an utmost objective approach possible. The next chapter therefore tries to elaborate the development of political nationalism, which misused the ethnic explanation for legitimation of their political power during the 19th century.

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[124] Ibid. P. 131.

[125] The first approach is called theory of inheritance and is based on the ideas and findings of Charles Darwin and is a major part of evolutionary biology and psychology, as well as genetics. The latter approach is called theory of milieu and is based on Kant's ideas of "tabula rasa", e.g., a child is like a blank sheet and can be formed by education. A "Grande theory" evolved from this idea, namely the behavioralism, which focuses only on the behaviour which can be observed, learned, and again unlearned. See: Hobmair Hermann / Altehnthan, Sophia / Betscher-Ott, Sylvia /Gotthardt, Wilfried / Höhlein, Reiner / Ott, Wilhelm / Pöll, Rosemarie / Schneider, Karl-Heinz (2008). Pädagogik, 4th edition, Troisdorf: Bildungsverlag EINS, P. 57f.

[126] Hobmair et. al. (2008). P. 59.

3.2. Nationalism

Nationalism might be the strongest political ideology of modern times and is not a historical phenomenon.[127] Both approaches claim that the creation of either nation or state is made via nationalism. While the *ethnic interpretation*, based on the traditionalist approach, means the nation interpreted ethnically, i.e., the underlying cultural and blood of people counts, the *civic understanding*, in line with the social constructivism, defines inclusion and exclusion in terms of political affiliation. The concept of the civic nation thus understands the nation as a nation state, irrespective of origin, culture, language or the like, based on mechanisms of representation; the member of the state nation is the citizen who professes the nation in free self-determination (within the legal framework).[128] Gellner (1983) characterizes nationalism "that the political and national unit should be congruent".[129] In social sciences the equation of the terms 'nation' and 'state' lead to a perspective where this form of social organization is the norm.[130]

In contrast, the ethnic model understands ethnicity as the constitutive basis of the people, and the right to self-determination is related to the closed community.[131]

According to Hobsbawm (1990b), nationalism clearly predates nations and is a relatively recent phenomenon. The nation is based on constructed myths and "invented traditions".[132] Myths are either imposed from above, as in most cases, or developed "from below".[133] Collective feelings of belonging also existed in proto nationalism. It is divided in two forms: the supra-regional "popular" identifications of the respective living space and the political entanglements of privileged groups. However, since these forms are not necessarily related to a territorial area with political organisation, this is not to be equated with modern nationalism.[134] Also

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[127] Zelepos, Ioannis (2002). Die Ethnisierung griechischer Identität 1870 - 1912: Staat und private Akteure vor dem Hintergrund der "Megali idea". München: Oldenbourg, P. 7.

[128] Salzborn, Samuel (2011). Nation und Nationalismus im 21. Jahrhundert, in: Samuel Salzborn (ed.) Staat und Nation. Die Theorien der Nationalismusforschung in der Diskussion. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, P. 10.

[129] List and Rolf (2018). P. 123.

[130] Ibid. P. 124.

[131] Salzborn (2011). P. 9.

[132] More about the „invented traditions" see next chapter.

[133] Stich (2011). P. 29.

[134] Hobsbawm (1990b). P. 59ff.

Anderson (1983) argues, that it is difficult to analyse nations outside this pattern of thought. All terms or state contexts today are thought of and verbalised within "nation-state" boundaries. However, these are "modern" developments.[135]

In the 19th century, however, national consciousness[136] did not arise primarily through the large mass of the population, like workers, peasants, and farmers, but primarily through an educated class, e.g., people with a cultural, literary or folkloristic education. Only later did a group of pioneers of the "national idea" emerge, which from then on was also promoted politically. It was only in the third phase that this idea was supported by the broad masses and thus became a national movement.[137]

Salzborn (2011) calls nationalism the most powerful social „belief-system" of the past two centuries. It is a constructed image of the world, "along the ascribed collective identity of language, culture, religion and history". Nations are not an unchanging or original social unit, neither a "God-given classification".[138] Moreover, it is only a unity as long as it is bound to a territorial form, the nation-state.[139] The fact that political and national unity must coincide only emerged from the middle of the 20th century through separatist efforts for national self-determination.[140] For this unity, certain indicators such as linguistic, ethnic, cultural or other commonalities are used. The demarcation from the "others" is reinforced by *xenophobia* as a globally prevailing folk ideology.[141]

Modern national movements try to prove state legitimacy by reviving and revitalising ancient history and culture. Nation-building would thus also be a reinterpretation of pre-existing cultural patterns and a reconstruction of earlier ethnic roots and opinions.[142]

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[135] Anderson (1983). P. 5.
[136] See also Gellner (1983). P. 7: He defines the nation here in two ways, one of which also refers to voluntary, mutual recognition as a mark of belonging ("nations maketh man").
[137] Hobsbawm (1990b). P. 23.
[138] Salzborn (2011). P. 9.
[139] Hobsbawm (1990b). P. 20f.
[140] Also see: Stich (2011). P. 36.
[141] Hobsbawm (1990b). P. 8.
[142] Anderson (1983). P. 5.

"For ethnogenetic models and continuity constructions, folk culture
functioned as a kind of quarry in which usable materials could be
found for the underpinning of the respective state ideology"[143]

But Kitromilides (1989) tells that there are no "awakening nations" and that the assumption that nations as communities of cultural and social unity preceded the state is false: *„Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist."[144]* In opposite, nationalists misused this idea of a pre-existence of national communities. Starting from the idea of national community by earlier intellectuals, forces began to mobilise cultural resources (songs, dance, poetry…) and political processes in the 19th century to create national integration of the newly independent states. Therefore, the process of nation-building was dynamic and not passive. Contrary to the "national awakening" thesis, "nations" were constructed out of states in the 19th century. Collective identity was created as part of the sense of community.[145] This identity building was also made by mobilizing cultural aspects of the society.

"The object of the nation-state is to unify all potentially divergent
cultural and social entities within a single framework, so that localist
sentiment ceases to represent the threat of political separatism."[146]

The main goal of *political* nationalism is the formation of independent nation states. Centralised organisations, such as political parties, are formed to implement nation-state goals. In contrast, *cultural* nationalism is shaped by scholars and artists who form the scientific and cultural society. They transmit their cultural goods, which they consider typical of the national community, and pass them on to be studied and developed.[147] The result of cultural nationalism is often characterised by the symbolic use of customs. One's own customs are used ideologically, aesthetically, and economically. The symbolic use of customs in Greece has led to the invention of

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[143] Puchner (2020). P. 237: [„ Für ethnogenetische Modelle und Kontinuitätskonstruktionen fungierte die Volkskultur als eine Art Steinbruch, in dem sich verwertbare Materialien für die Untermauerung der jeweiligen Staatsideologie finden ließen"].
[144] Quoted from Gellner, Ernest (1964). Thought and Change. London: Weidenfeld und Nicolson. P. 169. In: Anderson (1983). P. 6.
[145] Kitromilides (1989). P. 160.
[146] Herzfeld (2003). P. 281.
[147] Pennannen (2004). P. 1.

traditions. Questions related to identity in the Mediterranean occur, because this area has different pasts: one must define whether the Hellenistic period was part of the history of Egypt, and whether Byzantium past belongs to Greece, Serbia and/or Bulgaria. Was the Ottoman period an interruption or an integral part of the regions part? In Liakos (2001) perspective, this "construction of historical time" was appropriated by Greeks who made the learned written tradition of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew on their own and turned it into a national tradition.[148]

3.3. Invention of traditions

Community building and identity strongly refer to culture and cultural resources. Shared values, customs and habits are a means for group identification and therefore a tool for nationalists to (mis)use them in a purposeful manner. In the past, local customs and habits have been rhetorically reshaped by elites as national traditions, while no nation (in the modern nation state sense) has been there before. Interestingly the new state borders sometimes interfere with those local customs. While one is now part of country A, the other is a "national tradition" of country B, although probably more similar than a "national tradition" farther away, but within state borders. This chapter shall elaborate how customs and habits have been used to "invent" such traditions. Also, a distinction has to be made between the reasons of the established tradition. Hobsbawm (1983a) clarifies, that there is a difference in a tradition developing from a local custom on a (modern) national level, over time, and the instrumentalization of political leaders to use those habits, for legitimizing a nation.

> *„Existing customary traditional practises – folksong, physical contests, marksmanship – were modified, ritualized and institutionalized for the new national purpose".[149]*

Although the term „invented tradition", first gives the impression that all traditional habits of groups are invented, this is not the case. Instead Hobsbawm expressed a completely new theoretical perspective to view the nationalisms of the 19th century. It therefore is more of a way to suggest how traditions were used, instead of defining

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[148] Liakos (2001). P. 29f.
[149] Hobsbawm (1983a). P. 6.

the term. "Traditions' which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented." In that manner, Hobsbawm (1983a) refers both to traditions which have been an invention and construction to be formally instituted, as well as to those which are not so simple to detect and emerged between a short period.[150]

> *",Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past."[151]*

So, the innovative part of Hobsbawm's insights is, that the new perception of tradition was explained by rituals, which transform values and thereby create the historical timeline to former periods. He categorizes "invented traditions" into three groups, according to their purpose: invented tradition that…

a) creates or symbolises consensual and **collective identity**

b) forms/**legitimises hierarchical institutions**, societies and status

c) places people in social groups, and implement certain belief-systems, **values**.[152]

In that sense the "identity building" process happens with constructed traditions (usually by elites and the intelligentsia). Groups and social collectives form an identity by those new traditions. Also, they have been used to legitimize new "national borders" or political events. As a part of the historical narrative, they form collective habits of the people.

The construction of traditions was a means of nation-building.[153] A few decades before the First World War, there were drastic changes on the social and on the political level. Invented traditions changed social groups, environments, and social contexts to express or secure social cohesion and identity and to structure social relations. This

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[150] Hobsbawm (1983a). P. 1.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid P. 9.
[153] Ibid. P. 1.

happened in many countries for different purposes (e.g., nation-building). The working class was expected to act within the nation through nationwide political movements and organisations.[154] This period up to the First World War marked a break between languages and symbolic discourses. Clothing, ceremonies, parades, or sports activities were introduced for all classes of the population at the level of politics and society.[155]

Hobsbawm (1983) also differs between "tradition" and "custom". While the former is strictly structured and unchangeable, including the invented ones, the latter is adapting to changes. Indeed, the main characteristic of tradition, whether invented or long-standing, is immutability, whereas custom must adapt because life in society is changeable.[156] Regional peculiarities, for example, can be included in the national culture and recognised as a legitimate part of the nation if they are not seen in opposition to the "central forces".[157] Customs or traditions without a ritual or symbolic character must also be distinguished. Thus, content can also take on this character if it is no longer constrained by practical use. In the process of formalisation and ritualisation, a new tradition is then "invented" by recourse to the past.[158] In any case, one main difference between the old and invented practices is that old traditions have a strong binding character, while invented ones are relatively unspecific in terms of formal regulations.[159] Tradition becomes an invocation of "unchangeable, enduring cultural values" and are interpreted as an attempt "to cope with the problems of rapid and often difficult-to-accept change, with the problem that the world is changing faster than people can adjust to it".[160] This recourse to tradition deprives the nation of its history and presents it as something unchanging and eternally stable.

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[154] Ibid (1990a). P. 263ff.

[155] Ibid P. 303ff. This does not mean that the kind of clothing or ceremonies have not existed before, rather it changed the level where they were expressed. While a certain custom was performed in a region also before, it now was used on a broad level, not only in the certain region or group. All classes and different areas were conjoined to express an invented "national" tradition.

[156] Ibid (1983a). P. 2.

[157] Kößler, Reinhart / Schiel, Tilman (1995). Ethnizität und Ethno-Nationalismus, in: Widerspruch: Beiträge zu sozialistischer Politik 30, P. 58.

[158] Hobsbawm (1983a). P. 3f.

[159] Ibid P. 10.

[160] Kößler / Schiel (1995). P. 51: [… als Versuch, mit den Problemen rapiden und oft schwer akzeptablen Wandels fertig zu werden].

Regardless of age, things can be defined as "custom or tradition", which refers to the use of culture in daily life. The everydayness of custom is also expressed when they are adapted to the needs of everyday life or new circumstances:

> *"So, when we find that "custom" is suddenly elevated to "tradition", we must assume that a drastic change has occurred that makes the strategic use of ethnicity seem necessary or favourable".[161]*

There are parallels to the term "othering", where groups find certain aspects to differentiate from other groups or collectives. Herzfeld (2003) described with his observations of Crete that there is a "contradiction between localist enthusiasm and nationalist passion".[162] Ethnicity makes use of certain cultural particularities to create itself and during this process becomes the focus of its own tradition. This own and distinctive tradition is supposed to serve to contrast oneself from others[163], and can be called "ethnic identity".

3.4. Classifying dance research

This special case of invented tradition lies within dance research as well. Dance hast not always been in the interest of scientists and fell out of the focus of science because laography was often politically misused. This overlooked the great scientific value that material and immaterial culture can contribute to the study of tradition.

> *"Dancing is an integral part of a network of social events, and dance as a part of a system of knowledge and belief, social behaviour and aesthetic norms and values."[164]*

Dance Research focussed for a long time on choreographies and dancers, which finally also was added with the cultural factors, that interact when producing dance. Only since the 1960s dance is seen as a cultural production and the "universal status of

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[161] Ibid P. 52.
[162] For instance, Cretans are quick to condemn when violent events happen, and attributed to the long history of Crete under the Ottoman Empire. In that way Cretans are sympathized "nationalistically while expressing the strong regional prejudice of which Cretans often complain in Athens". Herzfeld (2003). P. 283f.
[163] Kößler / Schiel (1995). P. 51.
[164] Giurchescu (2001). P. 109.

ballet" was declared as "ethnocentristic and imperialist".[165] Anthropology since then added dance to understand society. The anthropology of dance is defined as a

> *"discourse which seeks to understand, through empirical and*
> *conceptual inquiry, all dance and movement systems and*
> *necessitates the sustained practise of ethnography in order to*
> *understand emic perceptions".[166]*

Additionally interpreting ethnography is a difficult act between "recognition of cultural fundamentals and their actual practice." This is why "extensive and detailed ethnographic research" is highly important to understand internal views and values.[167] The main question hereby is whether dance is an expression of Greekness and thereby a Greek identity and is congenital. It is the search for the essence of a dance in a manner of a dance-brain connection. Contrasting dance could be simply a way of moving, which can be learned. This opens up again the main assumption described in the previous chapters: do human have intrinsic cultural abilities, or are they possible to be learnt?

While also the definition of folklore has led to discussions since the 19th century, such as "traditional beliefs, customs, superstitions, legends ballads" or "categories of oral, material, and social culture", at least in Greece the term "laography" means "material, psychological and social aspects of traditional life".[168] The American Folklore Society defines it as "what people believe, do, make and say".[169] Giurchescu (2001) explains, that "folklore" describes the selected and performed products of dance, music and costumes, the performance of those in a framework of spectacle is called "folklorism". "The major difference between folklore and folklorism lies in the fact that folklore is a non-controllable process, while folklorism results from strictly guided selection and

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[165] Buckland, Theresa (1999). All Dances Are Ethnic, but Some Are More Ethnic Than Others: Some Observations on Dance Studies and Anthropology, in: Dance Research 17(1), P. 8f.
[166] Ibid P. 5.
[167] Ibid P. 16.
[168] Rogan, Bjarne (2012). The Institutionalization of Folklore, in: Regina Bendix /Galit Hasan-Rokem (eds.) A Companion to Folklore. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, P. 600ff; Spyridakis, Georges (1967). Situation universitaire de la laographie en Gréce. Ethnologia Europaea 1, P. 277.
[169] Rogan (2012). P. 602.

transformation of folklore".[170] Therefore, authenticity is a romantic invention because it implies a truthfulness. This would mean that every sensemaking performance was authentic, while every stage performance of a folklore model would be an imitation.

As Hoerburger (1968) stated "once again", a distinction between first existence and second existence folk dances shall be made. He clarifies that this is not a differentiation associated with any "value" – neither first, nor second existence dances are "better" or "worse". [171]

Folk dances can be observed by its changes or changelessness. Nahachewsky (2001) focused on the changes of folk dance as an entity. By referring to the concepts of first and second existence of Hoerburger, he tried to conceptualize folk dance over time. A specific moment in history, like a dance event might not be enough to fully understand the dance. Therefore, it could be useful to know the dance at two different points in history (two existences). The argument of Hoerburger was that many folk dances are represented by the turning point, when the second existence started. At this specific point the dance is not an integral part of the community anymore, but only by a few people who are interested in it, such as in dance rehearsal groups. From then on, dances have fixed figures and movements, which before were part of improvisation. Therefore, a teacher is necessary and "intentional teaching" begins. This is what Hoerburger calls "cultivation of folk dance".[172] While the first existence dances are learned informally, the second existence dances are formally taught. It is thereby a "consciously cultivated revival".[173] An illustration should help to visualize the difference (see: figure 31).

Nahachewsky (2001) here states that first existence folk dances include those of social events, such as weddings, dance parties and others, while second existence dances are "performed on stage, recently choreographed, serving as a symbol of

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[170] Giurchescu (2001). P. 117. To put it more simple: when performing at the Lefkada Folklore Festival every step has to be perfect and is well rehearsed, while in spontaneous or local dance events variations and less professional approaches of folk dances are possible.

[171] Hoerburger, Felix (1968). Once Again: On the Concept of "Folk Dance", in: Journal of the International Folk Music Council 20, P. 30.

[172] Hoerburger (1968). P. 31; Nahachewsky, A. (2001). Once Again: On the Concept of "Second Existence Folk Dance", in: Yearbook for Traditional Music 33, P. 18.

[173] Ibid. P. 18.

national or ethnic identity, involving rehearsals, costumes, concerts." For researchers the concept of Hoerburger (1968) is useful, and helps to "see patterns in the dance activity much more clearly, and to understand each side more deeply".[174] For ethnologists especially, it is crucial to be able to put the observed events in context. Either it is for comparison, or evaluation.

Puchner (2009) published in his article a rich bibliography of researchers in the field of comparative folkloristics. Reflections on the name of the field of the sciences of the "folk" give an overview how the discipline is structured and changed in the past century. He considers that the renaming of the discipline to "Ethnologia Europaea" is rather symbolic. Cultural and social anthropological concepts and methods have been integrated in cultural sciences and had to face claims of truth, ideologically contaminated sources, westernization, and theoretical colonialism. Some manipulations of researchers in the field with theatrical interpretations, or only their presence, have led to a biased situation on site.[175]

Since cultural and social anthropology was ripped of its natural research fields by post-colonialism and "in search of new fields of application, the homeless discipline"[176] returned back "home" (towards Europe). There with a major preference of the "exotic" margins of Europe[177], some "natural aborigines" still were possible to find. Since during the cold war eastern and southern Europe was not fully accessible, American, and French anthropologists loved to publish and research on and in Greece.[178]

In that context rural communities and their practises were idealized and put into an ideological construct. The main idea was that the old habits were survivals from

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[174] Ibid. P. 19. However, he observed events, that required a "third existence", which included to grow in reverse. Elements of the stage had been reincorporated into the improvised circle dances.
[175] Puchner, Walter (2009). Studien zur Volkskunde Südosteuropas und des mediterranen Raums. Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, P. 19-23.
[176] Puchner (2009). P. 19-26.
[177] Herzfeld, Michael (1987). Anthropology through the Looking-glass: Critical Ethnography in the Margins of Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
[178] Puchner (2009). P. 26.

the ancient and purist forms of this culture. Thereby the "folk culture had become a resource for asserting specific ethnic and ultimately national identity" in a constructed opposite of the European high culture. The expressive forms of people's spirit were endangered to extinct in this perception, which is why songs, costumes, poetry, dances, dialect etc. as the "relics of antiquity" had to be saved. This led to the rescue of the primitive simple, but as natural perceived folk dances. The main aim of cultural rescue archaeology was to collect everything important, prior it got changed by modern civilization, urbanization, and industrialization.[179] The scholarly discipline of folklore concerns both political and intellectual parts. It also has a high "propagandistic value"[180], as could be observed.

> *"If the ongoing legacies of colonialism have been the source of much debate in classical anthropology, in folk studies the major dispute has concerned political affiliations with nationalism".[181]*

The "institutionalization" of folklore therefore took time in the different countries in Europe. The name of the field is also still not uniform. It is considered as folklore, folkloristics, (European) ethnology, social anthropology, or cultural anthropology. Because folklore refers to the "subject matter"[182] as well as the scholarly discipline it has roots in the humanities and social sciences. Also, it refers to the literature studies, national philology's, geography, anthropology and biology.[183] For that reason folklore is a useful matter to be of interest in modern Greek studies, which lives at the edge of all mentioned scientific fields. Ethnology became a part of cultural analysis from the 1970s on and makes use of similar aims and methodologies as in social sciences.[184] Folklorist studies faced a crisis during the 1990s and has been integrated to various other fields, such as "anthropology, literature, sociolinguistics, performance studies, cultural studies, American studies, gender studies, ethnomusicology, or oral history".[185]

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[179] Buckland, Theresa Jill (2006b). Dance, History, and Ethnography Frameworks, Sources, and Identities of Past and Present, in: Theresa Jill Buckland (ed.) Dancing From Past to Present: Nation, Culture, Identities. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, P. 7.
[180] Rogan (2012). P. 598.
[181] Buckland (2006b). P. 6.
[182] Rogan (2012). P. 599.
[183] Rogan (2012). P. 598f.
[184] Ibid. P. 600.
[185] Kirshenblatt-Gimlett, Barbara (1998). Folklore's Crisis, in: The Journal of American Folklore 111(441), P. 281.

"Dancing has traditionally been one of the most ancient forms of community entertainment".[186] Why observation of dances is a useful tool for historical and social anthropological research is therefore given only within one sentence. The terms traditions, ancient and community all referring to the theoretical assumptions described in the previous chapters, give a reason to dig deeper.

"Variety and improvisation are key words in describing the traditional dances of the Greeks."[187] While gender lines are disappearing, improvisation and the self-expression of the dancers' skills and mood remain characteristics of Greek folk dances. Most of the dances are performed in a circle and danced counter clockwise.[188] The leader usually also maintains an important role and often has graduated from university in physical education. While music is part of all regions in Greece, it is inseparable from the village life.

"The geographical position of Greece, being both a Balkan and a Mediterranean country, has played a major role in shaping its traditional folk music."[189]

Often musical styles and songs are overlapping from one country to another, especially in areas close to borders. This declares the importance for research in such fields: How is it possible that people from certain areas claim dances to be national, while they are overlapping in the same region, divided by "national" borders? It is even more interesting, why some local dance teachers are invited to teach "foreign dances"[190] to the villages, which are all within the same nation state borders.

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[186] Hunt, Yvonne (2004). Traditional Dance in Greece, in: The Anthropology of East Europe Review 22(1), P. 139. While it is clarified that there are no direct descriptions of dances in ancient texts, some ceramics and paintings let us know, that dances have been danced also in ancient Greece. Although some have claimed a continuity of traditional dances to ancient times, it cannot be reconstructed, how they were danced exactly. As Dora Stratou (1903-1988), one of the most important Greek choreographers and dancers puts it: "When we say that out popular folk-dances embrace our entire history, obviously we do not mean that they are danced exactly as they were danced 2500 years ago". Qutoted from Stratou (1966). P. 13, in: Hunt (2004). P. 139.
[187] Hunt (2004). P. 140.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Hunt (2004). P. 141.
[190] Ibid.

3.5. Hypotheses

Concepts of nation and national culture should not be viewed exclusively from a *political* perspective, because official national policy and the opinion of citizens do not always coincide. This is particularly evident in the concepts of "social memory" and "national memory". Whereas *social memory* includes those narratives and memories that individuals within groups tell each other and thereby create their own identity. *National memory*, on the other hand, is the official historiography that is taught in schools and presented in the media. The aim of national memory is to consolidate and legitimise the nation state and national culture. "National memory in Greece largely utilizes the nineteenth-century myth of the age-old Greek national culture stemming from classical times."[191]

Therefore, the author argues, that the connection between nationalism and identity building in Greece is special. While countries follow similar parts for nation-building, the interwoven parts of history in Greece and making of a national history are outstanding and need to be considered, when analysing the making of a "modern Greek identity". The history of Greek historiography still influences today's modern Greek identity.

Especially in ethnology the essentialist (primordialism) approach has produced arguments for constructions of essentialist identity over a long time. Constructivist approaches deconstruct those identities by focussing on identity politics and power politics. Identity in that context also relies on acceptance of others. By not acknowledging identities of larger groups political power can be wielded. By constructivist approaches on the other hand identities are neglected too. This dilemma between recognition of identity and deconstructive social scientistic analyses is not solved yet. Sökefeld (2007) suggests leaving out an objective, descriptive definition of "identity" in research, but to view identity as an emic concept of its actors. In this context all analyses of identity, nationalism, racism and ethnicity can only be observed

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[191] Pennannen (2004). P. 14.

in their political and social context.[192] It is therefore important to consider the background of nationalism, identity-building and the evolvement of traditions/customs in Greece. Only by a closer look, underlying mechanisms of potential "inventions" or constructions can be detected. The background of certain customs/traditions are crucial to consider when analysing their potential nationalistic use.

The position of the Balkans, and especially Greece was strongly influenced during the Age of Enlightenment, in the 18th century.[193] By focusing at the intellectual and cultural changes of the processes without a *national* attribution, the emergence of a national identity within a social group can be reconstructed. "The Hellenic nation, as constituted in the early nineteenth century, is a recent construct […]"[194] Certain "external influences" influenced the construction of certain traditions. In Greece those factors were Philhellenism, Hellenism (including the dogma of continuity) and Orientalism. By describing the historical evolvement of the Greek case, the events are described by the following circle: nation building, whether it was caused by an uprising, by the collective process of othering or of already existing collective identities, sooner or later leads to national movements and the development of nationalism (see figure 1). This, on the other hand, is influenced by external factors; in Greece such as Philhellenism, Oriental perspectives, and Hellenism itself. The cycle shows that external factors have led to nation building and that those aspects are interwoven. Part of nationalist tendencies are the construction of a historical narrative ("dogma" of continuity), as well as traditions and cultural heritages, such as dance, music, architecture etc. These processes necessarily lead to the creation of national identity and thereby the origin of "Greekness", which will be further enhanced by external oppression or the narrative of othering. In this model, it does not matter to clarify the question of what comes first: nation or state (see figure 2), e.g., primordial or constructivist theoretical explanations of certain events. Rather, it is important to

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[192] Sökefeld (2007). P. 35.
[193] Kitromilides (1989). P. 149.
[194] Beaton (2007). P. 76.

clarify the side-effects of nation-building. Those components leading to a new nation/state, are crucial to understand symbolic uses of culture. The visualisation shows the inner circle as an explanation for any country's national identity-building, while the blue circles in the corners, are factors that are specific for the history of Greece, and could be exchanged for other countries. The model shows, that invented traditions of any nation can be explained by processes of nation building, nationalism, identity, and Othering. This shall be tested by the dance history in Greece.

3.6. Methods and Data

To proof the described paradigms and connections various examples will be described. In this chapter the methodological approach and the used data are further elaborated.

Modern Greek studies combine research in areas of linguistic, historical, and cultural studies and thereby rely on various methodological approaches, as well as theoretical perspectives. As described the theoretical view in this paper, is mainly reflected by a historical analysis and an enhanced observation of scientific papers on the issues of identity, Hellenism, and folklore in the context of nation-building. Therefore, "the combined use of ethnographic and historical strategies in investigating dance as embodied cultural practice"[195] is necessary.

Therefore, methods of cultural anthropology and other social sciences are useful to proof arguments discussed by the theoretical and historical background. Also, those approaches allow to generate potential new theories or solutions for observed problems of societies.

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[195] Buckland, Theresa Jill (2006a). Dancing from Past to Present: Nation, Culture, Identities. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, P. vii.

Secondary analysis of existing research data has a high potential and allows to add a "new perspective to existing data"[196] or focus on data that have not been fully considered yet. The literature on the development of a Greek society and Greek narrative is broad, therefore, the existing scholarly papers on the definition of "Greekness", the history of Greek folk dances, and the connection of identity and cultural practises, are re-observed to reflect the importance of traditional folk dances nowadays for Greek people.

English or German secondary data on the history of Greek dances and Greek traditional dance costumes, are limited so far. Since, identity and nation-building are connected, an interdisciplinary approach allows also to consider existing papers from related disciplines like political science, anthropology, sociology, musical sciences, and ethnography.

By criticising all other methods, than the historical approach to explain cultural events, Paul (1920), points out, that those sciences are "normative sciences", since the researcher is valuing previous cultural achievements.[197] While more modern approaches count historical sciences to „problem centred research", it is necessary to update methodological approaches to the given situations.[198] Historical sciences and in general humanities have been historicised in the past years. The main obstacle of historical sciences has to be to "develop plausible narratives of historical events that help situate the cognising subject temporally and causally".[199] This cannot happen in a completely objective manner, rather historians need to bear in mind of their way how they produce narratives. Historians have to be aware of their subjectivity and also about them producing their own data. It is wrong to assume that data exist per se- they are considered to be data, when observed by a historian. "Every interest in knowledge, every source, every text to be written is as original and individual as the

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[196] Lewis, Jane (2003). Design Issues, in: Jane Ritchie / Jane Lewis (eds.) Qualitative Research Practice. A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: SAGE Publications, P. 61.
[197] Paul, Hermann (1920/2014). Aufgabe Und Methode Der Geschichtswissenschaft. Berlin: Celtis, P. 18.
[198] Tschiggerl, Martin / Walach, Thomas / Zahlmann, Stefan (2019). Geschichtstheorie. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, P. 3. See more information on the major changes in historical methodology (historicism, poststructuralism etc.) P. 3ff.
[199] Ibid. P. 5: […plausible Narrative historischen Geschehens zu entwickeln, die helfen, das erkennende Subjekt zeitlich und kausal zu situieren].

person behind it."[200] For this reason the used data and material are carefully proven, and their purpose explained. It is important to keep in mind, that historical sciences are more, than reproducing historical facts.[201]

Through observing dance by *ethnographic and historical methods*, different spheres of space and time get on the surface. While the ethnographer is working in the field and sources are created by systematic approaches of the people dancing in the present, the dance historian relies on the archive as the main source, which have been created by others. Hence, the target group differs. The ethnographer "investigates the customary dance practises"[202] of many people, such as ethnic or cultural groups, while the dance historians search for innovative activity in dance companies or individuals. Nowadays this distinction is not that strict anymore and a combination of synchronic and diachronic perspectives is more usual in dance research. Both approaches are in various disciplines, such as anthropology, ethnology, cultural studies, sociology, folklore studies, social and cultural history among others.[203]

To test the described paradigms and perceptions, primary sources of the International Folklore Dance Festival in Lefkada[204], sources of the Dora Stratou dance ensemble, as well as secondary literature are used. Other examples that show the use of dances for identity or nation building are expressed. Those are certain commercialized dances, like the Sirtaki dance or a political song, using the image of unification in the Cretan uprisals. An analysation of the historical evolvement of Greek folklore dances also allow to understand the background of those developments. In that way it will be possible to detect the (mis)use of dances for identity-politics or for cultural reasons. It allows to diverge which of those traditions are invented or constructed and which derive from local habits or are even part of a cultural heritage preservation. An interesting aspect is the role of Philhellenism and modern Greek identity today. Therefore, also an empirical part will enrich the given data.

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[200] Ibid. P. 7.
[201] Ibid. P. 8.
[202] Buckland (2006b). P. 3.
[203] Ibid. P. 3f.
[204] Pnevmatiko Kentro Dimou Lefkados (2021). Διεθνές Φεστιβάλ Φολκλόρ Λευκάδας.

Empirical research constructs or observes data by observation, measuring or data collection. Its main aim is to understand the observed object better and generate generally applicable theories. The motif of the researcher hereby is to offer possible solutions for a given problem, they observe.[205]

Ethnological field research, as part of empirical research, is a major method in ethnology or cultural and social anthropology. It Is a reflective, planned approach with the goal of collecting data in the field, and thus working in a purposeful manner.[206] Often used ways to collect data in this way, are fieldwork, participant observation[207] and structured interviews. Field research thereby is carefully planned and a reasoned approach, as well as theory based. The holistic focus is additionally to put the single problem in context with other cultural circumstances. Personal experiences in the field or restudies are usually not to be considered.[208]

Still, an innovative part of this paper are the observations and experiences by the author during her stay on the island of Lefkada from August 2013 to September 2014 and about 4 months during 2015. Methodological approaches of field research and participatory observation[209] are going to be reflected. An important advantage (or disadvantage?) of this stay is, that the author was not aware of this methodological and theoretical background and was approaching dances led only by cultural interest.[210] Instead of an answer to a certain research question, the main aim was to fully integrate in the local community Hereby the common aspect of "going native"

[205] Heesen, Bernd (2021). Wissenschaftliches Arbeiten. Methodenwissen für Wirtschafts-, Ingenieur- und Sozialwissenschaftler, 4rd edition, Berlin: Springer Gabler, P. 5f.

[206] Beer, Bettina / König, Anika (2020). Methoden ethnologischer Feldforschung, 3rd edition, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, P. 9.

[207] Hauser-Schäubling, Brigitta (2020). Teilnehmende Beobachtung, in: Bettina Beer and Anika König (eds). Methoden ethnologischer Feldforschung, 3rd edition, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, P. 35.

[208] Beer and König (2020). P. 11.

[209] "The term 'going native' refers to the danger for ethnographers to become too involved in the community under study, thus losing objectivity and distance." See: O'Reilly, K. (2009). Going 'native', in: K. O'Reilly. Key concepts in ethnography. London: Sage, pp. 88-92; Crain, Caleb (2005). 'White Savage': Going Native, in New York Times; Whyte, William (1996/1943). Die Street Corner Society. Die Sozialstruktur eines Italienerviertels, 3rd edition, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter; Tresch, John (2001). On Going Native: Thomas Kuhn and Anthropological Method, in: Philosophy of the Social Sciences 31(3), pp. 302-322.

[210] Whyte (1943) wrote about this: "I was in the field for 18 months before I knew where my research was taking me". I don't know yet how my impressions and material can be used, since I definitely was "going native", when I was living on the island. Still, the data is at least of some interest to have a precise documentation about the events and impressions.

happened accidentally or better said, intentionally, but without knowing the limitations brought to science in that sense.[211]

An Ethnologist doing fieldwork has to fulfil certain criteria: based on a research interest and research question, the researcher chooses a field and stays there for a longer-time (minimum one year) and learns their language. The person additionally takes actively part in the local social life:

> *"Participant observation is understood to mean the willingness to enter the field of investigation with one's skin and hair, so to speak, with one's entire physicality and senses, but also with one's personal subjectivity and sensitivities."[212]*

It aims to fully understand the field and sometimes bears emotional obstacles, that the researcher must deal with. Since participatory observation[213] in contrast to laboratory experiences does not have the advantage of objective and verifiable results, restudies are a means to proof the results of a field researcher.[214] What remains is the urgent need of a fieldworker to obtain a high level of language skills. According to Widlok (2020), language is a means of methods, but while ethnologists agree on the importance of language skills, few fieldworkers can communicate in the local language

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[211] O'Reilly (2009). The described impressions should not portray a touristic experience on a holiday, but rather interesting insights of cultural differences and similarities, as well as educational aspects. Also, this work was made after almost 9 years of reflecting the stay in the field from various aspects.

[212] Hauser-Schäubling (2020). P. 35. Dt. [Unter Teilnehmender Beobachtung versteht man die Bereitschaft, sich sozusagen mit Haut und Haaren, also mit seiner ganzen Körperlichkeit und seinen Sinnen, aber auch mit seiner persönlichen Subjektivität und seinen Befindlichkeiten in das Untersuchungsfeld hineinzubegeben.]

[213] The founder of the participant observation Bronislaw Malinowski wrote in his book "Argonauts of the Western Pacific" (1922) about a local village and took part in their everyday routines. The main difference to fieldwork until then, was that he made it by an intern view (participatory) instead of an "armchair ethnography". Living in the field and learning the local language are essential parts of Malinowskis ethnographic methods. Malinowski made anthropology a broadly known scientific genre and gained high public interest. He became to be known as the founder of ethnology. Critics arose about his way of romanticising in descriptions and his suggestive authentication with his stay as an "adventure". Half a century after he died, his diaries were published and gave an insight in the problems on site: home sickness, loneliness, boredom, self-doubts, as well as anger about certain events with the islanders turned the image of the "perfect methodological approach" and his self-description of a "gap" between him as a researcher and the local people. For that reason, he has been both: the founder, as well as the end of the so-called classical epoch of modern ethnology. See: Ayaß, Ruth (2020). Bronislaw Malinowski, in: Samuel Salzborn (ed.) Klassiker der Sozialwissenschaften. 100 Schlüsselwerke im Portrait, 2nd edition, Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien, P. 97; Malinowski, Bronislaw (1922). Argonauts of the Western Pacific. An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea, London: Routledge; The sociological equivalent of Malinowski is the Street Corner Society of Whyte (1996).

[214] Hauser-Schäubling (2020). P. 35.

without the help of translators or the use of lingua franca.[215] Human interaction is influenced by dialogues. Here the "culture of praxis" comes into effect. Leaving the text-based interaction, the focus of field research should be the linguistic exchange, especially to understand how certain rites emerged. Studying a language is a lifelong process. The suggested approach thereby is not to appropriate linguistic skills of whole grammars, but to integrate linguistic tools in ethnological research.[216]

Researchers are obliged to follow ethical standards and conduct responsible research.[217] Here, a major concern of the author is not to embarrass the mentioned clubs and groups. As Herzfeld (2003) puts it, people were afraid that he would "embarrass the nation through revelations of such disreputable".[218] Therefore, it is necessary to state, that all mentioned events and impressions made by the author must be read in context and not quoted a single line for a statement. Historical developments have influenced the perceptions of most Greek people and modern Greeks usually are not performing dance in a nationalist manner. The aim of this work is to detect the roots of identity issues, reflect perceptions of othering and to prevent future clashes, by showing historical developments. It must be said in that context, that the "tension between the goal of a national culture and their [the folklorists] pride in local specificity" is not easy to balance. Due to the young age of the author, also her personal curriculum was strongly influenced by the "social logic" of the "classical Greek spirit" on site. While localism can deepen national sentiments, also the opposite can happen, such as the "reappropriation of culture for the purposes of local resistance to dominant national agendas".[219] The former could be observed by the author herself, while the latter clearly came at stake when the economic crisis was at its height. The "cultural intimacy" (Herzfeld) in that sense will be protected as much as possible. Therefore, no names or pictures of people are shown.

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[215] Widlok, Thomas (2020). Zur Bedeutung der Sprache für die ethnologische Feldforschung, in: Bettina Beer / Anika König (eds.) Methoden ethnologischer Feldforschung, 3rd edition, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, P. 77ff.
[216] Widlok (2020). P. 89.
[217] Dilger, Hansjörg (2020). Ethik und Reflexivität in der Feldforschung, in: Bettina Beer and Anika König (eds.) Methoden ethnologischer Feldforschung, 3rd edition, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, P. 288ff.
[218] Herzfeld (2003). P. 284.
[219] Ibid. P. 285.

*"The researcher has the dilemma of choosing between a reflexive
attitude and involvement. Should he/she remain an objective analyst,
aiming to understand and explain the existing reality, or should
he/she try to influence cultural life patterns, interests, expectations
and system of values?"*[220]

Field research is a planned, structured approach with the main aim to collect data.[221] Having notes, video, and photographic material, as well as a scientific background now, allow the author to rewrite impressions and observations. After studying modern Greek studies' issues like European philhellenism or the dogma of "continuity"[222], also the taking part as the "Greek girl"[223] in a Viennese Greek dance club[224], will add some individual experiences which one the one hand confronts those dogmas, by not being an ethnic Greek, and on the other hand, challenges the philhellenic narrative Western societies grow up in, by detecting historically wrong perceptions.

Since folklore is changing very quickly, the research and documentation of the existing cultural reality is very important.[225] Another aspect is the management of data. Often discussed is the possibility for restudies and therefor to publish collected data on publicly available platforms. Dilger (2020) questions the necessity of students to fulfil this requirement, but to use them in a responsible manner.[226] For the aim of utmost objectivity and methodological clearness, the field experiences of the author will not be considered as a major empirical result of the analysis but are mentioned in footnotes. The review by *restudies* did not take place yet and bear disadvantages or influences according to the author: first, a restudy will take place under scientific

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[220] Giurchescu (2001). P. 119.
[221] Beer and König (2020). P. 9.
[222] Glytzouris, Adonis (2010). 'Resurrecting' Ancient Bodies: The Tragic Chorus in Prometheus Bound and Suppliant Women at the Delphic Festival in 1927 and 1930, in: The International Journal of the History of Sport 27(12), pp. 2090-2120; Hamilakis, Yannis / Yalouri, Eleana (1996). Antiquities as Symbolic Capital in Modern Greek Society, in: Antiquity 70, pp. 117-129; Kousouris, Dimitris (2021). Bibliographischer Essay, in: Maria A. Stassinopoulou (ed.) François Hartog: Das antike Griechenland ist die schönste Erfindung der Neuzeit, Gunnar Hering Lectures 3. Göttingen: V&R unipress, pp. 37-46; Mackridge, Peter (2008). Cultural Difference as National Identity in Modern Greece, in: Katerina Zacharia (ed.) Hellenisms. Culture, identity, and ethnicity, from antiquity to modernity. Burlington: Ashgate Variorum, pp. 279-320; Vakalopoulos, Apostolos (1968). Byzantinism and Hellenism. Remarks on the racial origin and the intellectual continuity of the Greek Nation, in: Balkan Studies 9, pp. 101-126.
[223] Because I can speak Greek and was dancing with a semi-professional group in Greece.
[224] O Vrakas (2021). Griechischer Tanz- und Kulturverein.
[225] Giurchescu (2001). P. 119.
[226] Dilger (2020). P. 290.

measurements, rather than a simple observation of a non-scientific person and is therefore difficult to compare with a non-scientific approach. Second, the circumstances on site have changed. Greece in 2013 was in the middle of the financial crisis and many people on the island had lost their jobs. A general dissatisfaction and mistrust in European exchanges was mainly caused by the ongoing events. Third, the personal reflexion of the author plays a major role in the perceptions at the time. This is an impossible factor to reconstruct. Therefore, the participation and observation of the author can rather be conceived as a report, in the tradition of ethnologists. Without previous research the collected material was lost as "memories" of "summers in Greece", neglecting their scientific worth for cultural studies. Its quality and relevance to answer the research question will be carefully proven.[227]

Photos and video material[228] will be evaluated according to questions of their construction of reality. What do videos or photography's tell about the individual perceptions of identity? Why has the material been taken in that time, context and who is pictured? What is left out or missing? What impressions were relevant for the author before getting to know scientific methods or aspects of modern Greek history and culture? How can they be reflected now? Those questions follow a "subversive reading" of film, where the interpretation lies on the author. It is also influenced by the concept of reality of the author.[229]

"What the ethnographer does at the word processor and what he or she does in the field have a meaningful interaction."[230]

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[227] Lewis (2003). P. 61.

[228] A personal data collection (records) of a dance festival in Greece give insights in the question of the importance and perception of dances nowadays in more traditional areas in Greece. They have been recorded in the summers of 2013, 2014 and 2015 and other parts the years after. Since the participant observation of the author was not planned as such and therefore does not fulfil the consensus, the material will not be published openly. Also, for legal rights, the photographic and video material cannot be published, for not having the agreement of all pictured people and since it is impossible to reconstruct them. Interested researchers can contact the author for accessing the material for scientific reasons.

[229] Denzin, Norman (2000). Reading Film – Filme und Videos als sozialwissenschaftliches Erfahrungsmaterial, in: Uwe Flick, Ernst von Kardorff, and Ines Steinke (eds.) Qualitative Forschung: Ein Handbuch. Reinbek: Rowohlt, pp. 416-428.

[230] Wolfinger, Nicholas (2002). On writing fieldnotes: collection strategies and background expectancies, in: Qualitative Research 2(1), 86.

4. Greek identity between Hellenism and nationalism

This chapter deals with the questions of what "being Greek" means in a historical context[231], and what defines Greekness.[232] Modern Greek identity[233] was not a given thing, and the years around the independence war were important for the development for a Greek (national) consciousness.[234] Supported by the ideals of Hellenism and Philhellenism[235], Greek identity was a historic evolvement of the new state of Greece after the war of independence.[236]

4.1. Continuity

Within the (modern) Greek scholarly debate, there are two opposing theoretical positions regarding the self-designation *Hellene*: those that consider a latent cultural continuation of Hellenism since antiquity to be a fact and those that are convinced that (a Greek) nation and nationalism are no older than the late 18th century at the earliest, and thereby a modern phenomenon.[237] This is in line with the described theories of primordialism and social constructivism on the origin of nations.

There are many examples, that continuity between the "national resurrection" and classical antiquity was not a given thing. The Lefkadian author Spyridon Zampelios (1815-1881), for instance, wrote 1852 about the time gap between both periods, that someone would hopefully close the gap with the historical pieces. Therefore, history

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[231] Livanios (2006); Kitromilides (1989); for a comprehensive overview of Greek identity over time see: Katsiaridi-Hering, Olga / Papadia-Lala, Anastasia / Nikolaou, Katerina / Karamanolakis, Vagelis (2018). Ελλην Ρωμηός Γραίκος. Συλλογικοί προσδιαρισμοί και ταυτότητες. Athens: Eyrasia.

[232] Kanatsouli and Tzoka (2005); Archakis and Tzanne (2009); Karpouzou (2017); Veikou and Triandafillidou (2002); Angouri (2012).

[233] Zelepos (2002); Mackridge (2008).

[234] Zelepos, Ioannis (2005). „Phönix ohne Asche". Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos und die Entstehung einer griechischen Nationalhistoriographie im 19. Jahrhundert, in: Markus Krzoska (ed.) Beruf und Berufung. Münster: LIT, pp. 191-215; Veloudis (1970); Vakalopoulos (1968), Giannakopoulos, Angelos (2004). Tradition und Moderne in Griechenland. Konfliktfelder in Religion, Politik und Kultur. Frankfurt am Main: Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften.

[235] Mackridge (2008).

[236] Carastathis, Anna (2014). Is Hellenism an Orientalism? Reflections on the boundaries of 'Europe' in an age of austerity, in: Critical Race and Whiteness Studies 10(1), pp. 1-16; Clogg, Richard (2013). A Concise History of Greece, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Kitromilides (1989); Livanios (2006); Todorova, Maria (2009). Imagining the Balkans. Oxford, New York: Oxford UP..

[237] Beaton (2007). P. 77f.

is part of the nations mission.[238] This "making of national history" was made in consecutive stages and through a series of historiographical, political, and ideological debates.[239]

An interesting approach is the postcolonial turn of modern Greek sciences. It longed for a decolonialisation of scientific approaches of modern next to ancient Greece.[240] Because in that context the construction of an ever given "Hellenic nation", as a means of Greece's continuity, was a dogma also for Greek traditions, whether it is music, dance, or other cultural aspects. While parts of the Greek identity were (politically) constructed[241], and even historiography was motivated by a political will[242], it is important to detect the role of (invented) traditions[243] regarding the cultural identity today.

4.2. Hellenism

Hellenism is a product of the Renaissance and closely linked with revival. Three concepts of time were introduced in the Renaissance: ancient, medieval, and modern time. Every major historical event until Romanticism therefore has been received as a revival, which supported the myth of historical renovation. Thereby the national narrative is constructed, and Greeks had to internalize their relationship to antiquity. Apart from genealogy the classical antique also offered an ideal model of organizing society.[244]

The "Hellenization of the Eastern Roman Empire"[245] was happening in steps. Attributions, such as "Greeks" or "Turks" are often used in a today's nation-state

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[238] Liakos, Antonis (2001). The Construction of National Time: The Making of the Modern Greek Historical Imagination, in: Mediterranean Historical Review 16(1), P. 31.
[239] Liakos (2001). P. 32.
[240] Kousouris (2021). P. 43.
[241] Katsiardi-Hering (2020).
[242] Karaiskou (2015); Kousouris, Dimitris (2015): Kollaboration und Geschichtsschreibung in Griechenland, in: Chryssoula Kambas (ed.) Die Okkupation Griechenlands Im Zweiten Weltkrieg. Köln, Wien: Böhlau, pp. 160-186.
[243] Hobsbawm (1983a, b); Mangan (2010); Roudometof (1998). P. 429.
[244] Liakos (2001). P. 30.
[245] Livanios (2006). P 36.

sense. Thereby the Ottoman Empire is often equated with "Turkish Empire".[246] Concerning "the Greeks" a similar homogenisation occurs. But, who were these Greeks? When scientific works refer to Greeks, it must be clear that neither Greece nor Greeks, "in the sense of a group identified by that name", existed at that time.[247] The appropriation of the "turkokratia" (e.g. Turkish occupation) was a problem for Greek historiography: on the one hand it was supposed to be a "passive period of slavery", and on the other hand it was "mythologized as the cradle of national virtues."[248]

4.2.1. Hellene vs Roman

Therefore, it must be asked, how the inhabitants of the former Ottoman Empire, did call themselves and how they identified themselves. In this context, numerous studies were conducted that examined the terminology and self-designation of the Greeks in pre-national-state contexts along the centuries.[249] The deliberate reintroduction of the ancient term "*Hellene*" (Έλληνας) as a self-designation of the Greeks was analysed based on written mentions in original documents. The temporal framework for the research on self-designation is the "long twelfth century" (1071-1204), the 14th/15th century and the period around the independence movement at the end of the 18th,

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[246] Other misleading terms used are: "ruled by the Turks", "Turkish rule", "Τουρκοκρατία", "Turkish yoke", "Turkish occupation etc. Livanios (2005). P. 35.

[247] Livanios (2006).

[248] Liakos (2001). P. 37.

[249] During the 12th century the term "Hellene" had no ethnic component but was used by scholars to describe themselves. Most likely it was equated with "Roman" (Ρωμαίος = Romaios, i.e., Byzantine). There are indications of a possibly ethnic consciousness-raising during the 12th century, which might have been based on language (literary educated expressions) and origin. Nevertheless, the term in no way replaced the self-designation Roman. Beaton (2007). P. 87-93.
Increasingly in the 14th and 15th centuries, some scholars used the term Hellene instead of Roman. Until then, the term Hellene meant the same as "pagan" (i.e., heathen), and thus referred to the ancient Greeks. He stated that he will never be a Hellene, see: Livanios (2006). P. 38.: " [...] ουκ αν φαίν ποτέ Έλλην είναι".
This comes from the fact that the ancient Greeks, calling themselves Hellenes, were pagan in the Byzantine sense, as they were not Christians. Livanios (2006). P. 37f.; Beaton (2007). P. 80.
The philosopher, Georgios Gemistos (Plethon) may have been one of the first to call the Greeks Hellenes, who as a race were characterised by their language and (ancient) education, perhaps also because he himself was a pagan and could thus more easily break with the religious meaning. The first post-Byzantine patriarch during the Ottoman occupation Gennadios Scholarios, on the other hand, refused to call himself a Hellene (i.e., pagan). Nevertheless, he made a connection to the ancient Greeks (= the Hellenes) when he used the term Romans, by calling the Romans "the children of the Hellenes" (Ελλήνων γαρ παίδες) and the homeland "Greece" (Ελλάς). Livanios (2006). P. 38.

beginning of the 19th century until sovereignty in 1832, as well as the period after sovereignty.[250]

Beaton (2007) doubts that the Byzantines were "proto-nationalists" or formed the basis for later national consciousness. He sees no continuity between Hellenism in the 15th century and the Hellenism of the Enlightenment in the 18th century.[251] It was only with the provisional constitution in 1822 that modern Greek consciousness became a topic by the designation of "*Hellenes*" in the constitution and the associated connotation of continuity with the ancient Greeks. The people we would call Greeks nowadays, did not call themselves Hellenes even at the beginning of the 19th century, but continued to call themselves *Romans*. This was also customary in the Ottoman Empire under the Millet system. There, these people were called Romioi/Rum, i.e., Romans as well.

By searching for the reason of Byzantine Greeks referring to themselves as *Romans*, a new theory is announced: it views Byzantium as a nation-state of the Romans, inherited by different cultures and ancient Greeks.[252] Still Hellenism remains a huge historical category difficult to define, depending on which terms are used for categorizing it. Kaldellis (2007) gives an overview of Hellenic identity in Byzantium and what it meant to be Greek during that period. Supposedly because he differs between the continuity of practise (ancient evidence of different social or linguistic practises) and the continuity of identity, those definitions diverge. Kaldellis points out, that historians are not able to detect the Hellenic "essence" by finding certain proof in history, but to find out *why* they said certain things or *what* they meant with it. In the past scholars have mistakenly tried to proof the underlying Hellenic "essence" in Byzantium through "Byzantine claims of Hellenic identity".[253] He states that there are differences between biological continuity, cultural profiles, and national identity. Contrasting Beaton (2007), he dedicates a main part of her book to the

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[250] Beaton (2007). P. 77.
[251] Ibid. P. 94f.
[252] Kaldellis, Anthony (2007). Hellenism in Byzantium: the transformations of Greek identity and the reception of the classical tradition. Cambridge: UP; Kaldellis, Anthony (2015). The Byzantine Republic: People and Power in New Rome. Cambridge: Harvard UP.
[253] Ibid. (2007). P. 8.

"protonationalism in the thirteenth" century.[254] He believes that the distinction between Roman Republic and Byzantine Empire is misleading,[255] because the supreme authority was based on the people.[256] Critics oppose that only two times in 700 years revolts led to the deposition of an emperor, which leads to the impression of "limited ability to exercise sovereign control over the imperial office". Also, the political participation in that time is questionable, since most people learnt of a coup only months later. It was more a result of power networks and shifting loyalties, than intrinsic motivation of power control.[257]

4.3. Nation building

The self-perception of ethnic differences within this community can be diagnosed from the language differences and the associated self-definition in scholars' publications and dictionaries. Linguistic distinctions were made between Greeks, Albanians, Vlachs and Bulgarians. The first evidence of this were the dictionaries of the Albanian lexicography Theodoros Kavalliotis (1770) and Moschopolis (1802). They offered the opportunity to "Hellenise" themselves, i.e., to approach Greek linguistically and culturally. Ethnic definitions were above all products of the new ethnography.[258]

Finally, Dimitrios Katartzis (1730-1807), a Greek Phanariot, brought the connection between enlightenment, language and nationality by considering the different Greek dialects as a means of communication, and because of their similarity to classical Greek, regarded it as a superior language. He was also probably the first to use the Greek word for nation "ethnos" (έθνος) to describe a collectivity (language and cultural heritage)[259] and in the modern sense of "nation". He stressed that even "we descendants of the Hellenes" could not deny that (ancient) Hellenic prosody (verse theory) had been forgotten and could no longer be understood by the Greeks.[260]

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[254] Ibid. (2007). P. 8.
[255] Ibid. (2015).
[256] Stouraitis, Yannis (2016). Review: Kaldellis (A.) The Byzantine Republic: People and Power in New Rome. Cambridge: Harvard UP, in: The Journal of Hellenic Studies 136, P. 296.
[257] Ibid. P. 297.
[258] Kitromilides (1989). P. 153.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Beaton (2007). P. 80f.

4.3.1. Greek romanticism

Modern Greek consciousness most likely began to arise around the period of the constitution of Epidaurus in 1822, when the inhabitants of the new state were officially named Hellenes.[261] Rigas Velestinlis (Feraios) (1757-1798), one of the leading rebels, who published the 1st article of the new constitution of Greece in 1797 in Vienna, included all the different "races".[262] He pointed out that all "heirs of the Hellenes", all Rumeli-people, whether they were Bulgarians, Albanians, Vlachs, Armenians, Turks and all other sorts of human, were part of the new state.[263] Anyone could become Greek who professed the principles of the republic; that is, identification with history back to antiquity. Citizens were thus people who spoke Greek, were Christians or saw themselves as friends of Greece. Being Greek was thus a matter of conviction and choice.[264] The "Hellenization of the Romioi" sums up the ideological meaning of the 1790s. According to Beaton (2007), this is also visible in the translation of the French Philhellene Byron, of the war song "Δέυτε παίδες τών Ελλήνων"[265] of Rigas Velestinis, which implied a descent from the "ancients", creating a biological discourse.[266]

In Greek Romanticism from the mid-19th century onwards, Zampelios and the historian Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos (1815-1891)[267], portrayed Byzantium as the medieval phase of the "Hellenistic nation". This was justified by the mentioned self-identification of some Byzantine scholars with the term Hellene.[268]

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[261] Ibid.

[262] Beaton (2007). P. 82; Pheraios, Rigas (1757-1798/2010). Die Revolutionsschriften/TA ΕΠΑΝΑΣΤΑΤΙΚΑ, in:, Dimitrios Karamperopulos (ed.) Die Revolutionsschriften: Proklamation Der Revolution; Die Menschenrechte; Die Verfassung; Thurios. Athens: Wiss. Studienges, P. 61.

[263] Pheraios (1757-1798/2010). P. 61. See also: Beaton (2007). P. 82.

[264] Beaton (2007). P. 85.

[265] Byron translated it to „To you sons of the Hellenes, show yourselves worthy of your fathers", [originally: "Auf ihr Söhne der Hellenen, zeigt euch eurer Väter werth"]. See: Ortlepp, Ernst (1839). Lord Byron's sämtliche Werke. Nach den Anforderungen unserer Zeit neu übersetzt von Mehreren. Lyrische Gedichte 1, Erster Band, Stuttgart: Hoffmann'sche Verlags Buchhandlung. P. 201.

[266] Beaton (2007). P. 80f.

[267] Zelepos (2005). P. 191; more about the difficulty of periodization: Katsiardi-Hering / Heppner, Harald (2020). Umrisse und Periodisierungsprobleme südosteuropäischer Geschichte. Ein Gespräch, in: Sigfried Gruber / Dominik Gutmeyer / Sabine Jesner / Elife Krasniqi / Robert Pichler / Christian Pomitzer (eds.) From the Highlands to Hollywood. Multidisciplinary Perspectives on Southeastern Europe, Wien: Lit Verlag, pp. 373-380.

[268] Livanios (2006). P. 36.
The Greek author and reformer of Modern Greek literature, Adamantios Korais (1748-1833) was not entirely stringent in his usage of those terms, for example, in his revolutionary letter he called for the

Paparrigopoulos was given the title of the "national historian" by creating the grand narrative of continuity in his publication "History of the Greek Nation".[269] Still, appropriation of the past takes time: Byzantium was legitimized in the end of the 19th, beginning of 20th century. The theory of unity was transferred from political history to linguistics and folklore. Hellenism hereby got into a historical order from ancient Hellenism, over Macedonian, Christian, Medieval to Modern Hellenism. In that matter the relation of those Hellenisms to the nation are important. Liakos (2001) states that Hellenism and the Greek nation are still not congruent, and it has become an ethnocultural definition where Greek identity has been purified of foreign elements.[270] Here the orientalist methods have been used for "westernization".

Clearly a different perspective is offered by Kaldellis (2007). He points out, that Byzantium is Western per definition, but has been viewed oppositely. As Western he uses three factors to define the Western civilization, all important for the Western use of "Hellas". Including those nations to the West, which are convinced that their ideals and culture derive from Greek literacy and philosophy, follow Roman laws and system of governance and are Christian, this could be the "essence" of the West. In that case Byzantium is Western, although perceived as an oriental Other. He further evaluates that Byzantine Hellenism is unpopular, by being reduced to manuscripts and atticizing prose.[271]

> *"For the past 500 years the West has imagined its relation to ancient*
> *Greece as a dynamic and vitally intellectual one, but even recent*
> *work continues to cast Byzantium not as a genuine participant but*

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freedom of the "Hellenic race" and in other places referred to contemporary Greeks as "Graekoi" (Γραίκοι = Greeks), who were descended from Hellenes. Beaton (2007). P. 79ff.
The "Hymn to Freedom" (today's national anthem) also spoke of descent. Beaton (2007). P. 84. [«Απ' τα κόκαλα βγαλμένη, των Ελλήνων τα ιερά, και σαν πρώτα ανδρειωμένη, χαίρε, ω χαίρε, ελευθεριά!»]
It reflected the image of the heroic Greeks who fought and struggled through the ages. According to Dionysios Solomos (1798-1857), a poet from Zakynthos, the Greeks were directly related to the ancient Greeks because of their engagement in the war of independence. „[…] the heirs of the Hellenes". Beaton (2007). P. 84f.
Andreas Kalvos (1792-1869) described at the same time that the fusion of the "'Hellenes' as ancestors" and the "'Hellenes' as the newly designated citizens of the emergent state" was complete. Beaton (2007). P. 85. These linguistic developments, however, continued to affect mainly intellectuals.
[269] Liakos (2001). P. 33. Thereby Paparrigopoulos left his mark on the interpretation of history, as a series of events which happened to the nation. He takes the existence of "the nation" for granted and puts it over the historical process. Secondly, the national history has to be selected to guarantee "national truth". See: Zelepos (2005). P. 193ff.
[270] Liakos (2001). P. 35.
[271] Kaldellis (2007). P. 1ff.

*only as the caretaker of the classical tradition for the ultimate benefit
of the West, its 'true' heir."[272]*

Contrary he states that the classical tradition was impossible to re-discover, since it was never lost. In that sense *Hellenism*, meaningly the reassessment of the Hellenistic period, became the symbol of the keeper of Christianity and an imperial ideal. Liakos (2001) expresses how the national narrative of the different periods emerged and changed. While appropriating the Macedonian and Hellenistic periods showed national supremacy during the 19th century, the Hellenistic period became a different attribution, due to German historiography. Thereby it could become the "predecessor of Christianity":

*"[…] since the concept of 'Hellenism' as a cultural construction of
western civilization was restricted by philhellenes to the revival of
modern Greece, the rejection of Byzantium along with all the other
historical periods between the classical age and the Greek revolt in
1821 was unavoidable".[273]*

The reason why continuity was important for national historiography is, because it embodies the active memory, which cannot accept temporal discontinuities.[274] Additionally, it shall guarantee historical existence of the Greek nation. Zelepos (2005) hereby refers to a "phoenix without ashes", because Paparrigopoulos argues with the resurrection of Greece (phoenix myth), while on the other side defending the unbroken continuity since antique times, which is a contradiction.[275]

In that context the *irredenta* are also an important part of the inhabitants of the new state. Irredenta, are those social groups who only became Greeks through self-definition. Those were for example regions with a completely different historic development, such as the Ionian Islands, the Aegean Islands, Crete or parts of Thrace. All of them became integrated into the Greek state. To identify with the state, the Greek-speaking Orthodox were socialised, such as Albanians, Slavs, Vlachs or Turkish-speaking Orthodox. They adopted new identities and their self-definition as Greeks can also be seen as a protest towards the Ottoman oppressors and the hope for

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[272] Kaldellis (2007). P. 4.
[273] Liakos (2001). P. 32.
[274] Ibid. P. 28.
[275] Zelepos (2005). P. 201.

redemption.[276] The "obsession" of the Great Idea emerged only after 1839, when the Ottoman Empire was weakened by the clash of Muhamad Ali and the Sultan. The following wave of optimism led to the idea of a reconstitution of the Byzantine imperium.[277]

4.3.2. Philhellenism

Also, European Philhellenes motivated Greeks to see themselves as inheritors of the classical times and based this on geographical and linguistic arguments. Aristocratic tourists like Lord Byron, who visited Greece in the early 19th century, called for a revolt against the "Turkish rulers". Thousands of foreign "lovers of Greece" (= Philhellenes) supported this thesis, not because they were familiar with Greece or knew anything about its inhabitants of the time, but because of the "ideal" of classical Greece and what it stood for in the West.[278] Behind this idea also lay an perception that Western countries like Germany had to turn to the ancient Greek only to fully become the ideal of the Humboldtian humanism. So one of the paradoxes of philhellenism was, that on the one hand it served nationalistic means, while on the other hand, it was "inevitably opposed to certain forms of nationalism".[279]

The reason of why Philhellenes chose classical Greece as an idol, was based on linguistic and cultural reasons, because they could have also admired other ancient empires such as Babylon, Egypt, China and so on. While obviously the Philhellenic cultural project was based on racism, militarism and other dangerous ideologies, the Greeks could also be framed in a different perspective. Most (2008) here mentions a model of cosmopolitanism and tolerant interculturalism of people who build a national

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[276] Kitromilides (1989). P. 177. Only a few years later this irredentism, mainly supported by Kolletis "French party" should turn this viewpoint to the "indigenous movement". The members of this party, mainly former bandits and warriors viewed themselves as the "true" Greeks and therefore did not want the Westernized Greek elites to occupy posts in the civil sector. See: Roudometof (1998). P. 434.

[277] Politis, Alexis (2021). The Greek 'Great Idea' of Irredentism Up Against a Defunct Philhellenism (1850–1880), in: Concepts and Functions of Philhellenism 7, P. 262.

[278] Holst-Warhaft, Gail. (1992). Dangerous Voices: Women's Laments and Greek Literature. London, New York: Routledge, P.301ff.

[279] Most, Glenn (2008). Philhellenism, Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, in: Katerina Zacharia (ed.) Hellenisms. Culture, identity, and ethnicity, from antiquity to modernity. Burlington: Ashgate Variorum, P. 158.

culture by "opening themselves up to, adopting, and transforming foreign influences".[280]

Besides this idea, Greeks were views as transcendent and almost godly. The important criteria therefore were not political, but aesthetic with a "supreme artistic value of the works of Greek literature from Homer to Aristotle".[281] What was forgotten is, that most of the inhabitants of Greece at the time were impoverished citizens with oriental customs and religion, and a language that was not classical ancient Greek.[282] The intellectuals of Greece were confronted with a large rural population:

> *„The unlettered peasantry presented a potentially embarrassing contrast to the idealized image of Greece which the European supporters of Greek nationalism- the philhellenes, as they are so aptly named- had entertained for so long."[283]*

The Philhellenes, therefore sought a way to fix Greece's position in Europe and thereby overcome the dichotomy between glorious antiquity and the actual status. They succeeded in this by means of folklore, which they turned into a political project.[284] Also, the Greek intellectuals put effort in educating the peasanty on how to be Greek, by establishing a modern Greek identity at different levels of society. Those aspects will be discussed in the next chapters.

4.3.3. Making of a Greek identity

The question of Greek identity was only politically relevant in the late 18th century, due to the societal and political situation in the Ottoman Empire and the European enlightenment. The Greek language was the major trades language and the entrance to education and social advancement. This set the basis for the Greek national uprisal towards the "Turkish jock" and Greek identity issues first became relevant. In that

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[280] Ibid. P. 158f.
[281] Ibid. P. 159.
[282] Holst-Warhaft (2002). P.301ff.
[283] Herzfeld (1986). P. 6.
[284] Ibid.; Holst-Warhaft (2002). P.301ff. Philhellenism declined from the mid-1830s onwards. Due to Politis (2021). P. 269, this was the case because European sympathies shifted towards the Bulgarians. Mainly this was caused by the bad administration in Greece and the remaining claim of territory. In opposite the evolvement has led to an increase of anti-Europeanism on behalf of the Greeks.

context two narratives reflect the points of reference. First, the classical antique, symbolized by Athens and second, the Middle Ages, symbolized by Byzantium and Orthodoxy. Both models coexisted and were emphasised regarding the needs.[285]

After the 1832-period, during the kingdom of Greece diverging developments between modernization and local conservatism arose. Roudometof (1998) calls it a schism between the Romaic and Hellenic identity, where he refers to the former as the local Orthodox and more conservative ones and the latter the "Westernized" parts of the nation. While the intelligentsia and regency followed philhellenic ideals, the peasantry was focused on religion. Until the establishment of nation-state thinking, identity was defined by religion.[286]

> *„Most Greek-speakers in that period continued to refer to themselves, as we have seen, as 'Christians' or 'Romans' and had no conception of a 'Greek' nation."[287]*

Various written examples show the importance of Orthodox religion, but also how it slowly lost its unique status of being the only identifying measure of Greekness. Livanios (2006), mentions the Byzantine scholars who emigrated to Italy and converted to Catholicism. Suddenly, one could be Catholic and Greek at the same time. "Being Greek" was thus unmistakably linked to Orthodoxy. Interestingly the Catholic population of the Aegean islands refused to fight against the Ottomans because for them Catholicism was more important than nationalism or language. For the Orthodox of the island, this was proof that they were not Greek. One bishop stated: "lack of Orthodoxy leads to lack of 'Greekness'". In the newly established state, the Aegean's refused to pay taxes. Then, in 1823, the Minister of the interior declared that only barbarian nations would put religion above their nationality.[288]

> *„Early modern Balkan society, as it was politically unified by the Ottoman conquest and culturally homogenized by the Orthodox Church, was ideologically and psychologically held together by the bonds and traditions of eastern Orthodoxy."[289]*

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[285] Zelepos (2002). P. 267f.
[286] Roudometof (1998). P. 431f; Livanios (2006). P. 38f.
[287] Livanios (2006). P. 45.
[288] Livanios (2006). P. 38-43.
[289] Kitromilides (1989). P. 151.

Even if religious unity existed broadly in the Balkans, with few exceptions, as mentioned, this should not be confused with uniformity. There were certainly different customs, regional fragmentation, social forms of household organisation, language or division of labour. However, these cleavages did not have a "national" content until the 19th century. "For the peasants, religion remained the only form of collective identity they could make sense of."[290]

What followed the independence, was the nationalisation of religion, with churches declaring themselves independent in order to be controlled by the nation-state, as the patriarchate was now on "foreign" soil.[291] Therefore the regency tried to install a state-sponsored church following the German example. In that way the state gained control over church activities. This was perceived as an attempt to convert people from Orthodox to Protestants or Catholics. Therefore 1854 the ministry ordered to read religious books in schools and in 1856 religious education became a state responsibility. Only a year later students had to attend church every Sunday. Priests were allowed to practise as teachers and in between 1874-1877 the public education was turned over to the clergy.[292]

"Out of this redeployment of Orthodoxy rose the need to reconcile the Byzantine- Orthodox tradition with the Western idea of a secular Greek identity."[293]

Jurisdiction was another tool in the process of nation-building. Even if jurisdiction could not address every offence (e.g., banditry or corruption), it was an effective means of making the two integrative and homogenising mechanisms (military and primary school) compulsory (for all men) and legitimised it by nationalist rhetoric.[294]

"The extension of state control over society through the centralization of power, the destruction of local autonomies and the expansion of the bureaucracy were based on these mechanisms of national integration."[295]

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[290] Livanios (2006). P. 45f.
[291] Ibid. P. 64-67. Roudometof (1998), p. 432 writes, that the Patriarch was a "civil servant of the Ottoman state".
[292] Roudometof (1998). P. 432-35.
[293] Ibid. P. 436.
[294] Kitromilides (1989). P. 164f.
[295] Ibid. P. 165.

Other means of political leaders to enhance Greek identity, was the military. The cultivation and unification of national identity, as part of the process of nation-building, presupposed those social grievances would be improved and the question of integrating the partisan fighters from the war of independence would be resolved. Through the common mentality and shared attitudes regarding the nation state, even ethnic differences and social backgrounds between the fighters could be overcome.[296]

Three important aspects for a nation-building process can also be observed here: firstly, the idea of the Greek national army was propagated and carried outside the kingdom. Secondly, the Greek army members were Hellenised by having a common social experience, which thus became a shared identity. Moreover, they learned Greek during the process (not all were native speakers). And thirdly, the sense of *home* was strengthened by people moving from one region to another within the country. By migrating within the area, geographical mobility became tangible, and the homeland could be "experienced" outside one's own villages, islands or regions.[297]

Besides the military, the national identity was strengthened with the educational system. "Hellenic schools", which taught ancient Greek, were one of the main ambitions of the new state. Apart from language and literature, basic knowledge and practical applications were also taught, which were necessary in an agricultural state like Greece. But not only the army had to be linguistically homogenised: within society, too, different dialects were spoken[298] and the linguistic diversity, as well as non-Greek speaking population, became a more homogenous society through school education. To legitimise this society, nationalism was the most effective medium supporting the normative discourse.[299]

"For more than a century, Greek schoolbooks have stressed the
unbroken continuity and diachronic homogeneity of Greek civilization

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[296] Ibid. P. 155-163.
[297] Ibid. P. 155-163.
[298] This was taken up satirically in the play "Babylonia" by Demetrios Vyzantinos in 1836. Effective communication between the politicians was portrayed as almost impossible. See: Kitromilides (1989). P. 164.
[299] Ibid.

and culture, with the result that Greeks tend to believe without question in this construction of Romantic national historiography."[300]

The installation of the first university in the Balkans, the University of Athens, fulfilled two state goals: filling state offices and acting as a transmitter of Western culture to the East. The university ideologies quickly became the intellectual models of Greek nationalism. Since the university included emigrant Greeks from the beginning, the university became a symbol of national unity for Greek refugees from independence. National unity was based on the social level of homogenisation, the geographical unity of Hellenism and on the historical level, the continuity of the Greek nation over the millennia. This "concept of unity" (Greek nationalism) was the basis of the ideological construct of national unity, which, at least on a theoretical level in Greece, can be described as quite successful.[301]

A major part of building a Greek identity, was to differentiate of the former Ottoman Empire and to exclude all oriental influences possible. Whether in music[302], or in language, or other aspects of life, henceforth a distinction between Greek and Turkish was made. Carastathis (2014) analysed the Hellenistic perception of Western Europe under the eyes of Oriental perspectives. She argues that the function of Hellenism of the European fantasy and western hegemony, both have Orientalist structures. In Said's definition Oriental are those, who are constructed as Oriental from outside of the Orient, e.g. from Europeans. Orientalism was also important to distinct between the Occident (the West). "Orientalism constructs clear lines and boundaries between Occident and Orient, West and East". An Orientalist logic therefore can help to deconstruct interpretations of Said, which "ascribe false racial, cultural or economic unity to 'Europe'".[303] Still, "the West and the Orient are usually presented as incompatible entities, antiworlds, but completed antiworlds". Greeks tend to say they

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[300] Mackridge (2008). P. 303.
[301] Kitromilides (1989). P. 166-186.
[302] Pennannen (2004); Levidou, Katerina (2020). A Museum of 'Greekness', in: Polina Tambakaki /Panos Vlagopoulos /Katerina Levidou /Roderick Beaton (eds.) Music, Language and Identity in Greece. Defining a National Art Music in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. London: Taylor & Francis, P. 190.
[303] Carastathis (2014). P. 1f.

go to Europe, when meaning France or Italy. And Greeks are perceived as oriental in many ways, but their orientalism is not Asiatic.[304]

Argyrou (1996) questions to use the term "Westernization", as it implies that there is a Western cultural entity, of "which the rest of the world can be classified and evaluated". She stresses that this completes the "process of essentializing the Other", whether it is the orientalisation of the Middle East or the mediterraneanization of Southern Europe.[305] Up until today the Balkans are perceived as the "other" of Europe.[306]

Greece has always been geographically and historically between East and West. During the centuries of nation building an individual identity was necessary. Greece therefore often relied on the idea of classical times. This ideal was constructed during the 17-18th century by Western Europe, which is why it is an Orientalism on its own in Carastathis argument. Said on the other hand believed himself that oriental states were not civilised enough and that they want to develop in a European manner. Carastathis argues, that Hellenism as a term was constructed by Europeans and not by Greeks themselves. The images of undeveloped and uncivilised Greece thereby came up to the surface again during the economic crisis.[307]

In the middle of the 19th century, the framing of the national identity was between modern and traditional aspects. Either, as a differentiation towards the Muslim Orient, by focusing on the classical antiquity or towards the Latin West by toning the byzantine, orthodox tradition.[308]

After the destruction of the Ottoman Empire the logical heirs appeared to be the Greeks, and the Greeks also expected leadership for all Orthodox people of the former empire. The Bulgarian national revolution demanded religious autonomy and

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[304] Todorova (2009). P. 16.
[305] Argyrou, Vassos (1996). Tradition and Modernity in the Mediterranean. The wedding as a symbolic struggle. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, P. 153.
[306] Todorova (2009). P. 3.
[307] Carastathis (2014).
[308] Zelepos (2002). P. 85.

a recognition of their people and thereby challenged the basement of Greek identity.[309]

Whereas before 1913 people with a non-Greek language could also be Greeks, this now changed for those who could not speak the "national" language. In the interwar period, minority languages were not tolerated in any of the Balkan countries.[310] On the basis of the Greek language, attempts were made to create national definitions in South-Eastern Europe, which were established with the means of the Enlightenment. From an originally united community of Orthodoxy in the Balkans and the religiously defined millets, an uncertain world of still immature "linguistic" nations emerged.[311] This immature nation needed a collective identity and common cultural values, habits and customs.

4.4. Culture building and traditions

Cultural value and (ethnic) identity are tied together. Ethnic cultural identity is experienced by both, the group and the individual and thereby often reflects the groups value system.[312] Thereby some values provoke similar reactions, feelings, and attitudes and in in addition they are aware of those shared ideas. In that sense it can be spoken of "collective identity" or "collective consciousness".[313] The concept of personal cultural systems here builds a bridge between the "group value systems (or traditions)" and "attitudes and tendencies of individuals". Further, the human

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[309] Ibid. P. 86f; It broke up the institutional religious community in the Balkans. The churches were now national affairs and priests began to talk about the emerging nations. The patriarchate resisted phyletism in the church, but had long since lost that battle, as it had a century earlier with Western, liberal ideas. From 1870 onwards, the Bulgarians proclaimed that members of the exarchate were "Bulgarians" and Athens replied that only those who remained faithful to the patriarchate were true Greeks, if not by language, then at least by national sentiment. Livanios (2006). P. 64-67.
Here a change from religion as the only way of identity to nationalism as identity is clearly visible.
[310] Livanios (2006). P. 67.
[311] Kitromilides (1989). P. 151.
[312] Smolicz (1981). P. 85; Further information about the construction of a National Culture in Turkey: Öztürkmen, Arzu. (2012). Dancing Around Folklore: Constructing a National Culture in Turkey, in: A Companion to Folklore 1, pp. 305-324.
[313] Smolicz (1981). P. 85.

individual then choses values from the group and adds them into one's own interests.[314]

In the uprising state of Greece these group values first needed to evolve. Therefore, folklore was used politically by scholars and skilfully employed for the resistance against Ottoman rule in the war of independence. It was also a chance to spread Greek culture and enhance the demography. Those who did not speak Greek and thus did not belong to the community could become members of the nation if they adopted the language and culture. Those groups who could be used as potential recruits in the struggle for independence were the target of *cultural Hellenization*.[315]

Folklore created a special image abroad, which is why cultural issues were attributed a high political value. To fulfil the philhellenic ideologies, one would have to be able to prove that the peasant inhabitants of the country were in direct descent with the ancient Greeks. Moreover, one could have counted on European support for the emerging nation-state, as it would then be historically justified. Based on this question of legitimacy of the new state, academic research in the field of folklore gained domestic as well as foreign interest.[316] With a hesitant beginning, the genre was included in Greek literary research with increasing self-confidence, improvement of methods and systematisation.[317]

> *„The attitude of folklorists who first studied Greek songs, music and dance was not unique to Greece, but it had a special resonance in a nation where the attempt to establish a continuity of culture with the past was so heavily invested."[318]*

The "science of Politis",[319] *laography*, therefore structured previously collected material.[320] These developments were particularly marked by influence from abroad and can be understood as a response to numerous comments and criticisms from

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[314] Ibid. P. 86.
[315] Kitromilides (1989). P. 155-163.
[316] Puchner (2020) has also shown that the comparative studies on modern Greek culture focused for instance the collections of folk songs of the 19th century. Some of them were based on a historical background and therefore had been used for the continuity theorem. It seems to be impossible to either proof their historical continuity, nor to deconstruct it. Puchner (2020). P 249ff.
[317] Herzfeld (1986). P. 6f.
[318] Holst-Warhaft (2002). P.303.
[319] Politis, Nikolaos (1914). Εκλόγαι από τα τραγούδια του ελληνικού λαού. Athens: Estia.
[320] Beaton (1980) P. 10.

external ideologies. Most of the reactions and activities in Greek laography took place after Fallmerayer's thesis.[321] As a response to this national trauma, motivation for Greek scholars rose to resolve the internal questions of their culture. "Historiography and folklore studies represented the two main areas where unity and continuity were to be found".[322] Greek folklorists tried to explain their national culture in this setting, filtering "relevant" data and omitting others to respond to ideological needs. Their methods and associations are crucial for understanding the ideological development of Greece in the first years of its independence, as well as the complexity of Greek culture today.[323] It is therefore important to look more closely at the history of music[324] and the relationship of music, dance and song to the developments of Hellenism as a symbol of identity and historical memory[325], since most results of folklore studies after Fallmerayer's publication and the 20th century tried to prove him wrong. The Greek Romanticism that followed the Enlightenment and authors like Korais, saw the nation as an "eternal static entity" instead of a process.[326]

During the war of independence against Ottoman rule, many distanced themselves from the Oriental elements in their culture. The Greeks were quickly overshadowed by Western culture after the revolution and, in response, proudly sought to emphasise their own national culture. They therefore tried to cover up their "primitive elements". Greek nationalism therefore tried to ascertain the "true" character of Greece.[327] This thinking is also relevant today when it comes to religious questions in Greece.[328]

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[321] See chapter 2.
[322] Roudometof (1998). P. 437.
[323] Herzfeld (1986). P. 8f.
[324] See more about studies of popular music in Greece: Tragaki, Dafni (2018). Made in Greece: Studies in Popular Music. Milton: Routledge.
[325] Holst-Warhaft (2002). P.305f.
[326] Roudometof (1998). P. 437.
[327] Holst-Warhaft (2002). P.308.
[328] Oppositions from Greeks to establish a mosque in Greece derive from the connection of "Islam with the Ottoman occupation of Greece from 1453 to 1821". Mackridge (2008). P. 300. An interesting thought is also the orientalist interpretation of Hellenism. The Western view of Greece nowadays is not anymore, the opposite of the orientalist culture, but often perceived from an orientalist perspective per-se, meaningly Greece to be the "exotic" other. See more: Carastathis (2014).

4.4.1. Greek identity today

As Paparrigopoulos had left a gap in the national time, Konstantinos Dimaras (1904-1992), a modern Greek scientist and literary scientist, offered to fill the gap of the time during the Ottoman occupation by the term "Neohellenic Enlightenment". Thereby he suggested an active role during the Ottoman period and integrated this time to the national history. Dimaras narrative deconstructed the elements of nation-building by focusing on the role of intellectuals, social mobility and communicative networks, while still fitting into Paparrigopoulos "national time" scheme. Another writer, Ioannis Svoronos (1863-1922) focused on social realities instead of political and cultural events during the revolution in a Marxist way.[329]

Through the experiences of the resistance against the German occupation[330] which reminded of the resistance during the Revolution and the change in literature and popular art during the interwar period (Generation of the 30's), history and aesthetics became popular, as well as modern Greek history was re-read. Greeks had become the "victims of foreign intervention". The frustrations by the imposed regimes were influenced by the "Marxist and imperialist spirit of the time." The search for "Greekness" in the authenticity of the tradition also included history "as a part of the aesthetic canon".[331]

> *"The modernist poetry of Yannis Ritsos, George Seferis, and Odisseas Elitis and the popularization of poetry through the music of Mikis Theodorakis and Manos Hatzidakis in the postwar period spread this sentimental affection for national history."[332]*

In the post-war period it was difficult to oppose the official historiography without suffering legal consequences. Only in the 1990s began a deconstruction of the national narrative, and criticism of the national ideology.[333]

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[329] Liakos (2001). P. 38.
[330] For more information see: Kousouris (2015).
[331] Liakos (2001). P. 39.
[332] Ibid.
[333] Ibid. P. 40.

"[…] the structure of national time elaborated over the past two centuries persists in the public use of history and in historical culture".[334]

Even more important it seems to detect the roots of culture-building and traditions in Greece, since still criticism of the national narrative is not very welcome in everyday life Greece.

Orientalism also plays a major role in modern Greek identity perceptions. There are some ideas building the basement for a history of various failures: the first, is that the modern state had been weakened in its state structures from the very beginning, because of the potential hostility towards education on behalf of the Ottomans. A motif in this rhetoric is, that Greeks had been cut of violently of the cultural development of Western Europe. Also, the Greek elite was devaluated as a product of oriental structures. Hereby the oriental occupation is views as a leadership of corruption, suppression, and despotism. Historical proofs which neglect this perspective, are ignored. The Muslim and non-Muslim elites have been interwoven and a local self-government system was developed. It was the basis for the later revolutionary ideas of the modern state. When the Barbarians constructed the Greek state, they could fall upon already existing structures.[335]

Another dogma of modern Greek consciousness is that of oriental political clientelism. Those structures of clientelism were supposed to be transported after independence and therefore blocked a "European" development of a functioning society. It has been proven that clientelism appears independently of cultural roots all over the world. Also, it is questionable, whether party-clientelism which is common since 1974 (end of military dictatorship) relies on an oriental heritage of culture of Ottoman times. This is why Zelepos (2018) questions the use of terms such as "political culture" or "mentality", without bearing in mind historical changes and their different aspects.[336]

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[334] Liakos (2001). P. 40.
[335] Zelepos (2018). P. 78ff.
[336] Ibid. P. 84ff.

Still today, Greek identity is torn between East and West. Sutton (1994) found that the relationship between "tradition" and "modernity" is the "most significant moral issue" today. Comparison between islands and the image of what the others are or not play a major role and is part of competition and othering. Also, various prejudices between islands and elsewhere occur. Usually those are concerning European tourism and linked with characteristics of sexual permissiveness. It is claimed that women of Kos and Leros are promiscuous, while people from Kalymnos are less passive (e.g., the men allowing such behaviour), due to their history of resistance towards Italian occupation.[337] On the other hand people from Kalymnos are perceived as wild, barbaric and backward. "Kalymnians see the "Europeanization" of the other islands with certain irony".[338]

The image of a collective cultural identity has roots in the past, just as the Greek self-perception of being European. Mackridge (2008) focused on the image projected to the "outside world" by nowadays Greeks. They still see themselves as descendants of the cultural ancestors who "laid the foundations of European civilization". "Modern Greeks tend to be seen – by themselves as well as by others – in relation to the past." This notion got more obvious when Greece became a member of the European Union. It led to a crisis of the Greek national identity. Identity in that context was a means to avoid homogenization and being the only Orthodox Christian member state until 2004:

> *"One's identity has two facets: how you see yourself in relation to*
> *others, and how others see you in relation to themselves."*[339]

The distinctive features, as Mackridge (2008) calls them, distinguished Greece from European and Balkan countries. Some "objective features" of identity, as he states, are language, the alphabet, religion, and economics, which make Greece unique in its position in the EU. Greek as a language is the only one with "such an old and continuous literary culture", and it was the language in "religion, administration, commerce and high culture" in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Until

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[337] Sutton, David E. (1994). "Tradition and Modernity": Kalymnian Constructions of Identity and Otherness, in: Journal of Modern Greek Studies 12(2), P. 245.
[338] Ibid. P. 248f; See a woman from Kalymnos in figure 29.
[339] Mackridge (2008). P. 297.

2004 Greece was the poorest country of the European Union. Another distinctive feature is that Greece has not been a communist country, the only Eastern European country in the EU.[340] The next features, are stressed by the Greek intelligentsia, like the ancient-, Christian-, and Byzantine heritage, as well as the Greek language. Unique aspects are the different alphabet, the "unbroken literary tradition since Homeric times", the classical literature and philosophy, the liturgy and the New Testament, as well as the passing of Christian culture to the Slavs by translations from Greek and the Cyrillic alphabet based on the Greek one.[341]

Those sources of pride, as Mackridge (2008) claims, sometimes even lead to the feeling of superiority, besides of uniqueness. Other distinguishing factors have been played down and negated by the Greeks. Undoubtedly, there is a major impact from the Frankish and Ottoman periods, but according to Mackridge, those have been ignored and erased by Greek historians, by establishing myths like the "secret school".[342]

Additionally, the "image of cultural homogeneity" seems to be important for expressing Greek culture, by the unawareness of nowadays Greeks of their fellow (native) citizens of Vlach, Slavic, Roman, Protestant, Muslim, Jewish or Catholic descendance. Greece also has strong anti-American tendencies, as well as the "most mysterious terrorist organization", namely "November 17", in Europe.[343]

The identity-building as described by Mackridge (2008), happened in diverging areas. He explains the religious aspects, the role of the Athenian Acropolis, identity-building at the Olympic games, the Euro as a currency, the role of the church and nation, and lastly the ancient and modern traditions.[344] Exemplary they will be described, to understand how modern Greek consciousness was built.

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[340] Mackridge (2008). P. 299.
[341] Ibid.
[342] The "secret schools" were a myth that Ottomans forbid Greek schools and teaching Greek language, which is why, according to the story, students had to be taught in secret by local priests. Ibid.
[343] Mackridge (2008). P. 300.
[344] Ibid. P. 301-318.

Regarding the ancient and modern tradition, the author states that Greek national identity is a very fragile subject and supposed to be threatened from external factors like American popular culture, the EU, multiculturalism, cultural relativism, or immigration, which made about 10 per cent of the population in 2008 and is supposedly higher nowadays. Apart from Classical, Byzantine, and Christian features, Greeks also like to promote Greek folk dances, for example on their postage stamps in 2002, which should state regional variety of Greek culture. "Dance and music are among the most characteristic features of modern Greek identity".[345] Other examples on how tradition and history are not objectively selected, were for instance a statement of a Greek politician in 2001, saying that Greece had the longest democratic tradition in the world.[346] Classical Greek civilization has been instrumentalized for identity ideologies. It builds the base for the Greeks uniqueness and superiority which has been taught over years in schools. It is a sensitive issue of being people "without a past" or still owning a common cultural heritage. Since the classical civilization had lost its "object of worship", Greeks needed to "rebrand themselves"[347] and found a perfect opportunity with the Athens Olympics from 1896, being again hosted from Greece in 2004.[348]

The Acropolis in Athens is a rather interesting case to observe the evolvement of identity issues in modern Greece. During Christian times the Parthenon was transformed into a basilica and after the conquest of Athens by the Ottoman in 1456, it was converted into a mosque.[349] From 1834 onwards, the Parthenon was declared

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[345] Ibid. P. 317.

[346] Ibid. P. 318. This of course is historically wrong, since apart from four centuries Ottoman Empire, also in modern history Greece had been a kingdom and had a military dictatorship until 1974. Historic facts have also been neglected by highlighting only certain aspects as the Major of Athens, Dimitris Avramopoulos (*1953), did, by saying that athletes of the Olympic Games had been competing in the stadium of Athens since 400BC, while in fact the stadium was empty and filled with ruins until 1896.

[347] Ibid. P. 309.

[348] Ibid. P. 311. Therefore, the mascot of 2004 had been based on two prehistoric dolls and named after the gods Athena and Phoebus. The trend of using prehistoric symbols instead of Classical ones should show that the ancient is a precondition for the modern. So, most of the symbols used in the Olympic Games of 2004 were related to ancient times, and not to medieval and modern times. Some other symbols used were the victor's olive wreath expressing a connection to ancient Greeks, as well as a symbol from Judaism and Christianity. Also, the closing ceremony was held at a night with full moon, as descriptions of the first Olympic Games tell.

[349] Because it was also used as an ammunition store, it was attacked by the Venetians in 1687. This laid a free way for Lord Elgin for the removal of the famous Greek marbles. It has to be noted, that the locals did not react, but Lord Byron wrote his poem "The Curse of Minerva" on this event. Throughout

a monument from ancient times and was cleared from all "unwanted constructions", as Mackridge writes. The minaret was removed in 1842 and interestingly also the Byzantine walls were removed in 1862. The destroyed Temple of Victory was restored in 1836. All "remains of barbarity" were erased, as Leo von Klenze (1784-1864), the chief architect of Kind Ludwig 1, stated. The classicist Mary Beard (2002) called those restoration events "archaeological cleansing" and highlighted that "almost all the traces of the Christian/Byzantine and Muslim/Ottoman history of the Acropolis have been removed."[350] This purification of the Acropolis comes in the same line, as

> *"the Greek consciousness, and the official version of the Greek language were all stripped of material that was considered to be alien to the ancient heritage, while new material confirming the ancient heritage was added to supplement what remained of the old."[351]*

Undoubtedly besides those attempts of "anapalaiosi" (making something old again), the renovations (making something new again) had also been criticized by the poet Kostis Palamas (1850-1943), who described it as barbarism to change monuments. Still, modern Greeks come in "direct contact with ancient culture" like nowhere else, besides the city of Rome, when for example building a metro in Athens and walking on human civilization which is over 3000 years old.[352]

Just as described in the theoretical approach, Greek identity can be viewed from two perspectives: the one is how Greeks see themselves and how they try to build a connection to antiquity in many cultural aspects. The other one is, that all the modern Greek perceptions on traditions are invented. Mackridge (2008), sums up:

> *"According to this view, their heritage was already there, waiting to be discovered. According to the opposite view, modern Greeks invented their tradition by an act of self-assertion, positioning themselves deliberately as the heirs of Classical and Byzantine culture."[353]*

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the centuries some changes had been made on the Acropolis, like the addition of the "Frankish tower" or the covering with soil to promote vegetation.

[350] Ibid. P. 306. Quoted from Beard, Mary (2002). The Parthenon. Wonders of the World. Harvard: Harvard University Press, P. 102.

[351] Ibid. P. 307.

[352] Ibid. P. 308.

[353] Ibid. P. 319.

5. "National" Greek dances- constructing a tradition?

The main aim of this chapter will be to clarify, to what extend Greek "traditional" folk dances have been a heritage from the past, and how intensive the construction of a tradition was made to proof the continuity of the Greek folks since ancient times.[354] One difficulty at the beginning is to define folk dances. Nowadays various unprecise names have been given to them: national, primitive, traditional, popular, ethnic, or vernacular dances. Usually all of them refer to the "old, rural, anonymously created and collectively performed" dances.[355] Pictures and the interpretation of visible material, to which also dancing counts, must be reflected not only once, but many times. An impression changes, and so does the meaning of the material.[356]

The question is when do customs end and traditions start? Compared with the history of fairytales, those have been standardized through the invention of the letterpress. Those tales previously had been told orally. Only some parts of cultural elements of the past had been taken and integrated to new parts to construct continuity. They have been taken out of context and were put in a row of continuity. During times when tales and dances still were a vivid custom, those already have been used for nationalistic purposes and thereby got a new meaning.

> *"As an act of culture-making, dance is by definition a co-constructed process. Acts of dancing are intended to be seen, heard, smelt and felt by others. They exist only through social engagement."[357]*

Dancing bodies within this context of transnationalism and globalization opens fundamental questions. First, where can culture be located empirically, especially when it is in the fields of moving bodies? Culture is not static, but changes over time.

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[354] Glytzouris (2010); Hamilakis (1996); Kousouris (2021); Mackridge (2008).

[355] Fakatseli, Olga (2006). Folk Life Museums and Their Communications with the Public, Dissertation. University of London, University College London: Dissertation Publishing, P. 59.

[356] For example, on photographic material the titles have been biased by a Western-ethnocentric viewpoint. "Less descriptive" , but more of travel experiences of the early ages have been quite common. See: Anastassiadis, Tassos / Korma, Lena / Korres, Manolis (2017). Athènes. Le regard de l`Armée d`Orient – Αθήνα. Με το βλέμμα της Στρατιάς της Ανατολής - Athens. Through the eyes of the Army of the Orient. Athens: École Francaise D´Athènes, Melissa Publishing House, P. 86f.

[357] Potter, Caroline (2012). Making Culture through Dance, in: Helene Neveau Kringelbach and Jonathan Skinner. Dancing Culture: Globalization, Tourism, and Identity in the Anthropology of Dance 4. New York / Oxford: Berghahn Books, P. 211f.

It is necessary to detect according to which political changes lead to cultural shifts. Additionally, the othering process is important once more. Concerning dance, who is the one creating culture, the "we" or "they"? This is "illuminating the relationship between (making) dance and (making) culture more".[358]

A focus is led on the foreign and Greek ballet dancers[359], that started to introduce "folk elements" in their performances.[360] The beginning of dance studies in Greece might give important insights too.[361] While local dances existed, also modern dance and ballet developed due to "external" influences changing or modifying traditions. Later, also modern choreographies adopted folk dances or reinvented "ancient dance". During the 20th century, ballet was reflected as an ethnic form of dance, identically with a high form of art. Thereby their field of study was "culturally codified human movement systems", whereas in European ethnographic study the focus was on "the dance of one's own culture". "European ethnographic study was the status of the past and its continuing relevance to the present".[362]

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[358] Ibid. P. 212.

[359] Gaines, Nicola (2011). Who and What Is Dalcroze?, in: Dancing Times 101, pp. 47-51; Glytzouris, Adonis (1998). Δελφικές Γιορτές (1927, 1939): η αναβίωση του αρχαιοελληνικού χορού στον «Προμηθέα Δεσμώτη» και στις «Ικέτιδες» του Αίσχυλου, in: Τα Ιστορικά 28(29), pp. 147-170; Duncan, Isadora (1902/1928). The Dance of the Future. Introduction, pp. 171-176; Leontis, Artemis (2008). Eva Palmer's Distinctive Greek Journey, in: Vassiliki Kolocotroni / Efterpi Mitsi (eds.) Women Writing Greece, Essays on Hellenism, Orientalism and Travel, Amsterdam: BRILL, pp. 159–184; Lykeio ton Ellinidon (2007). Istorika stoixia; Macintosh, Fiona (2010). The ancient dancer in the modern world: responses to Greek and Roman dance. Oxford, New York: Oxford UP; Seitz, Jay A. (2005). Dalcroze, the body, movement, and musicality, in: Psychology of Music 33(4), pp. 419-435; Simonson, Mary (2012). Dancing the Future, Performing the Past: Isadora Duncan and Wagnerism in the American Imagination, in: Journal of the American Musicological Society 65(2), pp. 511-555; Filippou, Filippos / Serbezis, Vasilis / Harahousou, Yvonne / Kabitsis, Christos / Koleta, Maria / Varsami, Dimitra / Varsami, Helene / Davoras, Demos (2006). The Folk Dance as Theatrical Performance and the Training of Dance Teachers, in: Arts and Humanities in Higher Education 5(1), pp. 51-63; Tsintziloni, Steriani (2015). Koula Pratsika and her dance school. Embracing gender, class and the nation in the formative years of contemporary dance education in Greece, in: Research in Dance Education 16(3), pp. 276-290.

[360] Kane, Barbara (2020). Vassos Kanellos (1880-1965), in: Isadora Duncan Archive; Kanellos, Vassos (1966). The Antique Greek Dance and Isadora Duncan illustrated (ΕΙΚΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΗΜΕΝΗ ΒΑΣΟΥ ΚΑΝΕΛΛΟΥ, Η ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΟΡΧΗΣΙΣ ΚΑΙ Η ΙΣΑΔΩΡΑ ΔΟΥΓΚΑΝ), Athens: Athinai.

[361] Barboussi, Vasso (2016). The Beginning of Dance Studies in Greece (1900–1974), in: Congress on Research in Dance, New York, USA: Cambridge UP, pp. 15-20; Tsouvala, Maria (2016). The State of Dance Studies in Greece, in: Congress on Research in Dance, pp. 401-407.

[362] Buckland (2006b). P. 6.

5.1. Classical dances/dance theatre

An important part in the historical development of Greek dances are the theatre festivals and the revival of Greek tragedy, as pictured by Michelakis (2010). Festivals "transformed the nostalgia for a lost order". The most important modern festival of Greek drama was held in 1876 and composed by Richard Wagner, in a German romanticistic spirit. The Zeitgeist (e.g., Wagnerism) was to "replace conventional opera with a new lyric drama". Followed by others in Western Europe Greek tragedy was for the first time since Renaissance used as a modern type of theatre, which aimed at nations instead of individuals and classes. Soon the success of those festivals was recognized by governments, such as the Italian Syracuse festival of Mussolini in 1925. The organization of the ancient drama in Sicily was made an official government organ in 1929 and used for political propaganda and to serve his populist and nationalistic ideology.[363]

The "Lyceum club of Greek women" was launched in 1911 by Kalliroi Parren (1861-1940), who arranged parades and traditional dances, which also were presented in ancient Greek themes. This was an expression to oppose the "xenomania" (embracing of foreign culture), and thereby focused on the cultural continuity and "reinforced national ideology". "Through the Lyceum, the woman's body had become the bearer of Hellenism".[364]

The Hellenistic clinch was also expressed by reinstalling the Delphic Festival in 1927 Eva Palmer (1874-1952), an American dancer and Angelos Sikelianos (1884-1951), a Lefkadian poet.[365] They started planning the revival of the cultural festival at Delphi from 1924 on. It first took place in 1927 and implied a great variance of the programme with sport, folk dances, weaving and crafts demonstrations.[366]

"The Delphic festival was an attempt to display the 'organic' relation
between the classical past and modern Greek folklore."

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[363] Michelakis, Pantelis (2010). Theatre festivals, total works of art, and the revival of Greek tragedy on the modern stage, in: Cultural Critique 74, P. 149-155.
[364] Barboussi (2016). P. 16.
[365] Ibid. P. 17.
[366] Michelakis (2010). P. 155; Glytzouris (1998). P. 148.

Placed in the new archaeological site of Delphi, in the middle of the landscape, the spectacle could become "the harmonic union of the spectator with the natural world and the ruins of the past".[367] Ancient Greek civilization, tragedy, Byzantine music and traditional folk arts were used as an inspiration. "Delphic festivals, related to the quest of Hellenism, identity, and connection with the ancient past",[368] until they were banned by the dictator Ioannis Metaxas, the later dictator of Greece. The festival won wide approval and "helped to crystallize a redefinition of modern Greek nationalism".[369]

> *"The revival of the tragic dance acquired an aura of 'resurrection', in the sense that it embodied a basic ideological component: the forging of Modern Greek identity upon alleged hereditary relations of 'affinity' between the ancient Greece and the Modern Greek folk culture."[370]*

Also, Isadora Duncan (1877-1927) had been an "advocate of the European neo-romantic movement" and saw the ancient and the modern man "as a product of nature" expressed through dance. But for Palmer this "did not refer to the prototype of archaic (or even classical) Greece".[371]

> *"More specifically, Palmer-Sikelianos, in full agreement with basic tenets of Greek folklore, claimed that the elements of ancient Greek dance were alive in the sense that they had been preserved since antiquity in the Greek countryside – which was supposedly unaffected by modern Western civilization. Thus, she argued, that in Greek villages, 'the dance rhythms are all ancient and unknown in European music'".[372]*

The village dances were worthy because of the "strength of the Greek tradition'" but lacked pantomimic. Therefore she put an emphasis on Greek vases and painting, which she called "the Apollonian movement in dance".[373]

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[367] Michelakis (2010). P. 156.
[368] Barboussi (2016). P. 17.
[369] Glytzouris (2010). P. 2102.
[370] Ibid. P. 2090.
[371] Ibid.P. 2094.
[372] Ibid.
[373] Ibid.

Isadora Duncan, a dancer who performed modern dance at the royal theatre in Athens, inspired other foreigners to come to Greece and introduced dance as an autonomous form of art. This form was supposed to be inspired by ancient dances.[374] She created a "new dance language, which expresses emotion through the body rather than narrating action."[375] Her main obstacle was to implement a modern form of dance instead of classical ballet. According to Duncan, ballet dancers were "deformed skeletons"[376] and the movements were "ugly and against nature". Duncan preferred a reconnection to nature, Grecian tunics[377] (light fabric), dancing barefoot, and saw idols in Greek antique dances[378] with the expression of Greek gods and Greek positions ("earth positions"), like on Greek vases and bas-reliefs.[379] She saw ancient dance "as a means of liberating the body and soul from the repressive forces of nature and society"[380] and from the harsh structures of the balletic tradition. Ancient Greece was a source of inspiration for modern dance since Duncan and Martha Graham (1884-1991) until today.[381] But still, this source of inspiration did not mean to "return" to classical times, as Duncan was aware that "we are not Greeks and therefore cannot dance Greek dances".[382]

A participant of the Delphic festival, Koula Pratsika (1899-1984), established the professional and modern dance studies in Greece. She studied at Dalcroze's School[383] in Luxemburg and returned in 1930. After opening her first dance school, she tried to develop a dance "reflecting Greek tradition, revitalized and encouraged by the ancient spirit", reflecting her being influenced by the Hellenistic ideology during the 1930s.[384] She was also interested in introducing folk traditions to the classical dance

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[374] Barboussi (2016). P. 16f.
[375] Zanobi, Alessandra (2010). From Duncan to Bausch with Iphigenia, in: Fiona, Macintosh (ed.) The Ancient Dancer in the Modern World: Responses to Greek and Roman Dance. Oxford, New York: Oxford UP, P. 236. Zanobi highlights details about the work of Duncan on Iphigenia on Tauris.
[376] Duncan (1902). P. 172.
[377] Simonson (2012). P. 511.
[378] Duncan (1902). P. 172: for Duncan, the natural dance movements were "transmitted to them (the dancers) through their ancestors".
[379] Duncan (1902). P. 173.
[380] Macintosh (2010). P. 2.
[381] Pagona, Bournelli (2008). Rallou Manou and Her Contribution to Modern Dance in Greece, in: Research in Dance Education 9(1), P. 67.
[382] Duncan (1902). P. 175.
[383] See more about Emile Jaques-Dalcroze and his ideas on the importance of rhythm for musical expression in the classical repertoire in: Seitz (2005).
[384] Barboussi (2016). P. 17; Hellenic Olympic Committee (2015). Koula Pratsika.

and her professional School of Dance in Greece taught within ancient texts, eurhythmics, anatomy etc. Her findings on folklore research were influenced by Nikolaos Politis. Performances at the Odeon of Herodes Atticus followed the doctrine of Metaxas of the "Third Hellenic Civilization". Although Pratiska considered herself apolitical, during the German occupation and the years after, her students met and studied the historical perception of Paparrigopoulos. In the 1950s when the 2nd Athens Festival took place, she danced along famous German artists and received negative reviews "concerning the fact that all participating artists were German".[385]

Pratiska's dance school was mainly reserved to "wealthy girls […] to attend music lessons, rhythmic gymnastics and dance." But society was negative minded concerning (modern) dance. This was mainly due to the opposition of the Orthodox Church. It was perceived as a contradiction towards the Hellenic spirit and perceived as lechery:

"In-between the wars and throughout the first decades after the war,
there was an emphasis on supporting and prolonging the ancient
Greek culture, embodying contemporary elements and avoiding any
kind of western influence."[386]

Together with Vassos Kanellos[387], a former student of Duncan, she also found another dancer believing in the real Greek spirit. Kanellos was convinced that the circle dances and songs reflect ancient dances based on the same rhythms and this "indigenous Hellenism" was a "survival of Greek culture through time". Also, the choreography of the Delphic festival included "poses and images from ancient iconography" and "exhibitions of folk art by local villagers"[388].

After World War 2, Ralloú Mánou (1915-1998)[389] founded the Greek chorodrama (=dance drama/theatre), which was based on ancient Greek literature.[390] The importance to focus also on (female) dancers as sources is described by Pagona (2008): "Only very few people in Greece could understand at that time the meaning of dance as an art and as a pedagogical tool":

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[385] Barboussi (2016). P. 18.
[386] Pagona (2008). P. 55.
[387] Kane (2020).
[388] Tsintziloni (2015). P. 278.
[389] Pagona (2008). P. 55.
[390] Manou, Rallou (1987). ΧΟΡΟΣ. «…οὐ τῶν ραδίων…οὖσαν τὴν τέχνην…». Athens: Gnosi, P. 11f.

*"It is necessary to take into consideration the difficult Greek political
and social conditions [for Manou] which had to do with Metaxa's
dictatorship, the Second World War, the civil war and the seven years
long dictatorship."[391]*

She went to dancing classes of Koula Pratsika and due to her talent Pratsika convinced her to study dance, not for "theatre", but for becoming an "actress". Independent as she was, she overcame economic difficulties by drawing Christmas cards and was granted a scholarship to study in Paris and then in Munich. Manou was very close with Pratsika, who send her Greek coffee "για να αισθάνομαι λίγο Ελλάδα (to feel a little bit of Greece) ". She returned and started teaching in Pratsikas school.[392] After leaving the school to help as a nurse in the war, close to Florina, she returned, but Pratsika hired Agapi Evagellidi. Therefore, she started to give her own lessons, first unpaid, but as she describes in her autobiography[393], she was admired from her students. Because she needed a bigger room for the lessons, she came to a tennis club and founded her amateur school in the Gymnasio there. With the help of her friend Giannis Ketseas, she could arrange to teach in an environment, far away from the German occupation. Then she started to teach beyond rhythmic-dance classes, Greek dances and theatrical dances also others and thereby got into a sort of competition with Pratsika, who changed her perception after seeing the first show held with 150 students of Manou. Pratsika was beyond exited according to Manou and wanted "all the parents to know about this school".[394] Her Hellenic Choreodrama was influenced by Martha Graham, an American dancer and founder of Modern dance, as well, but she did not imitate her. It was the first non-governmental dance company of Greece.[395]

*"Due to Rallou Manou's cooperation with various artists, the Hellenic
Choreodrama was founded, as the first non-governmental union of
dance."[396]*

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[391] Pagona (2008). P. 55.

[392] Manou (1987). P. 30f.

[393] She gives a lot of interesting insights into her life and on how she grew up. For instance, her father wished to have a son and therefore raised her in a strict way ("my daughter is not allowed ever to say 'I am afraid, hungry or cold'") and other information such as her step-sister Aspasia, who was about 20 years older, was married to King Alexandros who died young. See: Manou (1987). P. 15-27.

[394] Manou (1987). P. 31.

[395] Pagona (2008). P. 73.

[396] Ibid. P. 60.

Her approach towards traditional dance was of scholarly and ethnographic interest. "She was inspired by everyday life in terms of politics and political ideologies as well as themes which had to do with the Greek reality. Rallou Manou focused on the Greek character by using Greek elements and pictures. She turned her attention to folkloric and traditional art (for example rebetico and karagiozis)."[397]

"As a child, I dreamed that I would become a kind of Bouboulia
[female fighter in the war of independence] and save, more or less,
the whole of Greece from all their enemies"[398]

Clearly, Hellenistic ideas were the background of some developments, but the choreodrama was not misused for political causes. Rallou`s cousin Irini Nikoloudi influenced her regarding folklore, especially on Greek dances. Together they went around Greece to find dancers in the villages who would perform in Athens. Nikoloudi dedicated major works in the preservation, renewing and documentation of local traditional costumes.[399]

Manou states, that it appears to be the same elements of dances in antiquity, as well as now.[400] She questioned, which the roots of the Greek (folk) dances were, which their purpose was? "How did the Greek start to dance and why?"[401]

In the 1950s a new dance genre established. Professional state folk ensembles developed all over the world except for Western states and Japan. The ensembles became an important dance symbol. Those dance ensembles claimed to "present the most authentic choreographic products possible" by certain amounts of field research. Still, dance researchers have found a huge variation between this "carefully choreographed and staged genre of dance" and those "found among nonprofessional populations of villagers and tribes' people".[402]

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[397] Pagona (2008). P. 68.
[398] Rallou (1987). P. 13. [«Μικρή, ονειρευόμουν πως θα γινόμουν ένα είδος Μπουμπουλίας και θα έσωζα, ούτε λίγο ούτε πολύ, ολόκρηρη την Ελλάδα απ'ολους τους εχθρους τους»].
[399] Manou (1987). P. 76.
[400] Manou, Rallou (1983). Ο ελληνικος χορος χθες και σημερα, ERT AE; [18:34].
[401] Ibid. [2:25]
[402] Shay, Anthony (1999). Parallel Traditions: State Folk Dance Ensembles and Folk Dance in "The Field", in: Dance Research Journal 31 (1), P. 29.

Thereby the dance groups who tried to maintain authenticity are facing those, were folk dances have been 'balleticized'. According to Shay (1999), the folk-dance companies of "Igor Moiseyev", the "Reda Company of Egypt" and the polish "Mazowsze" are such examples. Their performances of dances do not have a "real connection to the dance in the field" and thereby he considers them as "invented traditions", just as Hobsbawm (1983a) described. In contrast, dance companies such as the "Croatian State Enesemble Lado" or "Dora Statou Dancers of Greece" are part of the former group. They are

> *"truly devoted to the inclusion of authentic elements of traditional*
> *life such as the use of musical instruments and vocal styles, costumes,*
> *and dance steps, movements, and the portrayal of customs and*
> *ritual."[403]*

5.2. Folk dances: roots of the past?

While expressionist dance or ballet were part of modern dance, folk dances are usually perceived as a cultural heritage from the past. Folklore dancers are performing a "living tradition", while performing or rehearsing folklore dances. But, when and where did those dances start? This question has been occupied either by nationalist rhetoric which used the cultural aspects for political reasons, or taken as a given fact in the present, without asking for the roots – "they were always there" as an answer serves at its best. It is difficult to "measure" in objective ways on how and when dances (or other cultural aspects) have been politically misused and to detect origins of cultural goods. This chapter will show some examples of folklore dances which seem to exist since "the past", by showing historical connections. It is important also to take a closer look at potential sources for proving historicity of dances. Further, those aspects will be put in context with political uses or social meaning.

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[403] Shay (1999). P. 30.

5.2.1. Social behaviour

An interesting insight on the behaviour and rules of the unmarried youth gives Kontomichi (2000), on how to behave in Lefkada, around 100 years ago.[404] A lot of rules, especially for the girls, on how not to meet boys, are defined:

> *"Young men and women in the villages do not have the opportunity*
> *to mingle and chat often, much less to become friends. The girl, in*
> *particular, must be careful not to give 'reason to gossip' about her in*
> *shops and in 'argatia' [weaving mill]. She should not stop on the*
> *street and talk to a young man from the village".[405]*

Marriage generally, portraits the most important thing in a life of a Greek at that time. The cost of a wedding is reconstructed from two handwritings of the 18th and 19th century[406] The Lefkadian bridal and everyday dress was quite similar in all the regions of the island, until from around 1920-25 the "European" [dresses] came to the city.[407]

A similar picture of the rural life in Epirus is given in the case study of Demas and Triantafyllou (1997). Due to the Ottoman occupation, a rural community, such as the village of Papadatai was isolated and therefore preserved very strict rules between male and female. According to them women called their husbands "afendi", which in today's sense means "master".

> *"If they [engaged couple] met accidentally in the street, the girl*
> *would have to change direction in order that they not even greet*
> *each other. In that way they avoided any gossip".[408]*

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[404] The average age of the youth to get married was 18-25 years and the bride had to leave her home and her village, to move to her groom. While Kontomichis (1999) highlights, that Saint Sauveur who was in Lefkada around 1795, wrote that the Greek girls get married at 15 and with 25 years they appear like elders with many wrinkles. Kontomichis, Pantazis (1999). Ο λευκαδίτικος γάμος. Λαογραφικά Λευκάδας 6. Athens: Grigori, P. 15.

[405] Kontomichis (1999). P. 11: [«Οι νέοι αι οι νέες στα χωριά δεν έχουν την ευκαιρία να σμίγουν συχνά και να κουβεντιάζουν, πολύ περισσότερο να γίνονται φίλοι. Η κοπέλα, ιδιαίτερα, πρέπει μα προσέχει, να μη δίνει αφορμή «να την κουβεντιάζουν» στα μαγαζιά και στις αργατειές. Δεν πρέπει να σταματάει στο δρόμο και να μιλάει με ένα νέο του χωριού.»]. Also, she must walk modest and slow. She is not supposed to "show off" her chest, and her dress must be closed to hide her neck. Behaviour, speech, sympathy for others who are poor and unhappy are expected. See: figure 30.

[406] Ibid. P. 119ff.

[407] Ibid. P. 9. More about the Lefkadian wedding can be seen in the video material of Katopodis, Spiros (2022). ΧΩΡΙΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΓΑΜΟΣ 1975 ΚΑΡΥΑ ΛΕΥΚΑΔΑΣ CHORIATIKOS GAMOS 1975 KARIA LEFKADAS, and Zampelis, Nikos (2022). Ο Χωριάτικος Γάμος στη Καρυά Λευκάδας.

[408] Demas, Elias S, / Triantafyllou, Angelike (1997). The Kanghelari Dance as a Means of Communication in the Village of Papadatai in Epeiros, Hellas, in: Dance Chronicle 20(3), P. 279.

Due to better transportation and communications over the years, the villagers got in contact with "the life and customs of urban centres". Even though the old community of the village does not exist anymore and rules, as well as normative standards towards male community members have changed, the dance of "Kanhghelai" still acts a means to "bind community together on special occasions".[409]

5.2.2. Sources

While art can be exhibited in galleries or museums, dance as a vivid cultural phenomenon can only be kept for the posterity, by either recording performances or local events, or by preserving moments of dance visualised. Sources for folk dances therefore are rare and are left for a rather broad subjectivity of the person interpreting them.[410] By collecting pieces of sources, the reader shall get an impression of the broad and interwoven cultural heritage of Greeks dancing Greekness within this work.

When it comes to the question of continuity of Greek dances between ancient and modern times, many attempts to invent continuity have been made (see fig. 3-5). It is not always clearly transferred since when a dance exists (like with the pyrrhic dance). Therefore, it is impossible today to guarantee or proof this notion. Actually, researchers on dance history are often confronted with the opposite: especially when dancers or dance historians' study ancient Greek vase-painting, more open questions than answers emerge.[411] We do not know details about the way of dancing (spontaneous, rehearsed?), the cultural meaning and notions (ritualistic, sympotic?), neither can we be sure to interpret the 2D gestures correctly. When it comes to the interpretation between image and dance, "a certain amount of caution should be exercised when approaching the imagery", and the sources of the painters need to be considered too. Today it is clear that "at least in some instances, we have been misled,

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[409] Demas and Triantafyllou (1997). P. 279.
[410] Levidou (2020) has put emphasis on a collection of 36 Greek dances recorded by a Greek musician. This "museum of 'Greekness' consists of a collection of Greek folk dances by Skalkottas. The idea is to objectify music, that people can exhibit them as an imaginary museum.
[411] Smith, Tyler (2010). Reception or Deception? Approaching Greek Dance through Vase-Painting, in: Fiona, Macintosh (ed.) The Ancient Dancer in the Modern World: Responses to Greek and Roman Dance. Oxford/New York: Oxford UP, P. 77.

even deceived, by incorrect interpretations of the iconographic evidence."[412] Therefore, see fig. 3-5 to get an impression of the search for ancient, Hellenistic roots of folk dances. Nowadays, it seems impossible neither to proof nor to falsify those comparisons. More importantly, is to understand that we do not know the exact roots or starting points, but can take a look on the use of the meanings.

Laography therefore, is an important source for nowadays researchers to see social changes at the micro level. Impressions of the "occupation" appear and adaptions of methods on different areas become visible. For instance, a laographic series about the Ionian Island of Lefkada shows different aspects of the everyday life of Greeks on the island.[413] changes in medicine: Byzantine therapies were influenced by Anatolic methods. Then the "Venetian occupation", the "French occupation", the "Russian and Turkish occupation" and the "British occupation" brought Western and other influences. In that way medicine got "richer and improving many ways".[414] The source for Kontomichis (1985) research sometimes were even illiterate people. He collected the folk songs of Lefkada in the years between 1955-75. A difficulty was to transfer the words of the songs, since "the poet is the folks".[415]

Beaton (1980), said about poetry and music, that "'Modern Greece', at least where its folk poetry is concerned, is not geographical." Usually they are categorised into four groups: the historical songs of the Byzantine hero, the "arkritika", the narrating songs of history or mythology, the "paraloges", the songs about well-known events in Greek history "istorika", and the songs about the klephts/bandits around the War of Independence (klephtika). The importance to deal with folk songs and folk poetry can also be used to explain societies. As Beaton (1980) describes, it was a new approach of folk song collections "about their social function from internal evidence". Thereby the "demotic tradition", includes all narrative and lyrical songs, and is a better

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[412] Smith (2010). 78.

[413] See for a rich overview on traditional agriculture in Lefkada: Kontomichis (1985b). The book gives insights on the state of the earth of the island (viniculture, olives, gardening, arable farmland), and on cultivation of wheat and other grain, pulses ("the Lefkadian lense is stiff and yellow-green", P. 95), flax, grape, raisin, olive, etc. the agricultural techniques and names of tools are also added in a precise description.

[414] Kontomichis, Pantazis (1985c). Η λαϊκή ιατρική στην Λευκάδα. Λαογραφικά Λευκάδας 3. Athens: Grigori, P. 12.

[415] Ibid. (1985a). Δημοτικά τραγούδια της Λευκάδας. Λαογραφικά Λευκάδας 1. Athens: Ekdosis Grigori, P. 6.

category than the previous. It can be defined "as the reflection and expression of cultural values and aspirations".[416]

Folk poetry and the study of folk/oral poetry has gained academic recognition since the middle of the 20th century. Beaton (1980) stresses, that it is possible to observe folk poetry besides the romantic and nationalistic reasons, which initially were the reason for those studies.[417] While foreign collectors such as Claude Fauriel (1772-1844) was interested in the poetry itself and the "historical documents", as Fauriel's English translator Charles Brinsley called the klephtic songs, the poet Solomos was interested in the "creation of a national Greek literature".[418] The historically burdened subject now is observed by other stimuli, for instance because folklore studies observe forgotten or hidden sources and people act as a sort of living museums. This bottom-up perspective is important to understand mingled mechanisms and links of modern as well as historic societies.

Nationalism could therefore be a regional deliverer for peace. Othering starts at the micro level: those of the other region were "the others". Important is also to compete in different areas.[419] By nationalism those regions got connected and maintained peace in between the borders. It could be a process which evolves at all levels: the macro level could be the European Union and so on.

Festivals are a core concept of folklore and regarded as "fundamental identifying characteristics of every cultural group and are central in the life of the community".[420] While there is a major difference between dancing at local celebrations (like "village

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[416] Beaton (1980). P. 1ff.

[417] Ibid. P. 2. Beaton also states, that „the systematic collection and study of folk poetry is inseparable from the history of national independence and the establishment of a national consciousness" (P. 4). Important collectors were Werner von Haxthausen, Claude Fauriel, who both never set foot in Greece; Joss, Moustoxidis, Koromilas etc. (see: P. 5-8).

[418] Beaton (1980). P. 7f.

[419] For instance: "The Lefkadian is [one] of the best farmers on the Greek land." Kontomichis, Pantazis (1985b). Τα γεωργικά της Λευκάδας. Λαογραφικά Λευκάδας 2. Athens: Grigori, P. 7.

[420] Fakatseli (2006). P. 59. Also, in my experience as both a visitor and participant in the local festival in Lefkada, I can agree that it was a major group identity building means. The week of the festival is both intense, as well as magical. Every year the procedure is quite similar, between hectic preparations, exhausting rehearsals and hot afternoons at the open theatre, the community of the dancing club is never more unified than during the festival period. This is also because many of the young locals, such as students return only for the performances at the festival to the island.

dance"), festivals and performances of dances are usually demonstrated to acquire artistic recognition. The former serves for social interaction of all participants and is a non-verbal way of communication, as Guirchescu (2001) elaborates. Research on diaspora Greeks or urbanized peasants, usually return to their villages for weddings, baptisms, or burials. Those are done "at home".

> *"Traditional symbols may also function to differentiate groups. From this perspective of national and international festivals, which at an ideological level aim to unify people, are in fact used to strengthen local and regional identity via the originality and authenticity of their performances that are symbols for differentiation."*[421]

Dance becomes a major function as an identity symbol. The group identity is strengthened by internal cohesion. Interaction between individuals is based on common cultural competence. This means, members of the group know the rules, the dance idiom, the symbols. Interaction with others, on the other side, is limited since they lack this specific knowledge. It is not untypical of a person telling, "look they cannot dance the way we do!" and thereby to compare. "The competitive character of festivals, however, reinforces awareness of the artistic value of their local tradition."[422]

Hence, the village dance events are characterized by variation and individualization, while staged performances must be homogenic and synchronic. Also, self-control and the integration of the individual into the group is crucial.[423] While most dances nowadays can be learned in dancing classes or are preserved by performances, some also have been written down.[424].

Some of the traditional dresses are very similar to the eye of a layperson but are perceived to diverge drastically for the people of the specific region. Some of the costumes clearly share some similarities and still the locals will call out their differences. This became clear when comparing the costumes of Montenegro, Serbia,

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[421] Giurchescu (2001). P. 115.
[422] Ibid. P. 114-119.
[423] Ibid. P. 114.
[424] An interesting teaching book gives practical advice and detailed prescriptions of the steps that must be danced for various Greek dances. It is a collection of a few mainland dances, a limited number of dances from Crete and islands. Interestingly, Pontic dances are included broadly. Schiel Margret / Schiel Rolf (1984). So tanzt Griechenland. Köln: Romiosini.

North Macedonia, and Albania with those of Northern parts of Greece.[425] While a national border was installed to separate those regions, "identity" evolved. Apparently, Greek people "feel" more interconnected now within those national borders, than a village next to each other, only separated.

5.3. Travelling costumes

One difficulty of Greek dances in research is that their origins can only be tracked down via paintings, reliefs or other "visual" data. Modern techniques, such as video, allow a new way of cultural preservation. This is helpful and important for future research, but for historic approaches and to gain knowledge about customs and habits, it is limited. One way to gain information are the costumes and dresses people wore when dancing and for other purposes. By increasing insights into habits of sewing, roots of the names for certain parts of clothing or materials used, we get an image of society in former days.

Sources on how people dressed in former times are from painters, marble and wooden statues, medal boxes and cigarette boxes. They give insights on the dresses of unknown people, famous religious people, priests, Greeks from the diaspora and usually from families of Athens, and mostly from wealthy people. Also, among the carvings made by prisoners, the carved and painted twigs, and many small objects, we get an image of people in power, the heroes, and the everyday people.

> *„Clothing has always had, in different historical periods, political,*
> *social and cultural meanings: it created and maintained identity,*
> *projected and confirmed social oppositions and discriminations,*
> *participated in the direction of political power."[426]*

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[425] I was wondering how it is possible to defend the "national traditional costumes" in conversations with locals, pointing out the differences to those of the mentioned regions. A border was separating the regions, but was not history and habits, as well as the way of making dresses more similar, than in some other parts of Greece, such as the Ionian islands? To my eye they did, while "Kerkyra" (Corfu) was decorating the hair with rich bunches of flowers, "Thrace" or "Macedonia" (the Greek district) was marked by heavier clothing and a more similar appearance to those of mountainous regions.

[426] Koulouri, Christina (2020). Φουστανέλες και χλαμύδες. Ιστορική μνήμη και εθνική ταυτότητα 1821-1930. Athens: Alexandria, P. 405f. [«Το ένδυμα είχε πάντα, σε διαφορετικές ιστορικές εποχές, πολιτικές, κοινωνικές και πολιτισμικές σημασίες: δημιουργούσε και διατηρούσε την ταυτότητα, πρόβαλλε και επιβεβαίωνε τις κοινωνικές αντιθέσεις και διακρίσεις, συμμετείχε στη σκηνοθεσία της πολιτικής εξουσίας»].

This means that clothing is political and has always had a potential for identity building and social interaction. Also, clothing has been described as "mirror of oneself" and an expression of various social factors such as political affiliation, sex, belief, social integration, power, property, political independence, government etc.[427]

For example 1827 a native Greek-speaking scholar, dressed like a Frank (e.g., a Western person), was asked by an Albanian-speaking housewife, if he was Christian. At that time being dressed like a Frank was an impossibility of compatibility with Orthodox Christians, which was the main identity building means.[428]

A lot of small details can be transferred by knowledge of traditional clothing: for instance, the modern Greek word for skirt "fousta" derives of the "foustani" which is the intermediate garment of the female dresses. This name comes from a certain cotton type from Fustat in Egypt. The skirt (fousta) is also a dress, that has "lost its upper part".[429] While some background information are well documented and proven, other historical references can only be assumptions.[430]

The way people dressed does not only give insights on their wealth, material used or lifestyle. It also tells which agricultural and working habits were common in a specific region and gives insights on the customs and habits of a community. Also rules and sets of behavioural assets are possible to read.

Greek traditional clothing can be distinguished in those categories: a) the *historical dress* that survived the past, however hard it was (see figure 17, 28) b) the *traditional dresses* which have been worn of the agricultural communities and are reflected as bearers of authentic national virtues (see f.i. figure 9), c) and the *military and school uniforms* (like Evzones – figure 23), which symbolize the contemporary version of the nation, constantly gaining a privileged position in public spectacles.[431] Additionally, the festive and bridal dresses (f.i. figure 15, 16) today count to the last group. The Greek

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[427] Ibid. P. 406: [«καθρέφτης του εαυτού»].
[428] Livanios (2006). P. 60.
[429] Papantoniou, Ioanna (1991). Ελληνικές φορεσιές. Συλλογή Λυκείου των Ελληνίδων Καλαμάτας. Athens: Athninon.
[430] The male dress of Sarakatsanos in Thrace wears a blue, white band around his neck, could this be a hint on a period after the revolution? The everyday male dress is pictured with a white, blue vest in a modern style, which could be a hint for Frankish influences?
[431] Koulouri (2020). P. 407.

folk costume can be diverted into three types: one for the daily use, a festive version and the bridal costume. Greek folk dresses have been categorized in various ways, according to their region, garment type, historical development, ethnicity, social organization (urban/rural), occasion (festive/everyday).[432] Usually, the bridal dresses of upper classes are preserved and presented. Rich bridal dresses were usually only made for wealthy women in towns such as Athens or Ioannina (see figure: 15, 16, 28). Generally, in performances the bridal costumes are worn[433] (see figure 21).

> *"The age of the person wearing the costume as well as family and*
> *social status determined the way a costume was fashioned,*
> *embroidered and complemented with jewellery".[434] (see figure: 13)*

Additionally, they can be distinguished between costumes that include a "siguni" (a white woollen coat)[435] (figure 27), costumes that include a "kavadi"[436] (which is cotton or silk, open at the front but with sleeves) (figure 28), costumes that include the "fustani" (fig. 15, 21), the "Foustanella"(fig. 23-26) and the "vraka" (fig. 21). They are categorized according to their form, but not for functions.[437] The costumes diverged in their design and appearance according for their purposes: whether they were bridal, every day or festive dresses. Regional differences were also common. Originally each village had different dresses for each purpose. Regional commonalities appear to be more similar only in the recent years.

> *"The only differences between them are dictated by climatic,*
> *economic, practical and aesthetic considerations in each particular*
> *village or area."[438]*

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[432] Welters, Linda (2020). Victoria G. Karelias Collection of Greek Traditional Costumes, in: Fashion Theory 24(1), P. 94f.

[433] For a comprehensive overview of jewelry and accessories see: Vidali, Angela / Kalaintzi, Konstantina (1999). Ιστορική και Εθνολογική Εταιρεία της Ελλάδος, Κοσμήματα τη ελληνικής παραδοσιακής φορεσιάς 18ος-19ος αιώνας, Athens: Historical museum.

[434] Papantoniou (1993). P. 1; Papantoniou, Ioanna (2018). Speech of Ιωάννα Παπαντωνίου: Οι τοπικές φορεσιές στο γύρισμα του 19ου αιώνα; Hatzimichali, Angeliki / Ioannou-Yiannara Tatiana (1977). The Greek Folk Costume: 1 Costumes with the Sigouni. Athens: Melissa Publ. House: P. 14f, also add categories such as being unmarried, a bride, newly married or married for a longer period, elderly.

[435] Ibid. P. 15. The costume with the "siguni" was considered to be the most "Greek" and therefore published first. It is a usually sleeveless and simple dress and mainly found in the villages of the Greek mainland.

[436] Ibid. (1984). The Greek Folk Costume: 2 Costumes with the Kavadi. Athens: Melissa Publ. House.

[437] Ibid. (1977). P. 15f.

[438] Ibid. (1977). P. 18.

Every Greek local costume has its characteristics of a group of people, living in a specific region and functions for different reasons, such as clothing, appearance, confidence, and comfort. While the latter is of less importance than "the functional uniformity of a costume which is based on tradition".[439] Papantoniou (1993) mentions the conservative reasons for various taboos, but also the "magical" factor some accessories play.

> *"The manner of dress of a conservative group may be influenced at*
> *various periods by another more powerful group but all changes*
> *were finally determined by the availability of materials and trade".[440]*

"Greek folk costumes were the products of rural societies".[441] Transported through the ages, some details cannot be reproduced, even from people from the same region. "The character of our folks" is mirrored by every detail of the costumes.[442]

> *"The materials used by the village-women and the local craftsmen*
> *were usually of their own making. The way they used these materials*
> *was always based on rules reaped from the collective experience of*
> *many generations".[443]*

The literature and research on traditional folklore costumes of Greece are very limited.[444] Papantoniou (1993) mentions the roots of Greek traditional costumes reach back to Roman attire and have Asian influences. Influences of the Renaissance seem to be also evident. "However, the development in style through the ages and especially from Byzantium onwards, resulted in a costume bearing little resemblance to ancient Greek attire."[445] According to her, the main difference between the Doric ancient Greek costume, which is marked by its simplicity, and those of post-Byzantine times is the way in which the fabrics and material are wrapped around the body.

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[439] Papantoniou, Ioanna (1993). Greek traditional costumes. Athens: Secretariat General for Press and Information and Lyceum Club of Greek Women, P. 1.
[440] Papantoniou (1993). P. 1.
[441] Ibid.
[442] Karelia, Victoria Magarita (1991) in: Papantiniou (1991). P. 7: […ο χαρακτήρας του λαού μας].
[443] Hatzimichalis and Ioannou-Yiannara (1977). P. 21.
[444] It is interesting, that there is no comprehensive collection of all Greek folk costumes. Why is the preservation of dresses and folk costumes of so little interest for the scientific community? Has it been forgotten, neglected or intentionally left out?
[445] Papantoniou (1993). P. 1.

Western influences also shaped the "final appearance".[446] The development of the ancient Greek toga, to a Byzantine style was observed by Houston (2003). She focuses on small details, for example sewing patterns, material, and jewellery. Woven patterns of silk for instance, derived from Sassanian Persian origins. In Constantinople even elephants have been woven (Sassanian style). The Byzantine style included patterns of eagles and lions and had been produced in a Flemish manufacture in the thirteenth century. She describes the details as "simple" and "crude" compared to the Sassanian and Byzantine manufactures.[447]

In opposite to the very slow transition of the antique to the Byzantine dress, the local costumes of modern Greece changed in a more rapid manner due to political changes or a huge change, such as the introduction of "Frankish dresses" from 1920 onwards:

> „It is about a set of works of art and applied techniques that tenderly
> compose the image of a world that is evolving and trying to urbanize,
> leaving behind the foustanella and heading towards the West. "[448]

An attempt of a preservation was the unfinished book on traditional clothing in Greece by Angeliki Hatzimichalis, which was completed by her co-worker Ioannou-Yiannara after her death and on behalf of the Benaki museum.[449] Notes and material were put together and published even after the death of the founder of the museum. This preservation is in line with the romantic movement "για το κράτημα στις ρίζες (for the preservation of the roots) ", like Hatzimichalis, Parren and others. They dressed "ελληνοπρεπή φορέματα (Greek dresses according to tradition, custom and style) ", were knitting and decorated their houses in a style based on classics or byzantine times. Of course, apart from the handing over (=tradition) of the dresses, also the fashion played a role.[450]

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[446] For more information about the pre-modern costumes see: Houston, Mary (2003). Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume. Mineola, New York: Dover Publications.
[447] Houston (2003). P. 161. Read more about the Byzantine style: P. 134-161.
[448] Sakellaropoulos / Dimitriadou, M. (2021). 1821 Πρίν και μετά: Ελληνες και Ελλάδα, επανάσταση και κράτος. Athens: Mouseio Benaki, Bank of Greece, National Bank of Greece, Alpha Bank: [«Πρόκειται για ενα σύνολο εργων τεχνης και εφαρμοσμενων τεχνικων που συνθετουν με τρυφεροτητα την εικονα ενος κοσμου ο οποιος εξελισσεται και προσπαθει να αστικοποιηθει, αφηνοντας πισω του τη φουστανελα και οδευοντας προς την Δυση.» Chapter: «Από τη Φουστανέλα στα Φραγκικά»].
[449] Ibid. P. 9ff.
[450] Papantoniou (1991). P. 9-12.

Since only few publications on costumes exist, especially before the 18th century, her data relies on oral evidence. Additionally, she focused on the names "given to various parts of each costume" and linked them with the diffuse information "found in documents by Byzantine writers and the Orthodox Fathers, in Patriarchal edicts, Sultanic firmans, dowry-settlements, travellers' accounts, etc.".[451]

"They want to connect the ancient with the new Greece in every way,
as our country before it was completely freed was attacked from
everywhere."[452]

Papantoniou is the second important researcher in this field. Comparing the two books of Hatzimichalis and Papantoniou, the former is focusing on older costumes than the latter. While the small leaflet of Papantoniou (1993) gives an overview of "the modern version" of traditional costumes[453], her book includes also a lot of ethnographic material. The regions she includes in her publication differs from those of Hatzimichalis: first, she gives a general introduction to Greek local costumes. Then, she separates Greece into four sections: Peloponnese and mainland Greece, Thessaly and Epirus, Makedonia and Thrace and the Islands.[454] From today's perspective this categorization makes sense in geographical perspectives, while Hatzimichalis, only includes regions around Athens: Attica, Eleusis, Tanagra, Atalandi, Arachova, Aitoloakarnia, Corinthia, Argos, Agianna, Edipsos, Hassia, Paramythia, Souli (fig. 19), Pogoni, Dropolis, Garitsa and the "Sarakatsani costumes" (see figure 2-7), which were a group of nomadic people in Northern Greece. Their costumes have different variations.[455] The introductory notes give a hint, that Hatzimichalis thought mainland Greece and Athens was the "true Greece", which is why she wanted part one to be published first. In part two, the costumes of Old Athens (fig. 17), Megara, Almyros, Kargounian costume, the older costume of Ioannina, Veroia and costumes from Episkopi/Vergina, Roumlouki, Kapoutzida, Baltza/Drymos, Asvestochori (fig. 12-14), Chalkidiki (fig. 27), Soufli, Kalymnos (fig. 29), Kastellorizo and Cyprus are edited.[456]

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[451] Hatzimichalis and Ioannou-Yiannara (1977). P. 13f.
[452] Papantiniou (1991). P. 12f. [«Θέλουν να συνδέσουν με κάθε τρόπο την αρχαία με τη νέα Ελλάδα, καθώς η χώρα μας πριν ακόμα καλά καλά ελευθερωθεί βαλλόταν από παντού»].
[453] Ibid. (1993).
[454] Ibid. (1991).
[455] Hatzimichalis and Ioannou-Yiannara (1977). P. 21.
[456] Ibid. (1984). P. 6.

Apart from the included or excluded regions, which also historically changed many times, further a selection of examples is presented of certain costumes, which give an of the interplay of identity and othering.

5.3.1. Sarakatsanaíoi

An interesting case are the Nomadic people of the "Sarakatsanaíoi" tribe, who are described to come "from the mountains"[457] (see fig.6-11). Tziatziou (1928) edited the collection of folk songs and dedicated the book to Stilpona Kyriakidi, who held a chair in Thessaloniki. According to themselves, they were descendants of Syrako[458] in the region of Epirus and due to the "oppressions of Ali Pasha" and others for over 120 years they also went to areas such as Macedonia, Thrace, Serbia and Bulgaria.[459] According to Tziatziou, the influence of the Sarakatsaniaioi-songs on the Bulgarian folk songs around the periphery of Florina are obvious.

The tribe sings about how they suffered of the Tyrannies and the pressure of Ali Pasha now (1928). Due to the "latest" political circumstances they moved mainly to Macedonia. Their attitude towards "Greekness" is described as honourable, since they even resisted the Bulgarian propaganda for Hellenism and did not lose anything of their Greek traditions.[460] Tziatziou is convinced they handed over customs to the others. Their songs are described as obtaining all the characteristics of the "immortal" folk song. She divides them into two categories: songs about descendance and songs for the dance. For the latter she points out the variances of the "tsakismata" and "girismata". Also, some are dedicated to the dance "stavrotá" (or stavrotós, which means crossed), where the dancers (of the same sex) dance in pairs. This dance is similar to "the European", but (in her point of view) is "pure sarakatsanikos, without any foreign influence".[461] With her collection she is in line with the long tradition of

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[457] Tziatziou, Evaggelia (1928). ΤΡΑΓΟΥΔΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΣΑΡΑΚΑΤΣΑΝΑΙΩΝ. Athens: Sideri, P. α.
[458] Ibid. P. α.; Note: Syrráko today is written with two "r", this can be due to a change of the name or could be a mistake of the author or in my research. There is also a Laographic museum of Hermine Fotiadou. See: Dimos Voreion Tsoumerkon (2022). Laographic museum of Hermine Fotiadou.
[459] Tziatziou (1928). P. α.
[460] Ibid. Prologue.
[461] Tziatziou (1928). P. ζ. To watch the dance: To alati tis gis (2020). Ο Λεβέντικος χορός των Σαρακατσάνων; To alati tis gis (2017). Καγκελάρης (Ήπειρος) Ηλίας Πλαστήρας |Δημήτρης Κωνσταντής.

collecting Greek traditional songs. Her sources where locals with whom she stayed; a boy who got killed by the "listes" (thiefs).[462]

5.3.2. Asvestochori

Regional specificities could also lead to the renaming of villages: in Asvestochori, 12km east of Thessaloniki the village women worked in the production of slaked lime (*Calcium hydroxide)* and therefore was renamed from the Ottomans from Neochori to Kioi, the "white-wash village", in Greek: Asvestochori. Due to difficulties in transport and the circumstances, the men of the village tried to find work abroad (Balkan, Smyrna). The women cultivated melons and vineyards and made their own costumes. "While their husbands were away from home they did not dress up, dance or even celebrate. When their husbands returned in the winter a general celebration started in Asvestochori". All women then took part in the celebrations in their "heavy and richly embroidered costumes, the paizánika" (see fig. 12, 13). The old inhabitants of the village were called Paizáni (tk: night watchmen, fr. paysan – villager). 1812 people from Thessaly and Agrafa settled in the village and continued to be called Vláchoi until "today". They were a separate community with different costumes and habits[463] (see fig. 14). Other regions made their costumes according to the products they made to sell and for themselves: wool and silk in Chalkidiki, silk and semicultured products for personal use, such as hemp and flax in Soufli.[464] Changes in methods can also be observed: on Kalymnos, fish-bone patterns were woven on the belt by manipulating the treadle of the loom, later printed kerchief have replaced them.[465]

5.3.3. Amalia dress

While during the Ottoman Empire costumes of the town were rather similar, as the ones from Turks, Jews and Armenians (fig. 18), after 1835 the female town costume changed. The first Queen of Greece, Amalia (reigned from 1836-1862), introduced a

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[462] Tziatziou (1928). P. ζ.
[463] Hatzimichalis and Ioannou-Yiannara (1984). P. 288ff.
[464] Ibid. P. 308-328.
[465] Ibid. P. 354-357.

"type of folkloric court dress", the Amalia dress.[466] She understood the "poorly dressed" people and therefore made a romantic folkloric looking dress. "It ultimately functioned as a national dress."[467] The Viennese, Biedermeier dress was made of elements of European fashion, mixed with elements of regional Greek costumes. It is thereby an invented tradition, as it became "with slight variations the national costume of Greece".[468]

The archive "Elia" portraits a woman from 1875 with a "traditional costume" in Tripolis (see figure 20).[469] It shows the Amalia dress, which was the formal costume at the court of queen Olga and originated from the costume of the region.[470] The jacket she is wearing (kondogoúni) was also worn by Foteini Mavromichali (1826-1878), with different applications (terzítika).[471] Papantoniou (1991) describes the Amalia dress as the "αστική φορεσιά" (urban dress) from Peleponnese, one is mentioned in Kalamata, a male version is pictured with the "Foustanella".[472]

5.3.4. Evzones and Foustanella

Today costumes are seen in front of the Greek Parliament at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, worn by the Evzones Guards (fig. 23), at national anniversaries in parades, at dance performances, ceremonial groups or in television shows. "Historical accuracy and authenticity" are very important for their users and performers. Traditional costumes are perceived as a "matter of national identity and pride, trust in historical validity and claims of authenticity".[473]

"Prior to the advance of the Western suit, men living on the islands
and in coastal communities wore baggy breeches known as vraka.
Meanwhile, in some mainland regions men wore white pleated skirts
known as foustanella, which became popular after Greece won its

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[466] Papantoniou (1993). P. 17 and Papantiniou (1991). P. 11f.
[467] Welters (2020). P. 97.
[468] Fakatseli (2006). P. 58.
[469] Elia (2022). Picture of the Amalia Dress, in: Elia Archives.
[470] Hatzimichalis and Ioannou-Yiannara (1977). P. 21. Hatzimichalis structured the dresses with a Siguni into the following: Attika, Eleusis, Tanagra, Atalandi, Arachova, Aitoloakarnania, Corinthia, Argos, Agianna, Edipsos, Hassia, Paramythia, Souli, Pogoni, Dropolis, Garitsa, Sarakatsani.
[471] Ibid. (1984). P. 32f; Papantiniou (1991). P. 30.
[472] Ibid. P. 32f; 37.
[473] Papathoma (2019). P. 712.

independence from the Ottoman Turks with the help of Albanian warriors who wore such garb."[474]

Petropoulos (1987) shows that the foustanella originates from Albanian men, who migrated to the Peloponnese. He describes the various local differences of the fousta (=skirt) which, according to conditions and use, diverged in size, length and thickness. The foustanella, as known today, survived in a kind of romantic association of the people who fought for the independence of Greece in the 19th century. Various fighter groups wore foustanella, but in a different appearance as the Evzones today. While most people imagine the skirt in the same manner as the "white ancient Greece", while really it was a very dirty piece of cloth, which was fattened with pig fat to make it more water resistant. Further, it was a piece of cloth to clean their knifes for instance.[475]

In Greece during the 1850s the young Greek men have been described as proudly wearing the national costumes, with the red Fez, the golden jacket and the white foustanella (see fig. 24, 25, 26). The male dress has been described precisely, but also it was told, that "palikaria" (young men) will not exist anymore, because of the black suits, which were introduced. Many observers of that time commented on the censorship that Western dresses were for Greek traditional clothing and "on the contrast between Frankish clothing and frocks."[476] Western clothing in that sense was seen as the modern way of style for noble and intelligent people, while the wearers of foustanella live in the past.

"The Foustanella became a national garment because it represented the history of the nation and indeed the founding event of the Revolution, mainly because of the Philhellenic iconography that had standardized the form of the Greek fighter."[477]

Greek "national" dresses in that way were implemented from above (by Otto and Amalia) but also from below, although it was not immediately perceived as a national

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[474] Welters (2020). P. 98f.

[475] Petropoulos, Ilias (1987). H Foustanella. Athens: Nefeli Press, P. 9-17.

[476] Koulouri (2020). P. 409. [«την αντίθεση ανάμεσα στα φράγκικα ρούχα και τις φουστανέλες»].

[477] Ibid. P. 555. [«Η φουστανέλα έγινε εθνικό ένδυμα γιατί αναπαριστούσε την ιστορία του έθνους και μάλιστα το ιδρυτικό γεγονός της Επανάστασης, κυρίως λόγω της φιλελληνικής εικονογραφίας που είχε τυποποιήσει τη μορφή του Έλληνα αγωνιστή»].

dress. Court members of the elite started to wear this half European style. The foustanella disappeared from the everyday dress over time but is musealized as the dress for parades and stage performances.[478]

5.4. Dance costumes collections

The traditional costumes in Greece have a specific role, which is often underestimated in historic research. The roots and provenance of them are a valuable resource for information and their interpretational value. As Papathoma (2019), states, "'traditional costumes' are directly linked to Modern Greek folk culture" because they are its most "obvious image".[479] Still, the visitors and curators of museums have different perceptions of the value given towards the material history: It is a

"prejudiced image of folklore in the public mind as something that belongs mainly to a rural material past with little relevance to contemporary urban environments".[480]

Even though, their history is rather interesting: traditional dresses came out of fashion in the 19th and 20th century. The changed way of life regarded a more appropriate and convenient way of dressing. Parallel to this development, the intellectual and social elite gained interest in collecting those items as "exotic curiosities" and due to the rising "admiration for the 'pure' folk culture of the rural communities that had remained 'unspoiled' by the industrialized and urbanized Western life".[481] Aristocrats and wealthy bourgeois, who did not have a real association with the way of living of the folk, started collecting them enthusiastically and thereby tried to preserve the clothes, textiles and utensils. Also, the Greek state authorities used the arts and crafts movement as another means to support the "national image" and to prove continuity from the past. Since the 1830s "local costumes in their most glamourous and luxurious versions were turned into national costumes and military uniforms."[482] From the

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[478] Ibid. P. 555.
[479] Papathoma, Eleni (2019). The Importance of Knowledge of Provenance for the Provenance of Knowledge: The Case of Traditional Costumes Collections in Greece 2(1), P. 708.
[480] Fakatseli (2006). P. 3.
[481] Papathoma (2019). P. 710.
[482] Ibid. P. 711.

1910s onwards folk-dance groups were founded and they initially performed and taught local dances using original costumes, but later turning to replicas.

> *"Collections were created, books were published, museums and craft schools were founded, dance groups were set up, and folk handicrafts featured as urban domestic decoration".[483]*

Some private collections were used to support traditional dance events for example in Kalamata for the Lyceum Club of Greek women or to build a museum of the clothing and jewellery.[484]

Besides the symbolic meaning for the people, also the value of historical sources is of interest when it comes to collections of traditional costumes. The provenance of dresses or of their collections, how they have been created, what is known about its background, the way of acquiring them etc. are important research questions when it comes to sources for material culture. A collection has been created by certain criteria and intensions, parts have been left out, some items are preserved. Which kind of stories are carried on and what does "authenticity" mean in that context?[485] For most of the collections from the establishment in 1918 until the 1990s are lacking any details of their making and use, according to the author.[486] Therefore, collections are both, a rescue and preservation of culture and equally a loss and extinction. Items are put in a certain context and some information gets lost, while some are representing a whole category.

> *"[…] the quest today is shifting from treasuring typical outfits of totem-like static quality and a national sacredness to understanding dress habits and forms as a particular area of both material and immaterial culture, inextricably related to all other aspects of life and culture".[487]*

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[483] Ibid. P. 710.
[484] Welters (2020). P. 94.
[485] Papathoma (2019). P. 712.
[486] Questions that remain open are whether and how clothes have been washed and how they could be preserved in such a good quality in museums. For instance, the costume of Mavromichalis does not have a single drop of blood on his vests (fig. 22). Did people own more dresses and changed them? When have there been censorship of dresses? While war is usually only visible through pictures, or are notes in historical books, traditional clothing makes history alive and is worth to be further researched.
[487] Papathoma (2019). P. 714.

According to Papantoniou (1993), an "enlightened woman", Kalliroi Parren, understood the importance of the Greek costumes for the national traditions of Greece, by founding the "Lyceum of Greek women".[488]

A high amount of research of ethnic, traditional, and folk dances exists, while forgetting about the state folk ensembles. Shay (1999) describes them as a new genre and focuses on the "highly visible and influential dance companies".[489] Therefore it is worth looking on an international dance festival in a local area in Greece, as well as on the performances of staged choreographies of dance ensembles like Dora Stratou`s theatre and the ending ceremony of the Olympic games in 2004.

Hunt (2004) is criticising Shay (1999) for his work in the state folk dance companies, for assuming "The Dora Stratou Greek Dance Theatre" to be a state folkdance company, while "fortunately for the sake of its living tradition Greece has no state ensemble". She refers to a lack of appropriate methodological approaches. Interestingly Hunt describes the identity forming role of dances in a very romanticised way. By having the right company (parea), food and wine, "Greeks only feels the need to express themselves in dance" after drinking wine and this allows to "look into the Greek soul". Being reminded of the movie "Never on Sunday" or "Zorbas", by also stating that the bond between the village and the Greek is the root for his/her identity.[490]

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[488] Karelia, Victoria Magarita (1991) in: Papantiniou (1991). P. 7: […μια φωτισμένη Ελληνίδα]
[489] Shay (1999). P. 29.
[490] Hunt (2004). P. 142f.

6. Dancing Greekness? Cultural value of folk dances today

This chapter is dedicated to clarify various questions related to the symbolic use of folk dances. First, it is detected *who is dancing*, to establish the "dancing identities". The role of Philhellenism are considered in that context. Next, it will be checked *what is danced* and in which context those dances can be "national" in a todays sense. Here, three examples demonstrate the preservation of tradition, shifting traditions and invention of traditions. Further, the reasons *why dances are performed* or why some are included in a "national repertoire" while others are excluded. At this point an excursion to the borders of Turkey and Italy is illustrated.

6.1. Dancing identities

Not only is Greek dance a way to express social inclusion (of Greek people), but also it can be used as a social exclusion or differentiation of "the other" people (who cannot dance Greek dances).

> *"In particular, folk dance becomes problematic when it creates a difference that is laden with essentialist and primordialist ideas about the nation and a sense of superiority in relation to the 'other'."*[491]

Probably national feelings can lead to nationalism and thereby can trigger conflicts. Kalogeropoulou describes the exclusion of non-Greek Christian Orthodox people when it comes to weddings. Certain customs are forbidden if not being part of the religious community. By that, the specific wedding dance becomes an expression of Greek national identity and religious dogma. Even more interesting was the described situation at the brides table afterwards, where traditionally the groom dances "Tsamiko", a dance, that "encapsulates the essence of Greekness". Since she married a non-Greek person, the question if somebody non-Greek can dance a Greek dance. Kalogeropoulou detected interesting remarks on that question and the underlying assumptions: someone not Greek is supposed not being able to dance Greek dances

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[491] Kalogeropoulou, Sofia (2013). Greek dance and everyday nationalism in contemporary Greece, in: Dance Research 1, P. 65.

properly, since "he had not gone through the process of enculturation", as well as primordial ideas like folk dance is tied to descent (having Greek dance "in their blood").[492]

"Greek folk dance is conceptualised as an inherited national quality
that is exclusive to Greek people".[493]

The underlying idea of this belief is that only Greek people can embody dance and the values which are associated with it. Immigrants or foreigners can only mimic them but are not able to experience the same amount of pride and thereby are excluded from Greek national identity.[494] It even may prevent immigrants from "being accepted into the nation". Kalogeropoulou (2013) mentions only Pontians as an exception from this belief since they are "part of the imagined Greek community".[495]

Since identity shall play an important role in this context, the question whether "national" Greek dances have to be "national" in today's understanding and within today's borders[496], occurs. Is someone foreign or some dancer abroad also expressing "Greekness" when dancing traditional folk dances, or is it quickly mixed with racial questions and questions of ancestry?[497]

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[492] Kalogeropoulou (2013). P. 65ff.

[493] Kalogeropoulou (2013). P. 67.

[494] "But you will never be a Greek", was one comment, that stick to my mind, when I was living in Greece between 2013 and 2014. While trying to become a fully accepted member of the local Greek community and participating in social activities such as dance rehearsals, "my lack of Greek blood", e.g. Greek descendants shall be the reason of not becoming a full member of the Greek community. Apparently, it was important to remind me of that, although just having danced a Greek folk dance at the square. This experience comes in line with the observations Kalogeropoulou (2013, 66f.) made at her wedding, when her foreign groom was suspected to not being able to dance a Tsamiko correctly, because of his lacking Greekness.

[495] Ibid. P. 67.

[496] Leontis (2008). In what sense nationalism and philhellenism interfere: Most (2008).

[497] I represented Lefkada in a French festival dressed as a Lefkadian bride. Still, I have never danced Lefkadian dances in a performance. I got different reactions of locals, some who were happy for a foreign girl to be so interested in their own culture, but also some people, who reminded me on every occasion, that I wasn't Greek by descendance. Interestingly, I received fewer negative reactions, when I performed a "Quadrille", which was called a "European dance" in a baroque costume. Of course, those impressions are very subjective. I also experienced reactions in the Viennese dance club because I could perform Pontic dances in traditional clothing, while others had been members of the club longer than me. Supposedly, situations like these are likely to happen in traditional clubs, still I doubt the extent of reactions if I had been Greek.

Hence, the preservation of Greek traditions by foreigners (and/or) abroad is highlighted in context with the literature.[498] A dancing group of Austrians gathers regularly to study and practise Greek folk dances in a local club called "Vrakades". The connection of deeply infiltrated Philhellenism[499] in Austria and the controversy of an orientalist perspective of Northern countries towards the South,[500] or a long-time tradition of Greeks in Vienna,[501] might be explanatory factors for this cultural preservation. On the other hand, it might show, that the terms "national" and "Greekness" are flexible.

Europeans nowadays typically "love Greece". While the economic crisis has led to heavy criticism of Greek behaviour and being Greek has been declared something associated with a negative vibe, still it is one of the most popular tourist destinations in Europe. Austrians are known to admire Greece for the sea, history, and food. Also, Greek dances are perceived as an essential part of "Greek culture", always having in mind those nights at the taverns, when the locals danced "Sirtaki". When Austrians react to real Greek traditional dances, they usually say it sounds "Turkish" or "oriental". One needs to mention here, that in the eyes and ears of most Austrians, anything from the region of former Ottoman Empire is perceived as "Turkish".

Austrian Greek perception is not possible without acknowledging the influence which humanism brought to our educational system. Studying Latin and classical history from the secondary school on, the curriculum also offers a great focus on classical Greece with its myths and inventions brought to Western Europe. What is missing is an idea of the Byzantine Empire and the Ottoman Empire. By understanding Greece as the "cradle of democracy" and modernity, the philhellenic spirit also finds entrance in subjects such as history, politics, geography among others. The classical ideal is therefore unquestionable persistent.[502] By having been influenced from

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[498] Tziovas (2009). For instance, Demas and Triantafyllou (1997). P.281 are writing, that all migrants were included in the circle and danced and sang together.

[499] In this context the difference of the historical Philhellenism and the admiration of modern Greece by Western countries, is an interesting aspect. Most (2008). P. 151ff.

[500] Carastathis (2014).

[501] Zelepos (2018); Carastathis (2014).

[502] By reflecting my own career at school, I recognized a strong influence of antiquity as the European root for intelligentsia, architecture, language, education, science among other fields.

Hellenism and classical ideals from early childhood on, most of Western educational methods, still rely on the Greek ideal. This is especially recognizable when explaining terms in German or other languages. Usually, first its Greek origin will be mentioned, even though limited amounts of pupils still learn ancient Greek at school.

Austrians dancing Greek folk dances in Austria are challenging the Greekness of dances. Whether they dance Greek dances because of their admiration for Greek culture, or because of their admiration they have turned to "experts" for Greek culture, the originality of "Greek" dances is at stake. Probably orientalist perspectives of the "exotic" leads additionally to an admiration of Greek dances or music. Taught by a Pontic Greek, practised in a basement of a Greek tavern, these dances appear as an essential part of the individuals performing them. Similar habits of pride and honour come along when performing on a stage or in front of people, it is "more than just fun". The performance then is a mixture of *Austro-Greekness*, which could build a hybrid form of international, multicultural habits and identities. The reasons for the Austrians to dance in a semi-professional manner could be many.[503]

6.2. Dancing "national" dances?

This further leads to the question, whether national dances exist and if this nation can be extended. Therefore, it is useful to observe which dances are danced at a dance celebration. Most of the Greek folk dances are named after a geographical region and sometimes even danced in a different way in the next village. Still most of them are referred to as "Pan-Hellenic dances".[504] Kalogeropoulou (2013) argues that usually they are reflecting the development of the Greek nation. By starting with rural folk dances (syrtos, kalamatianos, tsamiko), they shall represent the roots of the nation and stand for the struggles in the independence war. Followed by urban dances (zeimbekiko, tsifteteli), the consequences of urbanization, life of the refugees etc. are visible and equally historically laden since the Greek-Turkish war of 1919-1922 was

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[503] Either by the mentioned influence of philhellenism, the idea of modern Greece as a beautiful touristic spot with great moments and wonderful memories, or the feeling of belonging and speciality as experts. Further, also oriental motifs, post-colonialist theories or the idea of cultural appropriation can come to mind.
[504] Hunt (2004). P. 139.

followed by an exchange of populations. Still, the dance arrangements in that way symbolise continuation and thereby "Greek history is danced at every event".[505]

Kalogeropoulou adds, that not only are the dances a means to express "history", but also for pride, honour, and privilege. "Folk dance generates a sense of pride that is consciously associated with the nation and the nation`s ancestry".[506] In that way "Greekness" e.g., what it is/feel to be Greek and move like a Greek can be expressed in a non-verbal way. Since folk dance is interlinked with music (songs), those songs become a "narrative of the nation". The words and lyrics of the songs act as a lyrical expression, the music as the audio stimulus and the dancing body as the internalisation of the nation and the people. It thereby acts as the link between the land, the dancing people, as well as religious beliefs and values. It can even be stated, that during dance events Greece can be experienced by all senses. What has been mentioned about the costumes of northern parts of Greece and those of Serbia, Montenegro and North Macedonia, also Balkan folk dances have "significant similarities in chorological structure and form".[507]

"Greeks may exaggerate the difference and place emphasis on fairly
minor features of differentiation in order to retain their unique sense
of identity".[508]

In that way minor differences are used to mark differences in their culture and towards neighbouring groups, by othering. This can be observed not only in the context of Greek dances but seem to be a rather human characteristic: even in the smallest villages, people will find a reason to tell why and how they are "better/different", than their neighbours, no matter if it is about a dance, the local wine, or other minor reasons. She emphasises this behaviour in Greece towards neighbouring countries, but also in between national borders. Virtually same dances are not considered to be Greek, when danced by ethnic minorities (Turkish, Muslim, Slavic). Especially on the borders to Northern Macedonia, dances of the Slavic minority are considered to be different. Some of them are told be danced since the Ottoman Empire.[509]

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[505] Kalogeropoulou (2013). P. 63.
[506] Ibid.
[507] Ibid. P. 64-68.
[508] Ibid. P. 68.
[509] Demas and Triantafyllou (1997). P. 280.

6.2.1. Preserving tradition: Lefkada Folklore Festival

Since dances are part of the everyday life in Greece, this should set a "promising basis for reinforcing cultural understanding and acceptance of difference and encouraging people to acknowledge that other groups also enjoy dance in the same way".[510] While affirming the fact that Greek folk dances are a "unique dance heritage", Kalogeropoulou (2013) also states that the sense of pride, which is used to express Greekness, "has almost narcissistic qualities that prevents Greeks from accepting that other cultures have equally unique dances".[511] She also finds it alarming that Greece "prides itself on hospitality" uses dance "to project their chauvinistic attitudes".[512]

> *"Such instability [referring to the socio-political and economic climate*
> *in Southern Europe] can make people protective/defensive of their*
> *cultural identity and lead to formation of exclusive communities with*
> *strong national(istic) sentiments."[513]*

Kalogeropoulou is referring to times of crises, which can lead a tipping of national feelings towards exclusive and chauvinistic perceptions towards other cultures. In the Lefkadian International Folklore Festival, national pride is highlighted, but also, intercultural dialogue, communication, exchange, reduction of prejudices and cultural openness are promoted. Every year a full week of intercultural exchange is happening through folklore dance. During the past 60 years, almost each country has presented their traditional dances at the open theatre in Lefkada.

> *"In the 'field', no matter how theatricalized the presentational*
> *strategies employed by the performers, representation of the village*
> *or region in a show of local pride or to attract tourists often forms a*
> *common goal of public dance presentations in venues outside of the*

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[510] Kalogeropoulou (2013). P. 71.

[511] Kalogeropoulou (2013). P. 70. She is referring here to the concept of "narcissism of the minor difference", which implies that small differences between groups can lead towards hostility and in the worst case conflicts. Read more: Blok, Anton (1998). The narcissism of the minor differences. European Journal of Social Theory 1(1), pp. 33-56. "In dance studies, the production of difference has usually been studied through contexts of conflict and particularly of ethnic and nationalistic disputes." Zografou, Magda / Pipyrou, Stavroula (2011). Dance and Difference: Toward an Individualization of the Pontian Self, in: Dance Chronicle 34(3), P. 424.

[512] Kalogeropoulou (2013). P. 70.

[513] Kalogeropoulou (2013). P. 70.

normative social and ritual contexts and occasions of dance performance."[514]

Participating in this events, actively and passively is a unique experience.[515] It is helping to reduce prejudices and gives young Lefkadians the possibility for intercultural experiences, without even leaving the island. Seeing "Haka" of New Zealand on stage, followed by Chinese sounds and Georgian dancers, openness the mind and the world to the people. Therefore, a festival like this, is preserving tradition, without being politically used for nationalist purposes. Thereby it is shown, that neither *first existence dances* (in the field), nor *second existence dances* (invented for stage performances) occur to be happening, which is why a *third existence* is proposed: cultural preservation of folk dances by (semi-) professional groups and stage performances. Dancing clubs, like Orfeas, are trying to preserve the utmost original way of dancing and clothing, without political demands in the background. They can be seen as "dancing museums".

Another aspect to think of is the way in which Greekness or any "nationness" is used and in which context or purpose it is put into place. Also, in other countries this connection of the "idea of antique national roots" has been used to "re-use available historical materials".[516] Thereby it does not necessarily need to be invented, but the purpose of a reinvention is to support national pride. A good example in the festival is the ending ceremony, where Sirtaki dance is performed by all dancers of all nationalities together. An invented tradition here served to deconstruct national borders.

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[514] Shay (1999). P. 34.

[515] In Austria I did not participate in local events like that and in my region practising anything traditional, was generally perceived negatively. When I started to engage in the local dancing group two major developments happened: first, I changed my perception towards tradition and nationalism; and second, since I was participating at a young age, my personal factor of "Greekness" was also built by the community. A sense of pride and responsibility towards the community members, have given me the impression of expressing Greekness from an intrinsic motivation. Besides a talent, open minded people and a huge motivation to participate, I view my expression of Greekness today in a different context. Supposedly, I have been influenced and educated to express this sense of pride for a nation I (primordially seen) I do not belong to, and thereby have confronted Greekness and nationalistic thinking people multiple times. This development was then crowned by the representation of the Viennese dance club as a Greek Pontian, where even Greeks are not yet sure about Pontian Hellenism. In Lefkada I presented a "European" dance (Quadrille) at the stage, but was allowed to wear the local brides dress at a festival in France, and various Greek traditional costumes for parades on the island.

[516] Dambrauskas, Karolis / Baradziej, Emilia (2021). "Don't tell me that I don't exist": The construction and practice of Macedonian national identity, in: Anthropology of East Europe Review 37(1), P. 156.

6.2.2. Shifting tradition: Olympic games 2004

The ending-ceremony of the Olympic games in 2004 were the start of enhanced research on the highly politicised Pontic dances. The Greek public reflected the opening performance as cosmopolitan, while critical voices found the ending-ceremony as to "introverted and Greek-specific" for such an international occasion. The organisers wanted to show "the official version of modern Greek culture"[517] and added a professional dancing group of Pontic dances in the performance.

> *"[…] the 'Pontian dance', was finally accepted by the Greek State as 'worthy' enough to be part of the national Hellenic history"[518]*

6.2.3. Inventing traditions: Sirtaki

We cannot trace back Greek folk dances in a comprehensive manner, as prescribed above, but we can detect invented traditions in the nearer past. The dance "Sirtaki" is such an example or as Beaton (2019) puts it: "everybody knows that Greek music is the *bouzouki, rebetika*, Zorba's dance".[519] The movie-dance of the internationally known Movie[520] "Zorba – the Greek"[521], is a very clear example of what stands in line with Hobsbawm, and Ranger's theory described. The Sirtaki dance is a mixture of the urban "Hasapiko", "Zeibekiko" and the Syrtos dance. Internationally known it is *THE* Greek folk dance per se, while it only became a habit of performing Sirtaki in tavernas for touristic attraction.[522] Still,

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[517] Zografou, Magda (2007). The Politics of Dance: The Incorporation of the Pontic Refugees in Modern Greek Culture through the Manipulation of Dancing Practices in a Northern Greek Village, in: Journal of Mediterranean Studies 17(1), P. 2.

[518] Ibid. P. 3. See more about Pontic dances in chapter 6.3.1.

[519] Beaton (2019). P. 1.

[520] More about critical sociological studies of movies and Hollywood blockbusters: Winter (2022). Denzin, one of the most important movie sociologists, describes cultural representation on various aspects, such as alcoholism, racism or the postmodern self. With his research he shows the possibility of Hollywood movies to create ideas, but also call them into question. See: Winter, Rainer (2022). Norman K. Denzin, in: Geimer, Alexander / Carsten Heinze / Rainer Winter (eds.) Handbuch Filmsoziologie. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien, pp. 137-152.

[521] Zorba is based on the novel of Kazantzakis and expresses a person to overcome all "barriers of morality, religion, homeland": Zografou, Magda / Pateraki, Mimina (2007). The "invisible" Dimension of Zorba's Dance, in: Yearbook for Traditional Music 39, P. 119.

[522] Often, I experienced the glimpse in the eyes of Greek-touristophiloi when they talk about the dancing Greeks. Also, I got to know Greek traditional dances in that way, at a tavern in Parga, Epirus. There is no valuation on that possible; it is neither a good nor a bad evolvement when habits evolve, and customs derive from various reasons.

*"The 'Dance of Zorba' or 'Syrtaki', which has become famous from
the film Zorbas, does not constitute a traditional Greek dance."[523]*

Sirtaki was an invention for the movie and comprises of three folk dances. Only because the first part is based on Hasapiko dance, people believe Zorba-Dance and Sirtaki to be alternative names of Hasapiko.[524] According to Zografou and Pateraki (2007), this invention was purposefully chosen to "balance the dualistic aspect of Greek identity". Also, in Zorbas the dichotomy of the Hellenic/Roman binarism is reflected.

*"This dance is an invented 'Western-oriented' dance, loaded with
specific ideological messages aimed at balancing the rhetoric of the
East and West"[525]*

While previously Rebetiko music was viewed as primitive and exotic, it became a trend in the "third and final period" (1945-1953) and was appreciated by the high society.[526] Hasapiko dance perhaps comes from Makelariko, an old Byzantine pantomime dance, which is why it is also called Makelarikon. There are two versions, slow and fast, which are "two of the most popular Greek dances internationally".[527] The figures danced by two or three men are developed, performed, and combined in the mood of the moment, which means there is no fixed set of dancing steps. For the movie of Zorbas, the preparation was made with traditional dances, such as Kalamatianos, Chaniotikos Syrtos, Pentozali and Hasapiko. Zeibekiko was not included because Cacoyannis said: "in order to dance zeibekiko, one must be deeply Greek". While there are rumours of the production company, that the actor Anthony Quinn was not able to dance the dances properly, supposedly also "more impressive" scenes were chosen.[528] Hence, the question important for research is, in what way did those invented traditions influence the perception of being an ethnic Greek or being superior than others? Political interpretations of dance is discussed in the next chapter.

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[523] Vavritas, Nikolaos (2004). Hasapikos 'Sirtaki' dance: rhythmical and kinetic analysis and rhythmical numeration, in: Research in Dance Education 5(2), P. 141.
[524] Ibid.
[525] Zografou and Pateraki (2007). P. 118.
[526] Ibid. P. 120.
[527] Vavritas (2004). P. 140. The roots of this dance were described to trace back to times of Alexander the Great. It has been added that it was a byzantine dance in the guilt of the byzantine butchers (makelarides).
[528] Zografou and Pateraki (2007). P. 123f. Could also the fact that Quinn is a foreigner, "not able to be truly Greek", have influenced this perception?

6.3. Dancing politics

It is interesting to find out why and how it is possible, that at least parts of the dances appear to be transferred since a very long time. Or, to put it in the words of Manou Rallou: "How did the Greek start dancing and why"?[529] She asks when and how Greeks start dancing those figures, the connection between earth and heaven, which are the roots, where do they come from, and which is the reason to dance them? Her answers are that all folks danced, to appease the spirits. Demas and Triantafyllou (1997) offer an explanation, on the purpose which dances brought to rural communities: folk dances were one of the only possibilities of entertainment and helped to develop a unity. During the Ottoman Empire between 1453 and 1821 Greek people had to "create their own and social organization" for surviving.

> *"In closed and static agricultural society, which was preserved for decades following independence, the country folk had few possibilities for social activities, having been deprived almost completely of any possibility of cultural activity (especially during the first two centuries its subjugation)."[530]*

Still, "they managed to preserve and the folk culture, civilization, and customs." During the isolation (transport or communication were almost not existent), pressures and disadvantages, still the exercise of religion (Orthodoxy) and festivals (such as Paneghyreis) were possible. In that way songs and activities were a means of "essential respite and compensation for an austere and deprived life".[531]

> *"Traditional dance as a social process [is] passed down from generation to generation, reflecting and specific behavior that is governed by understood rules and serves certain purposes within the social system of values, while also functioning as a mechanism of reproduction".[532]*

While folk dances usually act as a "uniting device" between members of a community, they can also be "transformed into a political ritual", to promote differences, chauvinism, nationalism and a "potential for conflict".[533] As Buckland (2006) puts it,

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[529] Manou (1983). [πώς άρχισε ο Έλληνας να χορεύει και γιατί;], Min. 02:22.
[530] Demas and Triandafyllou (1997). P. 276.
[531] Ibid.
[532] Ibid. P. 275.
[533] Kalogeropoulou (2013). P. 55.

history has had a huge significance in nation building and in "articulating ancient ethnic identities".[534]

Kalogeropoulou (2013) observes Greek folk dances as "a form of everyday nationalism" and, its "contribution to the reproduction of culture that cultivates a distinct national character".[535] The former is to understand as a means to exclude and differentiate from others, especially in relation to "other national or ethnic groups". Her argument in that context bases on the concept of othering, already discussed in this work and the exaggeration of Greek folk dances as a way to express Greek identity.[536]

The mentioned folk and traditional dance companies were state-sponsored and a means of political representation, Shay reveals. While some focused on the socialist policies of the Soviet model to reflect a happy life of young people in the communistic countries, others pointed out the mobilization of Turkish dance scholars by folklore to construct a national identity. Representation of the whole nation-state includes also a "wide variety of dances and music outside of the tradition in which they were reared". Additionally, most of the performers come from cities and urban environments and learned those dances in a classroom setting. Those professional dancers are usually paid, while members of groups of the field usually dance for "the benefit of the represented group".[537]

Kalogeropoulou thinks that Greek dances are understood to "promote the idea of an ideal lifestyle". Also dance events are part of social entertainment and socialising. Dance events are a way for social inclusion and exclusion by the creation of (cultural) outsiders. Those who do not know the unwritten codes, need a verbal explanation.[538] Those distinctions between the "we/us" and "them" e.g., cultural outsiders, are in line with the imagined community of Anderson (1983).

Greek dances are a bridge between different generations and express the same "cultural family", "common heritage" and "dance tradition". Greek children embody

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[534] Buckland (2006b). P. 7.
[535] Kalogeropoulou (2013). P. 56.
[536] Ibid. P. 57.
[537] Shay (1999). P. 34.
[538] Kalogeropoulou (2013). P. 59f.

the steps and movement from early age on, by observing and appropriating expressions, mood and other habits accompanying the dance.[539] Besides political factors, Greekness serves also as a pedagogical tool:

"When learning takes place in the natural cultural environment and children are actively involved in the process of the dance, they unconsciously absorb Greekness. Greekness then is embedded in the body."[540]

Greek dances can at least be divided into twenty sub-cultures, which each have about ten unique dances. It is important to note, that the expansion of the Greek borders in 1913 (Epirus, Macedonia) have also "accumulated regional cultures including folk dances, linguistic dialects, and customs that had been shaped by their colonial past".[541] The population exchange between Greece and Turkey (1923) also led to the exchange of dance traditions (Pontos, Asia Minor) and the urbanization (Rebetika era). While the variances of the Greek dances (compare: Pentozali from Crete and Balos or Sousta from Rhodes) are praised, minority groups are selected: the dances of "Memo leno of the Slavic minority in Northern Greece are not included in the national repertoire".[542] Due to the historical burden of colonialism and occupations, minorities are supposed to be a "sensitive issue". Therefore, the nation is built upon the construction "based on the idea of a homogenous community". As in most Balkan countries "nations were conceived in ethnic terms", Kalogeropoulou adds. This helps as an explanation for the integration of Pontic dances in the Olympic Games opening ceremony of 2004, while the Turkish Muslim community of Western Thrace is left out. Dances from Macedonia (Makedonia Xakousti) served for nationalist sentiments in the 1990s between Northern Macedonia (the Slav-Macedonian people) and Macedonia (the Greek district). In times of uncertainty and instability "embodied aspects of the national culture rise to conscious levels to perform the identity of the nation. Hence, the Greeks do not simply dance but are dancing Greek-ness".[543] In times of crisis this

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[539] Ibid. P. 62.
[540] Ibid. P. 62.
[541] Kalogeropoulou, Sofia (2016). Greek Dance, Identity, and Difference in a Cosmopolitan Europe, in: Congress on Research in Dance, P. 236.
[542] Kalogeropoulou (2016). P. 237.
[543] Ibid.

distinguishing can lead to conflicts, even if creating and preserving identity in general times.

"Such a crisis may occur because of manipulation by elites and media, or may arise from fear, economic insecurity or competition for resources".[544]

By observing the influence of the Economic crisis on the reality and moral of the people of Greece, Kalogeropoulou (2016) asks whether dance is a "means of resistance" or of "holding onto and re-affirming a Greek identity". Since, dance can be a "medium of belonging and othering". She discusses dance as a "form of everyday nationalism and a positive affirmation of national identity", as well as "reflecting unity in diversity at a European and national (Greek) level". Since dance is an integral part of Greek culture, by socialization, entertainment and part of celebrations, this everyday nationalism "manifests the Greek identity".[545]

"Greek dance as it is performed during everyday cultural events results in the unconscious embodiment of national identity […] The definition of one group's identity through contrast with others may help to create and preserve that identity."[546]

This raises the question, if during crises, there is a backlash of nationalism and dance could be (mis)used as a means of exclusion. Also, dance was used as a means of resistance by highlighting the oriental and Eastern character, since Greek identity was strongly attacked in European countries. Other functions of dance are named to be a psychological boost, the feeling of euphoria, a sense of belonging (construction of a national "we"). Kalogeropoulou concludes to wish that "since dance Is a forum of change, it will open its boundaries to embrace the difference of the other".[547] Besides conflicting regions of recent history, also there are mutual dance histories at the Greek borders with other developments. While beyond the Greek periphery a shared history with nowadays Turkey have led to various tensions, the re-inclusion of Greek Pontians and thereby, their dances are still an ongoing process. Previously, everything "oriental" was neglected, while today Greece speaks of a genocide towards the

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[544] Ibid. (2013). P. 69.
[545] Kalogeropoulou (2016). P. 235f.
[546] Ibid. P. 236.
[547] Ibid. P. 238.

Pontians. A less conflicting region above nowadays national borders is Magna Graecia, Southern Italy (see fig. 38). In early times inhabited by Greeks, some survivals of Greek culture can still be found. Today, Italian tradition and Greek ancient tradition is mixed in the various villages of Apulia, Calabria, and Puglia. Still, there is no need for nationalist claims, as modern cultural preservation proofs. Both regions will be portrayed in the next chapters.

6.3.1. Pontic dances

Dance performances are supposed to be "highly politicised sites for the articulation of identities, histories and ideological narratives of belonging".[548] By dancing the person embodies a discourse of (constructed) identity. Zografou (2007) observed Pontiac dance performances in Northern Greece on terms of inclusion and exclusion, otherness, and similarities, as well as Hellenistic discourses.

The exchange of Christian and Muslim populations between Greece and Turkey due to the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 was aiming to homogenise the population. The refugees from Anatolia, Eastern Thrace, and Asia Minor, as well as the Pontian's from the Black Sea, were not homogenous of course; apart from the shared religious belief, they differed in the spoken language, dialects, customs, rituals and identifications. While on the one hand Pontian's were faced with hostility, they also missed their lost properties. Their idealised memory of the lost homeland (patrida) builds the main core of Pontic identity. Teachers and other leaders acted as carriers of the refugee identity towards younger generations, while also blurring territories and borders. Those politics of identity were aimed to

"unify their internal diversities in the interest of promoting a common Pontic identity that was distinct from a non-Pontic one, while simultaneously highlighting their rightful belonging to a Hellenic heritage".[549]

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[548] Zografou (2007). P. 1.
[549] Ibid. P. 5. A major overview on Pontian Hellenism gives Samoulidis (1984). While his book on Greekness of Pontians has to be seen in context of the period of publication, it gives valuable insights on the life of Pontians around the Black Sea coastline. Besides the historic evolvement since the

The shared belonging was more important than localities, regionalities and different dances of diverging areas of Pontus were collected for a sample of Pontic dances which reflected the common sense of the refugees of the Black Sea. Pontian identity was not only instituted by similarities between Pontians, but also by contrasting not Pontic Greeks. The established dancing schools like the Lyceum of the Greeks did not involve Pontian dancing in their Greek educational system, while the association of Dora Stratou, which was built after World War 2, included them. Since the wider dancing education of Greece excluded them, the "assumption that it is only the Pontians who can properly dance Pontic dances", emerged and remains with a perception of "uniqueness" of the Pontic dancing repertoire.[550] Additionally, in the collections of Greek folklore costumes, Pontian traditional clothing is missing.[551]

> *"In the ethnicity of the Pontos Greeks, dance plays a role that should not be underestimated with regard to the ethnic cohesion of the Pontos Greeks."[552]*

The continuity discourse of modern Greeks was also adapted in the case of Pontic dances, as Zografou describes. The Pontiac dance "Serra" was claimed to be the ancient Greek "Pyrrhic" dance (see fig. 33, 36) and renamed after it. She believes this perception erose through the revival of the Delphic festival; a state's decision where

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settlement from ancient times (chapter 1). Chapter two deals with the Roman and Byzantine time of the kingdom of Pontos, chapter three with the autocracy of Trapezunt. In chapter four he mentions interesting details on the life of Pontians under Turkish occupation, such as the number of Greek houses in each village, as well as the language spoken of the Greeks, which was not always Pontic Greek, but also Armenian, besides others. The following chapter deals with the "last period of Pontians in Mikra Asia" before the wars started and deportation/exchange of populations happened. The detailed prescriptions of the life of Pontian refugees while fleeing give an impression of the trauma. Besides the horrors of war, also plagues and diseases and lack of water led to numerous deaths. (See: 267ff). Finally, chapter 6 describes the Pontic folk theatre, the "Momogeri" and in chapter 7 a focus is led on the Amateur theatre. Then, the Pontic dialect is further elaborated.

[550] Zografou (2007). P. 6.
As a matter of fact, also the Lefkadian dancing group Orfeus, did not dance Pontic dances so far. I do not know the exact reasons, but since they are a group of professional Amateur dancers, I suppose it is not due to the difficulty to dance them correctly. While dances of Southern Italy had been included to the repertoire (Folklore Festival 2014), the Eastern parts have been left out until know. I also had the impression; the regional distance and history of Italians on the Ionian Islands play a major role in today's culture.

[551] See: Hatzimichali and Ioannou-Yiannara (1977, 1984).

[552] Kahl Thede (2016): […der Tanz (spielt) in der Ethnizität der Pontos-Griechen eine nicht zu unterschätzende Rolle bezüglich des ethnizitären Zusammenhaltes der Pontos-Griechen"]. Kahl Thede, Jena (2016). Die Pontos-Griechen – Zur Definition einer Ethnie aus transdisziplinärer und transnationaler Perspektive, in: Horst-Dieter Blume and Cay, Lienau (eds.) Aufbrüche und Fluchten. Griechenland durch die Jahrhunderte. Münster: Lienau, P. 142.

ancient Delphic celebrations were reinforced in 1927.[553] The best Pontian dancers re-enacted the Pyrrhic dance during their performance of the Serra (see fig. 33-35).

> *"The 'moving bodies' of the dancers represented then at once the continuity of the classical cosmos and its connection to the present."[554]*

Through the renaming of the Serra dance as the Pyrrhic, a bond to the Greek cultural rhetoric was made and Pontians were integrated historically and politically into the nation and thereby overcame all connections of Turkish origin, Zografou (2007) conveys. The negative allegations towards the Ottoman past were also excluded on the repertoire of dances- dances from the area close to Cappadocia and shared dances with Armenians were banned from the dancing schedule. The "homogenization of the dancing style" was also reflected by highlighting the shared parts of Greek dances and neglected parts of its variations. Due to the style of Pontic dances, by dancing "monotonous, but dynamic, 'fearsome'" and each dancer closely attached to the other, the special sound of Pontic music, the irregular and fast beat with long repeated dancing patterns and staccatos, as well as the way of playing the lyre, led to a mystified view of Pontic dances. Both Greeks, and Pontians

> *"view them as being 'pure' and 'authentic' remnants of a Hellenic past, lost in the depths of time but magically preserved into the bodies and dispositions of the Pontians".[555]*

The authenticity of dance performances is separated in two interwoven parts. The folklore, which is connected to ideology and the construction of national identity, and the relation of the dancer with the dance. While folklorists have tried to discover and defend the "'ancient', 'classical', 'truly Hellenic' routes of songs, customs, and dance practises", dance associations have focused on the part to "preserve the authentic pattern of dances through safeguarding the curriculum of physical movements".[556]

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[553] See chapter: 5.
[554] Zografou (2007). P. 7.
[555] Ibid. P.7f.
[556] Ibid. P.12.

Since it is not possible to prove the abovementioned approach wrong or right, other perspectives added to the Pontian Hellenism enrich the issue. Samoulidis (1984)[557] starts with the ancient history of Greece and their colonies (see fig. 32). Greeks settled down at the Black Sea (Εύξεινου Πόντου) around the 8th century BC. Around 75 Greek colonies were located around the Black Sea. The locals there were called "Barbari", while Greek activities remained tied to the Northern Asia Minor region. They were connected especially with Millet, from where they came from, and Greek metropolitan life could continue. Trading was an important activity. Their Greekness developed during the centuries until shortly after the end of the Greco-Turkish War in 1922.

"Meanwhile, they worked hard, fought with the natives around them, built edifices, temples, harvested and developed. And moreover, as if alienated, it brought them mentally closer to the old homeland and, as they separated themselves from the locals, they created an intense consciousness of their Greekness and of their national unity with the Greeks"[558]

In that way the Pontians, as an ethnicity emerged, and the 26 centuries lasting Pontian Greekness evolved in the Northern Asia Minor. The Greek colonies of Sicily, South Italy and of the East had the same development.

"Thus, in addition to the manners and customs of the Greeks, the Greek spirit, the Greek thought, the Greek democratic organization of the city-states, the Greek administrative machinery, the Greek laws, the Greek language and the Greek religion were transferred to the East."[559]

Samoulidis also points out the differences of Kourdian people, which come from Egypt and eastern of the Colcians where the Abkhazians, the Lazi and other folks. Further, the Byzantine Empire and later the autocracy of Trapezund are elaborated.[560]

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[557] His book unfortunately is not dated. In the university databank it is prescribed as "ca. 1984".
[558] Samoulidis (1984): [«Στο μεταξύ, δούλεψαν σκληρά, πολέμησαν με τους ντόπιους στον περίγυρό τους, έχτισαν οικοδομήματα, ναούς, πρόκοψαν και αναπτύχθηκαν. Και επιπλέον, σαν ξενιτεμένοι, τους 'έφερνε νοερά ποιο κοντά στην παλιά πατρίδα και, καθώς διέστελλαν τον εαυτό τους από τους ντόπιους, δημιουργούσαν 'έντονη συνείδηση της ελληνικότητάς τους και της εθνικής τους ενότητας με τους Ελλαδικούς»] Samoulidis, Xristos (1984). Ιστορία του ποντιακού ελληνισμού. Athens: Alkyon, P. 12.
[559] Ibid. P. 12. [«Έτσι, μεταφέρθηκαν στην Ανατολή, εκτός από τα ήθη και έθιμα των Ελλήνων, το ελληνικό πνεύμα, η ελληνική σκέψη, η ελληνική δημοκρατική οργάνωση των πόλεων-κρατών, η ελληνική διοικητική μηχανή, οι ελληνικοί νόμοι, η ελληνική γλώσσα και η ελληνική θρησκεία.»].
[560] Ibid. P. 13, 25-128.

Pontians also speak a different dialect from Greek, called "pontiaka", and they refer to their own language as "romaika" (Roman), due to their belonging to the Christian orthodox group during the Ottoman Empire and before in the Byzantine Empire:

"Pontic Greek or Pontic Greek (Greek ποντιακά) is an independent, historically and linguistically important dialect group that was in use in around 800 settlements, mainly along the southern Black Sea coast, and is divided into several regio-lects (Western Pontos, Trabzon, Eastern Pontos) and Northern Pontos (Russia, Ukraine)."[561]

Greek colonies in the northern Anatolian region of the black coast, have been tracked down since antiquity, during the "Great colonisation" of 600-800 BC. Until the 16th century this region was inherited by 93% Greeks and until the beginning of the 20th century about 30% of the total population. Until the end of WW1 about half a million lived in today's Ukraine inclusively Crimea and Caucasus region. Reasons for the decrease are apart from migration also conversion to the Islam, regardless if it was only for legal reasons (Crypto-Christs) or their language.[562]

During the 19th century the opposite development happened due to the flourishing economy in harbour cities, where usually Greek (speaking) people lived. Migration and learning Greek for trading have led to Hellenization. Also, the urbanization led to more organizations, which again were supporting the ideas of national ethnicity. For the Pontus region this first is documented in 1904. Due to the Young Turk Revolution from 1908 on, non-Muslim populations was increasingly persecuted. About 353.000 Pontians have been killed between 1914-1923.[563] Pontiac organizations abroad started to form 1918 on the Pontic congress the idea of a Greek republic Pontus, with Trapezund as the capital city. A few months later they called out the independent state of Pontus, which was rather symbolic. On the Paris peace conference 1918 they could persuade the winning powers of the Pontic issue. A

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[561] Kahl Thede (2016). P. 146: [„Pontos-Griechisch oder pontisches Griechisch (griech. ποντιακά) ist eine eigenständige, historisch und sprachgeschichtlich bedeutende Dialektgruppe, die in rund 800 Siedlungen vorwiegend entlang der südlichen Schwarzmeerküste in Gebrauch war und sich in mehrere Regiolekte (Westpontos, Trabzon, Ostpontos) sowie Nordpontos (Russland, Ukraine) unterteilt"].

[562] Zelepos, Ioannis (2019). Verpasste Chancen? Die Pontusgriechen zwischen 1918 und 1922, in: Europäisches Journal für Minderheitenfragen 12(3-4), P. 360f.

[563] Ibid. P. 361f. Small groups of resistance formed but lacked a clear political aim. Those fragmented groups can be called something in between self-protection and predation groups. According to Zelepos must be viewed carefully, when nowadays people talk of a national resistance.

petition of the American Pontus Greeks was brought to the American president Wilson, with the aim to free Pontian Greeks from the "Turkish Jock" and support their sovereignty, alike American principles.[564] Support and interest in Greece started to rise since 1920, when especially due to the war with Turkey, Greece needed an extended military. While Turkish troops occupied huge parts in Armenia, Greece started to form a volunteering army of Pontian's of Athens to send them to the Black Sea coast. The empires like Great Britain were reserved because they feared a Sowjet-Turkish allying. Due to the capitulation of Armenia and the progressing Greek troops in Asia Minor, the idea of an independent Pontius dissolved. During the armistice of Mudros between 1918 and 1921 about 180.000 Pontians were killed by persecutions of armed formations under Topal Osman, a warlord, who was also the main actor in 1915 at the Armenian genocide. In 1921 a huge amount of the Pontian elite was declared as traitors for seeking independence and therefore arrested. 155 people were killed. This set a mass migration of Pontic Greeks to the forth and ended in the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923 when an obligatory exchange of populations was agreed. The date of 19. May 1919 as a Memorial Day for the recognized genocide by the Greek parliament in 1994, also implied nationalistic tendencies and abuses. Zelepos (2019) also states that the focus on a potential genocide has to be seen critically, because one might oversee

> *"that the centuries-old linguistic and cultural history of the Pontus Greeks also offers many other and more viable points of reference for their identity as a people group and a nation."* [565]

The sound of Pontic music reminds of a dark atmosphere and is marked by repeated beats of drums in a specific rhythm. Also, the dance and costumes appear different in comparison with the rest of Greece.

> *"The black colour, the striking boots, a bandolier or a knife at the hip give the costume of the Pontic men a distinctly warlike appearance."*[566]

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[564] Zelepos (2019). P. 364.

[565] Ibid. P. 371: [„dass die jahrhundertealte Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der Pontusgriechen auch noch viele andere und tragfähigere Bezugspunkte für ihre Identität als Volksgruppe und Landsmannschaft bietet"].

[566] Kahl Thede (2016). P. 143: […"Durch ihre schwarze Farbe, die auffallenden Stiefel, einen Patronengurt oder ein Messer in der Hüfte wirkt die Tracht der pontischen Männer ausgesprochen kriegerisch"].

To dance Pontic dances a dancer must bounce and shiver to this sound in a meditative manner, while all of the body has to shake. This specificity of Greek dance is only found in Pontic dances. Not only the feet are dancing, but all the body. Also, the arms are involved in exhausting movements, because in a bunch of dances they must be raised permanently and shaken continuously. Additionally, Pontic dances are usually danced by very small but precise steps and generally a quick move. Another specificity is the appearance of Pontian male dancers, which are heavily armed and female dancers usually do not wear a headscarf, but a decorative round object, called "tabla" where coins are sewn on. Another specificity of Pontic female dresses is that they wear trousers underneath.

An armed dance, named after Pyrrhos, son of Achilles, the pyrrhic dance has been described by Plato and visualized on vases since antiquity (see figure 36). Other sources can be found in mythology: Athena danced it right after her birth, when she sprang from Zeus's head and after the siege against the Giants. As Goulaki-Voutira (1996) describes, also others claim to mark the origin of the dance, such as Pyrrhichos (the god of the "rustic dance") of Crete, among other figures in mythology, such as the Kouretes and Corybants. While the dance was danced in formation or single, it was important at the Panathenaic Festival, where it has been danced "for a long time":

> *"Surely the representations on the vases are far from being the mirror of the ancient world, but the choice of subjects often speaks more eloquently than written texts".[567]*

As described by Plato, "the dancer either defends himself or attacks pretending to be in battle."[568] The earliest appearances of armed dances on vases are from the end of the 6th century BC. On some relicts they wore helmets, short tunics and were armed with arms and shields; some show a perizoma (loincloth) over their tunics, while on others "the Pyrrhic dancers appear almost completely naked, each wearing a helmet

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[567] Goulaki-Voutira, Alexandra (1996). Pyrrhic Dance and Female Pyrrhic Dancers, in: Research Center for Music Iconography 21(1), P. 3.
[568] Plato (Laws, VII 815),cited in: Ibid.

and holding a shield and spear."[569] Most likely the dance was practised for training for war.

The dance "Serra" has often been visualized in music videos or short movies. While some have made documentaries on the preservation of cultural goods, and interviewees some of the former refugees, others have stylized it in less neutral manners.[570] It has been mentioned by Pontians, that only very few people knew how to dance Serra, and there where variations in each village. Also, if the dancer made slightest changes, the "beauty [of Serra] left".[571]

When observing Pontic dances[572], it is obvious, that the sounds are different than from the islands or more Western regions. Each Greek region has its specificities according to the historic development of the area. While shepherds of Northern Epirus sound different than Ionian islands which were occupied by Italians, French and British invaders, more eastern parts are influenced from Ottoman times.

6.3.2. Southern Italy

While the Pontic dances concern the Eastern region of the former Byzantine (Roman) Empire at the Black Sea, in today's national borders of Italy are also relics of ancient Greek colonies. This region of "Magna Graecia" consists of all regions of ancient South-Italy, including Sicily which where colonised by Greek-speaking settlers (see fig. 38). Unlike a common perception, "the best-preserved Greek temples in the world are found not in Greece but in Italy". Some of them, still can be found about 60km South of Naples, in Paestum.[573]

The dialects of Magna Graecia still exist in some villages of Lucania and Apulia and are called "Griko".[574] The language Griko consists of ancient, byzantine, and Italian elements. Apart from Greek settlements also other cultural and linguistic groups were

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[569] Ibid. P. 3.
[570] Kenanetzidis, Christo (2018). The Phyrric Short Film. Exelixi Music & Film Entertainment.
[571] Tsavalos, Antonis (2013). Σέρρα. ΕΡΤ Ελλήνων δρώμενα: Filmellon.
[572] See for example: Sthn Ygeia mas (2020). Αλέξης Παρχαρίδης - Ποντιακά (Στην υγειά μας).
[573] Ceserani, Giovanna (2012). Italy's Lost Greece: Magna Graecia and the Making of Modern Archaeology. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
P. 1f.
[574] Babbel Italia (2018). Lingue che scompaiono | Il grico.

living there besides the Greek poleis, but the region was heavily influenced by Greek culture since the 8th century BC. In the lost battles of the Phyrric-war the region was annexed by Rome and thereby got romanticized. In the 6th century, as well as in the 6th century AC the regions of Southern Italy Greek as a liturgical language gained importance again. Especially byzantine monks who fled because of iconoclasm, settled there and built cave settlements in Murgia.

Griko-culture is still vivid in songs and dances which are performed and sung to the present day. The festival "Notte della taranta"[575] in Apulia for instance performs a huge show with the old songs. Also, in the international festival of folklore in Lefkada the dance "tarantella" was performed by the local dancing group "Orfeas".[576] "Encardia", a music band tries to preserve the "Mediterranean wave" as they call it, by singing in Griko, but also adds modern Greek and Italian language, among other dialects: "While I am always thinking of you, because you, my soul I love, where I am going, where I haul, where I stand, I will always keep you in the heart."[577] Griko dialect thereby got a wider awareness and found many interprets to sing the folk songs.[578] Regional differences of pronunciation of the dialects can be seen by the song "kalinifta" or "kalinitta".[579] Further, there are versions of the same songs in Italian language.

Cesarani (2012) elaborates three effects that the history of Italy's ancient Greece had and how they are connected. First, the Humanist efforts in the ancient past, second, the development of modern Hellenism and third, the making of classical archaeology.

[575] Notte della Taranta (2020). KALINITTA (canto in grico).

[576] See: Perdikaris, Gerasimos (1992). «Ορφεύς» Λευκάδος 1937-1988. Μισός αιώνας πολιτιστικής πορείας, Lefkada: Boukelatos. The Cultural Society of Lefkada, founded in 1937 has gained the prize of the Athens Academy in 1993. It is a very active group to promote dances, songs and customs of the Islands, the Ionian Islands and all of Greece. The dance club was founded in 1960. Orfeas has a wide collection of dance costumes of all parts of Greece. See more: Filippa, Ioanna (2014). 52ο Διεθνές φεστιβάλ φολκλόρ Λευκάδας. Lefkas Interanational Folklore Festival, Programme. Lefkada: Lefkas Cultural Center and Municipality of Lefkada, P. 27.

[577] Encardia (2022). Mediterranean wave; Konstantatos (2022): Santu Paulu; Encardia (2015). Tarantella Pizzica Di San Vito, Athens: ["Evò panta ss' esena penseo, Jatì 'sena, fsichi-mmu, 'gapò Ce pu pao, pu sirno, pu steo 'Sti kkardìa panta seria vastò"].

[578] Stameni, Marianna (2018). Encardia: Η γλώσσα και η μουσική παράδοση των Ελλήνων της Κάτω Ιταλίας, Universitary Thesis. Florina: University of West-Makedonia, P. 21.

[579] Encardia / Ioannidis, Alkinoos (2020) Kalinifta (Matinata), Melodico Karavi; Notte della Taranta (2020); Text see appendix P. V.

Travelling to Italy was very common for Humanists, but South of Naples or Rome was the exotic perceived periphery. Paestum though, got an exciting adventure, and was more easily reached, than mainland Greece. It therefore was "crucial to the eighteenth-century Greek revival movement, which changed the architectural face of European capitals and shaped a new image of the classical world."[580]

> *"Lying outside the national boundaries of modern Greece and sharing in the complicated regional dynamic of the Italian Mezzogiorno, it has always fit awkwardly, at best, within commonly accepted paradigms of Hellenism."[581]*

"The modern imagining of the ancient Greek world" is strongly influenced by the "passionate eighteenth-century turn to the Greek past that lies at the origins of modern Hellenism, its ideals, and institutions". This made Magna Graecia once "one of the focal points" for nostalgia, embodied in a fascination with ruins, abandoned cities, and once-splendid landscapes". It supported the "imagining of the ancient Greek world".[582]

> *"After Italy's unification, […] Magna Graecia would be portrayed with increasing frequency as the site of the first encounter between Greek and Roman civilizations […] At junctures of heightened nationalism, culminating in the imperial dreams of the Fascist regime, Magna Graecia has also been claimed by Italians as different from, and even better than, Greece itself."[583]*

Apart from a superior perception, Cesarani (2012) also explains other developments which came to the forth: scholars established a "classical ideal centred on mainland Greece", and Magna Graecia was reduced to the status of "a peripheral ancient colony".[584] This example shows historical perceptions and misperceptions also shaped the way of perceiving nation state borders. Today in the regions around Lecce are some villages, where the older generation still speaks the Griko dialect. Folk dances of the region (different forms of tarantella) also exist and are performed by both "nations" – Greece and Italy, as part of their cultural heritage.

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[580] Cesarani (2012). P. 2f.
[581] Ibid. P. 3.
[582] Cesarani (2012). P. 2.
[583] Ibid. P. 2f.
[584] Ibid. P. 6.

While the "tarantella dance" it is named "Pizzica" in Apulia, in Calabria it is a different variation and simply called "Tarantella" (see fig. 40). In Napoli a version of "Tamuriata" can be found in the villages around the Vesuvius, but there is also a Napoleonic version which is known up to the Northern parts of Italy.[585] All of them appear differently and have roots in Italy. Greek-speaking people of the region have adopted them, but use a more vivid form of dialect, to which they refer to as "Roman", according to Kostantatos (2022).

The word "tarantella" derives of the European tarantula spider (Lycosa tarantula). Its bite was according to the legend, causing a possession ritual: the tarantism.[586] This was a ritual of "sweating" the poison out of the body by dancing. It was also connected with attacks of "Tanzwuth" (Veitstanz) and led to impulsive dancing, hallucinations and twitches until the dancer broke down.[587] The music is played with violin, harmonica and tambourine (see fig. 39). The bitten woman is in pain and moves in the rhythm in mechanical ways, rolling from one side to the other, she arises in almost a moment of liberation, moving and dancing until "fino la scomparsa dei sensi" (in the end she loses her senses).[588]

"After several hours of frantic dancing, during which the woman tore out her hair, curled and rolled on the ground, tore handkerchiefs in intense pain, scratched some unlucky person, screamed in ecstasy and fell exhausted on the ground and finally slept for many hours, finally cured."[589]

This dance's name and the spider's name do not come from Naples, but from Taranto, an Apulian city (ancient Greek: Τάρας, Latin: Tarentum), which was founded in 8th century BC. The Apulian dance since the 19th century is also known as "Pizzica", which derives of the word "pizzico", in an expanded sense of meaning, "pizzicare" means "the bite" (of the spider). There are two variants of the folk dances with the name

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[585] See more about the Tarantella of Napoli, which has also been balletizised and in cinema, its local variations and Tammurriata: Uffreduzzi, Elisa (2019). Tarantella Dance in Early Cinema: A Pillar of Neapolitan Urban Architecture, in: Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film 46(2), pp. 210-223.
[586] Ibid. P. 211.
[587] An impressive performance of this ritual can be seen in the movie: De Martino, Ernesto (1960). La Taranta.
[588] Mingozzi, Gianfranco (1962). La Taranta.
[589] Aprile, Rocco (1998). Τραγούδια αγάπης της Ελλάδας του Σαλέντο / Canti d' amore della Grecia Salentina. Thessaloniki, Athens: Malliaris Paideia A.E, P. 34f.

Tarantella, the possession dance and the erotic dance.[590] Pizzica is said to be danced on the half-island of Salento.

They wrongly accused the Apulian tarantula, which is bigger than the European black widow, which most likely caused symptoms. The tarantula is day active and could be sighted more frequently, especially in the fields where the women usually worked by collecting grain. The Black widow hides under stones during the day. Until 1875 the Spanish medical association recommended the practise of tarantella dance as a cure.

An important role is also given to Saint Paulus. But even with prayers and the dance the bitten woman did (according to the myth) not always survive "la taranta".[591] Important fieldwork was made by Ernesto de Martino during the beginning of 20th century on tarantism. "The Apostle Paul was the patron saint of those bitten by the poisonous spider, and pizzica was a process of healing the sting." [592] In their song, the band Encardia combines two Griko dialects and modern Greek around the myth of Saint Paulus: "Give me and all others (female) the grace of the tarantula."[593] The song continuous: when you hear the bell ringing, the pain has started and prayers are told, because the spiders crawl at night and at daytime. It is interesting, that "tarantism" is declared dead, but not as such the tradition around the curer "Saint Paulus" und the Tarantella. This shows an example of how a multi-facetted tradition can survive (- the tarantella is alive!), without putting it in a nationalistic context.[594]

> *"there is no longer St. Paul, but the taranta lives ... the taranta lives*
> *as a scream of joy, as an anarchic cry of freedom, as a celebration, as*
> *a communion, as a buzz, a natural trance, without the need for pills*
> *and various drugs, and this it's all positive. In Italy it also represented*
> *a reappropriation of identity, of one's own conscience in a way that*
> *was not at all nationalist."[595]*

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590 Ufreduzza (2019). P. 211f.

591 Mingozzi, Gianfranco (1962); De Martino, Ernesto (2005). Land of remorse. A study of Southern Italy Tarantism. London: Free association books.

592 Konstantatos (2022).

593 Ibid.: [Santu Paulu, delle tarante fame na grazia a mie, e a tutte quante]. See appendix, P. IV.

594 Supposedly the difference between Pontian and South Italian history has led to different variations of identity combined with more or less aspects of nationalism. Since in South Italy no war between Greece and Italy took place, it appears to share traditions more easily.

595 Wespeare, Edoardo (2009). Pizzicata, il primo film sul rito della taranta: [„non c'è più S. Paolo, però la taranta vive… la taranta vive come urlo di gioia, come grido anarchico di libertà, come festa, come comunione, come sballo, trance naturale, senza bisogno di pastiglie e droghe varie, e questo è tutto

6.3.3. Song "Stand on my feet"

While the prior example showed a peaceful co-tradition between Greece and Italy, the next example shows how the motif of dancing for resistance during the War of Independence was reused for expressing political dissatisfaction. It shows how politics, dances and identity can be mixed. The song of Leonidas Mpalafas and Giorgos Zervakis[596] (2015) was published in the heat of the economic crisis, where unemployment and frustration were very high. Also, the bilateral relations between Germany and Greece decreased to a status of mutual critics. Thereby, this song has to be understood in this specific context, to grasp the feeling it supposedly should send to the listeners. It can be interpreted as a "silent" critique of the Memoranda and ongoing politics in Greece and external determination of economic, fiscal, and monetary policies, but it also shows the violent power behind rhetoric's of war.

The song starts by a television speech of a politician of a fictive party called ("New Hope"), saying "all of us are going to pay this" and that those were to blame for us to fall apart. In a typical manner of Greek politicians demonstrating their willingness, he is shouting, that "we have a vision, we have a plan" (the party), while throwing his fist on the table multiple times, he repeats the sentence "you destroyed the country". Meanwhile lyra sounds of the Cretan Pentozali starts to play in the background. The obviously hard-working men, who meet after work in the tavern/coffeeshop to play the table game "tavli" and talk, slowly start awakening by the sound of the Cretan dance. Then, the singer tells, he looks like "bombarded", and explains his life sorrows, another one states his strength, like the guy with the lyra, but never received the love he gave (see Appendix, P. VI). The main character is watching his fellows, singing in resignation, another one reading the newspaper about the "never ending problems". Then the chorus sets in:

> *"How will I be able to stand on my feet, after so many blows? I've forgotten the steps. But I can't say, "I can't". I have to start dancing".[597]*

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positivo. Da noi ha rappresentato anche una riappropriazione dell'identità, della propria coscienza in maniera per niente nazionalista"].

[596] Mpalafas, Leonidas and Zervakis, Giorgos (2015). «Να σταθώ στα πόδια μου».

[597] Mpalafas and Zervakis (2015). [Άντε να σταθώ στα πόδια μου, μετά από τόσα χτυπήματα, έχω ξεχάσει τα βήματα, μα δε με παίρνει να πώ δεν μπορώ, πρέπει να μπώ στο χορό].

While the men are singing the chorus one by one, the little boy plays the lyra continuously. Then well-dressed men (in opposite to the dirty and poor looking worker) with suits and polished shoes enter the scenery while the leader introduces the newly elected "New Hope"-party candidate. The politician is shaking hands, while the party leader is introducing the programme with a loud voice, and the main character, who was so far only observing his fellows, now refuses to shake the hand of the politician. The song continuous and a worker is expressing he has lost and sort of gave up resisting, but "who honestly gets what he/she deserves?"

During that scenery the main character stands up and clenches his fist, while the clearly irritated politician is stepping back. But he is not clenching his fist to hit him, but to enter the circle for a dance. Politicians have left and he starts making the fist dance steps. Then the music turns to the typical part of Pentozali, where men are combining fast steps with stamping. Two of the singers join him and the scenery switches between the Cretan countryside, where a fast, expensive car of BMW is driving. The faster the dancer's step, the harder the throat of the politician closes, and he is close to having a heart attack and not being able to breath. The car stops to help him, while the Pentozali dancers are moving faster and faster, the stamps are hard and throwing their feet far up in the air, even that the soil breaks. Meanwhile the politician is unconscious and most likely dying, but now the dancers are in the Crete mountains, not in the tavern anymore. The atmosphere is heating up due to the sound of the lyra and the dance steps are getting harder, glasses break, dust is raising and the dancers on the mountains appear to fly. Finally, the main character stops to dance, and one can hear the television voice in the background again, saying:

> *"You have forgotten what a man can say. You are only concerned*
> *with how to serve interests. Nothing else. How to serve interests. But*
> *we understand you, we got you."*[598]

In the moment, when the politician says, "we understand you", the dancer is smashing the television with his fist and the car is exploding. You can also see the dead politician lying on the floor with his shirt opened. Then, the main character is leaving the tavern.

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[598] Malafas and Zervakis (2015). [«Έχετε ξεχάσει τι πάει να πει άνθρωπος. Ασχολείστε μόνο πως να εξυπηρετήσετε συμφέροντα. Τίποτα άλλο. Πως να εξυπηρεατήσετε συμφέροντα. Σας καταλάβαμε όμως, σας καταλάβαμε»].

Pentozali is a strong expressive war dance from the Greek Independence War. By the metaphor to stand up and dance when the politician enters and (again) promises (potentially wrong) hopes, a clear statement of cultural resistance towards the ongoing political crisis was expressed. The brutal way of the politician to die and the German car to explode, leaves the impression of the heaviness of frustration of the "folk", which is represented by the hard-working people, who meet at the tavern. Dance in this context is used for a differentiation between "us" (the folk) and "them" (the politicians). When not being able to influence the ongoing politics, crises, and developments, what remains is the identity and tradition. By using dance as a metaphor to "stand up" (against the establishment) a populist rhetoric[599] is used for political criticism. It is not untypically to happen during times of crises.[600]

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[599] See more about definitions of populism on the "popular sovereignty [which] has been corrupted by the elites": Mudde, Cas / Kaltwasser, Christobal Rovira (2012). Populism and (liberal) democracy: A framework for analysis, in: Populism in Europe and the Americas, P. 5 and Stavrakakis, Yannis / Katsambekis, Giorgos (2014). Left-wing populism in the European periphery: the case of SYRIZA, in: Journal of Political Ideologies 19(2), pp. 119-142.

[600] See more on populism in Greece during the economic crisis: Vasilopoulou, Sofia / Halikiopoulou, Daphne / Exadaktylos, Theofanis (2014). Greece in Crisis: Austerity, Populism and the Politics of Blame, in: Journal of common market studies 52(2), pp. 388-402; and in Europe: Caiani, Manuela / Graziano, Paolo (2019). Understanding varieties of populism in times of crises, in: West European politics 42(6), pp. 1141-1158.

7. Conclusion: It is not all invented, but how is it used?

Greek historiography still influences modern Greek consciousness of identity and the self-perception as a nation between East and West. Modern Greek identity has a long history between the Orient and Occident and thereby a burden of the Romios vs. the Hellenic identity. Othering, as a distinction from the West (nowadays: the European Union), comes in waves: especially in times of crises, identity is used to differentiate.

Primordial and social constructivist understanding of "nations" and "ethnicity" influence the perception of identity, as something intrinsic or a feeling that can be learnt through society and cultural engagement. Greekness in a primordial understanding is congenital and therefore the background of traditions is crucial and has to be considered when analysing potential nationalistic use. By a historical approach the political nationalism in Greece (nation building) is described in a top-down approach. The cultural nationalism, shaped by scholars and artists, is shown via a bottom-up perspective with ethnologically methods. Here, the various uses of Hellenism, self-designations of Romios vs. Hellenes, with the Philhellenic movement and with the history of dance in Greece, especially by the development of the classical ballet and the reintroduction of ancient theatre performances, are presented. The try to adapt the theorem of unbroken continuity since ancient times has been shown on various cultural aspects and still plays a major role in modern Greek identity, such as the Olympic games in 2004 or the Parthenon temple. Invented traditions hereby serve to form collective identity, legitimize hierarchies or implement values. The symbolic use of culture can be visualised by a circle dynamic of nationalism, nation-building, identity and othering, continuously influencing each other.

By historical and ethnographic approaches, both aspects are covered: a problem centred humanitarian method is linked to today, to understand complex phenomena better, and provide potential solutions for a given problem. By adding data from personal ethnological field research, this work has been given a deeper inside into identity issues in Greece today, concerning traditional dances. Sources for research on folk dances are given by vase paintings (often over-interpreted in the continuity discourse); in laographic works, which need to be carefully proven due to the historical burden of nationalistic use; or by festivals and stage performances.

Thereby it is shown, that neither first existence dances (in the field), nor second existence dances (invented for stage performances) occur to be happening in Greece, which is why a third existence is proposed: cultural preservation of folk dances by (semi-) professional groups and stage performances. Those are trying to preserve the utmost original way of dancing and clothing, without political demands in the background. This can be seen as "dancing museums" e.g., cultural preservation. Metaphorically speaking, many old dances are re-performed in modern ways and thereby come in a new shape. While this work shows that folk dance and tradition in Greece is strongly connected to historical developments, not all of the traditions derive from the past. However, the real origin of those who do, is hard to detect. Mostly, due to the intercultural empires, cultural roots are still found in neighbouring countries as well as inside todays nation state borders. Reflecting the theoretical approach, invented tradition happens then, when customs are (politically) misused or put in historically wrong context (Sirtaki-dance).

An often neglected, but rich corpus of historical source is the traditional clothing. Costumes give insights on social status, but also on the way of living, social norms and behavioural rules, changes in politics and society (as the introduction of the Amalia dress or the nationalisation of the foustanella), and on the inclusion or exclusion of certain regions of Greece over time. A focus hereby is led on Pontic history and the re-interpretation of Serra dance as the ancient Pyrrhic dance. Yet another example is the region of Magna Graecia in Southern Italy, were Tarantella dance is peacefully shared between the two states and thereby preserving Griko culture. A modern song has shown how easily rhetoric and images of the past serves during times of crises (economic crisis) to enhance the collective identities. As long as they are not (mis-)used for political purposes, community cohesion can even prevent nationalism, because it allows mutual opening and presentation of cultures. However, the boundary of this question is fragile, just as state borders in times of crisis when historical fictions are posed as legitimation for territorial claims. Therefore, further research is needed in this context in order to understand the problem more precisely and to be able to point out misuse earlier. Dancers are performing at the wage of personal identity and national connotation.

Within this work it is shown, that the importance of the focus on the origins of traditional dance are less sufficient, but rather questions of who is dancing, what is danced and for what purpose the chosen dances are selected. Finally, the way costumes are preserved also give an "obvious image" of material history and has shown that a research gap of a comprehensive study of Greek folk costume gives further need to continue research in that field.[601]

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[601] See also: Dora Stratou Theatre (2022). The Pandect project.

8. Literature

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9. Appendix

Abstract

Greek historiography still influences modern Greek consciousness of identity and the self-perception as a nation between East and West, Orient and Occident or Roman vs. Hellenic identity. *Greekness* has been approached by a historical reflection of the *political nationalism* in Greece (nation building). *Cultural nationalism*, which is shaped by scholars and artists, is shown via a bottom-up perspective with ethnologically methods. The influences of *Hellenism*, the *Philhellenic* movement, the *dogma of unbroken continuity* since ancient times has been shown on various cultural aspects and still play a major role in modern Greek identity. *Invented traditions* hereby serve to form collective identity, legitimize hierarchies or implement values. The symbolic use of culture can be visualised by a circle dynamic of nationalism, nation-building, identity and othering, influencing each other.

By *historical* and *ethnographic* approaches, as well as, data from personal ethnological field research, this work gives a deeper inside towards identity issues in Greece, with respect to a special focus on folk dances. The evaluation of such dances, but also, i.e. traditional costumes give further insights on social status, the way of living, social norms and behavioural rules, changes in politics and society, as well as inclusion or exclusion of certain territorial regions of the Greek state over time. Clothing gives an "obvious image" of material history, wherefore historic dresses are linked to the cultural preservation of folk dances. Those are performed by (semi-) professional groups and stage performances and can be seen as "dancing museums". This work clearly shows, that the solely focus on the origins of traditional dance, is insufficient, but rather questions who is dancing, what is danced and for what purpose a repertoire is selected. Furthermore, a research gap of a comprehensive study of Greek folk costume gives further need to continue this research in that field.

Kurzfassung

Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung prägt bis heute das moderne griechische Identitätsbewusstsein und die Selbstwahrnehmung als Nation zwischen Ost und West, Orient und Okzident oder römischer vs. hellenischer Identität. Das Griechentum wird durch eine historische Reflexion des politischen Nationalismus in Griechenland untersucht. Der kulturelle Nationalismus, der von Wissenschaftler:innen und Künstler:innen geprägt wird, wird durch eine bottom-up-Perspektive mit ethnologischen Methoden dargestellt. Die Einflüsse des Hellenismus, der philhellenischen Bewegung und des Dogmas der ungebrochenen Kontinuität seit der Antike, werden anhand verschiedener kultureller Aspekte aufgezeigt und spielen auch heute noch eine große Rolle in der griechischen Identität. „Erfundene Traditionen" dienen dabei der Bildung einer kollektiven Identität, der Legitimierung von Hierarchien oder der Durchsetzung von Werten. Der symbolische Gebrauch von Kultur kann durch eine Dynamik von Nationalismus, Nationenbildung, Identität und Othering veranschaulicht werden, die sich gegenseitig beeinflussen.

Anhand historischer und ethnographischer Ansätze sowie Daten aus persönlichen ethnologischen Feldforschungen gibt diese Arbeit einen tieferen Einblick in Identitätsfragen in Griechenland, wobei ein besonderer Schwerpunkt auf Volkstänzen liegt. Die Auswertung solcher Tänze, aber auch z.B. traditioneller Trachten gibt weitere Einblicke in den sozialen Status, die Lebensweise, soziale Normen und Verhaltensregeln, Veränderungen in Politik und Gesellschaft sowie die Ein- oder Ausgrenzung bestimmter territorialer Regionen des griechischen Staates im Laufe der Zeit. Kleidung gibt ein "offensichtliches Bild" der materiellen Geschichte ab, weshalb historische Kleider mit der kulturellen Bewahrung von Volkstänzen verbunden sind. Diese werden von (semi-)professionellen Gruppen und Bühnenaufführungen aufgeführt und können im Sinne "tanzender Museen" betrachtet werden. Diese Arbeit zeigt deutlich, dass die alleinige Fokussierung auf die Ursprünge des traditionellen Tanzes unzureichend ist, sondern fragt vielmehr, wer tanzt, was getanzt wird und zu welchem Zweck ein Repertoire ausgewählt wird. Diese Arbeit hat gezeigt, dass die Forschungslücke einer umfassenden Untersuchung der griechischen Volkstracht weiteren Forschungsbedarf auf diesem Gebiet aufwirft.
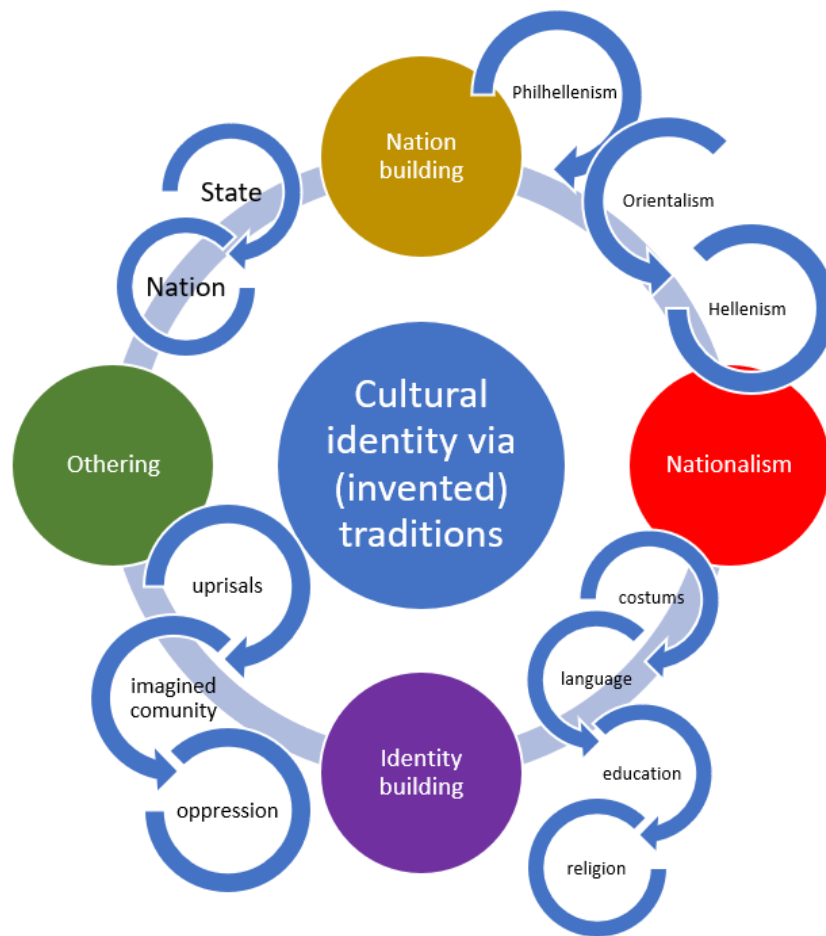
Images

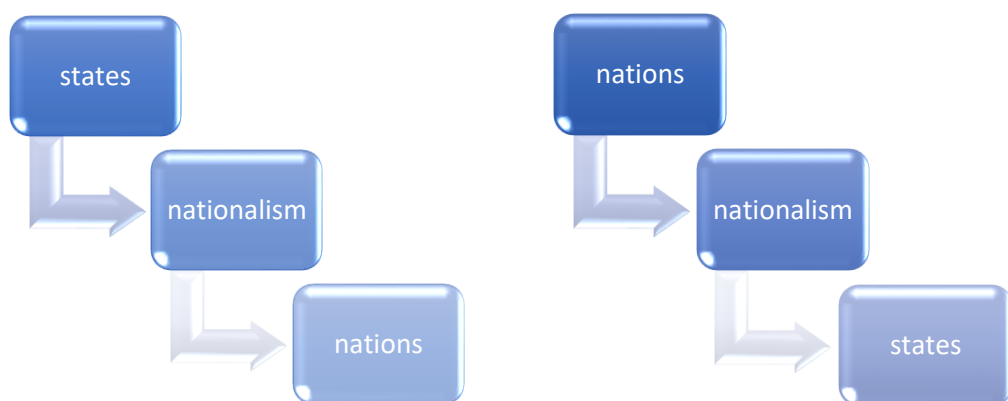*Figure 1 Model of Greek identity by traditions.*
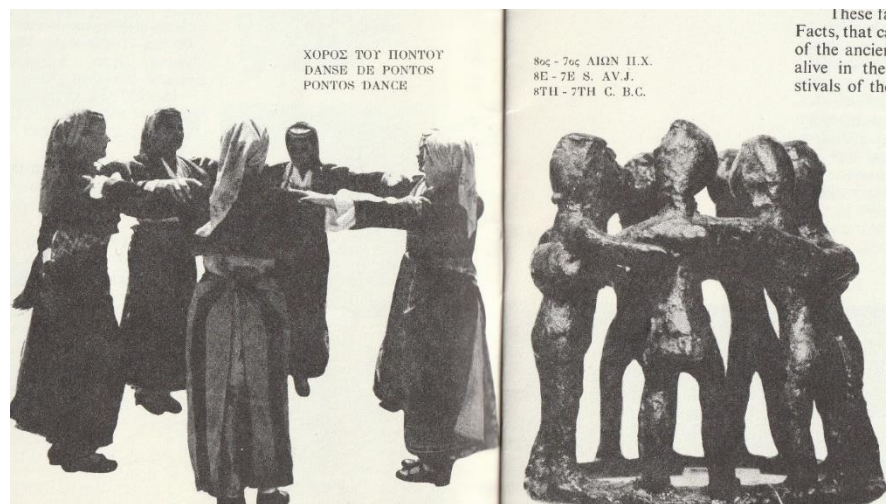

Figure 2 Model of theories.

Figure 3 Continuity of dances.[602]

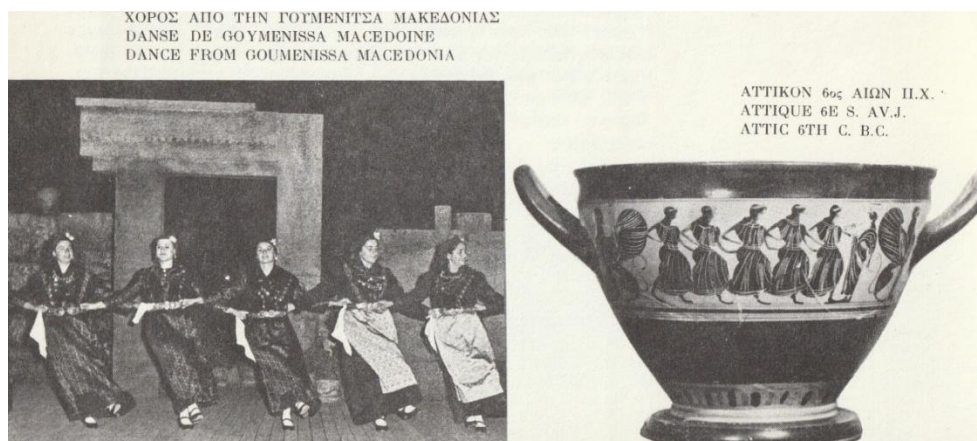*Figure 4 Comparison to antiquity.[603]*

Figure 5 Search for classical roots.[604]

[602] Stratou, Dora (1966). Greek dances. Theatre Dora Stratou. Athens: The American Educational Theatre Association and the United States Center of the International Theatre Institute.
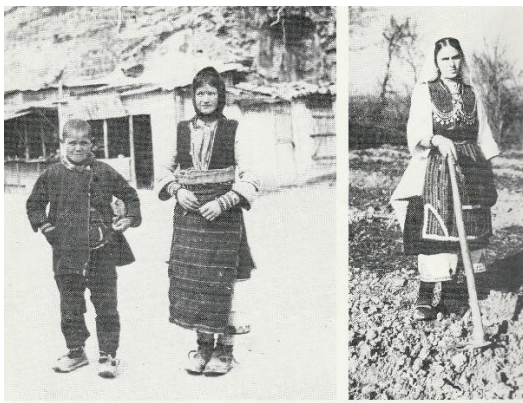[603] Stratou (1966).
[604] Stratou (1966).

Figure 6 Sarakatsani woman.[605]

Figure 9 Everyday dress of Sarakatsani women.[608]

Figure 7 Difference between working and festive clothes, Sarakatsani.[606]
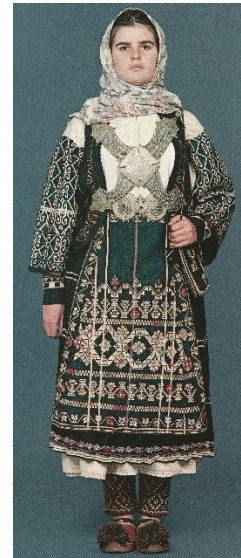
Figure 10 Sarakatsani woman in bridal dress.[609]

Figure 8 Sarakatsani women working.[607]

Figure 11 Sarakatsani women yarning.[610]

[605] Costa Manos. (1964). Greece. Thrace. 1964. Sarakatsani woman skeining yarn. "A Greek Portfolio" p.96. ©Costa Manos/Magnum Photos.
[606] Hatzimichali/Ioannou-Yiannara (1977). P. 294.

[607] Ibid. P. 305.
[608] Ibid. P. 299.
[609] Ibid. P. 303.
[610] Ibid. P. 294.

Figure 12 Bridal/festive dress from Asvestochori.[611]

Figure 14 Vlachoi woman.[613]

Figure 13 Jewellery of Asvestochori.[612]

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[611] Hatzimichali / Ioannou-Yiannara (1983). P. 289.

[612] Ibid. 303.
[613] Ibid. P. 304.

Figure 15 Most expensive bridal dress.[614]

Figure 16 Bridal costume of "Medini Attikis".[615]

Figure 17 Costume of old Athens.[616]
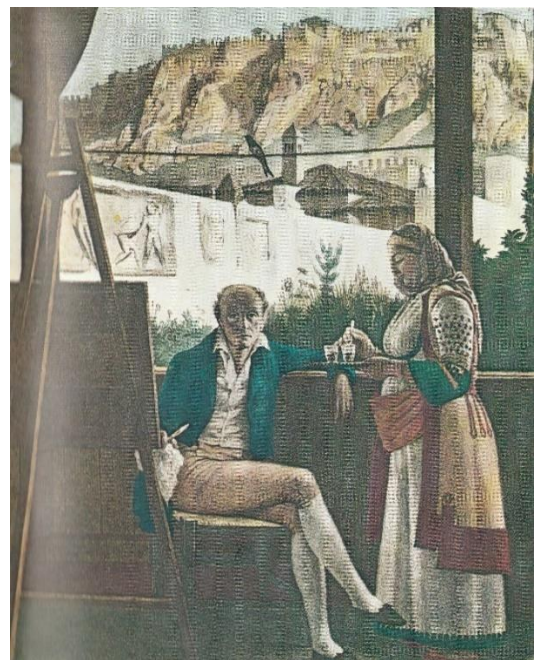
Figure 18 Everyday dress in Attica.[617]

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[614] Hatzimichali / Ioannou-Yiannara (1977). P. 25.
[615] Papantoniou (1991). P. 40.

[616] Hatzimichali / Ioannou-Yiannara (1983). P. 20.
[617] Ibid. (1977). P. 29.
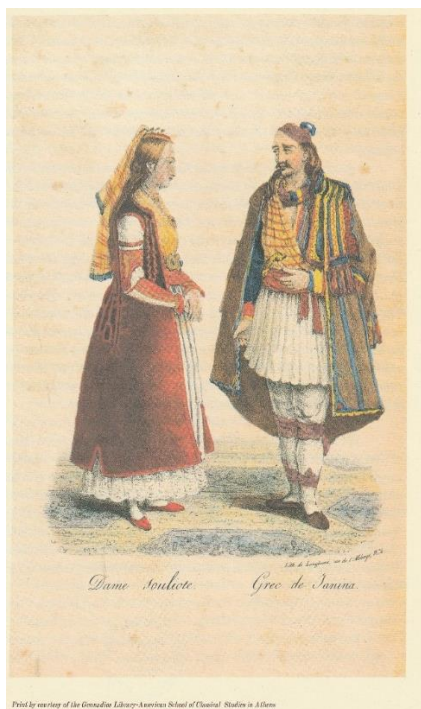
Figure 19 Woman from Souli, Man from Ioannina.[618]

Figure 20 Amalia costume.[619]

Figure 21 Pope, Man wearing foustanella, Kerkyraian woman (Corfu).[620]

[618] Papantoniou (1993). P. 12.
[619] Elia (2022). Amalia Dress, in: Elia Archives.

[620] Sakellaropoulos / Dimitriadou (2021).

Figure 22 Dress of Mavromichalis.[621]
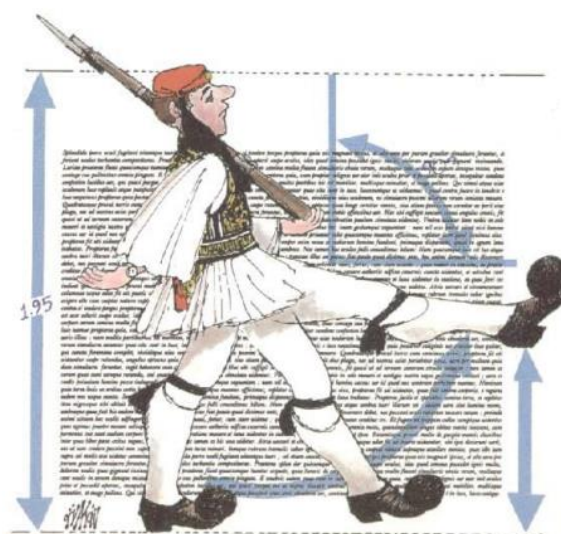
Figure 23 Evzone with Foustanella.[622]

Figure 24 Man wearing a Foustanella.[623]

Figure 25 Warrior with Foustanella.[624]   *Figure 26 Warrior from Epirus.*[625]

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[621] Sakellaropoulos / Dimitriadou (2021).
[622] Petropoulos (1987).
[623] Sakellaropoulos / Dimitriadou (2021).
[624] Sakellaropoulos / Dimitriadou (2021).
[625] Own photography.

Figure 27 Woman from Liarigori, Chalkidiki.[626]

Figure 29 Woman from Kalymnos.[628]
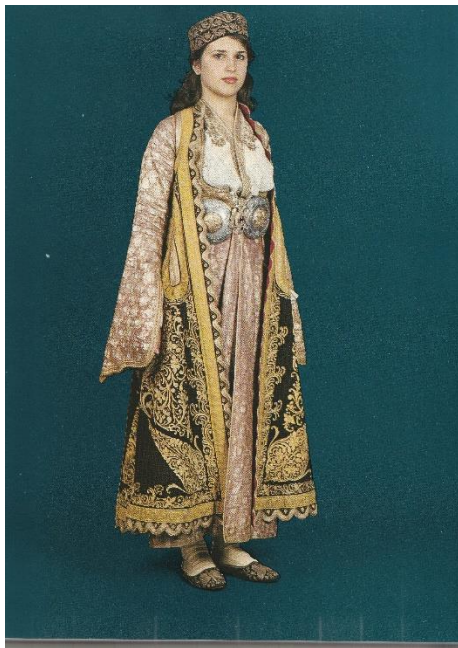
Figure 28 Costume of old Ioannina.[627]

Figure 30 Lefkadian woman carrying water.[629]

[626] Hatzimichali / Ioannou-Yiannara (1983). P. 307.
[627] Ibid. P. 139.
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[629] Georgios, Kourtis (2010). Στα χναριά του χθές, Τοπική Ενώση Δήμων και Κοινοτητών Νομού Λευκάδας. Lefkada: Verginis, P. 35.
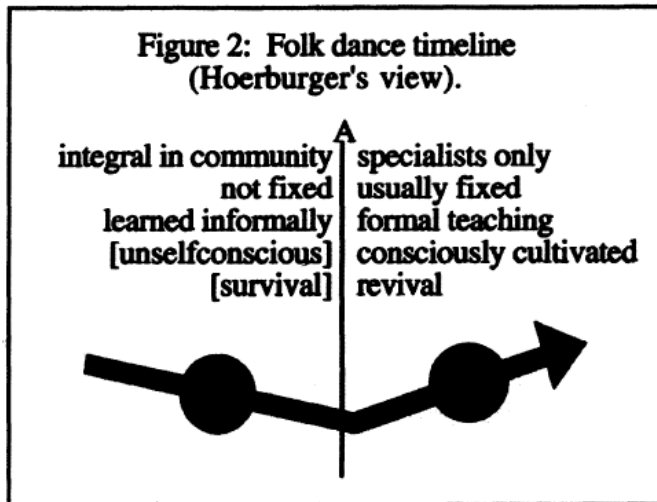
Figure 31 First and second existence folk dances.[630]

Figure 32 Greek colonies in antiquity, Black Sea.[631]

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[630] Nahachewsky (2001). P. 18.
[631] Samoulidis (1984). P. 11.

Figure 33 Winners of a Pyrrhic dance.[632]

Figure 35 La Phyrique.[633]

Figure 34 Pyrrhic Dance, 19th century.[636]

Figure 36 Ancient Pyrrhic Dance.[634]

Figure 37 Dancing "komast" figure.[635]

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[632] Dall'Orto, Giovanni (2009). Base with dedication for a (lost) statue of winners of a Pyrrhic dance around 375 BC. Pentelic marble, unknown provenience. National Archaeological Museum in Athens.

[633] Gerome, Jean-Leon (unknown date). La Phyrique. Gerome lived from 1824-1904.

[634] Alma-Tadema, Lorenz (1869). Pyrrhic Dance. London: Guildhall Art Gallery.

[635] The male dancing figures on vases are often called "komasts" and are sometimes "joined by dancing women". Smith (2010). 77.

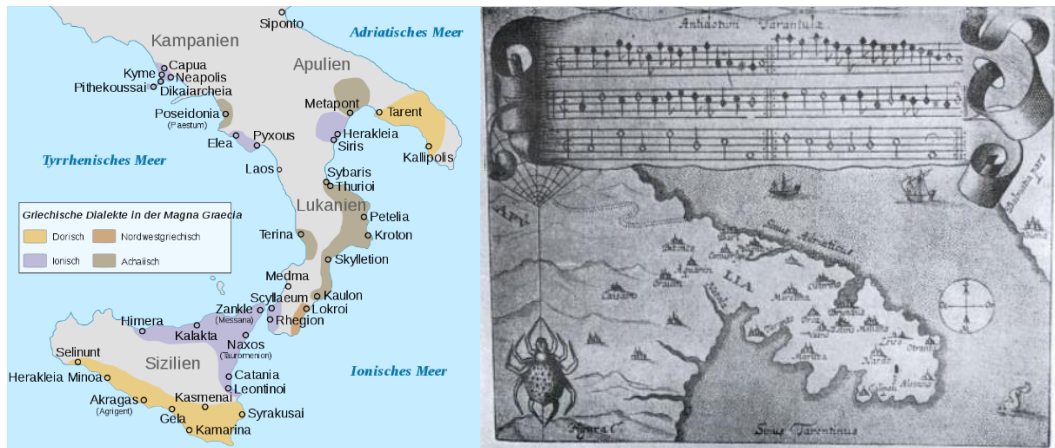[636] Gerome, Jean-Leon (1885). Pyrrhic Dance.

Figure 38 Magna Graecia.

Figure 39 Tarantella Music.[637]

Figure 40 Dancing Tarantella.[638]

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[637] Stege, Fritz (1961). Hafenreffer, Samuel (1587-1660). Musik, Magie, Mystik. Bietigheim-Bissingen: Reichl Verlag.
[638] Palmieri the Elder, Pietro. (2nd half 18th Century). A man and woman dancing a tarantella.

Santu Paulu

Sto mero tu pornu
kuo tin campana
Ivo se kanono
Ivo se kanono
Es ipuno kaledda
leo pregera

Santu Paulu(2)
Delle tarante
fame na grazia a mie (3)
e a tutte quante

ncino ce polemo
sto korafai
epiano mandilai
epiano mandilai
To fengo na sungiso
atto musai
ivo se kanono
sto korafai (2)
sekundu o fengari
sekundu o fengari
e stin angera
orio parefto

Αράχνες ταξιδεύουν νύχτα μέρα
Όνειρα λύνουν δένουνε
Κεντούν τσιμπούν και μένουνε
Τα δίχτυα τους απλώνουν στον αέρα
Νύχτα και μέρα(2)
Τα δίχτυα τους απλώνουν στον αέρα

Santu Paulu
Santu Paulu
Delle tarante
fame na grazia a mie
e a tutte quante

kalinifta

Ti en glicea tusi nifta ti en òria
C'evò e' pplonno penséonta 'ss esena
C'ettù-mpi 's ti ffenéstra-ssu, agàpi-mu,
Tis kardìa-mmu su nifto ti ppena.

Evò panta ss' esena penseo,
Jatì 'sena, fsichi-mmu, 'gapò
Ce pu pao, pu sirno, pu steo
'Sti kkardìa panta seria vastò.

C'esù mai de' m'agàpise, òria-mu
'E ssu pònise mai pu sse mena
Mai citt'oria chìli-su 'en énifse,
Na mu pì loja agapi vloimena!

T'asteràcia pu panu me vlepune
Ce m'o fengo krifizzu nnomena
Ce jelù ce mu lèune: 's ton ànemo
Ta traùdia pelìs, ì chamena.

Kalì nifta! se finno ce feo
Plaia 'su ti 'vo pirta prikò
Ma pu pao, pu sirno, pu steo
'Sti kkardìa panta sena vastò.

Stand on my feet

Μοιάζω με βομβαρδισμένο τοπίο
με ένα στιχάκι που είναι μουτζουρωμένο
στης ζωής το τελευταίο θρανίο
και με πουλί ξενιτεμένο...

Έχω πείσμα και γερό το στομάχι
σαν το Παύλο με την κάλπικη λύρα
την αγάπη που έχω δώσει δε πήρα
έτσι το θέλησε η μοίρα...

Άντε να σταθώ στα πόδια μου
μετά από τόσα χτυπήματα
έχω ξεχάσει τα βήματα
μα δε με παίρνει να πω δε μπορώ
πρέπει να μπω στο χορό...

Μες τον κόσμο μεγαλώνω τον άπονο
ποιος στ΄ αλήθεια παίρνει αυτό που του αξίζει
δε το θέλω μα μου βγαίνει παράπονο
γιατί η ρόδα δε γυρίζει...