

Re-imagining the Past

Antiquity and Modern Greek Culture

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Postcards from Metaxas' Greece

*The Uses of Classical Antiquity in Tourism
Photography**

Katerina Zacharia

Tourist images featured in official publications are socially constructed, invariably turning into nationalized objects of social exchange. They add value and meaning to heritage sites and artefacts.¹ Recent cultural heritage scholarship implicates the visual representations in official brochures, postcards, and other printed tourist materials in the very act of promoting and ultimately constructing heritage experiences. Such reductive projections reinforce the authorized heritage discourse and perpetuate existing power relations.² In fact, 'heritage' itself is a

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¹ In the field of ethnicity, the studies which are particularly useful for my work are those on the formation of national identity and its effect on policies for the preservation and restoration of the past on display in museums (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998) and on the transformation of archaeological sites into locations for imagining and exhibiting national cultures (Lidchi 1997; Rowlands 2002; Waterton and Watson 2010).

² In the field of tourist imagery, great strides have been made since the seminal work done on tourist guidebooks in the 1960s (Gritti 1967; see Barthes 1972; 1980; Baudrillard 1968). In the early 1980s, scholars began taking tourist brochures seriously (Buck 1977; Thurot and Thurot 1983), analysing their design and how it could

political concept, in that it entails the deliberate choice by the dominant group of a particular preferred past among many (Allcock 1995: 100–101).

Seeing Greek tourism as a collection of projected images, which establish the boundaries of tourist experience, define what is beautiful, what should be experienced, and with whom one should interact, offers some insight into the reasons why and how particular sites, destinations and people have been portrayed and packaged. Furthermore, tourist images are circulated within a system of cultural exchange that includes the accumulated cultural knowledge of a nation. Cultural capital is transformed into regular capital in the official tourist discourse, and exchanged by the national tourist bureau, who act as 'cultural brokers in ethnicity'.

In this chapter, I study the iconographic nature of the national imagination during the period of Metaxas' military dictatorship (1936–41), as evidenced in the choice of photographs printed in Greek state-funded publications—the quarterly tourist periodicals *In Greece/En Grèce/In Griechenland* (seven issues from spring 1937 to winter 1939)³—and in the fashion magazine *La Mode Grecque* (four issues from summer 1938 to summer 1940).⁴ Through a close reading of the themes and content and an evaluation of the image-text typographic layout and ratio, I present a comparison with the

influence different target audiences. In America and Canada, research focused on tourist photography and postcards (Albers and James 1988), on brochures (Buck 1977; Dann 1996), and on photographs (Papson 1981), or produced more comprehensive studies on the discourse of advertising (Berger 1972; Williamson 1983). More recent studies discuss the 'tourist as a child' (Dann 1985; 1988; 1993; Bruner 1991; Selwyn 1993), the construction of the tourist myth (Selwyn 1996), and the postmodern trend of tourism as a lifestyle (Urry 2002).

³ I consulted copies of the English version, where available (1–3, 7–8) and the French version for the remaining issues (4–6). There was also one post-Second World War issue published in autumn 1948, which I do not discuss here.

⁴ My work has benefited from the scholarship of Sophie Basch (1991; 1995) on French writers' perceptions of modern Greece (1846–1946), and Irini Boudouri's on photography and Greek antiquity in the early 20th c.; it is further informed by scholarship on the dictatorship of Metaxas and his press propaganda (Mahaira 1987; Petrakis 2006), and on tourism in Greece (Galani-Moutafi 2004; Galani-Moutafi and Tsartas 2009). All translations from Greek and French are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

privately owned contemporary periodical *Le Voyage en Grèce* (11 issues from spring 1934 to summer 1939).⁵

Drawing on different theoretical perspectives, focusing on ideas of visibility and imagery and on representational practice in relation to tourism and heritage studies, I explore how the national grand narrative of a continuous, diachronic, and essential Greek identity took on a cultural form shaped by the early tourist image promoted by the state-funded organizations of the Metaxas regime. The official discourse of the Metaxas regime constructed and promoted a national image of contemporary Greeks as descendants of the ancient Greeks, and as the perpetuators and preservers of their ancient Greek heritage. I explore the circulation of this national image domestically and internationally, and aim to expose how the reductive nature of tourist photographs foregrounds a particular past constructed as 'consensual' and of exceptional social significance, blocking or editing out any alternative readings.

Nelly's (1899–1998), the gifted Greek refugee from Aydin in Asia Minor, studied photography in Dresden (1921–4), became popular with the bourgeoisie in Athens in the 1920s and 1930s, and eventually became the Metaxas regime's photographer par excellence. I argue that by photographing the ancient monuments from the perspective of the spectator in evocative frames (analysed in more detail elsewhere⁶) Nelly's naturalizes ways of viewing the ancient remains as cultural heritage and monumentalizes them as symbolic capital for the nation. Take for instance, her famous photograph of Hungarian dancer Nikolska jumping in front of the Parthenon (Fig. 11.1),⁷ which 'lifts' the monument into eternity, just as it brings it back to life 'thawing the frozen monument from its sterile state'⁸ and exalting it to the realm of the sublime. Her new scopic regime in conjunction with other visual means employed in her 'parallelisms' series, as discussed below, reinforces the dominant national myth of uninterrupted continuity from ancient to modern Greece.

⁵ See the essays in Basch and Farnoux (2006); see also Peltre (2011). One post-Second World War issue for summer 1946 was published, but is not discussed here.

⁶ See my forthcoming article on Nelly's photographic oeuvre from 1924 to 1939 in Greece. I only refer to Nelly's photography here insofar as it pertains to issues relevant to the Metaxas regime's tourist periodicals.

⁷ This photograph featured on the cover of the French periodical *Voilà* (6 Sept. 1934) without Nelly's permission and with no identifiable acknowledgment of her; see Nelly's (1989: 104–9).

⁸ Quotation from Waterton's Introduction in Waterton and Watson (2010: 12).

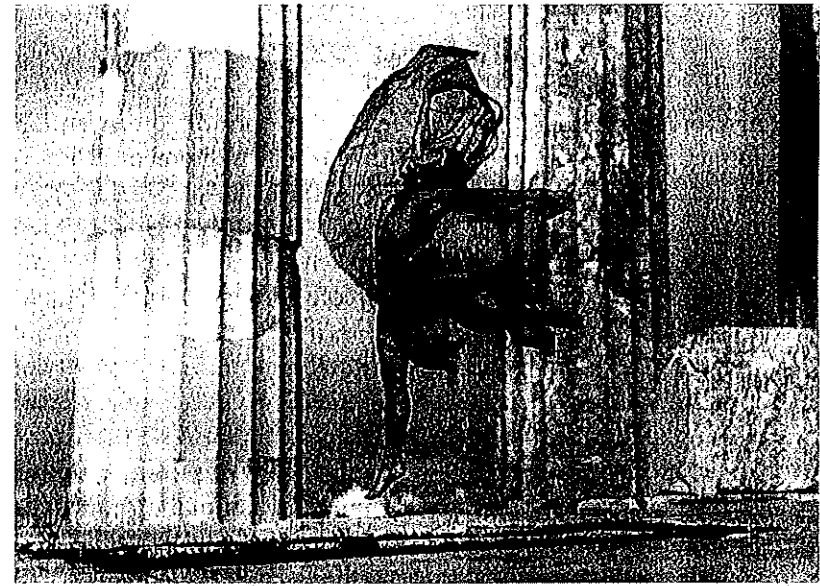


Fig. 11.1. Photograph by Nelly's of the semi-nude, Hungarian dancer Nikolska in front of the Parthenon (1930). © Benaki Museum-Photographic Archive. (N.2102). This photograph was featured on the cover of the French periodical *Voilà* (6/9/1934) without Nelly's permission and with no identifiable credit to her; see Nelly's 1989: 104–9.

In my semiotic-ethnographic analysis of tourist images, I borrow from the fields of ethnography, anthropology, cultural studies, and visual studies, capitalizing on the work I have conducted during the past decade on representations of Greek culture, identity, and ethnicity in literature, historiography and film. My earlier study revealed, among other insights, the enduring legacy of the nationalist discourse on cinematographic constructions of Greek identity (2008: 321–53). My current research on the interwar tourist image of Greece engages in dialogue with recent scholarship on archaeology and the national imagination, as it explores the involvement of the state in the construction of the Greek national image, and reveals the strong nationalist hue of the Metaxas iconography.⁹

⁹ Especially work on the question of how the narrative of national identity has formed the basis whereby cultural property can be viewed as symbolic capital for the nation and features in heritage debates and national initiatives for the reclaiming of

EARLY GREEK TOURISM POLICIES AND THE METAXAS REGIME

The first foreign photographers visited Greece soon after the invention of photography in 1839 to 'capture' the ancient monuments. Photography was soon linked to archaeology with Heinrich Schliemann's photographs of Troy in 1874. The Franco-Swiss photographer Fred Boissonas (1858–1946) was the first to envision the political, commercial, and touristic promotion of Greece through photography in his series of albums entitled *L'image de la Grèce* (1905–14). The Office of Foreigners and Exhibitions was instituted in the Greek Ministry of Economy in 1914 to manage foreign travel to Greece and oversee Greek participation in the 1915 San Francisco World's Fair Exposition. On 18 December 1918 Eleftherios Venizelos commissioned from Boissonas 550 photographs of museum antiquities and traditional costumes for the exhibition *Visions de Grèce*. The goal was to promote the Greek irredentist cause at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, by providing adequate 'evidence' of the 'Greekness' of selected areas through photography and accompanying texts, and thus strengthen the claim for political and territorial expansion.¹⁰ By 1922 the 'Office' had become a 'State Service' whose purpose was to 'attract [...] and prolong the stay of foreigners in Greece' (Vlachos 2007: 8). And, in 1929, Venizelos founded the Greek Tourist Organization (EOT) and launched a large-scale advertising campaign to promote the political and commercial interests of the Greek state. That same year the first dated Greek tourist poster appeared, featuring Nelly's photograph of the Parthenon (Kritikou 2007: 13).

On 4 August 1936 dictator Ioannis Metaxas (1936–41) suspended the Tourist Organization (not reinstated until 1951) and established his propagandist Under-Secretariat for Press and Tourism, run by his friend and confidant, Undersecretary of State Theologos Nikoloudis (1936–41). Tourism was high on the agenda of the 'New State' and strategically woven into the political rhetoric of the regime. The power of the press and of visual representation was quickly exploited

specific artefacts (Yalouri 2001; Beard 2002; Hamilakis 2007; Damaskos and Plantzos 2008; see also Herzfeld 2005).

¹⁰ Boudouri (2003a; also 2002; 2003b).

by Metaxas and Nikoloudis,¹¹ who monitored the foreign and domestic press, provided press releases,¹² and earmarked funds for the purchase and printing of artistic photographs, posters, and films for tourism (*YTT* 1939: 301; 28). Nikoloudis urged the Greeks to become domestic travellers and agents for tourism: 'It is time for us to gain a tourist consciousness—that is the consciousness of our civilization—and for all of us to decide to perform, each one in their own circles, tourism politics.'¹³ To this effect, the Ministry instituted a tourist police, whose main task was to 'enforce' a 'tourist consciousness', on both the general public and the Greek tourist authorities. In the regime's tri-annual, admittedly self-congratulatory tourist report, the Greek people are credited with accomplishing 'cultural deeds'; not by force, but through 'coaxing and guidance, they become persuaded that this effort serves the common good and thus Greek civilization is exalted' (*YTT* 1939: 178). The 'guidance' of the regime was more uniformly enforced as the regime became progressively more authoritarian.

State intervention extended not only to domestic and international 'tourist education' but also to archaeology (Hamilakis 2007: ch. 5) and even to women's fashions. In the preface of *La Mode Grecque* (winter 1938–9), a classicizing aesthetic was prescribed by Undersecretary of State Nikoloudis. All cultural manifestations were significant for the fashioning of the new national face of Greekness, including dress. 'The way someone dresses corresponds to their general level of civilization. From the colour and cut of a garment to the way it is worn, a whole host of questions arise: historical, social, spiritual and aesthetic.'¹⁴ In the new state-funded fashion magazine, ancient

¹¹ For the greater propaganda mill of the Metaxas regime, see Petrakis (2006).

¹² They 'produced numerous advertising publications, and supplied all the data to every foreigner, who wished to write a book about Greece' (*YTT* 1939: 28; see also *YTT* 1939: 11, 27).

¹³ 'Travel as frequently as possible. You will feel better; you will get to know and love Greece' (*YTT* 1937: 55–6).

¹⁴ 'We want to show that through regular and thorough study of models of Greek sources and with Greek inspiration we can have [...] all that is required for Greek ladies to dress properly in Greece [...]. If the state is involved in such questions today, it is because we believe that our new civilization ought to be complete in all its manifestations [...]. All manifestations of our everyday life ought to be Hellenic, in their character, their origin and tendencies. By considering our life from a purely national point of view may we achieve moral and spiritual improvement' (excerpts from Nikoloudis' preface, translated from French).

artefacts were set up as models for emulation, requiring 'regular and thorough study'. The aim of this education was to instruct people how to conduct a classically inspired life, which was intended to be considered from a 'purely national point of view' in order to effect the 'moral and spiritual improvement' of the Greek people. This state-sanctioned fashion was intended to produce a new national Greek aesthetics by establishing a visible link with the classical past. Classical Greek dress was viewed as the face of civilization itself, while it was also vested with the authority of bringing classical Greek civilization into everyday life.

The four issues of the state-funded women's fashion magazine featured photographs of female classical statues opposite pictures of contemporary female models in classicizing dress, making gestures imitating their ancient counterparts on the facing page, as the titles and captions spelled out: for example, 'Knossos' replicating the Minoan wall paintings, or 'Apteros Nike' after the Athena Nike statue from the Acropolis (Fig. 11.2). Fashion models also donned regional Greek costumes, presenting a similarly highbrow, classicizing demeanour with accompanying gestures.¹⁵ The dominant classicizing aesthetic of the Metaxas regime was inculcated through the visual representations featured in these haute couture collections and magazines, which targeted an elite clientele of wealthy patrons domestically and internationally. There was little text, other than Nikoloudis' preface and the captions. Images would ram the new aesthetic home. The Greek people were instructed to adopt classicizing lifestyles, consume pre-packaged cultural behaviours, and embody the regime's prescribed aesthetic.

Bourdieu's social theory of cultural capital (1977) embedded in the very structures of social order, and the symbolic violence this exerts upon the dominated, is of particular relevance in the evaluation of these images. Cultural capital, such as the classicizing aesthetic promulgated in the regime's tourist publications, enforced a social hierarchy of economic and political power without physical coercion, but through symbolic violence. Using formal education and instruction, and through visual imagery, the Metaxas regime endorsed a

¹⁵ The first two issues (1938–9) featured photographs solely by Nelly's, in tune with her 'parallelisms' project; see below. After Nelly's move to the United States in Aug. 1939, the last two issues were illustrated mostly by Leon Frantzis.

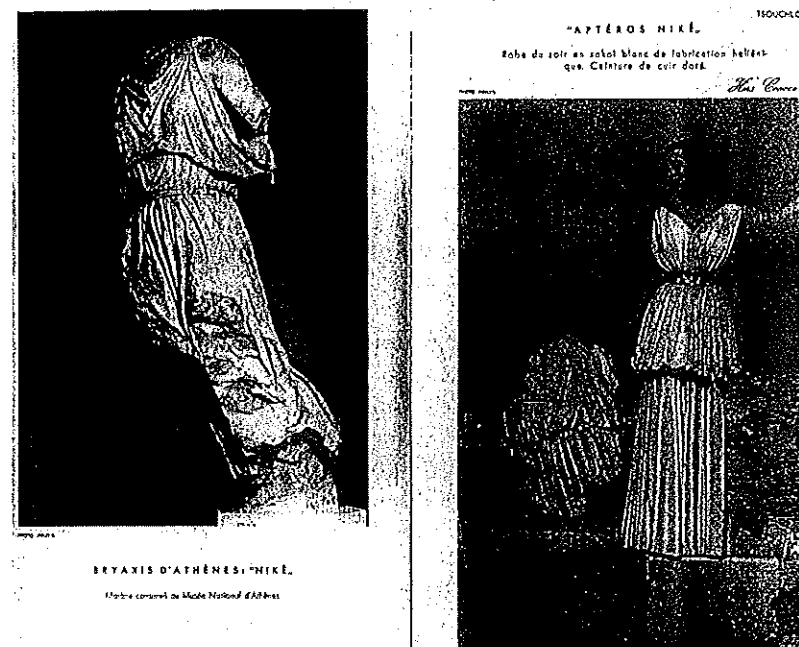


Fig. 11.2. *La Mode Grecque*, winter issue 1938–39: 10–11. Photographs by Nelly's. On the left, the caption identifies the marble statue from the National Archaeological Museum of Athens as 'Nike' by the sculptor Bryaxis. On the right, the title 'Wingless Victory' (*Apteros Nike*) is written above the photograph of a female model wearing a white evening dress with a gold-coloured leather belt, made in Greece by Tsouhlos. Printed by permission from the collection of MIET/ELIA.

'preferred' lifestyle for the Greek people, in a process that formally imposed a new way of thinking, a new perception and aesthetic. What is the admonition to create a 'tourist consciousness' other than a political move to impose a set of cultural behaviours endorsed by the dominant regime through subconscious embodiment? We witness here the intersection of visibility with social power in the discipline the authoritarian regime aims to impose on its subjects. The regime's surveillance, its panoptic gaze, is closely monitoring its subjects. By endorsing the emulation of the fashion models in the state periodicals, the regime aspires to make the new lifestyle a subconscious habit for its subjects. In developing a 'tourist consciousness', individual Greeks are urged to internalize the disciplinary gaze,

thus becoming themselves the guardians of the new aesthetic, as well as monitoring themselves for any transgression (Foucault 1991).

Tourist images become iconic in their projection of Greece as cradle of western civilization and tourist destination, reproducing the national myth of Greece's exceptionalism and the inherent superiority of the Greek race, and framing the modern Greeks as descendants of the ancients and caretakers of the Greek heritage. The political ideology of the Metaxas dictatorship advocated a national rebirth, and a return to the glorious past:

We must go back to the springs from which the water of Hellenic civilization flowed clean and pure, to re-baptize ourselves therein, to become Hellenes again, and then to burst into a new future, not the future of ruins [. . .]. Thus, to move forward, we need to go back, as did Ulysses' comrades. Shut your ears to the words of the deceivers, as did Ulysses' comrades.¹⁶

Moving forward by moving back. A future where the rich, classical cultural heritage is silenced by 'deceivers', where its memory falls into oblivion and its physical remains have no meaning, is 'a future of ruins'. The future the regime upheld was one featuring the cultural revival of the classical aesthetic that reinstated the unbroken link with the glorious past and paved the way for the next chapter of a national civilization.

The irredentist political dream of the 'Megali Idea' was forever shattered in 1922. The Metaxas dictatorship built instead an ideological framework for a nationalist cultural dream, the 'Third Hellenic Civilization'.¹⁷ The authoritarian regime's leader, imbued with Germanic values, delivered his populist blend of homegrown ancestor worship, racial continuity, and geoclimatic determinism. At the same time he fostered the demotic as the formal language of the 'New State', while taking great pains to fashion himself as a representative of the common folk.

For his tourism policies Metaxas relied on the Undersecretary of State for Press and Tourism, Theologos Nikoloudis. The Undersecretary and his family were heavily involved in selecting the content for the state-funded periodicals and in their artistic production, as well as supervising Greek participation in international exhibitions. Nikoloudis was the overall director of the tourist periodicals *In Greece/En Grèce/In Griechenland*. The artistic director was painter Georgios Gerontas (Nelly's 1989: 150), nephew of Eirini, Nikoloudis' wife.¹⁸ Eirini Nikoloudis was involved in the selection of artefacts for the 1939 Greek pavilion in New York (see below). Nikoloudis himself effectively commissioned select photographers¹⁹ to create the regime's national tourist iconography for its domestic and international propaganda,²⁰ carefully correlating the regime's ideology with its iconography. The seventh issue of *In Greece/En Grèce/In Griechenland* documents the third 'Festival of Labour' of the Metaxas regime in the Panathenaic Stadium in Athens, and the Greek Pavilion at the 1939 New York World's Fair. It includes an 'extract from the speech of Mr T. Nikoloudis . . . to the Greeks of America who called upon him', entitled 'Toward a New Greek Civilization'.²¹ The text is framed by Nelly's photos of the festival at the Panathenaic Stadium on 4 August 1939. It aptly summarizes the regime's ideology and its quest for 'purity' and 'authenticity', as it builds on Metaxas' call for a return to the past in search of inspiration and weaves in folk tradition in an effort to create a composite new national 'Greek style' and identity:

The 4th of August made it its foremost national aim to create a new Greek civilization . . . And of this effort, to found a new purely Greek civilization, the first fruits were shown the other day in the Stadium celebration, at which the real, the genuine Hellas spoke, was symbolized and studied, in her character her traditions, her present-day attainments . . . We had to go

¹⁸ As stated by Alexandra Moreti in the unpublished interview she gave to Mr Nikos Paissios, dated 24 Feb. 2008, courtesy of the Moreti family archives.

¹⁹ Boudouri (2003a: 22) lists: Nelly's, Maria Chroussaki, Leon Frantzis, Herbert List, A. de Meibohn, Francesco Perilla, Ghizikis, K. Koutoulakis, J. Trikoglou, Emil Séraf, Antonis Oikonomidis, Zoukas, and Vandoros.

²⁰ 'Through tourist brochures that circulated abroad by order of the newly-formed Office of the Press and Tourism, her [Nelly's] photographs formed the first foundation, the visual symbols of Greek tourist philosophy' (Boudouri 2000; see also 1997: 97; 2003a: 23).

²¹ One cannot fail to notice the blatant propaganda. It was not the Greek-Americans who had asked Nikoloudis to visit; rather, he did so on his own initiative as one of the officials attending the opening of the Greek Pavilion.

¹⁶ This is the conclusion of Metaxas' speech at the Pallas Theatre in Athens to University students on 10 Oct. 1936. The quotation is also found in Carabott (2003: 27), in a slightly different translation.

¹⁷ See Hamilakis (2007: 173–89). On 'Greekness', see Tziouvas (1989).

back to our sources, to see how we could give to all our present-day activities a Greek significance, a Greek style. Our history and our life furnish us with a wealth of sources, riches, ideas and means. We shall, of course, not stop at the fustanella [kilt] and the peasant home; but both the fustanella and the peasant home will supply us with the theme, the inspiration, the outline, the national and social idea for a splendid frock, for a fine modern dwelling. Out of all these manners and customs, dances, music, folksongs, poetry, handicrafts, architecture, arts, a new Greek civilization will one day arise, to bind, with a fine but strong thread, tradition and progress firmly together and to show Greece as the link between Oriental and European civilizations. (*In Greece/En Grèce/In Griechenland*, issue 7, 1939: 17–18, English version)

The elements of Greekness selected for the regime's 'homegrown' style advocated in the state-funded tourist periodicals is significant. As in the fashion magazines, which blend classical with folk traditions, national dress (the *fustanella*), and the peasant home are the bedrock of the new style, the inspiration for 'a splendid frock' or a 'fine dwelling'. In its third year in office the Metaxas dictatorship formulated a complete aesthetic agenda of distinctive Greek features. The home-grown lifestyle it endorsed was expected to 'bind tradition and progress firmly together' as well as form a 'link' between East and West. This orientation was also visible in the selection and display of artefacts for the 1939 Greek pavilion at the New York World's Fair. As will be discussed below, the regime's iconography sought to establish the contemporary Greeks as descendants of the ancients, and to present them as caretakers of the ancient heritage by grafting onto it contemporary folk traditions in a new homegrown aesthetics that ostensibly blended the antique with the folk style.

'NATURE IMITATES ART' AND THE 'PARALLELISMS' ICONOGRAPHIC PROJECT

When Nelly's began working for the Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism in 1936, her 'first published photographs of Greek antiquities' appeared in the periodical *In Greece/En Grèce/In Griechenland* (Boudouri 2003a: 22), her political collages were included in the regime's *Neolaia* weekly youth magazine, and she was commissioned to illustrate the regime's first two issues of the fashion magazine

La Mode Grecque. Nelly's developed a series of collages, which involved setting contemporary Greeks next to ancient statues to accentuate their physiognomic resemblance and establish visually the continuity and 'purity' of the Greek race. In her autobiographical narrative, she credits the moment she caught sight of a shepherd at Hypate for 'her idea' of her 'parallelisms' photographic project (Nelly's 1989: 111). I examine elsewhere Nelly's photographic output from 1924–39, establishing her both as the photographic agent of the 'parallelisms' project and as the product of the contemporary nationalist discourse (Zacharia, forthcoming).

By meticulously documenting the visual similarities of contemporary Greeks to their ancient forebears, Nelly's turned everyday people into icons of the authorized official discourse on racial continuity,²² further legitimating the authority of the regime. Her images provided a yardstick for Metaxas' Third Hellenic Civilization project. The regime used the 'parallelisms' iconographic project in a number of diverse fields, from physiognomic similarity to the ancient Greeks to women's fashion or architectural design, and in their attempt to achieve a 'spiritual' affinity between contemporary Greeks and the ancient Greeks through schooling and indoctrination in the National Youth Organization (EON) and its weekly publication, *Neolaia* (Mahaira 1987).

Nelly's soon became one of the most influential producers of the images that transformed antiquities and folk art into monuments of national memory: objectified, exchanged, and owned as material artefacts,²³ while also serving as iconographic testimonials legitimizing the regime's national charter myth. Nelly's proclaimed her purportedly artistic independence from any external influences or sociopolitical agendas, and went to great lengths to assert the uniqueness of her art, claiming that any latent influences had been seamlessly absorbed into her personal photographic signature: 'Nelly's'. However, Nelly's was certainly not alone in her idealization of images,²⁴ nor was she the first to visually juxtapose the ancient with

²² 'Because any language that can command attention is an "authorized language" invested with the authority of a group, the things it designates are not simply expressed but also authorized and legitimated' (Bourdieu 1977: 170–71).

²³ Nelly's reportedly was 'the first to produce and sell postcards with photographs of antiquities' (Nelly's 1990: 46).

²⁴ Though she seemed to believe, or wanted others to believe, that she was a completely free agent, acting only on instinct. See Nelly's 1990: 44.

the modern. The question of continuity had dominated the national debate for a long time. As a diaspora Greek, Nelly's was a primary candidate for 'long-distance nationalism' discourses (Anderson 1992) and quickly embraced the regime's ideology. In her 'parallelisms' series she provided iconic representations that succinctly delivered the simplistic message of continuity that pervaded the official discourse.

The regime's tourist periodical *In Greece/En Grèce/In Griechenland* had a precursor in the privately sponsored *Le Voyage en Grèce*. The latter was edited by Heracles Ioannides (1897–1950), who in 1918 was secretary to Leonidas Embirikos (1872–1947), then Minister of Food Supplies for the Venizelos Government and later owner of the Neptos agency, which published *Le Voyage en Grèce*. A refugee from Asia Minor and personal friend of Boissonas, Ioannides,²⁵ in an effort to resuscitate interest in Greece after the Asia Minor disaster, convinced Embirikos in 1926 to put one of his cruisers (the newly built *Πατρίς*, 'Fatherland') at the disposal of a select group of the European avant-garde, so that they could follow in the footsteps of Odysseus. Boissonas' album *Dans le sillage d'Ulysse*, with text by Victor Bérard, was published in 1933 to commemorate that modern Odyssey. Boissonas and Ioannides had a common agenda: to illustrate modern Greece as a country to be discovered, where past and present organically coexisted. This ideological context for *Le Voyage en Grèce* is markedly different from the Metaxas nationalist ideology represented in *In Greece/En Grèce/In Griechenland* and in *La Mode Grecque* (Boudouri 2006: 55–67).²⁶ Numerous examples from the latter illustrate the carefully calculated editing by the Office of Press and Tourism of selected articles lifted from *Le Voyage en Grèce* to serve the regime's ideology through text and image.²⁷ Below I offer some highlights from *In Greece/En Grèce/In Griechenland*, which illustrate the manipulative tactics of the regime.

The second issue of *Le Voyage en Grèce* (spring 1935) includes an article on 'L'Art et la mode dans la Grèce Antique', illustrated with photographs from Minoan Crete, Tanagra, and Sparta (pp. 4–5); another on 'La beauté grecque', with a photo of the Hermes of Praxiteles (p. 7); and another on 'La Nouvelle Hélène', with a photo

²⁵ See Basch and Farnoux (2006: 5–16).

²⁶ On the image of Greece in France, see also Basch (1995; 1991).

²⁷ 'The nationalist magazine *En Grèce* [...] poorly plagiarizes Ioannides' periodical' (Basch and Farnoux 2006: 71).

of a contemporary islander in a traditional headdress (pp. 30–31). Below the latter, French writer Maurice Bedel posits that the strong-spiritedness of the contemporary Greeks makes them irresistibly beautiful, yet their beauty is distinct from that found in France, Scotland, Hungary, or Lithuania. In the same issue, there is an article on 'solitude in Greece', illustrated with fourteen of Boissonas' photographs (pp. 14–23);²⁸ and another on 'Charmes du peuple grec' by Jacques Boulenger,²⁹ a French writer who extols Greek hospitality, after having spent four months in Corfu, 'some of the most charming' of his life. This article is illustrated with photos of a woman from Lesbos harvesting and two men from Skyros in traditional costume (pp. 10–11) (Fig. 11.3). It is reprinted in abridged form (the first two paragraphs and the closing sentence) in the second issue of *In Greece/En Grèce/In Griechenland* as 'Charm of the Greek People',³⁰ now illustrated with two photos by Nelly's: one of two smiling peasant girls from Florina in traditional costume, one holding a pitcher and the other a wheat bundle, and, on the opposite page, one of another girl with the caption 'a peasant girl of Florina, holding her pitcher with the grace of an ancient canephore', implying a link with the statuary Caryatids of the Erechtheion (pp. 24–5). The emphasis in the state-funded version, where the image is enlarged and the text curtailed, is once again on continuity rather than on Greek hospitality (Fig. 11.4).

In the spring 1936 issue of *Le Voyage en Grèce*, the article by Jean Cassou entitled 'Grèces' (pp. 8–11) explores the diversity of Greece, and is illustrated with photos by Elie Lotar of goats on a Greek mountain, and of the archaic 'Blue Beard' pedimental figure from the Acropolis (p. 10). In the republished state-funded version, Nelly's has once again reworked these themes with a clear emphasis on the continuity rather than the diversity of the Greek landscape and its people.³¹

²⁸ Compare Boissonas' depiction of the mountain Taygetos in snow and with bare trees with the view from Sparta in Nelly's photograph, where the landscape is now populated and the vegetation greener. See figs. 62–6 in Basch and Farnoux (2006).

²⁹ Printed in Basch & Farnoux 2006: fig. 55. See also fig. 59; and fig. 60 which features a photograph by Nelly's of a young peasant from Epirus.

³⁰ I am using the English version of this issue.

³¹ See fig. 73 in Basch and Farnoux (2006); and Damaskos' discussion in Damaskos and Plantzos (2008: 330).



CHARMES DU PEUPLE GREC

Le charme du peuple grec est un charme qui se manifeste par une certaine douceur, une certaine grâce, une certaine harmonie. C'est un charme qui se reflète dans les traits du visage, dans le geste, dans le regard. C'est un charme qui se traduit par une certaine simplicité, une certaine pureté, une certaine noblesse. C'est un charme qui se perpétue à travers les siècles, qui se transmet de génération en génération. C'est un charme qui est le fruit d'une longue histoire, d'une culture riche et variée. C'est un charme qui est le reflet d'une âme sereine et ouverte.

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Fig. 11.3. *Le Voyage en Grèce*, issue 2, spring 1935: 10–11. Article on 'Charmes du Peuple Grec', by Jacques Boulenger. Unknown photographer. Printed by permission from the collection of MIET/ELIA.



THE CHARM OF THE GREEK PEOPLE

The charm of the Greek people is a charm that manifests itself by a certain softness, a certain grace, a certain harmony. It is a charm that is reflected in the features of the face, in the gesture, in the gaze. It is a charm that is translated by a certain simplicity, a certain purity, a certain nobility. It is a charm that perpetuates through the centuries, that is transmitted from generation to generation. It is a charm that is the fruit of a long history, of a rich and varied culture. It is a charm that is the reflection of a serene and open soul.



Fig. 11.4. *In Greece/En Grèce/In Griechenland*, issue 2, autumn 1937: 24–25, English version. Jacques Boulenger's article reprinted in abridged form (first couple of paragraphs and closing sentence), 'Charm of the Greek People'. Photographs by Nelly's. The caption reads: 'A peasant girl of Florina, holding her pitcher with the grace of an ancient canephore.' Printed by permission from the collection of MIET/ELIA.

ŒDIPÉ OU L'ENFANT DU MALHEUR

JEAN ANASTAS

L'Œdipe est un personnage qui a traversé les siècles. Il est le héros d'une tragédie qui a été jouée à Athènes, à Rome, et dans tous les pays de l'Europe. C'est un personnage qui est le symbole de la destinée humaine, de la lutte entre le destin et la volonté. C'est un personnage qui est le reflet d'une âme tourmentée et douloureuse.



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LE SOMMEIL D'ÉPIDAURE

ANDRÉ DE RICHAUD

Le sommeil d'Épidaure est une tragédie qui a été jouée à Athènes, à Rome, et dans tous les pays de l'Europe. C'est une tragédie qui est le symbole de la destinée humaine, de la lutte entre le destin et la volonté. C'est une tragédie qui est le reflet d'une âme tourmentée et douloureuse.



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Fig. 11.5. *Le Voyage en Grèce*, issue 7, summer 1937: 9. Article by André de Richaud, 'Le Sommeil d'Épidaure' ('The Sleep of Epidaurus'). Unknown photographer. Printed by permission from the collection of MIET/ELIA.

The summer 1937 issue of *Le Voyage en Grèce* is dedicated to ancient and modern productions of Greek drama.³² It features an article by André de Richaud (1907–68)³³ entitled 'Le Sommeil d'Épidaure' ('The Sleep of Epidaurus') (Fig. 11.5):

[T]ragedy in Greece is everywhere, like the curve of the horizon [. . .]. It exacerbates passions, gives a new cry to pain. It devours everything that is no match for it, but turns into marble or bronze everything that merits it. It is a (love) potion of horror and blood that makes the professor an idiot and the poet mad. Blessed is the man who can fall asleep at Epidaurus in the hope of waking up mad. (*Le Voyage en Grèce* 7, summer 1937: 9; trans. from French)

In an issue of the state-funded periodical *In Greece/En Grèce/In Griechenland* illustrated by Nelly's, in an article by Michel Doris entitled 'The Race', contemporary Greeks walk on the same streets as their ancient counterparts, even resembling the ancient gods

³² See figs. 91, 92, 94–104 in Basch and Farnoux (2006).

³³ A French writer influenced by Albert Camus. De Richaud's first autobiographical novel was entitled 'Pain' (*La Douleur*, 1930).

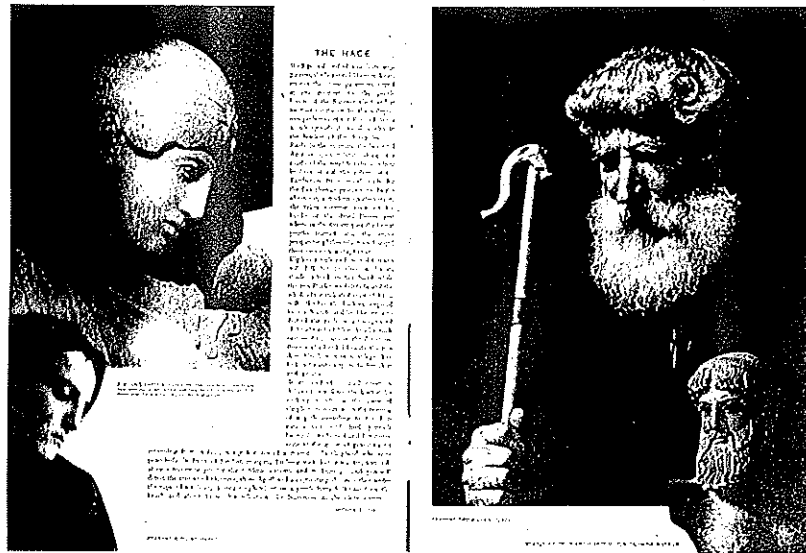


Fig. 11.6. *In Greece/En Grèce/In Griechenland*, issue 1, May–July 1937: 16–7, English version. Article by Michel Doris, ‘The Race’. Photos by Nelly’s. Printed by permission from the collection of MIET/ELIA.

themselves (issue 1 (1937): 16–7).³⁴ A photo of the head of a peasant girl from Hypate is used to illustrate both articles (Fig. 11.6). The article by de Richaud is accompanied by a photograph of a male peasant, and both subjects adopt a calm, dignified pose with heads tilted in a downward gaze. The opposite page features Jean Anouilh’s article on ‘the child of misfortune’, with a photograph of Albert Lambert as Oedipus, which by contiguity illustrates how the tragic pain referred to by André de Richaud is deservedly monumentalized in the story of Oedipus. Nelly’s imagery is completely different: she ‘parallels’ the female peasant’s head with that of a young Lapith from the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Nelly’s parallels continue in the next couple of pages, with the caption: ‘two heads of modern Athenian girls harmoniously framing an antique masterpiece’, and a quotation from an article by Jean Charbonneaux, French School archaeologist, later head of Greek and Roman antiquities at the Louvre (Fig. 11.7). This quotation is taken from the article

³⁴ See fig. 36 in Basch and Farnoux (2006), and Damaskos’ discussion in Damaskos and Plantzos (2008: 328, fig. 18).

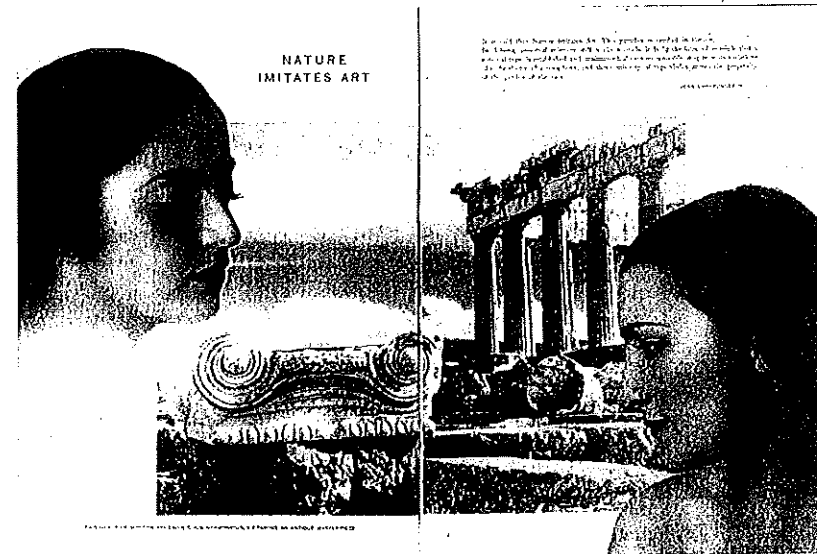


Fig. 11.7. *In Greece/En Grèce/In Griechenland*, issue 1, May–July 1937: 18–9, English version. Excerpt from article by Jean Charbonneaux, under a new title, a phrase taken from the original, ‘Nature Imitates Art’. Photos by Nelly’s. Printed by permission from the collection of MIET/ELIA.

mentioned above (*Le Voyage en Grèce*, issue 2, spring 1935: 7), the one illustrated with a photo of the Hermes by Praxiteles (Fig. 11.8). In the state-funded version, the new title is a phrase taken from the original: ‘Nature Imitates Art.’ The short quotation reads:

It is said that Nature imitates Art. This paradox is verified in Greece. In Athens, ancestral mimicry still works marvels. It is by the force of example that a national type is established and maintained, always recognizable in spite of its variation like the theme of a symphony, and the continuity of a symphony, and this continuity of type visibly attests the perpetuity of the genius of the race. (*In Greece/En Grèce/In Griechenland*, issue 1 (May–July 1937): 18–19, English version).

In the Metaxas official discourse, ‘continuity of type’ also implies racial superiority. However, the longer article by Charbonneaux in *Le Voyage en Grèce*, from which this quotation is taken, offers a distinctly different argument. I append the continuation of these lines in Charbonneaux’s original version, in which there is no claim to racial continuity:

LA BEAUTÉ GRECQUE

Il y a une beauté grecque, une beauté qui est la beauté même, la beauté absolue, la beauté éternelle. Elle est dans le marbre, dans le bronze, dans le ciel, dans la mer, dans le vent, dans le soleil, dans la lune, dans les étoiles, dans tout. Elle est partout, elle est tout. Elle est la beauté de la Grèce, la beauté de la civilisation grecque, la beauté de la culture grecque. Elle est la beauté de la jeunesse, de la force, de la santé, de la beauté physique, de la beauté intellectuelle, de la beauté morale. Elle est la beauté de la liberté, de la démocratie, de la justice, de la paix, de l'amour, de la fraternité. Elle est la beauté de la Grèce, la beauté de la Grèce antique, la beauté de la Grèce moderne, la beauté de la Grèce nouvelle.



LA BEAUTÉ GRECQUE

Il y a une beauté grecque, une beauté qui est la beauté même, la beauté absolue, la beauté éternelle. Elle est dans le marbre, dans le bronze, dans le ciel, dans la mer, dans le vent, dans le soleil, dans la lune, dans les étoiles, dans tout. Elle est partout, elle est tout. Elle est la beauté de la Grèce, la beauté de la civilisation grecque, la beauté de la culture grecque. Elle est la beauté de la jeunesse, de la force, de la santé, de la beauté physique, de la beauté intellectuelle, de la beauté morale. Elle est la beauté de la liberté, de la démocratie, de la justice, de la paix, de l'amour, de la fraternité. Elle est la beauté de la Grèce, la beauté de la Grèce antique, la beauté de la Grèce moderne, la beauté de la Grèce nouvelle.



Fig. 11.8. *Le Voyage en Grèce*, issue 2, spring 1935: 6–7. Article by Jean Charbonneaux, ‘*La Beauté Grecque*’ (‘Greek Beauty’). Photo of the Hermes by Praxiteles in Olympia by unknown photographer. Printed by permission from the collection of MIET/ELIA.

([...] the power of a race coincides with that of the civilization it created and is measured by its capacity for assimilation). Greece will have a good future, if it is true that it has kept the Ancient Greeks’ sharpness of wit and sense of sculptural form. And there is no need for its statesmen to resemble Pericles physically, if, in the Cretan countryside, there are young peasants—and I’ve met many—who still have the slender muscularity and the refined profile of the Minoans [...]. (*Le Voyage en Grèce*, issue 2 (spring 1935: 7); trans. from French)

We can also pick out another interesting rhetorical question, from earlier in the Charbonneaux text, which highlights the vacuity of terms such as ‘purity’, ‘race’, and ‘Greek type’: ‘Who believes any more in the purity of the race? Pure beauty does not exist and the Greek type is a modern invention’ (*Le Voyage en Grèce*, issue 2 (spring 1935): 6–7; trans. from French).

The discussion explores the issue of the spiritual affinity between the contemporary Greeks and the ancients, which, it is claimed, can be attained through diligent imitation of the ancient heritage. Thus, the argument runs counter to the axiomatic tenets of inherited biological or geoclimatic determinism posited by the nationalist propaganda of the Metaxas regime. The truncated text in the state-funded *In Greece/*

En Grèce/In Griechenland (issue 1 (May–July 1937): 18–19, English version) does not represent the spirit of the article by Jean Charbonneaux in *Le Voyage en Grèce* (issue 2 (spring 1935): 6–7), which in fact argues for spiritual renewal and not for racial continuity.

The discourse on the relationship between nature and art was topical. For instance, the vanguard art and architecture periodical of the same year (1935), *Trito Mati*,³⁵ dealt with precisely this topic. However, in the state-funded *In Greece/En Grèce/In Griechenland* the more theoretical aesthetic of autochthony, which appears in current debates in the nation’s innovative modernist literary magazine *Nea Grammata*,³⁶ is again predictably reduced to its bare essentials in the regime’s rhetoric of racial and geoclimatic determinism, and cultural continuity and superiority. The text, image, and artistic presentation are brazenly manipulated to deliver the concise nationalistic message effectively through the associative law of contiguity, according to which the written message is more rapidly absorbed when accompanied by a visual image. Nelly’s ‘parallelisms’ are commandeered to deliver the composite national image of Metaxas’ new Greece.

Some other highlights from *Le Voyage en Grèce* are: the 1938 summer issue, an anthology of ancient quotations; the spring 1939 issue, which celebrates the centennial of the French Archaeological School and is dedicated to ‘the Greece of the archaeologists’;³⁷ and the summer 1939 issue, which illustrates contemporary village life and the architecture of traditional houses and churches. All these topics are lifted, reworked, and tailored to the regime’s nationalistic agenda in the state-funded issues of *In Greece/En Grèce/In Griechenland*. The text is reformatted to serve the regime’s messianic rhetoric of racial and cultural continuity and superiority, and is illustrated by photographs commissioned by the state. *In Greece/En Grèce/In Griechenland* is printed in a layout that prefers image over text, as befits a popularized version and the political agenda of this initiative, where photography serves as documentary evidence in support of the regime’s propaganda, rather than for its aesthetic value, as had been

³⁵ *To Trito Mati* (‘The Third Eye’) periodical was first published in 1935, co-edited by painter Nikos Hadjikyriakos-Ghikas, architect Dimitris Pikionis, poet Takis Patzolis, and theatre director Socrates Karantinos.

³⁶ See *Nea Grammata* 1935 on ‘Palamas and the Greek land’; Tziouvas (1989: 80).

³⁷ See figs 76, 78, 79, 87, 88 in Basch and Farnoux (2006).

the case with the fourteen photos by Boissonas in the 1935 issue of *Le Voyage en Grèce* (pp. 14–23). Ioannides' periodical held a photographic competition for the amateur photographers among the guests on the cruise-liner *Patris*. A more careful study of the choice of photographs in *Le Voyage en Grèce* indicates that, even though Ioannides, as the representative of EOT (the Greek Tourist Organization) in Paris, had access to the photographs commissioned by the state, he seldom reprinted any of them (Boudouri 2006: 65–66). The readership of *Le Voyage en Grèce* was the French intelligentsia, the sort of people who participated in the cultural tourism cruise lecture series and who did not need the 'stimulation' of crude visual 'parallelisms'. By contrast, when the French School at Athens erected a replica of the Athenian treasury of Delphi at the foot of the Marathon dam, the editors of *In Greece/En Grèce/In Griechenland* (issue 1 (May–July 1937): 34–5) did not fail to trace yet another 'parallelism'.

In the Metaxas' regime nationalist discourse, Modern Greeks were presented as the legitimate successors to the Classical and Byzantine past³⁸ on course for the new Hellenic civilization. This vision was to be achieved through the multimodal conditioning of a 'tourist consciousness', effected by the state for the promotion of Greece's nascent mass tourism. Just three years into the Metaxas dictatorship, its ideological propaganda had completed a nationalist history, with an attendant cultural Hellenism in neatly formulated 'image-bites', abridged combinations of text and image, that could be distributed domestically and exported to the Greek-American diaspora in the form of original works, ancient and modern, and replicas. This was a kind of modified irredentist dream, this time a 'spiritual' one.

Theologos Nikoloudis commissioned Nelly's to prepare the photocollages for the 1939 New York Greek pavilion. Greece was to be:

presented from three different perspectives: (a) as country [*sic*] of a historical people (Antiquity, Byzantine era, contemporary state); (b) as the country of production of a modern industrial civilization (farming,

³⁸ The Byzantine past also features in the form of the religious rituals and the numerous churches photographed and displayed in the state-funded periodicals and in international exhibitions. In fact, Nelly's prepared a collage of Byzantine churches as a backdrop for some folk artefacts in the 1939 New York Greek Pavilion. Such Byzantine 'parallelisms' are not examined here.

industry, commerce, shipping, communications); (c) as a touristic country (nature, folk art, communications, natural baths, antiquities).³⁹

Eirini Nikoloudis, the Undersecretary of State's wife, was vice-president of the 'Greek Folk Art Association' (*Ελληνική Λαϊκή Τέχνη*). She selected the folk art to be exhibited at the 1939 Greek Pavilion.⁴⁰ Spyros Marinatos, the new Director General of Antiquities, was surely instrumental in selecting the replicas and the five original works that were exported from Greece for the first time to be showcased at the New York's World's Fair 'for the moral strengthening of the Greeks of America'.⁴¹ The artefacts themselves were set against the backdrop of the nationalized iconography of the 'parallelisms'. These tourist images were formally charged with advertising 'Greekness' to the homeland and the diaspora, reinforcing the official heritage discourse, and constructing heritage experiences for those who were as yet unable to make the pilgrimage to the homeland. The Greek Pavilion was hailed as a 'corner of the Greek fatherland' in the royalist diaspora newspaper *Atlantis* (6 June 1939), and an enthusiastic Greek American visitor was cited to drive the message home:

Every Greek-American father ought to spare no sacrifice but send all his children to visit the Greek Pavilion for their education and Hellenic instruction. Our children will not need any other admonition to feel proud for their *genos* and their spirited Greek race (*fyli*) from which they descend and with the beauty of which they will be inspired for the rest of their lives. (7 June 1939)

Such exhortations seemingly indicate that the Metaxas regime's tourist policies had successfully formulated their 'cultural arbitrary' of racial continuity, and superiority through succinct and easily digested nationalist iconography and tourist brochures. However, Ioannides' more sophisticated model of Greek heritage in *Le Voyage en Grèce* survived alongside the Metaxas propaganda, making up for the latter's lack of finesse. The cultural tourists of the French intelligentsia aboard the *Patris* formed an alternative readership of thinkers, distinct from the indoctrinated masses the regime reached through

³⁹ MIET/ELIA, 1939 New York Greek Pavilion archive.

⁴⁰ Mrs Nikoloudis was matron of honour at the wedding of the two young architects, Dimitris Moretis and Alexandra Paschalidou, who were commissioned to design the 1939 Greek Pavilion in New York.

⁴¹ Hamilakis (2007: 200 n. 33); YTT (1939: 218).

its state-funded periodicals and iconography. Even in the 1939 New York Greek Pavilion the architects Dimitris and Alexandra Moreti, both students of European-educated Dimitris Pikionis, managed to set up a more pluralistic national image, by introducing, independently of the regime, alternative artists and trends.⁴² Dominant discourses are never completely totalizing, even under authoritarian regimes.

In my study of state-funded tourist publications under the Metaxas military dictatorship (1936–41), I have aimed to expose the regime's calculated choices in its dissemination of particular visual representations of 'Greece' as both an idea and a lineage. The official nation-building project of the Metaxas regime strove to establish the national myth of uninterrupted continuity from ancient to modern Greece through manipulation of text and image, best exemplified in the 'parallelisms' iconographic project championed in Nelly's photographic output of the period. I have explored how these images contributed to the formation of a classicizing national aesthetic, and how they also reveal a conscious effort on the part of the Metaxas regime to effect a 'Greek subject' formation in terms of prescribed lifestyles and embodied cultural behaviours. Contemporary Greeks were intentionally fashioned as the successors of the ancient Greeks, caretakers of the ancient heritage, and consumers and propagators of the national discourse about a new Hellenic civilization.

⁴² I thank the Moreti family for granting me exclusive access to their family archives. My report on their archival collection and on the 1939 New York Greek pavilion is forthcoming.